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A GENERAL
DICTIONARY,
Historical and Critical:

IN WHICH

A New and Accurate TRANSLATION
of that of the Celebrated

Mr. BAYLE,

WITH THE

CORRECTIONS and OBSERVATIONS printed
in the late Edition at *Paris*, is included; and interspersed
with several thousand LIVES never before published.

The whole containing the History of the most illustrious Persons of all Ages
and Nations, particularly those of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, distinguished
by their Rank, Actions, Learning and other Accomplishments.

With Reflections on such Passages of Mr. BAYLE, as seem to favour *Scepticism* and
the *Manichee* System.

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN PETER BERNARD;
The Reverend Mr. THOMAS BIRCH, M.A. and F.R.S.
Mr. JOHN LOCKMAN;
And other HANDS.

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DICTIONARY

Historical and Critical.

HALL (RICHARD) an English Divine of the Romish Communion, was, I think, one of those who retired out of England, because of the penal laws which were enacted under Queen Elizabeth against the Papists. He retired into the Spanish Low-Countries, and was Divinity Professor at Doway, and Canon of St. Omer's. He published amongst other works [A] a treatise of the origin of the wars of those countries. He was not proper to treat on such a subject. For his gratitude to the King of Spain, who furnished him with a safe retirement on the one hand, and on the other his resentment for his banishment, which exasperated him against all the Protestants, could not suffer him to examine with impartiality the conduct of those Provinces, which rebelled against Philip II. And it is certain, that he shewed himself very passionate in that work [B]. He died in the year 1604 (a).

(a) Witte, in *Diar. Biograph.*

[A] *He published several Works.* Here follow all that I know of his Writings: The Preface to John Giovanus's Book *de Schismate seu Ecclesiastica Unionis divisione* (of Schism or of breaking the ecclesiastical union) printed at Louvain in the year 1573, in 8vo. *De tribus primariis causis Tumultuum Belgicorum, & contra coalitionem multarum Religionum, quam liberam Religionem vocant.* i. e. Of the three chief causes of the "civil Wars in the Low-Countries, and against a "Coalition of several Religions, which they call a free "Religion." At Doway 1581. in 8vo. *Pro Defensione Regiæ & Episcopalis Auctoritatis contra Rebelles.* "A "Vindication of the Royal and Episcopal Authority "against the Rebels." At Doway, 1584. in 8°. *De quinque partita conscientia Libri tres.* "Three Books of "Conscience divided into five parts." In the same City, 1598, in 8vo. *De proprietate & Vestiario Monachorum, aliisque ad hoc vitium extirpandum necessariis.* "Of the Propriety and Apparel of the Monks, and "of other things necessary to extirpate that excess." In the same City, 1585 in 8vo.

[B] *He shewed himself very passionate in that work.* Particularly against the Prince of Orange: for he wrote whole Chapters to convict him of Tyranny, of endeavouring to make himself a King by tyrannical means like Absalom, of having the ten Qualities, which according to Bartholus are the Character of a Tyrant, &c. He compared him to Julian the Apostate, and wrote all kind of invectives against that Prince, and against his Party (1), with a design to exasperate the Roman Catholics and to persuade them not to grant the Liberty of Conscience, which the

(1) Consult Schellingius, *Biblioth. Cathol.* tom. 4. pag. 254.

Protestants demanded (2) A man who had so many (2) *Idem, ibid.* Reasons to be partial in favour of the King of Spain, and to be displeas'd with the Dutch, should not have pretended to write the causes of that civil War. An Historian ought to be perfectly unbiass'd, and as soon as a man has the least resentment against any nation, he ought to give over the writing of that nation's History, particularly if he cannot follow his ill humour ever so little without pleasing another nation, for whom he ought to have some complaisance and gratitude. Such a man, I say, is obliged to decline the task, as honest Judges do, when they are themselves some way concerned in a cause (3). History ought not to be treated but by undefiled hands; it must be left to those whose hands have not been imbrued with blood in a fight, either in a proper or in a figurative sense; one ought at least to wait, till time has purged the blots away, and consolidated the wounds. History must be revered like the household Goods of the ancients.

(3) See what I have observed in the remark [D] of the article REMOND, and in the remark [L] of the article TIMÆUS.

*Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu, patriosque penates.
Me bello e tanto digressum, & cæde recenti
Attrectare nefas: donec me flumine vivo
Abluero* (4).

(4) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 2. vers. 717.

That is,
"Our Country Gods, the Relicks, and the bands
"Hold you, my Father, in your guiltless hands:
"In me 'tis impious holy things to bear,
"Red as I am with slaughter, new from War,
"Till in some living stream I cleanse the guilt
"Of dire debate, and blood in battel spilt.

DRYDEN.

HALLE (PETER) Professor of Canon Law in the University of Paris was born at Bayeux in Normandy September the 8th 1611. He studied Philosophy, the Law, and Divinity during five years in the University of Caen. It must be added that he also applied himself with great care to Poetry, in which art his relation Anthony Hallié, one of the greatest Poets of his time, gave him very good instructions. He made such a progress under this eminent relation of his, that he gained the prizes in the poetical exercises, that are performed every year in these two cities (a). This gained him so great a reputation, that though he was still very young, he was chosen Teacher of Rhetoric in the University of Caen. Some time after, being Rector of the University, he made, at the head of the four Faculties, a speech to Monsieur Seguier Chancellor of France [A]. His Oration

(a) To the honour of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

[A] *Monsieur Seguier Chancellor of France.* He was gone into Normandy to suppress the popular in-

surrections, which had caused very great disorders in several places of the province of Normandy.

was very much approved, and procured him the esteem and protection of that head of the Law; so that he received the Doctor of Law's Cap from his hands in presence of the Great Council, March the 18th 1640, after he had held a public disputation in that illustrious Assembly (b). He attended Monsieur Seguer to Paris, and gained such reputation by some pieces he published, that they offered him the Mastership of five different Colleges, and he was in an unusual manner incorporated in the body of the University (c) August the 14th 1641. He chose to teach in the College of Harcourt rather than in any other, and had there a very great audience. He published now and then some Latin Poems, which increased his reputation, and gave his *Mecenas* an opportunity to raise him to the post of the King's Poet, and Reader of the Latin and Greek Tongues in the Royal College December the 18th 1646. His strong application to study having ruined his health, he was obliged to rest for two years, in order to recover it. When he enjoyed his health again, he resolved to raise the glory of the Faculty of the Law, which was sunk to a miserable condition, there remaining but one Professor of the Law [B]. In the year 1655, he obtained the post of Regius Professor of the Canon Law, and employed all his cares to restore the study of that Science, the privileges of which he asserted vigorously [C], without being discouraged by the difficulties he met in his way. It is to him chiefly that the Professors of Paris owe the privilege which they enjoy since the year 1679 [D]. He wrote very good books [E], and he had the satisfaction to reckon amongst his friends the most illustrious learned men, who were still more pleased with his virtue than with his learning. He died very well prepared [F] December the 27th 1689 (d).

Since the first edition of this Dictionary I have read a Latin Elogium, which one (e) of this Professor's pupils has consecrated to his memory. This piece is very well written, and printed at Amsterdam for Henry Boom, in the year 1692. The readers will find in it a particular account of Peter Hallé's life, which will please them.

HAMADRYADES

[B] *The Faculty of the Law . . . was sunk to a miserable condition, there remaining but one Professor of the Law.* This was Monsieur Doujat. The faculty had lost in a very short time Francis Florent, and John Dartis. *In juridicam deinde scholam geminato Francisci Florentis, & Joannis Dartisii funere afflicta ac prope desertam cum Joanne Doujatio Collega primario extra ordinem accitus (1) anno 1655.* Thus speaks Monsieur Pinsson des Riolles, in an Inscription which he published to our Halle's honour.

(1) Observe, that he obtained the Professorship without disputing it, which was a favour and a dispensation. *Ab eo (suo Mecenate) Regii Consistorii placitum, quo Regii constitutionis antecessuras ad publici certaminis aleam ordinantis, remisso rigore, ad manus antecessorum promovebatur obtinuit.* Vita Hallæi.

* That is to say, of pleading in an inferior Court of Judicature.

(2) *Juris Canonici auditoribus postulandi munus.* Hallæo patissimum procurante, restitutum est. Ibid.

(3) *Vita Hallæi.*

[C] *He asserted the privileges of that Faculty vigorously.* Monsieur Pinsson adds immediately, *Quam quidem postea restitui, exornari, ac amplificari magis ac magis . . . procuravit.* i. e. "which he afterwards took care to have restored, commended, and improved more and more." The Author of the Elogy gives us a more particular account. He asserts, that Halle obtained by his solicitations, that Pompon de Bellievre, first President in the Parliament of Paris, should restore to the Students of the common Law the privilege of *postulating**, whence arose a great many disputes (2). *Hinc obrotæ lites: vicina Juris Collegia in eos acriter insurrexerunt, & eos tum ad Senatum, tum ad Regis consistorium traduxerunt. Ut tot malis succurreret Hallæus, viginti quatuor viros pietate & doctrinâ commendatissimos, tanquam adjutores, in facultatem, recum suis Collegis prius communicata, adscrivit: facultate vix ab externo hoste quietâ, nonnulli ex Doctoribus honorariis, Collegiarum discordias in suum commodum amoventes, plurima Antecessorum Jura sibi arrogare tentabant. In hac temporum difficultate quâ facultas in partes scindi videbatur animum tantisper sustinuit, donec illa invidiæ tempestate feliciter pacatâ, & concordia facultati restituta, animum à negotio omni alieno revocans, sedulo summaque diligentia ad restauranda Juris studia totus incubuit (3).* i. e. "Hence arose several Disputes:

"The neighbouring Colleges where the Law was taught, rose violently against them, and prosecuted them both before the Parliament, and before the King's Council. Hallé designing to provide against so many evils, aggregated twenty men eminent by their piety and learning, to the faculty that they might assist him, having first consulted his Collegues upon this matter. The faculty was hardly free from those external enemies, when some honorary Doctors, who found their account in fomenting the divisions of their Collegues, endeavoured to arrogate to themselves the Rights of the Law Professors. During these troublesome times, when the faculty seemed to be divided into parties, Hallé suspended his undertaking a little; but when this storm of envy was over, and a good understanding was restored in the fa-

"culty, he applied himself zealously, and with the utmost care to revive the study of the Law, neglecting all other Affairs that were foreign to this purpose."

[D] *It is to him . . . the Professors of Paris owe the privilege they enjoy since the year 1679.* They did not teach the Civil Law before that time. *Ab eo præcipue docendi rectam rationem inchoatam à Rege probatam & confirmatam fuisse affirmaverim. Studiis enim latius efflorescentibus ab invicissimo Rege Ludovico Magno, promovente illustrissimo viro Michaele le Tellier Franciæ Cancellario, publica civili Jurisprudentiæ professori Parisiensi scholæ, quâ superiori sæculo male exciderat, restituta est, & asserta Antecessoribus Juris Civili interpretandi auctoritas mense Aprili 1679 (4), (4) Ibid.* i. e. "I can assert, that the right method of teaching was chiefly begun by him, and was approved and confirmed by the King. For learning beginning to flourish more and more, the most invincible King Lewis the Great, by the advice of that very illustrious man Michael Le Tellier Chancellor of France, restored to the University of Paris the privilege of teaching the Civil Law publicly, which privilege that University had lost in the preceding century; and the Professors obtained in April 1679 the authority of reading Lectures on the Civil Law."

[E] *He wrote very good books.* Here follow the words of his elogy. *In auditorum favorem præter Institutiones Canonicas, quas in lucem anno 1685 vixit in fama testamentum emiserat, varios ad Jus Canonicum & Civile tractatus de Conciliis, de summi Pontificis auctoritate, de Regalia, de Simonia, de Usuris, de Censuris, de Regularibus, de Beneficiis Ecclesiasticis, de Matrimonio, de Testamentis, & alia plura recondita doctrine monumenta exaravit.* i. e. "Besides his Canonical Institutions, which he published in the year 1685 as a proof that he deserved his reputation, he wrote also for the use of his pupils several treatises upon the Civil and Canon Laws, as concerning Councils, the Pope's authority, the Regale, Simony, Usury, Censures, Regular Persons, Ecclesiastical Benefices, Matrimony, Last Wills and Testaments, and several other monuments of his deep learning." He published in the year 1655 in 8vo a Collection of Latin Poems and Orations.

[F] *He died very well prepared.* I refer to this the legacy he left to the Faculty of the Law. It is designed to have a mass said four times every year; all the Professors and all the Doctors, who are present at it, receive a certain sum of money (5).

(d) Taken from an Elogium written in Latin by John Hallé, Secretary to the K. of France; of which Elogium Mr. Pinsson des Riolles communicated a manuscript copy to me.

(e) Daniel Laet, Batavus, (a Dutchman.)

(5) *Legata prima Juris utriusque Facultati ad sacrosanctum Missæ sacrificium statis diebus quater in anno celebrandum summâ, ab Antecessoribus & Doctoribus utriusque ordinis presentibus percipienda.* Vita Hallæi.

HAMADRYADES. Thus some nymphs were called, whose fate depended on certain trees, with which they were born and died [A]. It was chiefly with the oaks that they had to near a relation (a). It is reported, that they were sometimes very thankful to those who preserved them from death [B], and that those, who paid no regard to the humble

(a) See the remark [A], quotation (3).

[A] Their fate depended on some trees, with whom they were born and died.] Let us see Servius the Grammarian's note on the 62d verse of Virgil's tenth Pastoral. Hamadryades, says he, *Nymphæ quæ cum arboribus nascuntur et pereunt, à πο τῷ ἄμω κτ τῆς δρυὸς qualis fuit illa, quam Erychthon occidit: qui cum arborem incidisset, et vox inde erupit, et sanguis, sicut docet Ovidius. i. e. "Hamadryades are Nymphs, who are born at the same time with some trees, and die with them, from ἄμω with, and δρυὸς a tree; such was she, whom Erychthon killed, who when he was cutting a tree heard a voice come out of it, and saw some blood run from it, as Ovid relates."* Ovid quoted by this Grammarian has elegantly described the lamentations and the misfortune of this Hamadryad whom the impious Erychthon murdered: she lived in an old oak prodigiously large, and which all the world revered (1). Erychthon's servants dared not to obey his command to cut that tree down, and he was forced to go himself to work about it.

(1) *Stabat in his ingens œnoso robore quercus Una, nemus*

mensuræque roboreis ulnis Quingentes ter impleret.
Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 8. ver. 749.
That is, "An ancient oak in the dark center stood."
"Full fifteen ell's it measured in the waste."
Mr. Vernon.

*Dixit, et obliquus dum telum librat in illic,
Contremuit, gemitumque dedit Dodonia quercus:
Et pariter frondes, pariter pallsescere glandes
Cœpere, ac longi pallorem ducere rami.
Cujus ut in tranco fecit manus impia vulnus,
Haud aliter fluxit discusso cortice sanguis,
Quàm solet ante aras ingens ubi vitima taurus
Concidit, abrupta cruor è cervice profundi.*

*Editus è medio fons est cum robore talis:
Nympha sub hoc ego sum, Cereri gratissima, ligno:
Quæ tibi sacrorum pœnas instare tuorum
Vaticinor moriens, nostri solatia letbi (1).*

(2) *Idem, ibid.* ver. 763.

That is,
"He spoke, and as he pois'd a slanting stroke,
"Sighs heav'd, and tremblings shook the frighted oak;
"Its leaves look'd sickly, pale its acorns grew,
"And its long branches sweat a chilly dew.
"But when his impious hand a wound bestow'd,
"Blood from the mangled bark in currents flow'd.
"When a devoted bull of mighty size,
"A finning nation's grand atonement, dies,
"With such a plenty from the spouting veins
"A crimson stream the turfy altars stains.
"When from the groaning trunk a voice was heard,
"A Dryad I, by Ceres' love preferr'd, I
"Within the circle of this clasping rind
"Coeval grew, and now in ruin joyn'd;
"But instant vengeance shall thy sin pursue,
"And death is hear'd with this Prophetic view.

Mr. Vernon.

There are some Grammarians who separate what Servius unites. They pretend that the Hamadryades were so called, either because they were born, or because they died with some oaks. Ἠμαδρυάδες νύμφαι Μετσίμαχου φησὶ, διὰ τὸ ἄμω ταῖς δρυσὶ γαμῶσθαι. ἢ ἰσὸν διαῖσιν ἄμω ταῖς δρυσὶ φθίρεισθαι, νύμφαι Ἠμαδρυάδες λέγουσιν (3). This separation must be exploded, since the general opinion is, that the life of these Nymphs was exactly of the same length as the life of their trees. Hence it is, that Pindar said in a Poem which is left, ἰσοδρόμη τέχμηαι αἰώνι λαχῶσθα, I have obtained a life equal to that of my tree. Callimachus made use of the following expression, ἦλικον ἀσθμαίνουσα περι δρυός, *figging for her coeval oak* (4). When he mentioned the Hamadryas Melya. Apollonius has imitated him, when he introduced an Hamadryad praying that a certain tree might not be cut down.

(3) Scholiast. Apollon. Rhodii in lib. 2. ver. 479. pag. m. 192. See also Plutarch. de Oraculis. Doct. pag. 415. where he quotes Pindar's words.

(4) Callimach. *Hymno in Delum.* ver. 81.

*Ἢ μιν ὑπερμέτη ἔδωκε μελίσσι το μύθω,
Μὴ ταμίειν ἀρίμωσι δρυὸς ἦλικον, ἢ ἰπὶ σὺλλον
Αἰῶνα τρέσεισι διπλάκις (5).*

(5) Apollon. Rhod. lib. 2. ver. 430. pag. m. 193.

That is,
"Who flattering him with a lamenting voice prayed

"with tears, that he should not destroy her coeval tree, in which she had lived several ages."

Let us add to all these quotations another authority, namely, that of Homer. We read in one of his Hymns, that there are some trees, which are born at the same time with the Nymphs, and that these die when the trees dry and wither away.

Τῆσι δ' ἄπο τ' ἰλάται ἢ δρυὸς ὑψηλάρω
Γενομένησιν ἔφουσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτανίση.

Ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ δὴ μοῖρα παλαιήν τε θανάτω,
Ἀχάϊαι μιν ἀρώσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ δόδρα καλὰ
Φλαῖον δ' ἀμφιπεριβύθου, ἀπίπυσι δ' ἄπ' ὄζου,
Τῷ δ' ἄχ' ἄμω ψυχῇ λείπει φάσιν ἠελίου (6).

(6) Homer. *Hymn. in Venet.* pag. m. 853.

That is,
"With these Nymyhs some Fir-Trees, or lofty Oaks are born upon earth; . . . But when their fatal hour comes, these beautiful Trees begin to dry upon the earth, the bark that furrounds them, decays, their branches fall off, and at the same time the Nymphs lose the light of the sun."

Statius mentions a wood, which lasted longer than its Nymyhs and Fauns; but this is not inconsistent with the tradition, which relates particularly to the Hamadryades. And besides, who is there that knows that he regarded nothing in his poetical flights? It would not therefore be reasonable to mind what he says, as though it could make an objection against the general opinion. You will find his words in the remark [D]. Anfonius, who was farther distant than he from the origin of that antient tradition, has yet followed it better. *Non fuit Hamadryadis fato,* says he (7), *cadit arborea trabs. i. e. "The Tree does not fall, but the Hamadryad dies at the same time."*

(7) Aufon. *Edyl.* XII. pag. m. 483. Compare this with Balzac's Verbes, transcribed in the remark [K] of the article THOMAS (Paul).

Observe that Pausanias expresses himself in such a manner, as seems to prove that the Hamadryades were younger than their Trees. Τίθορια δὲ, says he (8), οἱ ἐπιχόρου κληθῆναι φασὶν ἀπὸ Τίθορίας νύμφης, οἷαι τῶ ἀρχαίω λόγῳ τῶν αὐσίῳ ἐφύθη ἀπὸ το ἄλλων δίδρασι, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν. i. e. "The inhabitants say their country was called Tithoria, from the Nymph Tithorea, one of them, who, as the Poets pretend, were born of some Trees, and particularly of the Oak." This is representing the Trees as though they were the mothers of the Hamadryades: it is not true therefore that these Nymphs were born at the same time with their trees. But I do not think that we ought to lay too much stress upon Pausanias's expressions: it was not his business to give a very accurate account of those ancient fables. Let us therefore stick to this, namely, that the Poets have asserted, that those Nymphs and the Trees were born at the same time. Take notice that Pausanias observes that they were born chiefly of the Oak. I do not see that this can be refuted by Pnerenicus's authority, for his account does not relate to the Hamadryades properly speaking. He tells us (9), that the Fig-tree (9) *Apud Athenas* was called *συκη*, after the name of one of Oxylus's daughters; and that this Oxylus having lain with his sister Hamadryas, begot eight daughters, who were all named Hamadryad Nymphs; but each of them had a particular name, which was afterwards given to trees. Amongst these Nymphs, she who was called *συκη*, gave her name to the Fig tree. It seems to me that Hamadryas, Oxylus's sister, was not of the same kind with the Nymphs who are the subject of this article; let this be observed with an illustrious author's leave (10).

(8) Pausanias, lib. 10. cap. 32. pag. 879.

(9) *Apud Athenas*, lib. 3. pag. 78.

(10) See Spanheim. in *Callim. Hymno in Delum.* ver. 83. pag. 373.

[B] It is reported that they were sometimes very thankful to those who preserved them from death.] A certain man called Rhœcus, having observed an Oak that was ready to fall down, ordered his sons to prevent its falling, by hardening the ground about its roots, and by putting props to support it. The Nymph who would have perished, had the tree fell down, shewed herself to Rhœcus, gave him thanks for saving her life, and permitted him to ask what reward he pleased.

humble prayers which the *Hamadryades* made them to spare the trees on which their lives depended, were punished for it [C]. Amongst the mortal natures there were none that lived so long as this species of nymphs [D]. The Poets have sometimes mistaken

pleased. He answered that he desired to enjoy her. The Nymph promised him that he should have in this respect all the satisfaction he could wish for, and commanded him to abstain from all other women. She added that a Bee would be the messenger between them. But the Bee coming whilst Rhæcus was playing, he gave her bad language, at which the Hamadryad was so exasperated, that he was mutilated (11). This is what Charon of Lampfacus related, if we may depend on the Scholiast on Apollonius. He told also another story, which ended better. Here it follows, as I find it in Natalis Comes, who does not quote the author from whom he borrowed it. Arcas, the son of Jupiter and Calisto, was hunting in a wood, when he met with an Hamadryad, who was in great danger of perishing; for the Tree with which she was born had suffered very much about its roots by the overflowing of a river. She desired Arcas to save that Tree. He granted her request by making the river run another way, and settling the earth about the root of the Tree. The Nymph was not ungrateful; she granted him what we call the *last favour*, and had two children by him. Her name was Prospelea (12). Pausanias tells us only, that Arcas was married with a Dryad Nymph, whose name was Erato, and by whom he had three sons (13). One might infer from thence, that though the Hamadryades could not survive their Oak or their Fir-tree, &c. yet they could sometimes leave it; and if this consequence were doubtful, we might confirm it by a passage from Homer, in which we read, that the same Nymphs, who were born and died with Trees, tasted the pleasures of love in agreeable caves with the *Silens* or Satyrs.

(11) Περὶ πρῶτου δὴ αὐτῆς. Schol. Apollon. in lib. 2. ver. 479.

(12) Taken from Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 5. cap. 11. pag. m. 465, 466. He observes that Charon of Lampfacus wrote this; but all this Author's works being lost, Natalis Comes ought to have quoted the author who cited Charon of Lampfacus.

(13) Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 4. pag. 604.

(14) Homer. *Hymn. in Peneus.* pag. m. 852.

Τῆσι δὲ Σιληνοῖ τε καὶ Ἰσσυκῶν Ἀρσιφύλλης Μισσοῖσι' ἢ Φιλότῃσι μυχῶ σπείων ἑρσίῳσι (14).

[C] They, who paid no regard to the . . . prayers of the *Hamadryades*, . . . were punished for it.] Apollonius relates, that Peribœa's father drew a very heavy curse upon himself and upon his children, because he cut down a Tree, which a Nymph had begged him to spare. This Nymph had lived several ages in that tree. We have seen her prayer above; and we shall transcribe here the following part of the passage.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τὴν γὰρ Ἀφραδίῳ ἔτμηξεν, ἀγνοομένη νύκτι. Τῶ δ' ἄρα νυκτὶ δὴ νύμφη πόρην οἴου ὀπίσσω Αὐτῶν καὶ τεκίεσσιν (15).

(15) Apollon. Rhod. lib. 2. ver. 482. p. 193.

That is, "Yet he cut it down inconsiderately thro' a youthful wantonness; for which the Nymph made him and his children pay dear afterwards."

[D] None . . lived so long as this species of Nymphs.] Autonius acquaints us with this in the verses which I am going to transcribe, and which are a translation of Hesiod's Greek verses.

Ter binos deciesque novem super exit in annos, Justa senescentum quos implet vita virorum. Hos novies superat vivendo garrula cornix: Et quater egreditur cornicis secula cervus: Alipedem cervum ter vincit corvus: Et illum Multiplicat novies Phœnix, reparabilis ales. Quam vos perpetuo decies prævertitis ævo Nymphae Hamadryades, quarum longissima vita est. Hi cobibent fines vivacia fata animantium. Cætera secreti novit deus arbiter ævi Tempora (16).

(16) Aufon. *Edil.* 18. pag. m. 533. The sense of these verses is given in the following passage.

Hesiod's Poem, in which this doctrine is to be read, is not extant; but we find a fragment of it in a treatise of Plutarch; a fragment, I say, which contains but five verses. Let us transcribe that passage of Plutarch, according to Amiot's translation: it will shew us, that there were some Heathens, who maintained that the Deities of the second rank were mortal. "Hesiod is

"the first who distinguished exactly four kinds of reasonable Natures, Gods, Dæmons, or Genii, of which there are several, some good, some bad, Demi-Gods, and Men . . . He is of opinion, that even the Dæmons die after a certain revolution of years. For speaking in the character of a Naiad, he determines the time when they cease to be. *The prating crow lives as long as nine men. The hart as long as four crows; the raven as long as three swift harts; the phœnix's life extends as far as that of nine ravens put together. But as for you, Hamadryades Nymphs, the royal progeny of Jove, the span of your life is as long as that of ten phœnixes that should live successively.* Now they, who do not well understand what the Poet meant by the word *Genea*, that is to say, the life of a man, make that space of time amount to an immense number of years, whereas it is but one year; so that the sum total is but of nine thousand seven hundred and twenty years, which is the space of time allotted to the dæmon's life. Several Mathematicians make it shorter still. Even Pindar does not make it longer, when he asserts that the life of the Nymphs is equal to that of the Trees, and that it is for this reason they are called Hamadryades, because they are born and die with the Oaks (17)." Plutarch deserves to be censured, because he did not transcribe that verse, wherein Hesiod set down the space of man's life; for that was the ground of all the following calculations. I may very well suppose that Hesiod had set down that space; because his translator, Aufonius, begins with observing that the age of man contains 96 years. This measure being once set down, we may calculate how long the harts, the ravens, &c. live: and we find that the crow lives 864 years; the hart 3456; the raven 10368; the phœnix 93312; and the Hamadryad nine hundred thirty three thousand one hundred and twenty. All this is ridiculous; and Pliny is in the right to explode it as absolutely fabulous. *De spatio atque longinquitate vitæ hominum, non locorum modo situs, verum exempla, ac sua cuique fors nascendi incertum fecere. Hesiodus, qui primus aliqua de hoc prodidit, fabulose (ut reor) multa de hominum ævo referens, cornici novem nostras attribuit ætates, quadruplum ejus cervus, id triplicatum corvus. Et reliqua fabulosus in phœnice, ac Nymphis (18).* i. e. "The age of man, and the length of his life, is rendered uncertain, not only by the constitution of the countries they live in, but by the influences we have, and by every one's fate at his birth. Hesiod, who is the first that published something upon this subject, relates fabulously (in my opinion) several things concerning the length of man's life, ascribing nine times our age to the crows, four times the crows to the hart; three times this to the ravens. What he asserts concerning the phœnix and the Nymphs, is more fabulous still." Though we should reduce the thing to the lowest computation, which is that which ascribes but one year to the age of man (19), Hesiod's opinion concerning the Hamadryades would prove false: they could not live longer than their Trees; now there is no tree capable to live 9720 years. What Pliny relates of the long life of some trees (20), what others observe of the Oak of Mamre (21), a thousand other stories of the same kind, though they were as true as they are doubtful, would prove nothing against me.

(17) Plutarch. *de Oraculor. deo. sic. lib.* pag. 415.

(18) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 48. pag. m. 73.

(19) That is to say, supposing, as in the passage from Plutarch, that by the word *Genea* Hesiod meant but one year.

(20) Plin. lib. 16. cap. 44.

(21) See the remark [C] of the articles ABRAHAM and BARCO-CHEBAS.

Observe that the Poet Statius supposed, that the demi-gods, who are mortal, do not live so long as the Trees. He mentions a wood, which saw its Dryades and Fauns entirely changed, and which might be compared to those old castles, which were the dwelling places of the fathers, the sons, the grand-sons, &c.

Stat sacra senectæ Numine, nec solos hominum transgressa veterno Fertur ævos, Nymphas etiam mutasse superstes, Faunorumque greges (22).

(22) Statius, *Tb. 6. lib. 6. ver.* 93.

That is, "There stands a wood sacred by its old age, which, as is reported, did not only see the grand-fathers

taken the Hamadryades for the *Naiades* [E]; they did not confine themselves so exactly to the definition of every kind, but they confounded and blended them together when they pleased.

“ pass off the stage, but even changed its Nymphs, and herds of Fauns, and subsists after them.”
He speaks somewhat differently in another place; for he supposes that the Tree died, when the Hamadryad ceased to live.

*Quid te, quæ mediis servata penatibus, arbor;
Tecta per & postes liquidas emergis in auras?
Quo non sub domino servas passura bipennes?
Et nunc ignaro forsitan vel lubrica Nais,
Vel non abruptis tibi demet Hamadryas annos (23).*

(23) *Idem, Silva*
3. lib. 1. ver. 59.
pag. m. 14, 15.

That is,
“ Why should you, a Tree, who have been preserved by the Gods that dwell in you, shew your head now over gates and roofs? under what master will you escape the cruel ax? and now some Naid out of ignorance or wantonness, or perhaps your Hamadryad will perhaps shorten those days which have been spared till this time.”

To conclude, it was easy for the Heathens to imagine, that there was such a kind of Nymphs; for they entertained a great sense of veneration and devotion for those Trees, which they imagined to be very old, and whose extraordinary largeness was a sign that they had lived very long (24). It was not a difficult step to pass from thence to a belief, that they were the dwelling place of some Deity. They made natural idols of them; I mean that they persuaded themselves that without the help of a consecration, which made the Deities come down into the Statues that were consecrated to them, some Nymph or some Deity had taken possession of those Trees. The Oak, which Erysichthon cut down, was venerated for its loftiness and antiquity: men used to adorn it as a sacred place, and hung upon it the memorials of the good success of their devotion, and the monuments of their prayers and vows that had been heard.

(24) *Ennius sicut sacras vates late lucos advenas, in quibus grandia & antiqua robora jam non tantum habent speciem, quantum religionem.* Quint. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. m. 471. That is,
“ Let us reverence Ennius as we do those woods, which their antiquity renders sacred;
“ where the lofty and antient oaks appear awful rather than agreeable to the eye.”

*Stabat in his ingens annofo robore quercus
Una, nemus: vitæ medium memoresque tabellæ,
Sortaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis (25).*

(25) *Ovid. Met.*
lib. 8. ver. 746.

That is,
“ An antient Oak in the dark Center stood,
“ The Cover’s Glory, and itself a Wood,
“ Garlands embrac’d its shafts, and from the Boughs
“ Hung Tablets, Monuments of prosp’rous Vows.
Mr. VERNON.

Must we wonder that it was taken for the dwelling-place of an Hamadryad?

[E] *The Poets have sometimes mistaken the Hamadryades for the Naiades.* This is what Propertius has done speaking of the Nymphs, who carried away Hercules’s darling (26); he calls them sometimes Hamadryades, and sometimes Dryades, and yet they were Nymphs that belonged to a Fountain. Ovid on the contrary calls some Nymphs Naiades, whose fate depended from a Tree.

(26) *Propert.*
lib. 20. lib. 1.

*Naida vulneribus succidit in arbore factis,
Illa perit: fatum Naiades arbor erat (27).*

(27) *Ovid. Fag.*
lib. 4. ver. 231.

That is,
“ The Tree being wounded the Naias fell down and died;
“ The Naiad’s Fate was connected with that Tree.”

HAMDEN or HAMPDEN (JOHN), descended of an antient family at Hamden in Buckinghamshire, was son of John Hamden Esq; by Elizabeth, sister of Sir Oliver Cromwell of Hinchinbroke in Huntingdonshire, Knight of the Bath. He was born at London (a) in the year 1594 [A], and entered a Commoner of Magdalen College in Oxford in 1609; but leaving the University without any degree, he removed to the Inns of Court, where he made a considerable progress in the study of the Law (b). He afterwards retired to his estate in Buckinghamshire, and was chosen to serve in the Parliament, which began at Westminster February the 5th 162½, and all the succeeding Parliaments during the reign of King Charles I. The Earl of Clarendon observes (c), that

(a) *Lib. Metric.*
Uvæ-Ox. P. pag.
104.

(b) *Wood, Arb.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
30. 24 edit. Lon-
don 1721.

(c) *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, vol. 2. Part 1. B. 7. pag. 265. edit. Oxford 1707 in 8vo.*

(1) *Arb. Oxon.*
vol. 2. col. 30.

[A] He was born at London in the year 1594. Mr. Wood tells us (1), that he was 15 years of age, when he became a Commoner of Magdalen College in 1609.

VOL. VI.

B

I shall observe occasionally, that it was still more common to take the Hamadryades and the Dryades for each other. There is a Scene in the *Hercules Oeteus*, in which the effects of Orpheus’s voice are described; it is asserted there amongst other things, that the Dryads left their Trees to run to him.

*Et quercum fugiens suam
Ad vatem properat Dryas (28).*

(28) *Senec. in Herc. Oeteo,*
ver. 1051. pag. m. 122.

It is somewhat likely, that those Nymphs are meant here, who were born and died with a Tree, and who properly speaking, were called Hamadryades, and not Dryades. It was not a constant Tradition, that these Nymphs could never leave their Trees, not even for a few moments. Seneca might therefore suppose, that they left them to go and hear Orpheus’s Songs. Observe, that Servius was mistaken, who imagined that the Poet Statius meant the Hamadryades in the following Verses of the sixth Book of the *Thebais*.

*Linquunt stentes dilecta locorum
Otia, cana Pales, Silvanusque arbiter umbrae,
Semideumque pecus, migrantibus adgemit illis
Silva, nec amplexa dimittunt robora Nymphæ (29).*

(29) *Statius, Theb. lib. 6. ver.*
110. pag. m. 234.

That is, “ The gray-haired Pales, and Silvanus the God of the shady Woods, and all the Herd of the Demi-Gods, leave with tears in their Eyes the agreeable retirement of that place; the Wood sighs at their departure, and the nymphs cannot part with the Oaks they embrace.”

It is certain that the Nymphs mentioned here, are they who were properly called Dryades: So that Servius was in the wrong to apply those words, *Nec amplexa dimittunt robora Nymphæ*, to the Hamadryades, whom he had just been describing in these words, *Hamadryades cum arboribus & nascuntur & pereunt, unde plurimumque, caesa arbore, sanguis emanat* (30). i. e. “ The Hamadryades are born and perish with the Trees; whence it generally happens, that when the Tree is cut down, the blood runs from it.” Barthius has not observed this Grammatician’s mistake, and yet he quotes a passage which was very proper to discover it to him. *Pulchra notatio in Commentario Antiquo, says he (31). Dimittunt] Non cum effectu intellige, dimittunt enim omnino, quamvis sero dimittant. Sed diuturnitatem manifestat amoris, non abscessisse Nymphas, nisi penitus prostratis arboribus. Sic solemus dicere: Ille modum non facit plorandi, non facit alius finem ridendi, cum diutius rideat aut fleat.* i. e. “ There is a very good Observation in an antient Commentary upon this word *Dimittunt*, i. e. they do not part with. *You must not take it as though they really did not part with the Trees; it serves only the long continuance of their love; the Nymphs did not leave the Wood till the Trees were quite cut down. Thus we use to say, that man cries without ceasing, the other laughs continually, when the one cries, and the other laughs a long while.* Does it not appear very plainly from these words, that Statius does not speak of the same kind of Nymphs with those, of whom Servius has given a Description, and who could not escape Death when their Trees were cut down?

(30) *Servius, in Æneid. lib. 3. ver. 34.*

(31) *Barth. in Statii Theb. lib. 6. ver. 113. pag. 389. tom. 3.*

though “ in his entrance into the world he indulged to himself all the licence in sports and
 “ exercifes and company, which were used by men of the moft jolly converfation ; he
 “ afterwards retired to a more referved and melancholy fociety, yet preferving his own
 “ natural chearfulnefs and vivacity, and above all a flowing courtefy to all men. Tho’
 “ they who converfed nearly with him found him growing into a diflike of the Ecclefi-
 “ aftical Government of the Church, yet moft believed it rather a diflike of fome Church-
 “ men, and of fome introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might difquiet the
 “ public peace.” In 1636 he became univerfally known by his refusal to pay ship-
 money, as an illegal tax. Upon this he was profecuted in the Exchequer, where he
 pleaded, and the Council demurring, the point in Law came to be argued for the King
 by his Council, and for Mr. Hamden by his Council ; and afterwards the Judges parti-
 cularly argued the point at the Bench, and all of them, except Hutton and Croke,
 argued, and gave their judgments for the King (d). His carriage throughout this agita-
 tion was with that rare temper and modefty, that they who watched him narrowly to
 find fome advantage againft his perfon, to make him lefs refolute in his caufe, were
 compelled to give him a juft testimony (e). When the Long Parliament began, in which
 he was returned as Knight of the Shire for the County of Buckingham, “ the eyes of
 “ all men, fays the Earl of Clarendon (f), were fixed upon him, as their *Pater*
 “ *Patriæ*, and the Pilot, that muft fteer the vefel thro’ the tempefts and rocks, which
 “ threatened it. And I am perfuaded, his power and intereft at that time was greater to
 “ do good or hurt, than any man’s in the Kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath
 “ had in any time ; for his reputation of honefty was univerfal, and his affections feemed
 “ fo publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could biafs them.” In the begin-
 ning of this Parliament he was appointed one of the Committee to prepare a charge
 againft the Earl of Strafford, and to manage the evidence againft him at his trial (g).
 But before this trial there was faid to be a propofal for reftoring the Earl to his former
 favour and honour, on condition that his Majefty would promote Mr. Hamden to be
 Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent oppofers of the Court to the moft confiderable
 pofts (b) [B]. January the 3d 1641 the King ordered articles of high-treason and other
 misdemeanors to be prepared againft the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hamden, and four other
 Members of the Houfe of Commons, and went to that Houfe to feize them, but they
 were then retired ; and Mr. Hamden afterwards made a fpeech in the Houfe to clear
 himfelf of the charge againft him [C]. From this time “ he was much altered, fays
 “ Lord Clarendon (i), his nature and carriage feeming much fiercer than it did before.
 “ And

(d) *Memorials of the Englifh Affairs*. By Bulstrode Whitelocke Esq; pag. 25. edit. London 1732, in fol.

(e) Clarendon, *ubi fupra*.

(f) *Ibid*.

(g) Whitelocke, *ubi fupra*, pag. 39.

(b) *Ibidem*, *ibid.* pag. 41.

(i) *Ubi fupra*, pag. 266.

[B] *A propofal for reftoring the Earl to his former Favour and Honour, on condition that his Majefty would promote Mr. Hamden to be Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent Oppofers of the Court to the moft confiderable Pofts.* We fhall give Mr. Whitelocke’s words upon this
 occasion (2). *There was a propofal (the fubject of much Difcourfe) to prevent all this trouble [about the trial of the Earl of Strafford] and to reftore the Earl to his former Favour and Honour, if the King would prefer fome of the Grandees to Offices at Court, whereby Strafford’s Enemies fhould become his Friends, and the King’s Defires be granted. It was that “ fhould be made Lord Treafurer ; the Lord Say, Master of the Wards, Mr. Pym, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Mr. Hollis, Secretary of State ; and Mr. Hamden, Tutor to the Prince ; others to have other Places, in order whereunto the Bifhop of London refigned up his Treafurer’s Staff, the Lord Cottington his Place of Master of the Wards, and the reft were eafily to be voided. But whether upon the King’s Alteration of his mind, or by what other means is uncertain, thefe things were not effected ; and the great men baffled thereby became the more incensed and violent againft the Earl, joining with the Scots Commiffioners, who were implacable againft him.*

[C] *Made a fpeech in the Houfe to clear himfelf of the charge againft him.* There was published at London 1641 in one fheet in 4to the following Speech under Mr. Hamden’s Name, “ Mr. Speaker, It is a true
 “ faying of the wife man, that *all things happen alike*
 “ *to all men, as well to the good man as to the bad.*
 “ There is no ftate or condition whatfoever, either of
 “ *Profperty or Adverfity*, but all men are fhared in
 “ the fame. No man can be difcerned truly by the
 “ outward appearance, whether he be a good fubject
 “ either to his God, his Prince, or his Country, un-
 “ til he be tried by the Touchftone of Loyalty,
 “ Give me leave, I befeech you, to parallel the Lives
 “ of either fort, that we may in fome meafure difcern
 “ truth from falshood ; and in fpeaking I fhall fimilize
 “ their Lives. 1. In Religion towards God. 2. In
 “ Loyalty and due Subjection to their Sovereign ; in
 “ their Affection towards the fafety of their Country.
 “ 1. Concerning Religion, the beft means to difcern

“ between the true and falfe Religion, is, by fearch-
 “ ing the facred writings of the old and new Testa-
 “ ment, which is of itfelf pure, indited by the Spirit of
 “ God, and written by holy men, unspotted in their
 “ lives and converfations ; and by this facred Word we
 “ may prove, whether our Religion be of God or no ;
 “ and by looking in this Glafs we may difcern whe-
 “ ther we are in the right way or no. And look-
 “ ing into the fame, I find by this Truth of God,
 “ that there is but one God, one Chrift, one Faith,
 “ one Religion, which is the Gofpel of Chrift, and
 “ the Doctrines of the Prophets, and Apoftles. In
 “ thefe two Testaments are contained all things ne-
 “ ceflary to Salvation. If that our Religion doth
 “ hang upon this Doctrines, and no other fecondary
 “ means, then it is true ; to which comes neareft the
 “ Proteftant Religion which we profefs, as I really and
 “ verily believe ; and confequently that Religion,
 “ which joineth with the Doctrines of Chrift and his
 “ Apoftles the traditions and inventions of Men, Pray-
 “ ers to the Virgin Mary, Angels, Saints, that are
 “ ufed in the exercife of their Religion, ftrange and
 “ fuperftitious worshipping, cringing, bowing, creep-
 “ ing to the Altar, uing Pictures, Dirges, and fuch
 “ like, cannot be true, but erroneous, nay devilifh ;
 “ and all this is ufed and maintained in the Church
 “ of Rome as neceffary as the Scripture to Salvation ;
 “ therefore is a falfe and erroneous Church both in
 “ doctrine and difcipline ; and all other fefts and
 “ fchifms, that lean not only on the Scriptures, tho’
 “ never fo contrary to the Church of Rome,
 “ is a falfe worshipping of God, and not true Religion.
 “ And thus much concerning Religion, to difcern the
 “ truth and falshood thereof. I come now, Mr.
 “ Speaker, to the fecond thing intimated unto you,
 “ which was to difcern in a ftate between good fubjects
 “ and bad, by their loyalty and due fubjection to their
 “ lawful Sovereign ; in which I fhall, under favour,
 “ obferve two things. 1. Lawful fubjection to a King
 “ in his own Perfon, and the Commands, Edicts, and
 “ Proclamations of the Prince and his Privy Council.
 “ 2. Lawful obedience to the Laws, Statutes, and
 “ Ordinances made, enacted by the King and the
 “ Lords,

(2) *Memorials of the Englifh Affairs*, pag. 41.

“ And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard ;
 “ for he passionately opposed the overture made by the King for a treaty from Notting-
 “ ham, and as eminently all expedients, that might have produced any accommodation
 “ in this that was at Oxford, and was principally relied on to prevent any infusions,
 “ which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them inef-
 “ fectual, if they were made ; and was indeed much more relied on by that party than
 “ the General himself.” In the beginning of the wars he undertook the command of a
 regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a Colonel upon all occasions most punctu-
 ally (k) ; and did good service to the Parliament at the battle of Edge-Hill. In the be-
 ginning of the year 1643, it was reported about the City of London that the Earl of
 Essex was to resign his post of General, and to be succeeded by Mr. Hamden (l). He
 received a mortal wound in an engagement with Prince Rupert in Chalgrave Field in
 Oxfordshire (m), and died June the 24th 1643, and was interred in the Church of Great
 Hamden. We shall give his character in the note [D]. His eldest son, Richard
 Hamden Esq; was chosen one of the five Knights for Buckinghamshire to serve in the
 Parliament called by the Protector to meet at Westminster September the 17th 1656.
 After

(k) *Idem, ibid.*

(l) Wood, *Ab. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 30. 2d ed. 1721.

(m) *Idem, ibid.*

“ Lords, with the free consent of his great Council of
 “ State assembled in Parliament. For the first, to
 “ deny a willing and due obedience to a lawful Sove-
 “ reign, and his Privy Council (for as Camden truly
 “ saith, *The Commands of the Lords, Privy Counsellors,*
 “ *and the Edicts of the Prince are all one, for they*
 “ *are inseparable, the one never without the other,*)
 “ either to defend his Royal Person and Kingdoms a-
 “ gainst the enemies of the same, either publick or
 “ private ; or to defend the antient privileges and pre-
 “ rogatives of the King, pertaining and belonging of
 “ right to his royal Crown, and the maintenance of
 “ his Honour and Dignity ; or to defend and main-
 “ tain true Religion ; established in the Land, accord-
 “ ing to the Truth of God, is one sign of an evil and
 “ bad subject. Secondly, to yield obedience to the
 “ Commands of a King, if against the true Religion,
 “ against the antient and fundamental Laws of the
 “ Land, is another sign of an ill subject. Thirdly,
 “ to resist the lawful Power of the King, to raise
 “ insurrection against the King, admit him adverse in
 “ his Religion to conspire against his sacred Person, or
 “ any ways to rebel, tho’ commanding things against
 “ our consciences in exercising Religion, or against
 “ the rights and privileges of the subject, is an abso-
 “ lute sign of a disaffected and traitorous subject. And
 “ now having given the signs of discerning evil and
 “ disloyal subjects ; I shall only give you in a word
 “ or two the signs of discerning, which are loyal and
 “ good subjects, only by turning these three signs al-
 “ ready shewed on the contrary side. 1. He that
 “ willingly and cheerfully endeavoureth himself to
 “ obey his Sovereign’s Commands for the defence of
 “ his own Person and Kingdoms, for the defence of
 “ true Religion, for the defence of the Laws of his
 “ Country, is a loyal and good subject. 2. To deny
 “ obedience to a King, commanding any thing against
 “ God’s true worship and religion, against the antient
 “ and fundamental Laws of the Land, in endeavour-
 “ ing to perform the same, is a good subject. 3.
 “ Not to resist the lawful and royal power of the King,
 “ to raise Sedition or Insurrection against his person,
 “ or to set Division between the King and his good
 “ Subjects by Rebellion, although commanding things
 “ against Conscience in the exercise of Religion,
 “ or against the Rights and Privileges of the Subject,
 “ but patiently for the same to undergo his Prince’s
 “ Displeasure, whether it be to his Imprisonment,
 “ confiscation of Goods, Banishment, or any other Pu-
 “ nishment whatsoever, without murmuring, grudging,
 “ or reviling against his Sovereign or his Proceed-
 “ ings ; but submitting willingly and cheerfully him-
 “ self, and his Cause to Almighty God, is the only
 “ sign of an obedient and loyal subject. I come now
 “ to the second means to know the difference between
 “ a good subject and a bad, by their obedience to the
 “ Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, made by the King,
 “ with the whole consent of his Parliament. And in
 “ this I observe a twofold Subjection, in the particu-
 “ lar Members thereof dissenting from the general
 “ Votes of the whole Parliament ; and secondly the
 “ whole state of the Kingdom in a full Parliament.
 “ First, I confess, if any particular Member of a Par-
 “ liament, although his Judgment and Vote be con-
 “ trary, do not willingly submit to the rest, he is

“ an ill subject to the King and Country. Secondly,
 “ to resist the ordinance of the whole state of the
 “ Kingdom, either by stirring up a Dislike in
 “ the hearts of his Majesty’s Subjects of the pro-
 “ ceedings of the Parliament ; to endeavour by le-
 “ vying of arms to compel the King and Parli-
 “ ment to make such Laws, as seem best to them ;
 “ to deny the Power, Authority, and Privileges of
 “ Parliament ; to cast aspersions upon the same ; to
 “ procure the untimely Dissolution and breaking off
 “ the Parliament before all things be settled by the
 “ same, for the safety and tranquillity both of King
 “ and State ; is an apparent sign of a traitorous and
 “ disloyal subject against his King and Country. And
 “ thus having troubled your patience, in shewing
 “ the difference between true Protestants and false,
 “ loyal Subjects and Traytors, in a State or Kingdom,
 “ and the means how to discern them ; I humbly
 “ desire my actions may be compared with either,
 “ both as I am a Subject, Protestant, and Native in
 “ this Country, and as I am a Member of this pre-
 “ sent and happy Parliament ; and as I shall be found
 “ guilty upon these Articles exhibited against myself
 “ and the other Gentlemen, either a bad or a good
 “ subject to my gracious Sovereign and native Coun-
 “ try, to receive such sentence upon the same, as
 “ by this honourable house shall be conceived to a-
 “ gree with Law and Justice.”

[D] *We shall give his Character in the Note.]* Mr.
 Whitelocke tells us (3), that he was a Gentleman of (3) *Memorials,*
 the antientest Extraction in Buckinghamshire, his Fortune *pag. 70.*
 large, his natural Abilities great ; and his affection to
 publick Liberty and Applause in his Country, exposed him
 to many difficulties and troubles, as in the Business of
 Ship-money, of the Loan, and now in Parliament,
 where he was a most active and leading Member.
 He spoke rationally and subtilly, and often proposed more
 doubts than he resolved. He was well beloved in his Coun-
 try, where he had a great interest, as also in the
 House of Commons. He died lamented. The Earl of
 Clarendon has drawn his Character at large ; and ob-
 serves (4), that “ he was of that rare Affability and (4) *History of the*
 “ Temper in debate, of that seeming Humility and *Rebellion, vol. 2.*
 “ Submission of Judgment, as if he brought no opi- *Part 1. B. 7.*
 “ nion of his own with him, but desire of Information *pag. 265.*
 “ and Instruction. Yet he had so subtle a way of
 “ interrogating, and under the notion of Doubts infi-
 “ nuating his objections, that he infused his own o-
 “ pinions into those, from whom he pretended to
 “ learn and receive them. And even with them, who
 “ were able to preserve themselves from his insinuations,
 “ and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with
 “ which they could not comply, he always left the
 “ Character of an ingenuous and conscientious Per-
 “ son. He was indeed a very wise man, and of
 “ great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spi-
 “ rit of popularity and the most absolute faculties to
 “ govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For
 “ the first year of the Parliament he seemed rather to
 “ moderate and soften the violent and distempered hu-
 “ mours, than to inflame them. But wise and dis-
 “ passion’d men plainly discerned, that that moderation
 “ proceeded from prudence and observation that the
 “ Season was not ripe, rather than that he approved
 “ of the moderation ; and that he begot many opinions
 “ and

After the Restoration he was constantly elected to serve in Parliament during the reign of Charles II, James II, and King William and Queen Mary. In April 1689 he was made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and in November 1690 Chancellor of the Exchequer, and about the same time one of the Privy Council. He was father to John Hamden Esq; who was one of the Knights of Buckinghamshire in the Parliament, which begun at Westminster October the 17th 1679, and one of the Burgeses for Wendover in that county in the Parliament, which began at Oxford March the 21st 1680. He was tried at the Court of King's Bench February 6, 1683 for a conspiracy to disturb the peace of the Realm, and fined forty thousand pounds; and he was afterwards tried for High-treason at the Old Baily in London December the 30th 1685, and condemned; but his life was saved.

“ and motions, the Education whereof he committed
 “ to other men; so far disguising his own designs,
 “ that he seemed seldom to wish more than was con-
 “ cluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would
 “ hereafter contribute to designs] not yet set on foot,
 “ when he found them sufficiently backed by the ma-
 “ jority of voices, he would withdraw himself before
 “ the Question, that he might seem not to consent to
 “ so much visible unreasonableness, which produced
 “ as great a doubt in some, as it [did approbation
 “ in others, of his Integrity. What Combination
 “ soever had been originally with the Scots for the
 “ Invasion of England, and what farther was enter-
 “ ed into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance
 “ any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no
 “ man doubts was at least with the Privy of this Gen-
 “ tleman. . . . In the first entrance into the troubles, he
 “ undertook the command of a Regiment of Foot, and
 “ performed the Duty of a Colonel upon all occasions

“ most punctually. He was very temperate in Diet,
 “ and a supreme Governor over all his Passions and Af-
 “ fections, and had thereby a great power over other
 “ men's. He was of an Industry and Vigilance not
 “ to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious;
 “ and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most
 “ subtle or sharp; and of a personal Courage e-
 “ qual to his best parts; so that he was an enemy
 “ not to be wished wherever he might have been
 “ made a friend; and as much to be apprehended
 “ where he was so, as any man could deserve to be.
 “ And therefore his Death was no less pleasing to the
 “ one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a
 “ word, what was said of Cinna, might well be appli-
 “ ed to him; *he had a Head to contrive, and a tongue*
 “ *to persuade, and a hand to execute any Mischiefs.* His
 “ Death therefore seemed to be a great Deliverance
 “ to the Nation.” T.

(a) Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibli-
 oth. des Auteurs
 Ecclesiast.* tom.
 23. pag. 297.
 edit. Amsterd.
 1711 in 4to. and
 Fontenelle,
*Eloge de Monf.
 du Hamel*, printed
 in his *Histoire du
 Renouveau de
 l'Academie Roy-
 ale des Sciences
 en 1699*, & les
*Eloges Historiques
 de tous les Acade-
 miciens &c.* vol.
 1. pag. 148. edit.
 Amsterd. 1709.

(b) Fontenelle,
ibid. pag. 148,
 149, 150.

(1) *Eloge de
 Monf. du Hamel*,
 printed in his
*Histoire du Re-
 nouveau de
 l'Academie Roy-
 ale des Sciences en
 1699*, & les *Elo-
 ges Historiques de
 tous les Acade-
 miciens &c.* vol. 1.
 pag. 149.

(a) *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

✠ HAMEL (JOHN BAPTISTE DU), a very learned French Philosopher and Writer in the seventeenth Century, was son of Nicholas du Hamel, an Advocate, and was born at Vire in Lower Normandy in the year 1624 (a). He passed through his first studies at Caen, and his course of Rhetoric and Philosophy at Paris. At eighteen years of age he wrote a treatise in which he explained in a very simple manner, and by one or two figures, Theodosius's three books of Spherics; to which he added a tract upon Trigonometry extremely short and perspicuous, and designed as an introduction to Astronomy [A]. At nineteen years of age he entered himself into the Congregation of the Oratory, where he continued ten years, and left it in order to be Curate of Neuilli upon the Marne. During both these intervals he joined an intense application to his studies to the duties of his function. Natural Philosophy, as it was then taught, was only a collection of vague, knotty, and barren questions; when our author undertook to put it upon a right foot (b), and began his design by publishing his *Astronomia Physica* [B], and his book *de Meteoris & Fossilibus* [C]. In 1663 he quitted his Cure of Neuilli, after having held it ten years, and published at Paris his famous book *De Consensu veteris & novæ Philosophiæ* [D]. In 1666 Monsieur Colbert proposed to Lewis XIV a scheme, which was approved of by his Majesty, for establishing a Royal Academy of Sciences; and

[A] At eighteen years of age he wrote a treatise, in which he explained Theodosius's three books of Spherics; to which he added a tract upon Trigonometry, extremely short and perspicuous, and designed as an introduction to Astronomy.] In one of his latter works he observes, that he was prompted by the vanity natural to a young man, to publish this book. But as Monsieur de Fontenelle remarks (1), there are few persons of that age capable of such an instance of vanity. And his inclination for science must have been very general, to engage him in the study of the Mathematics, which were then little cultivated, especially in the place where he studied (2).

[B] His *Astronomia Physica*.] It was printed at Paris, 1659, in 4to. It is written in the form of a dialogue between *Theophilus*, a great zealot for the Antients, *Menander*, a warm Cartesian, and *Simplicius*, a Philosopher, who is indifferent between the two parties, who endeavours to reconcile them, and has a right from his character to embrace what he thinks proper on either side. *Simplicius* is designed to represent Monsieur du Hamel. He has been reproached with not being impartial enough towards *Des Cartes*; and in reality *Theophilus* treats that Philosopher with great severity. Monsieur du Hamel answered; that *Theophilus*, who does so, is a man extremely bigotted to the Antients, and absolutely averse to any Moderns; and that *Simplicius* never speaks of *Des Cartes* in reproachful terms. This is true; but as

Monsieur de Fontenelle observes (3), it was *Simplicius* (3) Pag. 153. us who made *Theophilus* speak in that manner. This work of our Author is a collection of the principal sentiments of the antient and modern Philosophers upon light and colours, and the systems of the world. All that relates to the sphere, the theory of the planets, and the calculation of eclipses, is explained mathematically.

[C] His book *De Meteoris & Fossilibus*.] It was printed at Paris, 1659, in 4to, and is written in the method of dialogue between the same persons, who are introduced in his *Astronomia Physica*. It contains a collection of all that the authors of any reputation have said upon Meteors and Fossils; for Monsieur du Hamel did not confine himself to the reading of the most celebrated. In his dialogue upon Fossils he shews a very extensive knowledge of Natural History and Chemistry, though the latter was, at that time, covered with a mysterious jargon, scarce possible to be understood.

[D] His famous book *De Consensu veteris & novæ Philosophiæ*.] It was printed at Paris, 1663, in 4to, Oxford 1668, and Roan 1675. It contains an account of the first principles of Physics. It begins with the sublime but obscure Metaphysics of Plato concerning Ideas, Numbers, and archetypal Forms; and tho' Monf. du Hamel acknowledges this scheme of Metaphysics to be far from intelligible, yet he could not refuse it a place in his general Scheme of Philosophy. He shews the same indulgence to the notions of Privation, substantial Forms, and other Scholastic Principles. But when

(c) Idem, ibid.
pag. 150, 156.

and appointed our author Secretary of it (c). In 1667 he published at Paris in 12mo a Translation of a French piece, under the title of *Reginæ Christianissimæ Jura in Ducatum Brabantiae & alios Ditionis Hispanicæ Principatus*; and the year following he published in Latin and French at the request of Monsieur de Perefice, Archbishop of Paris, a Dissertation upon the rights of that Prelate in opposition to the pretended privileges of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez. In 1668 he attended Monsieur Colbert de Croissy, Plenipotentiary for the peace at Aix-la-Chapelle. Upon the conclusion of the peace he accompanied him to England, where Monsieur Colbert de Croissy was Ambassador. Here he formed an acquaintance with the most eminent persons of this Nation, and particularly Mr. Boyle. Thence he went over to Holland, and so returned to France, having collected a great number of useful observations in his travels (d). In 1670 he published at Paris in 12mo his treatise, *De Corporum affectionibus, cum manifestis, cum occultis*; and, in 1672 his book *De Mente Humana*, Paris in 12mo, and the year following his treatise, *De Corpore animato* [E], Paris 1673 in 12mo. In 1678 his *Philosophia vetus & nova ad usum Scholæ accommodata, in Regia Burgundia pertractata* was printed at Paris in four tomes in 12mo [F]. In 1681 there was published at Nuremberg in four volumes in 4to, a Collection of his Philosophical and Astronomical Works. In 1691 his *Theologia speculativa & practica juxta SS. Patrum dogmata pertractata, & ad usum Scholæ accommodata* was printed at Paris in 7 vol. in 8vo; as his *Theologiæ Clericorum Seminariis accommodatæ Summarium* was at Paris in 1694 in 5 vol. in 12mo. In 1697 he resigned his place of Secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which by his recommendation he procured for Monsieur de Fontenelle. The year following he published at Paris in 4to his *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Historia* [G], and his *Institutiones Biblicæ, seu Scripturæ sacræ*

(d) Idem, ibid.
pag. 156, 157,
158.

when he comes to intelligible Principles, as those of the Laws of Motion, and those laid down by the Chemists, he shews his inclination that way, notwithstanding his endeavour to prove an universal agreement in Philosophy. He appears to enter with reluctance into general questions, the result of which is only words, which have no other merit than to have passed upon the world for a long time for things. His inclination and good sense always call him off immediately to Experimental Philosophy, and especially to Chemistry, for which he had a particular taste (4).

(4) Idem, ibid.
pag. 153, 154.

[E] His treatise *De Corpore animato*.] We may judge by the title, that Experimental Philosophy is employed in this work. Anatomy is very frequently made use of in it. Monsieur du Hamel had gained great skill in that science by the conferences of the Academy, and by a particular acquaintance with Monsieur Steno, and Monsieur du Verney. In this book he intimates that he had been reproached with not deciding of questions, and with being too undetermined between the different parties. He promised to correct this; but it must be owned, that he did not observe his promise exactly enough; though it is rare to meet with a Philosopher, who is accused of not being sufficiently decisive (5).

(5) Idem, ibid.
pag. 160.

[F] In 1678 his *Philosophia vetus & nova, &c. was printed at Paris in four Tomes in 12mo.*] It was enlarged and reprinted at Paris, 1681, in six Tomes in 12mo, and there again in 1684, in two Tomes in 4to. The fifth edition was printed at Amsterdam, 1700, in six Tomes in 12mo. This work contains a judicious assemblage of the antient and modern opinions in Philosophy. Several years after the publication of it the Missionaries, who carried it to the East-Indies, wrote, that they had taught this Philosophy there with great success, especially that part relating to Natural Philosophy, which of the four parts, into which the whole is divided, is that, in which the Moderns have the greatest share. It seems, that our Author was designed for the Philosopher of the East. For Father Bouvet the Jesuit, a famous Missionary in China, wrote into Europe, that when his brethren and himself engaged in drawing up a system of Philosophy in the Tartarian language for the Emperor of China, one of the chief sources, which they made use of, was Monsieur du Hamel's *Philosophia vetus & nova* (6).

(6) Idem, ibid.
pag. 162, 163.

[G] His *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Historia*.] It was reprinted with improvements at Paris, 1701, in 4to, under the following title: *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Historia, in qua præter ipsius Academiæ Originem & Progressus, variasque Dissertationes & Observationes per triginta quatuor annos factas, quam plurima Experimenta & Inventa, cum Physicæ tum Mathematicæ, in certum Ordinem digeruntur. Secunda Editio prioris longè auctior.* The former edition contained four books, this includes a fifth and sixth. In the first book he gives

an account of the foundation of the Royal Academy of Sciences and its transactions, from 1666 to 1675. The second continues the History to 1684, the third to 1692; the fourth to 1696; the fifth to 1698; and sixth to 1700 inclusively. As to the foundation of it, he tells us, that peace being concluded between France and Spain in 1659, Lewis IV thought proper to add the splendor of learning and sciences to the glory of his Empire enlarged by so many victories. To this end he judged it the best way, that men eminent for learning should form themselves into a society by the consent of the public authority, and confer and debate together upon their inventions; which he perceived would be more advantageous, than if they laboured singly in the promoting of any one science. He therefore ordered Monsieur Colbert to execute this design, which himself had projected. Monsieur Colbert having consulted with men of good sense and learning, resolved, that the society should be formed of men well skilled in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, being of opinion, that those Sciences were so strictly united, that it was scarce possible for any person to excel in the former, who was not conversant in the latter. Others persuaded him, that besides Mathematicians and Natural Philosophers, he should adopt into the society other learned men, who had applied themselves to polite literature, and especially those, who were good masters of History. This advice being approved, he appointed that the Mathematicians and Natural Philosophers should meet separately on Wednesdays, and together on Saturdays, in that part of the Royal Library, which contained the books of those Sciences. He ordered those, who applied themselves to History, to meet on Mondays and Thursdays in that part of the King's Library, which contained historical books; and that those who studied Polite Literature, should meet together on Tuesdays and Fridays. He then appointed, that on the first Thursday of every month all these societies should meet together; at which general meeting every one should be permitted to desire a solution *extempore* of those things, which seemed difficult to him, but with this caution, that if the difficulties were greater than could be solved immediately, the objections and answers should be given in writing, that the time of the meeting might not be spent in unprofitable dispute. But this first constitution of the Academy did not continue long; for at the very beginning, the society of those, who met for the illustration of History, was dissolved for certain reasons; for since History, and especially that of the church, hath a strict connection with questions in Divinity, and particularly with those relating to the government of the church, and since from matters of fact frequently matters of right are deduced, it was apprehended lest this society might offend those, whom it was not safe to provoke. Monsieur du Hamel then gives an account how the

sacra Prolegomena, una cum selectis Annotationibus in Pentateuchum [H], Paris, two volumes in 12mo. In 1701 he published in 12mo at Paris and Roan, *In Psalmos Commentarii cum Textu*; and in 1703, *In Libros Salomonis & Ecclesiasticum Annotationes cum Textu*, Paris and Roan in 12mo. His last work was *Biblia sacra Vulgatæ Editionis, unâ cum selectis ex optimis quibusque Interpretibus notis, Prolegomenis, novis tabulis Chronologicis & Geographicis*. Paris 1706 in fol. He died at Paris August the 6th 1706, without any sickness, and of mere old age, being almost eighty three years old. He went every year to visit his old flock at Neuilli; and the day, which he spent there, was kept as an holy day by the whole village. While he was in England, the English Roman Catholics, who went to mass at the French Ambassador's chapel, used to say, *Let us go to hear mass said by the holy Priest*, such reverence had his excellent character gained even among strangers, Cardinal Anthony Barberini, grand Almoner of France, made him Chaplain to the King in 1656. He was highly esteemed by the most eminent Prelates of France, though he enjoyed but very small preferments (e). He was Regius Professor of Philosophy, in which post he was succeeded by Monsieur Varignon. He was a man of great modesty, affability, piety, and integrity; he was disinterested and averse to all contests, and exempt from jealousy and affectation. He wrote Latin with prodigious purity and elegance (f).

(e) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 169, 170, 171.

(f) Du Pin, *ubi supra*, pag. 299.

the society of Polite Literature was likewise separated from that of Sciences. Most of the members of the former being also members of the French Academy, and perceiving that Academy now to decline exceedingly, they desired Monsieur Colbert to shew the same favour to it, as he did to the new one, and represented, that there was no occasion for different societies for the same purposes, especially since the same persons did in a manner compose both Academies. This advice not being disliked by Monsieur Colbert, he granted their request, and exerted great zeal in restoring and maintaining this Academy, and became one of the members of it, and honoured it with his presence. The Society of Polite Literature being thus separated from its own body, and incorporated with the French Academy, the Academy of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics only stood, and never lost any part of its first splendor. In June 1666 about six or seven Mathematicians only began to meet, viz. Monsieur Carcavi, Huygens, Roberval, Frenicle, Auzout, Picart, and Buet; but it being proposed at first, that this Academy should likewise apply themselves to the cultivation of Natural Philosophy, Monsieur Colbert took care to choose men well skilled in Philosophy, and who were not devoted to any particular scheme of it, but took pleasure in all the several Sciences. Besides the Mathematicians abovementioned there were added to the Academy Monsieur de la Chambre, Physician in ordinary to the King, Monsieur Perrault, a man of general learning, Monsieur du Clos, and Bourdelin, excellent Chemists, Monsieur Pecquet and Gayen, skillful Anatomists, and Monsieur Marchant, an eminent Botanist; and Monsieur du Hamel was some months before appointed Secretary. On the 22d of December 1666 these two Societies met in the hall of the King's Library, where they debated, whether it was best, that the Natural Philosophers and Mathematicians

should meet together, and form one Society; or whether they should meet apart. But because of the strict alliance between Natural Philosophy and Mathematics they unanimously agreed, that they should not be separated, being encouraged by the examples of several great men, who by their skill in the Mathematics, contributed much more to the improvement of Natural Philosophy, than those other Philosophers, who were not skilled in the Mathematics. They determined therefore, that both the Mathematicians and Natural Philosophers should meet twice every week, upon the Mathematics on Wednesdays, and Natural Philosophy on Saturdays; and that the acts of the Academy should not be published without their own order. The King erected an Observatory for their use in the suburb of St. James at Paris; this Observatory is eighty foot high, and the foundations are dug as deep, because almost the whole suburb, and the field adjoining to it, are made hollow underneath, stones being daily dug from those caves either to build or repair houses; by which means the descent of the Observatory into the subterranean cave is equal to the height. There is a large well, which reaches from the bottom of this Observatory to the top. It is built of such hewn stones, that there was no need of mortar to fasten them. This Observatory began to be inhabited by Monsieur Cassini, and to be furnished with all sorts of instruments in September 1671.

[H] *His Institutiones Biblicæ, &c.*] This work is divided into four dissertations; in the first of which he treats of the Scriptures themselves, their inspiration, and authors. In the second, of the authority and antiquity of the Hebrew Text, and the Greek and Latin Versions. In the third, of the style and manner of writing of the Scriptures: In the fourth he explains briefly the Chronology and Geography of them.

T.

(a) *The Life of the most learned, reverend and pious Dr. H. Hammond. Written by John Fell, D. D. Dean of Christ Church in Oxford*, pag. 2. 2d edit. London 1662.

(b) *Ibid.* pag. 1. (c) *Historia & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 202. and *Atben. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 245. 2d edit. London 1721.

(1) *Life of the most learned, reverend, and pious Dr. H. Hammond*, pag. 5, 6.

(2) *Atben. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 245.

HAMMOND (HENRY), one of the most learned English Divines in the seventeenth Century, was youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, Physician to Prince Henry, and by the mother's side descended from Dr. Alexander Nowell Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (a). He was born at Chertsey in Surrey August the 18th, according to Dr. Fell (b), or the 26th, according to Mr. Wood (c), in the year 1605. From Eton-school, where he was educated in Grammar-learning, and greatly improved in the Greek tongue by Mr. Thomas Allen, Fellow of that College (d), he was removed to Magdalen College in Oxford [A], where on the 30th of July 1622 he was made a Demy (e), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 11th of December following (f). June the 30th 1625 he took the degree of Master of Arts (g), and on the 26th of July the same year was elected Fellow of his College (h), having been before chosen Reader of the Natural Philosophy Lecture in the College (i). After he had taken his degree he applied himself to the study of Divinity [B]; and in 1629 entered into holy

(d) Fell, pag. 4. (e) Wood, *Atb. Oxon. ubi supra*.

(f) Idem, *Fassi Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 222.

(g) Idem, *ibid.* col. 231.

(h) Idem, *Atb. Oxon. ubi supra*.

(i) Dr. Fell, pag. 6.

Orders,

[A] *Removed to Magdalen College in Oxford.*] Dr. John Fell tells us (1), that "at thirteen years old he was thought, and (what is much more rare) was indeed ripe for the university, and accordingly sent to Magdalen-College, where not long after he was chosen Demy." In this passage there is a mistake; for Mr. Wood assures us (2), that he was made Demy

of that College on the 30th of August 1622, that is not till he was seventeen years of age; whereas Dr. Fell, who observes that he was sent thither at thirteen years of age, affirms in the words above-cited, that *not long after* he was chosen Demy.

[B] *Applied himself to the study of Divinity.*] At first he bought a system of Divinity, with a design to apply

(k) Wood, *Festus*
Oxon. vol. 1.
col. 257.

Orders, and on the 28th of Jan. 1633 took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (k) [C]. August the 22d following he was inducted into the Rectory of Penhurst in Kent, conferred on him by the Earl of Leicester, who a little before had been deeply affected with a sermon of his at Court, which he preached there in the room of Dr. Frewen, then President of his College, and afterwards Archbishop of York, who gave him the honour of supplying one of his Courses at Court (l). Upon this he retired from the University, and applied himself to the discharge of his ministerial functions with great vigour and success [D].

(l) Fell, pag. 9.

(m) Wood, *Festus*
Oxon. vol. 1.
col. 276.

March the 7th 1638 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity (m); and in 1640 became a Member of the Convocation called with the short Parliament in April 1640 (n). In 1643 he had the Archdeaconry of Chichester conferred upon him by Dr. Brian Duppa, Bishop of that See (o); and the same year was nominated one of the *Assembly of Divines*; but he did not fit among them (p). In July that year he was obliged to quit his Living, and retired to Oxford [E], where he published his *Practical Catechism* in

(n) Dr. Fell, pag. 25.
(o) Idem, pag. 23. and Wood, *Aben. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 245.
(p) Wood, *ibid.* and Dr. Fell, pag. 23.
1644,

(3) Fell, pag. 7.

apply himself immediately to that study; but upon second thoughts he returned to human Learning, and afterwards, when he resumed his purpose for Theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that Science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by contrived and interested Schemes of modern, and withal obnoxious Writers (3). During the whole time of his abode in the university, he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study; by which assiduity, besides an exact Dispatch of the whole course of Philosophy, he read over in a manner all classic Authors that are extant; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, *Scholias* and critical Emendations, and drew up Indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book (4).

(4) *Ibid.* pag. 8, 9.

(5) *Festus* Oxon.
vol. 1. col. 257.

[C] On the 28th of January 1633 took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity.] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (5); and therefore Dr. Fell, who observes (6), that our Author, in 1629, being twenty four years of age, entered into holy orders, must be mistaken in asserting, that not long after he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

(6) *Ubi supra*,
pag. 7, 8.

(7) Pag. 10, &
119.

[D] Applied himself to the discharge of his ministerial Functions with great Vigour and Success.] He satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only, but much more conceived himself obliged, says Dr. Fell (7), to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifices of Prayer for his people, administering the Sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst Neighbours, visiting the sick, catechising the youth. With regard to his preaching, it was not at the ordinary rate of the times, an unpremeditated indigested effusion of shallow and crude conceptions, but a rational and just discourse, that was to reach the Priest as well as the Lay hearer. His Method was, (which he likewise recommended to his Friends) after every Sermon, to resolve upon the ensuing Subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study, which he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the Week for the provision for the next Lord's Day; whereby not only a constant progress was made in Science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work; for he said, he the subjects never so distant; somewhat will infallibly fall in conducive unto the present purpose. As to the Administration of the sacrament, he reduced it to an Imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency to once a month, and therewith its antient inseparable Appendant, the offertory; wherein his instruction and happily insinuating example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay, in a short time a stock was raised to be always ready for the putting out apprentices young Children, whose Parents condition made the Provision for them an equal charity to both the Child and Parent. And after this there remained yet a surplusage for the assistance of the neighbouring Parishes. For the relief of the poor, besides the fore-mentioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private Charity, the dedicating the tenth of all Receipts, and the daily alms given at the Door, he constantly set apart over and above every Week a certain Rate in Money; and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter days returning in his year. Yet

further, another art of charity he had, the selling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the Market-price; which though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of Portage, was a great benefit to them, who besides the abatement of price, and possibly Forbearance, saved thereby a day's work. He farther obliged his Parishioners likewise in the setting of their Tithes and Dues belonging to him. For tho' he very well understood how prone Men are to give complaints in payment, and how little Obligation there is on him, that lets a Bargain, to consider the casual loss, who is sure never to share in a like surplusage of gain; yet herein he frequently departed from his right, so that having set the Tithes of a large Meadow, and upon agreement received part of the Money at the beginning of the Year, it happening that the Profits were afterwards spoiled and carried away by a Flood, he, when the Tenant came to make the last payment, not only refused it, but returned the former Sum, saying to the poor man, *God forbid I should take the Tenth, where you have not the nine parts.* He made peace among his Neighbours; and not only attained his purpose of uniting distant Parties unto each other, but, contrary to the usual Fate of Reconcilers, gained them to himself; there having been no person of his function any where better beloved than he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his Flock. Of this tender and very filial affection, we may take two Instances; the one, that he being driven away, and his Books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war: the other that during his abode at Penhurst, he never had any law-dispute about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best (8).

(8) Idem, pag. 10-19.

[E] In July that year he was obliged to quit his living, and retired to Oxford.] At that time there was in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the King, "and his doctrine and example," says Dr. Fell (9), having had that good influence, as "it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty;" but it being defeated, the Doctor (the malice of one, who designed to succeed in his Living, being withal assistant) was forced to secure himself by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old tutor Dr. Buckner, to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning, in such an habit as that exigence made necessary for him; and whither, not many days before, his old friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver came upon the same errand. Which accident, and the necessity to leave his flock, as the Doctor afterwards frequently acknowledged, was that which did most affect him of any, that he felt in his whole life; amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, he had so extraordinary a dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever after forget it. It was thus: He thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and cheerful day; when on a sudden there seemed a separation to be made, and he with the far less number to be placed at a distance from the rest; and then the clouds gathering, a most tempestuous storm arose, with thunder and lightnings, with impetuous rain and wind, and whatever else might add to a scene of horror, particularly balls of fire, which shot themselves amongst the ranks of those, who stood in the lesser party: When a gentle whisper seemed to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, *Be still,*

1644 [F], and several other tracts [G]. The same year he went with the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, as Chaplain, to London, whither those Noblemen were sent to compose the unhappy differences in Church and State (q); and when the treaty of Uxbridge was appointed, he attended the King's Commissioners thither, and managed the dispute with Richard Vines the Presbyterian Minister [H]. In the beginning of 1645, he was made one of the Canons of Christ Church in Oxford, and Chaplain in ordinary

(9) Dr. Fell,
Pag. 37.

and ye shall receive no harm. Amidst these terrors the Doctor falling to his prayers, soon after the tempest ceased, and that known cathedral-anthem began, *Come, Lord Jesus, come away*; with which he awoke. The correspondent event of all which he found verified finally in the preservation both of himself and his friends, in doing their duties; which with much content he was used to mention. Besides, continues Dr. Fell (10), being himself taken to the quires of angels at the close of that land-hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal apparition was only a faint emblem, he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon prophecy. In this retirement the two Doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a strict enquiry was made for Dr Hammond, and 100 l. promised as a reward for him, who should produce him. This suggestion though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their removal. Upon this they resolved to be gone; and Dr. Oliver having an interest in Winchester, which was then in the King's quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had sent his servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the news, that Dr. Frewen, President of Magdalen College, was made Bishop of Lichfield, and that the College had pitched upon him as successor. Upon this Dr. Oliver determined to go to Oxford, to which Dr. Hammond made much difficulty to assent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more consider'd, too far from his living, whither he had hopes, when the present fury was allayed, to return again; and to that purpose had written to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for the procuring his security. But his Letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, engaging him to it, he was at last persuaded, and encompassing Hampshire with some difficulty came to Oxford, where procuring an apartment in his old College, he sought that peace in his retirement and study, which was no where else to be met withal; taking no other diversion than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenious young Students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted) and the satisfaction, which he received from the conversation of learned men; who, besides the usual store, in great number at that time resorted thither for their security (11).

(10) Pag. 30.

(11) Idem, pag.
30, 31, 32, 33.

[F] Published his Practical Catechism in 1644.] It was printed there and at London 1646 in 4to; and there is an edition at Oxford 1645 in 12mo. Having drawn this up at first for his private use, he communicated it to Dr. Potter, Provost of Queen's College at Oxford, who importuned him to make it public, alleging in that lawless age the great use of supplanting the empty form of godliness, which so prevailed, by substituting of its real power and sober duties; of silencing profaneness, which then usurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Christian's reasonable service, which was not any other way so happily to be done, as by beginning at the foundation by sound, and yet not trivial, catechetical institution. Dr. Hammond would not consent that the Book should be published, unless his name were concealed; and this Dr. Potter undertook, as well as the whole care and charge of the edition. Upon these terms, only with this difference, that Dr. Hammond would not suffer the Provost to be at the entire charge, but went an equal share with him, the *Practical Catechism* saw the light, and likewise the author remained in his desired obscurity (12). This book was attacked in 1646 by Mr. Francis Cheynell, B. D. in a Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxford, which occasioned several letters between him and Dr. Hammond, who published them under the title of *A Copy of some Papers past*

(12) Idem, pag.
33, 34, 35, 36.

at Oxford between the author of the Practical Catechism and Mr. Ch. London 1647 and 1650 in 4to. He wrote also in defence of this Treatise *A View of some Exceptions to the Practical Catechism from the Censures affixt on them by the Ministers of London in a Book entitled, A Testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, &c.* London 1648 in 4to; and *A Vindication of three passages in the Practical Catechism.* London 1648 in 4to.

[G] And several other Tracts.] Particularly *Of Scandal*, Oxford 1644 in 4to; *Of Conscience*, Oxford 1644 in 4to; *Of resisting the lawful Magistrate under colour of religion*, Oxford 1644, London 1647 in 4to; *Of Will-Worship*, Oxford 1644 in 4to; *Considerations of present use concerning the danger resulting from the change of our Church-Government*, Oxford 1644 and 1646 in 4to; *Of Superstition*, Oxford 1645, London 1650 in 4to; *Of Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness*, Oxford 1645 and 1650 in 4to; *Explication of two difficult Texts* Heb. vi. and Heb. x. printed with the preceding Tract; *Of a late Death-bed Repentance*, Oxford 1645 in 4to; *A View of the Directory, and Vindication of the Liturgy*, Oxford 1645, &c. in 4to; *Of Idolatry*, Oxford 1646, London 1650 in 4to; *A View of the Exceptions, which have been made by a Romanist to the Lord Viscount Falkland's Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, Oxford 1646 in 4to; *The Power of the Keys: or of binding and loosing*, London 1647, and 1651 in 4to; *Of the word KPIMA; Of the Zealots among the Jews, and the Liberty taken by them; Of the taking up the Cross; Vindication of Christ's representing S. Peter from the exceptions of Mr. Stephen Marshall*, London 1647 in 4to, joined with the second Edition of our Author's Book *Of resisting the lawful Magistrate; Of fraternal Admonition and Correction*, London 1647 and 1650 in 4to.

[H] Managed the dispute with Mr. Richard Vines, the Presbyterian Minister.] Dr. Fell tells us (13), that Mr. Vines, instead of tendering a scholastic disputation, read from a paper a long Divinity-Lecture, wherein were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments. Dr. Hammond perceiving this drew forth his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately returned in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number; "which he did with that readiness and sufficiency, as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted; which amidst the disadvantage of *ex tempore* against premeditation, dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him (14)." It (14) Idem, pag. 39, 40. was afterwards reported indeed, that Mr. Vines utterly silenced the Doctor, so that he was obliged to use this unheard of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration, to swear by *God and the holy Angels*, that tho' at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the Doctor's own account in a letter dated Jan. 22d 1655, directed to a friend, who had acquainted him with this report. "I have formerly been told, says he (15), within these few years that there went about a story much to my disparagement concerning the dispute at Uxbridge, (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines; but what it was I could never hear before. Now I do, I can, I think, truly affirm, that no one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that Mr. Vines did dispute against, and I defend, Episcopacy. For as to the argument mentioned, I did neither then, nor at any time of my life, (that I can remember) ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended answer, I am both sure that I never called God and his holy Angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath that I know of, (and sure there was then none imposed on me) and that I was not at that meeting conscious to myself of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or prett with

ordinary to his Majesty, who was then in that City, and chosen public Orator of the University (r). But these new employments did not divert him from publishing several new tracts (s). In 1647 he attended the King in his confinement of Wooburn, Caveham, Hampton-Court, and the Isle of Wight, where he continued till Christmas that year, at which time his Majesty's attendants were again put from him, and Dr. Hammond among the rest. Upon this he returned to Oxford, where being chosen Sub-Dean (t), he continued there till the Parliamentary Visitors ejected him, and then imprisoned him for several weeks in a private house in Oxford (u). During this confinement he began his *Annotations on the New Testament* [I]. At last by the interposition of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple, he had licence granted to be removed to his friend Sir Philip Warwick's house at Clapham in Bedfordshire (w). The trial of his Majesty now drawing on, he wrote an *Address* to the General and Council of War, and transmitted it to them [K]. His excessive grief for the King's death did not however interrupt his studies; for besides his fitting his *Annotations* for the press, and his *Appendix or Answer to what was returned by the Apologist*, London 1650 in 4to, and his little tract of the *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*, printed at London 1650 in 12mo, he composed a Latin one against Blondel in defence of Episcopacy [L]. After several months confinement at Clapham,

(r) *Idem*, pag. 44.

(s) See note [G].

(t) *Idem*, pag. 47, 48.

(u) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 246. Dr. Fell says, pag. 55. that he continued ten weeks in his restraint.

(w) Dr. Fell, pag. 55, 56.

“ with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to waive the answer of any thing objected. A story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you; but I cannot think it necessary. Only this I may add, that after it I went to Mr. Marshall in my own and brethren's names to demand three things; 1. Whether any argument proposed by them remained unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer: 2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past disputation, offering, if they would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a conference by mutual consent, after the manner of that between Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hart; both which being rejected, the 3d was, to promise each other, that nothing should be afterwards publish'd by either, without the consent or knowledge of the other party. And that last he promised for himself and his brethren, and so we parted.”

[I] During this confinement he began his *Annotations on the New Testament*.] This we are informed of by Dr. Fell (16), who likewise observes (17), that our Author having written in Latin two large volumes in 4to of the way of interpreting the New Testament; with reference to the customs of the Jews and of the first hereticks of the Christian Church, and of the Heathens, especially in the Grecian Games, and above all the importance of the *Hellenistical* Dialect, into which he had made the exactest search, (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that sacred Book,) he began to consider that it might be useful to the English Reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and set every observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament, he observed the variation of our English from the original, and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it are set down by his own pen in the preface to his *Annotations*. This work was printed at London 1653 and 1659 in fol. *A Review of it with some Additions and Alterations* was printed in 1656 in 8vo. The reputation which our Author had gained by it in England, and the Fragments of his *Annotations* in Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum*, raised a great desire in many learned foreigners, that the whole might be translated into Latin. At last Monfr. le Clerc executed that task, and published his Translation at Amsterdam 1698 in two volumes in fol. under this title: *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ex editione Vulgatâ, cum Paraphrasi & Adnotationibus Henrici Hammondii. Ex Anglica Lingua in Latinam transfuit, suisque animadversionibus illustravit, castigavit, auxit J. Clericus.* Monfr. le Clerc's *Animadversions* were afterwards printed by themselves in English at Lond. in 4°. He complains in his preface of the Doctor's rough style, useless synonyma's and unnecessary repetitions; on which account he thought fit to soften his harsh expressions, and retrench his superfluities, comparing his work to a thick and dark forest, where abundance of bushes and shrubs must be cut up to clear a passage. At the same time he declares, that he hath no where offered any violence to his author's meaning, but rather blames

himself for not making use of a greater liberty. He intermixes a great many of his own animadversions, explaining those points, upon which Dr. Hammond had but slightly touched: and corrects many of his mistakes. And whereas some might object, that it was scarcely worth the pains to translate a Writer, who in so many things agrees with Grotius; he answers, that there are a variety of observations in Hammond, which neither Grotius nor any other Writer has mentioned; and that the Doctor has frequently enlarged what Grotius had said, and confirmed it by new arguments. He observes, that with respect to points in Divinity, Dr. Hammond follows the Remonstrants, especially as to the doctrine of Predestination and Grace; but for particular passages, mostly agrees with Grotius, tho' he recedes too much sometimes from his original. However Monfr. le Clerc allows him the second rank to Grotius, tho' he adds at the same time, that he falls very much short of him. He frequently criticizes upon the Doctor's sentiments, and examines his quotations by the originals; by which he hath discovered a great many typographical errors, especially in numbers, and not a few of the Doctor's mistakes in quoting upon the credit of others. He sometimes reprehends him for giving a particular sense to certain Greek words, contrary to the common use of those words in Greek Authors, wherein he thinks the Doctor was not very conversant, and that he learned his Greek rather in studying the Fathers to know their sentiments, than to obtain an exact skill in the language. Hence it is, says he, that the Doctor frequently mistakes in his grammatical discussions, in which he often engages; for his notes are generally rather critical than theological; and instead of consulting the meaning of those words, which cannot be well understood, except by a long and attentive reading of good Authors, he often consulted his own reason, and some ancient glossaries, which he did not understand well, and therefore sometimes corrupted them in attempting to correct them. Monfr. le Clerc remarks, that the Doctor was peculiarly fond of the hypothesis, that the writings of the Apostles every where allude to the doctrine of the Gnostics; to support which hypothesis he wrests many passages of Scripture.

[K] *The Trial of his Majesty now drawing on, he wrote an Address to the General and Council of War, and transmitted it to them.*] It was intitled, *An humble Address to the Lord Fairfax and Council of War*, 15th January 1648. London 1649 in 4to. It was answered afterwards by a person who stiled himself *Eutatus Philodemius*; whereupon he published, *A Vindication of Dr. Hammond's Address &c. from the Exceptions of Eutatus Philodemius in two particulars &c. together with a brief Reply to Mr. John Goodwin's Obstructors of Justice, as far as it concerns Dr. Hammond.* London 1649 in 4to. Mr. Goodwin in his book intitled, *The Obstructors of Justice: or a Defence of the honourable sentence passed upon the late King by the High Court of Justice*, London 1649 in 4to, answers, 1. *The serious and faithful Representation and Vindication of some of the Ministers of London*: 2. *The humble Address of Dr. Hammond*: 3. *Mr. John Gere's Might overcoming Right.*

[L] *His Latin Treatise against Blondel in defence of Episcopacy.*]

Clapham, he was set at liberty, and went to Sir John Packington's seat at Westwood in Worcester-shire, where he prosecuted his studies, and finished several of his writings, which have been printed [M]. When King Charles II came to Worcester, he waited upon his Majesty, whose defeat gave him the most exquisite sorrow (x), as did the Interdict of January 1655, which disabled the Loyal Clergy from performing any ministerial

(x) Idem, pag. 65.

[Episcopacy.] It is intitled, *Dissertationes quatuor, quibus Episcopatus jura ex S. Scripturis & primæva antiquitate adstruuntur, contra sententiam D. Blondelli, &c.* London 1651 in 4to. To which is prefixed *Dissertatio de Antichristo, de Mysterio Iniquitatis, de Diotrephæ, & de Gnosticis sub Apostolorum ævo se prodentibus.* Dr. Fell (18) informs us of the occasion of our Author's writing this Treatise against David Blondel, which was as follows. Archbishop Usher having received from Blondel a Letter of Exception against his Edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to Dr. Hammond, desiring his sense of several passages in it relating to the *Valentinian Heresy, Episcopal and Cborepiscopal Power*, and some emergent difficulties concerning them, from the Canons of several antient Eastern Councils. To all this the Doctor wrote a particular Answer, promising a fuller account, if it would be useful. Upon the receipt of which the Archbishop being highly satisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promise; which being accordingly discharged, became the provision, and gave the materials to a great part of the *Dissertations*. The Primate's Letter was in these words. "I have read with great delight and content your accurate answer to the objections made against the credit of Ignatius his *Epistles*, for which I do most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to intreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other *, who for your pains hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of *Nebulo* for the assertion of Episcopacy; to the end it may no longer be credited abroad, that these two have beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his thesis of *Church Government*, at Sedan lately published, which I leave unto your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest.

(18) Pag. 60, 61.

* Salmastius.

Your very loving Friend
and Brother,
Ja. Armachanus.
"Rygate in Surry,
"July 21, 1649.

The Archbishop was so concerned in this request, that he reinforced it by another letter of August 30, and congratulated the performance by a third of January 14; both which, says Dr. Fell (19), though very worthy to see the public light, are yet forborn, as several of the like kind from the reverend Fathers the Bishops of this and our sister-churches, as also from the most eminent for piety and learning of our own and the neighbouring nations; which course is taken not only in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the excellent Doctor, who hated every thing, that looked like ostentation; but likewise to avoid the very unpleasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting all the Doctor's correspondencies, or bear the envy of omitting some."

(19) Pag. 63.

[M] Finished several of his writings, which have been printed.] I. *A Letter of Resolution to fix Queries of present use in the Church of England*, London 1653, in 8vo. The 1st. Of the way of resolving Controversies, which are not clearly stated and resolved in the Scriptures. The 2d Of marrying the Wife's Sister. The 3d Of Polygamy and Divorces. The 4th Of the Baptism of Infants. The 5th Of Imposition of Hands for Ordination. The 6th Of the Observation of Christ-mas-day, and other Festivals of the Church. II. Of Schism: or, a Defence of the Church of England against the Exceptions of the Romanists, London 1653, in 12mo. It was answered by Mr. Jo. Serjeant, in a book intitled, *Schism Disarmed, &c.* to which is an Appendix in answer to Dr. John Bramhall's *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, London, 1653, in small 8vo. III. *Reply to a Catholic Gentleman's Answer to the most material parts of the Book of Schism*, London, 1653, in 4to. IV. *Account of H. T. his Appendix to his Manual of Controversies concerning the*

Abbot of Bangor's Answer to Augustine, printed with the preceding Tract. V. *Vindication of the Dissertations concerning Episcopacy, from the Exceptions of the London Ministers in their Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, London, 1654, in 4to. VI. *Of Fundamentals in a Notion referring to Practice*, London, 1654, in 8vo. VII. *Answer to the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles, and the Episcopacy in them asserted*, London, 1654, in 4to. VIII. *Account of Mr. Dan. Cawdrey's Triplex Diatriba, concerning Superstition, Will-Worship, and Christmas Festival*. London 1655, in 4to. This *Account* was answered by Mr. Cawdrey, Minister of Billing Magna in Northamptonshire, in a book intitled, *The Account audited and discounted, &c.* London, 1658. IX. *The Baptizing of Infants reviewed and defended against the Exceptions of Mr. Tombes in his three last Chapters of his Book intitled, Antipædobaptism*. London 1655, in 4to. X. *Defence of the learned Hugo Grotius, &c.* London 1655, in 4to. XI. *Second Defence of Hugo Grotius: or, a Vindication of the Digression concerning him*. London 1656, in 4to. XII. *The Disarmer's Dexterity examined; in a second Defence of the Treatise of Schism*. London 1657, in 4°. Soon after this Mr. Serjeant published his *Schism dispatch'd, &c.* with an Appendix, London 1656, in a large 8vo, being a reply not only to Dr. Hammond, but also to Dr. John Bramhall. XIII. *The Degrees of ardency in Christi's Prayer reconciled with his fulness of habitual Grace, in reply to [Mr. Henry Jeanes] the Author of a book intitled, A Mixture of Scholastical Divinity, &c.* XIV. *Parænesis, &c. A Discourse of Heresy in Defence of our Church against the Romanists*. London 1656, in 8vo. XV. *Continuation of the Defence of H. Grotius, in an answer to the Review of his Annotations*. London 1657, in 4to. XVI. *Reply to some Passages of the Reviewer, in his late Book of Schism concerning his Charge of Corruptions in the Primitive Church, and some other Particulars*. Printed with the preceding Tract. XVII. *The Grounds of Uniformity, from 1 Cor. xiv. 40. vindicated from Mr. Henry Jeanes's Exceptions in one Passage in the View of the Directory*. London 1657, in 4to. XVIII. *Paraphrase and Annotations on the Book of Psalms*. London 1659, in Folio. These Annotations were remitted by Matthew Poole into the second Volume of his *Synopsis Criticorum*, London 1671, in Folio, with this Character, *Doctissimus Hammondus, in quibus multa reperiet Lector acumine perquam plusquam vulgari, parique eruditione conscripta, nonnulla etiam singularia*. Dr. James Duport likewise in the Preface to his *Metaphrasus Psalmorum*, highly commends this work of our Author. XIX. *The Dispatcher dispatch'd: or, an Examination of the Romanist's Rejoynder to Dr. Hammond's Replies, wherein is inserted a View of their Profession and oral Tradition, in the way of Mr. White*. London, 1659, in 4to. By this Mr. White is meant the famous Thomas de Albus. XX. *Brief Account of a Suggestion against the Dispatcher dispatch'd*. London 1660, in 4to. XXI. *XAPIΣ KAI EIPHNH: Or, a Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees; in a Letter of full Accordance written to the Reverend and most Learned Dr. Robert Sanderson.* By Henry Hammond, D. D. To which are annexed the Extracts of three Letters concerning God's Prescience reconciled with Liberty and Contingency. London, 1660, in 8vo. XXII. *Two Prayers*. London, 1660, in 8vo. XXIII. *The daily Practice of Piety: also Devotions and Prayers in time of Captivity*. London, 1660, in 8vo. XXIV. *Spiritual Sacrifice: or, Devotions and Prayers fitted to the main uses, &c.* XXV. *His Last Words*, printed in a loose sheet. XXVI. *Solemn Petition and Advice to the Convocation, with his Directions to the Laity how to prolong their happiness*. Cambridge, 1661, in 8vo. Published by Mr. Thomas Smith of Christ College in Cambridge, Author of *The Rise and Growth of Quakerism*. XXVII. *De Confirmatione, sive Benedictione, post baptismum, solenni per impositionem manuum Episcopi celebrata, Commentarius ex sententiâ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. XXVIII. Se-

(y) Idem, pag. 73. sterial act (y). He had undertaken a *Commentary on the Old Testament*, and had begun on the *Book of Proverbs*, and finished a third part of it (z); when the execution of his other excellent designs was prevented by his ill state of health, which at last put an end to his days. At the opening of the year 1660, when every thing visibly tended to the Restoration of the Royal Family, the Doctor was desired by the Bishops to repair to London, to assist there in the compofure of the breaches of the Church (aa), his station in which was designed to be the Bishopric of Worcester (bb); but on the 4th of April he was seized by a fit of the stone (cc), of which he died on the 25th of that month (dd), (ff) Wood, *Atb Oxon.* col. 249. in the fifty fifth year of his age (ee); and the next day was interred in the Chancel of Hampton-Church near Westwood (ff), where a monument is erected to his memory. (gg) *Ibid.* col. 246. Dr. Fell has drawn his character to great advantage [N]; and Mr. Wood tells us (gg), that "great were his natural abilities, greater his acquired; and in the whole circle of arts he was most accurate. He was also eloquent in the tongues, exact in antient and modern writers, was well versed in Philosophy, and better in Philology, most learned in School-Divinity, and a great master in Church-Antiquity." His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions; his face carried dignity and attractiveness in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His complexion was clear and florid, so that, especially in his youth, he had the esteem of a very beautiful person, which was lessened only by the colour of his hair. His eye was brisk and sprightly; and his constitution firm and patient of severest toil and hardship. His sight was quick to an unusual degree, that if by chance he saw a company of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate, so that having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a Harpsicon or Theorbo; and frequently did so in his more vigorous years, after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience; and when with preaching at his country charge he had in some degree lost the due management of his voice, King Charles I, by taking notice of the change, became his master of Music, and reduced him to his antient decent modulation (hh). He had a great esteem for the writings of Grotius [O], (bb) Fell, pag. 85-89. of

XXVIII. *Several Sermons*, London, 1664, in Folio. They are in number thirty one, and some of them never before published. XXIX. *Of Hell Torments*, Oxford, 1664, in 12mo. Or, *An Assertion of the Existence and Duration of Hell Torments, &c.* Oxford, 1665, in 8vo. XXX. *An Accordance of St. Paul with St. James in the great point of Faith and Works.* Oxford, 1665, in 8vo. XXXI. *Answer to Mr. Richard Smith's Letter concerning the Sense of that Article in the Creed, He descended into Hell*; dated the 28th of April 1659. London, 1684, in 8vo. Mr. Smith's Letter was dated from Little Moor-fields near London, in the said Month 1659. XXXII. *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the ten first Chapters of the Proverbs.* London, 1683, in Folio. Besides these he published *The Christian's Obligation to Peace and Charity, delivered in an Advent Sermon at Carisbrook-Castle*, Ann. 1647, and now published with nine Sermons more. London, 1652, in 4to. The Second Edition. His works were published by Mr. William Fulman of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, in four Volumes in Folio, at London 1684, and to the latter end of the fourth Volume was annexed an Appendix to the second Volume.

[N] Dr. Fell has drawn his character to great advantage.] He tells us (20), that his invention was an unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years, after his choice of subjects, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his Sermon; but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the composition and method of his future discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's consideration fitted him to the office of that day. With the like swiftness he dispatched his writings, usually composing faster than his Amanuensis, though a very dextrous person, could transcribe after him. His *Considerations of present Necessity concerning Episcopacy*, were drawn up after ten a clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professed, that sitting by all the while, he remembered not that he took off his pen from the paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, he sent it to the press; to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he

being that very night after supper employed by the Bishop on that task. So likewise he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having amidst his other diversions been several times his one day's work, adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper. His memory was serviceable, but not officious, faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one Sermon by heart, than to pen twenty. His way of speech and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplussage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods; whereby his stile, though round and comprehensive, was incumbered sometimes by parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar understandings. But by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he, in his latter years, had mastered that defect, which was so slight, that, notwithstanding it, King Charles I gave him the character of *the most natural Orator he ever heard*. His judgment was the most eminent among his natural endowments; it was clear and discerning, and that not only in scholastical affairs, and points of learning, but in the concerns and nature both of church and state; wherein his guess was usually as near to prophecy as any man's. His learning was universal. But the Scholar was less eminent in him than the Christian. He was chaste, temperate, devout, firm in his friendships, humane, dispassionate; an enemy to flattery, declaring always, that *he delighted to be loved, not revered*; charitable and patient under all afflictions, so that when he laboured under the Gout, he would give thanks that it was not the Stone or Cramp; when it was the Stone, that it was not so sharp as others felt.

[O] He had a great esteem for the writings of Grotius.] He appears to have been very solicitous for the defence of that great man from the charge of Socinianism, and to have employed his friends to collect every thing necessary for that purpose. The very learned Dr. Walter Jones, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty,

of which he made a great use in his own.

jefty, has communicated to us two original Letters, the former from Mr. Samf. Johnson to Dr. Hammond, and the other from Grotius to Mr. Johnson, which is imperfect, several words and lines being unfortunately defaced, fo as not to be legible.

“ Worthy Friend,

“ I fend you by Mr. Thruscrofs a fragment of a Letter from Grotius to me, long after that Crellius had putt forth his book againft his *De Satisfactione*, and when Ruarus was with him at Paris, upon whom he did gaine by conference, and brought him to an expreffion of his opinion about a kind of fatisfaction, which he does now acknowledge, and which I could have fend you, if the Mice had not been malicious, when I brought over my books, for they confumed about twenty of his to me. If I find any thing els to ferve you, you fhall have it from, Sir,

“ Your true Friend and Servant,
“ Westm. 4 “ both for your worth and
“ Junii 1655. “ old acquaintance,
“ Samf. Johnson.

“ For the Socinian opinion, I know he was free ; and it was the malice of Rivett to bring him in question, as he did many others, out of pride and fupercilium unfitting fuch a Professor.”

Grotius's Letter is as follows.

“ Reverende Domine,

“ Si quid unquam pietati tuæ boni per me contigit, id certe non tibi quam mihi est : cum voluptate recordor tempus illud, cum mihi fermonibus tuis doctiffimis fan * * * * quales ego, in magna quamvis hic falutatorum copia, non parvo mihi emptos velim mihi esse, cum non datur, quod proximum est isti felicitati, per literas commercium. Quos mihi commendare, aut quovis modo notos facere volueris, ostendam, * * * pietatis amor apud me maneat, quantique faciam fummas tuas virtutes * * *. Accipit Gallia damni nonnihil ad S. Audomari urbem & ad * * * capta Rentiacum & Casteletum, tantum est de virili stirpe regi nata dolores facile extrudit.

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) Pliny, and Pomponius Mela quoted in the remark [A].

HANNO General of the Carthaginians was commanded to fail round Africa (a). He entered into the ocean by the Strait which we call of Gibraltar, and discovered several countries (b). He would have continued his navigation, had it not been for want of provisions. Some assert that he finished it [A] ; I mean that he failed to the very extremity of Arabia. He wrote an account of his voyage, which was often quoted ; but it was not much credited [B]. There is something of it extant [C]. The learned are not agreed

[A] He would have continued his navigation had it not been for want of provisions. Some assert that he finished it. Two passages, one from Pomponius Mela, and the other from Pliny, will serve us here for a Commentary. Hanno Carthaginienfis exploratum missus a suis, cum per Oceani ostium exisset, magnam partem ejus circumvectus, non se mare sed comæatum defecisse memorata retulerat (1). i. e. Hanno the

(1) Pomponius Mela, lib. 3. cap. 9. pag. 63. editio Isaaci Vossii.

(2) Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 67. pag. 220, 221.

(3) Salmafius, Exercit. Plin. pag. 1242, 1244.

(4) Isaac Vossius in Melam, lib. 3. cap. 20. pag. 305.

“ Carthaginian being sent by his countrymen to observe the coast of Africa, passed through the strait of Gibraltar, and did not finish his navigation, not because the sea, but because his provisions failed him, as he relates himself.” Let us see Pliny's words (2). *Et Hanno, Carthaginiæ potentia florebat, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto.* i. e. “When the affairs of Carthage were in a flourishing condition, Hanno failed from Cadix to the extremity of Arabia, and left an account of his navigation in writing.” Salmafius (3) supposes, that Pliny was mistaken, and that Hanno did not carry on his observations as far as the Red-sea, but only to the islands called *Gorgades*. Isaac Vossius is pretty near of the same opinion ; he imagines that the island, which is now called St. Ann's, was the end of this Carthaginian General's navigation (4).

[B] He wrote an account . . . which was not much credited. Pliny, who otherwise treats his authors

“ Vestri illi vicini spiritu aguntur tui gregis ; at nisi * * * illegitimum fœdus, magno metuo vulnus, non jam Episcopali, sed reg * * * quantum me pro summo erga gentem vestram studio hæc res sollicitum * * * vim habet ad furiandos homines rerum imperitos illud Knoxii, Bucha * * * præsertim cum in oculis sint felicitum defectionum exempla. D. Seldeni * * * ex Hebræorum scriptis deprompta : quare in animo illi esse noris, nos * * * gaudeo. De Synedrio pauca pro materiæ ubertate dedit nobis Cochii * * * Seldenus pro ista sua multijugi Lectione plurima scitu utilia * * * addere. Nec minus placet altera recondita eruditi * * * quale Hebræi colere. * * * Poteris autem, vir optime, omnibus, qui nos norunt, affirmare, me de iis quæ contra Socini admiratores defendi, non modo nihil discedere, & sed & illorum aliquos mea opera adductos ad meliorem sententiam : quo magis gratias tibi habeo pro edito nostro libello *de Satisfactione Christi*, in quo argumento illos a proprietate verborum tam multorum in sacris literis, & a manifestissimo antiquitatis consensu positionibus quibusdam inanibus abstractos non dubito. *Patricium Junium* amavi semper, amo nunc etiam quod post *Catenam* in *Jobum* & *Theophylacti* quædam, etiam *Euthymium*, boni judicii in sera ætate scriptorem, publici juris facit. *Decartesii* & *Galilæi*, eminentium Philosophorum opera, tibi visa gaudeo. Nescio an *Mechanica Galilæi* & de *Motu* * * * videris. *Francisci Junii* *Librum de Picturâ Veterum* non minus delectavit, quam ipsa picturæ talium studiosos solent. In *Salmafii* libro de *Ufuris* sunt multa minime protrita. Nunc ne quis eum putet nimium laxare habenas avaritiæ, addit alterum de *modo usurarum*. Inter ipsum & *D. Heinsium* tentatæ conciliaturæ successum non habuerunt. Itaque brevi *ayûva* aliquem habebimus. Bene compositum par. Ego ubi *Heinsiana*, & ut credo, *Salmafiana* ad *Novum Testamentum* videro, quid mihi de meis faciendum sit, constituam. *Testardus* & *Amirautius* nihil aliud quam mala dogmata pulchris verbis incrustant, & quicquid dare videntur manu, coacti scilicet scripturarum luce, id eripiunt altera. Maxima me voluptate perfundit *Literarum tuarum pars postrema*, quæ brevi te Hagam iturum et * * *.” T.

with great indulgence, as all the world knows, yet could not forbear observing, that this writer related a great many fabulous stories. *Fuere*, says he (5), *(5) Plinius, lib. Hannonis Carthaginienfis ducis commentarii, Punicis 5. cap. 1. pag. m. rebus florentiffimis explorare ambitum Africa jussi : quem secuti plerique à Græcis nostrisque, & alia quædam fabulosa, & urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla nec vestigium existat. i. e. 523, 524.*

“ There was also an account written by Hanno a General of the Carthaginians, who was sent by them to observe the coast of Africa, at a time when their affairs were in the most flourishing condition. Several, both Greek and Latin authors, who followed his account, have related some fabulous stories, and asserted that he built a great many cities, of which there is not the least memory nor figure left.” See also *Athenæus* (6).

[C] . . . There is something of it extant.] *Sigismund Gelenius* published it in Greek at Basil by *Frobenius* in the year 1533. There was a second Edition of it printed in the year 1559, with a Latin Translation, and some Notes of *Conrad Gesner*. And yet *Salmafius* observes, that it seems the Greeks were never acquainted with this work. *Scriptum illud non videtur innotuisse. Etenim si venisset in notitiam ac manus Græcorum, totam eam meridiani Oceani oram minime reliquissent intactam* (7). i. e. “It seems, that this Book was not known ; for if it had come to the

(6) Athen. lib. 3. pag. 83. on whose words see Vossius, de Hist. Græciæ, pag. 514.

(7) Salmaf. Exercit. Plin. pag. 1242.

agreed about the time when he lived [D], and there is not the least proof that the Carthaginians caused him to be put to death. He hung up in the temple of Juno the skins of

"knowledge, and into the hands of the Greeks, they would not have left all that Southern Coast of the Ocean, without taking notice of it." He was not therefore acquainted with Pliny's words, which I have transcribed in the foregoing Remark, nor with a passage in the Book intituled, *Wonders of the East*, of wonderful bearfays, in which Hanno is quoted. This General's work is also mentioned in the Epitome of Artemidorus of Ephesus. These are instances which shew, that there are some things very easy to know and which yet escape the knowledge of men of the deepest learning, and most extensive memory. Isaac Vossius did not forgive Salmalius this mistake (8); nor did Father Hardouin pass it unobserved (9). Take notice, that what Gesner had published at Basil in the year 1559, was again published at London in the year 1674, I mean Hanno's *Periplus* (or Circumnavigation) with Gesner's Latin Translation and Notes, and with John de Leon's Africa. But Berkelius added to all this some Observations extracted from the second part of Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*. That same little work (19) of Hanno has been printed at Oxford in the year 1698, by Dr. Hudson's care, with several other pieces of the same kind in the first Volume of the *Geographia veteris Scriptores Graeci minores*, i. e. "The lesser Greek Authors upon ancient Geography." The dissertations, which Mr. Dodwell prefixed to this Volume, and which give us a full account of these ancient Greek Authors, abound with learning. That which relates to Hanno is not the least important of them all. Mr. Dodwell does not think that this Carthaginian General wrote the *Periplus*, which we have under his Name. He ascribes it to some Greek Author of Sicily, who was a strenuous assertor of the Glory of Carthage. He imagines also, that the *Periplus*, which is now extant under the name of Hanno, differs very much from that which the ancients had. See the Margin (11).

[D] *The learned are not agreed about the time when he lived.* It was according to Pliny, when the affairs of the Carthaginians were in the most flourishing condition. This is a very indeterminate expression; and yet Vossius (12) finds in it sufficient ground to assert, that our Hanno is neither the person of whom Justin speaks in the xxth Book, nor he mentioned by Pliny in the sixteenth Chapter of his eighth Book, nor yet he who was the head of a party at Carthage during the second Punic-war (13); but he, who was sent against Agathocles, as Justin tells us in his xxiiid Book. The Hanno mentioned in Justin's xxth Book was sent into Sicily against the Tyrant Dionysius: The Gauls had then already taken the City of Rome (14), and they took it in the year 366 after its building. This Hanno was killed some time after with his whole Family, because he attempted to make himself master of Carthage. I do not know whether that City was not then in as flourishing a condition, as when another Hanno was sent against Agathocles (16): He lost his Life in a battle in the year 443 after the building of Rome. I cannot think therefore that there is any certainty in Vossius's Opinion. Observe that the passage which he quotes from Pliny relates to an Hanno, who was condemned because he had had the art to tame a lion. It was thought that the Liberty of the Country would not be secure in the hands of a man, who had found means to subdue the cruel temper of the most savage animals. *Primus hominum leonem manu tractare ausus, & ostendit mansuetum, Hanno e clarissimis Pœnorum traditur; damnatusque illo argumento, quoniam nihil non persuasurus homo tam artificis ingenii videbatur; & male creditur libertas ei, cui in tantum cessisset etiam feritas* (17). i. e. "It is reported that Hanno, one of the most famous men at Carthage, is the first who ventured to handle a Lyon, and to tame it: for which reason he was condemned; because it was imagined that a man of so artful a genius was capable to persuade any thing, and that it was not safe to trust him with the liberty of the People, to whom even the most savage and cruel animals had submitted." Vossius observes, that Plutarch mentions the same Hanno. And he asserts indeed, that the Carthaginians banished

him, because they had seen that he had taught a Lyon to carry his baggage, which made them suspect that he aimed at kingly power (18). Neither Pliny nor Plutarch say any thing that can make us guess at what time this happened, and it is not an easy matter to know for what reason Vossius imagined they speak of an Hanno different from ours. Father Hardouin is of another opinion; for he thinks that the Traveller is the same with him, who was condemned for taming a Lyon; but he cannot alledge the least proof for it: one may easily conjecture that he is mistaken; for it is somewhat probable, that if the same Hanno who sailed round the Coast of Africa, was the person who tamed a Lyon, Pliny would have mentioned this particular. It is best not to determine any thing; let us not deny what Vossius denies; but let us not affirm what Father Hardouin affirms. Observe that he supposes that Pliny asserts, that Hanno was put to death (19); but it is better to give a more general sense to the word *damnatus* (condemned), since Plutarch asserts that Hanno was banished. One may make the following objection against Vossius. Aristotle in his Book *de admirandis auditionibus* (of wonderful hearings) quotes Hanno, whence it follows that this Carthaginian General lived before Agathocles. But Vossius answers (20), that Aristotle is not the Author of that Book. Solinus's Authority is of no weight, who asserts that Xenophon of Lampfacus has quoted Hanno; for besides that we do not know where this Xenophon lived, there are reasons to think that Solinus imposes upon us. Here follow his words (31). *Hæc (Gorgades insulas) incoluerunt Gorgones monstræ, & semè usque nunc monstræ gens habitat. Distant à continente biduo navigatione. Prodidit denique Xenophon Lampfacenus Hanonem Pœnorum regem in eas permeavisse, & perieratque ibi faminas aliti pernicitate, atque ex omnibus quæ apparuerant, duas captas tam virto atque aspero corpore, ut ad argumentum spectanda rei dæarum cutes miraculi gratia inter donaria Junonis suspenderit; quæ duravere usque in tempora excidii Carthaginensis.* i. e. "Some Monsters called Gorgons inhabited those Islands; and indeed a monstrous Nation does still live there. These Islands are two days sailing distant from the Continent. Lastly, Xenophon of Lampfacus relates that Hanno, the King of the Carthaginians came to these Islands, where he met with some women as swift as Eagles; and having taken two of them that appeared before him, whose body was so rough and hairy, that it was worthy to be seen, he caused their skins to be pulled off, which he hung up in the Temple of Juno amongst the other Gifts as wonderful sights; where they were to be seen till the Destruction of Carthage". It is plain that this passage is only an imitation of the following words. *Contra hoc quoque promontorium Gorgades insule narrantur, Gorgonum quondam domus, biduo navigatione distantis à continente, ut tradit Xenophon Lampfacenus. Penetravit in eas Hanno Pœnorum Imperator, prodiditque birta feminarum corpora, viros pernicitate evasisse; duarumque Gorgonum cutes argumenti & miraculi gratia in Junonis templo posuit, spectatas usque ad Carthaginem captam* (22). i. e. "It is reported, that over-against that Promontory are situated the Islands called Gorgades, formerly inhabited by the Gorgons, two days sailing distant from the continent, as Xenophon of Lampfacus relates. Hanno the General of the Carthaginians penetrated to these Islands, and reports that the women, whose body is very hairy, excell the men in swiftness: he hung up the skins of two Gorgons as a wonderful sight in the Temple of Juno, where they were to be seen, till the taking of Carthage." The Copy differs from the original in this, namely, that Pliny does not assert, as Solinus does, that Xenophon related that Hanno came as far as the Island called *Gorgades*, &c. Salmalius supposes that Solinus asserted this, in order to prove that Xenophon of Lampfacus lived after Hanno. *Hoc obtinere vult Solinus, ut finis illi respondeat principii, & toto in cursu sibi consistet, Hanno vetustior Xenophonte Lampfaceno. Quomodo igitur hic de illo prodere potuit* (22)? i. e. "Solinus aims at this, *eritat Pliniana, that the end may answer the beginning, and his ac-* count

(8) Isaac Vossius, in *Museum*, pag. 302.
(9) Hardouin, in *Indice Autor. Plin. ni*, pag. 113.
(10) It may very well be said thus, for it does not contain six half pages in the Oxford edition in 8vo, 1698.
(11) Observe, that it is not said in the preface to the Oxford edition, that Booclerus published Hanno with notes in the year 1661.
(12) Vossius, de *Hist. Græcis*, pag. 513.
(13) *Neque istum factionis Barchinæ, de quo Livius libro de bello Punico secundo.* Idem, *ibid.* i. e. "Nor him of Hannibal's faction, whom Livy mentions in the book of the Punic war." There is great obscurity in these words; after Barchinæ he should have added inimicum (enemy to Hannibal's faction) and after Libro, he should have put 21. dum de (where he treats of) or *summi* like this.
(14) Justin, lib. 20. cap. ult.
(15) Idem, lib. 21. cap. 4.
(16) Idem, lib. 22. cap. 6.
(17) Plinius, lib. 8. cap. 16. pag. 161.
(18) Plut. in *Præcept. de gerend. Republ.* towards the beginning, pag. 799.
(19) *De eo multa passim Plinius; de ejus præsertim obitu lib. 1. scilicet.* Pliny mentions several things of him in a great many places, and speaks particularly of his death, in the 8th book, section the 21st. Hardouin, in *Indice Autorum Plin. ni*, pag. 113.
(20) Vossius, de *Hist. Græcis*, pag. 514.
(21) Solinus, cap. ultimo.
(22) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 51. pag. 746.
(23) Salmalius. *Ex illo prodere potuit* (22)? i. e. "Solinus aims at this, *eritat Pliniana, that the end may answer the beginning, and his ac-* count

of some savage women, who had been flayed by his command. See the last remark (c).

(c) Quotation (22).

"count be coherent through the whole. Hanno is more antient than Xenophon of Lampfacus; but then how could the latter mention the former? I confess that this is to me an inexplicable riddle: For I cannot imagine that it was in the least Solinus's interest to shew that Hanno lived before Xenophon, much less can I understand, that if Xenophon flourished after this Carthaginian, it was impossible for the former to quote the latter, as Salmasius supposes it in his Interrogation. I think it is very likely that Solinus through his wonted inaccuracy, reduced Pliny's two Quotations to one; but I would not assert that Xenophon of Lampfacus did not relate all that he ascribes to him. But if he had, you will say, Pliny would not have quoted two writers; he would have confined himself to Xenophon's Authority. I answer, you are mistaken; for with regard to those things, which one knows that Hanno related himself, it is proper to quote him, rather than those, who declare that he related them.

(24) Isaac Vossius, in *Melam.*, pag. 302, 303.

(25) Strabo mentions it in his 1st book.

(26) *De Magnitudine Carthagini*, pag. 52.

Isaac Vossius has been very far from his father's opinion; for instead of asserting that our Hanno lived in the time of Agathocles (24), he makes him more ancient than Homer and Hesiod. He is not content with placing him at the head of the expedition which the Phœnicians made soon after the destruction of Troy (25): he found afterwards that this was not making him ancient enough. He supposed therefore in another work (26), that Hanno and Perseus were contemporaries. Mr. Dodwell has very learnedly and solidly refuted that

opinion, and all the arguments by which Vossius endeavoured to prove it. He lays a great stress on a passage in Pliny's second Book, in which it is observed, that Himilco and Hanno undertook long voyages. *Et Hanno. Carthagini potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto; sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco* (27). i. e. "When Carthage was in a flourishing condition, Hanno sailed from Cadiz to the extremity of Arabia, and has left an account of his voyage; as Himilco did, who at the same time was sent to view the extremity of Europe." We find that during the war between Agathocles and the Carthaginians, the latter had two Generals, the one called Hanno, and the other Himilco (28). It may besides be supposed with great probability, that this flourishing condition of the Carthaginians, mentioned by Pliny, preceded the first war in which they were engaged against the Romans; for it is not at all probable, that during that war they would have thought of discovering new countries; and it is well known that they did not end this war but by a great loss on their side. So that these two chronological characters, mentioned by Pliny, lead us to suppose that he speaks of an Hanno, who flourished in the time of Agathocles. You will find in Mr. Dodwell (29) a great many curious observations, which perhaps will persuade you that our Hanno must be placed between the 92d and the 129th Olympiads.

(27) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67.

(28) See Diod. Sicul. ad Olymp. 118.

(29) Dodwell. *Dissertat. de Periplusi Hamonis ætate*, in *limine Geographiæ veteris Scriptorum Græcorum minorum*, tom. 1. edit. Oxon. 1693.

(a) And not Jodocus, as König calls him.

(b) Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belgic.*, pag. 593.

HARCHIUS (JODOCUS) (a) a native of Mons in the Province of Hainault lived in the sixteenth Century. He practised Physic in his native city, and published some works that suited his profession (b) [A]. He went afterwards beyond his reach, pretending to meddle with Divinity, in which he had very ill success. He endeavoured to find out a medium in the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, but he made himself ridiculous to both. The book he published upon that subject was refuted by Beza, who asserts, that it is a work so confused, so dark, so destitute of all order and method, that it is a very difficult task to guess what the author meant [B]. We shall

(1) Val. And. *Biblioth. Belgic.*, pag. 593.

[A] He published some works that suited his profession. He published at Liege in the year 1563 a Book in 8vo, *de Causis contemptæ Medicinæ*; i. e. "The Reasons why Physick is despised." His *Enchiridion Pharmacorum simplicium quæ in usu sunt*; i. e. "A Manual of the simple Medicines that are in use" is written in verse, and was printed at Basil in the year 1573 in 8vo (1). This Author might therefore have been placed in the Catalogue of the Physicians who were also Poets. He is not the only Author wanting in that list.

(2) He is erroneously called *Montensis* in the *Epitome* of Gesner's *Bibliotheca*, pag. m. 515.

(3) Hofpin. *Hist. Sacrament. Parte altera*.

[B] Beza asserts that Harchius's work is so confused . . . that it is a very difficult task to guess what the Author meant.] What he wrote against this Author is intitled *de Cæna Domini adversus Jodoci Harchii Montensis (2) dogmata*; i. e. "Of the Lord's Supper against the opinions of Jodocus Harchius of Mons;" and is inserted in the IIIrd volume of his *Tractions Theologicæ* (Theological Tracts) from page 148 to page 186 of the Geneva Edition 1582 in folio. Hospinianus (3) asserts that this work of Beza was printed in the year 1580, and that Jodocus Harchius's Book had been printed at Basil in the year 1573 with this title: *De Eucharistiæ Mysterio ad sedandas controversias in Cæna Domini libri tres*; i. e. "Three Books of the Mytery of the Eucharist, designed to suppress the disputes concerning the Lord's Supper." Beza declares that this Book of Jodocus Harchius had been printed seven years, when he began to read it. He adds that he did not know whether the place where it was printed was well set down; but that he judged it was not necessary to refute it, because no man would approve such strange opinions; but that finding however the contrary of what he expected, he followed the advice of his friends, who would have him write against that Author. *Licet urgentibus nonnullis, ut falsissimo sane ipsius dogmati, utpote quo novæ potius controversiæ excitarentur, quam veteres tollerentur, re-*

futationem opponerem, silentio potius ejusmodi scripta esse obruenda respondi. Nullam enim fore arbitrabar, qui tam absurdis sententiis assentiretur: quæ spes cum me sefellerit, cogor amicorum precibus, quam hæc vana sint demonstrare, id est, penè cum ratione insanire. Adscribam autem primo loco ipsius Jodoci verba ex variis ejus libri paginis optima fide descripta, ut quæ sparsim & prorsus perturbate scripsit, adeo denique a seipso obscuræ, ut de industria texisse potius, quam aperit suum dogma spectandum proposuisse videatur, melius appareant: Et ne quam etiam, homini præsertim, ut audio, jam mortuo, injuriam in ipsius erratis annotandis, & refutandis, fecisse me quisquam suspicetur (4). i. e. "Those some persons pressed me to refute his false doctrine, which served rather to raise new controversies, than to suppress the old disputes, yet I thought that such writings ought to be buried in oblivion: for I did not imagine that any person could admit such absurd opinions: but being disappointed in this my expectation, I am forced, at my friends requests, to demonstrate how false and vain these things are, which is almost to be mad in sober sadness. I shall in the first place transcribe Jodocus's own words put together from several pages with the utmost faithfulness; that the Reader may the better understand, what is dispersed through his work, and wrote with the utmost confusion, so immethodically, and so obscurely, that one would think, he chose rather to conceal his opinion on purpose, than to declare it openly. This I shall also do, that I may not be suspected to have done the man any injury by ob- serving and refuting his errors, especially since, as I hear, he is now dead." Observe by the by that Harchius was dead when Beza refuted him. The extracts which Beza gives of his work render it more intelligible, than it would be by reading the work itself. Here follows what Beza observes after he has given those extracts. *Et hæc quidem Harchius non minus ob-*

(4) Theod. Beza, *Oper. tom. 3. pag. 148.*

shall give a general notion of his opinion below [C].

scure quam perturbatè, ut qui ab una questione ad alteram desiliat, & plurimis ambiguis vocibus ac formulis utatur, adeo ut mihi sepius hæc omnia relegenda, considerata, perscrutanda fuerint, priusquam quid homo isto sibi vellet, intelligere, & in suos locos distinctè singula referre potuerim (5). That is to say, "This is what Harchius writes with no less obscurity than confusion: for he passes abruptly from one question to another, and makes use of a great many equivocal words and expressions; so that I was obliged to read the same things over and over, to meditate upon them, to examine them with the utmost care, before I could guess what this man meant; and to make sense of his words I was forced to place every thing in its proper place."

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) In pag. 515 of the Zurich edition, 1583.

Two other theological Books of Harchius are mentioned in the Epitome of Gesner's Bibliothèque (6). *De Causis Hæresis, proque ejus exilio & concordia Contraversarum in Religione, Hæreticorum, Pontificiorum, & pœnitentium Oratio ad Deum Patrem.* i. e. "Of the Causes of Heresy, and a Prayer of the Hereticks, Roman Catholics and Penitents to God the Father for its extirpation, and for an union and concord in religious controversies." at Basil, 1573, in 4to. *Orthodoxorum Patrum Irenæi, Cyrilli, Hilarii, Augustini & reliquorum, de Eucharistia & Sacrificio universalis Ecclesie fides.* i. e. "That the faith of the orthodox Fathers, Irenæus, Cyrillus, Hilarius, Augustin, and the rest, concerning the Eucharist, and Sacrifice is the faith of the Catholick Church," in 8vo. This last book was printed in the year 1577, according to Hospinian (7).

(7) Hospin. *Hist. Sacrament. Parte altera.*

[C] We shall give a general notion of his opinion below. I take it from a Letter which Andrew Rivet wrote to la Milletiere July the 29th 1642. "Your distinction of Matter and Mystery, of *substantia* and *verbum*, sensible and intelligible overthrows all that you pretend to establish, without shewing how one can eat with the mouth of the body a mystery which is destitute of matter, and how the matter of a body existing no more, the substance of it continues, yet to be; which I do not find to be explained in your treatise of rich conceptions. It is above thirty years since I read something like this in the work

of [a certain Physician of the country of Juliers, named Tarchius (8), with whose heifer you seem to have ploughed. He pretended, that the Body, which the Church gives in the bread is the Body of the eternal Word, which coming in an admirable manner into the bread, turns it into the substance of that flesh, which had been raised up into heaven; that it was a flesh of the same nature with that, with which the substance of our flesh is nourished. He called it, as you do, a *spiritual and intelligible flesh*. He asserted that the flesh, which was daily created out of the bread and wine, and taken from the altar by the faithful, was as to its nature like Christ's flesh, vivifying in heaven, because of the Deity's mixing itself with the bread in a manner that cannot be expressed. He would have the Calvinists acknowledge on St. Augustin's authority, that the Sacraments have really the true flesh of Christ, which though it be spiritual, is yet after its own particular manner taken in the mouth with the bread, and some way digested in the heart. That is mysteriously called Christ's flesh, though it be neither nervous, nor muscous, nor animated. Upon the same foundation he pretended to establish, like you, a real and propitiatory sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the adoration of the Sacrament. And though he imagined that by this method he could reconcile the contending parties, yet he was not approved either by the Papiist, or by the Lutheran, or by those of our Religion, none being disposed to take his idle fancies for sound doctrine; and his speculations vanished away, as yours will do (9)." La Milletiere answering that he did not know that Author, Rivet made him the following reply. "That Harchius I mentioned to him, and in whose work I found such foolish fancies as his are, should not have been more unknown to him than the *Dialejicon* (10), recommended by Grotius, and placed in the same rank with the *Sieur de la Milletiere's Books*. They are two pieces printed together in the year 1576, without the Printer's name, or that of the place where it was published; tho' in the title-page of the first edition of Harchius's book it be said, that it was printed at Worms (11)."

(8) This is an error of the press, instead of Harchius. I do not know why he is here made to be of the country of Juliers, for he was of Mons in Hainault. He did perhaps practise Physic in the country of Juliers; or Rivet imagined perhaps that Montensis signified the Duchy of Berg, which he mistook for that of Juliers, because of their proximity, and being under the same Prince.

(9) Rivet, *Reponses à trois Lettres du Sieur de la Milletiere*, pag. 62, &c.

(10) Concerning that book see below the article POINET.

(11) Rivet, *Reponses à trois Lettres de la Milletiere*, pag. 143, 144.

HARDENBERG (ALBERT) a Protestant Minister at Bremen in the sixteenth Century, was of the Augsburg Confession for eighteen years, after which he declared for Calvinism, and with such success, that he introduced it in the city, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of his colleagues and of the Magistrates. He had insinuated himself so deeply into the favour of the inhabitants [A], that he made them declare for him against Lutheranism; so that the Magistrates, who refused to forsake the Confession of Augsburg, were deprived and banished. They all died in their banishment (a). The author who acquaints me with these particulars, refers his readers to a work which Dithmar Renschelius, Burgomaster of Breme, composed since his banishment, and which is intitled, *Brevis, dilucida, ac vera Narratio, de initiis & progressu Controversiæ, Bremæ à Doctore Alberto Hardenbergio motæ, opposita recenti Scripto ejusdem Hardenbergij de Ubiquitate & Cæna Domini.* i. e. "A short, clear and true account of the beginning and progress of the Controversy, started at Bremen by Dr. Albert Hardenberg, being an answer to the late work of the said Hardenberg upon Ubiquity, and the Lord's Supper." Hardenberg did not enjoy his triumph long; for the Lutheran party becoming uppermost again, drove him out of the city as a seditious Sacramentarian (b). He wrote a *Life of Weffelus*, which has been printed.

(a) Taken from George Braun, in *Catholicorum Tremmenensium Defensio*, pag. 46, 49.

(b) *Ex eodem, ibid.*, pag. 164.

HARDQUIN

[A] He had insinuated himself so deeply into the favour of the inhabitants. This is a proper method to change the situation of affairs: a Preacher supported by the people is capable to cause any revolution whatsoever. It is pretended that this Preacher made himself so popular, that he did not neglect to gain the affection even of the footmen, and maid-servants: after which he did not scruple to censure the Senators and Burgomasters, naming them expressly in his sermons, and to weaken their authority with the people. *Calvini heresim, Senatu, & reliquis suis Lutheranis Collegiis*

(1) Georg. Braunius, in *Catholicorum Tremmenensium Defensio*, pag. 46, 47.

Breme, against the consent of the Senate, and of all his Lutheran Collegues. And to compass his design the easier, &c."

[a] In the printed copy, to the word *veneretur* inclusive. I imagine that Mr. Bayle designed to quote the whole passage, of which he transcribes but a few words: and that to save himself the trouble of writing it down, he referred the Printer to the printed copy, from which the passage was to be taken; but the Printer mistaking Mr. Bayle's meaning, printed the references, instead of the passage to which it referred. As we could not meet with that work of Braunius, quoted by Mr. Bayle, it was impossible for us to supply his omission in this place. ADD. R. E. M.]

HARDOUIN (JOHN) a very learned French Jesuit in the latter end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Kimper in Bretagne (a); and entering into the Society of Jesus, soon distinguished himself by his learned writings [A], in which he has advanced several very remarkable paradoxes, and particularly that all the works of the antient profane and ecclesiastical writers, except Cicero's works, Virgil's Georgics, Horace's Satyrs and Epistles, and Pliny's Natural History, are mere forgeries. Monsieur Francis de la Pillonniere observes (b), that some "learned men both Protestants and Papists have falsely imagined, that Father Hardouin's pre-
"possession for medals, or his design to serve some political end of the society, had
"given this strange turn to his thoughts. But it was not so. His blind submission to
"the Church of Rome, and after that his religious infatuation for the tenets of the
"schools, (which he takes to be, as the whole society does, the standards of Orthodoxy)
"are the two true springs of his exorbitances. For having found in the antient books
"hardly any thing like the orthodox doctrines of the Church and of the Schools, or
"rather having found the reverse; he infers very consistently, that these books never
"came from the pen of pious men fainted by the Church, and who were, no doubt,
"orthodox. As for my part, whatever other people may think of his seeming crazy-
"ness, this is my notion of him, that F. Hardouin must be allowed a more competent
"judge

(a) Du Pin, Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom. 19. p. 109. edit. Amsterdam 1715 in 4to.

(b) An Answer to the Reverend Dr. Snape's Accusation. By Francis de la Pillonniere, formerly a Jesuit, now living with the Bishop of Bangor, 2d edit. London 1717 in 8vo, pag. 10, & seq. See likewise, Bibliothecae Raisonnée, tom. 1. Part 1.

[A] Distinguished himself by his learned writings.] In 1684 he published at Paris in 4to. *Nummi Antiqui Populorum & Urbium illustrati: and Themistii Orationes XXXIII. cum Notis Dionysii Petavii & Joannis Harduini Jesuitarum, &c.* Paris 1684, in Folio. The year following he published *Caii Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiæ Libri XXXVII. Interpretatione & Notis illustravit Joannes Harduinus Soc. Jes. jussu Regis Christianissimi Ludovici Magni in usum Serenissimi Delphini.* Paris, in 4to. It was reprinted at Paris 1723, in 3 vol. in folio. In 1687 his Book intitled, *De Baptismo Quæstio triplex*, was printed at Paris in 4to. In 1689 he published *Antirrheticus de Nummis antiquis Colonia-rum & Municipiorum, ad Joann. Foy-Vaillant Medicum.* Paris, in 4to, and *S. Joannis Chrysostomi Epistola ad Cæsarium Monachum.* Joann. Harduinus Soc. Jesu Presbyter Notis illustravit ac Dissertatione de Sacramento Altaris. Paris, in 4to. Monsieur Le Clerc having made some reflections upon St. Chrysostom's Letter to Cæsarius in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Tom. XV. Father Hardouin replied in a piece, printed in 1690 in 4to, and intitled *Defence de la Lettre de S. Jean Chrysostome, adressée à l'Auteur de la Bibliothèque Universelle*, to which Mr. Le Clerc returned an answer in the XIXth Tome of that *Bibliothèque*. In this Letter Father Hardouin, writing in the character of a third person, gives an abstract of his Latin work. It is in this treatise, that he advances the paradoxes, which have astonished the world; viz. that he was convinced, "that Facundus, Liberatus, Marius Mercator, Victor "Turonensis, Cassiodorus, to whom so many works "are ascribed, (except the *Formula*, the treatise on "the Soul, and the Commentary on the Psalms,) Ido- "dorus, who is supposed to be the Author of the book "concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers; that all these "pretended African, Italian, and Spanish Writers, with "several others, were born in France, and are not "near so antient as they are believed to be." This is a bold assertion; but nothing in comparison of what he affirms afterwards, viz. that of all the writings, which bear the name of Justin Martyr, there is only the Dialogue against Trypho, which is genuine, all the rest being supposititious. That is, that the two Apologies of Justin cited with approbation by Eusebius, St. Jerom, and all the antients, are spurious. To support this, it must be maintained, that the works, in which those apologies are mentioned, are likewise supposititious. This is a necessary consequence, which Father Hardouin readily agrees to; but unfortunately for him, the *Apology of Justin* is mentioned in the Dialogue against Trypho, which he owns to be genuine; for with respect to the books of Tatian and Methodius, Eusebius's History, and St. Jerom's *Treatise concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers*, he makes no scruple to reject their authority as spurious. But he carried this notion much farther in a book of his printed at Paris in 1693, and intitled, *Chronologia ex Nummis antiquis restituta Prolusio, de Nummis Herodiadum*, in which he asserted, that "there was some ages since a set of "men, who took upon them to draw up the History "as we find it now, there being none at that time. "That he knew the time when they lived, and the

"place where they executed their design. That "they made use of Cicero and Pliny, Virgil's Geor- "gics, and Horace's *Sermones* and Epistles, which are "the only genuine monuments of antiquity remaining, "except some few inscriptions and *Fasces*. That those, "who by the use of these remains of antiquity labour- "ed to draw up a body of History from all these dif- "ferent pieces, seemed to him to compose a new fable "out of several other fables. He adds, that these "Architects of Annals had for their whole assistance "a great number of ancient medals, which they had "collected with considerable labour, and were in "the hands of the first projector and chief manager "of this design." Upon this foot, not only Josephus's and Eusebius's Histories are ranked among these forgeries, but likewise all the profane Historians, Poets, and Orators, except those abovementioned; so that he absolutely rejects Cicero's Orations, Terence's Plays, Virgil's *Æneid*, Livy's History, and in short almost all the other ancient writings. This is one of the most amazing paradoxes, that ever entered into the head of any man of learning. However he appears to have seriously believed it himself, and was persuaded, that his reasons for it were clear and evident; though he would not publish them to the world, nor explain his system, notwithstanding he was frequently called upon to do it. This work was suppressed at Paris (1). He afterwards published *A Letter upon three Samaritan Medals*, which engaged him in a contest with Monsieur Toinard; an Essay towards the restoring Chronology by medals of Constantine's age; and a Chronology of the Old Testament conformable to the vulgar translation, illustrated by ancient medals. These books were likewise suppressed, on account of the paradoxes contained in them. However Father Hardouin continued still in his opinion; for in his *Letters* written to Monsieur Ballonfaux, and printed at Luxembourg in 1700, he speaks of an impious faction, which began a long time ago, which still subsists, and appears with the greatest insolence, and which by forging of an infinite number of writings, that seem to breath nothing but piety, seems to have no other design than to remove God out of the world, that is, out of the hearts of mankind, and to overturn all religion. Besides these treatises he published a *Discourse concerning the last Supper of Christ*, printed at Paris, 1693, in 4to. Mr. la Croze refuted his notion concerning the forgery of the ancient writings, in his *Dissertationes Historiques sur divers Sujets*, Rotterdam, 1707; and in his *Vindiciæ Veterum Scriptorum contra Joannem Harduinum S. J. P. Additæ sunt Viri Eruditi [Alphon. des Vignoles] Observationes Chronologicae in Prolusionem & Historiam Veteris Testamenti.* Rotterdam, 1708, in 8vo. Mr. la Croze imagined, that Father Hardouin advanced his notions in concert with the Society of the Jesuits, or at least with his Superiors, in order to set aside all the ancient Greek and Latin, sacred and profane writers. But Monsieur le Clerc (2) was of opinion, that there was no ground for this supposition of Monsieur la Croze. In 1709 there was published at Amsterdam a Volume in Folio intitled, *Joannis Harduini à Societate Jesu Presbyteri Opera selecta, tum quæ jam pridem Parisiis edita*

(1) *Lettres de Mons. Bayle*, tom. 1. pag. 488. edit. Amsterdam 1729.

(2) *Biblioth. Cboise*, tom. 16. pag. 412, 413, 414.

“ judge of the meaning of these books, than all the Jesuits besides, as being of greater
 “ sagacity, and incomparably more conversant with them, and more impartial too, as
 “ well as consistent with himself, in giving up such books, which are the great torment
 “ of his brethren, and which they compliment only out of decency; and in clearing his
 “ infallible Church of the great blunder of having fainted the genuine authors of such
 “ writings, as not only are not a shelter for it, but are weapons against it. But his un-
 “ paralleled and unspeakable irregularities of opinion have made me since throughly
 “ sensible of the terrible havock, which may be occasioned even in a sagacious and in-
 “ quisitive mind by an awful regard to doctrines, merely because they are settled, and by
 “ a determined attachment to the jargon of School-divinity. Error will lead you into
 “ still more and greater errors. It will do so the more, the more diligent and the more
 “ able you are. He is as great an instance as any the world ever was witness to, that
 “ when a man has been inured from his youth to a religious love of darkness and to the
 “ hatred of light, as an unquestionable first principle, nothing can be expected from
 “ him, but all the bad effects of the most extravagant fanaticism.” Mons. de la Pillonniere
 afterwards tells us (c), that upon his consulting Father Hardouin, the latter returned this
 answer: *The Rogues mean only that the senses do not judge with certainty of the existence of mat-
 ter, because else they would be judges of Truth (which is beyond their reach) it being a Truth
 that*

(c) Ibid. pag.
15, 16.

*edita nunc emendatiora & multo auctiora prodeunt, tum
 quæ nunc primum edita.* This Volume made a great
 deal of noise, before it was published. The Author
 had corrected in those works of his, which had been be-
 fore printed, what he thought proper; when they fell
 into the hands of a Bookseller, who undertook to print
 them faithfully from the copy which he had received.
 He began the impression with the Author's consent,
 and was considerably advanced in it, when the clamour
 raised against the paradoxes in those works, obliged
 Father Hardouin to write to the Bookseller to retrench
 those passages, which had been excepted to. But the
 Bookseller refused to do so; upon which Father Har-
 douin protested against his conduct; and the Book-
 seller wrote an answer to him, giving the reasons of his
 refusal. An extract of the papers of both are published
 in the *Journal des Savans* of Paris in 1708. Father
 Hardouin's *Protestation* is preceded by a *Declaration* of
 his Superiors in the Society of Jesus; and those pieces
 being curious, we shall present them to the reader.

*The Declaration of the Father Provincial of the
 “ Jesuits, and of the Superiors of their Houses at
 “ Paris, concerning a new edition of some works of Fa-
 “ ther John Hardouin of the same Society, which has
 “ been actually made contrary to their will by the Sieur
 “ de Lorm, Bookseller at Amsterdam.*

“ Among the works contained in this new edition,
 “ there are some, which we could have wished had
 “ never seen the light, or had continued in oblivion.
 “ That which is intitled, *De Nummis Herodiadum*,
 “ and which serves as a foundation to others, was
 “ suppressed, as all the world knows, by the Superiors
 “ of the Society; and they destroyed all the copies of
 “ it, which they could find. With respect to the
 “ *Chronology of the Old Testament, and the Medals of
 “ the age of Constantine*, these Books were never sold,
 “ and would never have been printed, if the revisers,
 “ appointed to examine them; had perceived and in-
 “ formed their Superiors, that there were things in
 “ these works tending to establish the System, on ac-
 “ count of which the other work had been suppressed.
 “ There have been printed in foreign countries some
 “ tracts of the same Author, which tend likewise to
 “ the same scheme; but they never passed through
 “ the examination of the Society, any more than the
 “ others; which the Sieur de Lorm has declared to
 “ be first published in his edition. The Superiors
 “ here have written to him in as strong a manner
 “ as they could, to dissuade him from inserting these
 “ works; but all their efforts have been in vain, the
 “ present situation of affairs in Europe not permitting
 “ them to take any measures with the powers, whose
 “ subject that Bookseller is. The principal heads
 “ of the accusation urged against these works, and
 “ which we judge to be well grounded, are, 1. That
 “ the Author there advances facts, and establishes
 “ principles, from which one may conclude, that al-
 “ most all the ancient monuments of the Church, and
 “ a great number of profane writings, have been
 “ forged. 2. That he even asserts there positively,
 “ that he doubts of the antiquity of many of the said

writings, as well profane as ecclesiastical. 3. That
 “ he absolutely determines concerning the spuriousness
 “ of some of them. 4. That he seems not to be per-
 “ suaded of the antiquity of the Greek text of the
 “ Scriptures. 5. That he has likewise advanced some
 “ other novelties, from which dangerous consequences
 “ may be drawn. This has given us occasion to pub-
 “ lish the following declaration. 1. We reject as per-
 “ nicious the paradox with regard to the spuriousness
 “ of the Greek text of the Scripture, the writings both
 “ of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the other
 “ monuments of the Church, commonly receiv-
 “ ed in the Church as true. 2. We consider like-
 “ wise as an indefensible chimera, the notion of the
 “ forgery of the profane Authors, whose works,
 “ according to the common opinion of the ablest Cri-
 “ tics, were written in the several ages, in which
 “ those Authors are usually placed. 3. We con-
 “ demn still more this pretended forgery with re-
 “ gard to those among the profane Authors, whose
 “ works have been cited by the antient Doctors of the
 “ Church, because this Opinion would infer the Forge-
 “ ry even of the writings of those holy Doctors.
 “ 4. We declare all the Facts and Principles to be
 “ false, which shall be found in Father Hardouin's
 “ Books, whence any of the Paradoxes above mention-
 “ ed can be justly drawn. 5. We disavow all other
 “ Notions to be found in those Books, which shall not
 “ agree with the common Doctrine of the Catholick
 “ Divines. 6. Lastly, we disown, for the reasons a-
 “ bove mentioned, every edition made or to be made
 “ of those works; and that the Publick may not
 “ doubt, but that our Declaration contains the senti-
 “ ments of our whole Society, we add, that there is
 “ nothing in what we have said, but what is autho-
 “ rized by our Reverend Father General. The Publick
 “ will not any more doubt, but that these have been all
 “ along our sentiments, after they have seen in our *Me-
 “ moirs of Trevoux* the System concerning the Spurious-
 “ ness of the antient Authors not only rejected as false
 “ and dangerous, but refuted by positive Proofs, long
 “ before a Protestant thought proper to represent it as
 “ a design concerted amongst the Superiors of the So-
 “ ciety; which is a Paradox so contrary to good sense,
 “ that the person, who was not ashamed to affirm it
 “ seriously, found himself contradicted by those even
 “ of his own party, who have been least accustomed to
 “ spare the Jesuits.

“ MICHAEL LE TELLIER, Provincial.

“ GABRIEL DANIEL, superior of the *Maison Pro-
 “ fesse*.

“ HENRY CHARLES FORCET, Rector of the Col-
 “ lege.

“ PAUL BODIN, Rector of the Noviciat.

“ I subscribe sincerely to every thing contained in the
 “ preceding Declaration; I heartily condemn in my
 “ writings what it condemns in them, and particularly
 “ what I have said concerning an impious faction,
 “ which had forged some ages ago the greatest part
 “ of

that matter exists. Now Truth being God, according to the Rogues, and the Senses being not able to know God, it follows that the Senses cannot know Truth. In opposition to that, the good Peripatetics, [that is in Father Hardouin's stile, the Orthodox] say, that the five Senses judge of Truth by the Sensorium Commune. After that he compared the modern Philosophers to the Quakers, who, said he, call in question every thing, even the existence of their bodies. He asserted, that the Rogues acknowledging no true God, could not possibly admit any creation properly called, and that they held matter eternal. "Read, said he, on that subject the 12th and 13th book of St. Augustin's Confessions, and understand them if you can." He died at Paris September the 3d 1729, in the eighty third year of his age.

"of the ecclesiastical or profane writings, which have hitherto been considered as ancient. I am extremely sorry that I did not open my Eyes before in this point. I think myself greatly obliged to my superiors in the society, who have assisted me in divesting myself of my prejudices: I promise never to advance in word or writing any thing directly or indirectly contrary to my present Retraction. And if hereafter I shall call in question the antiquity of any writing either ecclesiastical or profane, which no person before shall have charged as supposititious, I will only do it by proposing my reasons in a writing published under my name, with the permission of my superiors, and the approbation of the publick censors. In testimony of which I have signed, this 27th of December 1708.

"J. HARDOVIN, of the Society of Jesus."

His *Opera Selecta* contain his *Nummi antiqui Populorum & urbium illustrati*; his *Three Questions concerning Baptism*; his Edition of St. Chrysostom's Letter to Celsus, with a Dissertation de Sacramento Altaris; his Treatise de Nummi Herodiani; his Discourse on the last Passover, celebrated by our Saviour; and two little Tracts in French, one by way of Dialogue, and the other by way of Letter in Defense of the first; a Treatise in which he explains the Medals of the age of Constantine; his *Chronology of the Old Testament* adjusted by the Vulgate Translation, and illustrated by medals; several letters to Mons. de Bailonfeaux and some other pieces. He published likewise an Edition of the Councils at Paris in fol. and wrote a piece against Father Courayer's *Defence of the English Ordinations*. T

HARIOT or HARRIOT (THOMAS), an eminent English Mathematician in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, was born at Oxford in the year 1560, and having been instructed in Grammar-learning in that city, became a Butler or Commoner of St. Mary's Hall in that University (a), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts February 12, 1579 (b), and in the latter end of that year completed it by determination in Schoolstreet (c). Soon after he came to the knowledge of Sir Walter Raleigh on account of his admirable skill in the Mathematics, and was entertained by that Gentleman in his family (d), with the allowance of an annual pension (e) for instructing him in the Mathematics (f). In 1585 he was sent over by Sir Walter with his first colony to Virginia [A], where being settled, he was employed in the discovery and surveying of that country, and observing what commodities it produced, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants; and wrote an account of it [B]. Upon his return to England he was introduced by Sir Walter into the acquaintance of Henry Earl of Northumberland, who "finding him to be a Gentleman of an affable and peaceable nature, and well read in the obscure parts of learning (g)," allowed him a yearly pension of an hundred and twenty pounds, as he did likewise smaller pensions to Mr. Robert Hues, and Mr. Walter Warner, two other Mathematicians, who with our author were the Earl's constant companions [C], when he was committed to the Tower for life in 1606, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three *Magi* (h). Mr. Wood accuses him of very loose notions with regard to Religion [D]. A manuscript of his intitled, *Ephemeris Chyrometrica*

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 459. 2d edit. London 1721.

(b) *Ibidem*, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 218.

(c) *Ibidem*, *Athen. Oxon.* col. 459, 460.

(d) *Ibidem*, *Ibid.* col. 460.

(e) *Præfat. R. Hakluyt ad Orbem Novum, scriptum per Petr. Martyr. Anglicum, edit. Paris 1587, in 8vo.*

(f) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* col. 460.

(g) *Ibidem*, *Ibid.*

(h) *Ibidem*, *Ibid.*

(1) *Ath. Oxon.* col. 1. col. 460.

(2) Vol. 3. fol. 266, & seq.

(3) *Ubi supra.*

(4) Wood, *ubi supra.*

(5) *Ibid.*

[A] In 1585 he was sent over by Sir Walter with his first Colony to Virginia. Mr. Wood tells us (1) that in 1584 he went with the said Knight and first Colony into Virginia. But this is a Mistake; for Mr. Hariot did not accompany Sir Walter, but went over with the first Colony sent to Virginia in 1585, under the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville and other Officers.

[B] Wrote an account of it. It is published under this Title, *A brief and true Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, &c. written by Thomas Hariot, servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, and there employed in discovering a full twelve Month; in Hakluyt's Voyages* (2). Mr. Wood tells us (3), that it was printed at London 1588 in 4to under the following Title, *A brief and true Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia, the Commodities there found to be raised, &c.* It was translated into Latin by C. C. A., and published and adorned with many Cuts by Theodorice de Bry of Liege, *Francf. ad Mannum*, 1590 in fol.

[C] Who with our Author were the Earl's constant Companions. They had a Table at the Earl's charge, and the Earl constantly conversed with them, either singly, or all together, as Sir Walter Raleigh then in the Tower likewise did (4).

[D] Mr. Wood accuses him of very loose Notions with regard to religion. He tells us (5), "that notwithstanding his great skill in Mathematics,

he had strange thoughts of the Scripture, and always undervalued the old story of the Creation of the World, and could never believe that trite position, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. He made a *Philosophical Theology*, wherein he cast off the *Old Testament*, so that consequently the *New* would have no Foundation. He was a *Deist*, and his Doctrine he did impart to the said Count (6), and to Sir Walter Raleigh (7), when he was compiling the *History of the World*, and would controvert the matter with eminent Divines of those times; who therefore having no good Opinion of him, did look on the matter of his Death (8), as a Judgment upon him for those matters, and for nullifying the Scripture." Mr. Wood mentions no Authority for this assertion; and we may observe that Mr. Hariot assures us himself (9), that when he was with the first Colony settled in Virginia, in every Town where he came, he explained to them the Contents of the Bible; declaring, says he, that therein was set forth the true and only God, and his mighty works; that therein was contained the true Doctrine of Salvation through Christ; with many particulars of Miracles and chief points of Religion, as I was able then to utter and thought fit for the time. And though I told them the Book, materially and of itself, was not of such Virtue as I thought they did conceive, but only the Doctrine therein contained; yet would

(6) The Earl of Northumberland.

(7) We shall examine the impatience of Scepticism cast upon that Gentleman in his article.

(8) See note [E].

(9) *Brief and true Report of the new-found Land of Virginia, &c. in Hakluyt, vol. 3. pag. 277, 278.*

Chyrometria is preserved in the Library of Sion-College at London, and his *Artis Analytica Praxis* was printed after his death at London 1631 [E] in a thin folio, and dedicated to Henry Earl of Northumberland. Mr. Hariot lived for some time in Sion-College, and died at London July the 2d 1621 (i). Dr. Alexander Rhead tells us (k), that his death was occasioned by a cancerous ulcer in the lip [F]. His body was interred in St. Christopher's Church in London, where a monument was erected for him by his noble Executors Sir Thomas Aylesbury, and Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle (l). He was universally esteemed on account of his learning [G]. Besides his works abovementioned, he wrote *A Chronicle of Virginia*, the particulars of which he mentions in his *Brief and true Report of the new-found Land of Virginia* (m).

(i) *Ideam*, col. 461. Camden places his death in July that year. See his *Annals Regis Jacobi I.* subjoined to *G. Camdeni illustrum Viror. Epist.* pag. 72. London 1601, in 4to.

(k) In his *Works*, printed at London 16:0. *Treat.* 1. Lett. 26.

(l) Wood, col. 460, 461.

(m) See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. 3: fol. 230.

would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their Breasts and Heads, and stroke over all their bodies with it, to show their hungry desires of that knowledge, which was spoken of. However notwithstanding his Sentiments were such at that time, it is not impossible that he might afterwards change them; but whether he actually did so, is a question. Mr. Wood is undoubtedly mistaken in saying that he infused his sceptical Notions into Sir Walter Raleigh, when he was compiling his *History of the World*, since that great man in many places of that History has given us the strongest Evidences of his Belief of the Christian Religion. To this we may add, that it is by no means probable, that Dr. Richard Corbet, an orthodox Divine, and successively Bishop of Oxford, and Norwich, sending a Poem to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, when the Comet appeared, dated December the 9th 1618, should speak of

— deep Hariot's Misp,
In which there is no Dross (10),

if it had such Allay (11). Mr. George Chapman likewise (12) styles him his worthy and most learned friend, whose Judgment and Knowledge in all kinds, says he, I know to be incomparable and bottomless; yea to be admired as much as his most blameless Life, and the right sacred Expence of his time, is to be honoured and revered. Mr. Oldys observes (13), that it is not probable, that the Earl of Northumberland would have made such a man as our Author is represented by Mr. Wood, a domestic, and allowed him so handsome a salary, to have infected his Sons with Atheistical Principles; nor would Hariot's noble Executors, Sir Thomas Aylesbury, and Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, have bestowed on him a Monument in St. Christopher's Church in London, with an Inscription, which might have been contradicted by all the Town, if it had been false, beginning as follows: *Omnis scientias calluit, et in annitur excellit; Mathematicis, Philosophicis, Theologicis, Veritatis Indicator, studiosissimus; Dei Triniunius cultor piissimus, &c.*

(10) Corbet's *Poems*, pag. 56. edit. London 1672, in 8vo.

(11) See the *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by W. Ill. *Oldys* Gen. pag. 72. note (e).

(12) *Preface to his Translation of Homer's Iliad.*

(13) *Ubi supra.*

[E] *His Artis Analyticae was printed after his Death at London 1631.* The title of it is, *Artis Analyticae Praxis ad aequationes Algebraicas nova, expedita, et generali methodo resolvendas, Traictatus posthumus, &c.* The substance of this Book falling into the hands of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Mr. Walter Warner (14) undertook to compleat and publish it, on condition that Algernon, eldest son of Henry Earl of Northumberland, would after his Father's decease, continue his Pension to him during his Life. This being obtained by the Interest of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Mr. Warner took a great deal of pains in it, and at length published it (15). Monsieur Des Cartes is said to have been obliged to this Book of Mr. Hariot for a great many of his Improvements in Algebra (16).

(14) He was born in Leicestershire and died at London in the latter end of the year 1640.

(15) Wood, col. 461.

(16) See the article of DES CARTES, note [DD] vol 4. pag. 148, 149.

[F] *Dr. Alexander Rhead tells us, that his Death was occasioned by a cancerous Ulcer in the Lip.* The Doctor's Words are as follow: *Cancerous Ulcers seize on this part [the Lip]. This Grief hastened the end of that famous Mathematician Mr. Hariot, with whom I was acquainted but short time before his Death, whom at one time, together with Mr. Hues, who wrote of Globes, Mr. Warner, and Mr. Torperley, the noble Earl of Northumberland, the favourer of all good Learning, and Mecenas of learned Men, maintained whilst he was in the Tower, for their Worth and various Literature Mr. Wood in the passage cited in Note [D] observes, that the manner of his death was looked upon by some Divines as a Judgment upon him for his supposed Scepticism; but Mr. Oldys (17) remarks, that Dr. Rhead adds none of those scandalous Reflections, and seems not to have known whether the Cancer began in Mr. Hariot's Lip; "though possibly, continues Mr. Oldys, the brass Instruments, which Mathematicians are so familiar with, and for readiness often hold in their Mouths, might occasion such a Disease."*

(17) *Ubi supra.*

(18) In *Praefat. ad Orbem Novum Pet. Martyr. Angli.*

(19) In *Praefatione ad Diodes Calomarcas, &c.* cap. 1602.

(20) *Amelium Regni Regis Jacobi Apparatus*, subjoined to *G. Camdeni Illustrum Virorum Epistola*, pag. 72. edit. London 1691, in 4to.

[G] *He was universally esteemed on account of his Learning.* When he was but a young man, he was styled by Mr. R. Hakluyt (18), *Juvenis in illis Disciplinis [mathematicis] excellens*; by Mr. Nath. Torperley (19) *Homo natus ad Artes illustrandas*; and by Camden (20) *Mathematicus insignis*.

HARPALYCE the most beautiful Maid at Argos. Her father Clymenus fell so deeply in love with her, that finding by experience that all his endeavours to conquer his passion served only to encrease it, he thought only how to find means to gratify it. He practised therefore upon his daughter's nurse, and by her assistance he enjoyed secretly the object of his love. Some little time after the person, to whom Harpalyce was betrothed, arrived. Magnificent preparations were immediately made for the nuptials; the marriage was consummated, and the bridegroom set out with his bride to return home. It was then that Clymenus repented he ever gave his consent to this match. His love transported him with such a rage, that he went after the new married couple, overtook them, and made away with his son-in-law before they were at their journey's end. He returned with his daughter to Argos, where he acted publicly as her husband. She considered at last what unworthy treatment she had received from her father, and to be revenged of him she killed her younger brother [A], and gave him to her father to eat; after which having prayed to the Gods that she might be taken out of this world, she was transformed into a bird [B]. Clymenus was so overwhelmed with grief at all these misfortunes,

(1) *Hygin. cap. 206.*

[A] *She kills her younger brother.* Hyginus (1) relates that she killed the very son she had had by Clymenus, and he adds, that she gave him to his father to eat, and that Clymenus coming to know this killed her. You must correct the word *filium* and read *filium* in that Author's cxxvith chapter, agreeably to what we read in the ccxxxvith, ccxxxixth, and ccxlvith chapters. Besides this difference I observe another between him and Parthenius. The latter asserts, that

Harpalyce's father was the son of Teleus, and that he dwelt at Argos; the former makes him the son of Schœneus, and King of Arcadia (2); but as he makes him the son of Oeneus in chapter the ccxxxvith, we ought to be very certain, that we must read Oeneus instead of Schœneus in all the other passages: for Apollodorus (3) and Antoninus Liberalis (4) tell us that Oeneus had a son called Clymenus.

(2) *Ideam*, lib. and cap. 246. In chap. 148. these are *Carnus*, and not *Schœneus*.

(3) *Lib. 2.*

(4) *Cap. 2.*

[B] *She was transformed into a bird.* There are two

fortunes, that he killed himself (a). We shall mention another Harpalice in the article (a) Taken from Euphorion, quoted by Parthenius, in the 13th chap. of his *Erotica*, or *Love-Tales*.

HARPALICUS.

FAULTS of the Mythologists.

two considerable defects in the fabulous stories of ancient Greek Mythologists: the one is, that there is not a sufficient variety in the capital circumstances of their fables; the other is, that there is not the least uniformity in their accounts of particulars. You will hardly meet with two Authors, who mentioning the same story agree together with regard to the qualities and names of the persons, and to the times and places. If by this method they pretended to shew that they had a

fruitful imagination, they were mistaken; for a barrenness in the capital point of the stories is not easily supplied by a variety of circumstances that are only accessory. It seems at first that Parthenius's Euphorion presents us with something new; but if you consider it well, you will find that it is only the story Tereus acted upon another stage, with some alteration in the characters of the Actors.

(a) Hygin. cap. 193. Servius in *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 317. calls them *Amymonii*.

HARPALICUS, King of the Amymneans (a) in Thrace, had a daughter named HARPALICE, who was nourished with the milk of a cow and of a mare [A], and whom he trained up very young in the use of arms. Thus he made a very warlike woman of her, which proved of great advantage to him; for had not his daughter come to his assistance, when Neoptolemus Achilles's son attacked [B] and wounded him, he would have been lost without retrieve; but Harpalice charged the enemy so seasonably that she routed him. Her father, whom she had so happily delivered in this war against strangers (b), perished soon after in a civil war. His subjects first dethroned, and at last killed him (c). Harpalice retired into the woods, and set about plundering the neighbouring countries; she run like lightning, and when men pursued her on horseback to take from her the cattle she had stolen, they could not overtake her. She could not be taken but in such nets as were spread as though it had been to catch stags. She was killed; but they who committed that fact, paid very dear for it; for there arose immediately a dispute in the neighbourhood, to know who was the proprietor of the cattle she had stolen; on which a battle ensued, in which several were killed on the spot on both sides. Since that time a custom was established, that they should meet now and then at this maiden's tomb, and celebrate tournaments there to atone for her death. There was one HARPALICE who was passionately in love with Iphiclus (d), and who died with grief to see that he despised her. It is after her name that a certain hymn was called *Harpalyce*.

(b) Hygin. *ibid.*

(c) Servius, *ibid.*

(d) Turneb. *Adversar. lib. 10. cap. 11.*

[A] *His daughter . . . was nourished with the milk of a cow and of a mare.* Servius (1) applies to her these words of the first Book of the *Æneids*.

(1) Servius, in *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 317.

*Qualis equos Threïssa fatigat
Harpalice, volucrumque fuga pervertitur Hebrum.*

That is,

“ With such array Harpalice bestrode
“ Her Thracian courser, and outstrip'd the rapid
“ flood. Dryden.

Servius adds, that she was nourished after the same manner as Virgil supposes Camilla was nourished by her father Metabus.

(2) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 11. ver. 570.

*Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
Armentalis equæ mammis, & lacte ferino
Nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris (2).*

That is,
“ His daughter with the milk of mares he fed;
“ The dugs of bears, and ev'ry salvage beast,
“ He drew, and thro' her lips the liquor press'd.

Dryden.

[B] *When Neoptolemus . . . attacked him.* This maiden's father was already a prisoner then, according to Servius. Others assert that Harpalice delivered him out of the hands of the Getes. *Quidam hujus patrem a Getis, ut alii volunt a Mirmidonibus captum, collecta multitudine afferunt liberasse celerius quam de sæminis credi potest (3).* i. e. “ Some assert that her father was “ taken by the Getes, others by the Myrmidons, and “ that she having gathered together a multitude of “ persons delivered him quicker than can be believed “ of women.” I do not know where Charles Stephens, whom Lloyd and Hofman follow, read that our Harpalice's father was called Lycurgus, and that he was old when he was made a prisoner by the Getes.

(3) Servius, in Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 317.

HARPALUS, a Greek Astronomer, corrected Cleostratus's Cycle by another Cycle which also wanted to be corrected [A]. It was Meton who corrected Harpalus's new Cycle, the fourth year of the eighty sixth Olympiad (a). Cleostratus discovered the signs of the Zodiack, after Anaximander had discovered in the fifty eighth Olympiad the obliquity of that Circle (b). Judge by this at what time Harpalus lived. It is not true as Moreri asserts, that Diodorus Siculus mentions Harpalus.

(a) Diod. Sicul. lib. 12. num. 36.

(b) Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 8. pag. 148.

[A] *He corrected Cleostratus's Cycle by another Cycle, which also wanted to be corrected.* Cleostratus's Cycle was called *Ochattis*, because it consisted of a revolution of eight years, after which he pretended that the Sun and the Moon returned to the same point. Harpalus observing, that this did not happen, invented the Cycle of nine years.

*Nam quæ solem hiberna novem putat æthera volvi
Ut luna spatium redeat, velut Harpalus, ipsam
Ocius in sedem momentaque prisca reducit.
Illius ad numeros proluxa decennia rursum
Adjecisse Meton Cecropia dicitur arte.
Inseditque animis: tenuit rem Græcia solers
Protinus, & longos inventum misit in annos (1).*

(1) Festus Avienus, in *Aratidis Prognosticis*, pag. m. 65.

i. e. “ He, who like Harpalus imagines that after a revolution of nine years the sun and the moon return to the same point, brings them too soon to their former situation. To that number, Meton, who was skilled in the arts that flourished at Athens, is said to have added ten full years. And this Cycle (of nineteen years) has been constantly admitted since; the learned Greeks have kept it, and transmitted this invention to posterity through a long series of years.”

Meton finding that the Cycle of nine years did not answer the purpose better than the others, invented the Cycle of nineteen years. Men kept to this, as Festus Avienus observes in the verses I have quoted. This Cycle is still in use, and is called the Golden Number.

Vossius's account of all this abounds with inaccuracies and mistakes [B].

[B] Vossius's account of all this abounds with inaccuracies and mistakes.] I. Having said (2) in his Thesis that Meton published his Enneadeactris (or Cycle of nineteen years) the first year of the 87th Olympiad, he asserts in the Commentary on his Thesis that Diodorus Siculus mentions this under the third year of the 86th Olympiad. Is not this quoting a celebrated witness against his own calculation? Is this a prudent conduct? However it is dealing fairly, will some say: I own it, provided Diodorus Siculus did really follow this chronological account; but it is certain that he mentions the Cycle of nineteen years under the last year of the 86th Olympiad. II. He quotes Pliny, Book the II, Chapter the XIIth, concerning Cleostratus: he should have quoted the eighth chapter. III. He asserts, that Cleostratus's Octaeteris contained 2090 years and 22. It is plain that the Printer has committed a blunder in the figures of the number; but the word annorum (of years) is certainly a mistake of the Author. We must therefore alter and correct the following words, Intro-

duxit Octaeterida, quæ erat annorum CIO CIO XC XXII, and write them thus, introduxit Octaeterida, quæ erat dierum CIO CIO CMXXII. i.e. "He introduced the Octaeteris which contained 2922 days;" for that Cycle did really contain 2922 days. IV. He quotes the XIIth Book of Diodorus Siculus concerning the Octaeteris; but I could not find that word there. V. This phrase, in hac Octaeteride deprehensum est vitium ab Harpalo commissum, is bad; it signifies quite the contrary of what it should signify; for there is no reader but will think, that Harpalus committed an error in the invention of that Cycle of eight years, and yet Vossius's design is to let us know that Harpalus discovered the error which the inventor of that Cycle had committed. VI. He ought not to have said that instead of Cleostratus's Octaeteris Harpalus's Octaeteris was made use of; for Avienus's verses, which Vossius quotes immediately after, shew very plainly, that Harpalus invented a Cycle of nine years.

(2) De Scient. Mathem. pag. 150, 151.

HARPALUS, a Macedonian Lord, and one of Alexander's Generals, ruined himself by his extravagant expences (a). He followed Alexander's party in the disputes which arose between that Prince and King Philip, whose favour he lost for that reason (b). But as soon as Philip was dead, Alexander called Harpalus to Court again, and shewed him a very particular friendship. I believe that he gave him the government of Cilicia [A]. As for that of Babylon, it is very certain that he gave it him, together with the post of High-Treasurer (c). Harpalus, who imagined that the King his master would never return from his Indian expeditions, oppressed the people a thousand different ways, that he might have wherewithal to support the excessive expences of his bed and table. He indulged himself in all kinds of voluptuousness, and refused nothing to satisfy his mistresses [B]. Several other Governors, who, like him, were persuaded that it would

(a) Athenæus, lib. 13, pag. 594. Pausanias, lib. 1, pag. 35.

(b) Plutarch. in Alexand. pag. 669, E.

(c) Diod. Sicul. lib. 17. cap. 108.

[A] I believe that Alexander gave him the government of Cilicia.] I ground this conjecture on the account which Athenæus (1) gives us. He relates that Harpalus having lost his mistress, sent for another from Athens, and lodged her in the royal palace of Tarsus. She was adored there by all the people, and stiled a Queen; and all those who crowned Harpalus, had orders to crown her also. This supposes that Harpalus lived at Tarsus, with a sovereign authority. Now Tarsus was the capital city of Cilicia (2). I do not mind a passage of Athenæus (3), in which we read that Harpalus set up a brass statue to his mistress Glycera at Tarsus a city of Syria, [in Tarsu] τῆς Συρίας. I do not doubt but this passage is corrupted; for besides that there was no royal nor considerable city called Tarsus in Syria, we see in Athenæus, page 586, that this statue of Glycera was set up at Rossus, in Ρωσσῶ. And we see in the margin of the page 595, over against the text, where in Tarsu is printed, that there is in Ρωσσῶ in other manuscripts. Athenæus quotes the same Author, namely Theopompus, in both these passages. The transcribers therefore must have mispelt the name of the city, in which this statue was set up.

Diodorus Siculus, after the example of those who write a general history, had not too much heaped up together particular events, and neglected too much to be accurate with regard to the time when they happened. The Authors quoted by Athenæus deserve more to be credited than Diodorus; for they designed purposely to describe Harpalus's luxurioufness: it is therefore probable, that they have given a more exact and particular account of them, than Diodorus could do, who mentioned Harpalus only in general, and only glanced upon the particular circumstances of his life. This is the method which is followed in a general history. Now, what do the Authors quoted by Athenæus relate? Here follows their account. After the death of Pythionice, with whom Harpalus had been passionately in love, he sent for Glycera, made her live in the royal palace, which was at Tarsus, and caused her to be adored by the people, and stiled a Queen. Ἡ δὲ ἐλάσσει οὐκ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῶ, καὶ προσκυνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς βασιλίσσης προσκυνομένη. At illo profectam in Regia, quæ Tarsus fuit collocasse, ut adorarent omnes ac Reginam saluarent, iussisse (4). If he had been Governor of Babylon when he sent for Glycera, he would have introduced her into the Palace of Babylon, it is at Babylon that he would have caused her to receive the honours of adoration, and to be stiled a Queen. But he did all this at Tarsus; he was therefore Governor of Cilicia when Pythionice died, and when Glycera succeeded her; whence it follows that Diodorus Siculus was mistaken as to the circumstance of the time, since he supposes that Harpalus's amours with Pythionice, and afterwards with Glycera, were posterior to the time, when Harpalus was made Governor of Babylon, and when Alexander set out for India. Let it not be objected, that Harpalus raised a monument to Pythionice at Babylon (5). For it does not follow from thence, that this woman died after he was made Governor of Babylon. I do not know whether one might place amongst the effects of this Governor's luxury, the care he took to send for all sorts of plants from Greece, to adorn the gardens and walks of Babylon: Ἀρπαλλοῦ δὲ τῆς χάρας ἀπολυφθεῖς ἐπιμιλητῆς, καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυλαῖς διακοσμήσαι τὰ βασιλῆα καὶ τὰς περιπατεῖς, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησεν, τοῖς δὲ κερτοῖς ἐκ ἐπέξει ἢ γῆ μῖνον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν διεφθέρει, ἢ φέροντα τὴν κρᾶσιν. i. e. "Harpalus

(1) Lib. 13. pag. 586.

(2) Τὸν τῆς μεταπολίως ἐπίχουσα λόγῳ, i. e. "Was considered as the metropolis, i. e. capital city." Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 463.

(3) Lib. 13. pag. 595.

(4) Theopompus & Cleitarchus, apud Athen. lib. 13. pag. 586.

(5) Theopompus, apud Athen. lib. 13. pag. 595.

[B] He refused nothing to satisfy his mistresses.] If any thing could overthrow the conjecture I have advanced in the preceding remark, it would be Diodorus Siculus's description of the luxury, in which Harpalus indulged himself, whilst Alexander was in India: for Diodorus tells us, that Harpalus gave himself over to a debauched life with women, and to a lewdness, that was still more abominable; that he caused a large quantity of fishes to be brought from the Red Sea; that his daily expences were exorbitant; and that besides this he sent for a famous courtezan from Athens, whose name was Pythionice; that he made her presents of an immense price; and that when she died, he raised a stately monument to her; and sent at the same time for another celebrated courtezan named Glycera, with whom he lived in such an extravagant luxury as cannot be well described. All this happened, according to Diodorus Siculus, whilst Harpalus was Governor of Babylon, and High-Treasurer, and after Alexander was engaged in his Indian expedition. I was therefore in the wrong to mention the Government of Cilicia, will some say. This objection would be very strong, if we had not reasons to think, that

would never be in Alexander's power to make them give an account of their extortions, had committed an infinite number of unjust actions. The first thing Alexander did on his return from India, was to punish some of these Governors very severely. This made Harpalus dread the same treatment, so that in order to escape it, he fled into Greece, with immense sums of money, which he took out of the King's treasure, with which he had been trusted. He also raised six thousand men, whom he landed at Tenarus in the territories of the Lacedaemonians, and he went to Athens with a design to persuade the Citizens to make war against Alexander (d). He bribed some Orators with large sums of money (e); for he knew very well that the tongue of those men is the most powerful instrument to disturb the public tranquillity, and to engage the people to rise up in arms. But if he knew the great influence they have on the people's mind, he was not ignorant also that a large sum of money has a great power with them. Finding himself therefore possessed of an immense treasure, he hoped to draw the city of Athens to his side. But he was disappointed: Phocion was not to be bribed [C]; and besides this, the letters of Antipater, Governor of Macedonia, and those of Olympias, Alexander's mother, kept the Athenians in awe (f). So that Harpalus was obliged to look for another sanctuary [D]. He returned to Tenarus where he had left his soldiers, and went

(d) Idem, *ibid.*

(e) Plutarch. in Phocione, p. 750. in Demosthenes, pag. 857.

(f) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 17. cap. 108.

"Harpalus being left Governor of the country, and desiring to adorn the palace and walks of Babylon with plants from Greece, succeeded with regard to several; but the soil would not bear the Ivy, which always perished there, the climate not being proper for it." For if we may depend upon Theophrastus (7), he did it only by Alexander's command. If Scaliger had inferred from thence, that Harpalus had the direction of the royal gardens and orchards at Babylon, he would have deserved to be censured for one mistake only: but he asserts that Plutarch ascribes that employment to Harpalus (8). He is guilty therefore of a double mistake. I. He did not remember that Harpalus was Governor of Babylon, and that therefore the direction of the gardens was not his chief employment, but only a very little dependency of it. II. It is false that Plutarch asserts, what he ascribes to him.

(7) Apud Plutarch. *Symplociac.* lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 648.

(8) Plutarchus in *Symplociacis*, qui inter alia scribit eum hortis regis & viridariis Babyloniensis praepositum fuisse. Scalig. *Animadv.* in Eusebium, num. 1692, pag. 127.

[C] Phocion was not to be bribed.] Harpalus endeavoured chiefly to gain him: he saw the other declaimers come to him, and he gave them but small sums of money; but he offered 700 talents to Phocion, and would leave the determination of his affairs entirely to him. *Τῶν εὐθέτων ἀπὸ τῆ βίβραστο χρηματικῆς δόμοσ ἢ καὶ ἀμιλλα φθιρομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, τῆτοις μὲν ἀπὸ πολλῶν μικρὰ δίδασάν, προήκατο καὶ διέτριψεν, τῷ δὲ Φωκίῳ προσέπειρα διδῆς ἐπιπέσοισι τάλαλα.* i. e. "Those who used to get money by their declarations, crowded to him, boasting what they could do; but he gave them very little sums of his great treasure, and only as a bait to catch them; but he sent persons to Phocion to offer him 700 talents (9)." Phocion refused his offers, and let him know, that he would make him repent of his undertaking, if he continued to bribe the inhabitants: this obliged Harpalus to act with more caution; he found by experience, that all those base and mercenary persons, whom he had bribed, spoke publicly against him, in order to remove the suspicions that were entertained against them, and that Phocion, who refused his money, was the person who opposed him least; this made him attempt again to bribe him, but he found him proof against all possible temptations. Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, did not inherit this integrity; he made himself so much suspected, that his father-in-law would not assist him, when he was prosecuted according to law, for corresponding with Harpalus (10). As for Demosthenes he acted most unfairly; for he received large sums of money in order to speak for Harpalus; but the time being come when he was to harangue, he appeared in the court with his neck wrapped up in rags, and complained of a sore throat, that made him incapable to plead (11); this gave occasion to a jest, which alluded to the squinancy. *Οἱ δὲ εὐφροῖς χλευάζοντες ἐχ' ὑπὸ συνάγκης ἰφραζον ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀντιφάσσης ἰλιφθαί νύκτωρ τὸν δημοκράτον.* i. e. "The men of wit said in jest, that the Orator had been taken in the night time, not with a natural squinancy, but with a silver squinancy (12)." He did not come off with being only rallied; for his correspondence with Harpalus was the cause of his banishment (13). Observe that Pausanias thinks he was not guilty (14). Harpalus, and Glycera his concubine,

(9) Plut. in Phocione, pag. 751, B.

(10) Idem, *ibid.*

(11) Idem, in Demosthenes, pag. 857.

(12) Idem, *ibid.*

(13) Justin. lib. 12. cap. 5.

(14) See the remark [D] towards the end.

caused a great quantity of corn to be distributed amongst the people at Athens. This was one of the particulars for which he was ridiculed in a comedy which was acted on the banks of the Hydaspes, and of which some say that Alexander himself was the Author (15). It is very remarkable that after Harpalus's death, a girl he had had by Pythonice was received into Phocion's house, and educated with all possible care both by him, and by his son-in-law Charicles (16).

(15) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 586, 595.

(16) Plutarch. in Phoc. pag. 751.

[D] Harpalus was obliged to look for another sanctuary.] He was commanded to retire from Athens, as Plutarch (17) and Curtius (18) tell us. I imagine that his cause was pleaded with some solemnity; for Pollux quotes an Oration of Hyperides *ὑπὲρ Ἀρπάλου*, for Harpalus. I do not mention Dinarchus's Oration, which is intitled *ὑπὲρ τῆ μη ἐκδέναι Ἀρπάλου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*. i. e. "That Harpalus ought not to be given up to Alexander." This Oration is thought to be spurious. Yet it is true that this Orator did really plead in that cause; there were five of his Orations extant in that cause; there were five of his Orations extant *ὑπὲρ Ἀρπάλου* (19). i. e. "Concerning the case of Harpalus." This cause was attended with very great consequences; for after it had been resolved at Athens to banish Harpalus, informations were made against those, who suffered themselves to be bribed by his presents. He would have been given up to Alexander, if all the Athenians had been proof against bribery (20). One of Alexander's friends endeavoured most powerfully to persuade the Athenians to deliver Harpalus to him; and as he could not persuade them to it, he declared to them some time after who they were to whom Harpalus had given money, and how much he gave to each of them. He found this among the papers of Harpalus's Steward (22).

(17) See Scaliger. *Animadv.* in Eusebium, num. 1691, pag. m. 127.

(20) Pausanias, lib. 1. pag. 35.

(21) Philoxenus a Macedonian. Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 76.

(22) Idem, *ibid.*

Let us observe in this place the errors that are to be met with in Moreri's *Philoxenus*. The Author who wrote that article (23) asserts, that *Philoxenus, a Macedonian General, took Harpalus in Candy, who had carried off Alexander's treasure . . . that he found out all those whom Harpalus had trusted with his treasure at Athens; that he sent a list of them to the Magistrates, in order to get the money back, and to have them punished; but that he would not name Demosthenes, though he had had some dispute with him, choosing to act on this occasion according to the great esteem he had for that Orator's eloquence, rather than to gratify his own resentment.* Pausanias is quoted for this. I find five blunders in this account. I. It is false that Philoxenus took Harpalus either in Crete or in any other place; he took only his Steward, who had made his escape into the Island of Rhodes (24). The Author whom I censure does not mention it: This Omission will be his II. fault. III. Harpalus did not trust any person with his Treasure at Athens; he distributed money there to bribe some persons, that they might be favourable to him. IV. The List which Philoxenus sent to the Magistrates did not contain the names of those pretended Depositaries, but the names of those, to whom Harpalus gave money to bribe them. V. Pausanias (25), does not say, that Philoxenus designed to get that money back. VI. And he is so far from asserting that this Macedonian smothered his re-

BLUNDERS in the supplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

(23) It is in the supplement to Moreri's Dictionary.

(24) Pausanias, lib. 2. pag. 76.

(25) Idem, *ibid.*

(g) Idem, ibid.
(b) In the remark [D].

from thence into Crete. But he was not long secure in that island; one of his friends killed him perfidiously (g) [E]. The Supplement to Moreri is erroneous with regard to this particular, as I shall shew below (b). Alexander was so well persuaded that Harpalus was an honest man, that he ordered those to be put in irons as false accusers, who brought him the first news of that man's flight (i). The news he received of that traitor's being driven from Athens and killed, made him alter the resolution he had taken of re- turning into Europe to bring the Athenians back to their duty [F]. When he found that no books were to be met with in the Provinces distant from Greece, he employed Harpalus to procure him some [G]. The tomb which Harpalus erected to one of his mistresses was very magnificent [H]. I imagine that a certain complaint against Providence,

(i) Ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρπαλῶν φουρῆ καὶ ἀποδρά- νων ἀπαγγελῶν- τος ἔδωκεν Ἐπι- δάμαν καὶ Κισσοῦν οἱς καταψυδομή- νους τοῦ ἀνδρὸς. i. e. "He put Ephialtes and Citius in irons; who brought him the first news of Harpalus's escape and flight, as false accusers." Plut. in Alexand. pag. 689. B.

sentment, because of the great esteem he had for Demosthenes's Eloquence, that on the contrary he supposes very plainly that this Orator would have been in Philoxenus's List, if his name had been found in the Papers of Harpalus's Steward. Pausanias reasons thus. If Harpalus had given money to Demosthenes, it would have been discovered by his Steward's Papers; and if it had been discovered, Philoxenus would have set his name down in the List he sent to the Athenians, for he had been engaged in a private Quarrel with Demosthenes, and he knew that Alexander was terribly exasperated against that famous Orator. Now he did not in the least mention Demosthenes, when he acquainted the Athenians with the names of those to whom Harpalus had given money, and let them know how much money he gave to every one of them. Whence we ought to infer, that Demosthenes did not receive any money from him. See now how much such compilers of Dictionaries ought to be depended upon. Or rather deplore the fate of an infinite number of Readers, who imagined innocently, that Pausanias gives us here an instance of very great generosity in the Character of a Man who was such an admirer of Demosthenes, though his Enemy, that he smothered his resentment against him, when he had a very good opportunity to be revenged of him. Such is the power of Eloquence, will young Orators cry out, who shall have looked for materials in this new *Polyanthea* (26).

(26) That is to say in Moreri's Dictionary.

[E] One of his Friends killed him perfidiously.] Di- odorus Siculus tells us, that his name was Thimbron, and he was of Lacedemon, according to Arrian: He seized upon all Harpalus's effects. Others say that a Traveller committed that murder (27); others again charge Harpalus's Servants with it (28); and lastly some assert, that a certain Macedonian named Pausanias was guilty of it (29). Such different accounts tire the Readers patience, and are a disgrace to the Historians.

(27) Quint. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.

(28) Pausanias, lib. 2. pag. 76.

(29) Idem, ibid.

[F] The news . . . that this Traitor had been driven from Athens . . . made Alexander alter his resolution . . . to bring the Athenians back to their duty.] Quintus Curtius acquaints us with this. His cognitis, says he, Rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque juxta infestus, classem parari jubet, Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod consilium dum agitat, clam litteras ei redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos, mox concilio plebis habito, jussum urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites pervenisse, à quibus interruptum et trucidatum a quodam viatore per insidias. His lætus in Europam trajiciendi consilium omisit (30). i. e. "The King hearing this, was equally exasperated both against Harpalus and against the Athenians, and ordered his Fleet to be fitted out, being determined to sail immediately to Athens. But as he was making preparations to perform that design, he received secretly a Letter, which acquainted him, that Harpalus was indeed come to Athens, and had bribed the chief Citizens in his favour; but that the people meeting soon after in Council, he was ordered to depart from the City; and that being retired to his Greek Soldiers, he was taken by them, and treacherously killed by a certain Traveller. Alexander rejoicing at this, altered his Resolution of sailing into Europe."

(30) Quint. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.

A man must be quite stupid, who does not observe that there must be a pretty large passage wanting between the first and second Chapter of Curtius's tenth Book. For is there any Historian so destitute of common sense as to speak of Harpalus in the manner as Curtius does in the passage we have transcribed, without telling his Readers first, who that Harpalus was, and in what undertaking he had been engaged. I need

not to insist upon this. If any reader be not sensible of what I have just now observed, he would not be capable of understanding the reasons I might alledge.

[G] Alexander had employed Harpalus to procure him some Books.] Plutarch acquaints us with this particular: Read the following passage, you will find in it, that men did not think this Prince would be displeas'd, if they sent him Poems. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων ἐκ ἰσοκράτους ἐν τοῖς αἰῶνι τόποις, Ἀρπαλῶν ἐκίλιον πέντε, καὶ κίλιον ἑπτακλίσιον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Φιλίππου βίβλους, καὶ τῶν Ἐπιπιδῶν καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγῳδιῶν συγχρόνως, καὶ Τίλιου καὶ Φιλοξένου ὀδυράμβους (31). i. e. "As other Books could not easily be had in those remote Countries, he (Alexander) commanded Harpalus to send him some. Harpalus sent him the Books of Philistus, and a great number of Tragedies written by Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus; as also Telephus's Phyloxenus's Dithyrambicks."

[H] The Tomb which Harpalus erected to one of his Mistresses was very magnificent.] He had spent incredible Sums with Pythionice during her life, nor did he spend less for her burial. The funeral was attended with the most agreeable Symphony. All that could be performed in Music both with Voices and Instruments was made use of (32). He raised two stately Monuments to her, the one at Babylon, the other near Athens; they cost him above two hundred Talents. He consecrated a Temple and a grove to that woman under the name of Venus Pythionice, Ταυτὴς ἐτόλμησεν ὁ Φίλιππος οὗ Φάσανος ἱερὸν καὶ τίμασθαι ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ προσεγυῖσθαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν Πυθιονικῆς Ἀφροδίτης. i. e. "He who glories that he is your friend, dared to consecrate a Temple and a Grove to her, which he called a Temple and a Grove of Venus Pythionice."

(32) Pofidonius, lib. 22. Historiarum, apud Athen. lib. 13. pag. 594.

(33) Theopompus, in Epist. ad Alexandrum, apud Athen. pag. 594.

(34) In Libris de Descensu in antram Troponium, apud Athen. pag. 594.

(35) Pausanias, lib. 1. pag. 36.

The Tomb he built to her in Attica on the road to Eleufis surpassed all those that were in the Neighbourhood. One would have taken it for the Tomb of one of the most eminent men that Athens ever produced. With what an astonishment must foreigners have been struck, when they were told that it was only the Tomb of a Courtesan? This is Dicaearchus's Reflexion (34). An Author, who was very well skilled in these matters, asserts, that the Tomb which was in the road to Eleufis, was the most beautiful of all the ancient Monuments that were to be seen in all Greece: ὅτι καὶ μνημῆα ἀποθανόντων ποιῆσαι πάντων ὀνόμα' Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα, βίας μάλιστα ἀξία. i. e. "He raised a Tomb to her after her Death, which is the best worth seeing of all the ancient Monuments of Greece (35)." It is even certain, that Harpalus's design was not faithfully executed; they did not spend the whole Sum which he intended for that Monument. Chericles, Phocion's Son-in-law, took upon him, at Harpalus's request, the direction of that work, and did not spend in it the thirty Talents with which he had been trusted for that purpose. He disgraced himself two ways; 1. by taking upon him the Direction of a Monument that was designed for a Prostitute; 2. by keeping for himself part of the money with which he had been trusted. Μνημῆον ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θελήσας προστάζει τῷ Χαρικλῆϊ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ὅσα δὲ τῆν ὑπερβίαν ταύτην, ἀγνήν προσκατήσχυνεν ὁ τάφος συντελεσθείς. διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι ἰὼν ἐν Ἐρμιῶν, ἢ βαδίζομαι ἐξ ἄσπεος εἰς Ἐλευσίαν, μηδὲν ἔχον τῶν τριῶντα ταλάντων ἀξίον, ὅσα τῷ Ἀρπαλῶ λογισθῆναι φασὶν εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τῷ Χαρικλῆϊ. i. e. "Harpalus designing to raise a most stately and rich Monument, committed the care of it to Charicles. This Task, which was disgraceful in itself, appeared still more so when the Tomb was finished, which is still to be seen near the Temple of Mercury in the road from Athens to Eleufis; it does not appear that this Monument

which Tully has preserved, does not relate to our Harpalus [I]. If I am in the right father Lescapier's moral reflections are misapplied. There is a blunder in Eusebius, which I shall take notice of [K].

" Monument cost thirty Talents, which Sum Charicles is said to have reckoned to Harpalus." Pausanias owns that he knew nothing of Pythionice's Country, nor of her family, but only that she followed the trade of a Courtesan at Athens and Corinth. Athenæus was a little better acquainted with her. He tells us, that she had been a Servant to Bacchis, who used to play on the Flute, and that she entered afterwards into the Service of a Thracian Bawd, who lived at Egina, and followed her to Athens, whither that Bawd removed with her Brother; so that Pythionice was a threefold Slave, and a threefold Prostitute; ὡς τε γυναικαὶ μὴ μόνον τριδούλοσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριπαιρὸν αὐτῆν; *Ut non solum ter mancipium, sed etiam ter scortum fuerit* (37).

(37) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 595. ex Theopompo in Epist. ad Alexandrum.

(38) De Natura Deorum, lib. 3. cap. 34.

(39) Lib. 6. in Diogen. num. 74.

(40) In Διογένη.

[I] I imagine that a certain complaint against Providence does not relate to our Harpalus.] Here follow Tully's words (38): *Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur, contra Deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.* i. e. "Diogenes the Cynick used to say, that Harpalus, who passed at that time for a successful Pirate, bore witness against the Gods by continuing so long happy." I am of Monsieur Menage's opinion; the Harpalus of Cicero, the Hirpalus of Diogenes Laertius (39), and the Hirpalus of Suidas (40) seem to me to be but one and the same person. Now the Scirpalus of Diogenes Laertius, and the Scirtalus of Suidas was a notorious Pirate, who took Diogenes prisoner, and sold him. I believe therefore that Tully's Harpalus was a noted Pirate, and not one of Alexander the Great's Generals. The Character which Cicero gives of Harpalus cannot in the least be applied to Alexander's General. Cicero's Harpalus was a noted Robber, as famous for the Happiness that attended him in his plunders, as for the Robberies themselves. His continued prosperity was well known, as appears by the consequence, which Diogenes inferred from it; for a man would expose himself to ridicule, if he should argue, as Diogenes did, in a City, where a Pirate had but for three or four Years become famous by the considerable prizes he made. Add to this, that a man is never more inclined to reflect upon Providence for the Prosperity of the wicked, than when he suffers himself by that Prosperity, (41). If therefore there was any Robber, whose long continued Impunity could draw from Diogenes's Mouth the complaint related by Cicero, it was no doubt the Man, whose Slave Diogenes became; and as he became the Slave of a Pirate, and not of the Governor of Babylon, we ought to infer from thence, that the witness, he thought could be produced against the being of the Gods, was the very Pirate who took him.

(41) See above, the remark [C] of the article DIAGORAS the Atheist.

It is therefore to no purpose, that Father Lescapier (42) represents to his Readers, that Harpalus the Governor of Babylon did not continue long unpunished, after he had robbed the Treasure of the King his Master. It is to no purpose that he observes, this Robber suffered misfortunes upon misfortunes, and was miserably murdered at a year's end; he only argues against himself; the nearer he comes to his scope, the farther he recedes from the Subject he had in hand: for the Question is about a Robber who had been a long time happy; this is the objection; and you mention to us a Robber who was punished soon after he committed the fact; this is not answering; it is rather labouring, without being aware of it, to make of a trifling Difficulty a stumbling-block for weak men; it gives them offence to see, that you answer a free-thinker by altering quite the state of the question. And then, is not this conclusion of the Father Jesuit very edifying? *Omitte Harpalum, sume Diogenem: ne querere quod regia pecunia prædo unum annum vivat in sua fortuna: querere quod prædo divine providentia in sua impietate longam vitam vivat: sed neque id certe conquerendum est, nam longa vita miserissimi canis omnibus infestis, omnibus exosi, longum supplicium fuit, longioris tamen supplicii breve præludium* (43). i. e. "Do not mention Harpalus; speak of Diogenes; do not complain, that the Robber of the King's Treasure should enjoy his happiness for one year only; but complain that he who robbed God of his providence, should live a long while in his impiety, or rather do not complain even of this; for the long life of a most wretched Dog, hating all, and hated by all, was a long punishment, and yet but a short beginning of an eternal suffering."

(42) Lescapier, Commentar. in Ciceron. de Natura Deorum, lib. 3. pag. 683.

[K] There is a blunder in Eusebius, which I shall take notice of.] He observes under the third year of the 113th Olympiad, that Harpalus fled into Asia. *Harpalus fugit in Asiam.* Scaliger approves this Chronology; but he corrects *Asiam* into *Atticam*. And it is certain, that if Eusebius did not say *Atticam*, he ought to have said it. Bongars (44) had corrected it thus, *fugit ex Asia, he fled out of Asia.*

(43) Lescapier, in Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. pag. 682.

(44) In Justin. lib. 12. cap. 5.

" HARAVAD (ISAAC BEN), a famous Rabbi towards the end of the twelfth Century. He wrote something, but it is not exactly known what it is. They ascribe two wonderful properties to him; for they assert, that he could know by people's faces, whether they had a soul that came from another body, or whether it began only to exist the moment it was united to theirs; and though he were blind, yet he could discover with certainty by his smell only, whether a person was alive or dead (a). Father Bartolucci's censure is somewhat unpolite on this occasion [A].

(a) Taken from Bartolucci's Bibliotheca Rabbinnica, tom. 5. pag. 888, 889.

[A] Father Bartolucci's censure is somewhat unpolite on this occasion.] Having quoted the following words from the Rabbi Rekanati, *Et licet fuisset cæcus, sensibiliter percipiebat ex aere an iste fuisset vivus an verò mortuus,* i. e. "and though he were blind, yet he could sensibly perceive by the air whether the man were dead or alive; he adds (1), *cognoscere cadaver ex olfactu mira res apud Judeos; quia cum Judei male olentes inter se continuo versentur, illorum olfaciendi sensus videtur depravatus, ut inter cadaveris & latrinarum malum odorem distinguere nesciant, nisi prodigium fiat.* i. e. "To discover a dead corps by the smell is a wonder amongst the Jews; for as all the Jews sink, it seems that by conversing together their sense of smelling is so depraved, that they cannot, without a miracle, distinguish the smell of a corps, from that of a house of office." This is a very silly joke, and if we will divest ourselves of all cavilling humour, we shall confess, that there was something very remarkable in the smell of that Rabbi, in case he did really make the distinction that is ascribed to him: for we ought not to imagine, that it is asserted he could smell whether a man, who had been

(1) Bartolucci, Bibliotheca Rabbinnica, tom. 3. pag. 889.

dead for some days, was not alive; there is no blind person but could do this, the meaning is, that the alteration he perceived in the air as soon as a man was expired, made him know with certainty that the man was dead. Will it not be confessed that this alteration in the air is imperceptible? Father Bartolucci has found fault with another thing; he asks how this blind Rabbi could discover the age of the soul by looking a person in the face. But this censure falls to the ground, unless the same persons, who mentioned this quality of our Rabbi, had also expressly asserted that he was actually blind, when he look'd some men in the face. Now it does not appear that they made any such assertion. *Pius ille Haravad conoscebat ex vultu, utrum animâ creatâ in ipso actu infusionis informaretur homo, an vero aliunde ex transmigratiõne animam haberet adventitiã* (2). i. e. "That pious man Haravad could know by a person's face, whether the soul that animated him was created the moment it was united with the body, or whether it came from another place by transmigration." The words of the Rabbi Rekanati (3) indeed prove, that the other Rabbi knew by people's faces, whether their soul was

(2) R. Rekanati, apud Bartolucci, Biblioth. Rabbinnica, tom. 3. pag. 888.

(3) Gruter has inserted them into the 2d vol. of his Theophrastus Criticus.

HARRINGTON (JAMES), an eminent English writer in the seventeenth Century, was descended of an ancient family in Rutlandshire [A], and was eldest son of Sir Sapcote Harrington by Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel of Upton in Northamptonshire (a). He was born at Upton the first Friday in January 1611 (b). In his very childhood he gave sure hopes of his future abilities, as well by his inclination and capacity to learn whatever was proposed to him, as by a kind of natural gravity; whence his parents and masters used to say, that he rather kept them in awe, than needed their correction. Yet when grown to a man, none could easily surpass him in quickness of wit, and a most facetious temper (c). He was entered a Gentleman Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford in the year 1629 (d) under the tuition of Mr. (e) William Chillingworth. He left the University before he took a degree, and travelled into Holland, France, Italy, Denmark and Germany [B], and learned the languages of those countries. Upon his return to England, he was admitted one of the Privy Chamber extraordinary to the King, whom he attended in that quality in his Majesty's first expedition against the Scots; and took care of the affairs of the Elector Palatine (f). In the beginning of the civil wars in 1642 he adhered to the interests of the Parliament, and endeavoured to get a seat in it, but in vain (g). In January 1647, attending out of curiosity on the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to bring the King from Newcastle nearer London, he was by some of them named to wait on his Majesty, as a person known to him before, and engaged to no party or faction. The King approved the proposal; yet Mr. Harrington would never presume to come into his presence except in public, till he was particularly commanded by the King, and that he and Mr. Thomas Herbert (created a Baronet after the Restoration) were made Grooms of the Bed-Chamber at Holmby, together with Mr. James Maxwell and Mr. Patrick Maule (afterwards Earl of Penmure in Scotland), which two only remained of his old servants in that station (h). His Majesty loved his company, "and chose rather, says Mr. Wood, (finding him to be an ingenious man) to discourse with him than with others of this Chamber. They had often discourses concerning government; but when they happened to talk of a Commonwealth, the King seemed not to endure it." It is asserted from his sister's papers, cited by Mr. Toland, that at the King's command he translated into English Dr. Sanderfon's book *concerning the obligation of oaths*. But Mr. Wood tells us (i), that this Translation was made by his Majesty himself, and that he shewed it at different times to Mr. Harrington, Mr. Herbert, Bishop Juxon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon. He served the King with great fidelity [C], and made use of his interest with his friends in Parliament to procure matters to be accommodated with all parties (k). After the King was removed out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst-Castle in Hampshire, our author

(a) *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 13, prefixed to his *Oceana* and other Works, printed at London 1700, in fol.

(b) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 588. 2d edit. London 1588.

(c) *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 14.

(d) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(e) Not Dr. as Mr. John Toland in his *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 14. files him.

(f) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 14; 15.

(g) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(h) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 16.

(i) *Vols. 1. col. 321.*

(k) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 16.

entirely new or not; but not, whether he knew it by looking into their face or by touching it. Now these two methods are equally wonderful; nay, the latter seems to be more difficult than the former. It will be objected in Bartolucci's behalf, that Rekanati speaking of the other propriety, observes that the Rabbi Harravad was blind. But I shall still ask, does he suppose, that when Harravad was blind, he was at the same time that wonderful Physiognomist, who could discover whether the soul was in its native place? For if he only meant that Harravad could discover this before he was blind, what will become of Bartolucci's raileries, exclamations and invectives? He was in the right to turn all those silly tales into ridicule, but he should have made use of other arguments to expose them. We ought to be accurate and exact, whomsoever we pretend to refute.

[A] *Descended of an ancient Family in Rutlandshire.* He was great grandson of Sir James Harrington; of whom it is observed by the Historian of that County (1), that there were sprung in his time eight Dukes, three Marquises, seventy Earls, twenty seven Viscounts, and thirty six Barons; of which number sixteen were Knights of the Garter. Our Author's father Sir Sapcote Harrington was younger brother to Sir Edward Harrington of Ridlington in Rutlandshire Bart. and son of Sir James Harrington Bart. younger brother to John Lord Harrington. Sir Sapcote by his first wife Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel had children besides our Author; viz. William, a Merchant in London, Elizabeth married to Sir Ralph Ashton of Lancashire Bart; Anne, married to Arthur Evelyn Esq; By a second wife he had John, killed at sea; Edward, a Captain in the Army; Frances, married to John Bagshaw at Culworth in Northamptonshire Esq; and Dorothy, married to Allan Bellingham of Levens in Westmorland Esq; (2).

[B] *Travelled into Holland, France, Italy, Denmark and Germany.* He first went to Holland, then the

principal school of martial discipline, and (what touched him more sensibly) a country wonderfully flourishing under the influence of liberty, which they had so lately asserted by breaking the yoke of the King of Spain. And here no doubt it was, that he began to make government the subject of his meditations; for he was often heard to say, that before he left England, he knew no more of Monarchy, Anarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy, Oligarchy, and the like, than as hard words, whereof he learned the signification in his Dictionary. For some months he listed himself in the Lord Craven's Regiment and Sir Robert Stone's; during which time being much at the Hague, he had the opportunity of further accomplishing himself in two Courts, that of the Prince of Orange, and that of the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James I. She entertained him with great civility and favour on account of his great uncle (3) John Lord Harrington, who had been her Governor; but particularly for his own merit. The Prince Elector likewise courted him into his service, and engaged him to attend him in a journey to the Court of Denmark. Thro' Flanders he passed into France, and thence into Italy.

[C] *He served the King with great fidelity.* Mr. Wood tells us (4), that he "finding his Majesty quite another person as to his parts, religion, morals, &c. than what were represented by the faction, who gained their ends by lies and scandals, he became passionately affected with him, and took all occasions to vindicate him in what company soever he happened to be." And Mr. Toland observes (5), that during the Treaty of the Isle of Wight he frequently warned the Divines of his acquaintance to take heed how far they pressed the King to insist upon any thing, which, however it concerned their dignity, was no essential point of Religion: and that such matters driven too far would infallibly ruin all the endeavours used for a peace; which prophecy was proved too true by the event.

(3) Not Uncle, as Mr. Toland says, *ubi supra*, pag. 14.

(4) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 588.

(5) *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 16.

(1) Wright in his *Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, pag. 52.

(2) Toland's *Life of James Harrington*, pag. 13.

author was forcibly turned out of the service, because he vindicated some of his Majesty's arguments against the Parliament-Commissioners of Newport, and thought his concessions not so unsatisfactory as some others did [D]. As they were taking the King to Windfor, he begged admittance to the boot of the coach, that he might bid his master farewell; which being granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took him by the hand, and pulled him in to him. He was for three or four days permitted to stay; but because he would not take an oath against assisting or concealing the King's escape, he was not only discharged from his office, but also for some time detained in custody till Major General Ireton obtained his liberty. He afterwards found means to see the King at St. James's, and attended him on the scaffold, where, or a little before, he received a token of his Majesty's affection (I). After his Majesty's death he was observed to keep much in his Library, and to be more retired than usual; which was by his friends for a long time ascribed to melancholy or discontent. But he at last shewed them the manuscript of his *Oceana*, printed in 1656 [E], which he had been privately writing all that while.

(I) *Ibid.* pag. 17.

(6) *Ubi supra*, pag. 16, 17.

(7) Col. 588, 589.

[D] Was forcibly turned out of the service, because he vindicated some of his Majesty's arguments against the Parliament-Commissioners at Newport, and thought his concessions not so unsatisfactory as some others did.] This is the account of Mr. Toland (6). Mr. Wood relates the affair as follows (7). His Majesty being hurried away from Holmby to the Isle of Wight, and thence to Hurst-Castle in Hampshire on the 30th of November 1648, it happened, that Mr. Harrington one morning fell into discourse with the Governor of the Castle and some others of the Parliament-Officers there concerning the late Treaty of Newport, "wherein he magnified the King's wisdom in his arguments with the Commissioners upon the propositions for peace, and satisfaction the Parliament had in his concessions, and probability in a happy event, if this force in removing him to Hurst-Castle had not intervened and made an unhappy fracture, which created parties; enlarging also upon his Majesty's learned disputes with Mr. Richard Vines and other Presbyterian Divines with such moderation, as gained applause from all those that heard him argue. Which discourse, how inoffensive soever, and without exception at any other time or place, truth is not at all times seasonable or safe to be spoken, as by our Author's example was evidenced. For those captious persons, with whom he held discourse, being full of jealousy, and apt to wrest his words to the worst sense, they withdrew a little, and at their return they told him plainly they were dissatisfied with what he had said. He desired them to instance wherein: they replied in all particulars; which when he began to repeat for his own satisfaction and their better understanding, they interrupted him, and told him in plain terms, they could not suffer his attendance any longer about the King. Which proceeding and dismissal, without acquainting him with the occasion, was ill resented by the King, who had Harrington in good esteem, looking upon him as a Gentleman qualified with special parts; and having found him trusty, his service was the more acceptable, yet blamed him nevertheless for not being more wary amongst men, that were at such a time full of jealousies, and very little obliging to his Majesty."

[E] His *Oceana* printed in 1656.] It was published in a thin folio under the title of *The Commonwealth or Oceana: to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. When he shewed the manuscript of this work to his friends before the publication of it, he told them, that ever since he had begun to examine things seriously, he had principally applied himself to the study of Civil Government, as being of the highest importance to the peace and felicity of mankind; and that he succeeded, at least to his own satisfaction, being now convinced, that no Government is of so accidental and arbitrary an institution as people are wont to imagine, there being in societies natural causes producing their necessary effects as well as in the earth or the air. Hence he frequently argued, that the troubles of his time were not to be wholly attributed to willfulness or faction, neither to the misgovernment of the Prince, nor the stubbornness of the people; but to a change in the balance of property, which ever since Henry VIIIth's time was daily falling into the scale of the Commons from that of the King and Lords, as he shews in his

Book. Not that hereby he approved either the breaches, which the King had made on the laws, or excused the severity, which some of the subjects exercised on the King; but to shew, that as long as the causes of these disorders remained, so long would the like effects unavoidably follow; while on the one hand a King would be always endeavouring to govern according to the example of his predecessors, when the best part of the national property was in their own hands, and consequently the greatest command of money and men; as one of a thousand pounds a year can entertain more servants, or influence more tenants, than another, that has but one hundred; out of which he cannot allow one valet. And on the other hand he said, that the people would be sure to struggle for preserving the property, whereof they were in possession, never failing to obtain more privileges, and to enlarge the basis of their liberty, as often as they met with any success (which they generally did) in quarrels of this kind. His chief aim therefore was to find out a method of preventing such distempers, or to apply the best remedies, when they happened to break out. But as long as the balance remained in this unequal state, he affirmed, that no King whatsoever could keep himself easy, let him never so much endeavour to please his people; and that though a good King might manage affairs tolerably well during his life, yet this did not prove the government to be good, since under a less prudent Prince it would fall to pieces again, while the orders of a well constituted State make wicked men virtuous, and fools to act wisely. He was the first who discovered, that *Empire follows the balance of property*, whether lodged in one, in a few, or in many hands; and he no sooner discoursed publicly of this new doctrine, being a man of universal acquaintance, but it engaged all sorts of people to busy themselves about it as they were variously affected. Some, because they understood him, despised it, alledging, that it was plain to every man's capacity; as if his highest merit did not consist in making it so. Others, and those in number the fewest, disputed with him about it, merely to be better informed. But a third sort out of pure envy strove to lessen or defame him; and one of them (since they could not find any precedent writer, out of whose works they might make him a plagiarist) endeavoured, after a very singular manner, to rob him of the glory of this discovery; for our author having freely lent him a part of his papers, the latter published a small piece to the same purpose intitled, *A Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland, &c.* Major Wildman was then reputed the author by some, and Henry Nevil Esq; by others; which latter, by reason of this thing, and his great intimacy with Mr. Harrington, was by his detractors reported to be the author of his works, or that at least he had a principal hand in composing them. Notwithstanding these provocations, so true was Mr. Harrington to the friendship, which he professed to Mr. Nevil and Major Wildman, that he avoided all harsh expressions or public censures on this occasion, contenting himself with the justice, which the world was soon obliged to yield to him by reason of his other writings, wherein no such assistances could reasonably be expected. But the publication of his book met with greater difficulties from the opposition of the several parties then set against one another, and all against him; but from none more than some of those, who pretended to be for a Commonwealth,

while. This work of his was attacked by several writers, against whom he defended it.

Commonwealth, which was the specious name under which they covered the rankest tyranny in Cromwell. Our Author by shewing, that a Commonwealth was a government of Laws, and not of the sword, could not but detect the violent administration of the Protector by his Major Generals, which created him no small danger; while the Cavaliers on the other hand taxed him with ingratitude to the memory of the late King, and preferred the Monarchy even of an Usurper to the best ordered Commonwealth. To these he answered, that it was enough for him to forbear publishing his sentiments, during that King's life; but the Monarchy being now quite dissolved, and the Nation in a state of anarchy, or, what was worse, groaning under an horrid usurpation, he was not only at liberty, but even obliged as a good citizen to offer his assistance to his countrymen, and to shew them such a model of government, as he thought most conducing to their tranquillity, wealth, and power. That the cavaliers ought of all people to be best pleased with him, since if his model succeeded, they were sure to enjoy equal privileges with others, and so be delivered from their present oppression; for in a well constituted Commonwealth there can be no distinction of parties; the passage to preferment is open to merit in all persons, and no honest man can be uneasy. But that if the Prince should happen to be restored, his doctrine of the balance would be a light to shew him what and with whom he had to do, and so either to mend or avoid the miscarriages of his father; since all that is said of this doctrine may as well be accommodated to a Monarchy regulated by law, as to a Democracy or more popular form of Government. He used to add on such occasions another reason of writing this model, which was, that if it should ever be the fate of this nation to be like Italy of old, over-run by any barbarous people, or to have its Government and Records destroyed by the rage of some merciless conqueror, they might not be then left to their own invention in framing a new Government; for few people can be expected to succeed so happily as the Venetians have done in such a cause. In the mean time it was known to some of the Courtiers, that the book was printing; whereupon, after hunting it from one press to another, they seized it at last, and conveyed it to Whitehall. All the solicitations Mr. Harrington could make were not able to retrieve his papers, till he remembered that Oliver's favourite daughter, the Lady Claypole, acted the part of a Princess very naturally, obliging all persons with her civility, and frequently interceding for the unhappy. To this Lady, though an absolute stranger to him, he thought fit to make his application; and being led into her antichamber, he sent in his Name, with his request, that she would admit him to her presence. While he attended, some of her women coming into the room, were followed by her little daughter about three years old, who stayed behind them. He entertained the child so divertingly, that she suffered him to take her up in his arms till her mother came; whereupon he stepping towards her, and setting the child down at her feet, said, *Madam, it is well you are come at this nick of time, or I had certainly stole this pretty little Lady. Stolen her!* replied the mother, *pray what to do with her? for she is too young to become your mistress.* "Madam, said he, though her charms assure her of a more considerable conquest, yet I must confess, it is not love, but revenge that prompted me to commit this theft." Lord, answered the Lady again, *what injury have I done you, that you should steal my child?* "None at all," replied he, but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me justice, by restoring my child, that he has stolen." But she urging, that it was impossible, because her father had children enough of his own; he told her at last, that it was the issue of his brain, which was misrepresented to the Protector, and taken out of the press by his order. She immediately promised to procure it for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government; and he assured her, that it was only a kind of Political Romance, so far from any treason against her father, that he hoped she would acquaint him, that he designed to dedicate it to him, and promised, that

she herself should be presented with one of the first copies. The Lady was so well pleased with his manner of address, that he had his book speedily restored to him; and he accordingly inscribed it to Oliver Cromwell, who after the perusal of it, said, that "the Gentleman had like to trapan him out of his power; but that what he got by the sword, he would not quit for a little paper-shot; adding, that he approved the government of a single person as little as any of them, but that he was forced to take upon him the office of an High-Constable, to preserve the peace among the several parties in the nation, since he saw that being left to themselves, they would never agree to any certain form of Government, and would only spend their whole power in defeating the designs, or destroying the person of one another." We shall now proceed to give an account of the Book, which is written after the manner of a Romance, in imitation of Plato's *Atlantic Story*. By *Oceana* he means *England*; by *Adoxus*, King *Jobn*; by *Convallium*, *Hampton-Court*; by *Coraanus*, *Henry VIII*; by *Dicoitome*, *K. Richard II*; by *Emporium*, *London*; by *Halcionia*, the *Thames*; by *Halo*, *Whitehall*; by *Hiera*, *Westminster*; by *Leviathan*, *Hobbes*; by *Marpesta*, *Scotland*; by *Morpheus*, King *James I*; by *Mount Celia*, *Windsor*; by *Neufrians*, *Normans*; by *Olphaus Megaletor*, *Oliver Cromwell*; by *Panopæa*, *Ireland*; by *Pantbeon*, *Westminster-Hall*; by *Panurgus*, *Henry VII*; by *Parthenia*, Queen *Elizabeth*; by *Scandians*, *Danes*; by *Teutons*, *Saxons*; by *Turbo*, *William the Conqueror*; by *Verulamius*, *Lord Bacon*. The book consists of preliminaries divided into two parts, and a third section called the *Council of Legislators*. Then follows the model of the Commonwealth, or the body of the book; and lastly the corollary or conclusion. The Preliminary Discourses contain the principles, generation, and effects of all Governments, whether Monarchical, Aristocratical, or Popular, and their several corruptions, as tyranny, oligarchy, and anarchy, with all the good or bad mixtures, which naturally result from them. But the first part treats in a more particular manner of antient prudence, or that genius of Government, which most prevailed in the world since the time of Julius Cæsar. The second part of the Preliminaries treats of modern prudence, or that genius of Government which has most obtained in the world since the expiration of the Roman liberty, particularly the Gothic constitution, beginning with the inundation of the barbarous nations over the Roman empire. He gives a clear account of the English Government under the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, till the dissolution of it under Charles I. Next follows the *Council of Legislators*; for our author being about to give the most perfect model of Government, made himself master of all the antient and modern Politicians, that he might as well imitate whatever was excellent or practicable in them, as avoid all things, which were impracticable or inconvenient. To this end he introduces under feigned names nine Legislators, who perfectly understood the several Governments, which they were appointed to represent. The province of the first was the Commonwealth of *Israel*; that of the second, *Athens*; of the third, *Sparta*; of the fourth, *Carthage*; of the fifth, the *Acæans*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*; of the sixth, *Rome*; of the seventh, *Venice*; of the eighth, *Switzerland*; and of the ninth, *Holland*; Out of the excellencies of all these, supplied with the fruits of his own invention, he formed the model of his *Oceana*. In the *Model*, he observes this method, to lay down his orders or laws in so many positive propositions, to each of which he subjoins an explanatory discourse; and, if there be occasion, adds a speech supposed to be delivered by the Lord Archon, or some of the Legislators. The *Épitome* of this model is as follows. The center or fundamental laws are, first, the Agrarian, proportioned at two thousand pounds a year in land, lying and being within the proper territory of *Oceana*, and stating property in land at such a balance, that the power can never swerve out of the hands of the many.

Secondly, The ballot conveying this equal sap from the root, by an unequal election or rotation, into the branches

branches of magistracy or sovereign power.

The orbs of this Commonwealth being civil, military, or provincial, are, as it were, cast upon this mold or center by the divisions of the people: First, into citizens and servants: Secondly, into youth and elders: Thirdly, into such as have one hundred pounds a year in lands, goods, or monies, who are of the horse; and such as have under, who are of the foot: Fourthly, they are divided by their usual residence into parishes, hundreds, and tribes.

The civil orbs consist of the elders, and are thus created. Every Monday next ensuing the last of December, the elders in every parish elect the fifth man to be a Deputy; which is but half a day's work. Every Monday next ensuing the last of January, the Deputies meet at their respective hundred, and elect out of their number one Justice of the Peace, one Jurymen, one Coroner, and one High Constable of the foot; one day's work.

Every Monday next ensuing the last of February, the hundreds meet at their respective tribe, and there elect the Lord's High-Sheriff, Lieutenant, Custos Rotulorum, the Conductor, the two Censors out of the Horse, the Magistrates of the Tribe, and of the Hundreds, with the Jurymen constituting the Phylarch, and who assist in their respective offices at the Assizes, hold the Quarter-sessions, &c. The day following the Tribe elects the annual Galaxy, consisting of two Knights, and three Deputies out of the Horse, with four Deputies out of the Foot, thereby inducted with power, as Magistrates of the whole nation, for the term of three years. An officer chosen at the Hundred may not be elected a Magistrate of the Tribe; but a Magistrate or Officer either of the Hundred or of the Tribe, being elected into the Galaxy, may substitute any one of his own order to his Magistracy or Office in the Hundred or in the Tribe. This of the Muster is two days work. So the body of the people is annually at the charge of three days work and an half, in their own Tribes, for the perpetuation of their power, receiving over and above the Magistracies so divided among them.

Every Monday next ensuing the last of March, the Knights, being an hundred in all the Tribes, take their places in the Senate, and make the third region of the same, and the House proceeds to the Senatorian Elections. Senatorian Elections are annual, biennial, or emergent.

The annual is performed by the tropic.

The tropic is a schedule, consisting of two parts; the first, by which the Senatorian Magistrates are elected; and the second, by which the Senatorian Counsellors are perpetuated.

The first part is of this tenor. The Lord Strategus, the Lord Orator, the first Censor, and the second Censor, annual Magistrates, and therefore such as may be elected out of any region; the term of every region having at the tropic one year at least unexpired. The third Commissioner of the Seal, and the third Commissioner of the Treasury, triennial Magistrates, and therefore such as can be chosen out of the third region only, as that alone, which has the term of three years unexpired.

The Strategus and the Orator sitting are Consuls or Presidents of the Senate.

The Strategus marching is General of the Army, in which case a new Strategus is elected to sit in his room.

The Strategus sitting with the six Commissioners, being Counsellors of the nation, are the signory of the Commonwealth.

The Censors are Magistrates of the Ballot, Presidents of the Council for Religion, and Chancellors of the University.

The second part of the tropic perpetuates the Council of State by the election of five Knights out of the first region of the Senate, to be the first region of that Council, consisting of fifteen Knights, five in every region.

The like is done by the Election of *four* into the Council of Religion, and four into the Council of Trade, out of the same Region in the Senate; each of these Councils consisting of twelve Knights, four in every Region.

But the Council of War consisting of nine Knights, three in every Region, is elected by and out of the Council of State, as the other Councils are elected by

and out of the Senate. And if the Senate add a Juncto of nine Knights more, elected out of their own number, for the term of three Months, the Council of War, by Vertue of that addition, is dictator of *Oceana* for the said Term.

For the Signory jointly or severally has a right of Session, and suffrage of every Senatorian Council, and to propose either to the Senate, or any of them. And every Region in a Council electing one weekly Provost, any two of those Provosts have power also to propose to their respective Council, as the proper and peculiar Proposers of the same; for which cause they hold an Academy, where any man, either by word of Mouth, or writing, may propose the Proposers.

Next to the Elections of the Tropic is the biennial Election of one Embassador in Ordinary, by the ballot of the House, to the Residence of France; at which time the Resident of France removes to Spain, he of Spain to Venice, he of Venice to Constantinople, and he of Constantinople returns. So the orb of Residents is wheeled about in eight years by the Election of one Embassador in Ordinary.

The last kind of Election is emergent. Emergent Elections are made by the scrutiny. Election by scrutiny is when a competitor being made by a Council, and brought into the Senate, the Senate chooses four more competitors to him; and putting all five to the ballot, he who has most above half the Suffrages, is the Magistrate. The Polemarchs or Field-Officers are chosen by the scrutiny of the Council of War; an Embassador Extraordinary by the scrutiny of the Council of State; the Judges and Serjeants at Law by the scrutiny of the Seal; and the Barons and prime Officers of the Exchequer by the scrutiny of the Treasury.

The opinion or opinions, that are legitimately proposed to any Council, must be debated by the same; and so many as are resolved upon the debate, are introduced into the Senate, where they are debated and resolved, or rejected by the whole House. That which is resolved by the Senate is a decree, which is good in matters of State, but no Law, except it be proposed to, and resolved by the Prerogative.

The Deputies of the Galaxy, being three Horse and four Foot in a Tribe, amount in all the Tribes to one hundred and fifty Horse, and two hundred Foot; which having entered the Prerogative, and chosen their Captains, Cornets, and Ensign (triennial Officers) make the third Class, consisting of one Troop and one Company; and so joining with the whole Prerogative, elect four annual Magistrates, called Tribunes, whereof two are of the Horse, and two of the Foot. These have the command of the Prerogative Sessions, and suffrage in the Council of War, and Sessions without Suffrage in the Senate.

The Senate having passed a decree, which they would propose to the people, cause it to be printed and published, or promulgated for the space of six Weeks; which being ordered, they choose their Proposers. The Proposers must be Magistrates, that is, the Commissioners of the Seal, those of the Treasury, or the Censors. These being chosen, desire the Musters of the Tribunes, and appoint the Day. The people being assembled at the Day appointed, and the decree proposed, that which is proposed by authority of the Senate, and commanded by the people, is the Law of *Oceana*, or an act of Parliament. So the Parliament of *Oceana* consists of the Senate proposing, and the people resolving.

The People or Prerogative are also the supreme Judiciary of this Nation, having power of hearing and determining all causes of Appeal from all Magistrates, or Courts provincial, or domestick; as also to question any Magistrate, the term of his Magistracy being expired, if the case be introduced by the Tribunes or any of them.

The military Orbs consist of the Youth, that is, such as are from eighteen to thirty Years of Age; and are created in the following manner.

Every Wednesday next ensuing the last of December, the Youth of every Parish assembling, elect the fifth of their number to be their Deputies. The Deputies of the Youth are called Stratiots; and this is the first Essay.

Every

it [F]. In 1659 he published an Abridgment of his *Oceana* under the title of *The Art of Lawgiving* [G]. Besides his endeavours to propagate his Republican notions by his writings,

Every Wednesday next ensuing the last of January, the Stratiots assembling at the Hundred, elect their Captain and their Ensign, and fall to their Games and Sports.

Every Wednesday next ensuing the last of February, the Stratiots are received by the Lord Lieutenant their Commander in chief, with the Conductors and the Censors; and having been disciplined and entertained with other Games, are called to the Urns, where they elect the second Essay, consisting of two hundred Horse and six hundred Foot in a Tribe; that is, of ten thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot in all the Tribes, which is the standing Army of this Nation, to march at any warning. They also elect at the same time a part of the third Essay, by the mixture of Balls marked with the Letter M, and the Letter P. for *Marpefia* (6), and *Panopea* (7); they of either mark being ten Horse, and fifty Foot in a Tribe, that is, five hundred Horse, and two thousand five hundred Foot in all the Tribes, which are forthwith to march to their respective Provinces.

(6) Scotland.

(7) Ireland.

But the third Essay of this nation, more properly so called, is when the Strategus with the Polemarchs, (the Senate and the People, or the Dictator having decreed a War) receive in return of his Warrants the second Essay from the Conductors at the Rendezvous of *Oceana*; which army marching with all accommodations provided by the Council of War, the Senate elects a new Strategus, and the Lords Lieutenants a second Essay.

A Youth, except he be an only son, refusing any one of his three Essays, without sufficient cause shewn to the Phylarch or the Censors, is incapable of Magistracy, and is fined a fifth part of his yearly Rent, or of his Estate, for protection. In case of Invasion the Elders are obliged to like duty with the Youth, and upon their own charge.

The Provincial Orb consisting in part of the Elders, and in part of the Youth, is thus created.

Four Knights out of the first Region falling, are elected in the Senate to be the first Region of the Provincial Orb of *Marpefia*. These being triennial Magistrates, take their Places in the Provincial Council, consisting of twelve Knights, four in every Region, each Region choosing their weekly Provofts of their Council thus constituted. One Knight more chosen out of the same Region in the Senate, being an annual Magistrate, is President, with power to propose; and the Opinions proposed by the President, or any two of the Provofts, are debated by the Council; and if there be occasion of farther power or instruction than they yet have, transmitted to the Council of State, with which the Provincial is to hold Intelligence.

The President of this Council is also Strategus or General of the Provincial Army. Wherefore the Conductors, upon Notice of his election and appointment of his rendezvous, deliver to him the Stratiots of his Letter, which he takes with him into his Province; and the Provincial Army having received the new Strategus with the third Classis, the Council dismisses the old Strategus with the first Classis. The like is done for *Panopea*, or any other Province.

But whereas the Term of every other Magistracy or Election in this Commonwealth, whether annual or triennial, requires an equal Vacation, the Term of a Provincial Counsellor or Magistrate requires no Vacation at all. The *Quorum* of a Provincial, as also that of every other Council and Assembly, requires two thirds in a time of Health, and one third in a time of Sickness. [In the *Corollary*, which is the conclusion of the whole work, he shews how the last hand was to put his Commonwealth; and besides the Form of the Senate and Assemblies of the People, and the manner of waging war, and governing in peace, he treats of the discipline of a national religion, and the security of liberty of Conscience; a form of government for Scotland, Ireland, and the other Provinces of the Commonwealth; Governments for London and Westminster, proportionably to which the other Corporations of the Nation are to be modelled; Directions for the encouraging of Trade; Laws for regulating of Academies; Rules for the Education of the Youth, as well to the wars and to

the Sea, to Manufactures or Husbandry, as to Law, Physick, or Divinity, and chiefly to the breeding and true figure of accomplished Gentlemen. He gives orders for reforming the Stage; the number, choice, and business of the Officers of State, and the revenue, with all sorts of Officers; and an exact account both of their salaries, and the ordinary yearly charge of the whole Commonwealth. Mr. Toland observes (8), that (8) *Life of Harrington*, pag. 23, 24
 " this *Model* gives a full answer to those, who imagine, " that there can be no distinctions or degrees, neither " Nobility nor Gentry, in a Democracy; being led in- " to this mistake, because they ignorantly think all " Commonwealths to be constituted alike; when, if " they were but never so little vers'd in History, they " might know, that no order of men now in the world " can come near the figure that was made, by the No- " blemen and Gentlemen of the Roman State: nor in " this respect, does the Commonwealth of *Oceana*. " come any thing behind them; for, as Harrington " says very truly, *an Army may as well consist of Soldiers " without Officers, or of Officers without Soldiers, as a " Commonwealth (especially such a one as is capable of " greatness) consist of a people without a gentry, or of a " gentry without a people.*"

[F] *This work of his was attacked by several Writers, against whom he defended it.*] The first, who made exceptions to it, was Dr. Henry Ferne, afterwards Bishop of Chester. The Lady Ashton, Mr. Harrington's sister, presented him with one of the Books, and desired his opinion of it, which he quickly sent in such a manner as shewed, that he did not approve of the doctrine, tho' he treated the person and his learning with due respect. To this Letter a reply was made, and some queries sent along with it by Mr. Harrington; to every one of which a distinct answer was returned by the Doctor; which being again confuted by Mr. Harrington, he published the whole in 1656 under the title of *Pian Piano, or an Intercourse between H. Ferne, Doctor in Divinity, and James Harrington Esq; upon occasion of the Doctor's censure of the Commonwealth of Oceana.* The next, who wrote against *Oceana*, was Matthew Wren, son of Dr. Matthew Wren Bishop of Ely. His Book was intitled, *Considerations on Mr. Harrington's Commonwealth of Oceana, restrained to the first part of the Preliminaries.* London 1657 in 8vo. To this is prefixed a Letter to Dr. John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, who had desired Mr. Wren to give his judgment concerning Mr. Harrington's Book; who wrote an Answer to Mr. Wren in the first Book of his *Prerogative of Popular Government: A political Discourse, in two Books, the former containing the first Preliminary of Oceana, enlarged, interpreted, and vindicated from all such mistakes or slanders, as have been alledged against it under the notion of objections. The second concerning Ordination, against Dr. Hammond, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, and the Authors they follow. In which two Books are contained the whole Commonwealth of the Hebrews or of Israel, Senate, People, and Magistracy, both as it stood in the Institution by Moses, and as it came to be formed after the Captivity. As also the different policies introduced into the Church of Christ during the time of the Apostles.* London 1658 in 4to. As Mr. Wren was one of the Virtuosi, who met at Dr. Wilkins's lodgings at Oxford, (the Seminary of the Royal Society) Mr. Harrington observes, that *the University Wits or good Company were good at two things, diminishing of a Commonwealth and the multiplying of a louse.* Mr. Wren published a Rejoinder under the title of, *Monarchy asserted: or the State of Monarchical and Popular Government in vindication of the Considerations on Mr. Harrington's Oceana.* London 1659 in 8vo. In answer to which Mr. Harrington wrote his *Politicafter, or a comical Discourse in answer to Mr. Wren's Book intitled, Monarchy asserted against Mr. Harrington's Oceana.* London 1659. Mr. Baxter wrote against our Author his *Holy Commonwealth: or Political Apborijms opening the true Principles of Government.* London 1659 in 8vo.

[G] *In 1659 he published an Abridgment of his Oceana under the title of The Art of Lawgiving.*] It was

writings, he instituted likewise for the same purpose a nightly meeting of several ingenious Gentlemen in the New-Palace Yard at Westminster; which club was called the *Rota* [H], and continued till about the 21st of February 1659, at which time the secluded Members of Parliament being restored by General Monk, all their models vanished (m). After the Restoration he lived in a retired manner. But December the 28th 1661 he, by order of the King, was committed to the Tower of London for treasonable designs and practices [I]; and, Chancellor Hyde, at a conference of the Lords and Commons, charged him with being concerned in a plot. But a committee of Lords and Commons, after several sittings, could make nothing of that pretended plot, and did not ever name our author in all their reports (n). At last he was conveyed to St. Nicholas Island opposite to Plymouth; from whence he was removed to Plymouth, where he fell into an uncommon disorder of imagination [K]. Having obtained his liberty by means of the Earl of Bath, he

(m) Wood, col. 591.

(n) Life, pag. 35.

was printed at London in 8vo, and divided into three Books; the first shewing the foundations and superstructures of all the kinds of Governments; the second shewing the frames of the Commonwealths of Israel and the Jews; the third shewing a model fitted to the present state or balance of this Nation. To this Treatise is added a small Dissertation, intitled, *A Word concerning a House of Peers*.

[H] He instituted . . . a nightly meeting of several ingenious Gentlemen in the New Palace Yard at Westminster, which Club was called the Rota.] They met at the Turk's Head, called Miles's Coffee-House, next to the stairs where the people take water. "Their discourses, says Mr. Wood (9), about Government and of ordering of a Commonwealth were the most ingenious and smart that ever were heard; for the arguments in the Parliament-House were but flat to those. This gang had a balloting-box, and balloted how things should be carried by way of *Tentamen*; which being not used or known in England before upon this account, the room every evening was very full. Besides our Author and H. Nevil, who were the prime men of the Club, were Cyriack Skinner, a merchant's son in London, an ingenious young Gentleman, and scholar to Jo. Milton, which Skinner sometimes held the Chair; Major John Wildman; Charles Wolfeley of Staffordshire; Roger Coke; William Poultney, afterwards a Knight, who sometimes held the Chair; John Hoskyns; John Aubrey; Maximilian Pettie of Tettefworth in Oxfordshire, a very able man in these matters, and who had more than once turned the Council-Board of Oliver Cromwell; Mich. Mallet; Ph. Carteret of the Isle of Guernsey; Francis Cradock, a Merchant; Henry Ford; Major Venner, Nephew to Dr. Tob. Venner, the Physician; Tho. Marriett of Warwickshire; Henry Croone, a Physician; Edward Bagshaw of Christ-Church; and sometimes Rob. Wood of Lincoln College; and James Arden, then or soon after a Divine; with many others, besides antagonists and auditors of note. Dr. William Petty was a Rotaman, and would sometimes trouble Jo. Harrington in his Club; and one Stafford a Gentleman of Northamptonshire, who used to be an auditor, did with his gang come among them one evening very mellow from the tavern, and did much affront the Junto and tore in pieces their orders and minutes. The soldiers, who commonly were there, as auditors and spectators, would have kick'd them down stairs; but Harrington's moderation and persuasion hindered them. The doctrine was very taking, and the more, because as to human foresight there was no possibility of the King's return. The greatest of the Parliament-Men hated this design of Rotation and Balloting, as being against their power. Eight or ten were for it, of which number Henry Nevil was one, who proposed it to the House, and made it out to the Members thereof, that except they embraced that way of government, they would be ruined. The model of it was, that the third part of the Senate or House should rote out by ballot every year, so that every ninth year the said Senate would be wholly altered. No Magistrate was to continue above three years, and all to be chosen by ballot; than which choice nothing could be invented more fair and impartial, as it was then thought, though opposed by many for several reasons. This Club of Commonwealth's-Men lasted till about the 21st of February 1659; at which time the secluded Members being restored by General George

(9) Col. 591.

"Monke, all their models vanished."

[I] By order of the King committed to the Tower of London for treasonable designs and practices.] When he was seized, he was engaged in reducing his politics into short and easy Aphorisms, and had the written sheets of that piece lying loose upon the table before him. Finding that he was to be carried before the Council, he beg'd the favour, that he might stitch the sheets together, which was granted. He had no time given him to take leave of any body, but was immediately conveyed to the Tower, where none were allowed to come to his sight and speech. He was examined by the Earl of Lauderdale, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Edward Walker; and notwithstanding his apparent innocence, was still detained a close prisoner (10).

(10) Life of Harrington, pag. 30-34.

[K] Fall into an uncommon disorder of imagination.] Among the acquaintance he made at Plymouth, one was Dr. Dunstan, who advised him to take a preparation of Guaiacum in coffee, as a certain cure for the scurvy, with which he was then troubled. He drank of this liquor in great quantities every morning and evening. But after using it for some time, his sisters, to their no small amazement, received no more answers to their letters. At length advice was brought them from his Landlady, that his fancy was much disordered: Immediately one of them address'd herself to the Earl of Bath, then chief Governor of Plymouth, and informed him of his prisoner's sad condition. That Nobleman having procured a Warrant from the King for his release, the Lady Ashton and another of his sisters took their journey towards Plymouth, where they found their brother so changed in body and mind, that they scarce could persuade themselves, that it was the same person. He was reduced to a skeleton, not able to walk alone, slept very little, his imagination disturbed, often fainted when he took his drink, and yet so fond of it, that he would by no means be advised to forbear it. Dr. Prujean, and other eminent Physicians greatly blamed Dr. Dunstan's prescriptions, giving their opinions under their hands, that Guaiacum and the other drying things, which he had administered to his patient in coffee, were enough of themselves to beget melancholy or phrenzy, where there was no previous disposition to it. A rumour at Plymouth, that Mr. Harrington had taken some drink, which would make any man mad in a month, the surliness of his Physician, and something blab'd by a maid, who was put against his will to attend him, made his sister suspect, that he had foul play, lest he should write any more *Oceanas*. It is certain, that tho' his recovery was never perfect, he mended greatly as soon as he was persuaded to abstain from this liquor; and in less than a month he was able to bear the journey to London in a coach, where he was no sooner arrived, but Sir John Skelton, Deputy Governor of Plymouth, who was then in town, paid him a visit. The Lady Ashton complaining to him, that she had not timely notice of her brother's distemper, he protested, that he would have sent her word of it, had not Dr. Dunstan assured him, that he only counterfeited; and yet at the same time made him take strong doses of hellebore and other things. Mr. Harrington passed some time at Ashed in Surrey to drink the Epsom-waters, by which he found no benefit. At London he was put wholly under the care of Dr. Prujean, who with all his art could afford little help to the weakness of his body, and none at all to the disorder of his mind, to his dying day. He was allowed to discourse of most things as rationally as any man, except his own distemper, fancying strange things in the operation of his animal spirits, which he thought to transpire from him in the shape

he was carried to London, where he married the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dorrel of Buckinghamshire. Towards the latter end of his life he was subject to the gout, and enjoyed little ease, but languishing for a good while, at last fell into a palsy, and died at Westminster September the 7th 1677, and was interred in St. Margaret's Church on the south-side of the altar, next to the grave of Sir Walter Raleigh, with an inscription over him. Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote several others [L]. A new edition of all his political works is now in the press.

shape of birds, of flies, of bees, or the like. And those about him reported, that he talked much of good and evil spirits, and that he sometimes argued so strenuously, that this was no depraved imagination, that his Physician was often at a loss for an answer. He would on such occasions compare himself to Democritus, who for his admirable discoveries in Anatomy was reckoned distracted by his fellow-citizens, till Hippocrates removed their mistake. Mr. Toland found among his papers the beginning of a little Treatise written by himself, wherein he endeavours to prove those persons to be mad, who thought him so with respect to what he discoursed of nature, which he maintained to work mechanically or mathematically. It appears there, that his pretended visions of Angels and Devils were nothing else but good and bad animal spirits; and that his flies and bees were only similitudes, whereby he used to express the various figures and forms of those particles. *I own*, says Mr. Toland (11), *that he might probably enough be much decayed in his understanding by reason of his great and long weakness of body; but I shall never be convinced, that he was delirious in that only instance, which they alledge; and to satisfy the learned in this point (which, in my opinion, is a memorable story, that concerns them all) I shall subjoin his own discourse to this History.*

[L] Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote several others.] *The Use and manner of Ballots*: printed on one side of a sheet of paper; in the middle of which is a cut representing the fission of Magistrates belonging to a Commonwealth. *Aporisms Political*; London 1659, in 4to. in one sheet and an half. They are in number seventy six. But the second edition is in two sheets and an half, and the *Aporisms* are in number one hundred and twenty. *Brief Directions shewing how a fit and perfect model of popular Government may be made, found, or understood*: London 1659, in two parts. The first contains seven models, the second proposeth a model of a Commonwealth fitted to the present state of the nation, under five propositions or heads. *Pour enclouer le Canon: or, the nailing of the Enemy's Artillery*: London 1659, in one sheet in 8vo. *A Discourse upon this Saying; The Spirit of the Nation is not yet to be trusted with Liberty, lest it introduce Monarchy, or invade the Liberty of Conscience*. London, 1659, in two sheets in 4to. *A Proposition in order to the proposing of a Commonwealth or Democracy*: printed on one side of a sheet of paper. *A Discourse shewing, that the Spirit of Parliaments, with a Council in the Intervals, is not to be trusted for a Settlement, lest it introduce Monarchy and Persecution for Conscience*. London, 1659, in one sheet and an half. To this are subjoined *Certain Maxims calculated unto the present State of England*, written by our Author. *A Parallel of the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of Mr. Rogers: And an Appeal thereupon unto the Reader, whether the Spirit of the People, or the Spirit of Men, like Mr. Rogers, be fitted to be trusted with the Government*. London, 1659,

in one sheet in 4to. This Mr. John Rogers was an Anabaptist, a seditious Enthusiast, and a Fifth-Monarchy-Man. There was an answer published to Mr. Harrington's *Parallel*, without a date, intitled, *Mr. Harrington's Parallel unparallel'd, or a Demonstration upon it, and the Parable opened*: in one sheet in 4to. *Valerius and Publicola: or the true Form of a Popular Commonwealth extracted ex puris Naturalibus*. London, 1659, in five sheets in 4to. Dated October 22, 1659. To this is added *A sufficient Answer to Mr. Stubbe his Letter to an Officer concerning a select Senate, mentioned by them in their Proposals to the late Parliament*. This Letter of Mr. Stubbe was printed at London, 1659, in 4to. These seven last pieces of Mr. Harrington, with his *Aporisms Political*, have been bound up together and published under the general title of *Political Discourses tending to the Introduction of a free and equal Commonwealth in England*: London, 1660, in 4°, with the Author's picture before it, etch'd by Hollar. *The Stumbling-block of Disobedience and Rebellion cunningly imputed by P. H. unto Calvin, removed in a Letter to the said P. H. from J. H.* This was reprinted and answered by Dr. Peter Heylin in the third Part of his *Certamen Epistolare*, printed at London 1659, in 8°; which third Part is intitled, *A Decertation about Forms of Government, the Power of the Spartan Ephori, and the Jewish Sanhedrim; managed Letter-wise between Peter Heylin D. D. and J. H. of the City of Westminster, Esq.* Dr. Heylin's letter is dated from Lacy's Court in Abingdon, Decemb. 24. 1658. The Dr. styles our author a *generous and ingenious adversary, of whose society and friendship, says he, I should count it no crime to be ambitious*. Mr. Harrington likewise wrote *The Rota; or Model of a free State or equal Commonwealth, once proposed and debated in brief, and to be again more at large proposed to, and debated by a free and open Society of Gentlemen*. London, 1660, in four sheets in 4to. It was published in the beginning of February 1660. In answer to this came out a ludicrous censure, pretended to be made by the *Rota*, printed in two sheets in the latter end of March 1660. And a little before there was a sheet printed in 4to intitled, *Decrees and Orders of the Committee of Safety of the Commonwealth of Occana*. He published also, *The Ways and Means, whereby an equal and lasting Commonwealth may be suddenly introduced and perfectly founded, with the free Consent and actual Confirmation of the whole People of England*. London, 1660, in one sheet in 4to. To this was added, *The humble Petition of divers well affected Persons, delivered the sixth day of July, 1659*. It was delivered by Mr. Henry Nevil. He translated from Latin into English two of Virgil's Eclogues, and two books of his *Æneis*, which he thus intitled, *An Essay upon two of Virgil's Eclogues and two of his Æneis, towards the Translation of the whole*. London, 1658, in 8vo; and in 1659 was printed, his translation of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books of the *Æneis*. T.

(a) A city of Germany on the river Mein.

HARTUNGUS (JOHN) born at Miltenberg (a) in the year 1505, studied first in his native place, and afterwards in the University of Heidelberg. He entered afterwards into the army, and served in Hungary against the Turks; but some time after he entered again into the agreeable service of the Muses, and was made Professor of the Greek Tongue in the University of Heidelberg. He acquitted himself with glory of that function during fifteen years; nor would he have left his post had not the Protestant Religion been established in the Palatinate in the year 1546. This alteration obliged him to look for another post: he obtained one at Friburg in the Brisgaw, and was so well satisfied with it, that he resigned it only with his last breath. He was honourably distinguished amongst the Professors of Friburg, and had a great many pupils. He read Lectures on Homer, and on some other Poets, and wrote pretty good books [A]. He

[A] He wrote pretty good books.] Prolegomena's and notes on the three first books of the *Odyssea*. *Cibiades*

locorum Homericorum: Decuria locorum quorundam memorabilium (1). He translated Apollonius's Poem on the

(b) Taken from Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Philo- soph. Germanor.* pag. 300, 301.

He died in the same city June the 16th 1579, after he had taught polite Literature there during thirty three years. It appears by the epitaph he composed for himself, that in teaching the youth he suffered a great deal, and learnt much (b) [B].

(2) Janus Rutgersius, *Variarum Lection.* lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 562.

the Argonauts into Latin. This translation is not much esteemed: Here follows the judgment, which a good Critic (2) passed upon it. *Miratus sum boni- nem eruditum, & in Græca præsertim lingua cum laude versatum ita transfuisse [Apollonium] ut non paucis fa- cilium sit Apollonium sua, hoc est Græca, lingua assidue, quam ea qua eum Hartungus loquentem fecit, Latina: i. e. "I wonder that a learned man, who had gained " some reputation, especially by his skill in the Greek " tongue, should have so translated Apollonius, " that it is much easier to understand him in his " own tongue, that is to say, in Greek, than in that, " which Hartungus made him speak, that is to say, " in Latin." Immediately after this he takes notice of some errors that are in this translation, and hints that he could point out a great many more. *Infini- tum esset ea persequi, in quibus longissimè à sententia Apol- lonii aberravit* (3). i. e. "It would be endless to point " out all the passages, in which he has entirely mis- " taken Apollonius's sense."*

(3) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 566.

[B] The Epitaph he composed for himself shows that . . . he suffered . . . and learnt much.] It deserves to be transcribed.

Πολλὰ πάσαν, & πολλά μάθων ἐν παιδιότητι μου, ἔρως δὲ τῶν ἐν Θεῷ ἠρώχθη.

The Latin translation of it, which we meet with in Melchior Adam (4), is very indifferent; it does not in the least answer the Author's design, which was to declare that his Professorship was a very heavy burthen to him. I do not transcribe the other Greek Epitaph, which Hartungus made for himself; you may find it in Melchior Adam. I am persuaded that Lorenzo Crasso would have put him in his Catalogue of Greek Poets, if he had known what has been just now ob- served. This Italian's omission makes me remember, that Mr. Baillet has not given Hartungus a place amongst the Critics.

(4) It is as fol- lows. *Multa tuli, didici, docui dum fata sinebant, Mortuus in summo nunc requiesco Deo.* i. e. "I have " suffered, learnt, " and taught a " great deal, as " long as fate " would permit " me; and now I " rest with the " supreme God." It should be, I have suffered and learnt a great deal, whilst I was teaching the youth, &c.

☉ HARVEY (WILLIAM), an English Physician in the seventeenth Century, fa-

mous for the discovery of the circulation of the blood, was eldest son of Thomas Harvey (a) Gent. by Joan Halke his wife, and was born at Folkston in Kent April the 2d 1578. At ten years of age he was sent to a grammar school at Canterbury, from whence at fourteen he was removed to Gonvil and Caius College in Cambridge. At nineteen he travelled into France and Italy; and at twenty three he studied Physic at Padua under Eustac. Radius, John Tho. Minadous, and Hieron. Fabr. ab Aquapendente. At twenty four he became Doctor of Physic and Chirurgery in that University; and soon after returning into England (b), was incorporated Doctor of Physic in Cambridge, practised Physic in London, and married (c). In 1604 he was admitted Candidate of the College of Physicians in London; and three years after elected Fellow (d). Upon the death of Dr. Davies he was appointed Lecturer of Anatomy and Chirurgery in that College (e), and on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April 1616 he read a course of Lectures in Anatomy there [A], in which he opened his discovery relating to the circulation of the blood; which after a variety of experiments publicly exhibited, he communicated to the world in his *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis*, printed at Francfort 1628 in 4to [B]. December the 3d 1627 he was chosen one of the Elects of the

(a) Dr. Charles Goodall's *Epistle Dedicatory to his Historical Account of the College of Physicians Proceedings against Empyricks, &c.* London 1684 in 4to.

(b) Wood, *Fassii Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 6. 2d edit. Lon- don 1721.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) Goodall, *ibid.* *supra.*

(e) Idem, *ibid.*

[A] On the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April 1616, he read a course of Lectures in Anatomy there.] The original manuscript of those Lectures is extant in the valuable Musæum of Sir Hans Sloan, Bart. and President of the Royal Society, who favoured us with a sight of it. It is intitled, *Prælectiones Anatom. univers. per me Gulielmum Harveium, Medicum Londinensem, Anato. & Chirurg. Professorem. An. Dom. 1616. Anno ætatis 37. Prælect. Apr. 16, 17, 18.*

[B] His *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis*, printed at Frankfort 1628 in 4to.] It was dedicated to King Charles I, and there follows another Dedication to Dr. Argent, President, and to the rest of the College of Physicians London, in which he observes, that he had frequently before in his Anatomical Lectures declared his new opinion concerning the motion and use of the Heart, and the circulation of the Blood; and for above nine years had confirmed it before the College by ocular demonstra- tion, and illustrated it by reasons and arguments, and defended it from the objections of the most skillful Anatomists; and now thought proper to publish it to the world in a professed treatise upon that subject. *Meam de motu & usu Cordis & Circuitu Sanguinis sen- tentiam antea sæpius in Prælectionibus meis Anatomicis aperui novam; sed jam per novem & amplius annos multis ocularibus demonstrationibus in conspectu vestro confirmatam, rationibus & argumentis illustratam, & ab ob- jectionibus doctissimorum & peritissimorum Anatomicorum liberatam, toties ab omnibus desideratam, à quibusdam efflagitatam, in lucem & conspectum omnium hoc libello produximus.* He observes afterwards, that this book had been finished some years before: *Libellum hunc per aliquid ab hinc retro annos perfectum.* It was attacked by James Primerose in his *Exercitationes & Animad- versiones in Librum de Motu Cordis & Circulatione San- guinis, contra Harveium*, printed at London, 1639, in

4to; and by Æmilii Parisanus in his *Refutatio Harvæi de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis in Animalis*, printed at Leyden, 1639, in 4to. In answer to this last book, Dr. George Ent published at London, 1641, in 4to, *Apologia pro Circulatione sanguinis contra Æmilium Parisanum.* It has been asserted by some, that Father Paul the Venetian was the first discoverer of the circulation; and Honoratus Faber professed himself to be the author of that invention. But the pretences in favour of the first of these have been refuted by Dr. Walter Charlton, in his *Anatomical Lectures* read in the Theatre of the College of Physicians in 1683, and published in 1683. And Honoratus Faber has been confuted by Jo. Alph. Borelli, in his *Historia & Metereologia Incendii Ætnæ*, wherein he gives this short account about Faber's pretensions: *Cum verò sit omnino incredibile & impossibile hominem nobilem, religio- sum, & pium, ea quæ vera non sunt, asserere voluisse, nil aliud in ejus excusationem dicendum restat, nisi quod cum ingenio velocissimo præditus sit, a celeritate ipsâ, quâ aliena legit, & propria scribit, multoties decipiatur. Quod alias ei contigisse non erit supervacaneum ostendere, ut inde pateat solenne ei esse Autores alicujus nominis furti infimulare, hæc solummodo de causa, quia cursim & oscitanter eorum opera legit. Si enim patienter & debitâ attentione dignatus fuisset legere ea, quæ spatio 38 annorum edita fuerant, & vulgatissima per universam Europam erant, proculdubio non scripsisset anno 1666 Lib. primo de Homine Prop. 2. se Circulationem sangui- nis invenisse & docuisse ab anno 1638, antequam Gul. Harveii Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis prodiret; quem pariter multa Fabri inventa in suis Exercita- tionibus inseruisse affirmat: omnes enim sciunt Harveium an. Dom. 1628 Francofurti typis Gual. Fitzzeri suam Ex- ercitationem primum edidisse; scilicet decem annos ante- quam Cl. Fabri sanguinis circulationem docuisset.* Mr. (*) Atben. Oxon. Wood tells us (*), that Dr. George Morley, Bishop vol. 1. col. 461.

(f) From the Register of the College.

(g) Wood, ubi supra.

(h) Goodal, ubi supra.

(i) Wood, Fashi Oxon. vol. 2. col. 6.

the College of Physicians; and December the 30th 1629 he resigned the place of Treasurer of the College (f). In 1632 (g) he was made Physician to King Charles I, as he had been before to King James I (h); and adhering to the Royal Cause upon the breaking out of the civil wars, attended his Majesty at the battle of Edge-Hill, and thence to Oxford, where he was incorporated Doctor of Physic December the 7th 1642 (i). In 1645 he was elected Warden of Merton College in that University (k) by virtue of the King's letters sent to the society of that house for that purpose; but the year following, when the garrison of Oxford surrendered to the Parliament, he left that office, and retired to London (l). In 1651 his book intituled, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium;*

(k) Idem, Hist. & Antiquitat. Universitat. Oxoniens. lib. 2. pag. 86.

(l) Idem, Fashi Oxon. ubi supra. quibus

(1) History of Physick, Part. 1. pag. 235. edit. London 1725.

(2) Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning, cap. 18. pag. 207. edit. London 1694 in 8vo.

(3) Ibid. pag. 211.

(4) Anat. lib. 7. pag. 325. edit. Paris.

of Winchester, and Dr. John Pell used to say, that Mr. Walter Warner, an eminent Mathematician, born in Leicestershire, who died in the latter end of the year 1640, "made it appear in a manuscript of his composition, that the blood in a body circulates, which he communicating to the immortal Harvey, he took his first hint thence concerning that matter, which he afterwards published as the first inventor." Dr. Freind (1) observes, that as the discovery of the circulation was entirely owing to our Author, "so he has explained it with all the clearness imaginable; and though much has been since written upon that subject, I may venture to say his own book is the shortest, the plainest, and the most convincing of any; as we may be satisfied, if we look into the many Apologies written in defence of the circulation, or have the patience to read the tedious un-instructive treatise of Raymond Vieusens *de Sanguine & Corde*. This new doctrine of the circulation, however proved beyond all doubt in a demonstrative way, met with great opposition; and the inventor of it was obliged to bear the attack of numberless adversaries, who generally in their answers shewed more a spirit of contradiction, than any force of reasoning." Dr. Wotton tells us (2), that "this discovery, first made perfectly intelligible by Dr. Harvey, is of so very great importance to shew the communication of all the humours of the body, each with other, that as soon as men were perfectly satisfied, that it was not to be contested, which they were in a few years, a great many put in for the prize, unwilling that Dr. Harvey should go away with all the glory. Vander Linden, who published a most exact edition of *Hippocrates* in Holland about thirty years ago, has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that *Hippocrates* knew the circulation of the blood, and that Dr. Harvey only revived it." Dr. Wotton then remarks (3), that the first step towards the discovery was the finding that the whole mass of blood passes through the lungs by the pulmonary artery and vein. The first, who appears to have had a distinct idea of this matter was Michael Servetus, a Spanish Physician, who was burnt for Arianism at Geneva. In his book intituled, *Christiansmi Restitutio*, printed in 1553, he clearly asserts, that the blood passes through the lungs from the left to the right ventricle of the heart, and not through the partition, which divides the two ventricles, as was at that time commonly believed. Servetus's words are as follow: *Vitalis Spiritus in sinistro Cordis ventriculo suam Originem habet, juvenibus maxime pulmonibus ad ipsius generationem. Est spiritus tenuis, caloris vi elaboratus, flavo colore, ignea potentia, ut sit quasi ex puriore sanguine lucidus, vapor. Generatur ex facta in pulmone mixtione inspirati aeris cum elaborato subtili sanguine, quem dexter ventriculus sinistro communicat. Fit autem communicatio haec non per parietem cordis medium, ut vulgo creditur, sed magno artificio a dextro cordis ventriculo, longo per pulmones ductu, agitur sanguis subtilis; a pulmonibus preparatur; flavus ejecitur, & a venâ arteriosâ in arteriam venosam transfunditur; deinde in ipsâ arteriâ venosâ inspirato aeri miscetur, & expiratione à fuligine repurgatur; atque ita tandem à sinistro Cordis ventriculo totum mixtum per diafrasem attrahitur, apta supellex ut fiat spiritus vitalis.* Realdus Columbus of Cremona was the next, who said any thing of it in his *Anatomy* printed at Venice 1559 in Folio, and at Paris 1572 in 8vo, and afterwards elsewhere. There (4) he asserts the same circulation through the lungs, that Servetus had done before; but says, that no man had ever taken notice of it before himself, or had written any thing

about it; which shews, that he did not copy from Servetus; unless one should say, that he stole the notion without mentioning Servetus's name; which is injurious, since in these matters the same thing may be, and very often is observed by several persons, who never acquainted each other with their discoveries. But Columbus is much more particular; for he says (5), that the veins lodge the whole mass of blood in the *vena cava*, which carries it into the heart, whence it cannot return the same way that it went. From the right ventricle it is thrown into the lungs by the pulmonary artery, where the valves are so placed as to hinder its return that way into the heart; and so it is thrown into the left ventricle, and by the *aorta* again, when enlivened by the air, diffused through the whole body. Some years after appeared Andreas Cæsalpinus, who printed his *Peripatetical Questions* at Venice in 4to in 1571, and afterwards with his *Medical Questions* at the same place in 1593. He is rather more particular than Columbus, especially in examining how arteries and veins join at their extremities; which he supposes to be by opening their mouths into each other; and he uses the word *circulation* in his *Peripatetical Questions*, which had never been used in that sense before. He also takes notice, that the blood swells below the ligature in veins, and urges that in confirmation of his opinion. At last Dr. Harvey published his discourse *De Motu Sanguinis*. "This notion," says Dr. Wotton (6), had only been occasionally and slightly treated of by Columbus and Cæsalpinus, who themselves, in all probability, did not know the consequence of what they asserted; and therefore it was never applied to other purposes, either to shew the uses of the other *viscera*, or to explain the natures of diseases. Neither, for any thing that appears at this day, had they made any numbers of experiments, which were necessary to explain their doctrine, and to clear it from opposition. All this Dr. Harvey undertook to do, and with indefatigable pains traced the visible veins and arteries throughout the body in their whole journey from and to the heart, so as to demonstrate, even to the most incredulous, not only that the blood circulates through the lungs and heart, but the very manner how, and the time in which that great work is performed. When he had once proved, that the motion of the blood was so rapid as we now find it is, then he drew such consequences from it, as shewed that he thoroughly understood his arguments, and would leave little at least, as little as he could, to future industry to discover in that particular part of Anatomy. This gave him a just title to the honour of so noble a discovery, since what his predecessors had said before him was not enough understood to form just notions from their words." Dr. Wotton then remarks (7), that one may observe how gradually this discovery, as all abstruse truths of human disquisition, was explained to the world. Hippocrates first talked of the usual motion of the blood. Plato said, that the heart was the original of the veins and of the blood, that was carried about every member of the body. Aristotle also somewhere speaks of a recurrent motion of the blood. Still all this was only opinion and belief. It was rational, and became men of their genius's; but not having as yet been made evident by experiments, it might as easily be denied as affirmed. Servetus first saw, that the blood passes through the lungs. Columbus went further, and shewed the uses of the valves and trap-doors of the heart, which let the blood in and out of their respective vessels, but not the self same road. Thus the way was just open, when Dr. Harvey came, who built upon the first foundations.

(5) Ibid. p. 330. and lib. 11. pag. 411.

(6) Ubi supra, pag. 214.

(7) Pag. 215.

quibus accedunt quædam de Partu, de Membranis ac Humoribus Uteri, & de Conceptione, was printed at London in 4to [C]. In 1654 he, though absent, was chosen President of the College of Physicians, but refused that post on the 30th of September that year. July the 28th 1655 he settled his estate in Kent on that College (m), and died June the 3d 1657, in the eightieth year of his age. He was interred in the Church of Hempsted in Essex, where a monument is erected to his memory [D]. He designed to have published several treatises, particularly, I. "A Practice of Physick conformable to his Thesis of the Circulation of the Blood." II. *Traëtatus de Pulmonum usu & motu; de ventilatione omni, aerisque necessitate & usu; de variis & differentibus organis hujus causâ in Animalibus factis.* III. *Traëtatus de quantitate sanguinis in unoquoque aut singulis pulsationibus protrusâ, & quando plus & quando minus, & quâ de causâ; iidem de Circuitûs causis, utilitatibus, & sanguinis Arcanis.* IV. *Observationes de usu Lienis.* V. *Exercitationes de Respirationis causis, organis, & usu.* VI. *Observationes de motivis Organis Animalium & de Musculorum Fabricâ.* VII. *Traëtatus de Animalium amore, libidine, & coitu.* VIII. *Observationes Medicinales de Herniæ carnosæ curatione, aliisque curationibus præter vulgi sententiam & methodum feliciter peractis.* IX. *De Nutritionis modo.* X. *Historia multorum Animalium, præsertim Insectorum, ab inconspicuis præ exiguitate principii & seminibus (quasi atomis in aere volitantibus) à ventis huc illuc sparsis ac disseminatis, ortorum.* XI. *Anatomia Medica ad Medicinæ usum maximè accommodata, ubi ex multis Dissectionibus corporum ægrotorum gravissimis & miris affectionibus confectorum; quomodo & qualiter partes interiores in situ, magnitudine, constitutione, figurâ, substantiâ, & reliquis accidentibus sensibilibus a naturali formâ & apparentiâ permutentur, & quam variis modis & miris afficiantur, enarrare susciperet.* In a letter to Walter Moyle Esq; (n) we are informed the Physician, who, has a

(m) From the Register of the College.

(n) Printed in the Account of Mr. Moyle and his Writings, pag. 26, 27. prefixed to The whole Works of Walter Moyle Esq; that were published by himself, edit. London 1727.

part

To make this work yet the easier, the valves of the veins, which were discovered by Father Paul the Venetian, had not long before been explained by Fabricius ab Aquapendente; whence the circulation was yet more clearly demonstrated. The very learned and ingenious Dr. Thomas Pellet, now President of the College of Physicians, London, in his Anniversary Oration before that College (8) observes, that by this discovery the most important service was done to the practice of Physic; and pays a compliment to our Author in very elegant verse, telling us, that he was the first, who taught,

(8) Oratio Anniversaria habita in Amphitheatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Lond. in laudem Benemeritorum & benemerentium de Medicina, die xix Octobris anno 1719. edit. London in 4to.

*Quâ ratione cibi concocti lacteus humor
Declivis fertur, donec per cæca viarum
Labatur tacitis in stagna argentea vivis.
Inde per angustum tendens iter, ostia lævi
Pectoris evadit, venamque irrumpit apertam,
Sanguine miscendus, motuque rubescere discit.
Tum volvendo ruens per dextri limina Cordis
Pectoris irrigui gelidas adlabitur auras,
Floridus inde redit lento per devia passu
Exultatque fores cordis pulsare finitras.
Nec mora, per totum trepidat se didere corpus
Extremosque artus, unde impetu fertur in Orbem,
Rurpureos volvens sua per vestigia fluitus.
Quoque modo vitæ molecula prima capessit
Paulatim vires, hominisque adipiscitur auctus.*

[C] In 1651 his book, intituled, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium &c.* was printed at London in 4to.] It was dedicated by Dr. George Ent to the President and College of Physicians in London. There have been several editions of it; and it has been translated into English. In this work, after our author has given the anatomy of the parts serving for generation in the hen, he acquaints us with the formation and growth of the egg, and afterwards with the several parts whereof it consists. He then proceeds to give an account how the chick is formed, which he observed by a daily inspection of the eggs during the time of incubation; and was the first, who discovered, that the original of the chick was from the *Cicatricula*. He then gives an account in what order the several parts appear, and confutes a multitude of errors delivered by former writers, proving that the *pancreum saliens* is the heart; that the blood is not formed by the liver, because its *Parenchyma* is formed after, and of the blood, and grows to the blood-vessels; nor yet by the heart, because that is not in being till some time after the blood. He proves that all the *Viscera* at their first formation appear white; that the veins are the first conspicuous foundation, as it were, of the whole body; that the division of the parts into spermatial and sanguineous is ridiculous, since all

come from the same original. He delivers an account of the parts serving for generation in deer, and how the *Fœtus* is formed. He acquaints us, that nothing is to be found *in utero* for a considerable time after coition; and how analagous conception is to an egg, and that it is some time *in utero*, before it is affixed to it. He takes notice of several memorable things concerning the generation of other animals, both oviparous and viviparous. In speaking of the formation of the human *Fœtus*, he delivers several curious observations made on abortions of several ages; as also instances of Superfecundation, Hermaphrodites, of a *Fœtus* found in *Tuba Uteri*, &c. When he treats *de partu*, he gives very memorable instances, to shew how much the *Fœtus* conduces to its own birth. Besides these, there are several remarkable observations scattered through the whole book; as *de partu difficili*, *de gravidatione falsâ*, *de ulcere uteri*, *de uteri procliventiâ*, &c. as also *de uteri membranis*, *humoribus*, *placentâ*, *de conceptione*, *de calido innato*, *de humido primigenio*, &c. and of his cure of a *Sarcocœle* of that bigness, that none durst undertake the cure either by cutting or otherwise; which he happily performed by tying the artery, and thereby depriving it of nourishment; by which means it was afterwards easily extirpated.

[D] Where a monument was erected to his memory.] Upon it is the following inscription.

" GULIELMUS HARVEIUS,
" Cui tam colendo Nomini assurgunt omnes Academix;
" Qui diuturnum sanguinis motum post tot annorum
" Millia primus invenit;
" Orbi salutem, sibi immortalitatem
" Consequutus.
" Qui ortum & generationem Animalium solus omnium
" A Pseudophilosophiâ liberavit.
" Cui debet
" Quod sibi innotuit humanum Genus, seipsam Medicina.
" Sereniss. Majestati. Jacobo & Carolo Britanniarum
" Monarchis Archiaterus & charissimus.
" Collegii Med. Lond. Anatomes & Chirurgiæ Professor
" Assiduus & felicissimus:
" Quibus illustrem construxit Bibliothecam,
" Suoque dotavit & ditavit Patrimonio.
" Tandem
" Post triumphales
" Contemplando, fanando, inveniando
" Sudores
" Varias domi forisque statuas,
" Quum totum circuit Microcosmum,
" Medicinæ Doctor & Medicorum,
" Improles obdormivit
" III Junii anno salutis MDCLVII, Ætat. LXXX.
" Annorum & Famæ satur. T.

(o) *Pyramido-graphia: or a Description of the Pyramids in Egypt.* pag. 101, 102. edit. London 1646, in 8vo.

part in the Dialogue in Mr. Henry Nevil's *Plato Redivivus*, was designed to represent Dr. Harvey, who relieved his abstruser studies by conversations in politics. Mr. John Greaves (o) relates a conversation between himself and our author, upon the subject of Mr. Greaves and his company's having continued three hours in the greatest of the Egyptian Pyramids; which Dr. Harvey was extremely surprized at, imagining there would be a difficulty of Respiration there.

HAY, a Scots family, which owes the first origin of its Nobility to a very illustrious action. It is reported that the Danes having invaded Scotland under the reign of Kenneth III, about the year 990, there was a battle fought between them and the Scots (a), in which the latter having been immediately routed, retired towards Perth. They were obliged to pass through a very narrow way between the mountains and the river Tay. A countryman, who happened to be there with his two sons, made himself master of that narrow passage, encouraged them that ran away to return again to the enemy, and stopt those that would continue their flight. He did more, for he armed himself with the first weapon he met, and accompanied by his two sons, both armed with a piece of their plough, he fell with so much fury upon the Danes, and by his example did so much raise the courage of those that were running away, that the Scots gained the victory. The enemy was routed in his turn, and Scotland prevented from the slavery to which the Danes designed to reduce it. This countryman, who was afterwards known under the name of Hay, is the founder of the family I speak of. He and his sons signalized themselves in the most extraordinary manner during the fight; they put the enemy under the most terrible consternation, and made a very great havock wherever they fought. This glorious action, by which they saved their country, was rewarded as it deserved [A], and since that time this family has been one of the most illustrious in the Kingdom. It has produced several branches [B], and several persons of very great merit [C]. The Earl of Errol is at present the head of it; he is married to Anne Drummond, the Earl of Perth's sister (b).

(a) The place where this battle was fought is called *Licartias*.

(b) Taken from some Memoirs communicated to the bookseller.

[A] This glorious action was rewarded as it deserved. Hay was conducted by the whole army to the King's palace, and in the assembly of the Parliament he was raised to the highest degree of Nobility; the King gave him a considerable part of the enemy's spoil, and granted him in land the whole flight of a falcon; that is to say, they let a falcon fly out, and observed the place where it rested; and all the lands where the falcon began his flight to the place where it rested, were given to Hay. That last place is still called Falcon's Stone (*). By this means Hay was possessed of all the fruitful lands in all Scotland, situated on the spot where the battle was fought, along the banks of the River Tay. King Kenneth gave him a coat of arms, which was *Argent* with three *scutcheons gules*; to intimate that the courage of three men had saved the Kingdom (1).

(*) Lelley observes, that in his time a stone called the *Falcon* was still to be seen near Dundee in Angushire. *Lectures, De Moribus & Rebus, 898.* Scotw. lib. 5. pag. m. 197.

(1) Taken from the same Memoirs.

(2) Mr. Peliffon, *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, pag. m. 246. says: Paul Hay, Sieur du Chatelet, was of the ancient family of the Hay's in Brittany, which boasts to be descended six hundred years ago from that of the Earls of Carlisle, one of the most illustrious families in Scotland.

(3) Taken from the same Memoirs.

[B] This family . . . has produced several branches. Which have spread not only through England and Scotland, but also in France, and particularly in Normandy (2). I mention only the branches of the Earls of Tweedale and Kinnoul, which do still subsist (3).

[C] . . . Several persons of very great merit. We can say nothing of the condition in which that family was from the reign of Kenneth III, to that of Robert Bruce: for Edward I King of England making an advantage of the divisions of Scotland, when Robert Bruce and John Baliol disputed with each other the Crown, invaded the Kingdom, and carried away not only all public Records, but also all the papers of private families. Those of the family of the Hay's were taken away as well as those of a great many others. During that civil war Robert Hay followed Robert Bruce's party with a perfect fidelity, and did him such great services, that he conferred upon him, as a reward, the office of hereditary High-Constable of Scotland in the year 1310: and that he might support his dignity with a suitable splendor the same Prince gave him se-

veral lands in the Shire of Aberdeen. This office has continued ever since in that family, and is now enjoyed by the Earl of Errol, who is reckoned the nineteenth of his family, who possessed that office. NICHOLAS Lord HAY was killed in the year 1332 with two hundred and eighty Gentlemen of his family, in the battle of Duplin, in King David Bruce's party against Edward Baliol. DAVID Lord HAY his successor accompanied King David Bruce in the war against the English, and was killed in the battle of Durham in the year 1344. THOMAS Lord HAY married King Robert II's daughter, with whom he had the Barony of Inchtuill in the Shire of Perth, about the year 1376. WILLIAM Lord HAY was chosen in the year 1423 with some other Noblemen, to consult how to restore King James I to his liberty, who was kept a prisoner in England. He succeeded in this affair, and was soon after created Earl of Errol. WILLIAM HAY Earl of Errol, Lord High-Constable of Scotland, and Sheriff of the Shire of Aberdeen, attended King James IV in the battle of Floudown in the year 1513, and was killed there with his Prince, and twenty seven Gentlemen of his name. FRANCIS HAY Earl of Errol having constantly followed Queen Mary's party, and continued in the Roman Catholick Religion, suffered great misfortunes. His houses were demolished, his estate plundered, and himself imprisoned. But he was in favour under King James VIth, Queen Mary's son. He was one of the Scots Lords who were sent into England in the year 1604, to settle the union of the two Crowns. His son assisted at Charles I's Coronation in Scotland in the year 1633. GILBERT HAY Earl of Errol had a great share in Charles I's favour, and made a great figure in the Parliament at Edinburgh at the Restoration of Charles II. JOHN HAY, Earl of Errol, now Lord High-Constable of Scotland, is his son (4).

(4) Taken from the same Memoirs.

(o) According to Southwell, *Bibliotheca Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 459. for Father Alegambe says it was in the year 1562, and not in 1566.

HAY (JOHN) a Scots Jesuit, entered into the Society of the Jesuits in the year 1566 (a), and passed his Noviciate at Rome, where he also made the fourth vow. The place where he appeared chiefly was the College of Tournon, in which he taught Divinity, Mathematics, and the Hebrew tongue. He died May the 21st 1607 at Pontamousson, where he was Chancellor of the University. He applied himself very much to controversies, and wrote several books against the Protestants [A]. He had also a dispute

[A] He wrote several Books against the Protestants. *A Collection of Questions to the Ministers.* He composed this in the Scots language, according to Father Alegambe, who adds that it was translated into French by

Michael Coyffard. *A Vindication of these Questions.* He composed it in French according to Father Alegambe: but it is a mistake, for John Hay asserts in his Preface, that he wrote it in Latin, and that it was translated

(b) Taken from Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, p. 248.

(c) See the remark [A].

dispute by word of mouth at Strasburg with Pappus, and with John Sturmius (b). Father Alegambe deserves to be a little censured (c). We ought not to take this John Hay for the Jesuit of that name who was banished by a decree of the Parliament of Paris [B]. They both pretended to be descended from the family of the HAYS (d), which I have mentioned in the foregoing article.

(d) See the *Defense des Demandes de Jean Hay*.

translated into French by some of the Jesuits pupils. This Vindication was written against a *Libel of James Pineton of Chambrun, a Preacher at Nismes*, and printed at Lyons in the year 1586. It appears from the Dedication, dated July 2d 1585, that it was five years since the Author had begun to read public Lectures of Divinity at Tournon. *Antimonium ad Responsum Bezae*. "A vomit against Beza's Answer." *Disputatio contra Ministrum anonymum Nemausensem*. "A Disputation against an anonymous Minister of Nismes." His *Helleborum Joanni Serrano* "A Purge for John de Serres," which was found among his papers, is kept at Rome with the Records belonging to the Society (1). This is all that the Bibliographers of the Jesuits tell us: they did not know that John Hay had actually published a Book against de Serres, namely an Answer to the second Anti-Jesuit of that Minister (2). John Hay's other works are *Scolia brevia in Bibliothecam sanctam Sixti Senensis*: i. e. "Short Observations on Sixtus Senensis's sacred Library;" and a Latin Translation of some Letters of the Jesuits written from Japan and Peru. It was printed at Antwerp in the year 1605, in 8vo. See Father Alegambe.

[B] *The Jesuit of that name who was banished by a Decree of the Parliament of Paris*. His name was ALEXANDER HAY. "He was found guilty of speaking seditiously against the King, since the City of Paris had been forced to submit to his Majesty; he went so far as to declare that if the King ever passed

"before their College (of the Jesuits) he would throw himself headlong out of the window upon him to break his neck by the fall." This is what we read in Mezerai's large History (3). The Author of the *Anticoton* will tell us the date of the Parliament's Decree. *Informations were made against Alexander Hayes a Scots Jesuit, who had taught publicly, that men must dissemble, and obey the King for a time artfully, saying often these words, Jesuita est omnis homo: (a Jesuit is a man of all parties): This Jesuit was also charged with saying, that if the King happened to pass by their College, he wished he might fall out of the window to break the King's neck. For which reason a Decree was pronounced by the Court (of Parliament) January the 10th 1595, by which the said Hayes was banished for ever, and commanded to keep his banishment upon pain of being hanged and strangled, without any further trial* (4). The Author of the *Butter-women's Thanks* says the same, and then adds (5), that this Jesuit, having since repeated and confirmed the same words at Prague, the greatest men in the Kingdom petitioned to have him sent into France; but it was answered, that he had swallowed a mess of water-gruel, which was not thoroughly boiled, and he was found dead as suddenly as the Provost of the Marshals of Pluviers . . . who was strangled in the Chatelet with the string of his drawers, that was not strong enough to bridle a fly. If we may believe Pasquier (6), Alexander Hayes taught the first form in the College of the Jesuits at Paris, during the civil war.

(3) Tom. 3. pag. 1135, 1136.

(4) *Anti-Caton*, pag. m. 38.

(5) Pag. 19. This *Remerciaement des Beurrieres* was printed in the year 1610.

(6) *Catechisme des Jesuites*, liv. 2. chap. 20. pag. m. 472.

HAYWARD (Sir JOHN), an eminent English Historian in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, was educated in the University of Cambridge, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1599 he published at London in 4to, *The first Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the III. extending to the End of the first Yeare of his Raigne*. Written by J. H. [A], dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex. Upon the account

[A] In 1599 he published at London in 4to, *The first part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the III. extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne*. Written by J. H. In the preface he observes that "among all sortes of humane writers there is none that have done more profit, or deserved greater praye, then they who have committed to faithfull records of Histories eyther the government of mighty States, or the lives and actes of famous men. For by describing the order and passages of these two, and what events had followed what countailes, they have set foorth unto us not onely precepts, but lively patterns both for private directions and for affayres of State, whereby in shorte time younge men may be instructed, and old men more fullie furnished with experience, then the longest age of man can afford." He afterwards remarks that Cicero rightly calls History the Witness of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, and the Messenger of Antiquity. Heereby, says our Author, *wee are armed against all the rage and harshnesse of fortune; and heereby we may seeme (in regarde of the knowledge of thinges) to have travelled in all countries, and to have lived in all ages, and to have been conversant in all affayres. Neyther is that the least benefit of History, that it preserves eternally both the glory of good men, and shame of evill*. He concludes his preface with observing, that it might not seem impertinent to write of the stile of an History, what beginning, what continuance, and what mean is to be used in all matter, what things to be suppressed, what lightly touched, and what to be treated at large, how credit may be won, and suspicion avoided; what is to be observed in the order of times and description of places and other such circumstances of weight, what liberty a Writer may use in framing speeches, and in declaring the causes, counsels, and events of things done; how far he must bend himself to profit, and when and how he may play upon pleasure; "but this, says he, were too large a field to enter into: therefore lest I should run into the fault of the Mindians, who made their gates wider then

"their towne, I will here close up, only wishing that all our English Histories were drawne out of the drosse of rude and barbarous English, that by pleasure in reading them, the profit in knowing them myght more easily be attayned." In this History our Author introduces a speech of Dr. Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, a man, says he, *learned and wise, and one that alwayes used both libertie and constancie in a good cause; in which the Bishop is represented as declaring in Parliament against the settlement of the Crown on King Henry IV. The speech begins thus: "This question, Right honourable Lordes, concerneth a matter of great consequence and weight; the determining whereof will assuredly procure eyther safe quiet or dangerous disturbance, both to our particular consciences; and also to the common State. Therefore before you resolve upon it, I pray you, call to your consideration these two things: first, whether King Richard bee sufficiently deposed or no: secondly, whether King Henrie be with good judgement or justice chosen in his place. For the first point wee are first to examine whether a King being lawfully and fully intituted by any just title, may, upon imputation eyther of negligence or of tyrannie, be deposed by his subjects. Secondly, what King Richard hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which he should deserve so heavie judgement." I will not speake what may be done in a popular State, or in a consular; in which, although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet he hath not supreme power of Majestie; but in the one, the people have the highest Empire, in the other the Nobilitie and chiefe men of estate, in neyther the Prince (2). . . . In these and such like governments the Prince hath not regall rightes, but is himselfe subject to that power, which is greater than his, whether it be in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Sovereigne Majesty be in the Prince, as it was in the three first Empires, and in the Kingdomes of Judea and Israell, and is now in the Kingdomes of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Scotland, Muscovia, Turkey, Tartaria, Persia, Æthiopia, and almost all*

(1) Pag. 100, § 177.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 101.

(a) Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth*, ad ann. 1601.

of this book he suffered a tedious imprisonment (a) [B]. In 1603 he published at London in 4to, *An Answer to the first Part of a certaine Conference concerning Succession*, published not long since under the name of R. Doleman [C]. In 1610 he was appointed one

all the Kingdomes of Asia and Africke; although for his vices be unprofitable to the subiectes, yea burisfull, yea intollerable; yet can they lawfully neither harme his person, nor bazzard his power, whether by judgement or els by force; for neither one nor all Magistrates haue any authority over the Prince, from whom all authority is derived, and whose onely presence doeth silence and suspend all inferiour jurisdiction and power. As for force, what subiect can attempt, or assist, or counsaile, or conceale violence against his Prince, and not incurre the big and heynous crime of treason (3)? . . . Not only our actions, but our speeches also, and our very thoughts are strictly charged with duty and obedience unto Princes, whether they be good or evil (4). . . God stirreth up the spirit even of wicked Princes to doe his will; and (as Jebozabab said to his rulers) they execute not the judgement of man, but of the Lord; in regard whereof David calleth them Gods, because they haue rule and authority immediately from God, which if they abuse, they are not to be adjudged by their subiects, for no power within their Dominions is superiour to theirs: but God reserveth them to the forest tryall. Horribly and so dainly (saith the wise man) will the Lord appeare unto them, and a harde judgement shall they have. The Law of God commandeth, that the childe should be put to death for any contumely done unto the parents. But what if the father be a robber? if a murderer? if for all excesse of villanyes, odious and execrable both to God and man? Surely he deserveth the highest degree of punishment; and yet must not the sonne lift up his hand against him, for no offence is so great as to be punished by parricide. But our country is deever unto us then our parentes; and the Prince is Pater Patriæ, the Father of our Country, and therefore more sacred and deere unto us then our parentes by nature, and must not be violated, how imperious, how impious so ever he bee (5). . . Neyther have we any custome, that the people at pleasure should elect their King; but they are always bound unto him, who by right of blood is right successor; much les can they confirme and make good that title, which is before by violence usurped; for nothing can there be freely doone, when liberty is once retrained by feare (6).” Dr. White Kennet, Dean of Peterborough, observes (7), that the first notice given to the world of any such speech by Bishop Merks, came from Mr. Edward Hall, who died about 150 years after the speaking, and yet pretends no manuscript copy; and that it was immediately caught up by Mr. Grafton, who cites Mr. Hall for it. Mr. John Stow in his *Annals* published in his own life-time takes no notice of any speech or opposition of this Bishop in this Parliament; nor has Mr. Edmund Howes inserted it. But Mr. Hollingshed and his friends, who were to be general collectors, took hold of it, but refer to Mr. Hall, and let it rest again singly upon his testimony. “But soon after, says Dr. Kennet (8), comes a bolder man, Sir John Hayward, L.L. D. to give an Essay upon Henry IV., and he not only supposes a speech to have been really delivered, but he gives a new and larger copy of it, i. e. he made a new speech, and dressed it up in arguments and language as unlike to Bishop Merks, as his own military sword was to that Prelate’s mitre. And yet he introduces it with great ceremony. The inheritance of the Kingdom, says he, being in this sort settled in King Henry and his line, it was moved in the Parliament, what should be done with King Richard. The Bishop of Caerleke, who was a man learned and wise, and one that always used both liberty and constancy in a good cause, in his secret judgment did never give allowance to these proceedings, yet dissembled his dislike until he might to some purpose declare it. Therefore now being in a place to be heard of all, and by order of the House to be interrupted by none, he rose up and with a bold and present uttered his mind as followeth &c. “All which, continues Dr. Kennet, is an imaginary entrance into an enchanted castle, or a mere fiction pleasant enough to any who love to be deceived. The Author, like other diverting Writers, would not bind himself up to relate what another said,

but would make an exercise upon what might be new said upon that subject. This speech for Bishop Merks was not his first Essay of that kind: his *Life and Reign of Henry IV.* He made a fine speech for Archbishop Arundel to Duke Henry in France, which he calls a *solemn Oration*; and a pretty speech of the Duke in answer to it, with reply and rejoinder very agreeable. He makes a most be-moaning speech for King Richard, when his bitter-ness did in this manner break from him; and another Farewell-speech in the Tower, when he delivered up his crown and sceptre. In short he is a protest Speech-maker thro’ all his little History. The true occasion of his making that elaborate speech for Bishop Merks, seems to have been this. He was employed by the Earl of Essex to answer the Book of Titles, called *Doleman*, written by Father Parsons, and cautiously to recommend the *Hereditary Right* of the King of Scots; and upon that view he took a step out of the way, and put his own thoughts into the form of a speech for Bishop Merks in defence of *Hereditary Right*. For which he suffered in the jealous times of Queen Elizabeth, and was honourably rewarded by King James I, who knighted him, and made him Historiographer of Chelsea-College.”

[B] Upon the account of this Book he suffered a tedious imprisonment. We are informed in the Lord Bacon’s *Apologues* (9), that Queen Elizabeth being highly incensed at this Book, she asked Mr. Bacon, who was then one of her Council learned in the Law, *Whether there was any treason contained in it?* Mr. Bacon answered, “No, Madam; for treason, I cannot deliver opinion, that there is any, but very much fe-lony.” The Queen apprehending it gladly asked, *How, and wherein?* Mr. Bacon answered, “Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of *Cornelius Tacitus*.” Camden tells us (10), that this Book being dedicated to the Earl of Essex, when that Nobleman and his friends were tried, the lawyers urged, that “it was written on purpose as a copy and an encouragement for deposing the Queen;” and they particularly insisted upon those words in the Dedication, in which our Author stiles the Earl, *Magnus & presentis judicio, & futuri temporis expectatione*.

[C] In 1603 he published at London in 4to *An Answer to the first part of a certaine Conference concerning Succession, published not long since under the name of R. Doleman*. The Conference was written by Father Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, and printed in 1593, 1594 in 8vo, under the name of R. Doleman, and was known by the name of the *Book of Titles*. The first part was reprinted at London 1648 in ten sheets in 4to, by Robert Ibbotson in Smithfield, under this title, *Several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliaments to proceed against their King for misgovernment*. This pamphlet was licensed January 31st 1647, by Gilbert Mabbot. Dr. Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, wrote the following note in a blank leaf before the title of it. “This base and traitorous pamphlet is verbatim the first part of Francis Doleman (Parsons was the man under that name) touching Succession to the Crowne. These nine Speeches (as here they call them) are the nine chapters in *Doleman*. And this was printed at the charge of the Parliament, which cost 30 pounds, being paid by them to the Printer in perpetuam eorum infamiam. See the Collection of his Majesty’s most gracious Messages for peace, p. 125, 126. The said Messages were collected and printed with observations upon them by Mr. Symons. The said traitorous pamphlet [*Several Speeches*] was put out by Walker an Ironmonger, sometime a Cow-herd, who when the King came into London about the five Members, threw into his coach a traitorous pamphlet, *To thy tents, O Israel*. Vide Lambert Wood’s History. He the said Walker wrote the *Perfect Occurrences*, and now (1649) is made a Minister by the Presbyterians. Mr. Darby a Yorkshire and Parliament Man bought *Doleman of Cornelius Bee* at

(3) Ibid. pag. 102.

(4) Ibid. pag. 104.

Sap. 6.

(5) Ibid. pag. 104, 105.

(6) Ibid. pag. 107.

(7) Third Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Almoner to his Majesty, upon the subject of Bishop Merks, pag. 46, 1699. edit. London 1717, in 8vo.

(8) Ibid. p. 49.

(9) Works of Lord Bacon, edit. London 4 vol. in fol.

(10) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann. 1601.

of the Historiographers of Chelsea College near London [D]. In 1613 he published at London in 4to, *The Lives of the Three Normans, Kings of England*; William be First, William

“ the King's Arms in little Britain, and gave it to
 “ *Walker*. Doleman beforementioned was an honest
 “ secular Priest, who hated traitorous doctrines; and
 “ *Father Parsons* hated him, and, to make him odious,
 “ did use his name, as if *Doleman* had been the author,
 “ when *Parsons* indeed made the Book.” The titles of the
 chapters of the first part of the Conference are as follow:
 I. *That succession to Governement by neceress of bloude is*
not by lawe of nature or divine, but only by humane and
positive lawes of every particular Commonwealth: and
consequently, that it may upon just causes be altered by
the same. II. *Of the particular Forme of Monarchies*
and Kingdomes, and the different Lawes whereby they
are to be obtained, bolden, and governed in divers coun-
tries, according as each Commonwealth hath chosen and
establisshed. III. *Of the great reverence and respect due*
to Kings, and yet how divers of them have been law-
fully chastised by their Commonwealthes for their misgo-
vernment; and of the good and prosperous successe that
God commonly hath given to the same, and much more
to the putting back of an unworthie pretender. IV.
Wherein consisteth principally the lawfulnessse of proceeding
against Princes, which in the former chapter is mencion-
ed: What interest Princes have in their subjects goods
or lives: How oathes doe binde or may be broken of sub-
jects towards Princes; and finally the difference betweene
a good King and a Tyrant. V. *Of the Coronation of*
Princes and Maner of admitting to their authoritye, and
the Oathes which they do make in the same unto the Com-
monwealth for their good government. VI. “ What is
 “ due to onely succession by birth; and what interest
 “ or right an heire apparent hath to the Crowne, be-
 “ fore he is crowned or admitted by the Common-
 “ wealth; and how justly he may be put backe, if
 “ he hath not the partes requisite. VII. How the
 “ next in succession by propinquity of bloud have of-
 “ tentimes bin put backe by the Commonwealth,
 “ and others further off admitted in their places even
 “ in those Kingdoms where succession prevaileth; with
 “ many examples of the kingdome of Israel and Spain;
 “ VIII. Of divers other examples out of the State of
 “ France and England for proof, that the next in
 “ bloud are sometimes put backe from Succession, and
 “ how God hath approved the same with good suc-
 “ cesse. IX. What are the principall points, which a
 “ Commonwealth ought to respect, in admitting or
 “ excluding any Prince; wherein is handled largely
 “ also of the diversitie of Religions and other such
 “ Cases.” The second part of this Conference was de-
 signed to prove, that the Infanta of Spain was the le-
 gal heir to the Crown of England. As soon as this
 Book was published, the Parliament enacted in the
 35th of Q. Elizabeth, that whoever should be found
 to have it in his house, should be guilty of high trea-
 son. This Conference was reprinted at London 1681
 in 8vo, which occasioned the publication of a piece in-
 titled, *The apostate Protestant, in a Letter to a Friend,*
occasioned by the late reprinting of Doleman. London
 1682 in eight sheets in 4to, said to be written by Ed-
 ward Pelling, Rector of St. Martin's Ludgate in Lon-
 don. Our Author Hayward's *Answer to the first part*
of the Conference, which was likewise reprinted at Lon-
 don 1683 in 8vo, is dedicated to King James I, and
 in the Dedication he styles it a *Defence both of the present*
Authoritie of Princes, and of Succession according to proxi-
mitie of blood; wherco, says he, is maintained, that
the people have no lawfull power to remove the one, or
repell the other. In which two points I have heretofore
also declared my opinion, by publishing the tragicall events;
which ensued the deposition of King Richard, and usurpa-
tion of King Henrie the fourth. Both these labours were
undertaken with particular respect to your Majesty's just
title of Succession in this Realme. In the Epistle to R.
 Doleman our Author observes, that the reason of his
 not answering the Conference sooner was, partly from
 contempt, and partly from fear. “ The fear, says he,
 “ was occasioned by the nimble ear, which lately was
 “ borne to the touche of this string: for which cause
 “ our English fugitives did stand in some advantage,
 “ in that they had free scope to publish whatsoever
 “ was agreeable to their pleasure, knowing right well,
 “ that their bookes could not be suppressed, and might

“ not be answered. It may be you will question,
 “ wherefore I have not answered your second part. It
 “ is ready for you, but I have not now thought fit
 “ to divulge the same; partly because it hath been
 “ dealt in by some others; but principally because I
 “ know not how convenient it may seeme to discusse
 “ such particulars, as with generall both liking and
 “ applause are now determined. I forbore to ex-
 “ presse your true name; I have reserved that to my
 “ answer to some cast pamphlet, which I expect you
 “ will cast forth against mee.”

[D] In 1610 he was appointed one of the Historiogra-
 phers of Chelsea College near London] This College was
 intended, says Fuller (11), for a spiritual garrison, ^{(11) Church}
 with a magazine of all books for that purpose, where ^{History of Bri-}
 learned Divines should study and write in mainte- ^{tain, B. 10. pag.}
 nance of all controversies against the Papists. Indeed
 the Romanists herein may rise up, and condemn those
 of the Protestant Confession. For as Solomon used ^{(a) 2 Chron.}
 not his military men for any servile work, in build- ^{viii. 9.}
 ing the Temple, whereof the text assigneth this rea-
 son, for they were men of war; so the Romish
 Church doth not burden their Professors with preach-
 ing or any parochial incumbrances, but reserves
 them only for Polemical studies. Whereas in Eng-
 land the same man reads, preacheth, catechiseth,
 disputes, delivers sacraments, &c. So that were it
 not for God's marvellous blessing in our studies, and
 the infinite odds of truth on our side, it were im-
 possible in human probability, that we should hold
 “ up the bucklers against them.” Besides the divines,
 at least two able Historians were to be maintained in
 the College, to record and publish to posterity all me-
 morable passages in the Church and State. In pursu-
 ance of this design King James I incorporated the said
 foundation by the name of *King James's College in*
Chelsey, and by Letters Patents bestowed on it the re-
 version of lands in Chelsea, then in possession of Charles
 Earl of Nottingham; and made it capable of receiving
 any lands of his subjects not exceeding in the whole the
 yearly value of three thousand pounds. Dr. Matthew
 Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, bestowed likewise on this
 College several farms in Devonshire worth about three
 hundred pounds per Ann. and by his will, dated No-
 vember 1. 1628, bequeathed to Dr. John Prideaux,
 and Dr. Clifford, as Feoffees, in trust to settle the same
 on the College, the benefit of the extent on a statue of
 four thousand pounds, acknowledged by Sir Lewis
 Steuklie. In the Parliament which met at West-
 minster, February 19, 1609, there was an act past to
 enable the Provost and Fellows of Chelsea College to dig
 a trench out of the river Lee, to erect engines, water-
 works, &c. to convey and carry water in close pipes under
 ground unto the city of London and the suburbs thereof,
 for the perpetual maintenance and sustentation of the
 Provost and Fellows of that College, and their successors
 by the rent to be made of the said waters so conveyed.
 The fabric of this College was begun on a piece of
 ground called *Thamesbot*, containing about six acres,
 and then in possession of Charles Earl of Nottingham,
 who granted a lease of his term therein to the said Pro-
 vost at the yearly rent of seven pounds ten shillings.
 King James laid the first stone of it, and gave all the
 tember necessary to it out of Windfor Forest. “ And
 “ yet, says Fuller (12), that long range of building, ^{(12) Ubi supra,}
 “ which alone is extant, scarce finished at this day, ^{pag. 52.}
 “ thus made, though not of free-stone, of free timber,
 “ as I am informed, cost full three thousand pound.
 “ But alas! what is this piece (not an eighth part) to
 “ a double quadrant, besides wings on each side, which
 “ was intended?” The names of the first Provost
 and Fellows settled by the King, May 8, 1610, are
 as follow. Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter,
 Provost: Dr. John Overal, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr.
 Thomas Morton, Dean of Winchester; Dr. Richard
 Field, Dean of Gloucester; Dr. Robert Abbot; Dr.
 John Spenser; Dr. Miles Smith; Dr. William Covitt;
 Dr. John Howson; Dr. John Layfield; Dr. Benjamin
 Charrier; Dr. Martin Fotherbie; Dr. John Boys;
 Dr. Richard Brett; Dr. Peter Lilie; Dr. Francis
 Burley; William Hillier, Arch-deacon of Barstable;
 and John White, Fellow of Manchester College. The
 two

William the Second, Henric the First. Written by J. H. [E], and dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales. In 1619 he received the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty at Whitehall (b). In 1624 he published a discourse intituled, Of Supremacie in Affaires of Religion. By Sir John Hayward, Knt. Doctor of Lawe [F], London in 4to, dedicated to

(b) Wood, Fests. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 203. 2d edit. London 1721.

two Historians were William Camden, Clarenceaux, and John Hayward, L. L. D. None, who were actually Bishops, were capable of places in this College; and when some were afterwards advanced to Bishoprics, or died, the King by his Letters Patents November 14, 1622, substituted others in their room; among whom Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, though only Dean of Windsor in England, was most remarkable. In 1616 his Majesty sent his letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury to excite the clergy of his province to contribute to so pious a work; yet for all these endeavours and collections in all the parishes of England, the sums of money brought in were slow and small. Many of them, says Fuller (13), were scattered out in the gathering them up, the charges of the collectors consuming the profit thereof. And the same writer observes, that it was vehemently suspected, that some part of these collections had been detained by private persons. Various were the conjectures concerning what obstructed the proceedings with regard to the College. Some ascribed it to the untimely death of Prince Henry; but Mr. Fuller, upon a strict perusal of the records of the College, could not find so much as mention of the name of the Prince as in any degree visibly contributing to it. Others ascribed it "to the large, loose, and lax nature thereof, no one prime person (Sutcliffe) excepted, whose shoulders sunk under the weight thereof) zealously engaging therein; King James's maintenance amounting to little more than countenance of the work (14)." Others imputed it to the failure of the project for making a new river; others to the remissness of the greatest prelates, who though seemingly forward to the utmost, were suspicious, that these controversial Divines would be considered as the principal champions for religion, and more serviceable in the church than themselves, and perhaps might acquire principles prejudicial to their episcopal jurisdictions. Others imagined, that it was obstructed by the jealousy of the Universities; or by the suspicion of some patriots and commoners in Parliament, "that this College would be, says Fuller (15), too much courtier; and that the Divinity, but especially the History thereof, would *ἰεροσολίτις*, propend too much in favour of King James, and report all things to the disadvantage of the subject. Wherefore though the said patriots in Parliament countenanced the Act, as counting it no policy publickly to cross the project of King James, especially as it was made popular with so pious a plausibility; yet when returned home, by their suspicious items and private instructions they beat off and retarded people's charities thereunto. The same conceived this foundation superfluous, to keep men to confute Popish opinions by writings, whilst the maintainers of them were every where connived at, and countenanced, and the penal laws not put in any effectual execution against them." Others remarked, that this design was begun in a bad time, when the world swarmed with projectors, and necessitous courtiers, contriving all ways to get money; and it was the misfortune of it to appear in a time, when so many monopolies were on foot. Some great Churchmen were more backward, because the design was conducted by Dr. Sutcliffe, who was known to be a rigid Anti-Remonstrant, and when old, very severe in his writings against the Remonstrants.

(13) Pag. 53.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 53, 54.

(15) Pag. 34.

[E] In 1613 he published at London in 4to, The Lives of the three Normans, Kings of England. In the Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Charles he observes, that he published this work at the desire of Prince Henry, who had sent for him a few months before his Highness's death, and complained much of the Histories of England, and that the English, who were inferior to none in honourable actions, should be surpassed by all in leaving the memory of them to posterity. Our Author answered, that he conceived these to be the causes hereof; One, that men of sufficiency were otherwise employed, either in publick affaires, or in wrestling with the world, for maintenance or increase of their private estates. Another is, for that men might safely write of

others in maner of a tale, but in maner of a History safely they could not, because, albeit they should write of men long since dead, and whose posteritie is cleane worne out, yet some alive finding themselves foule in those vices, which they see observed, reprov'd, condemned in others; their guiltinesse maketh them apt to conceite, that whatsoever the words are, the finger pointeth only at them. The last is, for that the argument of our English History hath bene so soiled heretofore by some unworthie writers, that men of qualitie may esteeme themselves discredited by dealing in it. The Prince asked our author, whether he had written any part of our English History besides what had been published, which at that time he had in his hands. "I answered, says he, that I had wrote of certaine of our English Kings by way of a brieve description of their lives: but for Historie, I did principally bend and binde myselfe to the times, wherein I should live, in which my owne observations might somewhat direct me. But as well in the one as in the other, I had at that time perfected nothing." The Prince replied, that in regard of the honour of the time, he liked well of the last, but for his own instruction he more desired the first; and directed our author, that against his Highness's return from his progres then at hand, he would perfect somewhat of both sorts for him, which he promised amply to requite. This engaged Dr. Hayward to finish the Lives of the three Kings of the Norman Race, and certain years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. At the Prince's return from the progres to his house at St. James's these pieces were delivered unto him; but because the Lives of the Three Normans, Kings of England seemed perfect, he expressed a desire, that they should be published; but he soon after died.

[F] In 1624 he published a discourse intituled, Of Supremacie in affaires of Religion. By Sir John Hayward Knight and Doctor of Law. It contains eighty eight pages in 4to. It is written in the manner of a conversation held at the table of Dr. Toby Matthews, Bishop of Durham, in the time of the Parliament in the year 1605. The proposition of it is, that supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs is a right of sovereignty. In the discussion of this, it is shewn, that sovereign or majestical power must be perpetual and absolute. That affairs of the greatest importance are annexed to the sovereign Majesty. That nothing in a State is of so great importance as Religion. That affairs of Religion are to be managed by those, who bear the Sovereignty. That it is dangerous for others to be depended upon in regard of Religion. That two policies were antiently observed for avoiding these dangers, to exclude external ceremonies, and to commit the ordering of matters in Religion to the sovereign authority within the State. With regard to the first, it is observed (16), "that the Jews would not converse or accompany a man, who was not of their owne Religion. Among the Grecians, Socrates and Protagoras were condemned, Anaxagoras and Aristotle were accused, for holding opinions contrary to their received Religion. Josephus writeth (17) that the Athenians had a severe Law against any man, who should speake a word in Religion against that which was established by Law. The Scythians put Anacharsis to death for performing the rites of Bacchus after the manner of the Grecians. Livie writeth, that among the Romans the Aediles received in part of their charge (18) that no externall Religion or Ceremony should be brought in. And to the same purpose M. Aemilius recited a decree (19), that no man should sacrifice in a publick or sacred place after a newe or externall rite. How often, saith the same Livie (20), have our Fathers and Ancestors given charge to the Magistrates, that externall ceremonies should be forbidden? Mecenas in Dio (21) gave this exhortation and advice to Augustus (22). Observe Religion after the fashion of your country, and compell others to doe the like; but those, who bring in strange and forraigne rites, hate and correct, because they perswade many to worke alterations, from whence conspiracies and seditions

(16) Sect. 10. pag. 20, 21. *De Irenis variis & peregrinis non sine abduci.* Heb. l. 13. 19.
(17) Joseph. Lib. 2. contra Apion. *ἵσταντο τοῦ μόνου ὀδοῦ μόνου τῆς θείας ἀποστασίας.*
(18) No qui nisi Romani dii neve alio more quam patrio colerentur.
(19) Liv. lib. 15. *No quis in publico sacro loco novo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.*
(20) Lib. 39. *Quoties patrum avorumque atate negotium magister, ut sacra externa fieri veterant?*
(21) Dio, lib. 53.
(22) *Τὸ μὲν θεῶν πατρῶν ἱερῶν ἡμεῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑξωτῆς ἢ ἑσθῶν, ἔτι καὶ ἀλλοτρίων, ἀποστασίας καὶ ἀνομιῶν.*

to Prince Charles. He died at his house in the parish of Great St. Bartholomew London on Wednesday June the 27th 1627, and was interred in the Church belonging to that parish. He wrote likewise *The Life and Reign of King Edward VI* [G], and several theological works, particularly *The strong Helper, or bow in all our Troubles to cast our Burden upon God*. London 1614 in 8vo. *The Sanctuary of a troubled Soul*. London 1616 in 8vo. *Christ's Prayer on the Cross for his Enemies*. London 1623 in 8vo. *David's Tears; or an Exposition of the Penitential Psalms*. London 1625 in 4to. Mr. Wood tells us (c), "that he was accounted a learned and godly man, and one better read in theological authors than in those belonging to his own profession;" and that with regard to his Histories, "the phrase and words in them were in their time esteemed very good; only some have wished, that in his *History of Henry IV* he had not called Sir Hugh Lynne by so light a word as *Mad-Cap*, though he were such; and that he had not changed his *Historical Style* into a *Dramatical*, where he induceth a mother uttering a woman's passion in the case of her son." Archdeacon Nicholson (d) observes, that he had *the repute in his time of a good clean pen and smooth style*. Mr. John Strype (e) says, that our author "must be read with caution; that his style and language is good, and so is his fancy; but that he makes too much use of it for an Historian, which puts him on sometimes to make speeches for others, which they never spake, and to relate matters, which perhaps they never thought on."

(c) *Folio Oxon*, ubi supra.

(d) *English Historical Library*, Part 1. pag. 216. edit. London 1696, in 8vo.

(e) *Preface to Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of King Edward VI*, printed in the 2d volume of the *Complete History of England*.

"ditions are oftentimes occasioned." With respect to the second point, viz. *to commit the ordering of matters in Religion to the sovereign authority within the State*, this is shewn to have been practised by the Jews, Egyptians, and divers other people, in the Empires of Assyria and Persia, in the States of Greece, in the Empire of Rome under the Government of Kings, in the popular State, and under the Heathen and first Christian Emperors. It is shewn likewise, that matters of external or accidental form in the Church depended altogether upon the first Christian Emperors, by whose direction and authority matters of faith and essential form were also ordered. That the eight General Councils were called and confirmed by Emperors. That there was a contest between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople for superiority, the latter being favoured by divers Emperors. That by giving

this prerogative to the Bishops of Rome the Eastern Empire was dismember'd. That the absolute power of the Bishops of Rome in Ecclesiastical affairs reduced the Western Empire, not only to a feeble State, but to be held in a vassalage to the See of Rome. That by the same power the Bishops of Rome claimed Sovereignty also over divers principal Kingdoms in Europe, and generally over all States in the world; by which means divers distresses were occasioned.

[G] *He wrote likewise, The Life and Reign of King Edward VI.* It was printed at London 1630 in 4to, and there was another edition of it in 1636 in 24mo, under this title; *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixth. With the beginning of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth. Both written by Sir John Hayward, Knight, Doctor of Lawe.* To this is prefixed the author's picture. T

HEARNE (THOMAS), eminent for his Writings and Editions of Books and Manuscripts [A], was son of George Hearne, Parish-Clerk of White Waltham in Berkshire, by Edith his wife, daughter of Thomas Wife of Shottesbrooke in the said county. He was born at Littlefield Green in the parish of White Waltham in the year 1680, and received no other instruction than from his father, (who kept a writing-school in

[A] *Eminent for his Writings and Editions of Books and Manuscripts.* They are as follow. I. *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: or some genuine remains of Sir Thomas Bodley. Containing his life, the first draught of the Statutes of the publick Library at Oxford, (in English) and a collection of letters to Dr. James, &c. Published from the originals in the said Library.* London 1703 in 8vo. II. *C. Plinii Cæciliæ secundi Epistolæ & Panegyricus, cum variis lectionibus & annotationibus. Accedit Vita Plinii ordine chronologico digesta.* Oxford 1703 in 8vo. III. *Eutropii Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ, cum Pæanii Metaphrasi Græcâ. Messala Corvinus de Augusti Progenie. Julius Obsequens de Prodigiiis. Anonymi Oratio funebri Gr. Lat. in Imp. Fl. Constantinum Constantini M. fil. Cum variis lectionibus & annotationibus.* Oxford 1703 in 8vo. IV. *Ductor Historicus: Or a short System of universal History, or an Introduction to the study of it. Volume the first, in three Books, containing, 1. A Chronology of all the most celebrated persons and actions from the Creation to this time. To which is prefixed an Explication of Terms and other Præcognita. 2. An Introduction to History. Wherein an account is given of the writings of the ancient Historians Greek and Roman, with the judgment of the best Criticks upon them. Together with an ample collection of English Historians. 3. A compendious History of all the ancient Monarchies and States from the Creation to the Birth of Christ.* London 1705 in 8vo, second Edition. It was printed again in 1714 and 1724 without our Author's knowledge. With regard to the first Edition, it is to be ascribed to another person; and the two first books in the second, third, and fourth Edition are by another hand, who wrote likewise the Preface. But Mr. Hearne wrote the third Book himself. V. *Ductor Historicus: Or a short System of universal Hi-*

story. Volume the second. Containing a compendious account of the most considerable transactions in the world, from the Birth of Christ to the final Decay of the Roman Monarchy, and the Establishment of the German Empire by Charles the Great. In three Books, viz. 1. A Series of the Succession, and a History of the Reigns of all the Emperors, from the Birth of Christ to the removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople. 2. The Succession of the Emperors, continued from the Translation of the Empire to the reign of Charlemagne. 3. The History of Persia under Parthian Kings, and the Persian Race restored, to the Destruction of that Monarchy by the Saracens. The several Kingdoms erected in Europe by the Franks, Saxons, Goths, Vandals, &c. and their respective successions. The Life of Mahomet, and the Succession of the Saracen Caliphs. Together with an account of the Foundation of the most considerable Cities, &c. for 800 years after Christ, with other miscellaneous things not mentioned in the course of the History. Oxford 1704 in 8vo. It was printed three times at London without our Author's knowledge, who declared in the Preface his design to publish a third volume, for which he had made great collections out of the best Authors. But he laid aside this design upon the publication of the English Translation of Puffendorf's *Introduction*, which begins where the second volume of the *Ductor Historicus* ends, and continues the History to the present times. VI. *M. Juniani Justinii Historiarum ex Trogo Pompeio Libri XLIV. MSS. Codicum collatione recogniti, annotationibusque illustrati.* Oxford 1705 in 8vo. VII. *T. Livii Patavinii Historiarum ab Urbe condita Libri qui supersunt, MSS. Codicum collatione recogniti, annotationibusque illustrati.* Oxford 1708 in six volumes in 8vo. VIII. *A Letter containing an account of some Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford, with a List of the*

in the Vicarage House of White Waltham, being permitted to live there by the Minister on condition that he taught ten boys yearly,) till the year 1693; when the learned and pious Francis Cherry of Shottesbrooke Esq; put him to the Free-school of Bray in Berks on purpose to learn the Latin tongue. In this school he presently became remarkable for his industry and application, and soon made a very surprising progress; of which Mr. Cherry being fully satisfied, resolved, by the advice of Mr. Dodwel, who then lived at Shottesbrooke;

the several Pictures in the School-Gallery adjoining to the Bodleian Library. Printed in 1708 in *The monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*. This Letter is reprinted at the end of the fifth volume of our Author's Edition of *Leland's Itinerary*, with additions and corrections, but without the *List of Pictures*. But this Catalogue being greatly sought for by men of learning, he reprinted an hundred copies of the whole Tract revised (for the London was very incorrect) in 1725 in 8vo. IX. *The Life of Ælfred the Great by Sir John Spelman, Knt. Published from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library. To which are added many historical Remarks, and a Discourse upon an old Roman Inscription lately found near Bath.* Oxford 1710 in 8vo. X. *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, in IX volumes 8vo. Published from the original MSS. and other authentic copies.* Oxford 1710, 1711, 1712. This work, which is very scarce, there having been only an hundred and twenty copies printed, viz. 12 in fine, and 108 in ordinary paper, is adorned with divers curious discourses and observations, partly written by the editor, and partly by others. XI. *Henrici Dodwelli de Parmæ Equestri Woodwardianâ Dissertatio. Accedit Thomæ Neli Dialogus inter Reginam Elizabetham & Robertum Dudleyum, Comitum Leycestriæ & Academiæ Oxoniensis Cancellarium, in quo de Academiæ Edificiis præclarè agitur.* Oxford 1713 in 8vo. XII. *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea.* Oxford 1715 in six volumes in 8vo. There were but an hundred and fifty six copies printed. XIII. *Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latinæ, literis majusculis. E Codice Laudiano, characteribus uncialibus exarato, & in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ adseruato, descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Qui Symbolum etiam Apostolorum ex eodem Codice subjunxit.* Oxford 1715 in 8vo. There were but an hundred and twenty copies printed. XIV. *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicenses Historia Regum Angliæ. E Codice MS. in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ descripsit, notisque & indice adornavit Tho. Hearnius. Accedit Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii Nania in mortem Henrici Duddelegi Equitis; cui præfigitur Testimonium de Lelando amplum & præclarum, hætenus ineditum.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. There were only sixty copies printed. XV. *Titi Livii Foro-Julienfis Vita Henrici quinti, Regis Angliæ. Accedit Sylloge Epistolarum à variis Angliæ Principibus scriptarum. E codicibus calamo exaratis descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius: Qui Appendicem etiam Notasque subjecit.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. XVI. *Aluredi Beverlacenfis Annales, sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britannicæ, Libris IX. E codice pervetusto, calamo exarato, in Bibliotheca Viri clarissimi Thomæ Rawlinsoni, Armigeri, descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Qui & Præfatione, Notis, atque Indice illustravit.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. There were but one hundred and forty eight copies printed. XVII. *Gulielmi Roperi Vita D. Thomæ Mori Equitis avari, Linguâ Anglicanâ contexta. Accedunt Mori Epistola de scholasticis quibusdam Trojanis sese appellantis; Academiæ Oxoniensis Epistole & Orationes aliquamultæ; Anonymi Chronicon Godstovianum, & fenestrarum depictarum Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Fairford in Agro Gloucestriensî Explicatio. E Codicibus vetustis descripsit ediditque, Notisque etiam adornavit Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford 1716 in 8vo. There were but an hundred and forty eight copies printed. XVIII. *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha. Tribus Voluminibus comprehensî. E Codice præclaro Smithiano, propria Auctoris manu correcto, multisque magni momenti Additionibus locupletato, eruit ediditque Tho. Hearnius, aliumque insuper Codicem à Bibliotheca Rawlinsoniana addidit.* Oxford 1717 in 8vo. XIX. *Gulielmi Neubrigenfis Historia sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum, libris quinque. E Codice manuscripto pervetusto in Bibliotheca prænobilis Domini Domini Thomæ Sebrigbt Baronetti, uberrimis additionibus locupletata, longèque emendatius quam antehac edita. Studio & opera Tho. Hearnii,*

qui & præter Joannis Picardi Annotationes, suas etiam Notas qualescunque & Spicilegium subjecit. Accedunt Homiliæ tres eidem Gulielmo à Viris eruditissimis adscriptæ, partim à Codice præclaro antedicto, partim à Codice antiquo Lambethano nunc primum editæ. Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XX. *Thomæ Sproti Chronica à Codice antiquo MS^o in Bibliothecâ prænobilis Adolescentis Dⁿⁱ Edwardi Dering de Surrenden Dering in Agro Cantiano Baronetti, descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius: qui & alia quædam Opuscula e Codicibus MSS^{is} authenticis a seipso itidem descripta subjecit.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XXI. *A Collection of curious Discourses, written by eminent Antiquaries upon several Heads in our English Antiquities, and now first published chiefly for the Use and Service of the young Nobility and Gentry of England.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XX. *Textus Rossensis, Accedunt Professionum antiquorum Angliæ Episcoporum Formulæ de canonicâ obedientiâ Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus præstandâ, & Leonardi Hutteni Dissertatio Anglicè conscripta de Antiquitatibus Oxoniensibus. E Codicibus MSS. descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIII. *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi tertii. Accedunt, 1. Libri Saxonici, qui ad manus Joannis Foscelini venerunt. 2. Nomina eorum, qui scripserunt historiam gentis Anglorum, & ubi exstant, per Joannem Foscelinum. E Codicibus MSS. descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Appendicem etiam subnexuit, in quâ, inter alia, continentur, Letters of King Henry VIII to Anne Bolen.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIV. *Johannes de Fordun Scotchchronicon genuinum, una cum ejusdem Supplemento ac Continuatione. E Codicibus MSS. eruit ediditque, Appendicem etiam subjunxit, totumque Opus (in quinque Volumina distinctum) Præfatione atque Indicibus adornavit Tho. Hearnius.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXV. *The History and Antiquities of Glastonbury. To which are added, 1. The Endowment and Orders of Sberington's Chantry founded in St. Paul's Church, London. 2. Dr. Plot's Letter to the Earl of Arlington concerning Tbesford. To all which pieces (never before printed) a Preface is prefixed, and an Appendix subjoined.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXVI. *Hemingi Cbartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis. E Codice MSS. penes Richardum Graves de Mickleton in Agro Gloucestriensî Armigerum, descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius; qui & eam partem Libri de Domelday, quæ ad Ecclesiâ pertinet Wigorniensis, aliaque ad Operis (duobus Voluminibus comprehensî) nitorem facientia subnexuit.* Oxford, 1723, in 8vo. XXVII. *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. Transcribed, and now first published from a MS. in the Harleyan Library. To which is added, besides a Glossary and other Improvements, a Continuation (by the Author himself) of this Chronicle from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. In two Volumes.* Oxford, 1724, in 8vo. XXVIII. *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, (as illustrated and improved by Robert of Brunne) from the Death of Cadwalader to the end of King Edward the First's reign. Transcribed, and now first published from a MS. in the Inner-Temple Library. To which are added, besides a Glossary, and other curious Papers, 1. A Roll concerning Glastonbury Abby, being a Survey of all the Estates belonging to that House at the Dissolution, taken by King Henry the Eighth's order, and for his use. 2. An Account of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen near Scroby in Nottinghamshire, by John Slacke, Master of that Hospital. 3. Two Tracts by an anonymous Author; the first relating to Conquest in Somersetshire; the second concerning Stone-henge.* Oxford, 1725; in two Volumes in 8vo. XXIX. *Johannes, Confratris & Monachi Glastoniensis, Chronica, sive Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus. E Codice MS. membranæ antiquo descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. E quo Codice & Historiolam de antiquitate & augmentatione vetustæ Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ Glastoniensis præmisit, multaque excerpta e Richardi Beere (Abbatis Glastoniensî) Terrario bujus cænobii subjecit. Accedunt quædam eadem spectantia, ex*

Snottesbrooke, to take him into his own house, which accordingly he did about Easter 1695, and provided for him as if he had been his own son, and instructed him in Religion and Classical Learning every day, when at home hearing him read himself, and when absent taking care that he should read to Mr. Dodwel, when both the one and the other explained to him the difficult places, and always illustrated them with curious and useful observations. December the 4th 1695 Mr. Cherry had him entered a Butler of Edmund Hall in Oxford, where he was matriculated the day following, and then returned to Mr. Cherry's, by whose order he went again daily to school at Bray four miles distant from Mr. Cherry's, till Easter Term 1696, when Mr. Cherry went himself with him to Oxford, provided a chamber and all necessaries for him, and saw him fully settled before he returned. Here Mr. Hearne followed his studies so closely as to be soon taken considerable notice of by Dr. Mill, Principal of Edmund Hall, who being then busy about the *Appendix* to his edition of the *New Testament*, and finding this young man to be versed in manuscripts, got him to compare for him some manuscripts, which are used in the said *Appendix*. At three years standing he went at Dr. Mills's request to Eton, to compare a manuscript of *Tatian* and *Athenagoras* (for both authors are comprehended in the same manuscript) in that Library. The variations were afterwards made use of by Mr. Worth in his edition of *Tatian*, and by Mr. De Chaire in his edition of *Athenagoras*, but without any mention made by either Editor of him, who collated the manuscripts. The book, in which Mr. Hearne wrote the Variations, is now in the Bodleian Library. He was likewise very assistant to Dr. Grabe, at that time Resident in

egregio MS. communicato ab amicis eruditis Cantabrigienses, ut & *Appendix*, in qua, inter alia, de S. Ignatii Epistolarum Codice Mediceo, & de Johannis Dee, Mathematici celeberrimi, vita atque scriptis agitur. Oxford, 1726, in 8vo. XXX. Adami de Domesham Historiæ de Rebus gestis Glastonienfibus. E Codice MS. perantiquo, in Bibliothecâ Collegii S. Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ, descripsit primusque in lucem protulit Tho. Hearnius, qui & (præter alia, in quibus *Dissertatio de Inscriptione per veteri Romanâ Ciceriæ nuper repertâ*) Guilielmi Malmesburienfis Librum de Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Glastonienfis, & Edmundi Acberii Excerpta aliquam-multa satis egregia de Registris Wellensibus, præmisit. Oxford, 1727, in 2 Volumes in 8vo. XXXI. Thomæ de Elmham Vita & Gesta Henrici quinti, Anglorum Regis. E Codicibus MSS. Vetustis descripsit, & primus luci publicæ dedit Tho. Hearnius. Oxford, 1727, in 8°. XXXII. Liber Niger Scaccarii. E Codice, calamo exarato & a Richardo Gravesio Mickletonienfi donato, descripsit & nunc primus edidit Tho. Hearnius; qui & cum duobus aliis codicibus MSS. Contulit, Wilbelmiquæ etiam Worcesterii Annales rerum Anglicarum (ante hæc itidem incditos) subjecit. Oxford, 1728. In Two Volumes in 8vo. XXXIII. Historia Vitæ & Regni Richardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Evesham consignata. Accesserunt, præter alia Joannis Rossi Historiola de Comitibus Warwicensibus; Joannis Bereblici Commentarii de rebus gestis Oxoniæ, ibidem commemorante Elizabethâ Regina; & D. Ricardi Wynne Baronetti Narratio historica de Caroli, Walliæ Principis, Famulorum in Hispaniam Itinere A. D. MDCXXIII. E Codicibus MSS. nunc primus edidit Tho. Hearnius. Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIV. Joannis de Trokelowe Annales Edwardi II. Henrici de Blanesforde Chronica, & Edwardi II. Vita a Monacho quodam Malmesburienfi suæ enarrata. E Codicibus MSS. nunc primus divulgavit Tho. Hearnius. Qui &, præter *Appendicem* (in qua, inter alia, Ordinationes Collegii Orielenfis) monumenta quædam vetera, ab Edmundo Archerio communicata, subjunxit. Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXV. Thomæ Cæii (Collegii Universitatis regnante Elizabethâ Magistri) Vindicæ antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis contra Joannem Caium, Cantabrigiensem. In lucem ex Autographo emisit Tho. Hearnius: Qui porro non tantum Antonii Woodi Vitam à se ipso conscriptam, & Humpredi Humpreys (Episcopi nuper Herefordienfis) de viris claris Cambro-Britannicis Observationes, sed & reliquias quasdam ad Familiam religiosissimam Ferrariorum de Gidding Parva in agro Huntingdoniensis pertinentes subnexuit. Oxford, 1730, in two Volumes in 8vo. XXXVI. Walteri Hemingforde, Canonici de Giffesburne, Historia de rebus gestis Edwardi I. Edwardi II. & Edwardi III. Accedunt, inter alia, Edwardi III. Historia per anonymum; Narratio de Processu contra Reginaldum Peacockium, auctore Joanne Wbethamstedio; Excerpta historica de Thomæ Gascoignii Dictionario Theologico; Libellus de Caroli I. ab urbe Oxoniensi fugâ sive discessu, Notitiæque Domorum Religiosarum in Diocesi Basbo-Wellens. E Codicibus MSS. nunc primus publicavit Tho. Hearnius, Oxford, 1731,

in two Volumes in 8vo. XXXVII. Duo rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres, viz. Thomas Otterbourne & Johannes Wbethamstede, ab origine gentis Britannicæ usque ad Edwardum IV. E Codicibus MSS. antiquis nunc primus eruit Tho. Hearnius. Accedunt, inter alia, Liber de Vitâ & Miraculis Henrici VI. per Johannem Blackmannum; Statuta Hospitalis de Ewelme in Agro Oxoniensi; Literæ per plures de rebus gestis in partibus nostris Septentrionalibus A. D. M. D. XXIII. & M. D. XXIV. in quibus Epistolæ autographæ per paucæ Margaretæ, Sctorum Regina, Henrici nostri VII. filie natu majoris; Francisci Godwyni Catalogus, basenus ineditus, Episcoporum Bathoniensium & Wellensium, Humpredique Humpreys Commentariolus de Decanis Bangoriensibus & Asaphensibus. Oxford, 1733, in two Volumes in 8vo. XXXVIII. Chronicon sive Annales Prioratûs de Dunstable, una cum Excerptis de Chartulario ejusdem Prioratûs. E Codicibus MSS. in Bibliothecâ Harleianâ descripsit primusque divulgavit Tho. Hearnius. Oxford, 1733, in 8vo. XXXIX. Benedicte, Abbas Petroburgensis, de Vitâ & Gestis Henrici II. & Ricardi I. E Codice MS. in Bibliothecâ Harleianâ descripsit, & nunc primus edidit Tho. Hearnius. Accesserunt alia. Oxford, 1735, in two vol. in 8vo. At the end of this work he published proposals for printing from an ancient MS. in the Harleyan Library, Joannis Beveri, Monachi Westmonasteriensis, Chronicon a Bruti primi Regis introitu in hanc Insulam usque ad annum Domini 1306. To which was to be added from an old MS. in the same Library, Joannis Merylinch, Monachi Glastonienfis, Rerum (in Angliâ speciatim ac Hiberniâ) sub novem primis annis Joannis XXII^{di}, Pontificis Romani, gestarum, Descriptio. This work was to have been printed in two Volumes in 8vo; but our Author did not live to finish the edition. He wrote likewise a piece printed in 1731 in 8vo, under the title of, *A Vindication of those who take the Oath of Allegiance to his present Majesty from Prejudice, Injustice, and Disloyalty, charged upon them by such as are against it. Wherein is evidently shewed, that the common good of a Nation is what is primarily and principally respected in an Oath, and therefore when the Oath is inconsistent with that, the Persons who have taken it, are absolved from it. In proving of which the Case of Maud and King Stephen is particularly considered. In a Letter to a Nonjuror.* It is addressed to Mr. Cherry, from whom it came, with many other MSS, expressly by will to the Bodleian Library. It is dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, June 11, 1700. It was published without Mr. Hearne's knowledge or consent. In the Preface there is some account of him and his writings. Our Author made the Index to Sir Roger L'Estrange's Translation of *Josephus into English*, London, 1702, in Folio. Three Indexes to *Cyrelli Hierosolymitani Opera*, Oxford, 1703, in Folio; the Index to the four parts of Dr. Edwards's *Preservative against Socinianism*, Oxford, 1704, in 4to; and that to the *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1704, in Folio.

in Edmund Hall, for whom he collated many manuscripts, and made considerable collections. In A&T Term 1699 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and determined in the schools the Lent following. Soon after this he was offered very advantageous terms to go a missionary to Mary-Land, and was wrote to for that purpose by Dr. White Kennet, at the instance of Dr. Bray Commissary to the Bishop of London for the care of the Western Plantations. But being unwilling to leave Oxford and the valuable acquaintance, which he had contracted there, he chose to decline the offer. Having taken his degree he became a constant Student in the Bodleian Library, and was so remarkable on this account, that Dr. Hudson, soon after he was elected Library-Keeper, took him in for his Assistant, having first obtained leave of the Curators for that purpose. In this place he did very considerable service to the Library. At the public A&T in A&T Term 1703 he took the degree of Master of Arts. Upon the death of Mr. Emanuel Pritchard, Janitor of the public Library, that place was conferred on Mr. Hearne, to whom afterwards were offered two Chaplainships successively of Corpus Christi and All Souls Colleges by the respective Heads of those houses, both of which he was obliged to decline, as he could not hold either of them with the office of Janitor, which he chose not to give up. In 1712 he became second Library-Keeper of the Bodleian Library on the death of Mr. Jo. Crabb. January the 19th 1714 he was elected Superior or Esquire Beadle in the Civil Law of the University of Oxford, which he held till the 8th of November following with his place of Under-Librarian; but then finding that they were not tenable together, he gave up the Beadleship, and very soon after relinquished the other place also, upon the account of the oaths, with which he could not comply. In this opinion he continued to the last, having several times refused the offer of such preferments, as would have been of great advantage and very agreeable to him (a). He died [B] June 10, 1735, aged fifty five years, and lies interred in the south-side of the Church-yard of St. Peter's in the East at Oxford, where there is a tomb erected for him with an inscription written by himself [C].

(a) These particulars were extracted from a life of our author written by himself, and communicated to me by the learned and ingenious Dr. William Bedford, to whom Mr. Hearne left his manuscripts.

[B] He died.] Some particulars of his death are contained in the following Letter dated at Oxford June 13th 1735. "Last night at my return home I found Mr. Hearne dead. He died on Tuesday in the evening. This morning I made it my business to gain the best account of his affairs, and found his will in the hands of the Apothecary, who attended him in his illness, which was of his own hand-writing, and in it are the following paragraphs. Imprimis, I give and bequeath to Mr. William Bedford of London, son of my late Friend Helkiah Bedford, all the MSS. and other Books, that Dr. Thomas Smith left me. Item, I give and bequeath to the said Mr. William Bedford all the MSS. of my own collection and writing, and all printed Books by me collated with MSS. or that have MS. Notes upon them, and all MSS. whatsoever now in my possession. Item, I give and bequeath to the said Mr. William Bedford my box or cabinet of coins, medals, and other things contained therein. And my desire is, that whatsoever hands they may hereafter fall into, they may be kept together, and never be exposed but to persons, that understand them. This is the sense, and pretty near the words of that part

" of the Will, Upon a paper found with his Will is his Epitaph of his own hand-writing, In the beginning of his illness he was obstinate; but as it increased, and he grew weaker, he was more willing to comply with the directions given him. But this, I believe, will not be much talked of, nor known to the world. He refused to have any of his relations sent for, and suffered but few people to see him; nor any to sit up with him all night, till the night before he died, though he had suffered for want of help in the night by tumbling out of bed, &c. His poor relations have already found eight or nine hundred pounds in cash among the books and papers in his chambers; and when the whole comes to be turned over, expect to find more (*)"

[C] An Inscription written by himself.] It is as follows: Here lyeth the body of Thomas Hearne, M. A. who studied and preserved Antiquities. He dyed June 10. 1735. aged 55 years. Deut. xxxii. 7. Remember the days of old; consider the years of many generations, ask thy father, and he will shew thee, thy Elders, and they will tell thee. Job viii. 8, 9, 10. Enquire, I pray thee.

(*) They found in all about thirteen hundred pounds.

HEBEDJESU, Patriarch of the Nestorians who were reconciled to the Church of Rome under Pius IV, in the year 1562. I have mentioned him already under another name (a), by which several authors have called him; but I thought that what I have still to say of him deserved to be related in this place. Since the article of ABDISSI was printed, I have read in a very curious work (b), that after the death of Simon Julacha [A], a Monk of St. Pachomius's Order, whom Pope Julius III had made Patriarch of the Nestorians, "Abdjefu, or Hebedjesu, if you will pronounce his name after the manner of the Chaldeans, was chosen Patriarch in his stead. Abraham Ecchellenfis,

(a) Under the name of Abdissi; see that article.

[A] Simon Julacha.] He should have said Sulacha; as Aubertus Miræus has done (1). We ought not to wonder that the Criticks are able to collect an infinite number of various readings from manuscripts, since even printed Books are not without them. The Siquir de Moni names Caremit that city in Mesopotamia, which Aubertus Miræus calls Charemet. The latter calls that person Donba Simon, whom the former calls Donba Simon. They both wrote after the same Author, namely Peter Strozza in his book de Chaldeorum Dogmatibus (of the opinions of the Chaldeans); why then did they not spell the same words after the same manner? Is it easier to write Sulacha than Julacha,

(1) Polit. Eccles. pag. 216.

Donba than Denba? Monsieur Arnauld, who follows the same Author, asserts (2), that Simon Sulacha settled his residence at Caramit. Monsieur Claude (3) makes use of the name of Sulak. Father Paul in the beginning of his Vth Book (4) says one Simon Sulakam; and Monsieur Amelot does not correct this in his French Translation. These are mere trifles, I own it; but such trifles have often occasioned very real and very considerable controversies. Hæ nuxa seria ry of the Council ducunt in mala, i. e., "These trifles lead to real evils." of Trent. It would be better for the Republick of Letters, if writers would make it their duty to avoid even the most insignificant errors.

(b) The title of it is, Histoire Critique de la Creance & des Costumes des Nations du Levant, Published by the Sieur de Moni, at Frankfurt, for Frederic Arnauld, (or rather at Rotterdam for Reiner Leers) 1684. It is thought that Father Simon is the author of that History.

(2) Perpet. Defens. liv. 5. chap. 10.
(3) Reposte à la Perpet. Défendus, liv. 4. chap. 5.
(4) Of the History of the Council of Trent.

“ Ecchellenfis, who has published a small treatise of Abdjesu in the Syriac tongue [B];
 “ stiles him Metropolitan of Soba, in the preface which he has prefixed to that work.
 “ He observes that this Hebedjesu composed several works in defence of Nestorius’s
 “ Religion, but that being come to Rome under Pope Julius III, he abjured Nestori-
 “ anism. It is he that is mentioned in the Life of Pius IV, under whose Pontificate he
 “ took a second journey to Rome [C], with a design to be confirmed in his Patriarchate,
 “ and he was present at the Council of Trent [D]. As he was a man of parts, he had
 “ the art to persuade a great number of Nestorians to enter into the pale of the Church
 “ of Rome. But his successors, who wanted his skill and ability, could not keep them
 “ in that obedience. Ahathalla, who was also a Monk of St. Pachomius’s Order, suc-
 “ ceeded Hebedjesu; but dying soon after, he was succeeded by Denha Simon, who
 “ had been before Archbishop of Gelu. This last was obliged to leave Caremit [E],
 “ and to retire into the Province of Zeinalbech situated at the extremity of Persia,
 “ having been forced to yield to the power of the Patriarch of Babylon. His successor,
 “ who was also called Simon, resided in the same place, which lessened very much the
 “ authority of this second Patriarch.” This is what I read in that book (c). When I (c) Page 85.
 “ drew up the article of Abdissi, I imagined that we might depend on Father Paul’s ac-
 “ count; but I must not omit what I have since observed in Father Pallavicini; namely,
 “ that it is not true that this Patriarch wrote letters to the Council. You will find in the
 “ notes below what has been censured in Father Paul’s account [F].

[B] *Abbr. Ecchellenfis has published a small Treatise of Abdjesu in the Syriac Tongue.* I imagine it to be the same Treatise, which Monsieur Arnaud mentions, when he quotes (5) the Notes of Abraham Ecchellenfis the Maronite upon a Catalogue of Chaldean Books written by Abdjesu or Hebedjesu, a Nestorian Bishop, who was reconciled to the Church of Rome. Some pages lower (6) he mentions some circumstances relating to Hebedjesu, which deserve to have a place here; for they serve to let us know what sort of a man our Hebedjesu was. “ He had been formerly one of the most passionate Nestorians, says Monsieur Arnaud, and wrote several Books, whilst he laboured himself under their errors, and he gives us a list of those Books in the Catalogue he has made of the Chaldean Books composed by him, which Catalogue has been translated into Latin by Ecchellenfis. It appears from that Catalogue, that the Book intitled *Margaritarum* (of Pearls) was written by him, whilst he was still a Nestorian.” It is observed in the Supplement (7) in the article to Moreri’s Dictionary (7), that the Catalogue of Syrian Writers (it is no doubt that of which Hebedjesu is the Author) was printed at Rome in the Syriac Language in the year 1653, with Abraham Ecchellenfis’s Latin Translation and Notes; that this Catalogue mentions several works composed in Syriac by Hebedjesu; that there are lodged in the Library of the Vatican two Poems composed in the Syriac tongue, and written with his own hand, in which he gives an account of his re-union, &c. Aubertus Miræus (8), that this Patriarch’s picture was placed in the Palace of the Vatican amongst those of Cardinals and Prelates, who attended Pope Alexander III, when he received the Emperor Frederic’s submissions at Venice.

[C] *He took a second journey to Rome.* I wonder that neither Father Paul, nor his Censurer Cardinal Pallavicini, nor any of the several Authors I have consulted concerning Hebedjesu, should mention his journey to Rome under Pope Julius III. This particular would have been neither superfluous nor useless; and I am persuaded that they would not have omitted it, had they known it.

[D] *He was present at the Council of Trent.* I have confused this falsity in another place. It will be sufficient to observe here, that there is never such a

[E] *Denha Simon . . . was obliged to leave Caremit.* This happened at the time when Leonard Abel Bishop of Sidon went into the Levant in the character of Apostolick Nuncio (10). He was a native of Malta, and understood perfectly well the Arabick Tongue, which is in a manner the mother-tongue in that Island. He died at Rome in the year 1605, or 1606. He wrote a work concerning the Condition of the Christians in the East, out of which work Aubertus Miræus, from whom I borrow this whole remark, confesses, that he extracted a great many things, which are to be read in his *Notitia Episcopatum* (Account of Bishopricks.) He adds that this work of Leonard Abel is in manuscript in the Library of the late Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, Protector of the Churches in the East, and that this Library has been wonderfully improved by the addition of Cardinal William Sirlet’s books.

[F] *You will find in the Notes below what has been censured in Father Paul’s account.* This Author relates, that they read the Letters of Cardinal Amulius, “ who being Protector in the Churches of the East acquainted the Council with the news of Abdissi’s arrival. . . He asserted, that the Nations subject to this Prelate had been instructed in the Faith by the Apostles St. Thomas and St. Thaddæus, &c (11). The Historian adds, that they read afterwards this Patriarch’s Confession of Faith, and lastly the Letters, which he wrote to the Council, desiring to be excused from going thither, which was impossible for him, &c (12). Cardinal Pallavicini (13) relates this more fully and more accurately, not blending together what Amulius said by the Pope’s Command, with the consequences he drew himself from the Nestorian Prelate’s account. It does not appear that Father Paul made this distinction. But his chief blunder is his asserting that they read the Letter, which Abdissi had written to the Council. Pallavicini maintains that such a Letter never existed but in Father Paul’s imagination (14).

pitiful Writer but may sometimes mislead the most eminent Authors. Peter Strozza, Secretary to Pope Paul V, was probably imposed upon by some sorry Chronicler, and it is no doubt upon that Secretary’s credit, that the Sieur de Moni and Mr. Arnaud (9) before him have asserted, that Hebedjesu was present at that Council.

[A] *He was one of those Rhodians . . . that staked at dice the honour of the women.* The Abbot Lan- celot of Perugia had here a very good opportunity to

put the *Hoggidiani* to a non-plus; for I do not think that there has been in this age in any Country of Europe such a licentiousness as that of the Rhodians was.

I have

(5) *Perpetuité de la Foy Défendue*, liv. 5. chap. 5.

(6) In chap. 10.

(7) In the article to EBED-JESU.

(8) *Polit. Ecclesiast.* pag. 217.

(a) See Libanius, in *Argum. Orat. Demosth. pro Rhod. Libertate*.

(9) *Perpetuité de la Foy Défendue*, liv. 5. chap. 10.

(10) See Aubertus Miræus, pag. 218, &c. of his *Status Politia Ecclesiastica*, printed at Lyons in the year 1600.

(11) *Fra-Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente*, liv. 6. pag. 557. of Amelot’s Translation.

(12) See the article of ABDISSI. Cardinal Pallavicini (13) relates this more fully and more accurately, not blending together what Amulius said by the Pope’s Command, with the consequences he drew himself from the Nestorian Prelate’s account. It does not appear that Father Paul made this distinction. But his chief blunder is his asserting that they read the Letter, which Abdissi had written to the Council. Pallavicini maintains that such a Letter never existed but in Father Paul’s imagination (14).

(13) *Hist. Concil. Trident.* lib. 18. cap. 9. num. 5.

(14) *Sed hæc Epistola non in alia pagina, nisi in Suariviana imaginatione fuit exarata.* Idem, *ibid.* num. 8.

(c) Ταύτην τὴν
κυβερῶν ἱκανῶς
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ῥωδίων τοῖς ἐπι-
μαρτυροῦσιν δὲ καὶ
πλαστικῶς αὐτὸς
ὁ Ἡγεσίλοχος.
Athen. lib. 10.
cap. 12. ex
Theopompo, pag.
445. (instead of
piffime i. e. oftner
there is *seuiffime*,
most cruelly, in
the edition of
Lyons, 1657.

obliged to procure to the winner the Lady who had been played for, and should employ all possible means and artifices to bring her into his arms. They suffered no foul play; persuasions and violence were to succeed each other, and either to precede or to follow each other according as it was found necessary, till the full and actual payment of what had been staked. Hegesilochus was the person who played at this new game most often and most shamefully (c). His drunkenness and other excesses rendered him so incapable of managing public affairs, that he lost his dignity, and his very friends looked upon him as an infamous wretch. He ought not to be mistaken for another HEGESILOCHUS who was sent Ambassador to Rome by the Rhodians [B], after he had been raised to the highest office in the State [C]. The latter lived in the time of Perseus King of Macedon, and the former in the time of Philip Alexander the Great's father.

I have been told, indeed, that the footmen of a certain great Minister of State, who has not been long dead, used to play for Captains Commissions at dice or at cards; but, besides that this story is very uncertain, it was nothing very material; namely, that every one of these footmen was promised, for a Christmas-box, at the year's end, that a certain number of companies would be given to the persons recommended by him: after which they played this fund between them; and when any of them lost a company, it was not at his recommendation, but at the winner's, that the company was given. Notwithstanding this disorder, it was an easy matter to prevent Commissions from being given unless to persons proper to serve in the armies; and therefore this was by no means to be compared with the dissoluteness of those little tyrants of Rhodes, who played for maidenheads, and for horns to be planted on the heads of the most eminent men, and who would not give the loser any rest, till he had delivered them their prey. It was not enough for them to venture the honour of the most beautiful women (in-

separable from that of their husbands, since men would have it so) but they exposed also their own reputation; for the loser was to do the office of a pimp. This was enough to make a man cry out, *o tempora! o mores!* Oh the wicked age and corrupt morals.

[B] Another HEGESILOCHUS was sent Ambassador to Rome by the Rhodians. Polybius acquaints us with this (1). There was Gesilochus in the manuscripts: (1) Excerpt. ex Legat. cap. 64. but Fulvius Ursinus (2) having observed in Livy (3), that this same Rhodian was called Hegesilus, corrected (2) *Notis in ea* these two Authors by each other, and wrote *Hegesilochus* in both.

[C] He was raised to the highest office in the State. (3) Titus Livius, lib. 42. It was called *πρυτανία* (4), and the functions of it were expressed by the verb *πρυτανεύω*. The Latins have called them who enjoyed that dignity *Prytanes*. *Quadra. de Rhodo*, pag. 65. *ginta navibus, auctore Hegesilocho, comparatis*, says Livy (5), *qui cum in summo Magistratu esset (Prytanis ipsi* (5) Tit. Livius, lib. 42. *vocant)*. i. e. "They fitted out forty ships by Hegesilochus's command, who being then in the highest office, which they call *Prytanis*, &c."

HEIDANUS (ABRAHAM) Professor of Divinity at Leyden, was born at Frankenthal in the Palatinate August the 10th 1597. He went through his course of polite Literature at Amsterdam, where his father Jasper Heidanus had been chosen a Minister in the year 1608. An Englishman called Matthew Sladus (or Slade) who was then Rector (or Principal) of the College at Amsterdam took a particular care of Abraham Heidanus, whom he found to be a very hopeful youth. Daniel Colonius did not apply himself with less zeal to improve his pupil, when he was committed to his care in the Walloon College at Leyden. Colonius being none of those hot-brained Divines, who would have things carried to extremes, when the Arminian controversies broke out, was suspected to incline that way [A]; so that several persons took it very ill, that Jasper Heidanus should suffer his son to study under such a master. But these rash slanders produced a quite contrary effect to what those zealots intended. The Minister of Amsterdam left his son under the tutorship of Colonius, his ancient friend, with whose Orthodoxy he was perfectly well acquainted. He left, I say, his son with him, to give his friend

[A] Colonius being none of those hot-brained Divines... was suspected of Arminianism. This is one of the most disagreeable inconveniencies that attend religious controversies. They who by their natural disposition or from an exact knowledge of the true interest of the Church, endeavour to reconcile the minds of the people, and do not speak of cutting off the unfound members, become suspected of heterodoxy. The hot-tempered, angry, and passionate zealots, who are always crying out *principiis obsta*, and are continually repeating this maxim, *the evil must be nipped in the bud*, expose those that are moderate, and draw the people's hatred upon them. Hence it happens, that some persons, who otherwise are not of a passionate temper, do yet give up the outward appearance of moderation; and choose rather to act against their own inclination, and even against their conscience, than to be look'd upon as persons who basely betray the good cause. The zealots know perfectly well, that this will be the effect of their slanders, and therefore they spread them to the utmost of their power, and without the least scruple, privately from house to house, and publicly from the pulpit. This happened in the beginning of the Arminian Controversy, if we may believe Wittichius. *Vigebat illo tempore ob discrepantes de predestinationis sententias, non tantum inter dissentientes magna contentio, quæ animos a se invicem alienabat & dijungebat, sed etiam inter ipse ipsos & idem de controversia illa senti-*

entes obscura quedam diffidentia, qua locus dabatur suspicionibus, quibus alii alios tanquam bonæ causæ minus addictos differebant. Qui enim ferventioris erant ingenii, & omnia summa tentanda in initiis putabant, ut in herbâ opprimeretur malum, quoscunque videbant moderatius & lentius agere, ac de reconciliationis animorum potius laborare, si vulnus forte posset consolidari, ac scibisma, quod ad opera carnis pertinet, evitari, eos tanquam prævaricatores bonæ causæ apud plebem criminabantur (1). i. e. "The different opinions about Predestination occasioned at that time not only a great dispute between those who differed in their opinions, which alienated and divided them from each other; but it created even amongst those, who had the same thought and opinion of that controversy, a secret and hidden mistrust, which gave rise to suspicions, by which some represented the others as persons little affected to the good cause. For they that were of a hot temper, and imagined that the severest course was to be taken in the beginning, to nip the evil in the bud, traduced those as traitors, who acted with more moderation and meekness, and were of opinion that it was proper to endeavour a reconciliation between the two parties, if it were possible to heal the wound by that means, and to prevent a schism, which belongs to the works of the flesh." This is a very natural description. Such disputes occasion a violent war without; and produce within bad seeds

friend by that means an authentic testimony that they both agreed in their opinions. The pupil made a great progress under Colonius, and did not follow the example of most of the other students, who only filled their heads with the controversy concerning the five articles of the Remonstrants (a). He learnt this, and also all that was proper for him to know. He was admitted a *Proponent* by the Synod of the Walloon Churches in the year 1618, and preached in several French Churches with great applause of the audience; he preached also in some Dutch Churches with the same success. He travelled during two years, and visited part of Germany, Switzerland, France, and England. Soon after his return into Holland he was promoted to the office of a Minister of the Gospel, and exercised the functions of it at Naerden till the year 1627, when he accepted the offers of the Consistory of Leyden. He was betrothed to the daughter of one of the most eminent Merchants of Amsterdam, when he took possession of that new living, and soon after he celebrated his nuptials. He was a very good preacher, and this together with several good qualities of his heart and mind gained him a very great reputation. He was fifty years old when the Province of Guelderland being determined to found an University at Harderwyk offered him the Professorship of Divinity upon very advantageous terms. The Church of Leyden being willing to keep him, offered him either the like advantages, or in general wherewithall to make him amends abundantly for what he refused. The Governors of the University found out a better method still to prevent his going into Guelderland; they conferred upon him the Professorship of Divinity, which happened to be vacant by the death of Constantine L'Empereur. He was so well pleased with his situation at Leyden, that he would not accept the offers which the Elector Palatine made him, though that Prince endeavoured most earnestly to persuade him to it. Notwithstanding his refusal the Elector gave him a very honourable and kind reception [B], when he passed through Heidelberg in the year 1656, in the journey he took to Strasburg with his family. Professor Smidius, who invited him to a public disputation, and desired him to propose his objections, did not get off with honour [C]. But Heidanus's victory on this occasion was not so visible as that which he gained in the College of the Jesuits at Cologne [D]. This learned man died at Leyden, with

(a) *Studijs juvenes in partes distracti, & quæstionibus illis quotidianis agitati, sæpe quo se verterent nescirent, & neglecto pietatis studio ille doctissimus haberetur, qui de quinque istis articulis argutè differere, & adversarium argumentis irritare posset, securi de reliquis fidei articulis cognoscendis, quasi in hoc solo omnis eruditionis culmen positum esset. Wittichius, in Orat. Fun. Heidani.*

(2) See the article FERRIER, (Jeremy) remark [D] towards the end, and remark [L].

(3) Juvenal, Sat. 10. ver. 140.

seeds of suspicions, which are wonderfully fruitful. It produced, amongst other things, as I observed just now, a great alteration in those, whom right reason inspired with a spirit of moderation. They are rendered odious like hidden traitors (2), and there happen to be some, who do not choose to be reasonable at that rate, and imagine that justice and equity would cost them too dear, if it made them lose their reputation; they do therefore set up for persecutors, in order to refute the slanderers;

Tanto major famæ sitis est quam virtutis (3).
That is,

“ So much the thirst of honour fires the blood,
“ So many would be great, so few be good.”
Dryden.

This is what was done in France by several Roman Catholics, who had not approved the severity that was used against the Protestants, under Francis I and Henry II.

[B] *The Elector gave him a very honourable and kind reception.* They who may find it strange that I should give an account of this, will thereby censure Mr. Wittichius rather than me: For it is more reasonable to transcribe such particulars in a Dictionary that contains two volumes (*) in folio, when one meets with them in a funeral Oration, than to expatiate upon them in funeral Orations, when one only transcribes them from a manuscript. However it be, Wittichius tells us, that a messenger was sent every day to Abraham Heidanus to invite him to dinner, nor does he forget to mention the presents which Heidanus received. *Dum Heidelbergam appulit, nihil omisit serenissimus Elector quod non ferventissimum erga ipsum spiraret affectum. Ad mensam quotidie, novis semper missis nunciis, invitabat, in colloquiis benevole complectebatur, donabat medio cervo, & aliquot leporibus, nunciato banc omnem esse prædam, quam illo die cepisset; quæcumque in diversorio cum familia consumpsisset, liberalissima solvit, & cum Bacheracum rediisset, ad suos Leidenses reverurus, magno dolio optimi & generosissimi vini Bacheracensis voluit donatum.* i. e. “ When he was arrived at Heidelberg, the most serene Elector omitted nothing that was capable of testifying the great affection he had for Heidanus; he sent every day new messengers to invite him to dinner; and when in his company he treated him most kindly, he made him a present of half a buck, and some hares, telling

(*) Mr. Bayle's Dictionary contained but two volumes in the first edition.

“ him it was all they had taken in hunting that day; “ the Elector also paid all that Heidanus had spent “ with his family at his inn. And when he was come “ again to Bacrach (†) on his return to Leiden, the “ Prince would give him a large cask of the best wine “ of Bacrach.”

[C] *Professor Smidius, who . . . desired him to propose his objections in a public disputation, did not get off with honour.* Heidanus having several times desired to be excused from entering the list, was at last prevailed upon by Smidius's repeated civilities; he proposed his objections against universal Grace, which the Lutherans maintain; the whole audience heard him with a very great attention, and the success was very glorious for Heidanus. *Smidius ipsum palam non semel, sed quia declinabat noster, iteratis vicibus ad opponendum invitavit, quod, cum non videretur sibi salvo honore suo posse detestare, ea soliditate, ea efficacia Gratiam, quam Lutherani urgent, Universalem ita oppugnavit, ut omnium oculos in se converterit, & apud omnes præsentem magnam admirationem suæ consummate eruditionis excitaverit, disputationis vero præses multorum judicio parum honorificè ex illa disputatione discesserit* (4). i. e. “ Smidius invited him more than once to propose his objections in a public disputation; and as he declined “ it, he entreated him so earnestly to it, that he thought “ at last, he could not refuse it without exposing his “ reputation; he made such solid and strong objections against universal Grace, which the Lutherans “ maintain, that he drew the attention of the whole audience upon himself, and filled them with admiration “ of his consummate learning; and in the opinion of “ several, the Moderator at this disputation (†) did “ not come off very honourably.”

(†) A town of the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine, famous for its excellent wine.

(4) Wittichius, in Oratione funebri Heidani.

(†) It was Smidius himself.

[D] *Heidanus's victory . . . was not so visible, as that which he gained in the College of the Jesuits at Cologne.* If this last victory could more easily be observed than the former, yet it was less glorious, for it consisted only in the making of a joke, to which the Jesuit, who had shewed him all that was worth to be seen, in the College of the Jesuits, and who was perhaps but a lay-brother, had not one word to answer. Heidanus asked that Jesuit, whether Jesus Christ had done and suffered all that was necessary for our salvation: *Yes*, answered the Jesuit; to which Heidanus replied, *you Jesuits are not then his associates.* The Jesuit loaded with shame and astonishment had nothing to answer. Malincrot, Dean of Munster, who heard that discourse, and who was become acquainted with Heidanus,

with a great sense of devotion, October the 15th 1678, having finished his eighty first year, which is reckoned to be the most dangerous of all the climacteric years, and not without reason. He left four children, two sons and two daughters, thirteen grandsons, and three great grandsons. He had a great share in Des Cartes friendship; and compleated by that means the design he had begun under Jachæus Profeffor of Philosophy at Leyden, and one of the most subtle Peripatetics who were then living. This Jachæus rendered the controversy about substantial forms famous [E] in the Univerfity. Young Heidanus, being stirred up by the noise it made, examined the objections thoroughly, and compared them with Jachæus's answers. He found, that as long as men would argue upon fuch principles, they would only lose their time; and he hoped that a safer road would one day or other be discovered (b). He pretended to have found it in the writings and conversations of Des Cartes. But if this road were more proper to lead him to the knowledge of truth, it was not the safest with regard to his temporal interest; for it exposed him to a thousand vexations, and to a thousand prosecutions [F], of which his

(5) *Dom Colonia inuito itineris aliquot dies subsistit, in drosforio incidit in familiaritatem Malincrotii. . . viri elegantissimi ingenii, qui inter literatos primatum jure merebatur, bominis Pontificie quidem religioni addicti, sed moderati, qui etiam nunquam cum Heida-uo de religione sermonem voluit cadere. Idem, Sic.*

Heidanus (5), wished him joy for this victory, which you gained, said he, over my enemies. Wittichius, who did also hear this conversation, relates it thus. *Accidit ut postquam Collegium lustraveramus Jesuitarum, & jam in arca eramus constituti ut patribus valere diceremus, conversus Heidanus ad Jesuitam qui nos ducebat, ex ipso rogaverit, annon Jesus omnia illa quæ ad salutem essent necessaria egisset & passus fuisset? Ac Jesuita nihil sinistri metuens, respondisset, Omnino: Heidanus regeffit: Ergo vos non estis Socii Jesu; atque sic illo in ruborem dato & attonito ut ne verbum quidem respondere posset, discessit noster & nos cum ipso, atque patribus valere dixit. Quod Malincrotium tanto affectu gaudio, ut hoc nomine gratias solennes illi egerit, quod sic suos hostes (ita vocabat Jesuitas) ad incitias ex improviso redegit.* i. e. "It happened that after we had viewed the College of the Jesuits, and when we were already in the court to take our leave of the Fathers, Heidanus turning himself to the Jesuit, who had conducted us, asked him whether Jesus had not done and suffered all that was necessary for our Salvation? Upon which the Jesuit, who apprehended no trap in that question, answered innocently, By all means; upon which Heidanus replied, you Jesuits are not then his associates; at which the Jesuit blushed with shame, and was so surprized, that he could not answer one single word; so that Heidanus, and we with him, retired, having bid the Fathers farewell. Malincrot was so well pleased with this, that he returned Heidanus thanks, for reducing his enemies (thus he called the Jesuits) so unawares to a non-plus." I confess that I have hitherto vainly endeavoured to find where the jest lies in the consequence which Heidanus drew (a); I cannot guess what he hinted at, nor by what Logical rules he argued.

(a) To stile one's self a person's associate, is, strictly speaking, to pretend to be in all respects like him; now the Jesuit confessed, that the members of his Society were not Christ's associates in the work of our redemption; whence it follows, that it is without reason they call themselves the associates or companions of Jesus Christ. Such was Heidanus's argument, to which the Jesuit having nothing to reply, Malincrot looked upon it a victory gained by his friend Heidanus. CRIT. REM.]

[E] *Jachæus rendered the controversy about substantial forms famous.* There is no question in Natural Philosophy that shews more evidently than this, how great the power of prejudice is. It darkens men's minds with regard to the plainest notions; for there are a great many persons that think a substance cannot be drawn from matter, unless it be there beforehand, or unless it be produced by a true creation. The Peripatetics tell you faintly, or rather they assert in a passionate manner, that the forms do not exist in their subject, and yet that they are produced out of it by an action, which must not be called a creation, but an eduction (6). This doctrine would be the greatest of monsters, were it not a more monstrous prodigy to see, that some very learned and ingenious men do still maintain at this time the doctrine of substantial forms. Wittichius could not better prepare his audience to meet with a disciple of Des Cartes in the person of Heidanus, than by observing to them, that this same Heidanus, when he was still but a student, conceived an ill opinion of the Schoolmen's doctrine,

by the unexplicable difficulties in which Jachæus intangled himself. *Fervebat in Academia quaestio de formis substantialibus, earumque ex potentia materiae productione, quæ mirifice non tantum Auditores, sed & ipsum defensorem earum acerrimum Jachæum vexabat & torquebat. Quam cum universa distinctionum suarum panopliâ expedire non posset, & ad liquidum ostendere quænam illæ formæ substantiales essent, à materia realiter distinctæ & tamen materiales, quænam illa potentia materiae, in pars ejus quædam conversa in formam, an vero ejus cum producitur tantum sustentaculum, an autem, ut ex asserere figura scammii educitur, ita eodem modo præ-existeret in materia forma; cumque aliæ plurimæ superesset difficultates, nec ullum suppeditaretur flum ex hoc labyrintho emergendi, factum est ut auditores & perspicaciores discipuli, inter quos Heidanus primas obtinebat, de tota hac philosophandi ratione quam intelligendo assidue non posse viuebant, plane desperarent* (7). i. e. "The question concerning substantial forms, and their production from the power of matter, was at that time very much debated in the Univerfity; and did wonderfully puzzle, and perplex not only the audience, but even the most strenuous assertor of these forms, I mean Jachæus, who notwithstanding his great store of distinctions was not able to extricate himself, or to explain in a clear manner, what these substantial forms are, how they are really distinct from matter, and yet material; what that power of matter is; whether some part of matter be changed into a form, or whether matter be only the form's support when it is produced: whether the form pre-existed in matter after the same manner as the figure of a bench in a piece of wood, out of which it is carved. As there were a great many more difficulties besides these, and no thread could be found to get out of that labyrinth, it happened that the audience, and the most ingenious scholars, amongst whom Heidanus was the most eminent, gave that Philosophy entirely over, finding it was absolutely impossible to make sense of it."

[F] *Des Cartes's method exposed him to a thousand vexations, and to a thousand persecutions.* I do not know the particulars of this, but I remember a passage in his Considerations, in which he relates, that he raised a great many enemies against himself, and was exposed to horrid slanders, because he was always averfe from too severe maxims. He had not declared war against Protestant Canons; he had not thundred from the pulpit against Periwigs; it had not been his opinion, that the Remonstrants who returned into the bosom of their antient mother, ought to be rigorously examined. Hereupon he was traduced as an enemy of the new Reformation, which some would establish; all his other opinions were strictly examined; he was charged with being addicted to Des Cartes's sentiments, and with despising the sabbath-day. *Ætatem illam meam ancipitem duxi, modo tempestates, hinc expertus balcyonia, intra & extra nos passus adversarios, hinc hostes, inde fratres, nec nunquam mordacis linguæ exceptus flagellis. Fuit, cum scissam in partes charissimam hanc nostram Ecclesiam metu prævidimus: tum nobis sed eam sapientiam simul largitus est Deus, ut quidvis pati totius, quam idipsum permittere, maluerimus. Hinc jam Moderatores, per contemptum (ac si probrosum hoc nomen foret) audivimus; jam ut Cartesii plus satis additi Philosophiæ; hinc Sabbathi contemptores; inde novæ quam urgebant quidam Reformationis hostes traducti*

(6) A Jesuit called John Guilleminot, Doctor of Divinity in the Univerfity of Pont-a-Mousson, published at Paris in the year 1679 two Dissertations *De Principiis invisibilis rerum corporearum*, i. e. "Of the internal Principles of corporeal things," in which he racks his brains to prove against F. Maignan, that the production of the forms is not a real creation. Vain endeavours!

(7) See the article GORLÆUS (David), remark [A].

his Panegyrist Wittichius, from whom I borrow this article; thought it proper to say nothing. Heidanus was of a good family [G]. I shall mention his works below.

traducti sumus: quod seneratoribus trapeziticis plusculum illis concedere visi, nec Canonicis bellum indicere, neque de suggestis in comas detonare, neque Ecclesie disciplinam stritius, nec Remonstrantes ad nos transeuntes rigidius examinare, & quae sunt id genus alia (8). i. e.

(8) Heidanus, Considerationes ad res quasdam nuper gestas in Academia Batava, pag. 40. i. e. "Reflections upon some late transactions in the University of Leyden."

"My life has been a scene of various accidents; sometimes I was in a storm, and then enjoyed happy days again: I met with several adversaries both at home and abroad, some amongst the enemies, and some amongst my brethren; nor was I ever free from the slanders of an evil tongue. It was when our dear Church being divided into parties, I foresaw, out of fear, the evils that might befall her; but then, God vouchsafed that prudence to me, rather to undergo any thing, than to suffer those evils to happen by my fault. Hence I was called, by way of contempt, a Moderator, as though such a man was a reproach. I was traduced as a man too much addicted to Des Cartes's opinions; and as a despiser of the sabbath-day; hence as I was calumniated as an enemy to the new Reformation, which some would introduce, because I was a little more indulgent than others, to those that lend money upon interest; because I did not declare war against the Canons; because I did not thunder from the pulpit against periwigs; because I would not have the Ecclesiastical discipline exercised with too much rigour, nor those Remonstrants examined too severely who returned to us; and for other reasons of the same nature." Things were carried to such a length, that he was deposed from his Professorship for the following reason. The Governors of the University of Leyden made a decree January the 16th 1676, by which the Professors were prohibited to treat, in what manner soever it might be, of

(9) They mentioned twenty propositions, some of which were Theological, and the others philosophical.

some propositions (9), which of late were very much controverted, and of Des Cartes's Metaphysics. Heidanus acted against this decree almost in the same manner as the Janfenists did against the Archbishop of Paris's charge, by which he prohibited the reading of the French Translation of the New Testament printed at Mons. Heidanus criticised upon that decree; he pretended to find irregularities or errors in it which rendered it void; he asserted that the twenty propositions which had been condemned, had not been controverted in the University of Leyden, as the Governors declared; he complained that these Gentlemen suffered themselves to be imposed upon by unfair extracts. He made an odious parallel between those that furnished those extracts, and the Jesuits, who caused some propositions to be condemned at Rome as if they were maintained by Janfenius, though they were no where to be met with in Janfenius's works. He made use also of another comparison; for he quoted a Lutheran writer, named Giles Hunnius, who pretended to convict John Calvin of Judaism by some extracts artfully transcribed from his works.

(10) I make use of the Latin translation printed at Hamburg, 8vo, 1678.

Lastly, he explained the propositions that were condemned, and endeavoured to shew that they were orthodox in the sense of the authors, from whose works they were extracted. This work of Heidanus was first printed in Dutch, and afterwards in Latin (10). The Governors of the University were so exasperated at it, that they deposed this Professor. Heidanus's friends pretend, that this was the happiest event that could befall him, because his old age could not suffer him to acquire a new reputation by his Lectures, nor even to keep that fame up, which he had already gained; they added also, that his deprivation endeared him more and more to his party, and rendered him more venerable to them (11), and was proper to make the other party more odious.

(11) Florus, lib. 4. cap. 4. expresses this by these words, *injuria favorabilis*, i. e. "a favourable injury; and Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. 3. cap. 75. by *Commendatio ex injuria*; i. e. "an injury which becomes a commendation."

[G] Heidanus was of a good family.] Gerard Vander Heyden, his great grandfather was of Mech-

lin) (12), and of an antient and honourable family. (12) *Proavus illi* His grandfather Jasper Vander Heyden was of the fame city; but he was expelled his father's house, because he had embraced the reformed Religion. He was chosen a Minister at Antwerp, whence the persecution obliged him to retire to Francfort, where he met with several Refugees, whom the strict Lutherans would not suffer to live in that city; which obliged them to petition Frederic II Elector Palatine for a place where they might live secure. Peter Dathenus was at their head. The Elector granted them the Monastery of Frankenthal, whence the Monks were commanded to retire. These Refugees performed their religious exercises there in the Dutch tongue, and converted that monastery by degrees into a town. Dathenus being called to Heidelberg, our Jasper Vander Heyden was chosen Pastor of that church in his stead. He was desired to be present at the National Synod held at Embden in the year 1571, and was chosen President or Moderator of that Assembly, in which the Canons of the Church-discipline were drawn up. Soon after his return into the Palatinate, the Elector commanded him to attend his son, whom he sent with an army to succour the reformed in the Low-Countries: these troops being routed, Vander Heyden retired into Holland, and was President in the National Synod which met at Dort in the year 1574. He was for some time Minister of the church at Middleburg, and thinking himself afterwards secure by the pacification concluded at Ghent, he returned to his former flock at Antwerp. This city being taken by the Spaniards, he returned into the Palatinate, and was made Superintendent of the Churches about Bacrach. He was upon the point to resign this employment in order to satisfy the desire of the Church of Frankenthal, who desired his ministry again, when he died, leaving only one son, named Jasper, like him who was born in the year 1566. This son was first Minister at Volmersheim, then at Frankenthal, and lastly at Amsterdam, where he died in the year 1626. He married Clara Vander Borne, daughter of the High Bailiff of Frankenthal, and had six sons and eight daughters by her. Our Abraham Heidanus was one of his sons (13).

(13) Taken from Wittichius's Funeral Oration on Heidanus.

[I] I shall mention his works below.] He published Orations upon several subjects; an Examination of the Catechism of the Remonstrants; a book in 4to, *De Origine Erroris* (Of the Origin of Error) and a book in Dutch in which he asserts the cause of God against the Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians, with so much strength, that no body could answer him, *Evolvo solidissimum & nunquam satis laudandum Commentarium de Causa Dei Belgice ante plures annos conscriptum. (qui dignissimus videtur ut in Latinam linguam transferatur, ut ab exteris legi possit) in quo adeo nervose, adeo eloquenter partes Dei defendit contra hominem, ut Pelagiani nihil in hunc usque diem potuerint restaurare* (14). i. e. "Read his solid Commentary concerning the cause of God, which work can never be sufficiently commended; it was written in Dutch several years ago, and deserves to be translated into Latin, that foreigners may read it. The author asserts in that book the cause of God against man with so much strength and eloquence, that the Pelagians could not till this day find any thing to re-establish their system, which he has entirely ruined and overthrown." As to his *Corpus Theologiae Christianae in quindecim locos digestum*; i. e. "Body of Christian Divinity reduced to fifteen topics" it was printed after his death in two volumes in 4to in the year 1686, by the care of Mr. Crucius his grandson. See the *Newvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (15).

(14) Wittichius, *ibid.*

(15) For June 1686, in the Catalogue of New Books, num. 7. pag. 729.

HELENA, daughter of Tyndarus King of Lacedemon, was the most beautiful woman of her age [A]; but otherwise without the least honour or virtue, and her whole life

[A] She was the most beautiful woman of her age.] There are some authors (1), who have given a particular description of the beauty of Helena. The Writer,

(1) Dares Phrygius, Cedrenus.

who is most ample on the subject, is Constantine Manasses: he has introduced into eleven Greek verses a considerable number of epithets, which represent the natural

life was full of unhappy adventures. There are some authors who have given so particular an account of the perfections of her body [B], that they cannot be excused, even when they say in exprefs terms, that they only did it by way of amufement. She was fought

natural perfections of this Lady. He has not forgot to mention, that her beauty owed nothing to artifice, and that her complexion, without having occasion for wafhes, had a noble luftre (2). They have afcribed to her legs well made, a little mouth (3), a long neck and very white (4), large eyes, and fine breasts (5). Brantome furnifhes me with a paffage relating to this laft particular. " Helena, Jays be (6), being de- firous one day to prefent to the Temple of Diana " an handsome cup in confequence of a vow, and em- ploying a Goldfmith to make it, ordered him " to take the model from one of her handsome breasts, " and he made the cup of white gold, in fuch a man- ner, that one could not tell whether to admire moft, " the cup, or the refemblance of the breaft, which he " had taken for his model, and which appeared fo " pretty, and fo like, that the artificial one could not " but create a defire for the natural. Pliny relates " this with great admiration, and is very particular, " where he afferts that there is white gold, which is " very ftrange, and that this cup was made of white " gold. . . . Whoever fhould make gold cups from the " large duggs of fome women, muft furnifh the Gold- fmith with a great deal of gold, and would not ef- cape afterwards the laughter of the world when it " fhould be faid, See, there are cups modelled after the " breasts of fuch and fuch Ladies. Thefe cups would " not refemble cups, but round wooden pails, which " the hogs are ferved with, and the nipple would re- " femble a rotten cherry." Brantome is miftaken in two points; for Helena did not dedicate this cup in the Temple of Diana; and it is not true, that Pliny afferts it to have been made of white gold. *Minervæ templum habet Lindos infula Rhodiorum in quo Helena facravit calicem ex elethro. Adjicit hiftoria mammae fuae menfura.* i. e. " There is a temple of Minerva " at Lindos an Ifland of the Rhodians, in which " Helena dedicated a cup of *Elethrum*. Hiftory adds, " that it was of the fame proportion of her breaft." Here is what Pliny fays in the IVth chapter of the XXXIIIrd Book.

To return to Helena, I obferve, that the descriptions, which have been made of her beauty, do not give us an idea of it equal to what we form from reading a paffage in the Iliad, which have nothing of a description in them. Homer only introduces the Counfellors of Priam, who faw Helena coming while they were deliberating upon the affairs of State with their Prince, faying, that neither the Greeks nor Trojans were to be blamed for fuffering fo many evils for fo divine a beauty.

Οὐδέ τις Τρῶας ἢ ἰωνήμιδας Ἀχαιῶν
Τοιοῦτ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ ποδῶν χρόνον ἄλγιστα πάσχωσιν
Αἰὶός αἰθρῶν τῶσι θεῶς τις ἦεν ἴσταν ἴσταν.

(7) Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. ver. 156. See Athenæus, lib. 5. pag. 188. and Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. m. 398.

" They cried, no wonder fuch celestial charms " For nine long years have fet the world in arms; " What winning graces! what celestial mien; " She moves a Goddess, and ſhe walks a Queen!" Pope.

[B] There are ſome Authors, who have given ſo particular an account of the perfections of her body.] A Spaniſh Monk remarks, that the beauty of this woman was a prodigy of nature, and for a great many ages it was uſual to ſay, when a perſon deſigned to pay the higheſt compliment to a beauty, ſhe is an Helena. He adds, that John Nevizan ſaid, that of thirty things, which are neceſſary to make a woman perfectly handſome (a), there was not one, which ſhe wanted. *Nacio eſta tan aventajada, y enriquecida de bermofura, que fue un portento, un prodigio, y milagro de naturaleza, quedando deſde aquel tiempo à eſte, y aun para muchos ſiglos, en proverbio. ſu belleza, y gallardia: de tal fuerite, que quando queremos ponderar, y encaecer la bermofura de una muger, dezimos que es una Helena: y en tal lugar la pone, el Nivernienſe (8), Natal Comite, Bartolomeo Caſaneo, Juan Nevizano (9); el qual pone las treynta coſas, que ſe requieren para que*

(a) See Brant. tom. 2. pag. 330. of his Dames Galantes. CRIT. REM.

(8) That is to ſay, Rowiſius Teſtor.

(9) He ought to ſay, Nevizano.

una muger ſea perfeçiffima en ſu bermofura: y dixez que las tenia todas ſin ſaltar ninguna, la bermofa Helena (10). I believe, that he had not ſeen the work (10) Baſtaſar de of John Nevizan, and that he ſpoke merely upon the Victoria, *Prædicador de San Francisco de Salamanca, Theatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidad*, lib. 2. cap. 9. pag. 181. edit. de Salamanca, 1620. *Difficile eſt cuſtodire quam plurimi amant, it is Caſſaneuve who ſpeaks (11), ut ſatis colligitur ex dictis Jo. Nevizani Aſtenſis in ſua Sylva nuptiali, in ampliacione 7. in verb. quæro juxta prædicta, ſi ſint duo, ubi ponit, quid operetur pulchritudo mulieris. Et ibi dicit, quod debet habere triginta quatuor, ad hoc, ut ſit pulchra, quæ his verſibus ibi poſitis continentur: i. e. Part. 2. Con. 20. pag. m. 168.* " It is difficult to ſecure a woman, who is the object of many perſons love, as ſufficiently appears from a paſſage in John Nevizan's *Sylva nuptialis*, where he lays down the effects of a woman's beauty; and ſays, that ſhe ought to have thirty four things, in order to be handſome, which things are contained in the following verſes introduced there:

*Triginta hæc habeat, quæ vult formoſa vocari
Fæmina, ſic Helenam fama fuiſſe referit.
Alba tria, & totidem nigra, & tria rubra puella:
Tres habeat longas res, totidemque breves.
Tres craſſas, totidem graciles: tria ſtriſſa, tot ampla
Sint itidem huic formæ: ſint quoque parva tria.
Alba cutis, nigri dentes, albique capilli,
Nigri oculi &c.*

That is,

" Let her, who would be accounted beautiful, have " theſe thirty things, for which Helena is reported " to have been eminent; three things white, three " black, and three red; three long, and three ſhort; " three thick, three ſlender; three narrow, three " wide, and three ſmall. A white ſkin, white teeth, " and white hair, black eyes, &c."

I ſuppreſs the reſt of this little Latin Poem (12), tho' (12) It contains Caſſaneuve, who was firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Aix, made no ſcruple to inſert it intire in his Book. He makes this addition: *Non aliter hic inſiſto circa talia, cum ſatis, & ultra quam decens ſit, ponatur in dicta Sylva nuptiali.* i. e. " I ſhall not inſiſt farther " upon theſe points, ſince enough and more than is " decent is laid down in the ſaid *Sylva nuptialis*." I may maintain with reaſon, that thoſe, who thus quote John Nevizan, are not exact, ſince he himſelf copies from other writers, and cites them by their names. The ſource, to which he had recourſe, is a French writer, whoſe Book is intitled *De la Louange & Beauté des Dames*. The eighteen Latin verſes, which he cites, and which Caſſaneuve has quoted after him, were a Tranſlation from the French by Francis Corniger. He ſays that it was not then printed, but that there was an Italian Verſion in a Book published by Vincent Calmeta. *Et triginta requiſita, ſays he (13), enume- rantur per Gallicum in libr. de la louange & beauté des dames circa fin, quas Latinas fecit Franciſc. Corniger, quem nunc refero, quia non eſt impreſſus: ſed bene Vincentius Calmeta idem ponens in carm. vulgari. incip. dolce Flaminia, & ecloga proxima ſeq. incip. per dare riſpoſta Lege ergo verſus Cornigeri.* i. e. " And thirty quali- fications are reckoned up by a French Author in his Book *de la Louange & Beauté des Dames* towards the end, which are tranſlated into Latin by Francis Corniger, whoſe tranſlation I quote, becauſe it is not printed. But Vincent Calmeta has properly introduced theſe verſes in an Italian Poem beginning *Dolce Flaminia*, and the following Eclogue beginning *per dare Riſpoſta*. Read Corniger's Verſes:"

Triginta hæc habeat &c.

If you conſult the Book intitled *Les neuf Matinées du Seigneur de Chobierres*, you will find there a Sonnet (14), which begins thus,

(14) Pag. 167. of the Paris editi- on, printed by John Richer, 1585 in 8vo.

(a) Apollodorus, lib. 3. See also Pausanias, lib. 3. pag. 103. who remarks, that they swore upon the entrails (according to Amasæus's translation, the testicles) of an Horse, who was sacrificed and afterwards buried there. See like-wise Socrates in *Enchiridion Heleneæ*.

(b) Clytemnestra, Wife of Agamemnon.

(c) The child whom Helena brought forth was the famous Iphigenia.

(d) See remark [D].

(e) See remark [D].

fought for in marriage by a great number of Princes; and as her father knew not how to act, being fearful of exasperating those to whom he should refuse her, he learned an excellent expedient of Ulysses (a). It was to engage all the rivals to swear, that they would approve the choice he should make of a son-in-law, and be ready to assist him against those, who should endeavour to disturb Helena's marriage. Upon this Tyndarus married her to Menelaus [C]. She had before been stolen away by Theseus; but she was believed upon her word, that she escaped with her virginity [D]. However there was nothing less true. Theseus had not sent her back without having a child by her, of which she was brought to bed at her sister's (b). The affair continued a secret, because her sister made the child (c) pass for her own (d). The usual fate of young women when they are carried away, is to change their condition, whether they own it or not. The more beautiful they are, the more probable it is, that they have submitted to this Law. Our romance writers have not attended to this [E]; or they have preferred a scene

*Celle qui veut paroître des belles la plus belle
Ces dix fois trois beautés, trois longs, trois courts,
trois blancs,
Trois rouges, & trois noirs, trois petits, & trois
grands,
Trois estroits & trois gros, trois menus soient en elle.*

and ends with these words, *levres, doigts & cheveux menus, tell fut Helene*. The conclusion is no less impertinent than all the preceding verses; for to know that Helena was so made, it would not have been sufficient to have seen her, while she was performing her exercises at Lacedemon (15); it was necessary to have been Paris or Menelaus, or some other of those men, who had been her husbands, or gallants.

(15) *Inter quos Helene nudis capere arma papillis fertur, nec fratres erubuisse deos.* Propert. Eleg. 13. lib. 3. See the article LYCURGUS, remark [B].

(16) Hygin. cap. 78.

(17) *Biblioth.* lib. 3.

(18) Hygin. cap. 78.

(19) Plutarch. in *Theseo*, pag. 15.

(20) Her name was *Ætbra*.

(21) Proserpina, daughter of Aidoneus, King of the Molossians.

(22) Herodotus, lib. 9. cap. 77. ascribes this to the Decelians, a Tribe of Athens, or at least to Decelus himself.

(23) See the article ACAMAS, remark [A].

(24) Plutarch. in *Theseo*, pag. 15.

(25) *Apud Plutarch.* ibid. pag. 14.

(26) *Apud Tzetzen in Lycophron.*

(27) Cited by Meziriac sur les *Epiques d'Ovide*, pag. 482.

(28) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 65.

(29) *Idem*, ibid.

[C] Tyndarus married her to Menelaus. Some say (16), that he did not himself choose Menelaus for his son-in-law, but that he permitted Helena to choose among her lovers, whom she pleased, and that she preferred Menelaus to the rest. Apollodorus (17) asserts, that Tyndarus resigned his Kingdom to his son-in-law; but others tell us (18), that he only appointed him his successor. Helena therefore was a noble fortune, since with so accomplished a person she brought a crown to the man, whom she married.

[D] She had before been stolen away by Theseus; but she was believed upon her word, that she escaped with her maidenhead. According to Plutarch, she was not of a marriageable age, when Theseus stole her from the Temple of Diana, where she was dancing (19). He put her under the care of his mother (20), and placed them both under the protection of one of his good friends at Aphidnæ, and went upon another adventure to seize a Lady (21) with his friend Perithous. Castor and Pollux, Helena's brothers, lost no time; they entered Attica with an armed force to demand their sister. The Athenians protested, that they knew not where she was. This answer was not satisfactory; hostilities were ready to begin, when one Academus informing Helena's brothers that she was at Aphidnæ (22), they went to attack that city, and carried it by assault. The gates of Athens were opened; they entered the city without committing the least disorder; they demanded only to be initiated in the mysteries. They carried Helena back to Lacedemon: it is said likewise that they carried away Theseus's mother, and this Lady attended Helena (23) to Troy (24).

Hellanicus makes Theseus fifty years old (25), and Helena seven (26), at the time she was carried away, and does not scruple to say, that Theseus lay with her. Duris the Samian affirms (27), that Helena was with child of Iphigenia, when she was rescued from the hands of her ravisher. Pausanias says the same thing, and adds, that she was brought to bed at Argos at the house of her sister Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon, and that she committed the care of her daughter's Education to her (28). He says, that Euphorion, Alexander Pleuronius, and Stesichorus had asserted in their Poems, that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus and Helena. The Argians were so much persuaded of this, that they believed, that Helena, after her child-birth, built the Temple of Lucina, which was to be seen in their city (29). A great many persons were deceived on this occasion. Agamemnon thought that Iphigenia was his daughter; for his wife assured him so. Castor and Pollux were persuaded, that their sister returned a virgin; for when they asked her upon this tender point, she answered that she had never

never been touched. Ορισίως η Έλένης τής Διός εγένετο θυγάτηρ Ίφιγένεια, η αὐτήν ἐξήτριφεν ἡ πηδ Έλένης ἀδελφή Κλυταιμνήστρα πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἔπειν αὐτὴ τεκεῖν. Ἐλένη γὰρ πρὸς Δαναομένη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἔφη κόρη παρὰ Θεσπίως ἀπελθῆν (30). What shall we say of Menelaus, who married her some time after? He thought, that himself was the first, who had opened the breach, and yet he had married one, who had been a mother.

When I said that Helena was questioned by her brothers, I followed the learned Monf. Meziriac (31), who thus understands the Greek passage, which I quote: but others, with more reason perhaps, tell us, that Castor and Pollux advised their sister to boast that she had her virginity still. It was a very prudent piece of advice, and which might well have been spared to Helena, young as she was; she would have boasted of this advantage without the suggestion of any person. She affirms in Ovid, that Theseus only forced some kisses from her, and that she came off clear, abating only her fear.

*Non tamen è faclo fructum tulit ille petitum,
Excepto redii passa timore nihil:
Oscula luctanti tantummodo pauca protervus
Abtulit: ulterius nil habet ille mei (32).*

She owns however, that Theseus was very young (33): Ovid has observed *decorum* in representing her as speaking in this manner, but he does not observe it less, when he introduces another woman, who believes Helena to assert a falsehood:

*Illam de patria Theseus, (nisi nomine fallor)
Nescio quis Theseus, abstulit ante juâ.
A juvene & cupido credatur reddita virgo.
Unde hoc compererim tam bene, quæris? amo.
Vim licet appelles, & culpam nomine veles,
Quæ toties rapta est, præbuit ipsa rapti (34).*

The following remark will serve as a supplement to this.

[E] Our Romance-writers have not attended to this.] A REFLECTION upon the rapes of Heroines in romance. It is certain, that Monfr. or Mademoiselle de Scudery, and other Romance-writers their contemporaries, have greatly shocked probability, when they have represented their Heroines to be stolen away, without allowing us to suppose that they granted, voluntarily or by force, any favour to their lovers. I know, that they would be infinitely more inexcusable, if they did not suppose, as they do, that the Ladies were carried away without consenting in any measure. There are some countries, where those are not punished who steal young women, who consent to it. This impunity is the reason why such thefts are very frequent; and no body imagines that the ravishers use the least delay to enjoy them. The first lodging they come to is the utmost; and most people even suppose that enjoyment preceded the escape. However that be, this kind of rape is almost always followed by marriage, since if the parents should not consent to the marriage, they would find themselves burthened with a daughter, disgraced, according to the opinion of the world, and who would not meet with an husband, except any one should be content to take up with the leavings of another. We must confess therefore, that the Romance-writers secure themselves from the greatest part of the ridicule, by the care which they take in supposing, that the Heroine opposes, as much as possible, her being carried

scene of adventures to probability. All the world knows that Helena was stolen away by Paris the son of Priam, and that all the Greeks interested themselves in the injury done to Menelaus. Hence sprung the Trojan war so much spoken of by all the Poets. Paris having lost his life the last year of that war, his brother Deiphobus supplied his place with Helena. The Greeks killed him in a cruel manner the night in which Troy was taken: they were favoured in this by Helena as much as they could wish [F].
Menelaus

fied off: however they cannot extricate themselves out of the affair; they overthrow the common notions, and form a system diametrically opposite to the judgment of the public, and to good sense. What is the motive of their Heroes, when they steal a mistress? Would they declare to her, that they die for love of her, and that her rigours reduce them to despair? They have told her this I know not how often, and they have not recourse to this violent method till they find her determin'd to make some other man happy, and to be for ever indifferent to them. Do they hope, that their sighs, which have been so ineffectual before they provok'd her, will move her amidst the resentments, with which she is fir'd against her ravisher? Probability contradicts this: they must therefore propose to take advantage of the State, which reduces her to their mercy, and to put her upon such terms as shall oblige her to speak of matrimony first. This is really one of the views of those, who steal away a young Lady without her consent: They persuade themselves, that after she has been some months in their power, her reputation at least will suffer greatly, and cannot be restored but by the nuptial benediction. Besides we see, that if others marry such women, they are vehemently suspected of possessing only the leavings of a ravisher: they are extremely raillied, and are considered as men of no delicacy. This is a new stroke against our Romance-writers, whose Heroes are ambitious of marrying mistresses, who have been more than once stolen away by their rivals. You will find a critique upon all this in the *Parnass reformé*. Cyrus complains there, that he has not a mistress given him, "who is of an irreproachable character. You judge well enough without doubt from this discourse, says he (35), that I am not satisfied with Mandana; and indeed what would you have me think of her, after she has been stolen away so often? Ought I to believe, that she escaped untouched from the hands of four ravishers? And can those who are the least clear-sighted in these mysteries doubt, but that you have bestowed on me the leavings of others? I think, you should have put her modesty to other sort of proofs. These are a little too strong for so brittle a thing, and Mandana was not a fort capable of resisting so many assaults. Perhaps she might have escaped well enough from the first attack: I am willing to believe, that she had virtue enough not to submit at once, and her honour might be preserved without a miracle from this exigence. But relapses are mortal in these affairs: a second carrying off overthrows every thing, and an Heroine, who has only the remains of a shaken resolution, or perhaps not so much, makes but a very useless effort in her defence." Apollo had regard to this complaint, and pronounced this decree. "We declare, that we do not acknowledge for Heroes all those, who are Cuckolds, nor for Heroines all those Ladies, who shall have been stolen away above once (36)." The Ballad of Sarrafin upon the carrying off of Mademoiselle de Bouteville by Monsieur de Coligny (37), is another sentence of condemnation; for here is the judgment of that man of wit:

*Ce gentil joli jeu d'amours
Chacun le pratique à sa guise,
Qui par Rondeaux & beaux Discours,
Chapeau de fleurs, gente coiffure,
Tournoy, bal, festin, ou devise
Pense les belles captiver;
Mais je pense, quoy qu'on en dise,
Qu'il n'est rien tel que d'enlever.
C'est bien des plus merveilleux tours
La passeroute & la maistrise:
Au mal d'aimer, c'est bien toujours
Une prompte & soufve crise,
C'est au gasteau de friandise
De Venus la sève trouver.
L'Amant est fol qui ne s'avise*

*Qu'il n'est rien tel que d'enlever.
Je sçay bien que les premiers jours
Que Becasse est bridée & prise,
Elle invoque Dieu au secours
Et ses parens à barbe grise:
Mais si l'Amant qui l'a conquise
Sçait bien la Rose cultiver,
Elle chante en face d'Eglise
Qu'il n'est rien tel que d'enlever (38).*

(38) Sarrafin,
Poësies, pag. 59.
60.

That is,
"Let every one practise this elegant scheme of gal-
lantry, in his own manner, who by Rondeaux,
and polite discourſes, chaplets of flowers, neatness
of dress, tournaments, balls, feasts, or devises, thinks
to captivate fair Ladies. But I am of opinion,
whatever is said to the contrary, that there is no-
thing like stealing them away. This is the right
way for the lover to gain his point, the best remedy
for the pains of love. That lover is a very silly one,
who does not consider, that there is nothing like
stealing her away. I know well enough that the
first day a mistress is carried away, she calls upon
God to assist her, and upon her aged parents. But
if the lover, who has gained her, knows how to
manage his point, she sings before the whole church,
that there is nothing like stealing a Lady away."

[F] *The Greeks massacred . . . Deiphobus . . . being favoured by Helena as much as they could have wished.* See in Virgil the shocking treatment of Deiphobus's body, and in what manner his wife betrayed him.

*Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora:
Ora manūque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares (39).*

(39) Virg. *Æn.*
lib. 6. ver. 495.

"Here Priam's son, Deiphobus, he found,
Whose face and limbs were one continu'd wound;
Dishonest, with lopp'd arms, the youth appears,
Spoil'd of his nose, and shorten'd of his ears."

*Sed me fata mea, & scelus exitiale Læonæ,
His merſere malis: illa hæc monumenta reliquit (40).* (40) *Ibid.* ver. 511.

"These are the monuments of Helen's love,
The shame I bear below, the marks I bore above."

*Flammam media ipsa tenebat
Ingentem, & summâ Danaos ex arce vocabat.
Tum me confectum curis, somnoque gravatum
Infelix habuit thalamus; preſtitque jacentem,
Dulcis & alta quies, placidæque ſimillima mortis.
Egregia interea conjux arma omnia telis
Emovet; & fidum capiti ſubduxerat enſem:
Intra teſta vocat Menelaum, & limina pandit.
Scilicet id magnum ſperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam exſtingui veterum ſic poſſe malorum (41).*

(41) *Ibid.* ver. 518.

"Then waving high her torch the signal made
Which rais'd the Grecians from their ambuscade.
With watching overworn, with cares oppress'd,
Unhappy I had lain me down to rest,
And heavy sleep my weary limbs possess'd,
Mean time my worthy wife our arms mislaid,
And from beneath my head my sword convey'd,
The door unlatch'd, and with repeated calls,
Invites her former Lord within my walls.
Thus in her crime her confidence she plac'd,
And with new treasons would redeem the past."
DRYDEN.

She thought that this barbarous sacrifice was necessary to appease the resentment of Menelaus: she would have judged better of things, if she had attended less to the enormity of her crime, than to the good nature of the Greek Prince.

(35) Parnasse,
Reformé, pag.
265. Dutch edi-
tion.

(36) *Ibid.* pag.
287.

(37) Not he, who
fought with the
Duke of Guise,
as the author of
the *Galanteries
des Rois de France*
asserts, tom. 2.
pag. 223. but his
younger brother.

Menelaus acted like a good-natured man; he was reconciled without much difficulty to his wife, and took her home to him very generously [G]. After his death she was obliged to retire into the Isle of Rhodes, where she died unfortunately [H]; for she was hanged on a tree. The scandalous irregularities of her life [I] did not prevent her from having divine

[G] Menelaus was reconciled without much difficulty to his wife, and took her home to him very generously.] This poor cuckold was so simple, that he imagined, that his wife consumed herself with grief in Priam's house; and this was the chief motive, that urged him to the conquest of Troy.

Μάλας δ' ἴσ' ὅσον θυμῷ τίσασθαι
Ἐλῆος ἰερήματα τε τρυχᾶς τε (42).

(42) Homer. II. l. 2. v. 26. See the *Penses sur les Cometes*, num. 237. pag. 717.

There were very good grounds to reproach him, that his conjugal flame, which was almost extinct, was revived when Helena abandoned him for another man:

*Acrius Hermonen idem dilexit Orestes,
Esse quod alterius ceperat illa viri.
Quid Menelae doles? ibus sine conjuge Creten,
Et poterat nupta letus abesse tua:
Ut Paris hanc rapuit, tum demum uxore carere
Non potes, alterius crevit amore tuus.*

“ Orestes loved Hermione the more, because she began to be possessed by another man. Why, Menelaus, do you grieve? You went to Crete without your wife, and was able to bear cheerfully her absence. But when Paris carried her away, then at last you begin to be incapable of supporting the loss of her; your love was increased by that of another man.”

Antiquity must have been very strongly convinced of the good humour of cuckolds, since it represents the God Vulcan so easy towards his wife. “ The Deity of our Poet, when he surprizes with his wife one of her galants, is content with exposing them and suffers himself to be worked upon by the soft caresses, which she offers him, complaining that she entertained a distrust of his love.

(*) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 8. ver. 395.

“ (*) *Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit
Quo tibi, Diva, mei?*”

“ Why seek you reasons for a cause so just,
Or your own beauty, or my love distrust?”

DRYDEN.

(†) Ibid. ver. 383.

“ She makes a request to him for a bastard of her's: (†) *Arma rogo genetrix nato*, which is readily granted him; and Vulcan speaks of Æneas with respect: (†) *Arma acri facienda viro*, with a generosity indeed more than human. This excess of goodness I consent to be left to the Gods: (†) *Nec divos homines componer æquum est* (43).” These words of Montagne are too ingenious to displease men of taste here. But not to dissemble any thing, I must observe, that there are some persons officious enough to do Menelaus the honour of arming him with resentment against the infidelity of Helena. In the Troades of Euripides he threatens to kill her; and she is obliged to make use of all kinds of excuses to obtain her pardon. She says among other things, that after the death of Paris, she had several times endeavoured to leave Troy, and retire into the camp of the Greeks, and that centinels surprized her, when she was attempting to descend from the walls by a rope. She adds, that Deiphobus married her by force. Pausanias mentions a statue of Menelaus pursuing Helena sword in hand, to kill her when Troy was taken (44). But others suppose, that he threw away his sword, when he saw the throat of Helena, and suffered himself to be killed by this traitorous bitch, and caressed her:

(†) Ibid. ver. 441.

(†) *Cat. ad Mal.*

(43) Montagne, *Essais*, lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. m. 138.

“ *Ελῆος δὲ Τροίαν, εἴμι γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' αἶσι,
Οὐκ ἔκλειες γυναῖκα χερῶν λαβόν.
Ἄλλ' ὡς ἰσθίδος μαστῶν, ἐκβαλὼν εἴφθ'
Φίλην ἰδέω, ἀφροδῖτιν αἰκαλλῶν κίνα* (45).”

(44) Pausan. lib. 5. pag. 166.

(45) Eurip. in *Androm.* ver. 627. pag. m. 520.

[H] She died unfortunately.] Nicostratus and Megapenthus, Menelaus's natural sons, had driven her from

Lacedemon. She retired to Polyxo her relation, the widow of Tlepolemus King of Rhodes, and Regent of the Kingdom during her son's minority. Polyxo remembering that her husband died at the siege of Troy, and that she could not but consider Helena as the cause of her being a widow, she resolved upon revenge; for which purpose while Helena was in the bath, she sent women thither dressed like Furies, who hanged her upon a tree. The Rhodians being desirous to perpetuate this accident, built a Temple, which they called the Temple of *Helena Dendritis*. It is Pausanias, who informs me of this (46). The Author of *ancient and modern Athens* is in the right to say (47), that a thousand people speak of the beautiful Helena, who do not know, that she was hanged. It is an error in Moreri's Dictionary to say, that one of the companions of Helena occasioned her death. You will find in Photius, that she strangled herself, and that near the oak, where she hung herself, there grew an herb named *Helencion*, which rendered those, who eat it, quarrelsome (48). Pliny ascribes quite different qualities to this herb: it made women beautiful, and those gay, who put it in their wine (49). He remarks (50), that it was said to have sprung from the tears of Helena. You will find in the same Photius (51), that Thetis destroyed Helena during the return of the Greeks; and according to others, that she went with Menelaus into Chersonesus Tauricus to seek Orestes, and that they were both sacrificed there by Iphigenia. I have read in Vigenere (52), that Herodotus relates that Nicostratus and Megapenthus banished Helena, and that she retired to Rhodes to Polyxo the widow of King Tlepolemus, and that the maids of Polyxo hated Helena, because she had been the occasion of the death of their late Lord, one day as she was gone to divert herself in an orchard without their mistress, hang'd her upon one of the trees. I have not found any particular of this account in Herodotus.

(46) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

(47) Pag. m. 63.

(48) Photius, pag. 479. or Ptolem. *Hephestione*.

(49) Plin. lib. 21. cap. 21.

(50) Ibid. cap. 10.

(51) Photius, pag. 479.

(52) *Sur le Protesilas de Pbiloftrate*, folio 235 verso, edit. in 450.

The Spanish Monk, whom I have quoted above, has been grossly mistaken with regard to the causes of Helena's death. He says (53), that she retiring to Rhodes to Polyxena wife of Ptolemo, King of that Island, behaved ill, as she had always done from her earliest youth, and fell in love with her host, and abandoned herself to him. Polyxena being enraged with jealousy, caused her to be hanged on a tree. Pausanias, continues he, assures us, that because she had committed adultery with Ptolemo during the siege of Troy, Polyxena put her to death. Judge by this whether this Spanish Author is faithful or judicious in his quotations.

(53) Baltasar de Victoria, *Teatro de los Dioses de la Genitividad*, lib. 2. cap. 19. pag. 189.

[I] The scandalous irregularities of her life.] Several Authors (54) have blamed her for lasciviousness; but especially Lycophron in his *Cassandra*, where he calls her *πεντάκυρος*, that is, the woman of five husbands (55). Euripides in his *Tragedy of Andromache* represents Hermione daughter of Helena thus reproached with her mother's fault:

Μὴ τῆν τεύξασαι τῆ φιλαυθία γέναι
Ζήτας παρ' ἄνδρῶν.

That is,

“ Do not endeavour to surpass your mother in this lust after men.

. . . . Ptolemy Hephestion in Photius relates a very remarkable story, which gives credit to the wantonness of Helena. The fact is, that a certain Arcadian named Peritamus, meeting with Paris Alexander in the country of Arcadia, had an affair with her. But Paris by way of punishment for this adultery cut off his parts of Generation. Hence it came that in Arcadia those, who are thus punished, are called Peritanes. Lycophron has done worse than calling her the woman with five husbands: it is said, that he has stiled her a dove on account of her lasciviousness, and a bitch on account of her impudence, or because she lay promiscuously with a great many men (56). I do not find, that those, who endeavour to excuse Helena alledge any other reason phron.

(54) Namely, Theocritus, Menelaus, Paris, Deiphobus, and Achilles.

(56) See Canterus and Meursius upon the 87th verse of Lycophron.

divine honours paid her after her death, nor from having miracles ascribed to her [K]. It is not at all probable that Paris waited to enjoy her till they landed in an Isle [L]. However it is said, that he ordered a monument of his first enjoyment to be built in that Isle. It is added that Menelaus did not destroy this monument [M], and that he only signified, there,

(57) See Homer in the 23d book of the *Odyssey*, and Euripides in the *Troades*, and in the *Andromache*, cited by Meziriac upon Ovid's *Epistles*, pag. 486, 487.

(58) See the remark [X].

(59) In XXIII Lib. *Odys.* quoted by Meziriac upon Ovid's *Epistles*, pag. 487.

(60) See the Reflexions of the Critick upon Maimbourg with regard to the *Alcmena*, *Nouv. Lettres*, pag. 284. See also pag. 277, 278.

(61) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 96.

(62) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 102.

(63) Suidas in *Στασίχορος*, & *ante ipsum* *Isocrates* in *Helena* *Encomio*.

(64) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 61.

(65) Isocrat. in *Helena* *Encomio*, pag. m. 320.

(66) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 102.

son than this, that it was (57) the Gods who forced her to go away with Paris (58). There is no crime, which such an apology is not capable of justifying; but I own, that by giving the affair the turn, which the Scholiast of Homer has done, we may make a good apology for her. See here what he says (59). "Alexander the son of Priam went from Asia to Lacedemon, where he formed a design to carry away Helena, who had entertained him in her palace. But she, who had been well educated, and was extremely fond of her husband, would not consent to it, declaring that she preferred a lawful marriage to a shameful adultery, and that she chose much rather to live with Menelaus. Paris not being able therefore to gain his point, it is said that Venus made use of a stratagem, which was to change the person of Alexander into the resemblance of Menelaus, and deceived Helena by this means; for she imagining that he was the true Menelaus, made no scruple to follow him to the ships, where Paris obliging her to go aboard immediately set sail. Eustathius likewise upon the same Book of Homer, touches upon this story, and remarks, that Penelope acted much more prudently; for tho' she thought she knew Ulysses again, yet she did not care for him at all, and would not lie with him, till he had acquainted her with a great many particulars, and given her several signs to assure her, that he was really her husband, and that she could not be deceived (60)."

[K] . . . Did not prevent her from having divine honours paid her after her death, nor from having miracles ascribed to her.] I have already spoken of the Temple, which the Rhodians dedicated to her. Pausanias mentions that erected in the country of Lacedemon (61). With regard to her miracles, it is sufficient to remark, that she deprived Stesichorus of his sight, who had ventured to treat her memory ill in his Poems (62), and restored it to him, when he had made a palinody or recantation (63). She gave an extraordinary share of beauty to a very ugly young woman, who was brought into her Temple every day (64). See the article ACHILLEA, where we have observed, that she was the wife of Achilles in the other world, and that she knew how to make herself considerable there. See likewise Isocrates in his Panegyric upon Helena: you will find there, that she gained not only immortality, but also a divine power, which she made use of to raise her brothers and husband to the number of the Gods; so that if Calitor and Pollux were capable of assisting those, who prayed to them in storms, it was because their sister invested them with this power, in order to shew the whole world the metamorphosis, which she had made in them. They were in the grave, when she conferred Divinity upon them. What is most commendable is, that having granted the same favour to Menelaus, she was desirous of living eternally with him. Τὸς ἀδελφῶς ἢ δὴ κατεχομένους ὑπὸ τῆς περιμήνης, εἰς Διὸς ἀνήγαγε· βυλομένη ἢ κιστὴ ποιῆσαι τὴν μεταβολὴν, ἣτως αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ἰσαγνῆς ἔδωκεν, ὅσθ' ὀφειμῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάτῃ κινδυνεύοντων σώζειν, οἷ τινος ἀν' ἑσθῶς αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μετῆλας τῶσαυτην χάρις ἀπέδωκεν . . . ὅστις . . . ἔμνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἀντὶ θνητῶ ποιήσασα συνοικεῖ αὐτῇ καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα κατισήσατο (65). Isocrates alleges in proof of this the practice of the Lacedemonians, who offered sacrifices to Menelaus and Helena, not as to Heroes, but as Gods. It was at Therapne that they paid them divine honours, as the same Author observes. But Pausanias says not, that there was a Temple of Helena in that city; he only says, that Menelaus's Temple was there, and that it was believed that Menelaus and Helena were interred there (66).

I should have been glad that Theodoret had depended upon the authority of Isocrates, and not of Euripides, in reproaching the Pagans, because Helena so famous for her adulteries was ranked among the Deities; for tho' Euripides has feigned, that she never died, but was raised to heaven by the favour of the Gods, and invested with immortality, it does not follow,

that this was the opinion of the Pagans. The Episodes of a Tragedy were so far in the Poet's hands, that unless we otherwise know them to be real, they are taken merely for the particular fiction of the Author of the Tragedy. I shall quote Theodoret's own words. Καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην δὲ, μετὰ τῆν πολυβρύλλητον καὶ παραπόλλην μυκησίαν, τῷ Μενέλαω χορῆσασις, εἰς τὸν ἕρμιον, ἢ Φριῶν Ἐυριπίδης, ἀνήγαγον (67).

[L] It is not at all probable, that Paris waited to enjoy her till they landed in an Isle.] Homer, who represents him as master of this patience, did not do him any honour, according to the principles of men of gallantry (68). See now upon what occasion he relates this circumstance of the place. Paris being overcome by Menelaus suffered a thousand reproaches from Helena. He desired her not to insult him, but go to bed to him, pretending that he had never found himself possessed with so strong a flame of love, not even when he had first enjoyed her in the Isle of Craneae. Upon this he rose from his seat to go to bed, and was followed by Helena without the least reluctance.

Οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτὶ μὲν ὠδὲ ἔρωσ φρένας ἀμφοικάλυψεν, Οὐδ' ὅτι σε πρότερον Λακεδαίμωνι ἐξ ἑρατιῆς Ἐπλεον ἀρπάζας ἐν πολιοπόροισι εἰσσι, Νῆσα δ' ἐν Κραναιῇ ἐμίγη φιλόστητι καὶ ἰούῃ. Ὅς σέο τῶν ἑραμῶν, καὶ με γλυκύς ἴμισθ' αἰετῖ. Ἡ ῥα, καὶ ἄρχε λίχθ' δὲ κίων, ἄμμα σ' εἴπειτ' ἀκοιτις.

"Not thus I lov'd thee, when from Sparta's shore My forc'd, my willing heav'nly prize I bore; When first intranc'd in Craneae's Isle I lay, Mix'd with thy soul, and all dissolv'd away! Thus having spoke, th' enamour'd Phrygian boy Rush'd to the bed, impatient for the joy. Him Helen follow'd flow with bashful charms, And clasp'd the blooming Hero in her arms." Pope.

Jafon had a more extraordinary degree of patience ascribed to him than Paris; and this makes it difficult to conceive where the judgment of Romance-Writers was employed. Ought not they above all things to have confined themselves to probability? And did not they violate it, when they suppose on the one hand, that Medea was so fond of Jafon, that by her love for him she was led to commit the greatest crimes; and on the other, that she spent several months with him without consummating the marriage? We may observe likewise, that it would not have been consummated so soon, if some advice had not been given to Jafon. *Quem cum interrogaret Arete, quidnam esset judicaturus, respondit Alcinoüs, Si virgo fuerit Medea, parenti redditurum: sin autem mulier, conjugii. Hoc cum audivit Arete à conjugè, mittit nuntium ad Jafonem; Et is Medeam noctu in antro devirginavit. i. e.* "When Arete asked him, what he determined to do; Alcinoüs answered, that if Medea was a virgin, he would restore her to her father; but if a woman, to her husband. Arete hearing her husband declare this, sends a message to Jafon, who in the night lay with Helena in a cave."

[M] Menelaus did not destroy this monument.] Here is a thing, which would justify Homer, if it were true. It is pretended, that upon the bank of the continent opposite to the Isle of Craneae there was a Temple of Venus, which Paris had built after this agreeable conquest . . . to shew his exceeding joy and gratitude. He gave to this Venus the epithet of Mignonitis, and called this territory Mignonion, from a word, which signified the amorous mystery, which had been performed there. Menelaus, the unhappy husband of this Princess, eighteen years after she had been stolen away from him, came to visit this Temple, the territory of which had been witness to his misfortune, and the infidelity of his wife. He did not destroy it; he only placed on each side of the statue of Venus the statues of two other Goddesses, that of Thetis, and that of Praxidice, which signifies the Goddesses of Punishments, to shew that he would not suffer the injury to pass

(67) Theodor. Therapeut. Sermon. 3.

(68) See *Nouv. de la Republic. des Lettres*, Jan. 1687, pag. 68.

(69) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. 3. vers. 4. 2. See above the quotation (45) of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

(70) Hygin. *cap. 23.* pag. m. 60.

there, that he had had satisfaction given him for the injury. A modern author does not seem to have well comprehended the meaning of Menelaus (e). Some authors say, that Paris did not long preserve his prize [N]. A great many fables have been related concerning the birth of Helena [O]; I mean, concerning the egg, whence it is pretended she was hatched.

(71) Guillet, *Albenes ancienne & nouvelle*, pag. 63. Observe that we make use of his words, both because he writes well, and because they furnish an occasion for criticism. The facts, which he relates, are taken from Pausanias, lib. 3. pag. 105.

(72) *Nouv. de la Republique des Lettres*, Janv. 1687, pag. 67.

(73) Ovid. *Epist. Helena ad Parisidem*. Coluthus, *de Raptu Helena*.

(74) Ovid. *Epist. Parisid. ad Helen*. ver. 297.

(75) Idem, in *Epist. Helena ad Parisid.* ver. 29.

(76) Ptolemæus Hephæst. *apud Pharium*, pag. 480.

(77) See Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 6. cap. 27. pag. m. 638. He should have quoted Herodotus, and have observed, that a storm obliged Paris to put into Egypt.

(78) *Quam deportavit in Ægyptum, atque ibi primum cum illa congressus sit.* Idem, *ibid.*

(79) Helena denies it in the Prologue to Euripid. s's Tragedy, intitled, *Helena*; but her testimony is of no weight in this point.

(80) Herod. lib. 2. cap. 120.

(81) Idem, *ibid.* cap. 118.

Sed tibi (74) & hoc suadet rebus, non voce, maritus: Neve sui furcis hospitibus obset, abest. Non habuit tempus, quo Cræsis regna videret, Aptius: ô mirâ calliditate virum! &c.

He did not want courage among the Ladies. Helena owns, that he was not so reserv'd as her Theseus, who only kiss'd her.

Quæ tua nequitia est, non his contenta fuisset. Di melius! similis non fuit ille tui, Reddidit intactam (75).

Paris preserv'd her so one day, that she betook her self to flight; she lost one of her shoes then. The place where she lost it, was at Sparta, and was named *Sandalion*, on account of this shoe (76).

(N) Some authors say, Paris did not long preserve his prey] It is said, that he failed towards Egypt, and landed at the mouth of the Nile call'd Canopus, where there was a Temple of Hercules, which serv'd for an asylum to fugitive slaves. Some of Paris's slaves having fled thither, inform'd the Priests of what their Master had done; upon which, Proteus the King ordered him to be seized, and reproach'd him in a very severe manner, and afterwards commanded him to retire immediately; but he kept Helena, with all the other things, which had been stolen from Menelaus (77). It is added, that Paris did not enjoy that Lady till after his arrival in Egypt (78). This is a story already confuted. I cannot tell how Proteus behaved, or whether before he restor'd Helena to the Person, to whom she belong'd, he did not obtain the last favour from her (79). I only know that Herodotus thinks it very probable, that she was not carried to Troy, for he cannot persuade himself that Priam would have been so infatuated as to choose to retain her, rather than to avoid the fatal consequences of a refusal (80). He believes therefore that the Trojans answered sincerely to the Embassadors of the Greeks, that Helena was not at Troy, and that they must look for her in Egypt, where King Proteus kept her (81). The Greeks taking this answer for a severe piece of raillery, applied themselves to the war against the Trojans; but when they had taken the city without finding Helena any where, they imagined

that she was at the court of King Proteus; upon which Menelaus failed thither, and recovered his wife (82). There is such an enormous variety of accounts among the Mythological writers, that I am not surprized, that Servius should relate (83), I. That Theseus having stoln Helena, gave her to Proteus, King of Egypt, and that Menelaus recovered her from Proteus after the Trojan war; so that this war was not occasioned by Helena's being stolen away by Paris, but by the injury, which the Trojans did to Hercules, in refusing to receive him when he was seeking for Hylas. II. That Helena was recovered from Proteus, to whom Theseus had intrusted the care of her, and was restored to Menelaus, from whom Paris stole her.

I forgot to observe, that Proteus did not fend away Paris without leaving him some kind of consolation; for he restor'd to him the picture of Helena (84). One of the Commentators upon Lycophron very erroneously applies to this what Helena says in Euripides, that Juno, to punish Paris for not giving her the triumph of beauty, procured, that instead of Helena he had only the living image of that beautiful Lady, which image was formed in the air

Ἦρα δὲ μεμφθεῖσ', ἔπει' εἰ καὶ θεῶς,
Ἐξέριμωσ' ἐμὴν Ἀλιεάνδρην λίχην.
Διδῶσι δ' ἐκ ἔμ', ἀλλ' ὁμοίωσασ' ἔμοι
Εἰδῶλον ἔμωπιον, ἕρανῦ ζουθεῖσ' ὑπό.
Πριάμῳ τυράνῳ παιδί. ἢ δόκῳ μ' ἔχῳ
Κεῖνῃ δόκῳσι ἐκ ἔχῳσι (85).

Every one sees, that the difference between these two things does not consist, as Canterus would have it, in this, that Proteus is the agent in one case, and Juno in the other. We see likewise, that Juno forgot the spirit of revenge upon this occasion. Paris was as happy with a living image of Helena, as he would have been with Helena herself. I remember to have read, that Stesichorus said, that the Trojans not knowing the true Helena, disputed among themselves about her picture. Ὅσπερ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης εἰδῶλον ὑπὸ τῆ ἐν Τροίᾳ Σπείρχεσθ' φασὶ γνίσθαι περιμάχῳσι ἀγνοίᾳ τῆ ἀληθείας (86). This, according to the opinion of some Free-thinkers, is a representation of the disputes about religion.

[O] A great many fables have been related concerning the birth of Helena.] They are not contented to say, that she was born of an egg, but they add that this egg fell from heaven out of the moon, and that the women of that country bring forth eggs, whence spring men fifteen times larger than those, who inhabit the earth. We learn this from Athenæus (87), who tells us, upon the authority of Herodorus of Heraclea, that Neocles 2. of Crotona had published this in one of his works. 57. Here follow some false quotations concerning this Chimera. Cælius Rhodiginus (88), instead of Herodorus, writes Herodotus. This error has been copied by Sal-muth (89). Who can forbear laughing, when he considers these words of a Spanish Physician? *Nonne admirabilius adhuc in tota naturæ majestate rarissimum, quod mulieres quasdam produxerit, quæ non more aliarum fetus, sed ova edant ac incubent, ex quibus homines nascantur, qui ad giganteam proceritatem excrescant? Et tamen hoc in Selenitidis mulieribus accidere referunt ex Lycosthene Ravisius Textor, & ex Herodoto Hera-cleotes, ut quoque testatur Rhodiginus lib. 27. cap. 17. licet pro mera fabula hoc habeat Adrianus Junius, lib. 1. animad. cap. 15, citatus apud Pancirolum part. 2. memorab. titulo 2. histor. tamen cum iconè exhibet* (90). Caspar à Reies, in *Elyfio jucundarum Quæst. Campo, Quæst. 47. num. 14. pag. m. 581.*

(82) Idem, *ibid.* and cap. 119.

(83) Servius in *hæc verba Virg. Æneid. lib. 11. ver. 262.*

(84) See Canterus & Meurhus upon Lycophron, ver. 113.

(85) Eurip. in *Prologo Helena*, ver. 31. pag. m. 308.

(86) Plato, *de Republica*, lib. 9. pag. m. 738.

(87) Athen. lib. 2. cap. 16. pag. 57.

(88) *Antiq. Leç. lib. 27. cap. 17. in fine.*

(89) Salmuth. *Comment. in Pansicirulum de novis repertis*, pag. 93.

(90) Caspar à Reies, in *Elyfio jucundarum Quæst. Campo, Quæst. 47. num. 14. pag. m. 581.*

hatched. The inventions ascribed to her most faithful maid-servant are a brand of infamy [P]. If the authors who have spoken so much of her had been good Chronologers, her beauty

“ Animadvers. cap. 15. quoted by Pancirollus, part 2. “ memorab. titulo 2 Hist. treats this as a mere fable, “ yet he gives us the history with a picture.” Is not this a good manner of beginning his quotations to produce first Lycosthenes, who lived in the XVIth Century? Is it not a strange mistake to place Ravifius Textor after Lycosthenes, the latter being posterior to the former, and an abridger of him? What a leap is it to rise all at once to Herodotus? What confusion to take Herodorus for Herodotus? What fiction to give us one Heracleotes, who quotes Herodotus? Is not this finding two authors, where the writer, whom he quotes, gives us but one? for Cœlius Rhodiginus says expressly Herodotus Heracleotes. What kind of reasoning is this: though Hadrian Junius treats it as a mere fable, Lycosthenes, Ravifius Textor, Herodotus, Heracleotes, Rhodiginus, have not scrupled to relate it? How could this Junius’s authority have laid any restraint upon the rest, when he lived after all of them except Lycosthenes? But let us return to Helena.

Some ancient Poets have said, that she was the daughter of Jupiter and Nemesis, and that Nemesis, in order to secure herself from the warm addresses of Jupiter, fled by sea and land, and disguised herself in all shapes; but at last Jupiter by a superior force got her with child, first of Castor and Pollux, and afterwards of Helena:

Τὴν ποῖε καλλίκομῳ Νέμεσις φολότῃ μυσίῳ Ζεὺς Διὸν βασιλῆι, τίκνυ κραιπνῆς ὑπ’ ἀναγκῆς (91).

“ The fair-hair’d Nemesis o’erpower’d by Jove
“ Brought Helen forth.”

We read in Pausanias (92), that according to the common opinion Helena was the daughter of Jupiter and Nemesis, and that Leda was only her nurse. Phidias conforming himself to this tradition, represented Leda in such an attitude upon the Base of the statue of Nemesis, that she seemed to bring Helena to that Goddess. Some say (93), that Nemesis being impregnated by Jupiter, laid an egg, and that Leda finding this egg fat on it, and hatched Castor and Pollux, and Helena. Others say (94), that Jupiter not being able to succeed with Nemesis, made Venus assume the form of an eagle, and changed himself into a swan, which fled before that eagle. He rested himself in the lap of Nemesis, and was received very kindly: the fair Lady embraced him, and fell asleep. The counterfeit swan taking advantage of this sleep, enjoyed her; and because he did so in the shape of a bird, order required that Nemesis should lay an egg. Mercury took this egg, and carried it to Lacedemon, where he threw it into the lap of Leda. Thus sprung the beauteous Helena; and this was the reason why Leda took her for her daughter. Nemesis autem, ut quæ avium generi esset juncta, mensibus actis ovum procreavit, quod Mercurius auferens detulit Spartam, & Leda sedenti in gremio projecit, ex quo nascitur Helena, cæteras corporis specie præstans, quam Leda suam filiam nominavit (95). Antonius (96) has followed the distinction, which has been made between Nemesis and Leda.

Istos tergemino (97) nasci quos cernis ab ovo Patribus ambiguus & matribus asserere natos. Hos genuit Nemesis: sed Leda puerpera forvit: Tyndareus pater his, & Jupiter. Hic putat bic scit.

That is,
“ These whom you see spring from the tripple egg,
“ were born of doubtful fathers and mothers. Nemesis
“ was their mother, but Leda was their nurse: Tyn-
“ dareus and Jupiter were their fathers: the one of
“ them thinks so, the other knows it.”

Here is a good number of authors for this opinion; but there are as many, who affirm, that Leda was the true mother of Helena. The same Hyginus, whom I have quoted, having said, that there was also a tradition, that Jupiter, being turned into a swan, lay with Leda, adds, that he had nothing to determine in that point; de quo in medio relinquitur (98). This

was because he saw as many reasons on one side as the other. Theon of Alexandria remarks, that Jupiter in the shape of a swan lay with Nemesis, according to some, and with Leda, according to others; and that Helena, Castor, and Pollux were born of the egg, which Leda laid (99). Pausanias, who, as we have seen, reports the tradition concerning Nemesis, relates in another place (100) that concerning Leda, and observes also, that a monument was to be seen in the temple at Lacedemon (101); for there hung from the roof of it an egg by a ribbon, which passed for that of Leda. He acknowledges the two metamorphoses of Jupiter into a swan, the one with regard to Nemesis, the other with regard to Leda. Κύκλῳ γινόμενῶν τῆς Νεμίσως κόλπος κατέφυσε τὴν δὲ πάλιν ἐρωσθεὶς Λέδαν ἐνύμφευσεν (102). This being the case, there is no doubt but that he supposed, that Helena proceeded from this second metamorphosis. Euripides, in the tragedy of Orestes, expressly asserts, that Leda was the mother of Helena, and he gives the latter the epithets of ὀρθόγυος and κικλόπυρος, which declare the metamorphosis of Jupiter into a swan. I do not make use of the authority of Plutarch; for by the egg of Tyndarus he might understand that which Mercury cast into Leda’s lap. In reality he observes, that this egg fell down from heaven (103). So that Hadrian Junius ought not to have alledged Plutarch in defence of this second opinion. Ovid has been cited, since he introduces Leda lying under the wings of a swan. Ovidius quoque Ledam recubantem facit sub olorinis alis (104). Lucian (105), and the Scholiast on Homer (106), might have been cited. This Scholiast mentions a thing omitted by many others; which is, that the egg, which Leda laid, and which she put in a chest, produced there, Castor, Pollux, and Helena, without being hatched.

To reconcile these two opinions Junius supposes, that Nemesis and Leda are the same person, and he quotes for this purpose Lactantius (107) and the Scholiast of Euripides, and Germanicus. The words of the last mentioned writers are very express. Cygnum dicunt inter aspra constitutum eo quod Jupiter in Cygnum transfiguratus evolaverit in Rhamnum Atticæ regionis, ibique compresserit Nemese quæ & Leda dicitur, ut refert Crates tragædiarum scriptor, quæ enixa est ovum, unde nata est Helena (108). i. e. “ They say that the “ swan was ranked among the stars, because Jupiter “ being changed into a swan, flew into Rhamnus “ in Attica, and there compressed Nemesis, who is “ also called Leda, according to Crates the Tragic “ Writer; and this Lady laid an egg, whence sprung “ Helena.”

I shall not conclude this remark without observing, that Jupiter, who owned for his sons a great many boys, who were born from his commerce with women, acknowledged only Helena for his daughter. I mean the daughters which sprung from his amours with women. It is Isocrates who tells us this (109). I pass over those, who pretend that Helena was the daughter of Venus, or of the Sun and Leda (110).

[P] The inventions ascribed to her most faithful maid-servant are a brand of infamy on her.] It is said, that she invented I know not what postures, and that she even wrote upon this subject. I shall express my self more clearly in Latin in the words of Leonicus Thomæus. Aftyanassa quædam nomine, says he (111), inter Helene ministras & famulas fuisse commemoratur, quæ dominam à Theseo primum, postea à Paride raptam semper prosequuta est: banc in Venerea palestra primam complures reperisse figurarum modos omnis perhibet antiquitas. Voluminibus quinetiam quibusdam editis de variis concubitus generibus perscripsisse narratur, quam postmodum Pbilenis & Elephantis pervulgatissimæ mulieres sunt insequuta, quæ bujusmodi de rebus non minus accurate, quam turpiter conscripta commentaria reliquerat. If this be true, it reflects a great deal of ignominy upon the memory of Helena; for it is probable, that if the servant gave lectures to her mistress, the latter informed her of their effect, and that by this means Helena and Aftyanassa united their endeavours to perfect these shocking inventions. I have read in Photius (112), that Aftyanassa stole an embroidered gir-
dle,

(99) Theon, Alexandrin. in Arateis commentariis, apud Hadr. Junium, Animadv. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(100) Lib. 3. pag. 97.

(101) Hadrian Junius thinks, without grounds, that Pausanias places this temple in the city of Amyclæ.

(102) Socrat. in Helena Encomio.

(103) Τὸ Τυδάειον οὐκ εἰς πρῶταις ἀγασσῆσι οὐρανοποιεῖται ἀναρῶνται. Plutarch. Sym- quoque Ledam recubantem facit sub olorinis alis (104). Lucian (105), and the Scholiast on Homer (106), might have been cited. This Scholiast mentions a thing omitted by many others; which is, that the egg, which Leda laid, and which she put in a chest, produced there, Castor, Pollux, and Helena, without being hatched.

(104) Hadr. Junius, Animadv. lib. 1. cap. 15. Here are Ovid’s words: Fecit olorinis Ledam recubare sub alis Metam. lib. 6. ver. 109.

(105) In Dearum Judicio, pag. m. 170. tom. 1.

(106) In Odyss. lib. 7.

(107) Infit. lib. 1. cap. 21.

(108) German. Cæsar, in Arateis Phenomenis, pag. m. 116.

(109) In Encomio Helene.

(110) Ptol. Hephaest. apud Photium, pag. 480.

(111) Nicolaus Leonicus Thomæus, de Noværia Historia, lib. 3. cap. 31. He likewise cites Suidas.

(112) Photius, ex Ptolem. Hephaest. pag. 480.

(91) Tarsifius for Statinus, in Carmine de Rebus Cypriacis, apud Hadrianum Junium, Animadv. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(92) Pausanias, lib. 1. pag. 32.

(93) Interpretes Callimachi apud Hadrianum Junium, Animadv. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(94) Hygin. Astronom. lib. 2. cap. 8.

(95) Hygin. lib. 1. pag. 56.

(97) This word shows that Antonius speaks also of Helena, and that we ought not to say as Hadrian Junius has done, Anim. lib. 1. cap. 15. Consentit & Antonius Poeta de Castore & Polluce loquens.

(98) Hygin. Astronom. lib. 2. cap. 8.

beauty must have lasted a prodigious time [2]; and it must be said, that the Greeks and Trojans fought with each other ten years for the possession of an old woman. This would make them very ridiculous; but they would not fail to be so, though we suppose her

dle, which Juno had obtained of Venus to give it to Helena; but that Venus took it away from that servant.

[2] If the authors . . . had been good Chronologers, her beauty must have lasted a prodigious time.] It is said, that Helena and Castor sprung from the same egg. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that Helena was a woman grown when the Argonauts went to Colchos; for her two brothers Castor and Pollux distinguished themselves in this famous expedition. Let us suppose her twenty years old at least; that is not too much. Let us not take advantage of the mistake of Eusebius; I shall speak of it below. Let us take the most exact Chronology. There are reckoned about thirty years between this expedition and that of Troy: Helena was therefore fifty years old, more or less, when Paris stole her away. The siege of Troy continued ten years, and it was in the last year of that siege that Agamemnon and Achilles quarrelled. We must fix in the time succeeding this quarrel, the admiration with which the Counsellors of Priam (113) were struck at her divine beauty. Here is Helena therefore at sixty years of age forcing by her extraordinary lustre of beauty a whole Senate to confess, that she deserved, that two powerful Nations should ravage each other for ten years' out of regard to her. Is not this very wonderful? Paris being killed some time after, there arose a very warm contest between his brothers, who should marry his widow. Priam ordered them to try the issue by a combat, and promised her to him who should gain the victory. Deiphobus fought the best of all, and had Helena given him. Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐπιφανέως ὑπὸ Φιλοκλήτους, Πρίαμου τὸν Ἑλένης γάμον ἰσαθλοῦ Ἰθάκης τῷ ἀριστιύσαντι κατὰ τὴν μάχην. Διφροβῶ δὲ γενναῖον ἀγωνισάμενον Ἰθήμεν αὐτῇ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Λυκόφρονος (114).

(113) I have already mentioned what they said, remark [A] citation (7).

(114) Scholiastes Homeri in Iliad. lib. 2. ult. ver. 251.

(115) His name was Helenus. See Photius's Bibliotheca in the Extracts of Coson, pag. 441.

(116) Lucian. in Gallo, Oper. tom. 2. pag. m. 251.

(117) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 14.

(118) Τὴν μὲν φάσι ἐμμεν ἀγέρον. Quintus Calaber, lib. 10. ver. 312.

(119) In Father le Moine's Peintures Morales.

(120) La Mothe le Vayer, Letter 114. pag. 14 tom. 12.

(21) He speaks of an ugly old woman, who was become beautiful.

(122) Ovid. Met. lib. 15. ver. 232.

One of his brothers (115) was so enraged at being excluded, that he left Troy, and contributed his utmost efforts to the ruin of his country. Does not this prove, that at the age of sixty Helena was still a prodigy of beauty? Lucian proves, that at the time of the siege of Troy she was an old woman, and almost as old as Hecuba. Εἶδον γὰρ Λευκὴν μὲν τινα καὶ ἐπιμήκη τὸν τράχηλον ὡς εἰκάζειν κύνου θυγατέρα εἶναι. τὰλλα δὲ πάλιν ἠλικιωτέην σχεδὸν τῆς Ἑκάβης (116). "neck, so that one might have conjectured her to be born of a swan; but she was an old woman, and almost as aged as Hecuba." She would have been much older than Hecuba, if it were true, as is said (117), that Hercules was the last child of Jupiter. Our astonishment at so aged a beauty would cease, if we could believe what is related, that Helena by a peculiar prerogative was exempt from the severe necessity of growing old (118): but this is not generally allowed. "It is said, that Helena, towards the end of her life, as often as she saw herself in her glass, fought for herself there with amazement, and complained of time, which had been her third ravisher, and had stolen Helena even from Helena herself." I have read this in the book of a Jesuit, whose style is very affected (119). Another modern author relates this almost in the same manner (120). "She, whom you speak of, deserves to be regarded with such an eye as yours. You will soon see there another change very opposite to that (121), which has given you so much admiration. A few years will make you remark this; the same that made Helena weep at her glass, and obliged her to call Time her third or fourth ravisher, for the number is not certain. A strange kind of rape, in which we see Helena stolen from Helena herself; and her, whom three parts of the world, which were the whole at that time, acknowledged for the most beautiful woman of the age, seeking her face in a glass, which represented to her nothing but what was frightful." This thought is very like that in two verses of Ovid,

Flet quoque ut in speculo rugas conspexit aniles Tyndaris, & secum cur sit bis rapta, requirit (122).

I ought to remark, that if we follow the Chronology of Eusebius, we shall find that Helena had lived above a Century, when Paris stole her away; for, according to Eusebius, the expedition of the Argonauts was eighty nine years before the taking of Troy. He saw plainly the miscomputation of the Greek writers; upon which he proposes this objection to them: Si inter Argonautas fuerunt Castor & Pollux, quomodo potest eorum soror Helena credi, quæ post multos annos virgo rapitur à Theseo (123)? i. e. "If Castor and Pollux were among the Argonauts, how can Helena be thought to be their sister, who many years after being a virgin was stolen away by Theseus?" Consider well the remark of Scaliger upon this Latin passage. In Græcis, says he (124), ἡ μήτηρ μὲν πολλὰ ἔτη παρθένος ἀπαύζεται. Sive culpa librariorum, sive quod verosimilius, Hieronymi proferantia accidit, ut negatio in latina interpretatione expressa non sit, omnino ridicula sententia efficitur. Nam quo remotior fuerit raptus Helenæ eo credibilior erit. Contra quo propior his temporibus eo remotior à Trojæ excidio, ideoque minus credibile Helenæ tempus in hujus sæculi tractum incidisse. i. e. "In the Greek it is thus: who not many years after being a virgin was taken away. By the error of the Transcribers, or more probably by the hurry of St. Jerom it has happened, that the negative is not expressed in the Latin Translation, and the sentence is rendered absolutely ridiculous. For the more remote the rape of Helena was, the more credible. On the other hand the nearer it was to those times, so much the more remote from the siege of Troy; and therefore it is less credible, that the age of Helena fell into this period of time." This criticism appears to me to be very erroneous; and the more I examine it, the more I am surprized. I do not deny, but that the negative particle, the suppression of which is an error of St. Jerom, according to Scaliger, may make good sense; but I cannot comprehend, that the sense would be ridiculous by suppressing the negative; on the contrary Eusebius's objection seems more intelligible to all sorts of readers without the negative particle, than with it. Eusebius's design is to prove, that those who have asserted that Castor and Pollux, the brothers of Helena, were in the Argonautic expedition, and that Theseus stole away Helena when she was young, have been inconsistent in their Chronology. If Castor and Pollux, says he, were of the number of the Argonauts, how is it possible to suppose, that they were brothers of Helena, who was stolen away young by Theseus many years after? The most stupid readers perceive the force of this objection without having occasion to reason much, and without being obliged to have recourse to any thing but the words of Eusebius. But if we suppose with Scaliger, that Eusebius expresses himself in this manner; If Castor and Pollux were of the number of the Argonauts, how can we persuade ourselves, that they were the brothers of Helena, who was stolen away young by Theseus a few years after? Every one sees, that in order to discover it to be an objection, we ought to remove from before our eyes the words, which contain it, and to have recourse to the reasonings and calculations which we find in the subsequent pages; for if we consider only Eusebius's expressions, we should imagine that he reasoned ill, and what he urges for proof, infers the contrary to his design.

(123) Euseb. in Chronic. num. 756.

(124) Animadv. in Eusebium, num. 756. pag. m. 47.

FAULTS of Scaliger.

Here are some other words of Scaliger, which do not appear to me just. Ab hoc tempore (125), says he, (125) That is, from the number of Eusebius; but I am surprized, that Scaliger did not observe that Eusebius had before spoken of the Argonautic expedition under the number 746. (126), ad excidium Ilii, anni sunt LXXIX. ut Helenam admodum anam fuisse oportuerit, si Argonautica hoc tempore contigerunt. Nam adultis Castoribus, Helenam quoque maturam viro fuisse necesse est. Quod si Argonautica hic collocentur, tempore excidii Iliaci Helena fuerit major annorum CXX. Hoc est quod objicit Eusebius & merito. i. e. "From this time to the destruction of Troy there are seventy nine years, so that Helena must have been a very old woman, if the Argonautic expedition happened at this time. For if Castor and Pollux were of adult age, Helena must have been fit for marriage. If the Argonautic expedition be fixed here, at the destruction of Troy, Helena

(125) That is, from the number 756. of Eusebius; but I am surprized, that Scaliger did not observe that Eusebius had before spoken of the Argonautic expedition under the number 746.

(126) Animadv. in Eusebium, pag. 46.

her mistress of all the beauty ascribed to her by the Poets. See in Herodotus the value which ought to be set upon a woman who suffered herself to be run away with [R]. There are very different opinions concerning the children of Helena. Some say, that she had only daughters (f); others affirm, that Menelaus had four sons by her (g). They speak likewise of a son whom she had by Achilles (b). She had by Menelaus the fair Hermione, and by Paris a daughter, who was named Helena, and whom Hecuba put to death. The father would have had her named Alexandra; but upon the mother's opposing it, they were obliged to cast lots, who should give her the name. Helena won, and gave her daughter her own name (k). Helena's necklace has been much talked of [S],

(b) See the article of ACHILLEA, citation (c).

(i) Ptol. Hephaest. apud Photium, pag. 480.

(k) Idem, ibid. as

(f) Stephanus, *Voc. Aἰγύς*.
(g) Scholiast. *Homeri, & Eurathius in Iliad.* lib. 3.

“ Helena must have been above a hundred and twenty years old. This is what Eusebius objects, and that justly.” If there were seventy nine years, says Scaliger, between the Argonautic expedition and the destruction of Troy, Helena must have been above a hundred and twenty years old at the taking of that city. What consequence is this! Is it worthy of the great Scaliger? Is it necessary, that a woman should be above forty years old, that we may say with propriety, she is fit for marriage, *matura viro*? This is the expression of the author, whom I am confuting.

He has succeeded much better in his Criticism upon Eusebius's Calculations; for it is not true, that the Argonautic expedition and that of Troy were so distant from each other as Eusebius imagines. But it is certain, that Eusebius has followed very eminent writers; and consequently I might maintain, that if the antient authors, who speak of Helena, had been good Chronologers, her beauty must have lasted a prodigious while, even beyond a Century. Let us consider a little the computation which Clemens Alexandrinus borrowed from Apollodorus and some other celebrated Historians. In one place (127) he tells us, that there were thirty eight years from the time when Hercules began to reign at Argos, after the expedition of the Argonauts, to his deification; and that Castor and Pollux were deified fifty three years after Hercules, about the time of the taking of Troy. This is reckoning ninety one years between the Argonautic expedition and the destruction of Troy, and making Helena an hundred years old, more or less, at the time when Paris stole her away as a perfect beauty. In another place (128) the same father makes a computation, by which there are sixty eight years between the rape of Helena by Paris and the Argonautic expedition.

(127) Clemens Alexandr. lib. 1. Stromat. pag. 322, ex Apollodoro.

(128) Ibid. pag. 356.

[R] See in Herodotus the value which ought to be set on a woman, who suffered herself to be carried away.]

Herodotus in tracing up the first origin of the wars, which had continued so long between Europe and Asia, acknowledges the Asiatics to have been the aggressors, because they had carried away Io the daughter of Inachus King of Argos (129). The Europeans (130), who stole the daughter of the King of Tyre, did it only by way of reprisals. They did not stop there; they undertook another rape, that of Medea the daughter of the King of Colchos. This Prince demanded satisfaction for the injury; but he was answered, that they would not give him any, since they had never received any on account of Io. The rape of Helena was undertaken by way of reprisals; and when the Greeks demanded her to be returned, they were answered that they were treated in the same way as they had used the Asiatics, when they had demanded Medea. They were not satisfied with this answer; they raised a great army, and went to destroy the Kingdom of Priam. This is what the Persians urged to justify their wars; they pretended, that the expedition against Troy gave them a right to consider the Europeans as enemies, and treat them as such. They disapproved the violence of those, who stole a woman; but they reckoned those as fools, who gave themselves the trouble of recovering her, and as wise men those, who despised her, on condition that no women were taken away but those who were willing. As for us, said they, we never troubled ourselves about those Women, who were stolen out of Asia; the Greeks began the war on the account of a Woman of Lacedemon. *Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκάζειν γυναικάς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἕνεκα νεμεζίνου εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρκάζειν σπυρδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρίαν, ἀποστῆναι, τὸ δὲ μηδὲμίαν ὄνην ἔχειν ἀρκασθῆναι, σαφρότητα. διὰ τὸ δὲ ὅτι οὐ μὴ αὐταὶ ἰβουλίατο, ἢ καὶ ἂν ἠπάροστο. σφίσι μὲν δὲ τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρκάζειν τῶν γυναικῶν λόγῳ ἕνεκα ποιήσασθαι (131).* It will

(129) Herodot. lib. 1. iust.

(130) They were Cretans.

(131) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 4.

be proper to place here the following observation of Isocrates; the Trojan War, says he, was of prodigious use to Greece; a great many things were invented in it; they began to render Europe superior to Asia. Before this war the Barbarians made conquests upon the Greeks. Helena was the cause, that things took another turn; for after that war the Greeks took cities and provinces from the Barbarians (132).

We must not omit the Passage of Euripides, where Peleus speaks so many Truths to Menelaus. He reproaches him chiefly with two gross faults; the first, in having treated his wife, as if she had been honest; the second, in having raised troops to recover her. You left her, says he, to her own conduct, and without giving orders to have your doors shut, and leaving servants to look after her, and went away just as if Helena, who was the most vicious of her sex, had been the most chaste.

(132) Isocrat. in *Encomio Helenae*, sub fin.

Ἄλλος ἄδολα δόμοσ' ἰσῆς λιπὸν,
Ὡς δὲ γυναικὰ σάφρον' εἰς δόμοις ἔχον,
Πατρῶν κακίστω (133).

(133) Eurip. in *Andromacha*, ver. 593. pag. 518.

She went away with a young stranger, and you, for love of her, cause all Greece to take arms: you ought on the contrary, after having experienced the infidelity of your wife, to have left her where she was, and even to have paid a tribute to prevent her ever setting her foot within your house.

Ἦν χρεὶν σ' ἀποστῆσαι, μὴ καὶ ἄλλο
Κακῶν ἰσορροπῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἰὼν αὐτῇ μόνω,
Μισθόν τε δόντα, μὴ ποτ' εἰς οἶκον λαβῆν (134).

(134) Idem, ibid. ver. 607.

Menelaus answers very mildly, that his wife's adventures had been involuntary, and the work of Heaven (135), and that from thence had arisen great advantage to the Greeks (136), who had begun to learn the art of war at the siege of Troy. He confirms the observation of Isocrates.

(135) See the beginning of the remark [T].

[S] *Helena's Necklace has been much talk'd of.*] Menelaus preparing for the Expedition against Troy, was at Delphi with Ulysses to consult the Oracle, and dedicated Helena's necklace there. *Τότε δὲ Μενέλαος μὲν τῇ προοίᾳ (137) Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄρον ἀνίστηεν ἐν Δελφοῖς (138).* The Oracle commanded him to do so, and promised by this means revenge upon the ravisher. Athenæus (139) has preserved the Oracle's answer: it consists but of three verses, and informs us, that this necklace was of massy Gold, and that Venus gave it to Helena. When the Phocæans plundered the Temple of Delphi in the 106 Olympiad, this necklace was part of their booty; but it produc'd a strange effect; the Lady, who got it, became an infamous prostitute (140). She left her house to run over the World with a young Epirot, whom she was fond of (141). It was a very active contagion, or a manner of punishment very unworthy of the Gods, to whom Menelaus had dedicated it. It would have been proper to have punished with a natural, and not with a moral Evil, the presumption of that Woman, in seizing the spoils of so sacred a Place. See the Remark [C] of the Article ÆGIALEA.

(136) Eurip. in *Andromacha*, ver. 681. pag. 522.

(137) Meursius instead of προοίᾳ would have it read προοίᾳ protemplari. See his treatise de Regno Laconico, pag. 22. where he refers to his *Lectiones Asiaticæ*, lib. 2. cap. 17. concerning the true Epithets of Minerva προοία & προοία.

(138) Eustathius *ad Odyss.* lib. 3.

(139) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 232.

(140) Diod. Sic. lib. 16. cap. 65.

(141) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 233.

Observe, that some say, that the Lady, who had this necklace, was already a Woman of loose Character. It is said, that the wives of those, who plunder'd the Temple, disputed who should have the necklace of Helena, and that of Eriphyle, and that they were obliged to decide the Contest by Lot. Eriphyle's necklace fell to a woman of cruel disposition, who afterwards kill'd her Husband: the other fell to a Woman of great beauty, but very lascivious (142).

(142) Idem, ibid.

as likewise her *Crater*, and the *Nepenthes*, which she gave Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, to drink [T]. It is said also, that being upon the point of being sacrificed,

[9] . . . as likewise her *Crater*, and the *Nepenthes* which she gave Telemachus the Son of Ulysses to drink.] The *Crater* was a work of Vulcan : it was a Marriage-present, for when Pelops was married, Vulcan gave him it. Menelaus being descended from Pelops received this as part of his inheritance, and lost it when Paris stole away Helena together with the jewels and moveables of his host. But it is said, that Helena threw this beautiful present into the sea near the Isle of Cos, and that it being taken up in the net of some Fishermen, there arose a dispute, which was at last determined by dedicating it to Apollo. According to the Author, who informs me of this, it was a *Tripos*

(143) Diog. Laertius, in *Tbalette*, lib. 1. num. 32.

(144) Menag. in Laert. ibid. Meursius in *Lycopbr.* pag. 272.

(145) In *Callandra*, ver. 854.

(146) Apolog. pag. m. 294.

(143) ; however the Commentators (144) pretend that Lycophron, Diogenes Laertius, Apuleius (145) and Philostratus have meant the same thing. Now Lycophron calls it *ταμώσιον κρατήρα* ; and here are the words of Apuleius (146) : *Nunquam apud eum (Homerum) marino aliquo & pisculeno medicavit nec Proteus faciem, nec Ulysses scrobem, nec Æolus follem, nec Helena CRATEREM, nec Circe poculum, nec Venus cingulum.* i. e. " In Homer we never find, that Proteus used any " thing from the sea or of fishes to enchant his face, " or Ulysses the ditch, or Æolus the bellows, or Helena the *Crater*, or Circe the cup, or Venus the girdle." As for Philostratus, here is what he says in the Epistle dedicatory to his Lives of the Sophists. *Τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τῦτο ἀμεινὸν ὑπέστην, καὶ τὰ ἀφ' οὗ σοὶ κομισί τῆς γιάμης, ὅστις ὁ κρατήρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις Φαρμακοῖς.* It does not appear to me, that either he or Apuleius speak of a particular Vessel, which belong'd to Helena as an exquisite piece of workmanship. It is plain, that they allude to what Homer relates in the IVth Book of the *Odyssey*, concerning the *Nepenthes* ; it is, that Helena, in order to make Telemachus the Son of Ulysses, and the other Guests merry, and to prevent them from thinking of their misfortunes, mixed with their wine a little *Nepenthes*, which was I know not what, endowed with an excellent vertue.

Ἐρὶ δ' αὖθις ἄλλ' ἴσησ' Ἑλίην Διὸς ἐκφυγαῖαν.
Αὐτίκ' ἄρ' εἰς οἶνον βάλε Φάρμακον, ἵδην ἵπνον,
Νηπενθίς τ' ἀχολῆν τε, κικλῶν ἐπιλαθῶν ἀπάλην.
Ὅς τὸ καταβροχθεῖεν ἵπην κρητῆρι μίγξι (147).

(147) Homer. *Odys.* lib. 4. ver. 219.

Helena had brought this wonderful remedy from Egypt. Polydamna the wife of Theon had taught it her. Homer says nothing about the vessel, which contained this mixt wine ; and therefore Apuleius and Philostratus consider only the vertue of *Nepenthes*, and consequently do not speak of the beautiful vessel mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, I mean the marriage-present, which Pelops received of Vulcan, &c. You may recollect here what I said in the first remark, where I mention a cup, which Helena offered to Minerva ; and if you would know why I made use of the barbarous term *Crater*, I shall tell you, that it was because the words glass, cup, bowl, goblet, do not express what was meant by *Crater* in Homer's time. *Crater was a large vessel not to drink out of, but only to mix water with wine in it . . . and from this vessel the wine thus mixed was poured into pots, and then into drinking-cups* (148). Observe, that the vessel mentioned by Diogenes Laertius was thrown into the sea before the Siege of Troy ; and that mentioned by the other Writers was in Menelaus's possession during that war.

(148) Meziriac *jur Ovide*, pag. 286. where he proves this, and censures Amiot and Vigenere, who have translated *Crater* by *vase* or *coupe*.

An instance of the effects of the spirit of digression.

I ought not to omit, that some learned men have chosen the *Nepenthes* of the *Odyssey* for the subject of their lucubrations and meditations. They have made a great many conjectures, and raised a great many hypotheses. See Peter Petir's Dissertation intitled *Homeri Nepenthes*, printed at Utrecht 1689 in 8vo. We find in it both genius and learning. The Author mentions a Civilian of Naples, who has treated of the same subject, and abandoned himself to all the excesses of a spirit of digression. I shall cite this description, because it represents very clearly the affectation of amassing together all that a man has read, and because we may see in it a great many crude imaginations relating to *Nepenthes*. *Non morabor hic studiosos variis questionibus, ut Petrus la Sena, an Nepenthes ex eorum numero esset*

*medicamentorum quæ chimica arte parantur, an simplex quid & solius naturæ proprietate efficax. Ut scilicet habeat occasionem, quæ de artis ejus origine & antiquitate legerat, effundendi : qua in disputatione plures onerat paginas, abutiturque patientia lectorum. Nec minus inanis & superflua operæ arguendus, cum tam sollicitè de gemmarum viribus disserit, ceu non satis ex Homeri descriptione constaret Nepenthes plantis esse annumerandum, quod ipse postea fatetur. Cum etiam professus non esse hominis frugis, tempus tereve investigando, an forte hæc Helenæ potio (verba ejus refero) μωγικῶς, hujusmodi curatationis efficaciam retinuerit, multa nibilo secius subjungit de Magia Ægyptiorum, veterumque Medicorum incantationibus, locaque Homeri profert ex *Odyssea*, quæ ad magiam pertinere existimantur, eorum scilicet testimonio, qui, ut Plinius lib. 30. cap. 50 refert, Proteæ & Sirenium cantus apud Homerum non aliter intelligi voluerunt. Tum multa interponit de cratere Helenæ, captata occasione sermonis ex quodam Cælii Rhodigini loco. Et quid magis ἀπωροδιόωρον, quam de Clematide Ægyptia dicere, quo scommate Zenonem Cittizæum solitum peti, quod procerò gracilique & fusco corpore esset, tradit Laertius ? His igitur (inquam) quæ nihil ad rem attinent, prætermittis, aio Nepenthes fuisse unum e terra nascentibus ; quoddam scilicet herbæ aut virgulti genus (149). (149) Petrus Petrus in *Homeri Nepenthes*, cap. 3. init. pag. 6.*

i. e. " I shall not amuse the studios here with various questions, as Peter la Sena has done, whether " *Nepenthes* be one of those medicines, which are " prepared by Chemistry, or whether it is a simple " medicine, and operates merely by the property of " its own nature. This he has done merely that he " might have an occasion of throwing out what he had " read concerning that art and the antiquity of it, in " which disputation he loads a great many pages, and " abuses the patience of his readers. Nor is he guilty " of a less impertinent and superfluous labour, when " he examines so carefully into the virtues of gems, " as if it were not sufficiently clear from Homer's " description, that *Nepenthes* is to be ranked among " the plants, as he afterwards owns. Besides after he " has declared, that it is wrong to spend one's time " in enquiring, whether perhaps this potion of Helena " retained its efficacy by magic, he notwithstanding " treats of the magic of the Egyptians, and the incantations of the old Physicians, and produces passages out of Homer's *Odyssey*, which are supposed " to relate to magic, that is, in the opinion of those, " who, as Pliny observes *B. XXX. C. 50.* would " have the story of Proteus and the Syrens Songs in Homer understood in that manner. He introduces likewise a great many things concerning Helena's *Crater*, upon occasion of a passage in Cælius Rhodiginus. And what is more impertinent than to speak " of the Egyptian *Clematis*, which was a jest, that, " according to Laertius, was commonly cast upon Zenon Cittizæus, because he was a tall thin man of a " brown complexion ? To pass by these observations, " I say, which are nothing to the purpose, I assert " that *Nepenthes* was a production of the earth, either a kind of herb or sprig." The Chevalier de Meré imagines, that *Nepenthes* is nothing else but the charms of Helena's conversation. Here is the manner in which he expresses himself in a discourse addressed to a Lady. " Tho' Homer does not expatiate upon Helena's eloquence, notwithstanding he " speaks so largely of that of Ulysses and Nestor ; " yet he gives us to understand by a mystery of Poetry, that it was a pleasure to hear her speak ; and " here is in a few words what led me to think in that " way. Ulysses was a long time after the taking of " Troy unable to return to his Island of Ithaca. His " son Telemachus was in great anxiety ; and in order " to know whether he was living or not, he went to " visit Nestor, who could not inform him what was " become of his father. Upon this the youth went " from thence to Menelaus, where he saw Helena, " and supped with her. He being very melancholy, " that Princess pitied him, and made use of a charm " to make him forget all his uneasiness. This charm, " says Homer, was a liquor, which she poured into " the wine before it was brought to the table, and this " mixture was so potent, that after having tasted it, " it

ficed, a miracle saved her [U]; and they have endeavoured to excuse her adulteries, by alledging, that the Gods forced her to them [X]. The Pagans have employed such suppositions upon so many occasions, that it will not be impertinent to enquire what might serve them as a motive to reason in that manner. This is what I design a remark for [Y]. Some say, that when she cut off her hair upon an occasion of mourning,

“ it was impossible for a person to shed a tear all that day. She had likewise an admirable secret, which she received from the graces. You know, Madam, that there is no Lady, that can imitate the sound of your words; but if she had observed you, she would have assumed so perfectly your voice and manner, that she would have been taken for you (150).”

(150) Cheval. de Meré, Discours des Agremens, pag. 140. edit. de Hollande.

[U] A miracle saved her.] It was this. A severe pestilence ravaged the city of Lacedemon. The Gods declared, that health should be restored, provided that a young Lady of quality was sacrificed every year. The lot fell upon the beautiful Helena; but as she was led to the altar, an eagle came, and took away the knife; and laid it upon an heifer. This was the occasion of Helena's life being spared (151).

(151) Plutarch. in Parallelis, pag. 314.

[X] They have endeavoured to excuse her adulteries, by alledging, that the Gods urged her to them.] I have already touched this point (152); but there is something wanting. If some say, that Venus managed the affair of stealing her away, to shew her gratitude to the judge, who had given her the prize in the contest about beauty; others affirm, that she did it to revenge an affront. Menelaus had promised her an hecatomb in case she should obtain Helena; but having gained his wish, he did fulfill his vow. Venus was provoked; and to punish him, procured his wife to be carried away (153). Others carry the affair much higher: they pretend (154), that Tyndarus forgot Venus in a sacrifice, which he offered to all the Gods, and that as a punishment for this contempt, Venus procured that the daughters of this Prince should be twice or thrice married, and leave their husbands. What is pleasant is, that the same Goddess, who had precipitated Tyndarus's daughters into these disorders, reproached him with their adulteries. It is said, that these reproaches affected him so much, that in revenge he ordered fetters to be put upon her feet. Pausanias cannot be induced to believe, that Tyndarus would be so ridiculous, to imagine, that he could revenge himself upon Venus by ordering a statue to be made, which he called by her name, and binding the feet of it with chains. But in this point the Historian did not understand his own religion. He did not know that upon many occasions the Pagans discharged their resentments upon the temples and statues of the Gods, whom they thought to be the authors of their ill success (155). And in reality is it not an affront to a Prince, to abuse his pictures and statues? Remember Theodosius's indignation against the city of Antioch; nothing was more provoking to him than the outrage done to the statue of the Emperors during the sedition. See the history of him written by Monfr. Flechier (156). For the rest, I shall remark, that when I spake of the reproaches cast upon Tyndarus by Venus, I only related the sentiments of some Moderns, who have been misled by the translation of Pausanias: it is certain that the Greek text does not intimate that this Goddess reproached Tyndarus in that manner. Those, who understand Greek, will see that I am not mistaken. Τὸ γὰρ δι' ἴτερον λόγον, ὡς τῆν Θεὸν αἰδέαις ἐτιμωρῶτο ὁ Τυνδαρίωνος γυνήσθαι ταῖς δυσχερασίαι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγεμῶν τὰ ἰουδὴν, τῆτοι δὲ ἐδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν περισημαί: ἢ γὰρ δι' ἀνάλασσιν ἰνθῆς, κίθου ποιησάμενοι ζῶδιον κ' ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην διμῶσι, ἐπιτίξιν ἀμυνίσθαι τὴν Θεόν. That is, according to Amasius's translation, Nam Deam ulcisci voluisse compedibus (sunt enim qui hoc etiam memoriae prodiderint) exprobrantem (157) illi filiarum adulteria, ut credam, adduci non possum. Quam enim ridiculum, si putasset ab effigie, quam à cedro fecisset Veneris nomine, injectis compedibus pœnas expeti posse (158).

(152) In the remark [I].

(153) Ptol. Hæphæst. apud Photium, pag. 480.

(154) See the article ÆGIALEA, quotation (10).

(155) See Penfessur les Cometes, num. 132.

(156) Pag. 341, 342. ad ann. 387. Dutch edit.

(157) These equivocal words, but which signify more evidently the reproaches made by Venus, than those made to Venus, have misled some authors.

(158) Here is the manner in which it ought to be translated, according to Sylburgius, Nam profecto solidum omnino foret, facto à cedro simulacro, & Veneris nomine ei indito, putare se hoc ratione ulcisci.

(159) Euripid. in Androm. ver. 680. pag. 522.

[Y] This is what I design a remark for.] Menelaus answering the severe reproaches of Peleus, declared, that Helena's will was not the cause of the adventures which she had undergone, but that we ought to have recourse to the will of the Gods.

Ελῆν δ' ἰμύχθησ' ὑχ' ἰπῶσ' ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεῶν (159).

This was a language very common among the Pagans. They ascribed to Fortune, that is to the Deity, not only their ill success, but even their faults. This excuse, or this wretched consolation, seemed always ready; they had immediate recourse to it. Plutarch informs us of this, when he cites some verses, which contain a thing, said by a father to a son, and the son's answer:

Souvent mon fils les habitans des cieux Font trebucher les hommes foucieux.

That is,

“ The inhabitants of heaven, my son, frequently make “ anxious men fall.”

The answer was:

Il n'y a rien pour sa faute excuser Si à la main que les Dieux accuser.

That is,

“ He has nothing to do in order to excuse his faults, “ but to accuse the Gods.”

I make use of Amiot's version, and shall remark by the by, that the epithet *foucieux*, which he has inserted in the second verse is a word, which the necessity of the rhyme extorted from him, and which has no foundation in the original. Compare a little the Greek with the French translation; you will see that I am in the right.

Πολλ' ὃ τίκων σφάλουσιν ἀνθρώπους Θεοί. Τὸ πᾶσον ἰπᾶς, αἰτιώσασθαι Θεός (160).

(160) Plutarch. de audiendis Poetis, pag. 20, D.

You will imagine, perhaps, that the great facility, with which complaints were formed against the Gods, led men to make use of this subterfuge without examination and reflection, and that it was one of these first motions, which rise in our minds before we have had time to prepare ourselves for judging of things. But it is certain, that upon many occasions we speak thus after mature deliberation. Those who do not examine to the bottom what passes within themselves, are easily persuaded, that they are free, and that if their will is inclined to evil, it is their own fault, it is thro' a choice, of which they are masters. Those who form another judgment are persons, who have carefully studied the springs and circumstances of their actions, and have well reflected upon the progress of the motions of their mind. These persons generally doubt of their free-will, and come even to persuade themselves, that their reason and mind are slaves, which cannot resist the force that hurries them whither they are unwilling to go. Now it was principally this sort of people, who ascribed to the Gods the cause of their ill actions. They remembered, that they had well considered, that they were in a way pernicious to their fortune, and scandalous to their character, and that they had made many efforts to subdue the passion, which led them into it; but they were still more sensible, that all these efforts were ineffectual, and that reason, though a thousand times called upon, and vows and prayers had been a very weak assistance. They concluded therefore, that a secret cause and a superior force pushed them on, and hurried them away; that the Gods in short, were the cause, both of the passions, which they felt, and of the pernicious and criminal consequences of these passions. Here is the unravelling of the knot: there is something divine here, said they, just as there is in the diseases of the body, which baffle the skill and experience of the most able Physicians. We know what ought to be done, what would be of most advantage to us, most convenient, and most honourable; and yet we follow the contrary course. This comes from the Gods. It is to Jupiter, that Persius the Poet addresses himself to desire his assistance, that tyrants may own the power of virtue, and feel the shocking remorse of not having followed it.

Magne

*Magnus pater divum, sevos punire tyrannos
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi sincla veneno :*
Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta (161).

(161) Perf. Sat.
3. ver. 35.

Plutarch mentions a poetical sentence, which shews that they reasoned in this manner : those who know what is right, do not perform it; the Gods therefore are the cause of it. I shall give the Greek in the margin (162), and here follows Amiot's translation.

(162) Αἱ εἰ τὸ δὴ
ἴδῃ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις
κακόν, ὅτι
ταῦτ' οὐκ ἴδῃ τὰ
γαθόν, χρεῖται
δὲ μὴ. Plutarch.
de audiend. Poe-
tis, pag. 33, E.

*Làs! c'est un mal envoyé des hauts Dieux,
Quand l'homme fait & void devant ses yeux
Le bien, & fait néantmoins le contraire.*

Medea reasoned in this manner, when she found, that she could not resist the passion, which she had conceived for Jason; that she could not, I say, resist it, tho' she saw plainly the shameful and criminal consequences of her conduct, and though her reason condemned them.

*Concipit interea validos Ætias ignes,
Et luctata diu, postquam ratione furorem
Vincere non poterat; Frustra Medea repugnas,
Nescio quis deus obstat, ait (163).*

(163) Ovid. Me-
tam. lib. 7. ver. 9.

*Excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammæ,
Si potes, infelix. Si possem, sanior essem;
Sed trahit invitam nova vis: aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora, proboque
Deteriora sequor (164).*

(164) Idem, ibid.
ver. 17.

" Mean while Ætias fries in secret fires,
" Who struggling long with over-strong desires,
" When reason could not such a rage restrain,
" She said, Medea, thou resist'st in vain:
" Some God, unknown, withstands.

" These furies from thy virgin breast repel,
" Wretch, if thou canst. Could I, I should be
" well.
" A new-felt force my striving pow'rs invades;
" Affection this, discretion that persuades.
" I see the better, I approve it too;
" The worse I follow."

SANDYS.

She says to herself all that could cure her of this passion: she represents to herself the enormity of the crime, which she should commit; and there were some moments, in which these ideas of her duty were ready to gain the superiority; but the sight of Jason easily suppressed all that they had done.

*Conjugiumne putas? Speciosaque nomina culpæ
Imponis, Medea, tuæ? Quin aspice quantum
Aggrediare nefas; & dum licet, effuge crimen.
Dixit, & ante oculos rectum pietasque pudorque
Consulerant, & victa aibat jam terga Cupido.
Ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perfidios aras,
Quas nemus umbrosus, secretaque sylvæ tegebat:
Et jam fractus erat, pulsusque resederat ador,
Cum videt Æsoniden, extinctaque flamma reluxit (165).*

(165) Idem, ibid.
ver. 69.

*Sic jam lentus amor, quem jam languere putares,
Ut videt juvenem, specie præsentis inarsit (166).*

(166) Idem, ibid.
ver. 82.

" Call'st thou him husband? wilt thou then thy
" blame,
" Medea, varnish with an honest name?
" Consider well what thou intend'st to do;
" And while thou maist, so foul a crime eschew.
" Thus she; when honour, piety, and right
" Before her stood, and Cupid put to flight.
" Then goes where Hecate's old altar stood,
" O'ershadow'd by a dark and secret wood.
" Her broken ardor she had now reclaim'd;
" Which Jason's presence forthwith reinflam'd.

" So sickly love, which late appear'd to die,
" New life assum'd from his inflaming eye."

SANDYS.

An infinite number of persons of both sexes, who are not mentioned in History, have been in the same case. Love has made them commit a thousand disorders, of which they so evidently saw the scandal and inconvenience, that they endeavoured to prevent them, by calling in reason to their aid, and putting up a thousand wishes to be freed from love. It was natural that they should conclude, that they were not the cause of their ill conduct, since they had a reasonable mind, a soul that was free and mistress of its will. This first conclusion led them to another, that an external cause superiour to all their powers urged them on: the second conclusion led them on to a third, that a deity was the external and necessitating cause. Here is the original of the pretending divinity of Venus and Cupid; and because men find that jealousy, envy, avarice, drunkennes, desire of revenge, and many other passions make them commit a thousand things, which reason condemns, and which are even contrary to the true interests of self-love, and which one would not wish, it was believed, that the Gods were the instigators of these things. The blame was not therefore cast upon them for want of reflection, but because men reflected very carefully upon what passes in the mind. If the Pagans had had the just notions of God, which we have, and which represent him to us as a being perfectly holy, they would have been preserved from this rash judgment; but as they ascribed to the Gods the same faults, to which mankind are obnoxious, there was nothing to hinder them from thinking, that the Gods forced men into evil, and render'd ineffectual all the lights of their reason, sometimes by a previous flattering view of pleasure which necessitated the will, at other times by importunate pain, which was attended with the same consequence. Paris pleased Helena: Jason pleased Medea. They did not think of an union with those objects without feeling beforehand an incredible satisfaction; they could not consider themselves as separated from them without feeling before hand an exquisite dissatisfaction. These impressions did not depend upon their liberty, and were no more subject to them than the agreeable or disagreeable sensation, which we have in tasting honey or gall. All that these two women could do was to oppose to these two fore-tastes reason and duty, weak arms, if Paris and Jason continued to excite the same ideas and impressions; since in that case they would sooner or later captivate the will, and force its consent, however desirous it might be not to submit, and to pass from love to indifference. Useless are the wishes, weak the velleities, in the presence of those fore-tastes, which I have spoke of, and the cause of which arises not from ourselves. Whence comes it then? The Pagans in vain fought for it on the right hand and on the left; they could not find it on earth, and for that reason ascribed it to the Gods. They might do this two ways, either by supposing a Cupid, who wounded the heart, or that the author of the human body had adjusted the parts of it with such art, that the body of Jason, for instance, would excite in Medea's heart and head those motions of the spirits, upon which love mechanically and inevitably depends. According to this latter principle, if Helena or Medea became amorous, it was to be ascribed to him, who formed and arranged the parts of their bodies, just as if a chamber smokes, when the wind blows, it must be imputed, not to the wind, but to the Mason, who built the chimney.

This was an abyss, which the Pagans could not How involuntary most of the passions and their consequences are. extricate themselves out of, and they unavoidably fell into it, as often as they endeavoured to account for the contrariety to be met with between what we do, and what we know; and consequently they must fall into it very frequently; for human life is scarce any thing but a continual contest between the passions and the conscience, in which the latter is almost always overcome. What is most strange and odd in this contest is, that Victory declares very often for the side, which shocks at once the ideas, which men have of right, and their knowledge of their temporal interest. I am willing to think, that there are some people of such a brutal stupidity, that they do not see, that their life would be more happy, if they did not nourish in their breasts

mourning [Z], this did not lessen her beauty. A French author pretends, that she had a great deal of wit and eloquence, and was as much beloved for these qualifications as for her beauty (l) [AA].

(1) See citation (150).

HELIODORUS

breasts the passions, which they indulge there; but I cannot comprehend, but that most of the jealous and envious must be well convinced, that an exemption from jealousy and envy would be an incomparable advantage to them in this world, and worthy to be purchased with its weight in gold. A woman jealous of her husband or her gallant, a man jealous of his wife or mistress, are extremely sensible of their misfortune, and passionately wish to be delivered from that torment. They do all they can to expel their fury, which persecutes them: they employ, in order to undeceive or to deceive themselves, all the reasons which their mind is able to suggest; but in spite of all these efforts jealousy subsists. They find themselves, to their great regret, more ingenious to invent what foment it, than what would weaken it. We may say almost the very same of the envious. They know well enough, that their self-love would find its account incomparably better in being content with their condition, and seeing with pleasure the prosperity of another, than in afflicting themselves at the success of a neighbour, who grows richer than themselves; and yet in spite of this conviction they chagrin themselves, and pine away, when they see the good fortune of others (167); and instead of rejoicing, as they ought to do for their own sake, are reduced to seek some remedy in the meanest treachery. They impede by calumny and perfidy the affairs of their neighbour: by these methods they endeavour to abate the malignant fever, which preys upon them. What could a Pagan Philosopher say upon this point? Would not he be obliged to acknowledge a superior cause within, and to rank all these persons among the fanatics, engurgement, enthusiasts, and those in general, who were thought to be agitated by a divine fury (168)? Observe, that Ovid supposes, that the jealousy, which Aglaura, the daughter of Cecrops, King of Athens, conceived against his sister, was infused into her by a deity (169). The Christian system is the only one, which can resolve these difficulties. It informs us, that since the first man fell from the state of innocence, all his descendants have been subject to such a corruption, that without supernatural grace they are necessarily slaves to sin, inclined to do evil, useless with respect to every thing that is good (170). Reason, Philosophy, the ideas of right, the knowledge of the true interests of self-love, all these are incapable of resisting the passions. The government which was given to the superior part of the soul over the inferior, has been taken away from mankind, since the fall of Adam. It is in this manner that divines explain the change produced by sin: but as most metaphors ought not to be stretched beyond a certain point, we must not abuse this; for it would not be reasonable to say, that in the state of innocence the inferior part was in the same condition, as it is at present, but that no disorder could arise, since the superior part could always restrain it in time. This would be supposing, that the human machine, when it came out of the hands of its Creator, would have been actually determined towards sensuality and criminal passions; and this would be doing injustice to the perfections of the supreme being.

[Z] She cut off her hair upon an occasion of mourning.] What I have to say upon this text was communicated to me by a Professor of Geneva (171). I shall make use of his words. "The subject of the first letter in the collection of John Michael Brutus is diverting. Victorius, who writes to John della Casa, pretends that Helens, in order to shew her sorrow for the death of Clytemnestra her sister, cut off her hair to the roots, but that this did not prevent her continuing very beautiful still. And Monsignor della Casa is of opinion, that she cut off only the ends, as is done sometimes to hinder them from branching; and there are produced upon this subject some verses of an ingenious poem of that Archbishop, addressed to Count Galeazzo de Florimont, in which that prelate frankly owns, that he had not quitted the world but very superficially; and that he had thus imitated Helena, who sacrificed to the sorrow of

" her sister's death only the extremities of her locks.
" The Poetry is noble.

" *Ut captâ rediens Helena cum conjuge Troiâ*
" *Lento homine, atque animi lenis, nimiumque remissi,*
" *Incidit in cædem ipsam, & funus prope sororis,*
" *Quam præceps miseri virtus jugularat Orestis,*
" *Succisam de more comam misera sepulto*
" *Germanæ cineri, fertur dempsisse capillo*
" *Vix tandem è summo paulum, ne forte placeret*
" *Tonsa minus metuens Spartanis improba mæchis.*
" *Haud aliter, Galatæe, malis erroribus uelut*
" *Nuper ego, & Phrygiis nautas Paridemque secutas*
" *Aufugi longè, atque idem, rediit tamen ut mens*
" *Ad sese, peregrè nimium remorata protervæ*
" *Ornamenta fugæ sensum lenteque repono, &c.*

" When Helena from ruin'd Troy return'd
" With Menelaus to their native home,
" Hearing the fate of poor Electra, slain
" By mad Orestes, and by custom forc'd
" Her hair to offer at her sister's grave,
" She clipt the ends alone, lest thorn too close,
" The Spartan debauchees should like her less:
" So I, O Galeazzo, lately lost
" In mazy errors, following Paris' crew,
" When reason reasum'd her power, repent at last,
" By slow degrees correcting what's amiss."

The fashions of head-dresses might be diversified in such a manner, that the charms of the face might not suffer any diminution by the loss of the hair. But in general it is certain, that this loss is reckoned an accident very formidable to Beauty. See the Remark [G] of the Article of ANACREON.

[AA] A French Author pretends, that she had a great deal of wit and eloquence, and was as much beloved for these Qualifications as for her beauty.] This French Author is the Chevalier de Meré. He proves by two eminent instances, that women ought not to depend too much on their beauty, or men on their good mien; and that it is the address and turn of wit, which do almost every thing, provided that the person have nothing shocking (172). Cleopatra furnishes him with the first instance. She had no great share of beauty, says he (173), "and as the world spoke of her, she was not so beautiful as to surprize one at first; but when one came to consider her, there was a charm in her; and it was by her delicate behaviour that she held Cesar three or four years enchanted. . . . As a certain proof that it was on the account of her wit, that this Princess was so much admired, we may observe that Anthony, who knew how to choose as well as Cesar, never saw her till she was of an age, when few women continue beautiful, and became so deeply in love with her, that he chose rather to renounce the Empire of the world, than to lose the sight of her." Here is his second instance.

" *Helene par même voye*
" *Aux rares beautez de son corps*
" *Ajoustant de l'esprit les aimables thresors,*
" *Causa l'embracement de Troye.*
" *Si son esprit n'eust eu des charmes*
" *Ce peuple n'eust jamais voulu,*
" *Contre le droit des gens d'un pouvoir absolu,*
" *Pour la garder prendre les armes.*
" *La Grece aussi l'est oubliée*
" *Entre les bras de son amant,*
" *Mais elle se souvint de son esprit charmant,*
" *Et la guerre fut publiée.*

" Helen, whose charms of mind improv'd her beauty,
" To Troy prov'd fatal. Had her wit been less,
" The Trojans ne'er had fought to keep her with them,
" And Greece had left her in her lover's arms.
" But as her mind was beauteous as her body,
" Her country thought her worth a tea years war."
" There

(167) Videt ingratus, intabescitque videndo Successus hominum; carpitque & carpitur una; Suppliciumque suum est. Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. ver. 2. 782. He speaks of envy.

(168) Est Deus in nobis; agitante lascivus illo. Impetus hic sacra semina mentis habet. Ovid. Pastor. lib. 6. circa init. He speaks of Poets.

(169) Ovid. Met. lib. 2. Fab. 12.

(170) See the Prayers of the Liturgy of Geneva.

(171) Mr Miantoli, whom I have already mentioned in the remarks [L] and [M] of the article of EPICURUS.

(172) Chevalier de Meré, Discours des Agrémens, pag. 138. Dutch edition.
(173) Ibid. See above remark [A] of the article DELLIUS.

(a) Heliod. *Rom.* lib. 10, sub fin.
 (b) In Theſſaly.
 HELIODORUS a native of Emeſſa in Phœnicia (a), is better known by the Romance he compoſed in his youth [A], than by the Biſhopric of Trica (b), to which he was afterwards promoted. There are but few perſons that believe he was depoſed by a Synod, becauſe he would not conſent to the ſuppreſſing of that Romance [B]. Nicephorus is the only author who aſſerts it. Socrates (c) relates that Heliodorus introduced the

“ There is great probability, Madam, that her beauty was not alone, ſince all the Gods intereſted themſelves to give her to thoſe who were their favourites; and if ſhe had only had a good face, and a fine ſhape, ſhe would have been but a very indifferent preſent for them. I imagine, that what they valued in her was of more importance; it was her art of pleaſing, and gaining the affections by her converſation (174).” Add to this the words of the ſame author, which I have cited in ſpeaking of Nepentheſ (175).

(174) Chevalier de Meré, *Discours des Agrémens*, pag. 139.

(175) In the remark [T] at the end.

(176) See upon this point the remark [A] of the article DÉLLIUS, and the *Nouvelles Lettres contre l'Hiſtoire du Calvinisme de Maimbourg*, pag. 591, & 774.

I do not examine whether he is in the right in the particular fact relating to Helena; but it ſeems to me in general, that his maxim is true (176). Beauty without the charms of wit and converſation is of no great force; and if it make conqueſts, it does ſo in the manner of thoſe brave Generals, who immediately ſubdue a Province, but know not how to keep it. The Empire of the Fair is maintained at leaſt as much by the charms of wit as by thoſe of the face. There are two kinds of graces, which ſtand in need of each other, and render one another mutual good offices. Abſurd and ridiculous diſcourſes diſguſt extremely, if the beauty of the perſon did not lend them I know not what charms. Certain beauties of the body would make no impreſſion, if the charms of wit were not ſpread over them. Here are mutual aſſiſtances given. But as wit is almoſt always the principal inſtrument in maintaining the conqueſt, and frequently in making it, it may be affirmed to be that which contributes moſt to eſtabliſh the power of beauty. The Poet, who aſſures us that there wants no leſs ſtrength to keep than to gain,

(177) Ovid. *de Arte amandi*, lib. 2. ver. 13.

Non minor eſt virtus, quam quærere, parva tueri: Caſus inſeſt illis; hic erit artis opus (177).

(178) Idem, *ibid.* ver. 15.

(179) *Plus eſt Provinciam retinere, quam facere.* Flor. lib. 2. cap. 17. *Facilius eſt quædam vincere quam tueri.* Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 11. See Freinſhemius's *Commentarii* upon theſe two paſſages.

is one of the great Legiſlators in the Empire of Love; and he applies this ſentence to the affair treated of in this place. He goes ſtill further; he lets us know, that the acquisition is leſs difficult than the conſecration:

Nunc mihi, ſi quando, Puer & Cytheræa, ſavete: Nunc Erato: nam tu nomen amoris habes. Magna paro: quas poſſit Amor remanere per artes Dicere, tam vaſto pervagus orbe puer (178).

This is likewiſe the opinion of ſeveral Hiſtorians with regard to the progreſs of arms (179).

[A] By the Romance he compoſed in his youth.] It is intitled *Αἰθιοπικὰ Ἔθιοπικὰ*, and relates the amours of Theogenes and Chariclea. There is an extract of it in Photius (1). Monſieur Huet is of opinion that Heliodorus was with regard to the Romance-writers, what Homer was with regard to the Poets; that is to ſay, that this Biſhop's work has been the ſpring and the model of an infinite number of romances. *Eum ſibi ſequentium temporum fabulatores Romanenſes tanquam exemplum propoſuerant ad imitandum, & tam verè omnes dici poſſunt ex hoc fonte, quam Poætæ ex Homericis*

(1) Num. 73. pag. 157. & ſeq.

(2) Huet, *de Origin. Fabul. Roman.* pag. 38.

(3) See Geſner's *Biblioth.* fol. 301.

(4) Sorel, *Remarques ſur le XIII Livre du Berger extravagant*, pag. 685.

ſuas, ſic ut dicam, aquas hauſſiſſe (2). The firſt edition of this Romance is, I think, that of Baſil, printed in the year 1534 (a). Optopæus, who dedicated it to the Senate of Nuremberg, aſſerts that a ſoldier preſerved the manuſcript of it, when the Library of Buda was plundered (3). Stanislaus Warſzewicki a Poſiſh Knight is the author of the Latin Tranſlation which was printed with the Greek at Baſil in the year 1551. Amiot began his French Tranſlation with that of this work. Melin de St. Gelais Biſhop of Angoulême (ſ) has turned a great part of it in French Verſe (4). John Bourdelot's Notes upon this Romance are very learned; they were printed at Paris in the year 1619, with Heliodorus's Greek original, and with the Poſiſh Knight's Tranſlation.

[a] The firſt Edition . . . was printed in 1534.] Mr.

Bayle is miſtaken; it was printed in 1533. He is alſo in the wrong when he aſſerts, that Amiot began his French Tranſlations with that of this Romance. For he began with tranſlating ſome of Euripides's Tragedies into French verſe (*). ADD. REM.]

[ſ] If Sorel aſſerted, what Mr. Bayle ſeems to make him ſay here, namely, that Melin de Sr. Gelais was Biſhop of Angoulême, he had conſulted neither Sammarthanus's Elogies, nor the *Gallia Chriſtiana*; Bayle's Dictionnaire for it was Octavianus de St. Gelais, Melin's natural father, who was Biſhop of that city. He flouriſhed under the Kings Charles VIII and Lewis XII; ſeveral of this Biſhop's Poems are inſerted in the Collection printed in a black letter in 4to, with this title, *Verger d'honneur*, i. e. “ The Orchard of Honour.”

(*) From the Critical Remarks printed at the end of the Paris edition of Mr. Sammarthanus's Elogies, nor the *Gallia Chriſtiana*; Bayle's Dictionnaire for it was Octavianus de St. Gelais, Melin's natural father, who was Biſhop of that city.

It is ſurprizing that Mr. Bayle did not obſerve this blunder: it could happen only by ſuch an abſence of mind, to which the moſt learned men are ſometimes ſubject. When he tranſcribed Sorel (†), from whom he borrowed this particular, he did not take notice that this Author was miſtaken; otherwiſe he would have given notice of it, as it is his cuſtom. This was perhaps alſo only an overſight of Sorel; but it is nevertheless a great fault; for it miſſed not only Mr. Bayle, and the Author of the *Eſſais de Littérature* §, but alſo the celebrated Mr. Fabricius †. Inſtead of Melin de St. Gelais, Sorel ought to have ſaid, Octavianus de St. Gelais, Melin's father, who had really been Biſhop of Angoulême **, and who is the perſon meant here. Neither du Verdier ††, nor la Croix du Maine §§, nor any other Author that I know of, mention this Tranſlation in verſe, of part of the Romance of Theagenes and Chariclea, and Sorel is perhaps the only Author who ſpoke of it.

(†) *Remarques ſur le Berger Extravagant*, liv. 13. pag. 477.

§ Tom. 2. pag. 304. 305. of the Dutch edition.

† *Biblioth. Græcæ*, tom 6. pag. 787.

** Sammarth. *Elogior.* pag. 39.

†† *Biblioth. François.* p. 925.

I ſhall obſerve by the by, that in Beughem's *Incunabula Typographiæ* (the Infancy of the Art of Printing) p. 176, they have changed this *Octavianus de St. Gelais* into *Octavianus de St. Gervais*; which is a ſtrange corruption of names. CRIT. REM.]

[B] There are but few perſons who believe he was depoſed by a Synod, becauſe he would not conſent to the ſuppreſſing of that Romance.] Nicephorus relates, that a Synod having obliged Heliodorus to chooſe, either to burn his Romance, or to reſign his Biſhoprick, the Author choſe rather not to be a Biſhop any longer, than to commit his work to the flames (5). This ſeems to be entirely fabulous; ſuch a ſtrange particular would have been related by ſeveral Hiſtorians; and would not have been tranſmitted down to us only by Nicephorus, a very credulous and injudicious Writer. *Quæ omnia eò me facile reducunt, ut diffidam iis maxime quæ addit Nicephorus, ſcriptor credulus, ſapientiæ & fidei non ſatis ſpectata, Synodum ſcilicet provincialem cognito periculo, in quod lætio fabulæ hujus, cui autoris ſus dignitas tantum ponderis & auctoritatis dabat, juvenes ſuaſte natura ad id propenſos & quaſi natantes impelleret, eam ſibi conditionem obtuliſſe, ut aut opus ſuum flammis aboleret, aut ſua dignitate cederet; eumque quod ultimum erat, prætuliffiſſe* (6). i. e. “ All this inclines me to queſtion chiefly what Nicephorus adds, a credulous Writer, whoſe judgment and veracity are not much to be depended on: he aſſerts, that a provincial Synod, being ſenſible how dangerous the reading of Heliodorus's Romance was, to which the Author's Rank added a great weight, which was proper to draw in the youth already ſo much inclined and naturally diſpoſed to the peruſing of love-tales, required of the Biſhop, either to burn his book, or to reſign his dignity; which laſt he choſe.”

(5) Nicephorus. *Hiſt.* lib. 12. cap. 34.

(6) Huetius, *de Orig. Fabul. Roman.* pag. 36.

Could Socrates have omitted ſuch a circumſtance in the paſſage, where he obſerves, that Heliodorus wrote a love-tale in his youth; which he intitled *Ἔθιοπικὰ*. *Ὁν λέγουται ποιήματα ἱρωτικά βιβλία, ἀ πρὸς ὧν ἔταξε ἡ Αἰθιοπικὰ προσηγόρευσε: Cujus nomine circumferuntur amatorii libri, quos ille dum juvenis eſſet compoſuit, & Ἔθιοπικος inſcripſit* (7). Valeſius does not only explode Nicephorus's account as a mere ſtory, but he does not even believe that this Romance was written by the Biſhop

(7) Socrat. *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. 5. cap. 22.

the custom of deposing those Ministers who lay with their wives after their ordination ; which is a probable argument in favour of this Prelate's chastity. It even appears from his Romance that he loved this virtue ; for the hero of his story is so modest, that it gave occasion to some very smart jests [C]. Photius's Translator has not well expressed the praises that are bestowed on the amours of Theagenes and Chariclea ; for the Translation gives us to understand that Heliodorus wrote a Romance of the amours of an husband and his wife [D], which would be very absurd. There is an author who has asserted

Bishop Heliodorus. See his notes on that passage of Socrates. Let us see what the Sieur Sorel said. *I cannot believe, that Heliodorus was a Bishop, nor that he was so silly as to choose rather to lose his Bishoprick than to burn his Book, according to the choice that was proposed to him. This is only a mere story ; for if his Book were so scandalous, that they would not give him leave to publish it, they would entirely have prohibited it nevertheless, though he had resigned his dignity : so that he would have been disappointed in his expectation* (8).

(8) Sorel, *Romans sur le Berger Extravagant*, liv. 13, pag. 685.

Sorel had done better to give his opinion without supporting it with any argument ; for that which he alleges has not the least strength. A Book is not read the less for being condemned by a Synod ; it becomes publick notwithstanding such a condemnation, and is commended as it deserves ; so that Heliodorus would not have been disappointed in his expectation, though the Bishops, who put the choice to him, had condemned his Book. Father Vavasseur reasoned better, when he observed, that it was no longer in Heliodorus's power to suppress his work, whence it must be inferred, that the Bishops did not propose to him the conditions we have mentioned. For of what consequence could it be with regard to people's morals ? *Neutrum, quantum opinio mea est, vere dicitur. Neque lata Episcopo conditio tam preposterata tamque gravis ; neque ab illo accepta, aut repudiata quoquo modo ; quod ipse, qui narrat, abunde narratione sua refellit. An vero fuit in potestate Heliodori, ut aboleret igni, ac perderet opus suum, aut omnino suppressum teneret, quod jam exisset in vulgus, & manibus omnium evolveretur, quodque juvenum periculo aliquo, damnoque morum, ut vult Nicephorus, legenculo contrivisset* (9) ? i. e. " In my opinion neither of these two particulars are true : I cannot believe,

(9) Vavasseur, *de do Ludicra Dictione*, pag. 150.

that such a preposterous and difficult condition was proposed to him, nor that he accepted it ; as Nicephorus relates, though his very account refutes itself. Was it then in Heliodorus's power to burn his Book, or to destroy it so, as to suppress it entirely, when it was already publick, and in all the world's hands, and the youth had already undergone the danger of reading it to the corruption of their morals, as Nicephorus pretends ?" He adds that Father Petavius did not think this account of Nicephorus deserved any credit.

[C] *The Hero of his story is so modest, that it gave occasion to some very smart jests.* Read the following passage from the *Parnasse Reformé* ; it is Theagenes that speaks. " If things had been related faithfully, and as they happened, I should have no reason to complain, and would let my Romancer alone. But he gives me the character of an insensible man ; he ascribes to me that kind of modesty, which takes offence at the least freedom, and he will have me give my mistress a slap on the face, rather than suffer her to kiss me. I, said Chariclea, have reasons to complain of that slap on the face you mention ; if it were a shame to give it, it was a greater shame still to receive it ; and the satisfaction you might claim from the Historian, relates to me alone."

Here follows Heliodorus's answer : *The slap on the face, at which you are so much vexed, is a proof of your modesty, says he, looking on Theagenes ; it is the effect of such a modesty as is honourable to you ; and by this I have preserved that decency, which the dignity of my character required of me. It is true, replied Theagenes, that as a Bishop* (10) *you have acted your part very well in that passage ; but you would have kept up your character much better, if you had burnt your Romance, or if you had never had the thought of writing it. Lovers have nothing to do with the episcopal virtues, and a Bishop's gravity does not well agree with the freedom of lovers. A Vestal's chastity does not become Heroes, and their love ought to be free from those scrupulous formalities, which put a damp upon their agreeable raptures and extasies. It must be observed, that it is supposed the Author had*

(10) It is not true that Heliodorus was a Bishop, when he composed this Romance ; he wrote it in his youth, as Socrates asserts.

nothing to answer against Chariclea's complaint. And indeed, what could he say against so well-grounded an objection ? Is not a romantick Heroine, who designing to kiss her lover, receives a slap on the face from him, a very ridiculous character ?

Thus I finished this remark in the first edition of this Dictionary : I supposed that Monsieur Gueret having shewn a great deal of wit and taste in his *Parnasse Reformé*, would not have taken a downright falsity of his own invention for the ground of his jokes ; nothing being more inconsistent than this with the rules of criticism and satire (11). Thinking therefore that he could not be guilty of such a fault, I did not in the least doubt but the fact was really as he related it ; for which reason I did not take the pains to examine the original. But as soon as Monsieur Du Rondel had read the remark [C] of this Article, he wrote to me, that the thing did not happen as Monsieur Gueret relates ; he acquainted me with the circumstances of this action, and shewed me, that Theagenes did not deserve the least censure. I have just now read the passage in which Heliodorus relates this story, and have convinced myself with my own eyes, that Monsieur Du Rondel is in the right, and that the Author of the *Parnasse Reformé* imposed upon the publick, and took the liberty to cast such jests, as deserve rather to be called impostures. Theagenes and Chariclea being separated from each other by such odd strokes of fortune, as are often to be met with in Romances, came about the same time near Memphis. They had not communicated their design to each other ; they did not come the same way ; it happened by chance that Chariclea arrived near the city, when Theagenes was walking about the walls, on a solemn occasion, which afforded the inhabitants a very grand spectacle. She knew him again at a great distance ; for as Heliodorus observes, lovers have a very sharp sight. *Ὅθεν γὰρ τὴν πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἰσχυρὰν ὄψιν καὶ κίνημα πολλὰς καὶ ἄγλαυμα μύθων, καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἢ καὶ ἐκ νότον τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῆν φαντασίαν παρίσταν* (12). i. e. " Lovers have a very strong sharp

(11) Compare this with what is observed above, in the remark [C] of the article COLOMIES.

sight, the very motion and very air makes them know each other, even at a distance, or when they see one another only behind." She was so moved with seeing that object, that, as though she had been stung by a wasp, she ran in transport to Theagenes, and embraced him round the neck without speaking a word. She was very indifferently dressed, and her face was all dawbed ; so that Theagenes took her for a prostitute, and thrust her back, and as he could not get rid of her, he gave her at last a slap on the face. *Χαρικλῆα . . . πέρρωθεν ἀπαγορεύσασα τὸν Θεαγένην . . . ὡπὴρ ὁστρηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως, ἐμμανὲς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἵεται ; καὶ περιφύσα τῆ ἀύχην ἀποῖξ ἔρχετο καὶ ἐξήρητο, καὶ γυροῖς τισὶ κατασπάξτε θρήνοις ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἴκος, ὄψιν τε ῥυπώσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀγχιότερον ἐπιτεθυμμένη [ιδῶν] καὶ ἰδῶτα τετύχημένην καὶ κατηργημένην, ὡσπερ τινὰ τῶν ἀγνησῶν, καὶ ἀλιδῶς ἀλητῆν, διωδιῖτο καὶ παρηγωνίζετο καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεῖ εἰς τοῖς ὡς ἐνοχλῶσαν καὶ τῇ θεῖα τῶν ἀμοφί Κωλάσῃν ἐμποδῶν ἱσαμένην, καὶ διηράπιζεν* (13). But as soon as he found it was his dear Chariclea, he embraced her tenderly (14). It is plain from all this, the Reformer of Parnassus had altered the very substance of the fact, by which all his jests and raileries became insipid and absurd. Chariclea received indeed a slap on the face, but it cannot in justice be asserted that Theagenes gave Chariclea a slap on the face ; he imagined he was only slapping one of those women, whom we stile Gipsies. You may apply to all this what the Civilians and Casuists observe concerning that sort of ignorance or error, which is innocent.

(12) Heliodorus lib. 7, pag. 317, edit. Paris. 1699.

(13) Heliodorus lib. 7, pag. 311, edit. Paris. 1619.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 312.

[D] *The Translation gives us to understand, that Heliodorus wrote a Romance of the Amours of an Husband and his wife.* Here follow the Translator's words. *Dramatis hujus argumentum Auctori præbuere Theagenes & Chariclea caste inter se ac pudice amantes, cum ultro citroque jactati errarunt, & capti etiam identidem, fidentem*

(d) De Origine fabularum Romanensium.

asserted that Heliodorus was not a Christian; but his assertion seems to be grounded on very weak arguments [E]. Monsieur Huet (d) does not in the least doubt but the author of this Romance was the Bishop of Trica who lived under the Emperor Theodosius; but he thinks it cannot be proved that the Bishop Heliodorus, to whom St. Jerom wrote some letters, was this Bishop of Trica; yet he thinks also, that it would not be an easy matter to refute those who should assert it. If it were true that Heliodorus was deprived, we should have here a remarkable instance of an author's affection for his works. There is a modern writer who is acquainted with some persons, that would have done, what the Bishop of Trica is said to have done [F].

dem tamen CONJUGALEM constanter seroaurunt. i. e. "The subject of the story is taken from Theagenes and Chariclea, who loved each other chaitly and modestly, and who wandering up and down the world, and being sometimes taken prisoners, yet kept the CONJUGAL faith constantly to each other." There is in these words a tamen, yet, which is wrong, and an addition of the Translator. Photius did not argue so ill as to say, that though Theagenes's and Chariclea's misfortunes made them wander through several Countries, and caused them sometimes to be taken prisoners, yet they did not engage in new amours. It is easy to understand that such an unsettled life, with the unhappinefs of being sometimes in prison, is rather a reason why the Hero should not forsake his mistress, nor the Heroine her lover, than a reason why they should fall in love with some other object. Infidelity in love is much less surprizing in persons that lead an easy and quiet and happy life. But the greatest blunder of the Translator is his saying, that they kept constantly the conjugal faith to each other. How can that be, since they were not married? It is not the custom for lovers in Romances to marry but at the end of the Book; and thus Heliodorus's Romance ends. See in the margin a true Translation of Photius's words (15). It was a great while since Oplorpæus had made the blunder I have mentioned. CONJUGALIS amoris ac fidei & constantiæ pulcherrimum exemplar in Theagene & Chariclea adumbravit (16). i. e. "He has given us a noble instance of conjugal love and fidelity, and of constancy, in the characters of Theagenes and Chariclea."

(15) Ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἢ τοῦ δράματος ὑποθέσει Χαρι- κλεία καὶ Θεα- γένης, εὐφροσύνη ἀλλήλων ἰρασταί, καὶ πάλιν τού- τω, καὶ ἀρχιμα- λασία παντοδραμῆ καὶ φουλακῆ τῆς σωφροσύνης. Sum ipsi argu- mentum dramatis Theagenes & Chariclea pudice inter se amantes, & eorum errores, ac captivitas om- nimoda, & custo- dia castitatis. Photius, num. 73. pag. 157.

(16) Oplorpæus, Epist. Dedicat. apud Gesner, Biblioth. folio 301.

(17) Sorel, Re- marques sur le Livre XIII du Berger Extrava- gant, pag. 685.

(18) See a Dis- sertation of Bal- zac at the end of his Socrate Chré- tien. You will see there amongst other things, that St. Jerom makes St. Paul to be descended from Agamemnon, and that Synesius boasted he was descended from Hercules.

lieve that his family was really descended from the Sun, but he might imagine, that he must distinguish it by that mark. This was a title by which his family had been known a long time, and which was honourable to him. And though the principle was false, yet one might infer from it some consequences favourable to his family with regard to its antiquity. Such a mo- tive might engage a Christian thus to distinguish the nobility of his extraction. Add to this that Heliodorus was not yet a Bishop when he wrote his Romance. He was still in all the mettle of youth; and as he did not put his name to his work, he might with more liberty make his descent known by the ancient tradition of his family.

[F] A modern writer was acquainted with some per- sons, who would have done what the Bishop of Trica is said to have done.] The modern writer I mean is Father Va- vassieur. He does not believe what Nicephorus relates; it appears childish to him, either with regard to those who put such a choice to Heliodorus, or with regard to the choice itself, which that prelate is said to have made. Lepida vero optio data præfati, utrum saluum vellet, jacularemne librum, quem scripsisset olim, an amplissimum sacerdotium, cui tum præcesset. Lepidius etiam judicium & electio episcopi, sacrae dignitatis jactura com- mune & pervagatum scriptoris nomen redimentis (19). Yet (19) Vavassior, he asserts that he knows some persons, who are so de Ludicra di- cti- onis, pag. 149- much in love with their own works, that they would choose rather to lose the best livings in the kingdom, than to renounce the reputation which they imagine they deserve by their works. Cujus tamen factum ne magnopere vituperetur, aut ne reprehendatur ex toto, nonnulli obstant, quos ego scio, si isto loco essent, feretque potestas eligendi; hoc idem & amplius facturos; talesque partus ingenii, qualia Heliodori Æthiopica sunt, non Thraciæ modo, sed optimis Galliæ sacerdotiis omnibus anteposuros, & loco graduque, & quavis dignitate ces- suros potius, quam laboris, & industriæ, & bonæ exist- imationis fructum hunc qualemcumque amitterent (20). (20) Ibid. pag. 150. i. e. "Yet this action of his ought not to be too much despised, nor absolutely condemned; for I knew some persons who would do the same, and even more still: it was thus in their power to choose; they would prefer such an ingenious work, as Heliodorus's Æthiopicks are, I do not say, be- fore any benefices of Thrace, but before all the best livings in France; they would resign their places, posts, and dignities, rather than lose this fruit, whatever it be of their labour, and study, I mean their reputation."

HELOISE, the concubine, and afterwards wife of Peter Abelard; a Nun, and after- wards Priores of Argenteuil; and lastly, Abbess of the Paraclete, has made so much noise, that she deserves an article of some length in this Dictionary. She had an uncle, by the mother's side, named Fulbert [A], who was a Canon of Paris, and had a tender affection

[A] She had an uncle, by the mother's side, called Fulbert.] This is the only very certain particular I have found, with regard to the genealogy of Heloise; I therefore did not say, that she was related, in a legitimate way, to the ancient family of Montmorenci. I have indeed read this in the apologetical Preface of Francis d'Amboise (1); but as he does not cite any author on this occasion, and as Andrew du Chesne (2) makes no mention of it, I look upon the truth of it to be very doubtful; particularly as Heloise owns, in her Letters, that her family had been greatly honoured by her marriage with Abelard, and that this last had married very much beneath himself. Quanto amplius te pro me humiliando satisfecerat, & me pariter & totum genus meum sublimaverat, tanto te minus tam apud De-

(1) Ad Oper. Abelardi. (2) Notis, ad Hist. Calamitat. Abelardi.

um, quam apud illos proditores obnoxium pœnæ reddide- ras (3). Papyrius Masso (4) asserts, that Heloise was (3) Pag. 51. the natural daughter of one John, Canon of Paris. Andrew du Chesne has reason not to lay any stress on this, (4) Annal. lib. 3. since the author does say whence he borrowed that cu- rious circumstance; but then he has no reason to op- pose to this Annalist, the Calendar of the Paraclet, in which the following words are found: VII Cal. Ja- nuar. obiit Hubertus (5) Canonicus Dominae Heloise (5) This must be Fulbertus. "twenty sixth of December:" for what can be easier than to reconcile Papyrius Masso and this Calendar? May not a young woman be bastard to one Canon, and niece to another Canon? But once again, he who says that Heloise was the natural daughter of one Ca- non,

affection for her. He took the utmost care of her education ; and as she had a very fine genius, she soon made so great a progress, that her reputation flew to all parts of the Kingdom [B]. She also was pretty handsome [C]. There was at that time in Paris a famous Doctor, who read public Lectures with prodigious reputation. This was Peter Abelard, the most subtle Logician of his age, and who began to bring Philosophy and scholastic Divinity in vogue. He enjoyed all the fame and splendor which a person of his profession could wish for or desire ; he had a vast number of pupils ; he was thought to be a very great master ; he got a great deal of money ; but did not make love to any woman, which he thought was a great flaw in his fortune. In order therefore to complete his felicity, he thought that he should entertain a fond passion, and he made choice of Heloise for his mistress. We gave elsewhere (a), the reasons which prompted him to make this choice ; and in what manner he got into the Canon's house, as tutor to Heloise. Honest Fulbert had flattered himself with the hopes that his niece, under so great a master, would make a wonderful progress in the Sciences ; but she learnt nothing

(a) In the article ABELARD.

non, John, without quoting any author for it, will not deserve credit. If there is reason to suspect any Canon on this occasion, it should be Fulbert rather than any other ; for the fondness which Abelard declares he had for Heloise, is so little found in uncles (6), and resembles so very exactly the affection of the fondest fathers ; that there is some room to imagine, that Fulbert acted like a multitude of others, who cannot be fathers according to the Canons ; they conceal that nearer relation under the title of uncle, and accordingly bring up their own children under the name of nephews. This is what one might suspect ; but yet it ought not to regulate the stile, nor hinder us from giving persons the names and titles under which they were known to the public. Fulbert, in a book, ought never to be mentioned under any character but that of uncle. It is to be observed, that according to Papyrius Masso, the Canon who brought up Heloise, and caused Abelard to be castrated, was named John. This Historian therefore does not pretend, that Heloise was niece to a Canon, and natural daughter of another Canon. He pretends that the Canon, whom all other authors call Fulbert, and whom they consider as Heloise's uncle, was her father, and named John. *Joannes Canonicus Parisius Heloisam naturalem filiam habebat præstanti ingenio formaque* (7).

(6) See the testimonies cited by Lambinus on these words of Ode 12. of Book 3. of Horace, *Mituentis patrum in verba lingua.*

(7) Papyr. Masso, *Annal. lib. 3. pag. m. 256.*

[B] *She made so great a progress, that her reputation flew to all parts of the Kingdom.* Let us hear Abelard. *Qui (Fulbertus) eam quanto diligentius diligebat, tanto diligentius in omnem quam poterat scientiam literarum promoveri studuerat. Quæ eam per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam literarum erat suprema. Nam quo bonius hoc, literariorum scilicet scientiæ, in mulieribus est rarius, eo amplius puellam commendabat, et in toto regno nominatissimam facerat* (8). i. e. "As Fulbert loved her most affectionately, he took care to have her instructed in all kinds of literature. And as she was not the lowest among her sex with regard to beauty, she was the highest with respect to learning. For as erudition is very rarely found among women, it added to the glory of Heloise, and made her very famous all over the Kingdom." In that age, a young maiden, with a very small share of erudition, might pass for a miracle. This the reader must observe, in order not to amplify the idea that is formed of our Heloise ; and yet it must be looked upon as certain, that she deserves a glorious place among the very learned women. She was skilled, not only in the Latin tongue, but also in Greek and Hebrew. Abelard declares this also, in the Letter which he wrote to the Nuns of the Paraclet. *Magisterium habetis in matre, quod ad omnia vobis sufficere tam ad exemplum scilicet virtutum, quam ad doctrinam literarum potest, quæ non solum Latina, verum etiam tam Hebraicæ quam Græcæ non experti literaturæ, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adeptam peritiam videtur, quæ ab omnibus in beato Hieronymo tanquam singularis gratia prædicatur* (9). Francis d'Amboise relates (10), that Heloise satisfied in a very subtle manner St. Bernard, who asked her, why the Nuns of the monastery of the Paraclet, in their repeating the Lord's Prayer, did not say, *panem nostrum quotidianum*, but *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*. Heloise gave him a reason for this, taken from the originals, and observed to him, that they must follow the Greek version of the Gospel, which St. Matthew had wrote in Hebrew. I know not whether such an answer would have

(8) Abelard's Oper. pag. 10.

(9) Ibid. pag. 200.

(10) *Præfat. Apologæ.*

pleased St. Bernard ; however I do not doubt but it might have puzzled him, and obliged him to quit the dispute. I could wish with all my heart, that this incident were true ; for it would be an instance of a woman's puzzling a great author, on a controversial point, by quoting the Greek text. I therefore was very sorry, I confess, when, on consulting the Letter (11) cited by Francis d'Amboise, I found that Heloise had no hand in it ; and that the whole remark is Abelard's, who wrote on that account to St. Bernard, after Heloise had informed him of the exceptions, which were made to the *panem supersubstantialem*. However, be this said without prejudice to the learning of that Abbess. If any one should imagine, that she did not acquire learning till after she had confined herself to a cloyster, I would refer them to a Letter of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugni, which declares that she had made a very great progress in literature before she embraced a monastic life. *Nequid, says he to her (12), metas adolescentiæ excesseram, necdum in juveniles annos evaseram, quando nomen non quidem adhuc religionis tuæ, sed honestorum tamen et laudabilium studiorum mihi fama innotuit. Audiebam tunc temporis mulierem, licet necdum sæculi nexibus expeditam, literariorum scientiæ et studio secularis sapientiæ summam operam dare, quo efferendo studio tuo et mulieres omnes evicisti, et pene viros universos superasti. i. e. "When I was but a lad, the fame, not indeed as yet of your sanctity, but of your polite and laudable studies, reached me. I was informed that a woman, although not withdrawn from the avocations of the world, did nevertheless apply herself in the most intense manner to Letters, and to the study of human literature ; by which vigorous pursuit you not only surpassed all your own sex, but almost all ours." The Monk of Auxerre affirms, that she was well skilled in Latin and Hebrew ; and the Calendar of the Paraclet says of her : *Heloise mere et premiere Abbessé de ceans, de doctrine et religion très-resplendissante* (13). i. e. "Heloise, mother and Abbess of this Monastery, most illustrious for her erudition and piety."*

(11) It is the 5th of lib. 2.

[C] *She was pretty handsome.* I find that a great number of authors declare Heloise to have been a miracle in beauty ; but ought they to be credited rather than Abelard, who, having more reason to amplify rather than lessen the perfections of Heloise, contents himself with saying, that she was not the last of her sex in beauty, but was the first in erudition ; *cum per faciem non esset infima, per abundantiam literarum erat suprema* ? Would a person express himself in this manner, when he was speaking of a finished beauty ? Could a lover, whose business it is to justify his choice, and the violence of his passion, employ such a rhetorical figure ? Some (14) observe, that Heloise was eighteen years of age when Abelard debauched her ; but I have not found this circumstance in any antient author. It is true indeed that the word *adolescens*, which Abelard employs (15), may very well suit the age of eighteen. That of *juvenula* which Heloise made use of (16), agrees also with the same age ; but nothing can be concluded from such a proof. It is a chimæra to assert, that Abelard, in his romance of the rose, drew Heloise's picture under the name of Beauty (17) ; that romance not being writ till after his death.

(12) Vide Oper. Abelardi, pag. 337.

(13) See Andrew du Chefne's Notes, on Abelard's Letter de Hist. Calamitat. pag. 1137.

(14) *Histoire abrégée d'Elouise et d'Abelard*, Hague 1693.

(15) *Operum*, pag. 10.

(16) Ibid. p. 47.

(17) The author of the *Histoire Abrégée*, above cited, says thus.

nate, that it extinguished all sensations of honour in her mind [I]; it took such deep root, and distracted her to such a degree, that she could never erase it [K]. It was to

no

I say nothing of the filth and perpetual ill smells, which are inseparable from young children. *Quis facris vel philosophicis meditationibus intentus pueriles vagitus, nutricum quæ hos mitigant nœnias, tumultuosam familiæ tam in viris quam in fœminis turbam sustinere poterit? Quis etiam in bonis illas parvulorum sordes*

(36) *Oper. Abelardi, pag. 14.*

secure themselves from these several inconveniencies, by the diversity of apartments they have in their houses; the expences and cares of each returning day cannot give them any uneasiness; but it is not so with Philosophers; and whosoever is desirous of heaping up riches, and employs himself in worldly employments, makes himself incapable of discharging the duties of the Philosopher and Divine. Observe the conduct of the ancient Sages, as well under the Pagan System, as among the Jews; and if Heathens and laymen have preferred a single life to marriage, would it not be a great shame for a Clergyman and Canon as you are, to prefer sensual reasons to divine offices? But tho' you should have no great regard to the prerogative of the ecclesiastical character, at least maintain the dignity and character of a Philosopher. Heloise concluded her sermon with saying, that it would reflect greater honour on him, and be more delightful to her, for Abelard to be her gallant rather than her husband. That she would be united to him, not by the necessity of the conjugal tie, but by the sole affection of her heart; and that their pleasures would be infinitely more exquisite, should they see one another but now, and then. We shall expatiate on this last reason in the remark [U]. In the mean time here follows Paquier's reflection on Heloise's words, *I will not*, says he (37), *represent to you all the arguments she employed to bring him over to her opinion; but this I can affirm, that I never read, in any Orator, so many elegant expressions and persuasive sentences, in order to gain a point, as were employed by Heloise.* I must inform my readers, that I have very much curtailed the remonstrance of our fair-one; and was surprized that she did not employ

(37) *Recberch. de la France, liv. 6. cap. 17.*

some reason, from her lover's being in Orders (38). Does not this seem to prove, that it was not yet believed, that Ecclesiastics were bound to lead a single life?

(38) I mean, that she did not allege, that persons in orders are forbid marrying.

[I] *The passion with which she was fired, . . . extinguished all sensations of honour in her mind.* The passion of love will very often stifle or surmount the sensations of conscience; but it is very rarely observed to suppress a sense of honour; and, if we except a small number of persons of low-birth, who, for the most part, have not even had a common education bestowed upon them; all young girls, who yield to Cupid, generally put one of the four strings following to their bow: They hope, either that they shall not be got with child; or otherwise, to procure a miscarriage by some medicament; to lie in unknown to every one; or to prevail with their spark to marry them; and this shews, that if love is sometimes the strongest tyrant in their hearts, it is yet such a tyrant as leaves honour in possession of its rights. See the famous Sonnet *de l'Avorton* (on the untimely Birth) the author of which has so strongly represented the power of honour and the power of love, alternately conquerors and conquered. Our Heloise's love raged to that excess, that she no longer valued honour or reputation; for in the first place, she was overjoyed to find herself with child; *Non multo autem post puella se concepisse comperit, & cum summa exultatione mihi super hoc illico scripsit, consulens quid de hoc ipse faciendum deliberarem* (39); and secondly, she did all that lay in her power, to prevent the marrying the man who had got her with child; two things, which are not only more rarely found than the most dreadful monsters, when they are joined together; but also, the first of them, singly, is never seen but in such cases in which love has little share; and wherein a woman has no other view, but to make sure of a very advantageous match, which she despaired of obtaining, without the noise and bustle of a big belly. How many young women had rather have a husband forced upon them by an Arret of Parliament, than to live with an everlasting stain of reputation? They are firmly persuaded that their future husband will re-

(39) *Abelard, pag. 13.*

venge himself with a high interest; and that they will pay very dearly for the Arret; however they are resolved not to value this, provided the title of husband repairs the breach made in their honour. Our Heloise was far from entertaining any scruples of that kind. See the following remark, and especially the remark [U].

[K] . . . *Could never erase it.* Is it erasing the passion of love, or the being cured of it, for a woman to say, several years after she had quitted the world, and embraced a cloystered life, *That she would rather be Abelard's whore, than lawful wife to the Emperor of the whole earth?* Now this our Heloise, when she was Abbess of the Paraclet, declared; and to this she called God as witness. *Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus universo præsidens mundo matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo præsidendum, charius mihi & dignius mihi videretur TUA DICI MERETRIX, quam illius Imperatrix* (40). (40) Pag. 15.

How can it be said, that Heloise's passion had quitted her in the Abbey of Paraclet, since she there writes such an ingenuous confession of the ill state of her soul, as shews that the fire of love pierced to her very bones? I dare not express in French the several accusations she brings against herself. She confesses that the pleasures she had enjoyed in Abelard's arms, had enchanted her to such a degree, that she reflected on them day and night, sleeping and waking, and even during the solemnization of mass. She regretted the loss of them perpetually; and, for want of a substantial way, repeated them in imagination. Those who understand Latin, will perceive with what strength of eloquence Heloise could express the sensations of her soul. *In tantum verò illæ quas pariter exercuimus amantium voluptates, dulces mihi fuerunt, ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix à memoria labi possint. Quocunque loco me vertam semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desiderii. Nec etiam dormienti suis illusionibus parcunt. Inter ipsa missarum solemnia, ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscena earum voluptatum fantasmatia ita sibi penitus miserrimam captivant animam, ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam orationi vacem. Quæ cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis, suspiro potius de amissis. Nec solum quæ egimus, sed loca pariter & tempora, in quibus hæc egimus, ita tecum nostro infixæ sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam. Numquam & ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehendantur, nec à verbis temperant improvisis* (41). (41) Pag. 59.

This forced her to cry out with St. Paul (42). *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* Would to God, continued she, that I could truly add, *the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* That grace, says she to her Abelard, has prevented you, my dear, in delivering you from all the incentives of lust, by that single stroke of a knife whereby you were made an eunuch. . . . But my youth, and the experience I have had of past pleasures, light up in the strongest manner those fires in my soul; and the weaker I am by nature, the more I sink under those violent attacks. *Hæc te gratia, charissime, prævenit, & ab his tibi stimulis una corporis plaga medendo multas in anima sanavit. . . . hos autem in me stimulos carnis, hæc incentiva libidinis ipse juvenilis fervor ætatis & jucundissimarum experientia voluptatum plurimum accendunt, & tanto amplius sua me impugnatione opprimunt, quanto infirmior est natura quam oppugnant* (43). Lastly, she recommends her (43) Pag. 60.

self to his prayers, with so much the more earnestness, as that is the only remedy which her incontinence can find in him. *Time obsecro semper de me potius quam confidas, ut tua semper sollicitudine adjuver. Nunc verò præcipue timendum* (44). Those who slan-

dered Abelard for going so often to the Paraclet (45), were doubtless rash in their judgment, since they did not know the internal disposition of Heloise; but had they known it, they ought to have endeavoured to get those visits prohibited; they having reason to fear, that it would be impossible, but that this woman, humanly speaking, must commit impure acts with Abelard. The Fathers of the Church never trusted to mutilations; they comparing an eunuch to an ox whose horns are cut off, notwithstanding which he

(45) See the article ABELARD, remark [7].

no purpose that they emasculated poor Abelard [L]; that she herself assumed a religious habit; for she still retained some tincture of this frenzy [M]: and the *Lettres Portugaises* did not first shew, that it belongs to Nuns only to talk of love-matters; Heloise's Letters having long before proved the truth of this assertion. However this be, this fond creature, employed, to no purpose, all her wit and all her eloquence, to dissuade Abelard from this marriage. They were secretly married; but Heloise always denied in the most solemn manner that she was his wife (c). For this behaviour she was ill used by her uncle, who, to throw a veil over the dishonour which had been brought on his family, published the marriage in all places, though he had promised Abelard never to mention it. The ill treatment which Heloise met with at Fulbert's, made her husband resolve to remove her from his house, and to send her to the Nuns of Argenteuil, where she had been brought up. This second elopement put her relations out of all patience. They harboured a most odd kind of vengeance against him, and put it in execution by bribing Abelard's valet. This wretch opened the door in the dead of night to the villains, who were to perpetrate the horrid deed. They surprized him in his sleep, and cut off certain parts which must be nameless (d). This action made a great noise [N]; and the next morning people went, as in procession, to Abelard's apartment. His pupils made still greater moan than any. The women were distinguished by the bitterness of their complaints [O]. Some very curious letters were wrote to Abelard, to console him for his misfortune [P]. The Magistrates punished the wretches who had perpetrated this action with great severity [Q]; notwithstanding which, Abelard was so much ashamed, and seized with such despair, that he went and immured himself in the convent of St. Denys, after ordering Heloise to take the veil in Argenteuil. We have taken notice elsewhere of his transaction after he had assumed a religious habit; and of his being sentenced to throw, with his own hands, a book he had written into the flames, &c. He was more grieved for the loss of this book than for that of his virility [R]; and yet, when one loses a book, another may be recovered, but the loss in the

(c) *Arunculus ipse atque domesticus ignominia sua plerumque quadrupes, in dno matrimonium dirivare & fides mihi super hoc datum violare caperunt. Ita enim à contra anathematizare & jurare, quia falsissimum est. Abelard. Histor. Colembarum, pag. 17.*

(d) *Crudelissima & pudensissima ultione punierunt, & quam summa admiratione mundus exceptit, eis videlicet corporis mei partibus amputatis, quibus id quod plangebant commiseram. Ibid.*

(46) Citation (6).

But as appearances are sometimes deceitful, I should not approve that those, who, know the true state of Heloise's soul, should imagine that she transgressed the rules, which she and her husband met together, and that she sometimes had occasion to write to him: *Si libidinosa essem, quererem decepta; nunc etiam languori tuo gratias ago: in umbra voluportalis diutius lasi.* (47).

(47) *Circet Polyano, apud Patrocinium.*

[L] *It was to no purpose that they emasculated poor Abelard.* This was a love-remedy, which was very capable of operating, if we may believe certain verses of Cyrano Bergerac (48). They are addressed to a man, to whom he had spoke as follows:

(48) See the Play of Cyrano Bergerac (48). They are addressed to a man, to whom he had spoke as follows: *dem jué.*

*T'entens que le diminatif
Qu'on fit de vrai trop excessif
Sur votre flasque genitif
Vous prohibe le conjonctif.*

After which he adds

*O visage! ô portrait naïf!
O souverain expeditif
Pour guerir tout sexe lascif
D'amour naissant, ou effectif!
Genre neutre, genre metif,
Qui n'êtes homme qu'abstractif,
Grâce à votre copulatif,
Qu'a rendu fort imperfectif
Le cruel tranchant d'un canif.*

But as no rule is so general, as not to admit of some exception, Heloise's passion was proof against this violent remedy. This she had in common with Queen Stratonice already mentioned (49).

(49) In the article COMBARBUS.

[M] *She still retained some tincture of this frenzy.* This is plain from the passages I cited in the remark [K]. They prove, not only that poor Heloise was governed by a carnal appetite, but also that her brain was a little turned; for a woman in her right senses would never have spoke in the manner she did. It is manifest that study had begun to distract her, and that love greatly increased her disorder. A vast number of marks of a crazy imagination are seen in her writings; something so wild, incoherent and inconsistent, that Heloise is a part of Seneca's maxim, *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura demetia* (50). i. e. "All mighty wits have still a dash of madness."

(50) See the citation (78) of the article CAR-DAN.

[N] *This action made a great noise.* Here follows what Abelard says of this matter (51): *Mane autem facta tota ad me civitas congregata quanta superci admiratione, quanta se affigeret lamentatione, quanto me clamore vexarent, quanto planctu perturbarent, difficile imo impossibile est exprimi. Maxime vero Clerici, ac precipue Scholares nostri, intolerabilibus me lamentis & ejulatibus cruciabant.* See the article to which I refer in the following remark.

(51) *Opera, pag. 17.*

[O] *The women were distinguished by the bitterness of their complaints.* Abelard does not take notice of that circumstance; but we learn it from one of his friends who wrote a letter of consolation to him. See the article FOULQUES (52).

(52) Remark [I].

[P] *Some very curious letters were wrote to Abelard, to console him for his misfortune.* Foulques, Prior of Deuil, wrote one to him, which was inserted in the edition of Abelard's works. We take notice of it in the article of this Prior; and we transplant thither a great many particulars that belong to Heloise and her husband; and which would make their articles too long, were they not separated, and transferred to another place. Those who declare, that they had rather have all the particulars relating to a person in one place, have not duly weighed that matter.

[Q] *The Magistrates punished the wretches who had perpetrated this action with great severity.* See the article FOULQUES (53), to which I refer for the two preceding remarks.

(53) Remark [M].

[R] *He was more grieved for the loss of this book, than for that of his virility.* Authors have been greatly rallied, on account of the excessive tenderness they entertain for their own compositions; and, among other examples, that of Heliodorus the Bishop has been cited; a man who chose to resign his Bishoprick, rather than condemn his romance of Theagines (54). What Sarrafin makes Voiture say has been alluded.

(54) See in the remark [B] of the article HELIODORUS, how far this ought to be credited.

*Un auteur, qui dans son écrit,
Comme moi reçoit une offense,
Souffre plus que Job ne souffrit,
Bien qu'il eût d'extrêmes souffrances* (55).
The sense is,

(55) *Poesies, p. 87.*

"An author who, in his compositions, receives like me an affront, suffers more than Job did, although his sufferings were extreme."

But I don't know that Abelard has been cited on this occasion; nevertheless, there is something still stronger in

the other case is irreparable [S]. With regard to Heloise, she became Prioress of the Nuns of Argenteuil; but as the Nuns in this monastery led very ill lives [T], the Abbot of St. Denys, who pretended to be master of it, expelled the Nuns from it, whereby Heloise had great occasion for her husband. He had built an Oratory or Chapel near Troies, which he called Paraclet (e), and had afterwards accepted of an Abbey in Brittany. Hearing that Heloise was in want of an habitation ever since her being expelled from Argenteuil, he gave her this Oratory with all its dependencies; which donation was confirmed by Pope Innocent II. Behold her therefore first Abbess of the Paraclet. Here she gained such universal esteem, that numberless benefits were heaped upon her in a short time. The Bishops loved her as though she had been their daughter, the Abbots as their sister, and the Laity as their mother (f). Notwithstanding this she was greatly discontented at Providence (g); and murmured much more than Job. She carried on a correspondence, by letter, with Abelard [U], and desired him to send her some rules

(e) See the article PARACLET.

(f) All this is extracted from Abelard's Letter intitled, *Historia Calamitatum*, a few particulars excepted, the proofs of which I cite separately.

(g) See the article FOULQUES remark [K].

in his example, for Job was restored to his former flourishing condition, and begat sons and daughters; and it is certain that Voiture would have chose to be as Job for some time, rather than as Abelard to his grave; and that he would have thrown all his books and his muses into the fire, had he been reduced to the necessity of burning them, or of losing his virility. Where should we find a Prelate, who would, not be prevailed upon to sign the resignation of his Bishopric, in case a man, with an uplifted razor, should threaten to . . . in case he refused to sign? Had Heliodorus been put to that sad option, he doubtless would have consented to the condemnation of his romance. But here we find a man declaring, that he considers the loss of his pudenda as trifling, in comparison of the loss of a book, which he was forced to throw into the flames. But to judge impartially in this case, we must not ascribe all Abelard's grief to the paternal affection, which he, as an author, must naturally have for his work. Another circumstance gave him still greater uneasiness, and this was, that by his being forced to burn his book, he thereby was branded with the stigma of heresy, a punishment which answers to that of the hot iron. His murmurs against God's providence are another mark of his concern. Here follow his words, which it will be proper for me to cite, to prevent my being suspected of amplifying matters, merely to divert my readers. *Deus, qui judicis æquitate quanto tunc animi felle, quanta mentis amaritudine teipsum infamis arguebam, te furibundus accusabam, sæpius repetens illam beati Antonii* (56) *conquestionem, Jesu bone ubi eras? Quanto autem dolore æstuavem, quanta erubescencia confunderer, quanta desperatione perturbarer sentire tunc potui, proferre non possum. Conferebam cum his quæ in corpore passus olim fueram, quanta nunc sustinerem, & omnium me æstimabam miserimum. PARVAM illam ducebam proditionem in COMPARATIONE hujus injuriæ, & longè amplius famam quam corporis detrimentum plangebam* (57). i. e. "O God who judgest righteously, with what madness and bitterness of spirit did I, wretch that I am, accuse thee; frequently repeating the complaint of St. Anthony, *Sweet Jesus, where wast thou?* The grief with which I then was agitated, the shame with which I was confounded, and the despair with which I was tortured, I could not then feel, but cannot now describe. I compared with the evils which I formerly had suffered in my body, those I now suffered, and concluded my self to be the most miserable of all men. I looked upon that treachery I formerly met with to be trifling in comparison of this, and bewailed much more the prejudice done to my fame and reputation, than that done to my body."

(56) Apud S. Hieronymum. in ejus vita.

(57) Abelardi Oper. pag. 25.

[S] But the loss in the other case is irreparable.] Again see the article FOULQUES, remark [F].

[T] The Nuns in this Monastery led very ill lives.] Suggest, Abbot of St. Denys, took advantage of the disorderly lives of the Nuns of Argenteuil, in order to re-instate himself in the possession of that Monastery. He sent his titles to Rome, and received a favourable answer from thence. Let us hear what he says of this matter, in the history of his own life, written under the year 1127. *Nuntios nostros & chartas antiquas foundationis & donationis, & confirmationum privilegia bone memoriæ Papæ Honorio Romam delegavimus, postulantes ut justitiam nostram canonico investigaret & resisteret scrutinio. Qui, ut erat vir concilii & justitiæ amator, tam pro nostra justitia, quam pro enormitate Mo-*

nacharum ibidem male viventium, eundem nobis locum cum appendiciis suis, ut reformaremur ibi religionis ordo, restituit. i. e. "I sent, to Rome, messengers with the ancient charters of foundation, donation, and confirmation of privileges, in order for them to be laid before Pope Honorius of blessed memory; humbly intreating him to search into the justice of my claim, and to restore what rightfully appertained to me, Accordingly, as this Pope was a wise and just man, he restored that place to me, with its several dependencies and privileges; not only in justice to me, but also because of the disorderly lives of the Nuns who then resided there, that a religious order might be again established in that place." He says the same in the Life of Lewis the Corpulent (58). Those who are inclined to judge ill of their neighbour, will certainly, on the perusal of this passage, entertain a strong suspicion of Heloise's conduct. She confesses that she was strongly enflamed by the fire of incontinence (59); and it is often found, that the Abbess of a Monastery does not conduct herself well, when lewdness is prevalent in it (60). From these two principles, those who are prone to scandal, may easily draw the following consequence, that the Prioress of Argenteuil was no better than her Nuns; but as I myself have not read, that she was expressly included in the scandal which her Monastery gave, I shall be far from censuring her on that account. We ought to imitate our Lord, and make use of his maxim (61). *Has. no man condemned or accused thee? Neither do I condemn or accuse thee.* And it is very certain that inferiors imitate the bad, and not the good life of their superiors. The court of France was not more chaste under Lewis XIII, than under Henry IV.

[U] She carried on a correspondence, by letter, with Abelard.] This correspondence began but late; and was occasioned by a fortuitous circumstance, which was as follows, Abelard had writ, to a friend, a long relation of his misfortunes, which relation happened to fall into the hands of Heloise, who was then Abbess of Paraclet. After perusing it, Heloise wrote to him all the reflections she had made on it; and most earnestly besought him to write to her, in order that she might no longer be deprived of the consolation, which his Letters could give her in his absence. She represents to him the great disinterestedness of her love; and that she had not sought either the honour of marriage, the advantages of a dowry, nor her own pleasure; but the single satisfaction of possessing her dear Abelard. She tells him, that although the name of wife seems more holy and of greater dignity, she yet was always better pleased with that of his mistress, his concubine, and even strumpet: *Etsi uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper extitit amicæ vocabulum, aut si non indigneris, concubinæ vel scorti* (62). She adds, that he had given but part of the reasons she had represented to him, in order to divert him from marriage; but that he had suppressed almost all those which were taken from the preference which she gave to love, before the conjugal knot; and to liberty before necessity or bonds. *Rationes nonnullas quibus te à conjugio nostro infaustis thalamis revocare conabar exponere non es dedignatus, sed plerisque tacitis quibus amorum conjugio, libertatem vinculo præferebam* (63). I know not what idea our Heloise formed to herself of this matter; but we here have one of the most mysterious refinements in love. It has been the notion for these many ages, that marriage destroys the chief poignancy of this species of salt; and that when a person does a thing

(58) *Papa Honorius vir gravis, & severus, justitiam nostram de Monasterio Argenteulensi puellarum miseram conversatione infamato, &c.*

(59) See above, remark [K], citations (41) and (43).

(60) People have to say on this occasion, *Regis ad exemplum rectus componitur orbis; & sequitur troster filia matris*. i. e. "People imitate the example which their King sets them; and a daughter is apt to tread in her mother's steps."

(61) St. John chap. viii. ver. 10.

THE character of mistress more agreeable to Heloise than that of wife.

(62) *Abelardi Opera*, pag. 45.

(63) *Idem*, *ibid.*

for the use of her Nuns, and also the solution of various problems. He answered all her demands. I do not find that her hopes of seeing him made a Bishop occasioned the reluctance she had to be his wife [X]. When he died a Monk of Clugni Heloise besought the Abbot to deliver her Abelard's body; and having obtained it she buried it in the Paraclet, and desired to be interred in the same grave (b). A very surprising miracle is related, when the grave was opened, in order for depositing Heloise's body in it, viz. that Abelard stretched out his arms to receive her, and clasped her in a strict embrace [Y]. He nevertheless had been dead above twenty years; but this is no great matter; it is pretended that there are examples of the like incidents [Z]. She died the 17th of May 1163. The Letters which she wrote to her husband are found in an edition of Abelard's works. But what Moreri asserts is not true, viz. that Andrew du Chesne had wrote Remarks on those Letters, and on Abelard's Answers. He made none

(b) See the remark [Y] of the article ABELARD.

thing by engagement, by duty and necessity, as a task and drudgery, he no longer finds the natural charms in it; so that, according to such as set up for the most delicate and greatest judges, a man takes a wife *ad honorem*, and not *ad delicias*. "On the side of marriage is profit, justice, honour and constancy; an insipid, but more universal pleasure: But love is founded wholly on pleasure, which indeed is more rapturous, sprightly, and poignant; a pleasure heightened by difficulty, there must be a relish and smartness in it: Love is no longer love, if it be without arrows and fire. The fair are too liberal of their sweets in marriage, a circumstance that blunts the edge of affection and desire (64)." *Patere me, used a Roman Emperor (65) to say to his wife, per aliam exercere cupiditates meas, nam uxor nomen est dignitatis, non voluptatis (66).* i. e. "Permit me, to facilitate my warm desires with others, for wife is a title of dignity, not of pleasure." A very ill turn might therefore be given to the resolution which Heloise had formed, viz. never to be the wife of Abelard, but always his dear mistress; she might be suspected of fearing, that marriage would be the grave of love; and prevent her tasting, as deliciously as before, the fond caresses of her gallant. The author who has paraphrased some passages in our Historical Letters (67), ascribes, in the main, that genius and view, although the expressions are touched with delicacy. That author makes her say (68), "that she found nothing but what was vastly insipid in those public engagements, which form such ties as death can only dissolve, and make a sad necessity of life and love; that it cannot be called love (69) to search for wealth and dignities in the lukewarm embraces of an indolent husband; that she will never believe, that persons can taste in this manner the sensible pleasures of an agreeable union; nor that they feel those secret and charming emotions of two hearts, which have long sought for each other, in order to be united; and that (70) she is persuaded, that if there be any appearance of happiness here below, it is found only in the assemblage of two persons, who love with liberty, whom a secret inclination has joined, and a reciprocal merit has rendered contented." We shall now see, that another cause has been supposed, with regard to the design which Heloise had, not to marry Abelard.

(64) Montagne, *Essais*, liv. 3. chap. 5. pag. m. 120.

(65) *Ælius Vetus apud Spartian. in eius Vita*, pag. m. 235.

(66) See several remarks of this nature in the 9th Letter of the *Critique de Calvinisme de Maimbourg*; and in the Letters 21 and 22 of the Sequel of that Critique.

(67) See the book intitled, *Histoire d'Eloise & d'Abelard*, Hague 1693.

(68) Pag. 51.

(69) Pag. 53.

(70) Pag. 54.

[X] I do not find that her hopes of seeing him made a Bishop, occasioned the reluctance she had to be his wife.] The Sieur d'Amboise (71) mentions an ancient French Poet, who, having exhorted men not to subject themselves to the slavery of marriage, confirms his sentiment by that of our Heloise, who, says he, begged and conjured her lover in the most ardent manner, never to marry her; she found it more to her advantage to be the mistress of a man, who would one day be possessed of a rich Bishop's See. *Satis esse dicentis si illa intimo pectoris amorem mutuum servans, illum viderit mitra & infulis Pontificalibus, quibus dignus erat ornatum.* i. e. "She saying often, that it would be enough for her, whilst she cherished their reciprocal flame in the inmost recesses of her heart, to see him adorned with the mitre and the pontifical vestments, of which he was so worthy." D'Amboise observes, I. That this poet gives another turn to it, viz. that Heloise intimated, that the embraces of married persons are not heightened with so exquisite and delicious a pleasure, as those embraces which are unlawful. *Sed poëta in alium sensum hoc detorquet, quasi illa impure voluerit saniores esse amantium, quam legibus*

(71) *Præfat. Apolog. ad Oper. Abelardi.*

conubialibus nexorum amplexus (72). II. That we must not think that Heloise preferred the licentiousness of concubinage, before the quality or condition of a wife; but that the love and respect she owed her gallant, prompted her to take the veil, rather than to prevent, by her marrying Abelard, his being rewarded suitably to his genius and erudition, as for instance, with a Cardinal's hat. *Potius quam obice & interventu suarum nuptiarum, impedimento esse ne Abelardus factus uxorius frustraretur præmio excellentis ingenii admirabilisque doctrinæ, puta purpura & galero (73).* But I have not found the least marks of this in Heloise's Letters, and for this reason made it the sixth error committed by Moreri in the article of ABELARD. The circumstance which gives rise to this kind of fallshood is, the liberty which authors take, of putting into the mouths of people such expressions as appear to him suitable to their present condition. It is frequently more advantageous for a woman, to suffer her young gallant to rise in the church, than to stop his career by marrying him. But are we therefore to suppose, that Heloise had any such views? Here follows a well-known tale. A man who enjoyed a prebend, quitted it purely for the sake of marrying. The day after the wedding he spoke thus to his wife: *It is plain, my dear, says he, that I have the utmost affection for you, since I left my prebend, merely for the sake of enjoying you. You acted very foolishly, replied his bride, for you might have kept your prebend, and possessed me too* [Y] *A very surprising miracle is related, . . . viz. Mogen de Parvobat Abelard stretched out his arms to receive her, and she clasped her in a strict embrace.]* This pretty miracle is related in a manuscript Chronicle of Tours (75). *Hæc (Heloissa) sicut dicitur in ægritudine ultima posita præcepit, ut mortua intra mariti tumulum poneretur, & sic eadem defuncta ad tumulum apertum deportata, maritus ejus qui multis diebus ante eam defunctus fuerat, elevatis brachiis illam recipit, & ita eam amplexatus brachia sua strinxit.* i. e. "Heloise, as it is related, being upon her death-bed, gave orders for her being buried in the same grave with her husband; and accordingly, dying, and being carried to his grave, her husband, who died a long time before her, lifting up his arms, received her, and folded her in a strict embrace." But why then are they not in the same sepulchre? Francis d'Amboise who declares that he had seen, at the Paraclet, the sepulchres of the founder and foundress standing near one another; *contigua fundatoris & fundatricis sepulchra*, ought to have solved this small difficulty.

[Z] *It is pretended that there are examples of the like incident.]* See what Gregory of Tours relates concerning two married persons, who lived ever in a state of continence, with regard to one another; and were called by the inhabitants of the country (77) *the two Lovers*. The wife died first; and the husband, as her corps was letting down into the grave, used the following prayer: *I thank thee, O my Lord and my God, in that I return thee this treasure as pure and undefiled, as when thou first intrustedst me with it.* The wife smiling, cried, *Why do you speak of a thing which no one asks any questions about?* The husband died a little after, and was buried over against his wife; but the next day both bodies were found together in the same grave. This blunt query might make some of the profane conclude, that the virgin-wife did not care the world should know her husband had been so cold. She confined herself barely to the merits of continence, and did not care to be exposed to the opinions, which might be entertained to the prejudice of her charms. But the

(72) *Ibid.*

(73) *Ibid.*

(74) See the book intitled, *La*

Mogen de Parvobat, wrote by a Canon of Tours, as it is said in the *Menagians*, pag. 366. ad Dutch edit.

(75) *Apud Andream Quercetanum, Notis ad Histor. Calamitat. Abel. & apud Franc. Ambos. Præfat. Apolog.*

(76) *Hist. des François*, liv. 3. chap. 42.

(77) *Clermont en Auvergne.*

none, except on that Letter in which Abelard communicates the history of his misfortunes to a friend. John de Meun had translated into French the Letters which Abelard and Heloise had wrote to one another (i). There was published, not long since, a little book (k), intitled, *The History of Eloise and Abelard, with the passionate letter which she wrote to him, translated from the Latin*. This pretended Translation is only a few particulars extracted at pleasure from Heloise's Letters, which the compiler has thrown into such a dress as he thought proper, by expressing what did not suit, and adding such particulars as he judged most suitable.

(i) See the President Fauchet, chap. 126. of the *Old French Poets*.

(k) Printed at the Hague, for John Alberts, 1693.

Count de Buffi Rabutin translated some of Abelard and Heloise's Letters into French. This version has been inserted in the second volume of his Letters, published after his death. I never, says he (h), read finer Latin, especially that of the Nun, nor any pieces more amorous and ingenious than her's. Had the Count been as well acquainted with the style of the Roman tongue as with that of the French, he would not have bestowed such an eulogium on Heloise's Latin diction.

(l) Buffi, *Lettres* 15. tom. 2. pag. 49. Dutch edit. 1697.

the trust or depositum in question ought not to be kept in this manner; it is not restoring it in a proper manner, to return it untouched, and exactly the same as when we received it; it is not for this that God instituted marriage, *non hoc questum munus in usus*. A person may therefore not desire that the world should surmise, that he had not sufficiently pleased the depository. But the Historian will remedy this inconvenience,

if we consult chapter XXXII of the *Glory of Confessors*, where a something better turn is given to the words of a dead wife. He relates, ten chapters after, that a Senator of Dijon, Hilarius by name (78), who had been buried a year, lifted up his arm in order to clasp his wife round the neck, as her corpse was letting down into the same grave.

(78) See Abbot de Marolles's *Notes on Gregory of Tours*, tom. 2. pag. 283.

HELVICUS (CHRISTOPHER) Professor of Divinity, Greek, and the Eastern Tongues, in the University of Giessen, was born the 26th of December 1581, at Spredlingen (a), where his father was a Minister [A]. He was not one of those tardy genius's, which do not display themselves till late; he being capable, before he was twenty years of age, to teach Greek, Hebrew, and even Philosophy; and he had composed a prodigious number of Greek verses at fifteen or sixteen years of age. He went through his course of studies in Marburg, where he took his Master of Arts degree in 1599. He might have taken it sooner, had he thought proper, he being received Bachelor at fourteen years of age (b). The Hebrew language became so extremely familiar to him, that he spoke it as fluently as his native language. He studied thoroughly a numberless multitude of Greek authors; and even studied Physic for some time, though he had devoted himself to the Ministry. In fine, he gave so many proofs of his capacity, that he was chosen, anno 1605, to teach Greek and Hebrew in the College which the Landgrave had lately established in Giessen (c). The next year the Emperor made this College an University, investing it with the privileges belonging to it as such. Helvicus having discharged, during five years, the several duties of his employment with great reputation, was appointed Divinity-Professor in 1610. He married that year. I know not whether Helvicus continued a Bachelor till he was thus raised in the world, in order that he might have an opportunity of marrying a woman with a greater fortune; or whether other motives prompted him to lead a single life till the abovementioned date; the author I shall quote saying nothing of that matter; but he observes that Helvicus, after his marriage, continued as assiduous as ever in the duties of his profession (d). A church was offered him in Moravia anno 1611, and a Professorship at Hamburg, with a considerable stipend; however, he refused both those offers. He took his Doctor's degree of Divinity anno 1613. This the Landgrave obliged him to take, and would make him go to Frankfort, in order to view the Library of the Jews, who had been lately drove away by popular tumults. Helvicus, who was very fond of reading the Rabbins, bought several of their books on that occasion. He died in the flower of his age, the 10th of September 1617, he having projected the writing a great number of books [B]; and

(a) A little town within half a league of Frankfort.

(b) XIV ætatis anno, Ferraro exemplo Baccalaureatus gradum consecutus. Christoph. Scheiblerus in *Programmate de funere Helvici*. The Baccalaureat in Germany must be different from what it is in other countries.

(c) König is mistaken; he makes him Professor at Marburg.

(d) *Negle vero into matrimonio fuit. Christianus Helvici habita à Joanne Wynckelmanno. Wynckelmannus ubi infra.*

[A] Where his father was Minister.] His Christian name was, like that of his son, CHRISTOPHER. In his younger days he had been, for two years, Director of the College in Geraw; after which he studied Divinity in Tübingen, and was Minister of the Church of Grithcim; but Prince George, Landgrave of Hesse, placed him a little afterwards at Spredlingen. Helvicus was Minister of that Church till his death, and met with a great many misfortunes. *Multa propter sinceram confessionem perpassus, tandem ibidem vitam hanc terrestrem cum caelesti commutavit*. He was son to QUIRINUS HELVICUS, who signalized himself in the defence of Darmstat during the war of Schmalcalde. The Reader will find in Sleidan and in Thuanus, the judgment which Count de Buren formed of him. Finding there was no likelihood of his being succoured, he went upon the ramparts in order to capitulate; but being shot thro' the right arm, the city was taken by storm. The enemy were for hanging him; and he perhaps would have been hanged, had he not been saved by the ransom which was promised for him. He

had attended upon the Landgrave Philip in most of his expeditions (1).

[B] He died in the flower of his age, . . . having projected the writing a great number of Books.] He had published several Grammars, a Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac (2); but they were only abridgments. His Hebrew Lexicon, and his Latin Lexicon were only by way of essay, calculated for youth. He was desirous of improving all those Grammars, and to compile Lexicons for the use of the learned; and he besought God to indulge him length of years sufficient for him to complete those works. He likewise begged for time enough to rank, in their proper order, the Church Histories; and to criticize the Old and New Testament drawn up by Piscator, and that Author's Commentaries on the Scriptures. He thought it would also be requisite to make a new Edition of Luther's Bible, with a good Apology and the necessary Explanations. The Edition of that Bible, which Paulus Fossarius had lately procured, with marginal Notes containing the opinions of Calvin, had inspired Hel-

(1) *En Oratione funeb. Christoph. Helvici habita à Joanne Wynckelmanno.*

(2) He first published a general Grammar: *Grammatica universalis, continens va quæ omnibus Linguis sunt communia*. Those who have it by them will do well to compare it with that of Mr. Arnauld.

(e) Extracted from his Funeral Oration preached by John Wynckelmannus, Professor of Divinity in Gießen.

and being reputed to have the most skilful and methodical way of teaching languages (e) [C]. He was not only a good Grammarian, but also an able Chronologer. His chronological Tables [D] have been greatly esteemed, though not quite free from errors [E]. It is plain, by the books extant of his composing [F], that had he lived threescore

(3) Wynckelm. in Orat. fun. Helvici.

vicus with that thought; and, at the same time, an ardent desire to execute this project (3). Cum ante biennium Paulus Toffanus, Heidelbergensis Doctor, versionem Biblicam B. Lutheri Germanicam in lucem edidisset, non solum variis mutationibus marginalibus (quæ quales hinc inde sint, viri cordati judicabunt) conspersam, sed etiam erroribus, Calvinianorum contra ipsius Lutheri mentem & voluntatem proterva temeritate & impudentia contaminatam, judicabat operæ pretium esse, si opus illud Biblicum Lutheri, cum solida ubi opus esset apologia, necessariis explicationibus, & macularum quas Pontificii & Calviniani illi asperserunt, abstersione in lucem prodiret. Ubi animadverti in ipso singulare hoc ipsum præstandi desiderium, si Domino ita visum esset (4). i. e. "Paul Toffanus, a Doctor of Heidelberg, having two years since published the German Translation of the Bible made by Luther; not only with a great number of marginal Notes, of the goodness of which let the sagacious and judicious judge, but also corrupted it in the most rash and impudent manner, contrary to the doctrine and design of Luther, with several Calvinistical errors; Helvicus presumed it would be doing the world a service, to publish that Bible of Luther, with a solid apology wherever it might be necessary, together with such explications as may be requisite; and purged from all those errors which Papists and Calvinists had foisted into it. I took notice, that he had a strong desire, with God's leave, to have executed this design."

(4) Ibid.

[C] . . . being reputed to have the most skilful and methodical way of teaching languages.] Helvicus sought after a shorter method than that commonly made use of in Schools, for the educating of youth. He was not disheartened, because of the obstacles which were raised against his new method, firmly persuaded that he should save Scholars a great deal of time and pains; and excited by the love which men have for their own inventions, he exerted himself to the utmost, in order to get his method introduced in Schools. He had put things in a fair way, when endeavours were used to make him an object of ridicule; he was wrangled with, and slander'd; and Helvicus was obliged to defend himself, and repulse those severe attacks (5). I fancy that, as Helvicus died before his inventions prevailed, this gave the partisans of the old method an opportunity to maintain, or re-establish themselves. However this be, it was declared in Helvicus's epitaph, that he had been the inventor of a new art of teaching, novæ Didacticæ auctor & informator felicissimus. It was worthy of being taken notice of on that occasion, titulo res digna sepulchri, and deserved to have been copied more exactly than it was by Freherus, who, instead of Didacticæ has wrote Dialecticæ. One would imagine that Helvicus had some notion of a project, in which we are told that a very learned man is employed, viz. to reduce languages to common principles, in order that they may be acquired, very easily, all together; one would, I say, imagine this, were we to trust to the following title of one of his books: Libri didactici Grammaticæ universalis Latine, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ (6); but it is plain from his funeral Oration, that a comma must be placed there after Universalis. See the citation above (2).

(5) See Spizellus in Templo Honoris referato, pag. 50.

(6) Spizellus, ibid. pag. 52. quotes the title in this manner.

[D] His chronological Tables have been greatly esteemed.] I speak of the work entitled by him, Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologia Systema novum. He published it anno 1609. Sethus Calvisius, who had so consummate a knowledge in History and Chronology, approved very much of this work, and look'd upon it as quite new, with regard to the invention and method, since things were found in it at one glance; Utpote in quibus exemplo antebac non viso omnia uno intuitu lectorum oculis subjiciantur. Wynckelman observes, that this approbation is found in the Letter which Sethus Calvisius wrote to Helvicus, the 7th of September 1609. He adds, the work, corrected and improved by the Author, is now reprinting. Jam secundum emendatius & ex ipsius auctoritate auctius editur. We must therefore

say, that the first edition of this work is of 1609, and the second of 1618. John Steuber, Professor at Gießen, had the direction of the latter; and dedicated it to a Danish Nobleman (7), a patron of men of letters, and who had honoured Helvicus with his affection. Twenty years after a new edition was made of this work, under the direction of John Balthazar Schuppius, son-in-law to the Author, and Professor of Eloquence in Marburg. He observes in his Preface, that he will not take any notice of the edition printed in England. This chronological Theatrum has been reprinted several times since that time. Vossius has not justly expressed the date of the first edition; and declared that to be the second which was not so. Anno 1100 DCXII, says he (8), Christophorus Helvicus edidit Systema Chronologicum, equalibus denariorum, quinquagenariorum, & centenariorum, intervallis. Id postea continuavit & recensuit Joannes Balthazar Scoppius. Emisit anno 1100 DCXXXVIII. i. e. "Anno 1612, Christopher Helvicus published a System of Chronology, with equal intervals of tens, fiftens, and hundreds. This work was afterwards continued and revised by John Balthazar Scoppius, who published it in 1638." It cannot be objected to me in favour of Vossius, that it is very certain that Helvicus composed a book of Chronology in 1612, which was augmented by Scoppius in 1638; for this work is not that, of which Vossius speaks. It is intitled, Chronologia universalis ab origine mundi per quatuor summa imperia, quas Monarchias appellant, ad annum usque MDCXII deducta, cum præcipuis synchronismis virorum illustrium, eventuum, & politiarum cæterarum (9). Every thing is suited there to the prophecy of the 2d and 7th chapter of Daniel. This is a characteristic, that does not agree with the Theatrum Historicum. On the other side, that title and characteristic by which Vossius denotes the book he has spoke of, suits perfectly the Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologia Systema novum, where one sees nothing but divisions of tens, of fifties, and of hundreds, which do not exceed or pass one another. Lastly, John Justus Winckelmannus, son to him who pronounced the funeral Oration, remarks very expressly (10), that Schuppius published, with the Continuations till the year 1639, two works of Helvicus his father-in-law: the one is, Theatrum Historicum, in folio; the other Chronologia universalis, in 4to. I forbear observing, that Helvicus did not himself publish the Chronology which he had continued till anno 1612, it being Steuber, his colleague, who published it anno 1618.

[E] Tho' not quite free from errors.] According to Tanaquil Faber, of Saumur, he is not exact, with respect to the periods in which the Poets, Philosophers, and other learned personages flourished. Primum hoc mihi . . . credas velim, Helvicum non satis locupletis esse fidei in hac chronologia parte, quæ virorum scriptis illustrium ætatem signat: dein hoc quoque habet Helvicus, quod fere plerumque recentiores scriptores sequatur, elogarios, bibliothecarios, &c. quale aliquid quoque in Calvisio improbat Scaliger, quemadmodum ex Epistolis ejus apparet; quamvis Calvisii opus, ex quo totus est Helvicus, mirifice laudaret. Sed quod dico, allatis infra exemplis plenius constabit (11). i. e. "I must beg you, in the first place, to take notice, that Helvicus is not quite exact in that part of Chronology, which relates to the several periods in which famous Authors flourished. Farther, he generally follows modern authors, as epitomizers, writers of Bibliothèques &c. Scaliger censures much the same fault in Calvisius also, as is plain from his Letters, tho' he highly applauds that work of Calvisius, from which Helvicus took his. But what I now advance, will be more evident from the examples, which I shall deduce below." The examples he promises there, and gives afterwards, relate to errors which Helvicus has committed on Athenæus, Lucian, Justin, and Hermogenes.

[F] The books extant of his composing.] I have already

(7) Oliger Roscrantz. Steuber's Dedication is dated the 18th of March 1618.

(8) De Scient. Mathe. pag. 404.

(9) See M. Eusebium Bohemum, in Epitome Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ pag. 72, & seq. apud Joh. Justum Wynckelmannum, in Cippo memoriali Christophoro Helvico referato, pag. 10.

(10) Wynckelm. ibid.

(11) T. Faber. Epist. lib. 1. pag. 211.

threescore years, his works might have made several volumes in folio. Helvicus was irreproachable as to his manners; he loved to live in peace with all men, and had never quarrelled, either with his colleagues or any other persons: *Concordiam colebat cum omnibus; nullo enim unquam tempore cum ullo sive collega sive extraneo in discordia vixit* (f). This was a very rare circumstance: *Rara avis in terris*. He was greatly respected by several German Princes, who sent him the kindest and most polite letters. Anna Dorothea, Duchess of Saxony, did Helvicus the honour to write pretty often to him. His loss was bewailed after a very peculiar manner. All the German Poets of the Augsburg Confession composed Elegies, to bewail his immature death. A collection was made of his Poems, which were printed with his funeral Sermon, and some other pieces, under the title of *Cippus Memorialis*, by the care and direction of Wynckelman, colleague to Helvicus. The son of this Wynckelman reprinted the *Cippus* in 1650.

(f) Wynckelm. in Orat. fun. Helvici.

ready taken notice of some, and here follow others. He published chronological Dissertations on the four Monarchies, on the seventy Weeks of Daniel, on Cyrus, on the other Kings of Persia, &c. He refuted, in so solid a manner, the opinions of Angelocrator, that no reply could be made to him. *Contra absurdas Danielis Angleocratoris opiniones, ut eas insignis Chronologus Sethus Calvinus in literis ad Helvicum datis indigitat, quem ita errorem convicit, ut ne contra quidem bisicere potuerit* (12). And yet Angleocrator pretended to inspiration; he declaring, at the beginning of his work, that he had wrote it *Deo illuminante* (13). This subtracts very much from the glory of those who have refuted him; for it certainly cannot be a matter of difficulty, to point out a thousand chimæras in the writings of those pretended inspired. Though they even should not be actually fanaticks, and should have no other view but to stir up the passions; they would shew, by their boasting of such a thing against their consciences, such a distraction of mind, as would not suffer them to escape the meanest Critic. Helvicus composed treatises *de Dialectis Græcis, de ratione Carmina Græca conscribendi, de Paraphrasi Bibliorum Chaldaica, an Ars Poetica in Latin; Desiderium Evæ, cum aliorum doctorum Bibliorum à depravationibus Judæorum, Calvinianorum, & Photinianorum erroribus annexa vindicatione; Synopsis Historiæ Universalis*. He had put to press an Hebrew Poetick, and had wrote the

(12) Wynckelm. in Orat. funebri.

(13) Apud Voffium, de Scient. Matbem. p. 402.

Dedication to it, but afterwards suppressed it for certain reasons. *Quam tamen post certis de causis prælo subduxit* (14). See Witte in his *Diarium Biographi-* (14) Wynckelm. cum; but see especially Paul Freherus's *Theatrum* (15), in Orat. funebri. and Spigelius's *Templum Honoris*, where a pretty ample, and I believe exact, catalogue is found of Helvicus's works. The greatest part are in Latin, and the rest in German. Correct, in Freherus, at the epitaph XXXVI (16) and IX; and put XXXV and IIX. It is very strange that those who corrected this voluminous work, did not perceive that a man who was born the 26th of December 1581 (17), and died the 10th of September 1617 (18), did not live to the age of thirty six years, nine months and a half. It is XXXV years and IIX months in the epitaph produced by Wynckelman (19), who has also committed this error, in the funeral Oration, viz. in saying that Helvicus died in the thirty seventh year of his age, *anno ætatis suæ trigesimo septimo*; he expressing all this in words at length, and not in figures. He writes, after the same manner, the day of Helvicus's birth, and that of his death; the former, according to him, is the 26th of December 1581; and the latter, the 10th of September 1617: how then could Helvicus be thirty seven years old? As he might so easily have avoided these errors, he consequently is the more to be blamed for committing them.

(14) Wynckelm. in Orat. funebri.

(15) Pag. 394.

(16) Magir. in Eponymol. puts also XXXVI.

(17) This is what P. Freherus asserts, pag. 393.

(18) It is so dated in the epitaph apud Freherum, pag. eadem & 394.

(19) In *Cippo memoriali*, pag. m. 16.

HEMELAR (JOHN) a Canon of Antwerp, and born in the Hague (a), was a very learned man. He applied himself much more to the study of polite literature and the science of medals [A], than to Theological disputes. He was a Poet and Orator. He wrote, in Rome, a Panegyric on Clement VIII, with such great success, that he was offered the post of Librarian to the Vatican, or a very good benefice (b); but he contented

(a) Valer. Andreas, Bibliob. Belgic. pag. 514.

(b) Joh. Fridericus Gronov. in Orat. fun. Jacobi Golii, pag. 7.

[A] He applied himself . . . to the study of polite literature, and the science of medals.] He wrote a book on that science, and gave it to be printed, but on condition that his name should not be put to it. *Auctor est Expositionis Numismatum Imperatorum Romanorum à Jul. Cæsare ad Heraclium, quam operi suo Jac. Bizæus adjecit, tacito, ut stipulatus erat, nomine, Antwerp. apud Verduf. 1614. 4 (1)*. This is what we find in Valerius Andreas: but what follows is more circumstantial, *In Numismata Regum & Imp. Romanorum à C. Julio Cæsare usque ad Fl. Justinianum ex Caroli Arschotani reguli & Nic. Rocoxii consularis viri armariis deprompta, commentarios edidit bonæ frugis plenos, in quibus quicquid in auro, argento, ære, stato, percusso in urbe æterna, exquisitum, elegans, historiæ temporum & genio principum conveniens, per notas, figurat, ambages breves & serpos verborum significator, acutissime paucis & planissime explicat, pene quoddam nummarie antiquitatis: & quo opere aliquis arrogantior superis se misceri posset arbitrari, in eo nomen suum dissimulavit* (2). i. e. "He published extremely useful commentaries upon the medals of the Roman Emperors, from the time of Julius Cæsar down to Justinian, taken from the cabinets of Charles Arschot and Nicholas Rocoxius. Wherein he concisely and accurately explains, by marks, figures, &c. whatsoever is exquisite, elegant, and suitable or agreeable to the history of those times, and the genius of Monarchs; whether the medals in question be of gold, silver, or brass; whether cast or struck in that immortal city. It is a kind of storehouse of medals; and nevertheless in this work, from which any other person would have expected prodigious reputation, our author has been so modest

1) Valer. And. Bibliob. Belg. pag. 514.

(2) Gronov. in Orat. funeb. Jac. Golii, pag. 7, 8.

as to conceal his name." The words which precede these in Gronovius's oration, are so beautiful, that I cannot forbear quoting them. *Mater (Golii) omni sexus laude prædita . . . vel unica Johannis Hemelarii fratris imagine sat nobilis est, viri & in veterum literarum tractatione cum primis exercitati, & poëta disertis, & probitate ac tranquillitate vitæ suæque honorum & negotiorum T. aliquem Pompeium Allicum referentis. Panegyricum dixit votis tertiorum quinquennialium Clementis VIII. tam illustri gratia exceptum, ut Vaticanæ bibliothecæ præfaturam, aut optimum sacerdotium (Canonicatum vocant) optare jussus sit: sacerdotio Antverpiæ contentus fuit. i. e.* "His mother (Golius's) adorned with all the virtues of her sex . . . sufficiently illustrious by her resemblance to her excellent brother John Hemelar, a man perfectly well skilled in ancient literature; a fine Poet; and comparable to the Roman Atticus for his probity, tranquillity of life, and absolute disregard of honours and public employments. He made a panegyric on Pope Clement VIII, which met with so gracious a reception, that it being left to his opinion, either to accept of the office of Librarian to the Vatican, or (3) *Melanges, Hist. pag. 78.* a rich benefice (called a canonry) he was satisfied with only a benefice in Antwerp." Colomæsius (3) (4) The 2d is of ann. 1627 in 4to, and the 3d of ann. 1654, in folio; and both printed in Antwerp. See Father Labbe, Bibliob. Nummar. p. 262.

(c) *Idem*, *ibid.* tented himself with being a Canon in the Cathedral at Antwerp (c). Justus Lipsius, his Professor, had a great esteem and friendship for him, as appears from the letters which (d) *Idem*, pag. 8. Lipsius wrote to him (d), and by the testimonies he gave him in 1600 (e). Hemelar (e) It is filled with *Elogiums*. You will find it in Swertius, *Atb. Belgic.* pag. 436. was then preparing for his journey to Italy. He spent six years at Rome, in the palace of Cardinal Cesi (f). He was Grotius's friend, and published verses to congratulate him on his delivery from his confinement. *Grotio arcam & angelum custodem luculento carmine gratulatus est* (g). He was brother to the mother of James Golius, that learned Professor at Leyden, who has gained so vast a reputation, by his profound knowledge in the Oriental Languages. He doubtless would willingly have won over this nephew of his to the Romish Communion, as he won Peter Golius brother to James; but it would not have been possible for him to succeed in that design. James Golius was a zealous Protestant, who entertained all his life-time a great deal of rancour against his uncle, because of his brother's changing his Religion. *Unum in eo non sine gemitu solebat accusare nosfer, quod fratrem Petrum revocasset ad religiones parentibus ejuratas* (h). Moreri who in GOLIUS's article, declares that he speaks elsewhere of our John Hemelar, forgot himself on that occasion. I will not imitate him with regard to the promise I made in the same article, viz. to make some mention of PETER GOLIUS [B].

[B] *I shall make some mention of Peter GOLIUS.*] He had the same inclination as his brother, to travel into the Levant, and to cultivate the oriental tongues. He entered among the bare-footed Carmelites, and assumed the name of Celestin de St. Leduine. He lived several years on Mount Libanus, and was Professor of the Oriental Tongues in Rome. He translated, Thomas à Kempis into Arabic; and undertook, at the age of seventy four years, a voyage on the coast of Malabar, there to labour at the conversion of the Infidels. Notwithstanding the different way of life, as well as of religion, of the two brothers, they yet had a tender affection for each other. Peter told James by writing, that he was obliged to him for the kind treatment he had met with in Asia. *Frater Ascetes à familia discalceatorum cum per vestigia fratris in Oriente decurreret, scripsit ad nostrum diu reducem omnia sibi evenire præter expectationem: parasse se ad vincula, carceres, verbera, cruces, invenire amplexus, gratulationes, studia, gratias potentium ob nomen Golium: eam memoriæ, id desiderium sui reliquerat: ita gratiam ab- senti referebant* (5). i. e. "When his brother the Friar " was travelling into those countries in the east where " James had been; he informed him by letter, that " all things had happened to him beyond his expecta- " tions; that he had been prepared for chains, im- " prisonment, stripes, and crosses, but instead of these " had met with embraces, civilities, and favours from " persons of distinction, for the sake of his name, " Golius: so grateful a remembrance had he left of " himself in those countries, and so much affection " did they discover for him, though absent." Thus we find that the name of Golius was in such esteem

since the voyages of James, that a great deal of honour was done it in the person of Peter. By the way, we are not to suppose, that Hemelar had need of much genius and industry, in order to win over his nephew to the Romish communion, for he made a convert of him when a child; Peter Golius having been brought up at his house from eight years of age. I shall quote the words of Gronovius, on which the present assertion is founded; whereby the reader will see that this child was extremely forward for his years. *Unum in eo (Hemelario) non sine gemitu solebat accusare nosfer, quod fratrem Petrum revocasset ad religiones parentibus ejuratas; virum alioquin egregium, & fraterno secum animo, nec minus gnarum rerum & linguarum Orientis, diuque in partibus iisdem versatum, & Arabicæ linguæ Romæ Professore: qui quam præcoqui fuerit indole, testis est Oratio, quam Christiano Michælio Abbati Præmonstratensi ab Hemelario scriptam gratulandi causa, puer octo annorum constanter, & quasi fecisset, memoriter promittavit.* i. e. "Our Golius used to charge Hemelar, not without fighting, with one thing, viz. " with drawing his brother Peter over to the Romish " religion; a man, in all other respects, very extra- " ordinary, and for whom he ever retained a fraternal affection, who was no less versed in the affairs " and languages of the east, where he had resided " for many years, and was professor of the Arabic " language in Rome. That Peter Golius had an " early genius, is manifest from a gratulatory oration " written by Hemelar to Christian Michaelis, Abbot " of the Præmonstrants, which Golius, when but a " boy of eight years old, spoke with as much ease as " if it had been a composition of his own."

(5) Gronov. in *Orat. funebri.* *Colli.* pag. 19.

(a) It belongs to the King of Denmark.

HEMMINGIUS (NICHOLAS) Professor of Divinity in Copenhagen, was born anno 1513, in the isle of Laland (a). He could not reap great benefit from the first part of his education, since it was directed by a Blacksmith, his father's brother. He nevertheless made some progress in literature, and afterwards went to Wittenberg, where during five years, he was one of Melanchthon's most assiduous auditors. As he was obliged to labour for his subsistence, either by teaching, or by writing for his pupils, it is more surprising that he should attain so much knowledge. He returned to Denmark; and, by Melanchthon's recommendation, was received in a Gentleman's family, to teach his daughters. He afterwards was appointed Minister of the Church of the Holy Ghost in Copenhagen, and then Hebrew Professor. He took his Doctor's degree of Divinity anno 1557, and immediately obtained a Professorship in that Faculty at Copenhagen. He discharged the functions of it admirably well, till the year 1579, when he was declared *Emeritus*, and made Canon in the Church of Roschild. He enjoyed this benefice very happily till his death, that is, till the 25th of May 1600. He was blind during the latter part of his life (b); a circumstance that is no ways surprising, since he was always extremely studious, and lived fourscore and seven years. I am to observe, that Hemmingius was not only very far from being a very rigid Lutheran [A], but it is probable that had he been let alone, he would have shewn himself a zealous Calvinist.

(b) Extracted from Paul. Freher. *Theatr. Viror. Illustr.* pag. 312, 313.

[A] *Hemmingius . . . was not a very rigid Lutheran.*] I need but alledge the following proof of this. The formulary of Concord, which the divines of Saxony and their partizans endeavoured to establish in every part of the Lutheran world, was rejected in Denmark, with the utmost indignation. King Frederick II for-

bid all his subjects to sign it; and threatened to banish all those who should infringe this prohibition, or should bring copies of it into his dominions (1). See the re-*gressu Libri* mark [E]. Now Hemmingius was the chief promoter of this affair (2), as Hospinian observes, who, on that article, has not been contradicted by Hutter.

Hemmingio, & aulico concionatore, &c. *Idem, ibid.*

His inclination for the opinions of Geneva was taken notice of, upon which he was obliged to explain, and even retract his tenets [B]. He wrote a Lutheran Confession of Faith; and nevertheless a Divine has lately endeavoured to shew, that it agrees with that of the Reformed [C]. Hemmingius published a great number of books. Simon Goulart was so well pleased with his Tracts on Divinity, that he reprinted them at Geneva in 1586 [D]. I am

[B] He was obliged to retract his tenets.]

(3) Idem, *Hist. Sacrament. Part. 2.* pag. 595.

(4) Samuel Andreas, in *Epist. ad Antonium Horneck qua Daniæ Orthodoxie fidelis & pacificæ Auctori respondetur*, pag. 62. edit. Marburg. 1690.

(5) Ap. 6, 1576.

(6) Hemmingius, in *Syntagma Institutionum Christianarum*, Loco de Deo, num. 38. apud Samuelem Andr. ubi supra, pag. 63.

(7) See Samuel Andreas, pag. 65, 66.

(8) Apud Sam. Andream. ibid. pag. 67.

(9) Ibid.

Hospinian (3) relates that Hemmingius, in his *Syntagma Institutionum Christianarum*, published anno 1574, explained himself, with regard to the real presence, as a Calvinist would have done. Masius does not deny this; but adds that Hemmingius, being admonished of his error, retracted it solemnly (4). "Non dissimulandum esse ait (Masius) Calvini sententia de S. Cœna aliquandiu indulsisse (Hemmingium) sed monitum à cæteris Theologis ad meliorem mentem reversum deposito errore palinodiam cecinisse. "Quam in rem ejus confessionem, ipsius manu scriptam (5), sibi quæ à Viro Illustri D. Engberg Conciliario Regis & Judice Provinciali Seelandiæ dono dategit, tam, subjungit." The author from whom I borrow these words, shews, from some passages of the *Syntagma*, that Hemmingius combatted the Principles of the Ubiquarians; and applauded Calvin for impeaching Servetus, and praised the magistrates of Geneva for putting Servetus to death. *Cum his hæresiaribus damnamus etiam impium nebulonem Michaellem Servetum, qui rabiose contemptis sanctorum Patrum Conciliis, Arii & aliorum fanaticorum hominum damnatas hæreses revocare conatus est, quem jussu accusatum à D. Johanne Calvino, merito Genevates affecere supplicio* (6). i. e. "We also condemn, with these heresiarchs, that impious wretch Michael Servetus, who madly despising the Councils of the holy Fathers, endeavoured to revive the Heresies already condemned, of Arius and other Fanatics; whom John Calvin justly impeaching, was justly put to death by the Magistrates of Geneva."

[C] A Divine has lately endeavoured to shew, that Hemmingius's Confession agrees with that of the Reformed.] Masius, Professor of Divinity at Copenhagen, has communicated to the public the confession which was required from Hemmingius. It declares, that he firmly believes, that Christ Jesus, entire God and Man, is substantially present in the Lord's Supper, in all parts where it is solemnized according to its institution; and that Christ Jesus brings and delivers to all communicants, as well unworthy as worthy, his real body, and the true blood which he shed for us, for the remission of sins; and that this body and this blood are truly and really taken with the bread and wine by the communicants; so that it is a true meat and a true drink, with which man is fed, refreshed, and vivified to life eternal. *Se statuere & firmiter credere totum Christum Deum & hominem substantialiter adesse presentem in Cœna sua, ubicunque celebratur juxta ipsius ordinationem, ipsumque adferre & exhibere omnibus communicantibus dignis & indignis suum verum corpus & verum sanguinem, quem effudit pro nobis in remissionem peccatorum, & hoc corpus & hunc sanguinem vere & realiter cum pane & vino à communicantibus sumi, ita ut verus sit cibus & potus, quo homo pascitur, reficitur & vivificatur ad vitam æternam* (7). By the way, Hemmingius acknowledges, that his confession agrees with that of Ausburg, with Luther's short Catechism, and with the system of the doctrine of the Saxon Churches; and he declares, that he retracts all he has said in his *Syntagma*, which may have offended the churches, and which is conformable to the opinion of Calvin with regard to the last supper, or does not agree with the present confession. *Cum jam abster in Syntagmate suo scripserit juxta sententiam Calvini de re sacramentaria quo Ecclesiæ offensæ sint, & quod cum hac sua præsentis Confessione pugnet, id quicquid sit in universum revocare, & hoc suo scripto revocatum velle*

(8). He begs pardon of the King and of all those whom his *Syntagma* had offended (9). It is manifest that there is Lutheranism in his confession; and we may be persuaded that those Doctors, who obliged Hemmingius to retract, dictated to him such expressions as they imagined would be best adapted to take off all equivocation; and to denote, in the most express and exact manner, his orthodoxy and the abjuration of his error. Nevertheless, the reader would never imagine

what efforts the Divine, quoted by me, made, in order to prove that Hemmingius did not make a recantation. The parentheses and *Nota Bene*, with which he divides or interrupts the words of the confession, in order to elude Masius's consequences and pretensions, appear, to him, so solid, that he is not afraid to assert, that Hemmingius retracted but very few things; and that good Calvinists ought, agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, to sign this confession explained and understood according to its true sense. *Videt itaque rursum vir clarissimus, quantillum id sit quod hac confessione sua Hemmingius revocavit, cui & nos dummodo dextre intelligantur & recte explicentur possumus adstipulari; & quam procul ille adhuc absuerit tum cum collegis à fide synovis Lutherana* (10). From hence let us conclude, that it is difficult to draw up such a formulary, as may take away all occasion for dispute. A person may imagine that he has anticipated or prevented every thing that has the air of equivocation; but he afterwards shall find that an adversary invents a thousand evasions; and would persuade him that his thoughts and ideas were very different from what he knew them to be. In certain cases this is attempting, what Pericles attempted, and in which he succeeded. Whenever he received a fall in wrestling, he would persuade the spectators that he did not fall (11). The reader will perhaps here call to mind a malicious observation he may have read in the History of the Variations (12). "Lutherans assert, in their Book *de Concordia*, that Luther break-

"was prompted to employ that expression (13) by the subtleties of the Sacramentarians, who found means to adapt to their present moral presence, what Luther said strongest and clearest, in favour of the real and substantial presence; whereby, by the way, we once again see, that we are not to wonder if the defenders of the figurative sense find means to draw over the fathers to their side; since Luther himself, living and speaking, he who knew their subtleties, and who attempted to combat them, could scarce find out any terms but they would bring them to their sense by the manner in which they interpreted them; tired out with their subtleties, he wanted to search out some expression, which it would be impossible for them to change, and he drew up the article of Smalcalde in the form we have seen." The Bishop of Meaux might have found a strong example of all this in the Church of Rome. The Bull of Innocent X against the tenets of Janſenius, did not hinder the Janſenists from finding means to dispute. They intrenched themselves within a great number of subtleties, and a thousand distinctions. To force them thence, Alexander VII was made to speak in a clearer manner; and every thing was inserted in this Bull, that appeared adapted to destroy the distinctions and subtleties of Port-Royal. But all this was to no purpose; for the Janſenists continued to assert, that the doctrine of Janſenius had not been condemned: Arnauld displayed an hundred observations, borrowed from the most subtle Logic (14). The Pope would have been greatly astonished at the perusal of such a writing; he would have seen the vanity of his precautions; he would have perceived, that it would have been proved to him, that he did not mean what he knew very well he really meant. I find, he might have said, that you know my own thoughts better than myself do. What a fine thing was the *Connotatum* of Cardinal Laurea (15)! And when we reflect on the endless distinctions that must be made, in order to distinguish clearly, between what the Bulls do, and do not ordain (16); we plainly perceive that the infallibility of St. Peter's Chair is of no use, unless we suppose, either that every particular man is thoroughly acquainted with the subtlest rules of Logic, or that every Parish Priest is infallible.

[D] Simon Goulart was so well pleased with his Tracts on Divinity, that he reprinted them at Geneva in 1586.] See the epistle dedicatory to the edition he

1 am

(10) Sam. And. *Epist. ad Anton. Horneck*, pag. 67.

(11) See the article PERICLES remark [D], before the first

(12) Mr. de Meaux, *Hist. des Variations*, liv. 4. num. 37. pag. m. 181.

(13) Viz. that the bread was the true body.

(14) See the Writings which have been published, pag. 240, & seq. of tom. 4. of *Tradition de l'Eglise Romaine sur la Grace*, printed at Liege, 1696.

(15) See tom. 4. of *Tradition de l'Eglise Romaine sur la Grace*, pag. 131, & seq.

(16) See what is cited of Melchior Canus, in the same tom. 4. of *Tradition*, pag. 120, & seq. procured

(c) *Lud. d. Gerard à Renesse, Not. in Apolog. Belg. Eccles. pag. 114.*

(d) *Ibidem, ibid.*

(e) *Ibidem, ibid. pag. 111.*

I am to add, that when he was seventy years old, he wrote a book intitled, *Immanuel*, which seems calculated chiefly to oppose James Andreas, the grand fautor of Ubiquitism (c). This work, which is greatly applauded (d), was not printed till after the author's death. It was published at Frankfort anno 1615 (e), with a preface, which will furnish us with a supplement, on what we said concerning the vigour with which the book of *Concord* was rejected by the King of Denmark [E].

procured of them. By the way, he informs the readers, that he has illustrated certain things which Hemmingius had not sufficiently explained, and which offended many persons.

[E] Here follows . . . a supplement, on what we said (17) concerning the vigour with which the . . . Liber Concordiæ was rejected by the King of Denmark.]

(17) In the remark [A].

(18) He is called, at first, Robert Alenon, in the Notes which I shall cite below; but he afterwards is called always Robinson.

(19) *Præfatio Libri Hemmingii, cui titulus Immanuel, apud Ludovicum Gerardum à Renesse, Not. in Apolog. Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum Episcopalam, ad, & contra Auctores Libri Bergensis, dicti, Concordiæ, pag. 111.*

An Englishman (18), who drew up the preface to this posthumous work of Hemmingius, informs us (19), that Queen Elizabeth used her utmost endeavours, in order to make the King of Denmark reject it. He relates a great many particulars concerning the indignation with which this Prince was fired; and, among others, the following, viz. that the *Liber Concordiæ*, which had been sent to him, covered with silk and adorned with jewels, was nevertheless thrown into the fire; imo, quod memorabile imprimis est, à pietissimo Danorum Rege Frederico 2. ab aula Electorali Saxoniam, ut ut missus, holserice obductus, auro, gemisque pretiosis affabre ornatus magno & pio Zelo Vulcano traditus est, annexâ gravissimâ pœnâ & inspectione ejus rei universi Regni Episcopis demandata sub confiscatione, in regnum ne importaretur, ibidemque distraheretur, neve sub exilio certissimo ab ullo possideretur, eo quod in illo nova, & in istis regionibus antè inaudita, ac (prout habet ipsum diploma Regium in librum Concordiæ vibratum, à doctis viris mihi non semel in Dania explicatum) inusitata comprehenderentur dogmata: recepta verò ibi ex adverso sunt cum Lutberi, Philippi quoque scripta, inter hæc cum primis CORPUS DOCTRINÆ, tributivæque illæ, ac declamatoriæ conclusiones S. Cathedralis pulvæ (20). i. e. "Nay, the most remarkable circumstance is, that it was cast into the flames, with a holy zeal, by that most pious Monarch, Frederic II King of Denmark, notwithstanding that it had been sent him from the Elector of Saxony's court; it being covered entirely with silk, and very richly and skilfully adorned with gold and precious stones. He also prohibited, under a very severe penalty, the importing or distributing it in his dominions; and the inspection of that affair was committed to all the Bishops of the Kingdom, upon the penalty of confiscation; and that no person should pretend to keep it by them, upon pain of certain banishment: because it contained many new and strange doctrines, and such as were unheard of in those parts (these are the express words of the royal edict, enacted against the book of Concord, as frequently explained to me by a learned man in Denmark.) On the contrary, the books of Luther and Philip Melancthon are received here, and particularly the CORPUS DOCTRINÆ; whilst most seditious and declamatory sermons are drove from the pulpit." He observes that Hutterus has greatly condemned this conduct of his Danish Majesty: *Heroicum istud Regis Frederici factum vocat* (Hutterus in libro quem appellat *CONCORDIA CONCORS*) *durum nimis & Rhadamantheum plane, Regemque & quidem Christianum haud decens, sed cum enormi, tantoque Rege indignâ prorsus animi impotentia, & nimia affectuum vehementia conjunctum, quod tanti Regis dignitatem, prudentiam, & existimationes haud leviter, omnibus, qui saltem aliquid judicare possunt, suspectas reddi.* i. e. "Hutterus, in the book intitled by him *CONCORDIA CONCORS*, calls this heroic action of King Frederic, too severe, and altogether Rhadamanthean; no ways becoming a Monarch and a Christian; that it was attended with such a weakness and heat of passion, as was quite unworthy so great a Prince: and that it gives persons of any judgment reason to call in question his dignity, prudence, and reputation." But that it has been exceedingly applauded by Christopher Knobius, in the Funeral Oration of this Monarch, I shall cite the passage. It will shew the ardent zeal

(20) *Præf. eadem, ex L. G. à Renesse, pag. 111.*

of this Prince, who used often to say, that this dispute of the Lutherans had given rise to more evils, than the Turks had occasioned by the plunder of the provinces in which it had taken birth. *Christophorus Knobius Aulicus illius (Regis) Concionator in Concione funebri in exequiis Regis habita anno 1588. 5 Junii sic de illo loquitur: Sollicitus erat ne sui quoque Doctores in abyssum hujus periculosa & nocentissima disputationis abriperentur, ideoque noluit isti negotio immisceri: etiam querebatur, damnum quod Christiana Ecclesia ex hac disputatione sentiebat, non posse tali Concordiæ Bergensis formula sanari: & sciunt complures honestissimi viri, quanto cum affectu id factum doleret, quinimo illum sæpius dixisse, si Turca illas regiones, in quibus hæc certamina nata sunt, & adoleverunt, depopulatus fuisset, non tantum damni potuisse inferri, quantum hæc disputatio intulit, nec finem posse videri hujus certaminis (21). Q. Elizabeth employ-*

ed the same comparison in her letter to that Prince (22), "Your country, says she, has suffered more havock by this pretended concord, than if the Turks had laid all waste with fire and sword. The author (23) who relates this particular, observes that the Ministers of Holland prevailed with this Queen, to use her endeavours to engage Frederic II, King of Denmark, to reject the *Liber Concordiæ*. It appears by the preface to Hemmingius's work, that the successor to this King of Denmark continued to reject the book in question, for which the author of the preface applauds him greatly. Robinson pag. 10. *ejusdem ad Lectorem præfationis sic concludit. Deus qui nunquam deest Ecclesiæ suæ, irrequietorum talium hominum conatus, ut olim pios Magistratus, in Dania præsertim, mirè impedivit; ita etiam nunc per optimi patris optimum filium, re & nomine verè Christianum, paternis vestigiis severè insistentem, pietate, & justitiâ regna sua firmantem, Pontificiorum, Ubiquitariorum, & aliorum schismaticorum ac turbulentorum hominum studia maturè, & prudenter ita ipsâ herbâ reprimentem, benignè retardavit* (24). i. e. "Robinson, in page 10 of his preface, concludes as follows. As God, who never abandons his church, checked, in a wonderful manner, the attempts of those restless spirits, as formerly, by pious magistrates, particularly in Denmark; so likewise has he, in our days, graciously curbed them, by the excellent son of a most excellent father; a Christian not less in reality than in name; a Prince who treads exactly in his father's steps; establishing his Kingdom in piety and justice, and wisely restraining, in their infancy, the designs of Papiists, Ubiquitarians, and other schismatical and factious persons."

I will be so frank as to own here, that I do not draw from the fountain-head, and that I have no other original but the notes of Lawis Gerard à Renesse, on a letter which he caused to be reprinted at Breda in 1651 (25); and which had been first published, anno 1579, in Latin, in Flemish, and in German. It is the entitled *Apologética Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum Episcopala, ad, & contra Auctores Libri Bergensis, dicti, Concordiæ*. Gerard à Renesse does not know the author of it; but I know that it has been ascribed to the Prince of Orange. Anno 1579, *Petrus Villerius Gailus concionator aulicus Principis Auriaci, Polypragmaticus, sub ministrorum Belgicorum nomine Epistolam criminatipriam contra Auctores libri Concordiæ publicavit* (27). i. e. "In the year 1579, Peter Villiers, a native of France, Chaplain to the Prince of Orange, and a very pragmatic man, published an epistle, in the reproachful strain, under the names of the Dutch Ministers, against the authors of the book of Concord."

(21) Lud. Gerardus à Renesse, Not. in Epist. Apolog. Eccles. Reformatarum in Belgio, pag. 113.

(22) *Scribens ad Augustum Electorem sic inter alia, si Turca totam tuam dittonem, ferro flammaque vastasset, tanta non dedisset damna quanta ex concordia diicordia negotio accipit.* Idem, ibid. pag. 114. ex Joh. Lampadii Epist. Dedic. Centuræ Ubiquitatis.

(23) Joh. Lam-padii, ibid.

(24) Lud. Gerardus à Renesse, ibid.

(25) He was a Minister, and Professor of Divinity.

(26) See in the remark [S] of the article CHARLES V, the passage of Grotius's Annals, in which the Prince of Orange is ascribed to this Peter de Villiers.

(27) Schyffelsberg, lib. 2. Theol. Calviniana, cap. 7. apud Schulting. Biblioth. Catbol. tom. 1. pag. 23.

HENAULT (N.), a French Poet of the seventeenth Century; "author of the Sonnet"

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"net

net on Mademoiselle de Guerchi [A]; and Madam des Houliere's master, had a considerable reputation at Paris during his life-time, and it still subsists, though he has been dead fourteen years (a). Indeed, as his merit was not printed [B], to speak after Menage, his reputation could not be spread like that of many others, who never enjoyed, in Paris, so great a reputation as Henault did. He was a man of genius and erudition; loving to refine on pleasures, and to debauch with art and delicacy. But he was most strangely wrong-headed in one respect, he professing Atheism, and priding himself in his opinion with a most detestable affectation and fury. He had drawn up three different systems with regard to the mortality of the soul [C], and

[A] *Author of the sonnet on Mademoiselle de Guerchi.* Before I published, in the remark [G] of the article SPINOZA, the extract of the letter which contains these particulars, I had already observed (1), that he was taught that the sonnet de l'Avorton (of the immature child) had been composed by Henault, and wrote on occasion of Mademoiselle de Guerchi. But the instant my Dictionary had reached London, a learned English Gentleman did me the honour to inform me by letter, I. That he knew from the first hand, that this sonnet had been published two or three years before Mademoiselle de Guerchi's death. II. That persons who pretend to be perfectly well acquainted with this affair, declared that it was wrote by Subligni, author of the *Fausse Clélie*. I shewed this to the learned Gentleman, who had favoured me with the letter, an extract whereof I inserted in the article of Spinoza. He answered, "that Mr. Lucas had declared to him, that the sonnet on the immature birth, was wrote twenty years before the accident which befell Mademoiselle de Guerchi; but that all the other Poets whom he had consulted, declared, that it was made on a miscarriage of that beautiful Lady, but different from that which cost her life. Twenty of my friends, added he, who have lived with Henault, assured me, that this sonnet was certainly wrote by him, and that he owned himself to be the author of it. Subligni (*) was but a school-boy when that piece appeared; his widow and daughter confirmed to me, that it was not written by him." We may lay it down as an undoubted fact, viz. that the sonnet in question was composed by our Henault; for we shall find below, that it was inserted in the collection of that Poet's works: but we have strong reason to doubt, whether it was made one Mademoiselle de Guerchi. It is looked upon, though not written according to the rules (2), to be a master-piece, and though there is a barbarism in it (3).

[B] *His merit was not printed.* This has been found a false assertion: "Mr. d'Henault himself, in his life-time, printed a small collection of his works at Paris, which was sold by Barbin, anno 1670, in 12mo, and intitled, *Oeuvres diverses . . . par le Sieur D. H.* (Miscellanies . . . by Mr. D. H.) It is dedicated to Monsieur Doort without any other title. It contains prose and verse, with Letters in prose and verse a Sapho, which very probably was Madam des Houlieres. The Sonnet on the immature birth (l'Avorton) is inserted in it. . . I must not omit taking notice of the first piece in this work, intitled, *De la Consolation, à Olympe*. It will furnish me with two critical Observations; first, that the compilers of St. Evremont's works, misled perhaps by some person, or by a supposed conformity in the style; have inserted that whole letter, which is a very long one, among the works of St. Evremont; and many people who look upon themselves as judges, supposed that he was really author of this piece. This is an example you may add to those you

have collected, concerning the errors, into which critics are daily led by this conformity of style. The second observation falls directly on a new Censor . . . who has attempted a judgment on Mr. de St. Evremont's works (†) . . . This writer has, throughout, fallen into the snare laid by the compilers beforementioned. He attacks the consolatory letter à Olympe, with regard to the style, the thoughts, and sentiments; and employs a quarter of his book in this fine sort of criticism." This I have found in a collection of remarks, with which a young Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris was pleased to favour me, anno 1698; remarks that prove the

author of them is a man of incomparable sense, and is thoroughly acquainted with a vast number of curious particulars which are perfectly well suited to this Dictionary (4) (2).

§ (2) Mr. Bayle does not mention in this remark the following verses, which are inserted in his *Oeuvres diverses* &c.

(4) See the end of the remark [2] of the article of the third Duke of GUISE.

E Senecæ Thieste, Actus II. Chorus.

*Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

Imitation of the Latin lines above.

*Heureux est l'inconnu, qui s'est bien su connaître;
Il ne voit pas de mal à mourir plus qu'à naître;
Il s'en va comme il est venu:
Mais hélas! que la Mort fait une horreur extrême
À qui meurt de tous trop connu,
Et trop peu connu de soy-même!*

REM. CRIT.

The sense is,
"Happy is the obscure man, who has well known himself. To him dying appears no more fatal than the being born: He leaves the world in the same manner as he came into it. But alas! how dreadful must death appear to that man, who dies too much known to the world, and too little to himself!"

[C] *He had drawn up three different systems with regard to the mortality of the soul.* I shall give another passage from the Collection of Remarks just mentioned. "Henault says in his dedication, *You know that I am a man wholly internal; that I do not place any felicity in the opinion of others; and that my maxims and errors differ pretty much from those of the rest of the world.* He here begins to discover what he was. Several of his verses are imitations of Seneca's Chorus's, and among others of Act II of the Troades, where the mortality of the soul is laid down as a principle; this was a subject that hit his taste.

*Comme se perd en un moment
Cette portion d'air dans les corps enfermée,
Que le plus actif élément
Développe & pousse en fumée;
Comme au souffle des aquilons
On voit bien-tôt évanouïe
Une grosse nuée ou de grêle ou de pluie,
Qui d'un déluge affreux menace les valons;
Ainsi s'épand cette ame vaine
Qui meurt tous les ressorts de la machine humaine.
Tout meurt en nous quand nous mourons;
La mort ne laisse rien, & n'est rien elle-même,
Du peu de tems que nous durons
Ce n'est que le moment extrême, &c.*

The sense is,
"As is lost, in an instant, that portion of air, pent up in bodies, which the most active element causes to evaporate in smoke; as, by the blast of furious winds, we see soon dispersed a thick cloud of hail or rain, which threatened the vallies with a dreadful deluge: In like manner that vain soul, which moves the several springs of the human machine is evaporated * * * Death does not leave any thing, and is nothing itself. Of the short space that we live, it is but the last moment &c."

"I am surprized that this should be printed with the King's

(1) In the article PATIN, pag. 744. Letter (d). I have suppressed that in this 2d edition.

(*) He was esteemed in the Law-Courts. He wrote some Plays, and the Critique of *Andromaque*.

(2) See *Amitiez Amours & Amourtes de Mr. le Puy*, liv. 3. Letter 4.

(3) See Father Bouhours, *Manière de bien penser*, pag. 373. Dutch edit.

(†) *Dissertation sur les Oeuvres de St. Evremont*, 1698, in 12mo, Paris, by the Sieur Dumonti. This is a mistake. It is ascribed to Mr. Cotolendi, author of the *Arlequiniana*; some imagine that Mr. Erard, a famous Counsellor, had a considerable share in it.

“ went to Holland, purposely to visit Spinoza, who nevertheless did not much esteem his erudition. But things wore a quite different face at his death; he being a convert, and was then for carrying matters to the other extreme; for his Confessor was forced to prevent his receiving the Viaticum or Sacrament with a halter about his neck, in the middle of his bed-chamber. D’Henault was not well descended, his father being a baker; and he himself had been at first Receiver of the Taxes at Forès, but was not successful in that employment. He instructed Madam des Houlières in all he knew, or imagined to know; and it is pretended that this is evident from the works of that Lady [D].” Here follows the extract of a letter which a learned man did me the honour to write to me, the 27th of April 1696. He wrote me another letter dated the 19th of July 1697, by which he informed me, that d’Henault drew up a case or plea for Mr. de Clodorè, Governor of Martinico, against Mr. de la Barre, Governor of the American Islands; and a manifesto of Mr. de Gadagne, with regard to the affair of Gigeri. An elegy (b) and an eclogue (c) of this author are published in the *Furetieriana*. To this elegy this encomium is prefixed; *Monseigneur d’Henault was universally esteemed . . . he was a man of the biggest civility, and of an amorous complexion.* He wrote a Sonnet, which gave Mr. Colbert an opportunity to perform a fine action [E]. He was married, and

(b) Pag. 77. of the Dutch edit.

(c) Pag. 238.

“ King’s privilege. Henault’s heart was of a tender cast, he using to say to his mistress;

“ *Sappho fit des vers comme vous,
Faites l’amour comme elle?*

The sense is,

“ Sappho, like you, was a Poetess: Do you make love as she did?”

“ He will have her renounce all thoughts of fame and glory.

“ *Pour moi je ne suis point le dupe de la gloire;
Je vous quitte ma place au Temple de memoire,
Et je ne conçois point que la loi du trespas
Doive épargner mon nom & ne m’épargner pas.
Je me mets au dessus de cette erreur commune,
On meurt, & sans ressource & sans reserve aucune.
S’il est apres ma mort quelque reste de moi,
Ce reste un peu plus tard suivra la même loi,
Fera place à son tour à de nouvelles choses,
Et se replongera dans le sein de ses causes.*

(†) Mais les gens de delà les Monts Aurent bientôt pleuré cet homme, Car il descend les Jeannetons, chose très-necessaire à Rome. i. e. “ But the Italians will soon have bewailed that man; for he will not suffer any whores, which are so very necessary in Rome.”

“ With regard to my self, I am not the dupe of glory; I resign to you my seat in the Temple of Fame; and I cannot conceive that the law of death should exempt my name and not spare me. I soar above that vulgar error *** If, after my death, any part of me should survive, that part will, not long after, follow the same law; will make way, in its turn, for new things, and plunge again into the abyfs of its causes.

La Fontaine, *Oeuv. Posth.* speaking of Innocent XI. *Quand l’objet en mon cœur a place, Et qu’à mes yeux il est joli, Dono mmen quod libet illi (β).* Idem, *ibid.*

“ This is not a translation, but an original; and in this manner Henault scattered the seeds of his errors up and down his works. In the two pieces inserted in the *Furetieriana*, are found the same tenets, which he endeavoured to introduce on all occasions. His Compositions are filled, not only with impious ideas, but likewise with images of an obscene kind. Some are found in a piece intitled, *Le Bail d’un cœur à Cloris*, inserted in this collection; and this Cloris might certainly be one of the Jeannetons mentioned by la Fontaine (†). These verses are more obscene than all the tales, and deserve more to be condemned by the civil Magistrate.”

(β) This Latin ought to form a verse of the same measure with the two preceding, which consist but of six syllables. Read therefore *Do nomen in La Fontaine’s Oeuvres posthumes.* REM. CRIT.

[D] It is pretended that this is evident from the works of that Lady.] The reader may have seen, in pag. 1088, vol. 2. of the first edition of this Dictionary, that the Gentleman to whom the words of this text belong, adds immediately, *I have seen people among other verses, remark the following in the Idyllium of the Rivulet (*)*.

(*) It is in page 164 of tom. 1. of *Poesies de Madame des Houlières*. It is inserted also in the *Courier Galant* for May 1693, pag. 532.

“ *Courez, ruisseau, courez, fuyez & reportez
Vos ondes dans le sein des mers dont vous sortez:
Tandis que pour remplir la dure destinée
Où nous sommes assujettis
Nous irons reporter la vie infortunée
Dans le sein du neans d’où nous sommes sortis.*

The sense is,

“ Glide on, stream, fly, and convey back your waters into the bosom of the sea whence you arise:

“ whilst, to complete the severe fate to which we are subjected, we shall go and carry back ill-fated life, into the abyfs of Non-entity whence we sprung.”

It is certain that a person who should express himself after this manner dogmatically, would deny the immortality of the soul; but let us, for the honour of Madam des Houlières, conclude that she only followed some poetical ideas whence no consequence is to be drawn. Thus, in imitation of the ancient Poets, she has said in another place (5), that our souls, after death, wander on the shores of hell. But this, had Henault intilled his impious tenets into her, would not have been her belief. We must not form a judgment of her from her poetical phrases; not but that a Poet may conceal the most licentious ideas, by means of the privileges of versification. The Counsellor already mentioned has made a note on that passage. “ You quoted, says he to me in his letter, some verses of Madame des Houlières, which are suspected of being too licentious; but you have been made to omit others (†), that are equally licentious, and which are published in her volume of Poems. But we must be impartial and speak the truth: there are a great number of other moral, and even Christian and holy pieces, scattered up and down her works, which correct this single one. However, endeavours were used to make her pass for a Libertine; she complaining of this in her epistle to Father de la Chaîse on false devotees or hypocrites. Madam des Houlières was a woman of wonderful fine genius, the honour of her sex, and the shame of ours.

(5) See the article PLOTINUS, remark [A].

(†) Nous irons reporter la vie infortunée, QUE LE HAZARD NOUS A DONNÉE, Dans le sein du neant d’où nous sommes sortis.

I am to observe that no one could assert that Madam des Houlières, upon pretence of her advancing that we sprung from *Nothing*; believed the creation; for Henault shews pretty evidently (6), that by the word *neant* (nothing or non-entity) he does not mean the privation of existence, but a privation (simply) of life, in which sense he did not admit of the creation.

[E] He wrote a Sonnet, which gave Mr. Colbert an opportunity of doing a fine action.] The collection of remarks above cited, furnishes me with another good Commentary. “ To return to d’Henault, it is of him that Boileau speaks in two places in Satyr 9.

Je le declare donc Haynault () est un Virgile (α).*
“ I here declare that Haynault is a Virgil.”

(*) He spelt his name in that manner purposely to disguise him.

“ But Mr. . . . (†) himself told me, that he thought him a pretty good Poet; and that his best piece, not with respect to the subject, but the manner in which he had treated it, was a Sonnet levelled at Mr. Colbert, and which began thus,

(†) Boileau is here understood.

“ *Ministre avare & lascie, esclave malheureux.*

“ Base, griping Minister, detested slave.”

“ Mr. Colbert did a very noble action on this occasion. Being told of this Sonnet which made a vast noise at that time, he asked whether there were no satyrical

and left a daughter who is Boarder in a monastery at Paris. The notes on this article include a great number of particulars that have been communicated to me. The reader may have recourse to them.

“ satyrical strokes in it against the King ; being told that there were none, he then declared that he would not mind it, nor shew the least resentment against the author. Is not this still finer than the Sonnet ?”

§ (a) In the Amsterdam edit. of 1695 it is *Quinaut*, both in this place, and above, in the same Satyr ; and *Hainault* is not mentioned in any part of it. REM. CRIT.

[In the Amsterdam edition of 1717, with the excellent Notes of Mr. Brossette, our *Hainault* (whose name is there spelt *Hainaut*) is thus mentioned in verse 97. of Satyr 9.

Que vous ont fait Perrin, Bardin, Pradon, Hainaut ?

“ What ill have you received from Perrin, Bardin, Pradon and Hainaut ?”

But with regard to the verse abovementioned, cited from Boileau, our *Hainault* is not there named, but only *Quinaut*, in manner following :

Je le déclare donc ; Quinaut est un Virgil.

“ I here declare, that *Quinaut* is a *Virgil*.” Rem. by the Translator.

HENICHIUS (JOHN) Professor of Divinity in the University of Rintel, in the country of Hesse, was son to a Minister of Winhusen, and was born in January 1616. He went through the School-Classics at Zell and Lunenburg, and then was sent to Helmstadt anno 1634, and after having studied there four years, was received Doctor in Philosophy in that place. Having afterwards read some Lectures, and presided in public disputations, he gained the friendship in an especial manner of Doctor Calixtus and Doctor Horneius, two famous Divines. He went to Hildesheim near the close of the year 1639, and lived about three years there, in the house of a Gentleman of merit (a). He afterwards went and travelled towards the Rhine, and then resided some time with James Lampadius in Hanover. He was appointed Professor of Metaphysics and of Hebrew, in the University of Rintel, anno 1643 ; and a year and a half after this, he was invited to Bardewik, to be Superintendent. He discharged the duties of that employment during five years, and with so much care and diligence, that Duke Augustus of Brunswick would have appointed him sole inspector of the diocese of Wolfenbuttel, but he did not accept of it. He even quitted his employment, because the fatigues it had brought upon him, had thrown him into a long fit of sickness. He returned to Rintel in 1651, in order to be Professor of Divinity in that city. He received, in a solemn manner, the honours of a Doctor's degree in the same Faculty ; and it was not long before a seat was given him in the Ecclesiastical Consistory ; and he was also made Inspector of the Churches in the Earldom of Schauenburg (b). He gave a proof of his erudition, by the considerable number of books which he published [A]. He was a man of great candor and moderation, and ardently wished that there might be an union between the Lutherans and Calvinists [B] ; and

(a) *Ad nobiliss. atque præbrenu-um Virum D. Fredericum Wilhelmum GAN-STRUM* se contulit, apud quem triennium fere satis commode exegit. Apud Witte, *Memor. Theologor.* Decad. 13. pag. 1716.

(b) The city of Rintel is in the Earldom.

[A] The considerable number of books which he published. Here follows the catalogue of them as given by de Witte (1). *Dissertatio de Majestate civili* : Rintel. 1653, in 4to. *De Cultu creaturarum & imaginum Dissert.* ibid. 1653, in 4to. *De libertate Arbitrii, imprimis de concursu cause secundæ cum primis* : ibid. 1645, in 4to. *De Officio boni Principis pique Subditi* : ibid. 1661, in 12mo. *Dissertatio de Pœnitentia lapsorum* : ibid. 1659, in 4to. *De Gratia & Prædestinatione Dissertatio* : ibid. 1663, in 4to. *Compendium S. Theologiæ* : ibid. 1657, 1671, in 8vo. *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* : ibid. 1667, in 12mo. *Institutiones Theologicæ* : Brunsvigæ, 1665, in 4to. *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ & Civilis Pars I*, Rintel. 1669, *Pars II*, 1670, *Pars III*, 1674, in 4to. *Disputationes aliquot emisse publicæ habuit, ex quibus est ; de Mysterio S. S. Trinitatis : De Confessione Augustini, de Fide & operibus, &c.*

I have some little observations to make with regard to the work *de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, in the catalogue above. It is an excellent supplement to that which Grotius has wrote on the same subject ; for Henichius lays open, clears up, and proves in a more ample manner, the reasons which Grotius had employed. This he observes in his title, which is as follows : *quo ea, quæ vir illustris HUGO GROTIUS de hac materia commentatus est aliquanto uberius exponuntur*. I am to observe by the way, that Grotius has been accused of being a plagiarist ; and I will insert an addition that was published at the end of the first volume of the first edition of this Dictionary, and which the Printer did not put in its proper place in the second edition. The words are as follow. “ In my opinion nothing was ever more false, than what was told Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Spon, viz. that Grotius had stole all the chief arguments for his book entitled “ Of the Truth of the Christian Religion from an Arabic author ; and particularly from the works of “ an excellent man whom the Latins considered as an

“ arch-heretic, but whom the Copts hold for a saint ; “ who has wrote an excellent book against the Turks “ and against the Jews, for the truth of the Christian “ Religion (2).”

Note, that the three Volumes of Ecclesiastical History of our John Henichius, extend but to the end of the Vth Century ; and that notwithstanding the title premises the civil, as well as church history, yet the author has the latter chiefly in view. The first volume comprehends the three first centuries ; the second, the fourth century, and the third, the fifth century. Bosius who had said in his *Schediasma de comparanda Notitia Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, that Henichius's work contained the six first centuries, was answered too roughly on that account. He acknowledged his error, and corrected it, with his own hand, in his copy of that work. It is very just to point out such errors ; but then this ought to be done without bitterness or an insulting air, remembering that such errors may be very easily committed. *Aberrationem agnovit, ac manu sua in exemplari privato correxit : ut adeo acrem illam Clarissimi Sluteri censuram non videatur meruisse. Et quam facilis in his talibus sit lapsus, unusquisque intelligit (3).* The author, who writes thus, observes, that Henichius, after giving the substance of the testimonies of ancient authors, then sets down the passages from them at full length. It was very justly observed, that this would be a recommendation of the work. *Ceterum Henichianum opus vel eo etiam nomine meretur commendari, quod integra Auctorum veterum testimonia adscribat, quorum summam prius attulerat (4).*

[B] He . . . ardently wished that there might be an union between the Lutherans and Calvinists.] He is applauded for this in his funeral programma (5) : *Pacis & concordie perpetuus studiosus, nihilque magis in votis habebat, quam ut schisma inter Evangelicos funditus tolleretur, & togata prælia in suggestibus & Caedris cum salutaribus, DEO & hominibus gratâ pace, fausto*

(1) Witte, *Memoriar. Theolog.* Dec. 13. pag. 1720.

(2) Wheeler's *Voyage into Dalmatia, &c.* lib. 2. pag. 163. Dutch edit. of 1639.

(3) In *Propylæo Historiæ Christianæ*, pag. 26.

(4) Caspar Sagitta *Introduc. in Hist. Eccles.* pag. 340.

(5) Idem, *Sagitta* ibid.

(6) Witte, *Memoriar. Theolog.* Dec. 13. pag. 1718.

(c) Extracted from his *Funeral Program* inserted by Mr. Witte in the 13th Decad *Memor. Theolog. no. 1716*, & pag. 1719.

and this perhaps was the cause of the many invectives that were vented against him. He married, in 1645, a very virtuous maiden, who was far from being barren, she bringing him thirteen children. He died at Rintel the 27th of June 1671 (c). Gerhard Wolter Molan made a very beautiful epitaph in his honour. It is inserted in page 338 and 339 of a work of Gaspar Sagittarius (d).

(d) Intituled, *Introductio in Historiam Ecclesiasticam*, and printed anno 1694.

sausto omine, commutarentur: qua de causa immortalem nominis gloriam apud omnes bonos adeptus est. i. e. "For ever desirous of peace and concord, there was nothing he more earnestly wished, than to have the schisms which were found among Protestants entirely taken away: and that instead of those debates and quarrels which break out among Divines, in their pulpits as well as chairs, we might be made happy in peace, which is so grateful both to God and man; and for that reason his name will be forever remembered with honour by all persons of virtue and goodness." The author of the *Programma* says a little after (6): *Equidem invidia & malignitas,*

ut sunt virtutis fata, non unum in eum jaculata sunt fulmen; sed & illa, quae viventi gravis fuit, mortui fama, credo, saevabit, suamque vel imperitiam vel livorem tandem profitebitur. i. e. "Envy and malice, as is the fate of virtuous men, throw indeed their darts at him; but those, who grieved him while living, will, I am persuaded, increase his reputation now he is dead; and at last confess their ignorance or malice." He does not specify the causes of that malicious envy which persecuted Henichius; but I am of opinion, that the pacific disposition of this Professor furnished people with a pretence for slandering him.

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 1719.

HENRY VI, Emperor of Germany, and son of Frederic Barbarossa, was crowned by Pope Celestin III [A], the 15th of April 1191. He was marching, at the head of a powerful army, to possess the inheritance of Naples and Sicily, which belonged to the Empress Constantia his wife, after the death of young William King of Sicily (a). He was so much opposed in his endeavours to invest himself with the two Kingdoms abovementioned, that we may almost say, he obtained them by conquest. He was so much dreaded, that the Emperor Alexis, surnamed the Angel, could not obtain a peace but upon condition of paying him a tribute (b). Had Henry done this only, his valour would be applauded; but all the encomiums he may have deserved on that account are overbalanced by the perfidy and cruelty he shewed, in his extirpating, on false pretences, all such as survived of the posterity of those brave Normans, who had conquered that part of Italy which the Empress his consort, who was heiress to their dominions, gave him a right to possess (c). It is related that this Princess, to punish him for the guilt abovementioned, made him swallow the poison of which he died at Messina, anno 1198, at thirty two years of age (d). He left a son, who was afterwards the Emperor Frederic II. Constantia was so far advanced in years when she was delivered of this son, that, in order to avoid all suspicion of his being supposititious, she was delivered in public [B]: however, notwithstanding these precautions, it was yet said this was a spurious child [C]. Some authors assert, that Constantia was neither a Nun, nor very far advanced in years, when she married Henry VI [D].

(a) See Maimbourg, *Dicad. de l'Empire*, liv. 5. pag. m. 476.

(b) Maimbourg, *ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.* pag. 477.

(d) Maimbourg, *Dicad. de l'Empire*, liv. 5. pag. 477. citing the Abbot of Ursperg.

HENRY

[A] *He was crowned by Pope Celestin III.* The following circumstance is related of his coronation. As the Emperor "was at his feet, Celestin, who set the crown on his head, lifted up his foot, and kicked the crown down, to shew that he could bestow, and take it away. Baronius applauds this action; but things, in my opinion, have changed their aspect since; and not a single Prince would subscribe very sincerely to this Cardinal's opinion (1)." I cite the author who delivers himself in this manner.

(1) Chevreau, *Hist. du Monde*, liv. 5. ch. 2. pag. 75. of tom. 3. Dutch edit. of 1687.

[B] *To avoid all suspicion of the child's being supposititious, she was delivered in public.* Here follows a passage from Brantome, that deserves our perusal. "Constantia, Queen of Sicily, who, from her youth, and during her whole life, had never stirred from a cloyster, but there led a vestal life; quite forsaking the convent at fifty years of age, tho' not handsome and very decrepit, yet would taste the sweets of the flesh; and marrying, had a child when fifty two years old, of which she resolved to lie-in publickly in the plains and meads of Palermo; she having caused a tent and pavilion to be erected there for that purpose, in order that the world might not suspect that her child was supposititious; and this was one of the greatest miracles that had been seen since the time of St. Elizabeth. It is nevertheless said in the History of Naples, that the child was looked upon as spurious; however, he became a great man; but most bastards are valiant, as a great man told me one day (2)." [C] *However, notwithstanding these precautions, it was yet said that this was a spurious child.* Brantome has just now informed us of this; but here follows an author who will point out the proofs of it better. "It has been found, says he (3), that women of fifty years old and upwards, had been delivered

(2) Brantome, *Dames galantes*, tom. 2. p. 207.

(3) Camerac. *Meditat. Histor.* vol. 2. liv. 4. ch. 7. pag. 296.

of children. Of this we have an example in that renowned Nun, Constantia by name, mother to Frederic II, who being taken out of a convent, was the only heiress and Queen of Sicily. This Princess being with child at fifty two years of age complete, to remove all suspicion, caused a pavilion to be set up, in a public place of a certain city of Sicily, and, in presence of the greatest Ladies of the Country would lie-in publickly. However, many disputed the reality of this incident, and among others the Marquis of Ancona, Marquardus by name, who offered to prove, that the child in question was not the issue of Henry and Constantia, but was supposititious, as is asserted by Pandolfo Colenuccio (4). If it can be said, that the most subtle precautions are of no use against love, it may be said that they are of no use against ambition. Do whatever lies in your power to convince the world, that such and such a delivery was not imaginary and chimerical, but very real, still people will have always answers ready to make. The expedient which cured St. Thomas's incredulity, is almost the only one that can be proof against those cavils; *unless I put my finger, &c.* will it be objected, as that Apostle did, *I will not believe* (4). Nay, I know not whether, after feeling, such persons will not say, *I indeed have seen and felt how the child came out, but not how it got in. Had your husband abilities sufficient to beget it?*

(4) Liv. 4. de *Hist. de Naples*.

[D] *Some authors assert that Constantia was neither a Nun, nor very far advanced in years when she married Henry VI.* It is generally thought that she was taken out of a convent, and that a dispensation was granted her, in order that she might marry the Emperor Henry VI; and that she was with child at about fifty five years of age. But some Historians deny this. Here follows the sequel of the abovesaid passage of Camerarius (5): "Perhaps John Michael Brutus

(4) St. John *chap. xx. ver. 25.*

(5) Camerac. *Meditat. Hist.* vol. 2. liv. 4. pag. 296.

HENRY II King of France succeeded Francis I his father, the last day of March 1547. One of the first things he did was, to act in direct opposition to the order which his father gave him in his expiring moments; I mean that, soon after his accession to the throne, he recalled the Constable of Mommorenci [A], whom Francis I had banished, for very good reasons (a). He paid dear for this his disobedience [B]; for it may be affirmed, that the most unhappy events which brought an odium on his reign, are owing to this Constable. To the ill conduct of this last mentioned, was owing the loss of the famous battle of St. Quentin (b); after which this Constable occasioned the concluding a treaty of peace (c), that reflected much greater ignominy on the French monarchy [C], than the loss of the abovementioned battle. He perhaps would not have prevailed

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) The 10th of Aug. 1557.

(c) That of Cateau in Cambresis, concluded in 1559.

(6) Lib. 2. de *Institutiones Ital.* Thus Camerarius quotes him in the Latin edit. of Frankfurt 1658, pag. 276.

Brutus (6) took occasion from this story, flatly to deny that Constantia had ever been a Nun or Abbess; or that Pope Celestine had dispensed with her marriage; forasmuch as, according to his calculation, she must then have been threescore. On the contrary, he quotes Hugo Falcandus the Historian, who says, that she was then in the flower of her age; and married to Henry, in the reign of William surnamed the Good, when Frederic Barbarossa was still living; but that this mistake was owing to the confusion of times. I am of opinion, says he, that she was brought from the royal palace to a convent of Nuns, when that the people mutinying, imprisoned King William surnamed the Bad; and that no place could be found more convenient to secure her, during those storms. When they were entirely abated, that Princess, who was at liberty, and had neither made the vows nor taken the veil, continued among the Nuns till such time as she married Henry."

[A] He recalled the Constable of Mommorenci. His father had seriously advised him, to make use of Annebaut as his chief minister, he having found him a person of great experience, wisdom, and zeal, and free from the least stain of avarice or ambition; but that he should particularly take care, if he had the happiness of his country at heart, not to recall the Constable of Montmorency Nevertheless, although he had shewn his royal father the most respectful obedience during his lifetime, yet he did not pay the least deference to his commands after his death. He divested Annebaut and Cardinal de Tournon of the administration of all affairs, to put Montmorency at the head of them (1). We shall now see that this most respectful

obedience had such exceptions, as will not permit us to think, that Mezerai had reason to give it so good a character as he has done. "The precaution of King Francis was so great, that he expressly forbid the Dauphin his eldest son, afterwards Henry II, to have the least correspondence with the Constable. But all he obtained of his son was, for him to conceal, for seven years together, the friendship he had for the Constable. However, he did not conceal it with so much artifice, but that the whole Court knew, that a day did not pass without their receiving letters one from the other. But Francis I did not take the pains to break off this correspondence; whether it were that the Dauphin and Constable had been equally successful in concealing it from him; or that, having no other son but the Dauphin, he was afraid of disgusting him (2)."

These are Varillas's words, and they may very justly be criticized, for I had the Dauphin concealed his friendship seven years, he would not have been so often urgent with his father to recall the Constable; and yet Varillas asserts this last circumstance (3). II. How shall we reconcile this author's alternative, with what Mezerai relates (4), that the King was greatly displeased, because the Dauphin, notwithstanding his orders to the contrary, held a correspondence with the Constable of Montmorency?

[B] He paid dear for his disobedience.] Varillas will furnish me with a Commentary on this text. I will not cite him barely with regard to the reign of Henry II, but shall take his words something higher.

"The disgraces, says he (5), of the Constable of Montmorency, of Admiral Chabot, and of Chancellor Poyet, are told in such a manner in the ninth book, as will not surprize those who shall have read in Bodin's Republic, that Francis I, grew more peevish and four-tempered in proportion

as he advanced in years: That he had been convinced, by his own experience, that he could not have made choice of two men, less proper for the intrigues of the Cabinet, than Montmorency and Chabot; and that, tho' he would not charge Poyet with the same defect, yet this Chancellor had one equally great, viz. his carrying things too far: That to these things were owing all the misfortunes which had befallen his Majesty; and that, should he continue to make use of the same Ministers, he must not expect to be more successful. The event proved, that the three Ministers who succeeded those that had been disgraced, were better qualified; and that if Henry II had not afterwards restored the Constable of Montmorency, he would not have been constrained, in order to recover him, to give up one hundred and ninety eight towns or strong-holds; and a country almost as large as the third part of France."

[C] The Constable occasioned the concluding a treaty of peace, that reflected much greater ignominy on the French Monarchy.] Mezerai, though, of all the French Historians, he most openly favours the subjects against the Court, nevertheless blames the people for discovering so much joy at that peace. "The people, says he (6), who always desire peace at any rate, rejoiced greatly at this. But the party of the Guises, the wise politicians, and all the nobility, censured it openly, as a palpable fraud, which lost France 198 strong-holds; for three only which were restored to her, viz. Ham, Catelet, and St. Quentin."

He expresses himself in still stronger terms in his larger History (7); for in deducing the articles of that peace, he afterwards inserts these words, that to unite more strongly the hearts of Princes, the following parenthesis

(but rather to cover, with some honourable pretence, the shame and loss which France sustained by this unfortunate treaty); and towards the close of the same page he says as follows. "These articles being brought to the King, and communicated by his Majesty to the Princes and greatest men of his realm, there were few people but judged them entirely disadvantageous and shameful to France; and indeed all the French condemned them universally by their murmurs. Brissac having had advice of this, although the articles had been disguised to him, dispatched Boyvin-Villars, who has left us Memoirs concerning the wars of Piedmont, to Court, with instructions to lay before the King his most humble remonstrances, and divert him from concluding so disadvantageous a peace. Concluding, that if his Majesty was resolved to give up what he possessed in Italy, which was worth the best Province in his Kingdom, and might bring in, clear, a revenue of 300000 crowns into his Exchequer, the only reward he desired, for all his good services, was, that his Majesty would please to banish him, together with all the forces which were in Italy, as rebels; and that he would be able to preserve the strong-holds which he held at the expence of the Milanese, and the Republic of Genoa; or at least that he should die gloriously in a country, where the forces of all Europe had not been able to make him lose an inch of ground, during the ten years that the defence of it had been committed to him. The King declared that he was highly pleased with his zeal; however, as his mind was wholly bent upon peace, he answered, that although he should conclude it upon the conditions which were proposed to him, he should retain the possession of strong-holds, &c. sufficient, to make himself be dreaded (8). Upon this Guise, prompted by his own interest, or

(6) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 715.

(7) *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 113.

(8) This recalls to my memory the following words of Trebellius Pollio; *Pauci numerare inter hac tempora quum ista gereretur, que sepe Galliam malo generis humani quasi per jocum dixerit. Nam quum ei nuntiatum esset, Egyptum delivisse, dixisse fortur, Quid? sine lino Egypto esse non possimus? Quum autem vastatam Asiam & elementorum concursionibus & Scytharum incursionibus compersisset, Quid, inquit, sine aphonitria esse non possimus? Perdita Gallia arrisisset ac Non sine Atrabaticis sigis tota Resp. est? Sic denique de omnibus partibus nunti, quum eas amitteret, quasi darimentorum ministerium videtur affari, jocabatur. Trebell. Pollio, in Gallienis duobus, caps. 6. pag. m. 200.*

(1) Mezerai, in the beginning of the History of Henry II, pag. 1057. of vol. 2. of the History of France.

(2) Varillas, *Hist. de Henry II.* liv. 1. pag. 6.

(3) *Hist. de François I.* liv. 12. pag. 295.

(4) *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 635.

(5) Preface to the *Hist. of François I.*

prevailed so easily with Henry II to consent to this disadvantageous peace, had that Prince not been fired with a spirit of persecution [D]. The Constable also merits great censure, for not giving his Sovereign good counsel, with respect to the Duchess of Valentinois, who, though of an age disproportionate to that of Henry II, did nevertheless keep

“ by the impulses of honour and conscience, interrupting him boldly, said, Your Majesty will pardon me if I tell you, that this is not the right way to effect it; and that though fortune should be as much your enemy, during twenty five years, as she was last year, you yet could not lose as much during that time, as what you are required to give up in one single day. It did not cost the late King, when overthrown and a prisoner, &c.” I omit all the arguments employed by the Duke of Guise, but not what follows them in the Historian. “ He said a great many other things in so vehement a tone of voice, that he often made the King change colour, but could not alter his resolution: the dye was cast, and whosoever was the cause of it, whether his favourites or his natural disposition, his courage was so greatly damped, that he was not able to continue the war any longer. He therefore raised the treaty, and peace was proclaimed the 10th of April. . . . All the French authors who have written concerning that period, call that peace the unfortunate and accursed. Brisac being told that it was concluded, cried out several times, *Wretched France; how many calamities!* . . . He continued Governor of the five cities, and of the eight castles which the King retained, with 8000 foot, and 450 horse, and restored the other places; but he first demolished the greatest part of them, and sold the ammunition according to the King's order; not without much difficulty to procure the money, and the necessary orders from the Court; because that the Constable, favouring the Duke of Savoy, did all that lay in his power to put the strong-holds entire into his hands, and even those which the King had reserved to himself (9).”

We shall see below (10), that the Court of France was so weak, as to be prevailed upon to evacuate, under Charles IX and Henry III, the few strong holds it had reserved; and there is no doubt but that the Constable, under Charles IX, had a great share in that mismanagement. When we reflect on the immense possessions he amassed, we must not say of him, as of so many others, that at the same time he managed the affairs of his Sovereign well, he managed his own extremely well; but we must say, that in managing his own affairs extremely well, he managed those of his Sovereign extremely ill. Did not he, under Charles IX, enter into a league with the Guises; and was not he the cause of the prodigious power they rose to; a power that was so fatal to the monarchy, and which had like to have given to France, a fourth race of Kings? When Francis I disgraced the Constable, he charged him with ignorance in the two principal duties of his employment, viz. war and politics (11). See the character which the adherents of the Guises give of him in Mezerai (12).

Some critics will perhaps say, that Mezerai extenuates too much the advantages which were granted Henry II by the treaty of Cateau. Why does he content himself with mentioning the three cities which were restored to France? Why does he suppress the conquest of Calais, Metz, Toul and Verdun? But this would be a very false criticism; for these four strong holds were not given up to Henry II by the treaty of Cateau. It left the Empire at full liberty to demand back the restitution of the three last; and bound France, by the most solemn engagement, to restore Calais to England in eight years. This circumstance was not observed by the anonymous Historian who spoke as follows (13). “ The King of France restored to the Spanish Monarch, whatever he had dispossessed him of, on both sides the Alps. Item, to the Prince of Piedmont, la Bresse, Savoy, Piedmont, four cities excepted: to the Genoese, the island of Corfica; Sienna to the Duke of Florence; and reserved nothing but Calais, without gaining even a foot of any other land, during that long and pernicious war, which had laid waste so many Provinces; sacked, burnt, and ruined so many cities, towns, villages, and country seats; and had

occasioned the death of so many Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, Captains, Soldiers, Citizens and Peasants; caused so many rapes of wives and maidens; in a word, which had thrown all Europe topsy turvy. The King restored upwards of two hundred, others say almost twice that number, towns or strong holds, in conquering of which an ocean of his subjects blood had been spilt, the treasures of the Kingdom exhausted, his own demesnes mortgaged, and himself indebted to every one.” This Historian supposes, that Henry II saw his dominions enlarged, at least, by the giving up of Calais; but this is a falsity. All the rest of his assertions are solid; and as it is certain that one might have represented to the King of Spain, what Hannibal represented to the Roman General (14), what thunder must not be darted, by the assertions above, on the head of Henry II? The King of Spain might have been told, that the countries, of which he divested France by that treaty of peace, were not worth the immense sums which the war had cost him, nor the great number of soldiers and officers he had lost. If this was capable of diminishing the joy, which the advantageous peace he had obtained, must naturally make him feel, how greatly must it afflict the Monarch to whom it was disadvantageous? To return empty-handed from a long war, is shameful and ignominious, says Homer (15); but he would have expressed himself in much stronger terms in an affair like that in question.

[D] That Prince . . . was fired . . . with a spirit of persecution.] Henry II treated the French Protestants with very great severity; and put them to death without mercy, notwithstanding which they increased greatly under his reign. If they were not grieved at the extreme consternation, with which the Court of France, as well as the City of Paris, was seized, after the battle of St. Quentin, they therein acted but agreeably to the inspirations and suggestions of Nature. Every sect that meets with severe treatment, and which cannot expect any cessation from it, except the Court should be perplexed, will rejoice at the progress of the enemy, and be very glad to see its persecutors so much employed in foreign affairs, as to be scarce able to know how to turn themselves. Among all the sects of Christians, none is more inclined to behave after that manner, than the Romanists. People therefore should not be surprized, if what Maimbourg asserts (16) should be found true, viz. that the Protestants took advantage of the public affliction which had overspread the Kingdom after the battle of St. Quentin . . . and venture to hold their assemblies in open daylight, in the most public streets of Paris; and to appear even in public; and meet in the day time in great bodies, in the Pré-aux-Cheres, there to sing aloud the Psalms of *Clement Marot*. This ought to inform Princes, that proclamations enacting persecution render them obnoxious to great inconveniencies; thence it is, that their bonfires grieve one part of their subjects, and the victories of their enemies fill them with consolation. If they complain, that some of their subjects are wicked, this answer ought to be made them, *it is you who make them such* (17); for to require that a persecuted party shall grieve for those public calamities to which their tranquillity is owing, and the foundation of a very plausible hope of prosperity, is to require a return of the primitive ages of Christianity now those times do not return twice. It is to expect men resembling those of the Millennium, if it should ever come. But to return to Henry II; the instant he saw that the Protestants were meditating how to take advantage of the loss which had been sustained in the battle of St. Quentin, he published a new proclamation, forbidding all the Judges to mitigate the sentence of death, and confiscation of goods and chattels, against all those who should be not only found guilty of heresy, but likewise of having brought into France books printed in Geneva, contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Thus the Calvinists were treated more rigorously than before (18). But as this did not prevent their increasing, nor even several persons of the first quality from

(9) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1734.

(10) In the remarks [C] and [E], in which more mourning will be seen against the peace of 1559.

(11) Vauillas, *Hist. de France* I. liv. 9. p. 397. Dutch edit. of 1690, ad ann. 1540.

(12) *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1135.

(13) *Histoire des choses mémorables venues en France depuis l'an 1547 jusqu'au commencement de l'an 1597*, pag. 61.

(14) See *Penides diversas sur les Cometes*, num. 113. pag. 658.

(15) *Aiχρηβη τον δεινον το παρον, ανωοι το νηοδαο Iliad*, lib. 2. vers. 298.

(16) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 2. pag. 96.

(17) Apply here the following saying of Seneca, against those who complain of ungrateful people, *Multos experimus ingratos, plures facimus*. i. e. “ We meet here with many ingrates, but make more to our selves.” Seneca, *de Benef.* lib. 1. cap. 1.

(18) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 2. pag. 100.

engaging

keep him in her chains, and make a most unjust abuse of the slavery in which she held him. But the Constable, so far from fortifying the mind of this Prince against the snares of that woman, engaged in intrigues for her, and devoted himself to her faction (d). It is pity that the reign of Henry II should have been so much sullied; for, in other respects, it was conspicuous for glorious actions, and most shining successes, which were the greatest mortification to the Emperor Charles V. It cannot be denied but that Henry II, was a courageous Prince; and it is related that Elizabeth, Queen of England admitted him greatly on that account [E]. But after all, what follows will be an everlasting proof of his weakness, and of the ascendant which his favourites had over him, viz. his signing, in opposition to the opinion of the most sage persons in his Kingdom, the treaty of peace of Cateau in Cambresis; a peace, no less inglorious to France, than that which the Emperor Jovian concluded with the King of Persia, against which antiquity has so loudly inveighed (e); a peace which, by a single dash of the pen, lost, in an instant, the toils and conquests of many years, and an extent of country equal to a third part of the Kingdom (f). No power reaped so much benefit by this ignominy of France, as the Duke of Savoy; for, besides his being restored to his dominions, he married the sister of Henry II, a Princess of exalted merit [F], and who imposed very artfully on the Court of France, in order to promote her husband's interest [G]. That

(d) See the article POITIERS.

(e) Pasquier's Letters, liv. 15. tom. 2. pag. 221. See also liv. 4. tom. 1. pag. 471.

(f) Menloc, Mem. liv. 4. pag. m. 789.

Lady

engaging in their party; the King found that, in order to extirpate them, he must be forced to conclude a peace with the House of Austria; and this doubtless was one of the chief motives which prompted him to overlook the happy condition to which he had restored his affairs (19). He had checked the career of his enemies, and had even dispossessed them of several very strong towns. But all this was nothing; he chose rather to acquiesce with all their demands, than not to have his arms at liberty, in order to extirpate the Protestants out of his Kingdom. Thus we have seen the same Court lose the most favourable opportunities of aggrandizing itself in 1684, in order to devote itself wholly to the suppression of the edict of Nantz. Those who suffer themselves to be possessed with this spirit, must renounce the title of Conqueror. Had Henry II lived long after the ignominious peace which he accepted, he would have spent the remainder of his reign in tournaments and persecutions; but he died a little after the signing of it. Maimbourg is an exceptionable witness, with regard to the joy which, he says, the heretics felt on that account. Here follow his words (20): "Accordingly he was bewailed with very sincere tears, and infinitely regretted by all his subjects, except the Protestants alone, who fancying themselves delivered, by his death, from what they used to call the persecution of the Church; expressed, in a most shameful manner, by their words, their actions, and scandalous writings, the prodigious joy which it gave them."

(19) See the words of Cardinal de Lorraine, in the remark [M].

(20) Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 2. pag. 114.

(21) See the remark [P] of the article FRANCIS I.

(22) The King resolved to devote himself to the utmost of his power, to the great affair of Religion, for which he was extremely zealous, and from which he never departed during the whole course of his reign; not even when he formed alliances for interests purely political, with the Protestant Princes of Germany, against the Emperor Charles V. Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 2. pag. 110.

(23) See the remark [AA].

(24) See the article of Queen ELIZABETH, remarks [G] and [R].

(25) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, tom. 2. pag. 577.

(26) Pag. 78, & seq.

(27) Grot. Epist. 157. Part. 1. pag. 60.

The same remark which was made with regard to Francis I (21), may be made with respect to Henry II. He attacked the party, weakly, on one side, and made it stronger on the other. He put to death, in France, some private persons; and at the same time concluded an alliance with the Protestants of Germany, against Charles V, &c. (22); and was pleased with the title of *Protector of the Germanic Liberties*; i. e. at that time, the protector of the Protestants (23). The other Romish Princes conducted themselves after the same manner (24). The following words of Le Laboureur appear to me remarkable. "To pluck away the tares from among the wheat, says he (25), God will choose such Princes only as are innocent and of a good life; and will not make use of politic hands, such as were those of the Counsellors of all the Catholic Crowns of that age, who weeded their own fields, with no other design but to cast the darnel into those of their neighbours; and who persecuted Heresy only as a faction repugnant or contrary to authority." Charles V, and the Kings of Spain his successors, favoured the Protestants both of Germany and France on several occasions. See the proofs of this in Tom. I. (26) of Mr. Arnauld's Apology for the Roman Catholics. The Spanish Ambassador was solliciting succours in England for the Duke of Rohan. What Grotius wrote on this subject is remarkable. *Validus est rumor, Gombomerum, & qui in aula Anglica Hispanica sunt factionis, aperte profiteri, non debere à Rege Britanniarum deferri religionis consortes in Gallia, ne si quando vetera jura repetere ipsi sit animus, desint, qui partes Anglicas sequantur* (27).

i. e. "There is a strong report, that Gandamor, and such as are of the Spanish faction in the English Court, publicly declare, that the British King ought not to abandon those of his own religion in France; in order that, if ever he should think proper to assert his ancient claim to that Crown, he might not fail of their assistance." See in the *Political Testament* of Marquis de Louvois (28), some reflections on the violences exercised in Hungary against the Protestants, by order of that very Court which, a little after, did such great services to the Protestants both of Great Britain and Holland, whom Lewis XIV and James II relolved, as we are told, to oppress.

[E] It is related, that Elizabeth Queen of England admired him greatly for his bravery. Brantome gives us some particulars on this head. "I have heard, says he (29), the present Queen of England say, that there was no King she so much desired to see; on account of the great character she had heard of him, and because of his exalted fame which was spread into all countries. . . . Sitting at table, and discoursing familiarly with those Noblemen, she said as follows, after having highly applauded the King, there was no Prince in the world I ever desired so much to see; and I had already sent him word that I would soon make him a visit, for which purpose I had ordered my gallies to be splendidly equipped, (these were her very words), to cross into France, purposely to see him." See the same relation in the *Memoires des Dames Galantes*, where it is expressly declared, that this Queen was desirous of seeing Henry II, because he was brave, valiant, generous, and extremely martial (30).

[F] The Duke of Savoy . . . married the sister of Henry II, a Princess of exalted merit. Her name, as that of her aunt the Queen of Navarre, was Margaret; and, like that Princess, she was very fond of study, and a great Patroness of the learned. She was suspected to have imbibed the new opinions, those of the Protestants, and to have instilled them, in some measure, into Catherine de Medicis (31). See her elogium in Brantome (32), and in Le Laboureur, the latter of whom informs us of a particular that deserves to be known. "Margaret of France, says he (33), was married at forty six years old (34); and as she was thought too old to bear children, it was believed that the report of her pregnancy was merely an artifice, to oblige the King to restore to her, the more willingly, the strong-holds he detained. It was on this account that the Sieur Huraut of Bois-Taille, Ambassador of Venice, wrote a letter dated the 27th of July, 1561, to Bernardin Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes, Ambassador of France in Germany, in which were the following words; *It is said that the Duchess of Savoy is big with child, but I am of opinion, that this is reported ad aliquid*. But that report was verified by the birth of Charles Emanuel, grandfather to the present Duke of Savoy (35). [G] . . . and who imposed very artfully on the Court of France, in order to promote her husband's interest.] It was stipulated by the treaty of Cateau, that the rights

(28) Pag. 367. Cologne edit. 1695.

(29) Brantome, Disc. de Henri II. tom. 2. of his Memoirs, pag. 60, 61.

(30) Dames Galantes, tom. 2. pag. 261.

(31) See Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, tom. 2. pag. 750.

(32) Mem. des Dames illust.

(33) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, tom. 1. pag. 752.

(34) He is mentioned taken; she was born the 5th of June 1523, and married in 1559.

(35) Le Laboureur published his book in 1659.

Lady was not young when she married ; and thence it was that the murmurs against the peace extended even to her [H]. A modern author had no reason to attempt a justification of the conduct of Henry III [I], who so dearly paid for the favour which that Princess shewed him. There are other monuments of the great weakness and simplicity of Henry

which the King claimed to the territories of the Duke of Savoy, should be examined and settled by commissions on both sides (36). King Francis II and the Duke had nominated Deputies for that purpose in 1560. The King's Deputies made six very considerable demands ; but, instead of being gratified in any of them, the Court of France gave up all the towns it had reserved. It enacted, by Letters Patents dated the 8th of August, 1561, that there should be restored to the Duke Turin, Cibras, Quiers, and Villa Neuve d'Aste, the artillery and ammunition excepted, in exchange for Pignerol, Savillan, and Perussa, with their dependencies. Imbert de la Platiere Bourdillon, the King's Lieutenant in Italy, raised a great many difficulties ; sent strong remonstrances to the Council, to prevent the execution of this order ; and would not obey till orders had been thrice sent him, and he was discharged in the most solemn manner. The Duchefs played her part well in this negotiation ; her prudence was applauded, in having conquered, by her art, and skill, those strong-holds which still remained undelivered ; and which the King's Commissioners could not defend against the soft method she had, viz. to win the hearts of men, and force such places as were almost impregnable. These are Le Laboureur's words (37). Brantome relates this whole affair very circumstantially ; the various sentiments of the Ministers, the oppositions raised by Bourdillon, and the manner in which he suffered himself to be wrought upon. This cost the Duke and Duchefs of Savoy a great number of presents (38). The French were still possessed of three towns in Piedmont, viz. Pignerol, Savillan, and Perussa. The Duchefs seconded her husband admirably well, in the recovering of them, at the time that Henry III passed by Turin in his return from Poland. I will employ the words of Varillas. " The Duke and Duchefs of Savoy, who proposed to effect what Spain had not been able to bring about when in its most flourishing condition, that is, to send the French back, over the Alps, into their own country ; employed for this purpose a new artifice, viz. that of diversions, and feasts, which accordingly came so fast one upon the other, that there was scarce time for sleep. Some very authentic relations speak of a grand collation which cost an hundred thousand crowns. The Duke and Duchefs had put themselves to this expence ; and to reimburse themselves, they were urgent with Henry III to restore to them Pignerol, Savillan, and Perussa (39)." Henry III promised that they should have satisfaction, and was as good as his word ; for holding a Council on that affair in Lyons, to evacuate those three towns, it was resolved, in spite of the strong reasons of the Gentleman who commanded there. This was the Duke of Nevers (a). " He was allowed the liberty to speak whatever he thought fit ; and this satisfaction, viz. that the Memorial which he presented, to enforce his speech, though very long, was nevertheless read in presence of Henry III ; but the giving up of the three towns in question was yet no less resolved upon ; and his Majesty gave him orders, by word of mouth, to evacuate them. The Duke should have stopped here, since every one did him the justice to believe, that he had satisfied his conscience and his honour ; but he employed other precautions which made him obnoxious to the Court, and hindered him a long time from being restored to his seat in the Council of State. He obstinately insisted, that the order which he then received from the King's mouth, should also be wrote with the King's own hand ; that it should be signed by the Queen-Mother, and the Princes of the blood, and the Crown-officers ; that it should be registred in the Parliaments, after the memorial he had drawn up, in order to get himself dispensed from doing it ; and that it should be inserted in the archives of the chief cities of the Kingdom. Most of these things were granted him, but he at the same time was reproached, viz. with

" affecting to signalize himself at his Sovereign's expence ; and that he ought to imitate the conduct of Marshal de Brissac, who, on a like occasion, was contented to repeat his most humble remonstrances, and to desire that a successor should be sent him (40)." § (*) See the Memoirs, Tom. I. to page 68. REM. 84+ CRIT.]

[H] . . . the murmurs against the peace extended even to her.] Brantome, who lived at that time, informs us very bluntly of some circumstances of these murmurings. " This marriage . . . cost France very dear, as being obliged to give up in an hour, all that had been conquered and preserved in Piedmont and Savoy during thirty years : for King Henry was so ardently desirous of peace, and had so strong an affection for his sister, that he would not spare any thing in the world to marry her advantageously ; nevertheless, the greatest part of France and Piedmont murmured at it, and said it was a little too much. Others thought it very odd, and others again altogether incredible, till such time as they had seen it with their own eyes ; and even foreigners laughed at us ; and those who bore the greatest love to France, and were most solicitous for its prosperity, moan'd and wept on that account, and particularly the people of Piedmont, who would not return to their first maker. Can the Dukes of Savoy justly stile themselves sovereigns and Lords of Piedmont, since the Kings of France were formerly, and are still, rightful Lords, titulars and masters of it, as justly appertaining to them ? As Soldiers, &c. who had been so long used to garrisons ; to the ease and delicate sustenance of that country ; there will be no need to ask what they said of it ; in what manner they inveighed against, and lamented on that account ; and what fine speeches they made on this occasion, not only Gascoons but others. Hey-day, said these people, must so many fine and spacious tracts of land be given up, for a little bit of flesh lying between that woman's thighs ? Others cried, she had done mighty well to keep her fine maidenhead forty five years (41), to lose it at last for the ruin of France. Had the people, in that age, been as disorderly, rebellious, and seditious as we have since seen them during our civil wars ; be assured that every one would have joined in it, and have seized on towns and strong holds, whence it had been very difficult to dislodge them (42)." Is it not very strange that Le Laboureur, who had read those words but a little before, should nevertheless observe, " That only certain Politicians found fault with her being married

" at so dear a rate ; but that ALL THE REST were very glad that she carried with herself a recompense suitable to her merit ; and that she had got for her dowry, the territories of which her husband had been dispossessed (43)." This is exactly in the stile and language of a Panegyrist ; such a man, without being invested with the least authority, undertakes notwithstanding, in the name of the public, to make all the steps necessary to a Panegyric ; not once enquiring whether the incident be refuted by authors of the greatest credit. Mezerai who wrote an History and not a Panegyric, conforms much better to the testimony of Brantome than Le Laboureur (44). I cannot read the following words, " and even foreigners laugh'd at us (45)," without crying out, what a fine time was this for the writers of the Low-Countries, and, for any others who bore no good will to France ? What insults had they not a fair opportunity of throwing out upon it ? and what rhodomontades had they not room to publish ? I imagine that their humours differed very little from the people of the present age.

[I] A modern author had no reason to attempt a justification of the conduct of Henry III.] This modern is Coltar's antagonist. The latter was offended (46) that

(36) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 41.

(37) *Addit. à Castelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 751.

(38) See in the *Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 347, & seq ; what Brantome says on all this matter, in the Elogium of Imbert de la Platiere, Lord of Bourdillon.

(39) Varillas, *Hist. de Henry III*, liv. 3. pag. 74.

(40) *Ibid.* pag. 84+

CRIT.]

(41) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 722, says, that she was in her 37th year. He is in the right, for she was born the 5th of June 1523. See the citation (34) above.

(42) Brantome, *Mem. des Femmes illustres*, pag. m. 325.

(43) *Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau*, tom. 1. pag. 751.

(44) Remark [C] citation (7) above.

(45) Brantome, *Mem. des Femmes illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 315.

(46) *Suite de la Défense de Voiture*, pag. 172.

Henry II, besides the peace of Cateau. Another monument is, his suffering his favourites to go unpunished after their having amassed prodigious estates by the most unjust methods [K]. He died of the wound he had received in a tournament (g), a strange accident, and still more extraordinary than fatal; for I believe that no other Monarch ever lost his life on such an occasion. It would have been infinitely more glorious for him to have lost it in battle, than in those mock-fights, or peaceful combats, wherein he, besides, behaved in a manner no ways suitable to his dignity; and more like a private young Gentleman, than agreeable to kingly majesty [L]. His unhappy end occasioned many reflections [M].

He

(g) He was wounded the 30th of June 1559, and died the 10th of July of that year.

Voiture was censured for having said somewhere, by way of raillery, *that he valued a good soup, more than Pliny's Panegyric, and the longest Oration of Isocrates.* Mr. de Girac, continues he, *imagines that Mr. de Voiture is as stupid as that wretch, who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage, and that Prince of ours, who gave up Pignerol for a good meal.* To what lengths will not people go, when they are heated by a quarrel? The slightest faults which escape an antagonist are made crimes. Girac, who, with regard to another man, would very probably have contented himself with representing, that the word *fool* was too strong to be employed to express the fault of a Prince, charges Costar, his enemy, as guilty of high treason. Let us duly weigh all his words (47).

(47) *Replique à Costar, Sect. 1. pag. 8.*

(†) *Pag. 173.*

(1.) See Valer. Maxim. lib. 4. esp. 8. Livy, lib. 30, &c. Plut. of the Fortune of Alexand. Disc. 2.

“ attempt that deserves the severest punishment, to dart his venom and malice against the sacred person of our Kings. Does not he compare (†) the liberality of Henry III to Esau's folly, who gave up his birth-right for a mess of pottage? Does not he call that great Prince a *fool*, for yielding up Pignerol to the Duke of Savoy, who had the honour to be his uncle; and from whom he expected great success, in the urgent necessity of his affairs? Was Lewis XII ever taken for a *fool*, he who presented the King of Navarre with the Principality of Bearne, and who curtailed his dominions of so important a territory? Did any one accuse the Romans (‡) of folly, though they often made donations of whole Provinces and Kingdoms to various Kings their friends? And if Alexander, as Plutarch tells us, would willingly have given up the island of Cyprus, by way of reward for some verses which had been wrote in his praise; shall a King of France be looked upon as a madman by persons who have the least glimmering of sense, for having given up a town to a relation of his, who had given him a costly and most magnificent reception in his dominions? ” A little after he asks, *if Costar is not afraid of being punished, in the reign of a Prince, so nearly related to Henry, who had not been dead so great a number of years?* and he cites what Guicciardine and Paulus Jovius observes, concerning the prodigious veneration which the French have for their Monarch. He often repeats the same accusation (48); but this we must ascribe to the symptoms of a kind of fever, which seizes writers when they are on replies or rejoinders.

(48) See pag. 91. where he insinuates that Costar deserved to have been imprisoned in the Bastille, for calling Henry III fool. See also pag. 190.

(19) So long as she lived, she always persuaded, and prevailed with the Duke of Savoy her husband, to continue in peace; and that he, who was a Spaniard, should not engage in any manner against France, as he did after her death. Brantôme, *Femmes illustres*, pag. 328.

Though he had given us a catalogue of all the Monarchs, who, from the beginning of the world, have given away Cities, Provinces, or even Kingdoms; he never would have been able to persuade men of sense and experienced Politicians, that such presents were ever made, in circumstances, like to those of Henry III, without the donor's being guilty of folly. The last mentioned King gave up Pignerol in favour of a Prince who owed his glorious re-establishment to the Spaniards; and who, in his heart, was a Spaniard to all intents and purposes (49); that is, was always ready to favour the most formidable enemy which France had at that time. It was to such a Duke of Savoy that a town was delivered up, which opened a way into the Kingdom, to the enemy; and which kept the said Duke in awe, and prevented his joining in alliance with Spain. But, will it be said, the Duke had been so extremely courteous to Henry III, and spent such vast sums in regaling him at Turin; therefore ought he not to have been looked upon as a good and constant friend? I answer that he ought not. None but ignorant people would rely on the constancy of friendship between Sovereigns. To see the presents which they bestow on one another, and their intercourse of letters in time of peace, one would swear that they are most sincere friends, and will love one another as long as they live; but it is very

often true, that they are negotiating at the same time a treaty in order to a rupture; and intend to serve one another no longer, till they shall have an opportunity of taking advantage of some hostility. This was never verified so much, as in the time that Henry III was so prodigiously cherished at the Duke of Savoy's court. The Duke was entirely disposed to take advantage of the confusions which he saw in France, and to call in the aid of the Spaniard for that purpose; and he left a son who inherited this passion, and who not only possessed himself of the Marquisate of Saluces; but also projected conspiracies, the design of which was to dismember France, and totally ruin the Monarchy (50). Can we therefore enough blame this blunder of Henry III? See the remark [F] of this article.

(50) See the article of GONTAUT (Charles) remark [D].

[K] *His favourites . . . amassed prodigious estates by the most unjust methods.* For fear lest I should be accused of exaggerating matters, I shall employ Mezerai's words. “ The expences which those who disposed of his favour and affairs put him to, and a considerable part whereof they turned to their own profit, were so prodigious, that he oppressed the Kingdom with grievous taxes, and run above forty millions of livres in debt. Farther, they also ruined a great number of families by their avarice. The invention of farmings and monopolies not being at that time so common, they made use of another method which was no less pernicious, viz. their impeaching the most wealthy persons upon pretence of their being guilty of hereby and other crimes; and to search out for, or make delinquents, in order to have the fleecing of them, or to search out for, or obtain their pardon by their intercession (51). ” This Historian had just before observed, *that Henry II is not accused of any other fault, than of being too easy, and more liable to be governed than to govern himself.* This is one of the greatest imperfections a King can have, because generally those who govern him, when he is in the condition in question, do more mischief than he himself would commit, were he to govern them.

(51) *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1138.

[L] *He behaved in a manner no ways suitable to his dignity; and more like a private young Gentleman, than agreeable to kingly majesty.* This was the judgment of prudent and sagacious persons, as we are told by a contemporary author (52). “ A tournament was been ordered to be solemnized in St. Anthony's Street before the Tournelles, with all imaginable pomp and magnificence; and this because the King was to be one of the combatants, followed by the Dukes of Ferrara, Guise and Nemours; a circumstance which appeared strange to several persons of good sense, saying, that it became the majesty of Kings to be the judge of combats, and not to enter the lists. Even, in old romances, Kings, on such occasions, never attempted acts of common Knights; but, either disguised themselves, in case they were desirous of entering the lists; or kept away entirely from those diversions: however, such was the King's ill fate, that he was determined to have the honour of running first in the tournament; and I believe the motive which prompted him to this, was, to shew foreigners how dexterous he was in the handling of arms, and the management of a horse; so that those who were near him did not dare to divert him from that enterprize; a circumstance which afterwards exhibited a wretched spectacle to the French Nation.

(52) Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. 4. tom. 1. pag. 172, 173.

[M] *His unhappy end occasioned many reflections.* I will not produce the testimony of Protestant writers; it is plain that that of Pasquier will be more efficacious (53). “ In this manner our good King Henry (53) came to his end; and as the common people naturally keep their eyes fixed on the actions of their King; so King Henry's death was not suffered to

“ pass

He never spoke after his wound [N]; so that all the sayings, which have been ascribed to him, are mere fictions. The sincerity and frankness with which the French Historians have owned the errors of that Monarch, and the ignominy he brought upon the Nation, in preferring the counsels of the Constable, to the remonstrances of the Duke of Guise [O], is not much found in other Historians. The Protestants imagined that his death would be of great advantage to them; but they were treated with still greater severity under Francis II; and, humanly speaking, had Francis II lived two years longer, they would have been extirpated from France [P]. They are accused of discovering too insolent a joy, when news was brought of Henry's tragical end [Q]; but

“ pass without the commentaries and interpretations of
 “ some people; for to inform you, in an ample man-
 “ ner, of the several transactions which happened in
 “ France; as soon as the peace was concluded, the
 “ Cardinal of Lorraine, who had been one of the chief
 “ mediators of it, declared in open Parliament, that
 “ it was the King's opinion it should be made on any
 “ terms, in order that he might from that time be
 “ more at liberty, to attend to the banishment and
 “ extirpation of Calvin's heresy. And indeed, he
 “ came in person, the 10th of June, into Parliament,
 “ there to take the opinion of every Counsellor or
 “ Member, with respect to the punishment of heret-
 “ ics. Many gave theirs with pretty great freedom;
 “ some thinking that he should suspend the punish-
 “ ment of them, till the decision should be made in
 “ a general Council, which they said was necessary.
 “ Upon this the King, being fired with a great and
 “ just passion, immediately commanded Montgom-
 “ mery to seize some of the Assembly, who had de-
 “ livered their opinions more freely than was agree-
 “ able to him, and these were immediately carried
 “ prisoners to the Bastille: wherefore, said these new
 “ Commentators, this evil befel the King, by a just
 “ judgment of God, as a vengeance upon him for
 “ unjustly imprisoning the persons abovementioned:
 “ that opinions ought to be free, and not founded by
 “ a King, in order, after he has heard them, to com-
 “ mit the Counsellors or Members close prisoners:
 “ that God had chastised him by the hand of that Mi-
 “ nister, whom he had employed to imprison the
 “ Counsellors in question. Likewise, that in the same
 “ manner as, on the 10th of June, he had brought
 “ that ignominy on the Parliament; so, on the 10th of
 “ July following, day for day, he lost his life. Thus
 “ did some of the people discourse concerning his
 “ death, accordingly as they were prompted by their se-
 “ veral passions; not knowing that the mysteries of God
 “ are entirely concealed from us; and such as, by reason
 “ of the weakness of our senses, we oftner refer to
 “ our own opinions than to truth.” Anne du Bourg
 “ was one of those whom the King caused to be impris-
 “ oned in the Bastille, and against whom he was most
 “ exasperated; “ for he declared, among other ex-
 “ pressions, that both his eyes should see him burnt
 “ (54).” *Fra-Paolo observes*, that the Queen-mother
 “ was furiously enraged at the Lutherans, for publish-
 “ ing in their manifestos, that the wound which the
 “ King her husband had received in the eye, was a
 “ punishment sent from God, for his threatening *Anne*
 “ *du Bourg*, that he would see him burnt (55).”
 [N] *He never spoke after his wound.* Most His-
 torians say, that a splinter of Montgomery's lance
 flew into King Henry's eye, and wounded him mor-
 tally; but what Mezerai says on that subject is more
 probable. “ It happened, *says he* (56), that Mont-
 gomery having broke his lance in the breast-plate,
 “ could not keep back his arm; so that he gave him
 “ a thrust in the right eye, with the stump of it which
 “ was left in his hand, with so much violence, that a
 “ splinter of it forced itself quite to the back part of
 “ his head.” In this manner Montgomery might
 appear infinitely more criminal, although he had not,
 in reality, perpetrated this action voluntarily. The
 Historian adds: “ It was not certainly known, even
 “ at that time, whether the King spoke or not, after
 “ he had received the wound; the truth being dis-
 “ guised by the persons who were about him, or ren-
 “ dered doubtful by the different reports which were
 “ spread concerning it, by those who had different
 “ interests. Some relate certain fine remonstrances he
 “ made to his son; others even add, that when he
 “ was carried out of the Lists, he looked towards the

“ Bastille, where the prisoners of Parliament were con-
 “ fined; and said, with a deep sigh, that he was a-
 “ fraid he had wrongfully punished innocent men;
 “ but that Cardinal de Lorraine correcting him im-
 “ mediately, exhorted him to reject that thought, as
 “ being suggested by the tempter. Others assert,
 “ that he lost his speech and all his senses the instant
 “ he was struck (57), a circumstance that is confirm-
 “ ed by the arguments of many Physicians, who de-
 “ clare, that a man must necessarily be struck dumb,
 “ when his brain is wounded or very violently shaken.”
 After this, what man would credit the stories which
 are spread, concerning the last words of dying per-
 sons (58)?

[O] *He preferred the counsels of the Constable, to the remonstrances of the Duke of Guise.* The Constable, who had been prisoner ever since the battle of St. Quentin, resolved to recover his liberty at any rate. The Guises made too much advantage of his absence; and thence it was that he negotiated a treaty of peace, in which he granted all the demands required by the Spaniards; and he knew so well the foible of the King his master, that he easily prevailed with him to consent to this treaty. It was to no purpose that the Duke of Guise employed a thousand demonstrative reasons (59), to make the King reject a peace which sacrificed the glory of the French name to the Spaniards; and more strong-holds in one day, than they could have conquered in one century; for the King was deaf to all this. I must introduce a remark of Brantome (60). He pretends that Henry II, wearied out, and disgusted at the insolence of the Guises, resolved to send them home; but that, in order to effect this, he wanted to get back his Constable and put an end to the war; he therefore wrote to him, and to Marshal de St. Andre (61), to negotiate a peace, which they did to our disadvantage. We must not omit the other artifice: these two prisoners and the Dukes of Valentinois enriched themselves with the confiscated estates of the heretics; who doubts that, in order to obtain peace, they obliged the King to accept of any conditions, in order to have an opportunity of carrying on, at full ease, the affairs of the inquisition? It is certain (62) that the intrigues and cabals of the Dukes in question, seconded by the artifices of the Constable, dragged the King to that precipice.

[P] *Had Francis II lived two years longer, the Protestants would have been extirpated from France.* This is the opinion of Beza; for having displayed all the reasons which promised them more happy times after King Henry's death, he adds (63): “ But God
 “ had ordered it quite otherwise, being resolved to
 “ have the honour which belongs to him, of re-esta-
 “ blishing his church by his single arm and strength
 “ alone, which is so much the more wonderful, as
 “ the resistance of the greatest men had been most
 “ furious and frantic against it. It was therefore un-
 “ der the reign of Francis II, successor to Henry, that
 “ Satan's rage rose to an extreme height; so that one
 “ might say of this reign, which lasted but seventeen
 “ months, what Jesus Christ says in St. Matthew,
 “ viz. that unless those days had been shortened, no
 “ man could be saved; but that for the elects sake
 “ they were shortened.” A particular account of the
 measures which had been taken to ruin the party en-
 tirely, is seen in a few pages in Maimbourg (64).
 Take particular notice of the words which he prefixes
 to this detail (65):

[Q] *They are accused of discovering too insolent a joy, when news was brought of Henry's tragical end.* I have already cited (66) Maimbourg upon this; and here follow Mezerai's words (67). “ As he was

(57) Mezerai, in his *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 721. is fixed in this opinion. The blow, says he, was so violent, that it threw him on the ground, and deprived him of his senses and speech, which he never recovered after. This proves the falsity of the different speeches which men, according to their several interests and passions, put into his mouth.

(58) See the remark [F] of FRANCIS DUKÉ of Guise.

(59) Mezerai relates them at large. See above, the remark [C] between the citations (8) and (9).

(60) *Eloge de Henri II*, tom. 2. pag. 52.

(61) He was a prisoner as well as the Constable.

(62) See Belcastus, lib. 28. num. 17. & seq.

(63) *Hist. Eccles. des Eglises Réformées*, liv. 3. pag. 212.

(64) *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 2. pag. 157, 158, 159.

(65) All things were then (i. e. when Francis II died) so disposed for the entire ruin of Calvinism in France, that it seemed quite inevitable. *Ibid.* pag. 157.

(66) In the remark [D].

(67) *Hist. of France*, tom. 2. pag. 1139.

(54) La Place, *Comment. de l'Etat de la Religion & Republique*, folio m. 19.

(55) Fra-Paolo, *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, liv. 5.

(56) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. p. 1138.

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but no one could have expressed himself with greater modesty on this subject, than Beza (b). I forgot to observe that this Prince, when but Dauphin of France, lived in such a misunderstanding with the Duke of Orleans his brother, as cost France dear [R], and would have proved much more fatal to it, had not this Duke died. Who knows whether he would not have disputed the Crown with him [S]? The Ladies had been so bold, as to spread about such horoscopes, as could not but foment the jealousy of these two brothers. They had shewn these pretended astrological predictions to Francis I. They were refuted by Castellan [T], but were refuted still better by the event. It is related by several authors, that an Astrologer, famous for calculating nativities, had foretold that Henry II should be killed in a duel [U]. This prediction is told so variously, that

"very good Prince, he was bewailed by all his people, those of the new sect excepted, who imagined that his death would be their liberty and advancement. They rejoiced so much at this, that they made songs upon it, and thanksgivings to God; or rather blasphemies, they presuming to say, that the Almighty had stricken him under the walls of the Bastille, where he kept the innocent imprisoned." It must not be thought strange, that a few indiscreet people should be found, among a great number of people; but the Historian of the reformed Churches deserves great applause, for observing the moderation which is seen in the following words. *There remained nothing, in all probability, but a most horrid spectacle of extreme desolation, when the Lord prevented it: for King Henry, in the midst of his peaceful triumphs, joined with marriage, . . . tilting in the Lists, . . . was struck with the counter-stroke of a lance . . . and died the 10th of July following. Strange things were observed in the so-much-unexpected death of this Prince, who was naturally gracious and kind, but neither saw or heard, but by the eyes and ears of those, who engrossed and governed him at pleasure* (68).

(68) Theod. de Beza, *Hist. Eccles. des Eglises reformées*, liv. 2. pag. 195.

(69) In the remark [R] of the article FRANCIS I. See also the remark [E] of the article ETAMPES.

[R] He lived in such a misunderstanding with the Duke of Orleans his brother, as cost France dear.] The Dauphin's faction was headed by Diana of Poitiers, mistress to that Prince. This was the reason why the Duchess d'Etampes sided with the Duke of Orleans. I have spoke elsewhere (69) of the prejudice, which the intrigues of that Duchess did to the affairs of Francis I.

[S] Who knows whether the Duke of Orleans would not have disputed the Crown with him? Tavanés, who was in his service, and had an insatiable desire to raise himself in the world, conceived great hopes from the ambition of this Prince, "who hoped to make himself Sovereign in the life-time of the Dauphin his elder brother. Indeed the Emperor Charles V had flattered him with such strong hopes of this, as greatly raised his courage; and therefore being near expiring at Farenmonstier, where he had rashly defied death, in a house infected with the plague, whither he went purposely on that account; Tavanés, his confident, coming to tell him of the exploit he had performed on the garrison of Calais, whercof he had killed eight hundred men, and taken four hundred prisoners, he spoke as follows to him, Friend, I am a dead man; all our designs are defeated; my great sorrow is, that it is not in my power to reward your desert" (70).

(70) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Castellan*, tom. 2. pag. 572.

[T] The Ladies . . . had shewn these pretended Astrological predictions to Francis I. They were refuted by Castellan.] About two years before this Prince died, certain ladies, who had a great share in his friendship, told him that the stars promised the Duke of Orleans great conquests; and foretold, that the Dauphin would not perform any action worthy a King of France. They talked in this manner, because they knew Francis I had a particular affection for this Duke, and they flattered themselves with the hopes of enriching themselves, by the interest and credit of this young Prince. They used to applaud him; praise him to the skies, and exclaim against the Dauphin as having a dull, heavy genius, and born under the most ill-fated planet possible. *Animo lento & sopito, infelici quodam siderum positu natum* (71). But Castellan could not bear either their flatteries or their calumnies; he turned to those Ladies, when frowning upon them, he told them, that it was difficult to learn Astrology, and more so, to adapt it to human events. He added, that the vanity and impudence of Astrologers rendered them unworthy of all belief; that he him-

(71) Gallandius, in *Vita Castellani*, pag. 73.

self had formerly studied those things under Turreau (72), and had made as much progress in them (72) See the remark [C] of the article CASTELLAN. as any other person; that by way of amusement, and to satisfy the curious, he had calculated, with the utmost accuracy, the nativity of the Dauphin, and that of the Duke of Orleans; and that, according to the rules of that Science of the Stars, he had found that the Duke would have a good, a great, and martial soul; would be supported by the strength and friendship of the Great; and attain to a very exalted pitch of power (73): That the Dauphin would not be inferior to him, either in military virtue, or any other of the virtues worthy of a Prince; that he would enjoy a very happy reign, and triumph over all his enemies (74): but that as all these ways of foretelling things were vain and doubtful, the surest way would be to ground one's conjectures, with regard to the future fortune of both those Princes, on their genius and morals. The King gave a favourable attention to all this; but the flatterers of both sexes were exasperated at it. The Dauphin being informed what Castellan had said, was extremely well pleased; not at his having been applauded, but because his innocence had been spoke in favour of, before Francis I, to whom he was afraid of being made odious (75), *apud quem ne in suspicionem aut odium traheretur metuebat* (76). Ye cursed peits of courts! who can detest you sufficient-ly! How malicious was it to cherish and foment, by so many artifices, the jealousy of two brothers! I must not omit, that Castellan's Astrology proved false with regard to the Duke of Orleans. He died a little after; and yet it had prefaged his rising to very exalted power, which Castellan had considered as a thing to come; and he could not consider it otherwise at that time; for this Prince died nineteen months or thereabouts before his father, and was not then twenty four years of age.

(72) See the remark [C] of the article CASTELLAN.

(73) *Valde potentem futurum*. Galland. in *Vita Castellani*, pag. 73.

(74) *Suorum hostium late victricem felicissimum regnatuum commiserit*. Idem, *ibid.*

(75) Extracted from the *Life of Peter Castellan*, written by Gallandius, chap. 44. pag. 72, & seq.

(76) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 74.

[U] It is related by several authors, that an Astrologer famous for calculating nativities, had foretold that Henry II should be killed in a duel.] Let us see what Brantome says of this matter (77). "I have heard, and know it from good hands, that some years before he died, some say certain days, a Soothfayer calculated his nativity, and presented him with it, and that it informed him, he would die in a duel and single combat. The Constable was there present, to whom the King said; see, friend, what death it is prophesied I shall come to. Sir! replied the Constable, can you credit these scoundrels, who are only liars and braggadochios? Throw that prediction into the fire. Friend, replied the King, for what reason? they sometimes tell the truth; I do not care whether I die that death or another; nay I should rather choose it, and to die by the hand of any man soever, provided he be true and valiant, and glory may thereby accrue to me; and therefore, without regarding what the Constable had said, he gave the prediction in question to Mr. de l'Aubespine, ordering him to lay it by, till such time as he should ask for it . . . (78). Now the King was no sooner wounded, dressed and carried to his chamber, but the Constable calling to mind this prophecy, called Mr. de l'Aubespine, and ordered him to fetch it, which he did; and the instant he saw and read it, the tears started from his eyes. Alas! said he, this is the duel and single combat by which he was to die; it is done, and he is dead. The Soothfayer could not possibly have spoke better and clearer than he has done; although such men, either from their natural disposition, or by the inspiration of their familiar spirit, are always ambiguous and dubious; and thus they always

(77) Brant. *Disc. du Henry II*, in tom. 2. of his *Memoirs*, pag. 50.

(78) Idem, pag. 52.

that this circumstance alone would make one doubt whether it was made by Astrologers [X]. He had ten legitimate, and two natural children. Some pretty remarkable particulars

“ ways speak ambiguously ; but the Soothfayer spoke very plainly in the prophecy. Cursed be the Soothfayer who prophesied so truly and fatally.” Thuanus does not, like Brantome, omit the Soothfayer’s name : He calls him Luke Gauric ; and adds, that the nativity in question was calculated at the request of Catherine of Medicis ; and that it was laughed at, till the King had been wounded in the manner above described. Thuanus mentions this prophecy as a certain truth (79) ; *Genus ac tempus mortis à Luca Gaurico Mathematico Pauli Tertii per familiari prædictum constat, cum Catharina uxor futuri anxia femina eum super viri ac filiorum fata consuleret, fore nimirum ut in duello caderet, vulnere in oculo accepto: quod irrisum à multis ac pro tempore neglectum fuit, quasi regis conditio*

(79) Thuan. lib. 22. sub fin.

supra duellum posita esset (79) ; but those who cite Luke Gauric’s own words, taken from the horoscope of Henry II, deserve more credit. Now it is certain, by these words, that the Soothfayer promised this Monarch a long life, and did not threaten him with a fatal duel. Gassendi did not fail to cite this great example ; and adds, that Cardan was no less mistaken in the horoscope of the Prince in question, than Gauric (80). *Constat ex Historiis Henricum II Gallie nos.*

(80) Gassend. Sect. 2. Physica, lib. 6. pag. 745. tom. 1. Oper.

traè Regem obiisse anno ætatis quadragesimo completo, ex oculari vulnere. En autem de eo Gaurici Vaticinium in Prognostico anni MDLVI. Quoniam in sui natalis penè divini schemate habuit Solem sub gradibus suæ altitudinis Veneri ferè partiliter alligatum ; quin & Lunam atque Venerem sub Arietis Asterismo, per Horoscopum progredientem ; vivet felicissimus annos LXX, deductis duobus mensibus ; si nutu divino superaverit annos insalubres LXIII, LXIV, & semper vivet in terris pientissimus. Paria sunt quæ idem Gauricus antea ediderat, quæque à Sixto (81) referuntur. En & vaticinium Cardani, cum de eodem Henrico loquens, Erit certe, inquit, senecta tanto felicior etiam plura fuerit expertus, &c. i. e. “ It is manifest from History, that

(81) He speaks of Sixtus ab Heminga, who has shewn, from the example of thirty famous horoscopes that the event befell them.

“ Henry II, King of France, died of a wound he had received in his eye, when he was just turned of forty : Now here follows Gauric’s prophecy concerning him, in his prognostic for the year 1556.

*Because, in the scheme of his almost divine nativity, he had the sun very near in partile aspect with Venus, and the Moon and Venus in the constellation of Aries, proceeding through his Horoscope, he shall live seventy years, wanting two months, in a most happy manner, provided that, by the divine favour, he lives beyond the critical years 63 and 64, and shall be conspicuous for his sanctity. Gauric had published the same things before, as they are related by Sixtus ab Heminga. Here follows likewise a prediction of Cardan, speaking of Henry II in question. His old age, says he, shall be so much the more happy, as he shall have experienced, &c.” This is a matter of so much importance, that it deserves a second testimony : The person I mean is not one who depends upon hearsay, he relating what he has read in the very writings of Gauric, where he saw the most happy predictions that could be to Henry II. *Et memini in Italia quasdam Ephemerides annuas Luca Gaurici vidisse, in quibus cum pro libertate scribendi quæ tunc vigeat, singulis Principibus Europæis maximas felicitates, aut gravissima damna minaretur, nihil postea perinde cecidit, ac ipse futurum prædixerat. Atque utinam Henricus secundus, quem ille extrema tantum senectute, & morbo placidissimo satis concessurum dixerat, non ætate potius florenti, & tam acerbo, præcipitque fato nobis ereptus fuisset (82). i. e.**

(82) Naudæus, in Judicio de Cardano.

“ I remember to have seen, in Italy, certain annual Ephemerides of Luke Gauric, wherein, according to the great liberty which writers took in those times, he had prophesied, to all the Princes of Europe, either very great happiness or grievous calamities, but nothing came to pass of what he had foretold. And would to heavens that Henry II, who, according to this Diviner, was to live to an extreme old age, and to die of a very easy and most gentle distemper, had not on the contrary been snatched away in the flower of his age, and by so sudden and cruel a death.”

[X] This prediction is told so variously, that this cir-

cumstance alone would make one doubt whether it was made by Astrologers.] Let us see Stephen Pasquier’s relation ; we there do not find so much as Gauric’s name, the whole relating to other persons and circumstances. “ And indeed one would imagine that long before this disaster had been privately prognosticated, to the King, by Jerom Cardan, who, in a scheme which he erected of his nativity, declared, that all things would be smooth and easy in the beginning of his reign ; but assured him that, in the decline of his life, he would come to a fatal end ; and such as, for the grandeur of a King, he thought himself obliged to conceal. A report was likewise spread at Court, that at the return of the Cardinal of Lorraine from his last journey to Italy, a letter was presented him, sent from a Jew in Rome, greatly skilled and practised in those fantastical predictions and divinations, which strenuously exhorted him to beware of a single combat. The King having heard these letters read, disregarded them as fictitious ; never imagining that, considering his exalted station, it would be possible for him to be ever engaged in a duel. These letters, as we are told, were then laid up by Mr. de l’Aubespine, who, after the King’s death, shewed them to several Lords, as it is related. Besides it is added (but I will not assert it as fact) that the Queen remembering these Letters, and the time which had been prognosticated, besought him several times, that since the two preceding days had been past to his honour and satisfaction, he would be pleased, the third day, not to enter the lists, in order to avoid any inconvenience that might happen, and appoint some other person in his stead. The King however would not consent to this ; and on the very day he was wounded, the Queen having sent a Gentleman from her seat purposely to intreat him, in her name, to be satisfied with what he had already performed ; he sent word, that he would run but once more, in which, as ill fortune would have it, he was wounded (83).” It must be particularly observed,

(83) Pasquier’s Letters, lib. 4. tom. 1. pag. 179.

that Pasquier relates these particulars only upon a very random hearsay, of the truth whereof he himself was not persuaded. But observe still further, that it is not said that Cardan published this pretended horoscope after the death of Henry II. He nevertheless was vain enough, and sufficiently bigotted to Astrology (84), to have taken to himself the glory of so surprizing a discovery. Nothing could have ennobled his art so much as this. He could have called upon the testimony of the Constable of Mommorenci, Catherine of Medicis, l’Aubespine, and some other persons of the highest rank. Whence could it be, that he should have neglected the interests of his glory and those of his purse (85) to so great a degree ?

(84) Confer quæ supra, remark [E] of the article CARDAN.

The reader has seen in the preceding remark, what Gauric promised Henry II in 1556 ; let us now see what he had foretold him for four years before : *Inclitissimus Gallorum Rex, (this is what he has put at the foot of the scheme of that King’s nativity, in the Venice edition of 1552, printed by Curtius Trojanus Navo.) Henricus Christianissimus, erit Regum quorundam Imperator, ante supremos cineres ad rerum culmina perveniet, felicissimamque ac viridem senectam, uti colligitur ex Sole, Venere & Luna horoscopantibus, & potissimum Sole in suo trono partiliter supputato. In civitatibus Arieti subiectis maximum sortietur dominium, si forte superaverit suæ ætatis annos 56, 63, 64, ad annos 69 Menses 10 dies 12 facili ac felici tramite perducetur (86). i. e. “ The most renowned King of*

(85) He would have been paid much more largely for his predictions, had it been known that he had found out by Astrology, that a King of France should be killed in a duel.

France, the most Christian King Henry, shall be Monarch over certain Kings ; shall attain the highest pitch of power ; and live to a vigorous old age, as is manifest from the Sun, Venus, and the Moon arising at his nativity, and especially from the Sun being in his exaltation, in a partile aspect. He shall obtain very great dominion in the cities subject to Aries, if he does but live beyond the 56th, 63, 64th year, he shall attain to the 69th year, 10 months, and 12 days of his age, and shall enjoy very great happiness.”

(86) Lucas Gauricus, in Tractatu Astrologico in quo agitur de prædictionibus multorum bonorum accidentibus per proprias eorum genituras ad unguem exacte natis, fol. 42 verso.

particulars are told concerning the mothers of the latter [Y]. Henry II was born at St. Germain en Laie, the 31st of March 1519. He was Duke of Orleans when he married, at Marfeilles, Catherine de Medicis, the 28th of October 1533. He was then but fourteen years and a few months old; a circumstance which made Pope Clement VII, Catherine's uncle, fear that the marriage was not consummated on the wedding night; and authors pretend, that being curious to enquire into that affair himself, he found such proofs as set his mind at ease in this particular [Z]. This young husband's elder brother dying, he became Dauphin the 10th of August 1536. We have related in another place (i), that his consort was barren many years, and afterwards brought him several children. He persecuted such of his subjects as were of the Protestant Religion with the utmost rigour; and nevertheless he himself forged those weapons, which enabled the Protestants most especially to maintain their cause [AA]; for, by his means, the Protestants of Ger-

(i) In the article FERNEL, remark [K].

[Y] Some pretty remarkable particulars are told concerning the mothers of the two natural children.] Read what follows, which is copied from Brantome (87).

(87) Mem. des Dames Galantes, tom. 2. pag. 372.

Henry II, "who was of a pretty amorous complexion, whenever he went to visit any Lady, went in the most private manner he could, in order to prevent their virtue from being suspected; and if any of them happened to be discovered, it was not his fault, nor by his consent, but was rather owing to the Lady; as I have been told of a Lady of a good family, Madam Flamin by name, a Scots woman, who being with child by the King, was far from mincing the matter, but said boldly in her Scots-French, I have exerted myself so well, that I at last am so happy as to be with child by the King, which I think a very great honour and felicity. Methinks there is something sweeter and more delicate in the royal blood than in any other, so well I find myself after what I have done; not to mention the fine presents that are always got on those occasions. The son she then had by the King was the late Grand Prior of France, who was killed not long since in Marfeilles (88), which was a very great pity, for he was a most courteous, brave and valiant nobleman." What I have to say concerning the other mistress is a singularity of another kind. The Dauphin (afterwards King Henry II) being

(88) Father Anselme, Hist. Génealog. de la Maison de France, pag. 144. says, that he was son to N... de Levisston, a Scotch Lady; and was killed at Aix in Provence by Philip Altoviti, Baron of Castellanes, the 2d June 1586.

(89) Father Anselme, *ibid.* says, that her name was Philippa des Ducs; that she was living the 1st of July 1572, and did not assume a religious habit, as Peter Matthew thought

(90) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Castellau*, tom. 2. pag. 447.

(91) Anselme, *Hist. Geneal. de la Maison de France*, pag. 144.

(92) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Castellau*, tom. 2. pag. 418.

(93) Henry III gave her the Dukedoms of Engoulême and of Chatelleraut, the Earldom of Ponthieu, and the Government of Limosin. Le Laboureur, *ibid.*

(94) Extracted from the *Addit. de Monf. Le Laboureur*, *ibid.*

(95) Varillas, Preface of tom. 5. de l'Hist. de l'Herésie, fol. 3. Dutch edit.

"smit with a young Lady of Cony in Piedmont (89), in the journey he made thither with the Constable of Montmorency, his servants set fire to her house in the night, and the danger it was in of being burnt down, giving every one access to it, people flocked to it in crowds, crying *salva la Donna* (save the Lady) and having seized her, carried her to the Dauphin (90)." He had a Daughter by her named Diana, who was first married to Horazio Farneze Duke of Castro, and afterwards to Francis Duke of Montmorency, eldest son to the Constable. The second marriage was solemnized the 5th of May, 1557 (91), and ended by the death of the first husband the 6th of May 1579 (92). The only son which sprung from it died before his father. The widow lived till the 3d of January 1619, and was then above fourscore. She brought about a reconciliation between Henry III and Henry IV; and had a tender friendship for Charles de Valois her Nephew, natural son of Charles IX. She saved his life, when Henry IV would have involved him in the affair of the Duke of Biron; she represented to that Prince, that it was greatly his interest, to render sacred and inviolable the heads of the illegitimate children of Kings, and carefully to avoid establishing a fatal example against them. She married this nephew to Charlotte de Montmorency, her husband's niece, and left his children heirs of all her possessions, and of the palace of Engoulême (93) belonging to her in Paris (94).

[Z] Some authors pretend, that Pope Clement VII being curious to enquire into that affair himself, found such proofs as set his mind at ease in that particular.] I have read this no where but in Varillas. The interview between his Holiness, says he (95), and his Majesty, was at Marfeilles, and the nuptials of the Duke of Orleans and Catherine were solemnized there with great magnificence. As the Bridegroom was but sixteen years of age, and the bride thirteen, the King, who would not hazard his son's health, would have the consummation of the marriage suspended for two or three years. But this did not suit the Pope in any manner, who was afraid, in case he

should happen to die before the marriage with his niece was consummated, she should be sent back into Italy; and indeed, says Paul Jovius, he was not satisfied till after he had seen certain marks that the marriage had been consummated. If Paul Jovius has mentioned such a circumstance, it is not in that part of his history where he speaks of that interview between the Pope and Francis I. This nevertheless was the most proper place, and the most natural occasion of touching on that particular, especially as the author did not omit to take notice of the tender age of the Duke of Orleans, to make several other observations, and even to say that the marriage was consummated the first night. *Augebant suspitionem maturatæ nuptiæ, quæ impares regio sanguini viderentur. Siquidem nobilissimus adolescens Henricus, quauquam ætate tenerior, Catharinam celebratis insigni ceremonia nuptiis, ex virgine mulierem prima nocte reddiderat* (96). i. e. "A circumstance that increased the suspicion was, the halting of the marriage, which did not seem suitable to the royal blood. For the most noble Henry, though of a tender age, after his nuptials had been solemnized with great magnificence, made Catherine a woman the very first night." I confess then, that Varillas might be suspected of falsely citing the testimony of Paulus Jovius, His saying that the bridegroom was sixteen years of age, and the bride thirteen, is not just; for it is certain that Henry II, was born the 31st of March 1519, and married Catherine of Medicis the 28th of October 1533 (97). Father Anselme, who fixes his birth to the 31st of March 1518, adds, that it was before Easter; and consequently that year is 1519, according to the new style. He also says that Catherine was born the 13th of April, 1519. *Hist. Gen.* Gauric sets down the same day and year in the scheme of that nativity. There therefore was but the space of a fortnight between the age of the Bridegroom and Bride. Spondanus is very near as much mistaken as Varillas, since he asserts that Catherine was but thirteen, and Henry but fifteen years and seven months (98).

(96) Jov. *Hist.* lib. 31. fol. 2304 edit. Basil. 1554

(97) See the *Fastes* of Father du Londe, pag. 23 and 34; and Father Anselme, *Hist. Gen.* pag. 137 and 139.

(98) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1533, num.

[AA] He himself forged those weapons, which enabled the Protestants most effectually to maintain their cause.] See what I have said on this matter, in the remark [D], and add to it the following passage from Stephen Pasquier (99). "We saw the Emperor Charles V make war upon the Germans, his vassals, for imbibing and professing heresy. . . . His affairs went on successfully, which obliged them to implore our assistance. Could any thing be more plausible, in point of State-affairs, as courtiers judge of them, than to take their cause in hand, in order to prevent a mighty Prince from increasing his power still more at our gates, by the ruin of all the Princes of Germany? But, on the other hand, what would be more unjust than to assist a subject against his lawful Sovereign? and especially to join with a heretic, against a Catholic Emperor, who fought only for the honour of God and his Church? Our Prince was a Catholic, as were likewise the Noblemen who had the greatest share in his favour; but notwithstanding this, we take upon our selves to protect the German heretics; and the King, in open Parliament, caused himself to be proclaimed by the most pompous title of Protector of the German Liberty, that is to say, of the German heresy; and as such caused money to be coined, bearing that inscription. Under that specious title he undertook that expedition at the head of a power-

"ful

many put their affairs in so happy a posture, that it was easy for them to send great succours to the Calvinists of France. The comparison which has been made between his reign, and the latter part of that of Francis I, shews, that a Monarch who is too much inclined to liberality, does more prejudice to a State than a Monarch who is too niggardly [BB]. Henry the II's fault was, the ill management of his revenues, whereby he perverted the administration of them, and got prodigiously in debt [CC]. The evil which

ful army. This gave such success to our enterprise, that, at the bare news of it, as we were going to cross the Rhine, the Emperor was forced to adjust matters amicably with his subjects, and grant them many privileges, against the honour of God and of his conscience, which he otherwise would not have tolerated. As to my self, my opinion is, that God was resolved afterwards to chastize us with the same rods, which we had made use of against the Emperor, having permitted, after Henry's death, his children (minors) to be warred upon by their subjects, for the support of an opinion more violent than that of Luther; and that they should be aided, by the German Princes, against them. And when God was determined to exercise his vengeance upon us, it was impossible for any human methods to ward it off, so that all the remedies which we thought to apply to it, turned to our destruction." Pasquier makes another remark which I don't take to be a good one. At our return, says he (100), from that fine expedition into Germany, Calvin began to solicit, on all sides, by letters; and the persons thus addressed were easily over-reached, thinking, as we may suppose, that since the King and his Council had taken the Lutherans under their protection, they themselves were, in their hearts, of the same Religion. Thus did the seeds of the new Religion, by insensible degrees, spread in France, which reached, at last, the noble or vital parts, I mean the Princes and great Lords. The author here commits two errors; he supposing that Calvin did not begin to solicit the French by letters till towards the close of the year 1552. Now this is false, for he had never ceased to do it since the year 1536; and besides, it is not true, that the French could believe that Henry II and his Council were Lutherans in their hearts. The contrary could not be doubted, since this Prince was seen to persecute, with fire and sword, those who professed the new Religion, throughout all parts of his Kingdom. The protection which he granted, and the good offices he did the Protestants of Germany, were of no service to elude this proof of his aversion for their sect; the only thing hereby shewn was, that he sacrificed the interest of his Religion, to the political interest of his Government. In this manner Kings generally act: though they sometimes take another course, in order to sacrifice, to a spirit of perfection, not only the conquests they might achieve, but also those they have gained, and the most solid advantages of their Government. Henry II was an instance of this, when he accepted the peace of Cateau.

[BB] A Prince, who is too much inclined to liberality, does more prejudice to a State than a Prince who is too niggardly.] A French Civilian (101) has asserted that "those are in a great error, who applaud and adore universally the goodness of a gentle, gracious, courteous and simple Prince; for such a simplicity, unaccompanied with prudence, is very dangerous, and pernicious in a King; and productive of much worse consequences than the cruelty of a severe, peevish, rough, covetous and inaccessible Prince. And in my opinion our forefathers have not used the following proverb without a cause, a bad man makes a good King; a sentence that may seem strange to delicate ears, and which have not been accustomed to weigh the reasons on both sides. By the indulgence and silly simplicity of too good natured a Prince, it comes to pass that flatterers, parasites, and the most wicked men, obtain all offices, employments, benefices and grants, exhausting the treasures of a Kingdom: and by this means the miserable people are preyed upon to their very bones, and cruelly enslaved by the Great; so that, for one tyrant, there are ten thousand &c." Desirous afterwards to confirm this position by examples, he goes on as follows (103): this Kingdom "has

been seen as great, rich and flourishing in Arms as in Laws, towards the close of the reign of Francis I, when he grew peevish and inaccessible, and no one dared to approach him, to sue for the least favour and honour; and pensions were so retrenched, that there was found in his treasury, at his death, a million of gold, and seven hundred thousand crowns, and the March-quarter to receive; and nothing owing, except a very small matter to the Lords of the Grisons, and to the Bank of Lyons, which it was judged not proper to pay, in order to keep them to their duty: Peace was settled with all the Potentates in the world; the frontiers extended as far as the gates of Milan; the Kingdom abounding with great captains and the most learned men in the world. It was afterwards seen, during the twelve years reign of Henry II, whose goodness was so great, as not to be parallel'd by any Prince of his age, that the Government was very near changed; for being gentle, gracious and good-natured, he could not deny any person; by which means his father's treasures, being exhausted in a few months, places of trust are more exposed to sale than ever; benefices bestowed without the least regard had to merit; civil offices sold to the best bidder, and consequently to the most unworthy. Taxes were higher than ever they had been before; and yet, when he died, his Exchequer was found indebted forty two millions, after having lost Piedmont, Savoy, the island of Corsica, and the frontiers of the Netherlands: although these losses were inconsiderable, in comparison of fame and honour. Had the gentleness of this great King been accompanied with severity, his goodness mixed with rigour, his easiness with austerity; all things would not have been so easily extorted from him." This learned man's opinion seems a paradox at first sight; but when it is closely examined, we find it to be justly grounded.

[CC] He perverted the administration of his treasures, and got prodigiously in debt.] "There was an ordinance of Francis I, confirmed by his successor, importing that there should be four keys to the Exchequer chest, one of which the King should keep, and the other three be in the hands of Commissioners appointed by him; and monies were to be disbursed by the King's command, in presence of the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Exchequer. But King Henry II, by an (*) Edict granted some time after, (*) In 1556. indulged the Commissioners and Officers of the Treasury so far, as not to allow any person to call them to account hereafter; nay, one of the Commissioners had at one time, as a free gift, an hundred thousand crowns, a great sum at that time, if the report then spread of it was true (104)." It is Bodin (104) Bodin, Of, makes this remark, who adds a little after (105), a Republic, lib. 6. that Francis I did not bestow so many benefactions cap. 2. pag. 904. during a reign of thirty two years, as his successor (105) Ibid. pag. did in two years. Francis I had scarce closed his 1055. of the Latin edit. of 1601, eyes, but the tilletage, or money given for the renewing of Commissions, which at that time was an immense sum, was given to a single person (106)." Let (106) Ibid. pag. us see how this has been expressed in the Latin trans- 905. of the French edit. of 1608, 3vo. lation. Nondum justa parenti fecerat (Henricus secundus) cum hirudo quedam Palatina pecunie vim infinitam, quam officiarum accepta confirmatione regibus initiatis fisco dependere solent, uno absorbit & eodem hiansu (107). (107) Ibid. pag. This Prince's profuseness and prodigality doubtless 1055. made him lay new taxes on his subjects; not remembering the promises he made, when he gave orders for those taxations. Weigh well the following words of Bodin (108). "When the taillon or tax was laid on the (108) Ibid. pag. subjects in the year one thousand five hundred and forty 896. nine, the King promised not to appropriate or employ the monies to any other use but the payment of his Gendarmerie, without confounding or blending them with the monies arising from the other revenues;

(100) Pasquier's return, says he (100), from that fine expedition into Germany, Calvin began to solicit, on all sides, by letters; and the persons thus addressed were easily over-reached, thinking, as we may suppose, that since the King and his Council had taken the Lutherans under their protection, they themselves were, in their hearts, of the same Religion. Thus did the seeds of the new Religion, by insensible degrees, spread in France, which reached, at last, the noble or vital parts, I mean the Princes and great Lords. The author here commits two errors; he supposing that Calvin did not begin to solicit the French by letters till towards the close of the year 1552. Now this is false, for he had never ceased to do it since the year 1536; and besides, it is not true, that the French could believe that Henry II and his Council were Lutherans in their hearts. The contrary could not be doubted, since this Prince was seen to persecute, with fire and sword, those who professed the new Religion, throughout all parts of his Kingdom. The protection which he granted, and the good offices he did the Protestants of Germany, were of no service to elude this proof of his aversion for their sect; the only thing hereby shewn was, that he sacrificed the interest of his Religion, to the political interest of his Government. In this manner Kings generally act: though they sometimes take another course, in order to sacrifice, to a spirit of perfection, not only the conquests they might achieve, but also those they have gained, and the most solid advantages of their Government. Henry II was an instance of this, when he accepted the peace of Cateau.

(101) Bodin of a Republic, lib. 2. cap. 4. towards the end, pag. m. 295. See also liv. 6. chap. 2. pag. 395.

(102) It is to be observed that he does not take this word in its whole extent; he taking it only in the signification of austere and rigorous. See the end of that chapter of Bodin's second book.

(103) Ibid. pag. 296.

(k) See the remark (l) of the article GARASSE, at the first break.

(l) See the remark [H] of the article PIENE.

which the Poets caused (k) has been ranked among the disorders of his reign. Polygamy, in the preceding reigns, was not a capital crime; it was Henry II who first made it such [DD]. The reader will see in other parts of this Dictionary, what he enacted against clandestine marriages (l), and against mothers who destroy their children (m).

I shall add a particular which I found in a letter of Bodin. Pope Julius III cited this Prince to appear in the presence of God, to answer for the injury he did him, in keeping *Mirandula*. The King answered, that he would appear; but was sure that the Pope could not (n).

“revenues; which was likewise promised, when the tax for payment of fifty thousand foot was laid or imposed in the time of Francis I, which tax was to be raised only in such walled towns and suburbs, as did not suffer by the numberfulness of the soldiers: Nevertheless it was since extended to cities, towns, villages great or small, in one thousand five hundred and fifty five, by which the poor peasants have been doubly aggrieved, they paying and being plundered on all sides.” The bad oeconomy of the King in question, occasioned another disorder, viz. the borrowing many great sums at a high interest. When King Henry was in want of money, he would borrow at ten, twelve, or sixteen per Cent. as he did in 1554, of the Caponi, the Albici, and the partners in Germany: and the interest was paid on that occasion at the four fairs, or added to the principal. The Emperor did the like; but he gave indeed but ten or twelve per Cent. at most; and the same year the King of England borrowed of the German Merchants an hundred thousand crowns at twelve per Cent. And whereas King Henry thought, by giving greater interest than the Emperor and the King of England, to command greater sums, he began to lose his credit by it; for the most prudent oeconomists concluded, that he at last would not be able to pay either interest or principal; inasmuch as the interest of sixteen per Cent. amounted, at least, to eighteen per Cent. by means of his not being able to pay the interest (109). I am to observe that he was not the inventor of this practice, it having begun under the King his father. This was likewise a project brought into France anno 1543 by Cardinal de Tournon, when he was in favour with King Francis I, whom he persuaded, by the advice of some Italians, that there was no other way of drawing monies into France from all parts, and making a fund for the time to come, to frustrate the enemies of it, but by setting up a Bank at Lyons, and taking in money from all hands, paying eight per Cent. interest; but the truth was, the Cardinal wanted to secure an hundred thousand crowns which he had in his coffers, and get as high an interest as he could for that sum. The

(109) Ibid. pag. 893, 894.

“Letters Patent having past the seals, and the Bank opened in the manner above related, every one strove who should first get thither from France, Germany, and Italy; so that Francis I, when he died, was indebted, to the Bank at Lyons, five hundred thousand crowns, which he had in his coffers, and four times that sum; and he had settled a peace with all the Potentates of the earth (110).” Bodin (111) condemns this invention suggested to Francis I. He is of opinion that it destroys the very foundation of the Finances, and proved the source of a thousand calamities. I shall cite him once more (112). And with regard to the Treasury or Finances, they were so ill managed, that in less than twelve years that Henry II reigned, he owed (113) more interest than all his predecessors, during forty years before, had levied for all their expences.

(m) See the remark [C] of the article PATIN. (n) Bodin, in a letter dated from Laon, the 27th of March 1593, and quoted by Menage, Remarques sur la Vie d'Ayraud, pag. 258.

(110) Ibid. pag. 893.

(111) Ibid. pag. 896.

(112) Ibid. pag. 895.

(113) See the preceding remark of citation (103).

I am persuaded that these citations of Bodin, will not be displeasing to those who desire the aeras of imposts or taxes, and the origin of customs in general.

[DD] Henry II... first made... Polygamy... a capital crime. This I have read in Bodin. Imperatores, says he (114), perpetua lege polygamiam infamiae poena subiecta veterunt (+): nostris vero legib. poena capitalis Henrici II principatu irrogari cepit. i. e. 793.

(114) Bodin, de Republic. lib. 5. cap. 1. pag. m. 793.

The Emperors, by a perpetual Law, forbid Polygamy, upon pain of being rendered infamous; but it was first made a capital crime, by our Laws, under Henry II. The author of *Mélanges d'Hist. toire & de Littérature* was, in all probability, ignorant of this particular, he expressing himself as follows. But now we are talking of marriage and the Laws of the Kingdom, some Parliaments in France, sentence to death all such as are found guilty of Polygamy, because it is supposed to be a Law of the Kingdom. It is asked where that Law is found? It is the business of our French Civilians to inform us of that particular. It is of such consequence as well to deserve the trouble. As to my self, it is my opinion that those men are not sent to the galls for Polygamy, but for the knavish artifices they employ, in order to over-reach such women as they marry in this deceitful manner (115).

(1) L. neminem de incestis, Cod.

(115) Vignuel Marville, Mélang. d'Hist. de Littérat. pag. 175.

HENRY III, King of France, son to Henry II and Catherine of Medicis, had gained so much renown before he was raised to the throne, and before he was twenty, that the Poles judged him worthy of their Crown, but they soon had cause to repent their having elected him. The manner of his flight from Cracow was ignominious to the last degree. The motive of his stealing from Poland was, to succeed Charles IX in the throne of France. He accordingly reigned after that Prince, and in such a manner, that the Poles had no reason to regret him. The same may be said of him as of Galba, viz. that he would have seemed worthy of the Crown had he never wore it [A]. His life was so much divided between debauchery and devotion, that never was a more strange mixture seen. He suffered himself to be so completely governed by his favourites,

[A] The same may be said of him, as of Galba, viz. that he would have seemed worthy of the Crown had he never worn it. Every one has taken notice of the following saying of Tacitus: Major privato visus (Galba) dum privatus fuit, & omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset (1). i. e. Galba was thought to be more than a private man or subject whilst he was one; and, would have been judged, by universal consent, capable of governing the Empire, had he never been raised to it. Suetonius says the same thing in other words. Majore adè & favore & summa potuerit adipisci, judicetur tamen ab omnibus plus mereri (2). i. e. He got the Empire with more good will and authority than he governed it. The like judgment was formed of the Emperor Jovian (3): but the re-

(1) Tacit. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 49.

(2) Sueton. in Galba, cap. 14.

(3) Decessus suscepto clarior apice auctoritate adeptus est quam gessit imperium (2). i. e. Cluverus, Epist. Histor. Mundi, pag. m. 308.

verse was said of Marius. Marius in potestatibus eo modo agitavit, ut ampliore quam gerebat, dignus haberetur (4). i. e. Marius behaved so well in all employments, that he was ever judged worthy of an higher station than that which he possessed. Henry III verified, to his cost, the judicious maxim following, Magistratus virum prodit (5): he shewed by wearing a Crown, that those were mistaken who judged him worthy of it. The following words of Cassiodorus cannot be justly applied to him. Hic est probata conscientiae gratissimus fructus, ut omnivis summa potuerit adipisci, judicetur tamen ab omnibus plus mereri (6). Much less could it be said of him; magna enim praecesserat fama, qua major inventus est (7).

(4) Salust. in Balbo Jugurth.

(5) See Aristot. de Morib. lib. 5. cap. 3. pag. m. 44. [G].

(6) Cassiodor. lib. 5. Epist. 4.

(7) Plin. Epist. 3. lib. 2.

rites; that the whole Kingdom was offended at it; especially as the prodigious expences which he put himself to on their account [B], was burthensome and grievous to the poor people. He incurred the hatred of the Ladies, a circumstance that was greatly prejudicial to him [C]. The Duchefs of Montpensier took a dreadful revenge, on account of some things he had spoke to her disadvantage [D]. The Duke of Guise, by this concurrence of circumstances, and the troubles occasioned about Religion, growing much bolder than he would otherwise have been, to pave his way to the throne, found, by experience, that the weakest Princes can at last form a vigorous resolution. He was murdered by the command of Henry III. I have taken notice elsewhere (a) of the consequences

(a) In the article of GUISE (Henry).

(8) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, vol. 3. pag. 499.

(9) The Dukes of Joyeuse and Epemon.

[B] *The prodigious expences he put himself to on account of his favourites* (8). "As the chief employment, and the greatest pleasure this King took was to please two favourites (9), he declared that he should not be easy and satisfied, till he had made them as great as himself; and raised them to so exalted a pitch of power, that neither envy nor fortune should be able to destroy them. He was determined therefore, as he himself had no daughters, to marry them with, to give them in marriage to his wife's sisters, viz. Margaret and Christierne, though they were already betrothed to two other heiresses.. but in order to honour them with some title which might qualify them for so exalted an alliance for his, he resolved to create them both Duke and Peer . . . In the mean time the Duke of Lorraine brought his nieces with as great a train, and in as magnificent a manner, as if they had been to be espoused to Kings. As to Christierne, being as yet too young, she was only betrothed to Duke d'Epemon; however, she did not marry him, and chose rather to take the veil. As to Margaret, being betrothed at the Louvre, in the Queen's chamber, the nuptials were solemnized a week after in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. It would be needless to describe to you the masquerades, balls, tournaments, festivals, concerts, and other pomps, which luxury invented for the setting off of this wedding; in a word, it lasted near six weeks; and Paris, the Theatre of Wonders, had never seen any thing like it. The King, dressed in the same manner as his favourite, led the bride to Church. . . After the solemnization of the marriage, he ordered seventeen entertainments, which were made, according to rank, by the Princes and Lords who were related to the bride; the least of them cost above an hundred thousand crowns; at all which the guests had such rich and sumptuous changes of dresses, that gold and silver could make no figure there. Some suits cost ten thousand crowns only for the making. To conclude, the expence was so prodigious, that the King, barely for his part, spent no less than four millions of livres, besides four hundred thousand crowns which he promised to pay to the bridegroom in two years, as his wife's portion; and when it was remonstrated to him, that his excessive profusions would ruin him, he answered, that he would grow prudent and wife after he should have married his two children, by whom he meant Joyeuse and d'Epemon." The Swiss Embassadors *being come to Paris, to ask for monies that were owing them; and the Treasurers having answered, that the King had none, and therefore that they must be patient and wait; they replied, agreeably to the usual liberty of their Nation, that it was not probable so wife and discreet a Prince, should have spent twelve hundred thousand crowns, merely for his pleasure, at a Gentleman's wedding, unless he had much more in his coffers, for the necessary affairs of his Kingdom* (10).

(10) Mezerai, tom. 3. pag. 500.

(11) *Ibid.* pag. 451. ad ann. 1578.

(12) Maugiron was killed on the spot; and Quelus, who received 19 wounds, lived 33 days after.

(13) Maimbourg, *Hist. de la Ligue*.

(14) Henry III, since the Princess of Conde's death, entertained the little affection for women; his adventure at Venice having turned his passion another way. Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 251, ad ann. 1581.

[C] *He incurred the hatred of the Ladies, a circumstance that was greatly prejudicial to him.* "The Ladies, to whom the minions revealed every thing, discovered to the Duke of Guise all the secrets of the cabinet, out of revenge to the King, whom they hated for certain reasons which are not told (13)." These words are borrowed from Maimbourg; who shews manifestly enough, that the Ladies greatly prejudiced the King's affairs; however, the motives of their hatred are explained intelligibly enough by several Historians. See Mezerai's words in the margin (14).

The reflection mentioned by the author of *Novvelles de la Republique des Lettres* is a mere cavil. "Some Censors, says he (15), have found fault with Maimbourg for saying, that the Ladies to whom the Minions used to reveal every thing &c. They say that these words are highly unpolite with regard to the fair-sex, because it is thereby insinuated, that women contract an aversion to such men, as are determined to disregard for ever their charms. Now, say they, in case they are chaste, what do they value their being neglected by the men? if it is not indifferent to them, it is a manifest sign that they are resolved not to live chastly. But I think it incumbent on me to take Mr. Maimbourg's part against such unjust Censors. I say therefore that he speaks only of those Ladies who shared in the Duke of Guise's intrigues (16); and that we are not to doubt, but that women of that character entertain a strong hatred, when they are prompted by the reasons which are understood here. People may infer as much as they please, that this would be indifferent to them if they were chaste; such persons may, if they please, infer that this inference is unpolite: Maimbourg has guarded, in his preface, against such subtilties; he there declaring, that he searches after truth, and not for such things as may please and oblige people; and that if any one finds fault with this, they must blame those that first laid down the laws of history, which require incidents to be related as they are, and not as they ought to be."

(15) For April 1684, Art. 3. pag. 135.

(16) It is certain that he means the Ladies in general.

There is too much subtilty in this reflection: it is natural for all persons to wish, that such talents as ingratiate them with the world, may not be despised; this, I say, is natural, though they don't intend to make an ill use of such qualities. The authors of the *Journey of Mefs. de la Chapelle and Bachaumont*, have carried the raillery a little too far, with regard to the anger with which the women of Montpellier are there said to be fired against the unhappy Dassoucy.

[D] *The Duchefs of Montpensier (17) took a dreadful revenge, on account of some things he had spoke to her disadvantage.* "It was told the King, that the League designed him no less mischief than the making him a Monk; and that the Duchefs of Montpensier used to shew the scissars with which she intended to clip off his hair. The reason of the indignation of this widow was, he had offended her, by holding some discouries wherein were discovered certain secret defects of her's; an insult which women will much less excuse, than an affront that is put upon their honour (18)." That affront must have made a very deep impression on this Duchefs's heart, if we judge of it from the great endeavours she employed to ruin Henry III. "She brought a considerable part of the materials, of the invention of her happy wit, and of the labour of her body, to build the said League; so that after it was strongly built, playing one day at cards at Primero, (for she was very fond of play,) and one saying to her, that she should shuffle the cards well, she replied before a great number of people; I have shuffled them so well, that it is impossible for them to be better shuffled or unshuffled. This would have been well, had not her relations been killed, the death of whom, without being in the least dejected, she endeavoured to revenge; and as soon as she heard the news of this in Paris, she, without immuring herself in her chamber, and bemoaning on that account like other women, came out of her palace, leading her brother's children, when she carries them up and down the city; breaks into lamentations before the people; exhorts them

(17) She was sister to the Duke of Guise, killed at Blois.

(18) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* pag. 315. ad ann. 1588. See the *Critique Générale du Calvinisme de Maimbourg*, Let. tom. 3. pag. 44.

consequences of this affair; but I did not observe that this Monarch, had he not been assisted by the Protestants, would have been overpowered at Tours, where he was attacked by those of the League (b), some months after he had caused the Duke and Cardinal of Guise to be killed. Having extricated himself there, he marched and besieged Paris; and in all probability would have soon made himself master of that seditious city, had he not been assassinated by James Clement, a Dominican Friar. He died the 2d of August 1589, the day after he was wounded (c). I have observed in another article (d), that this King is justly blamed for giving up some cities to the Duke of Savoy, who had accompanied him to Beauvoisin Bridge, in September 1574 [E]. He had cause to repent his yielding those cities; it encouraging that Duke's son to form several enterprizes against France [F].

Few Princes have been governed by a more capricious star than Henry III. Fortune was so fantastical to him, that his fate resembled very much that of those children, who are first brought up by a very tender mother, and afterwards by a cruel step-mother. His youth was very glorious, and his fame procured him the Kingdom of Poland in the most conspicuous and honourable manner; but this strong and shining light was soon eclipsed. He abdicated, not long after, that crown in a more ignominious manner, than his election had been glorious; for can any thing be stranger or more shameful, than for a King to fly in the night, and withdraw with the utmost speed out of his dominions, like a criminal, who sees the officers of justice in pursuit of him? In that manner did Henry III leave Poland (e). If we could excuse this elopement, on the strong reasons he had to make the utmost dispatch, in order to possess himself of a crown which was much more valuable than that he wore; we yet might say that he was born under an unhappy planet, and *Diis iratis*, since he was reduced to such extremities, that he could not succeed the King his brother on any other condition: it would be always

“them all with tears, cries, and moving words, to take up arms; to rise up in a furious manner; to fall upon the King's palace and insult the King's picture, as has been seen, and as I hope to relate in his life; to renounce their allegiance, and enter into rebellion against him, which was followed soon after by his murder; from whence we may guess who are those, of both sexes, who advised, and perpetrated it (19).” It was she who chiefly excited James Clement to kill the King; she not scrupling any thing, as we are told, not even the last favour to effect it (20).

[E] In September 1574.] The King arrived the fifth of September 1574 at Beauvoisin Bridge, and not the 21st of September 1575, as is asserted by two or three Historians (21), whom John Aymes de Chavigny censures in pag. 224. of the first face of his French *Janus*, for thus he entitles his explication of *Nostradamus*.

[F] To form several enterprizes against France.] The author of the first *Savoisienne* (22) relates (23), that Henry III returning from Poland, and passing Savoy, was asked, in return for a collation which had been given him, for the cities of Pignerol and Savilian; and that this Prince, whose only defect was an excess of good nature, gave them up: that the Duke of Savoy, son to him who had received so noble a present (24), took advantage of the confusions of France anno 1588; for observing that Henry III was out of his capital, he invaded the Marquisate of Saluces: that after having sent an Ambassador to the King, with a promise to give up all things into his hands, he on a sudden removed all the officers of his Majesty, and established others by his ducal authority . . . and at the same time, to display in all places the trophies of his victory, he caused a pompous medal to be struck, wherein was the figure of a centaur, trampling upon a crown reversed, with the following motto, *Oportune*, alluding to his having taken a proper opportunity (25). We see by the second *Savoisienne*, that after Henry III's murder, the Duke took several towns in Provence; and that Henry IV was obliged, before he could bring him to reason, to possess himself of Savoy. It is to be observed that, in return for the above-mentioned medal (26), the King caused another to be struck, wherein was a Hercules armed after the antique manner, trampling a centaur under foot, over whom he lifts a club with his right hand, and with his left a crown which he seems to have taken up; and the motto *Oportunus*; to shew that he knew better than the Duke to take his opportunity, and that in a more honourable way, since he (the French King) had employed force of arms instead of artifices and stratagems, which the Duke had put in practice very ungratefully (27). This compensated for the evil, which the giving up of Pignerol had

occasioned; but yet this did not in any manner extenuate the fault of Henry III.

The author of a piece that is highly injurious to the present (28) Duke of Savoy, has spoke of this (28) I write this affair, but not without some errors. Henry III, says, in October 1697. he (29), being engaged in war against a powerful (29) *Memoirs of Leagué*, Charles Emmanuel, grandfather (30) to his Mr. D. F. L. Royal Highness, acted much the same part that has with regard to been now acted. That Duke flattered himself that he Italy, between should gain prodigiously, in case he embraced that oppor- *Victor Amadeus tunity of declaring war against France, and accordingly II Duke of Savoy, be, in 1588, joined his arms to those of Henry the III's, and the most Christian enemies: and after forming a powerful party of which King, pag. he declared himself the chief, he marched into Provence; was published took the cities of Marseille and Arles by stratagem; and anno 1696. grew so haughty by these conquests, that he caused a medal to be struck, which was to serve as a medal to immortalize his memory. He had caused himself to be represented, under the figure of a centaur &c. The author adds, that Henry IV having carried the war into Italy in 1600, possessed himself of almost all Savoy and Piedmont, and caused a medal to be struck in his turn &c. This relation is not accurate. The Duke of Savoy did not join his arms to those of the enemies of Henry III in 1588: nor was it that year, but in 1590, that he marched into Provence. He did not cause the medal of the centaur to be struck, after he had taken Marcellles, but after he had invaded the Marquisate of Saluces. Henry IV did not carry his arms into Italy anno 1600, nor make any conquests in Piedmont. The author is perhaps more judicious in his political reflections, than accurate in relating facts. Henry IV, says he (31), (31) *Memoirs of after the conquest of Savoy and Piedmont, suffered him- Mr. D. F. L. &c. self to be at last wrought upon by the intreaties of Pope Clement VIII, who endeavoured to reconcile the poor Duke with the Monarch in question; although it was the opinion of all the politicians of that age, that Henry IV ought to keep Savoy and Piedmont, to chastise the rashness of that imprudent Prince; and by that means preserve a free passage into Italy, whenever he should have a mind to enter it. This was the advice of Cardinal d'Offat, one of the greatest Politicians of his age: but Henry, on this occasion, discovered more generosity than policy, and restored Charles Emmanuel to all his possessions. What would Cardinal d'Offat have said of the imprudent conduct of Henry III, in divesting himself of Pignerol, since he blames Henry IV for giving back Savoy, at a time when he was an hundred times abler to resist his neighbours, than his predecessor was? France would have been very unhappy, had it not been possessed of Pignerol, when the Duke of Savoy made a league with the House of Austria, England, and Holland in 1690. France was obliged to give it up six years after, which is no inconsiderable loss.**

(b) In May 1589.

(c) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 355.

(d) In the article HENRY III. remark [C].

(e) See Thuanus, Book 58, last.

(19) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 316.

(20) See Thuanus, cited by the author of the *Critique generale*, Letter 3. pag. 43.

(21) Milles Piquere, *John le Frere*, and the author of the appendix to the *Annales de France*.

(22) A piece published at the time that Henry IV obliged the Duke of Savoy to do him justice with regard to the Marquisate of Saluces.

(23) The first *Savoisienne*, pag. m. 16.

(24) *Ibid.* pag. 17. & seq.

(25) See the second *Savoisienne*, pag. 109.

(26) *Ibid.* pag. 132.

(27) See, with relation to the two inscriptions, *Oportune*, *Oportunus*, *Paquier's Letters*, liv. 19. tom. 2. pag. 450. & seq.

(30) It should be great grandfather.

(31) *Memoirs of Mr. D. F. L. &c.* pag. 148, 149.

ways a mark, that fortune had led him maliciously through toilsome and perplexing roads. After his return to France he was sought for, as it were, in himself, but could not be found; that Duke of Anjou, who had acquired so exalted a reputation (f), no longer appeared in the person of Henry III. He at first discovered only the churlish temper of a man-hater [G]: Here follow some other instances of the capriciousness of this Monarch's fortune. He had a brother who was a great burthen to him: death freed Henry from him, and he was overjoyed at this deliverance, which very circumstance ought to be looked upon as a misfortune; for what can be more odd, than for a person to be forced to rejoice at the death of an only brother? However, it would be a kind of benefit, if a series of lasting advantages would accrue from it; but it did not prove such to Henry III; he finding very soon that the Duke of Alençon's death, how advantageous soever it might be to him, was yet more prejudicial than beneficial [H], since it furnished a handle for caballing; and fomented that dangerous faction, which mortified the King to such a degree, and at last crushed him. The joy he felt at getting rid of the Duke of Guise was of the same kind, it being of short duration; he experienced, during the first days, that this great party blow, which he had thought absolutely necessary to his repose and safety, plunged him into new perplexities, and deadly disquietudes [I]. It must be confessed that this King surpassed himself, in executing the project

(f) See the article MARIANA remark [O].

[G] He at first discovered only the churlish temper of a man-hater.] "At his return from Poland he was almost inaccessible, except to three or four; and would always eat in private, contrary to the custom of our Kings: but this not being approved of, remonstrances were made to him on that subject; wherefore being forced, as it were, by custom, to eat in public, he caused great rails to be fixed round his table, which are still in the Hall of the Louvre at Paris; and the following verses were written on that occasion, and fixed up in different parts of the Louvre.

"Puis qu'Henry Roy des François
 "N'en ayme que quatre ou trois,
 "Il faut que ces trois ou quatre,
 "Allent ses ennemis combattre.

The sense is,

"Since Henry King of France loves but three or four of his subjects, those three or four must advance, in order to fight his enemies.

"He commanded that no person should come into his bed-chamber without having a cap or bonnet on (32)." I imagine that the reason of his making that order was, because he himself wore a certain little bonnet like that of a child, having a roll cut with slashes across, and upon it a plume of feathers before, with a fine stone crossbet, and a large peruke; and he never uncovered himself, though he were at Church, because his head was shaven (33). There was something fantastical in all this. The words above will make the reader understand the following passage. Even his turbant represented sufficiently his infidelity, he being always covered after the Turkish fashion; and he never took off that turbant to do honour to Jesus Christ (34). In this manner is Henry III reproached, by the author of the book intitled, *The Martyrdom of the two brothers*.

(32) Du Verdier, *Propriétés*, tom. 3. p. 2558.

(33) *Ibid.* tom. 3. pag. 2560.

(34) *Martyrs des Chrétiens*, folio by the author of the book intitled, *The Martyrdom of the two brothers*.

[H] The Duke of Alençon's death, how advantageous soever it might be to him, was yet more prejudicial than beneficial.] I study, not only to say nothing but what I can bring proofs for, but always to bring, whenever I have an opportunity for it, the testimony of contemporary authors; the reader therefore may be persuaded, that it is with pleasure I here make use of Stephen Pasquier's words (35). "He still had (36) a thorn in his foot, which in the midst of that peace (37), seemed to check the career of his satisfaction. For although, in outward appearance, he was not in any misunderstanding with the Duke his brother; he yet was second King, having his court and his favourites apart, sometimes in the city of Tours, or else in other cities dependent on him, or of his appennage. That Duke's way of thinking and opinions were so opposite to those of the King, that he never would suffer himself, or any belonging to him, to be honoured with the Order of the Holy Ghost. Besides, his appennage was so great, that it swallowed up a considerable part of France. He had his Chamber of Account in Tours, and his Exchequer at Alençon, which

(35) Pasquier's *Lettres*, liv. 14. tom. 2. p. 140, & seq.

(36) L. c. Henry III.

(37) That which was concluded anno 1577.

judged, without appeal, of the causes of that Dukedom both civil and criminal. Farther, this Prince preferred to the Bishopricks and Abbeyes of his Appennage whomsoever he pleased, in order for their being nominated to the Pope by the King, according to the Concordate: all these were grands seigneurs like those of a King, which might inspire his soul with jealousy, but he prudently dissembled it. Now it happened, in 1583, that the Duke died; and by his death his Appennage was united to the Crown. Those who governed the King rejoiced exceedingly in their hearts; and he himself discovered sufficiently, how much he imagined his grandeur was thereby increased, when he wrote with his own hand the regulations of it; ordaining that his Chancellor, sitting in Council, should be clothed in a gown and long robe of crimson velvet; his Countellor of State in purple sattin; and that his Gentlemen Ushers and Valets de Chambre should have velvet doublets, and upon them a massy chain of gold hanging at their necks; then, a long range of rooms for people to pass through before he could be come at; and a long train of Lords who were to walk before him, whenever he went to Church. Indeed the abovemention'd Duke's death, at first fight, promised him a long tranquillity; and nevertheless, it proved the completion of his misery, and that of all France; for had the Duke lived, the contrivers of the League would not have been favoured with a single pretence. . . . But the instant he was dead, in 1584, the Princes of the League were not afraid to display the disgusts they had been hatching, covered with the cloak of the Catholic, Apostolic and Romish Religion." It is to be observed, that love intrigues had sowed the seeds of discord between these two brothers. They happened to be rivals in love: one of their hearts would dislodge or supplant the other; and not being able to bear partners in love, any more than in authority, they changed a fraternal affection, into implacable hatred and spite (38). I now leave the reader to judge whether this double jealousy, the one of love and the other of ambition, between two brothers (39), the one a King and the other presumptive heir to the Crown, and whose turn of mind and inclinations were depraved, would not be apt to inspire them with a prodigious antipathy (40).

[I] He finding . . . that the death of the Duke of Guise, . . . plunged him into new perplexities and deadly disquietudes.] Pasquier shall again be the Commentator on this occasion. "Immediately, says he (41), after the Duke of Guise's death, no King was ever so highly satisfied as ours; he crying aloud and plainly to every one, that he now had got rid of a companion, and consequently of a master; and the next day, the death of the Cardinal completed all his wishes. He enjoyed for some days this tranquillity of mind; dispatching letters on all sides, to shew the motives of his conduct, but with little advantage to himself. About eight or ten days after, as he received no news from Paris, he began to reflect, and think of his conscience, which lessened

(38) Matthieu, cited by Marcel, *Hist. of France*, tom. 4. pag. 602.

(39) See in the remark [B] of the article DRUSILLA, what is there said concerning the hatred of brothers. See also citation (20) of the article DRUSUS, son of Germanicus.

(40) It was so great, that Henry III one day ordered the King of Navarre to kill the Duke of Alençon. See Péréfixe in the *History of Henry the Great*, pag. m. 42, ad ann. 1575.

(41) Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. 13. tom. 2. pag. 60, & seq.

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project relating to the putting to death the Duke of Guise [K]. He discovered a great deal of prudence, and much more resolution than on other occasions, when he had behaved in such a manner as made the Pope despise him [L]. One of the oddest circumstances of his fate was, that he was equally hated by Papists and Protestants. These two parties, though quite opposites and counterparts in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, agreed in entertaining an aversion for this Prince. This was a center for persons to join or unite, who, on all other occasions, were divided. Humanly speaking, the Protestants in France had great reason to hate him; for he persecuted them with the utmost severity and virulence, and was looked upon as one of the great promoters of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, and even boasted his having been such (g); this circumstance, added to his love and attachment to the most monastic devotions, should naturally have gained him the esteem of the Popish Ecclesiastics, and the greatest bigots among the Roman Catholics; and nevertheless he was more hated by them than one would imagine. This was a very strange caprice in his ruling planet, and here follows another; whatever he had been fondest of, proved at last pernicious to him. *Ei fatale erat, ut quicquid ardentius dilexerat, id illi postremo perniciem adferret* (b). What I observed (i), with regard to the irregularities and disorders which the prodigality of Henry II occasioned, may be applied with still greater propriety to the reign of Henry III, a Prince infinitely more profuse than his father. Accordingly, there were seen in his

(g) Thuan. lib. 90. pag. 301.

(b) Idem, lib. 90. sub fin. pag. m. 193.

(i) Remark [BB] of the article HENRY II.

“ the excess of his joy : and afterwards hearing of
 “ that general revolt, he earnestly wished, that what
 “ he had done were still to do . . . The King grew
 “ insensibly to be displeas'd at every thing, even
 “ with himself: this I can affirm and write to you,
 “ as having been an eye-witness of it. He now
 “ grew more distrustful than ever, as you shall soon
 “ hear.” Pasquier then gives four or five examples,
 which plainly shew the dreadful perplexity this Prince
 was in. He wanted to convey, to d'Amboise Castle,
 some persons he had caused to be seized after the death
 of Messieurs de Guise, “ and found no body he could
 “ trust but himself. I will tell you frankly, adds
 “ Pasquier, that most of us who were in Blois, al-
 most burst with indignation, to see the King's af-
 “ fairs reduced to so low an ebb, that he himself was
 “ forced to superintend and guard his own prisoners.
 “ Scarce was he gone, but advice was brought us,
 “ that Marshal d'Aumont having abandoned the ci-
 “ tadel, and raised the siege of Orleans, upon the march
 “ of the Sieur de Mayenne, was retired with his
 “ forces to Baugency. Many of his soldiers came
 “ wounded to Blois. Upon this we all believed, that
 “ the conducting of these prisoners was a refined pre-
 “ tence studiously sought for by the King, in order
 “ that he might quit the city with less dishonour.
 “ And this I can assure you, that had the Sieur de
 “ Mayenne then fallen upon us, the terror was so
 “ great and so general, that he would not have met with
 “ the least resistance; and being once master of Blois,
 “ all the river Loire had been his; especially as all
 “ the towns were wavering; and the King would
 “ have been prodigiously at a loss, to find a
 “ place whither he might retire. God was pleas'd
 “ to deliver us from that evil (42).” The author
 adds (43), that Lognac, who “ first prompted the
 “ King to give orders for the perpetrating of that
 “ murder, which had proved so unsuccessful,” quite
 lost his favour. Some Historians relate that this brave
 Gentleman, not thinking himself safe at Court, sued
 to the King for some place whither he might retire to,
 in order to secure himself from the resentment of
 those of the League (44). This was intimating to
 the King the bad state to which it was believed his
 affairs were reduced; and the answer which we are
 told he made to Lognac, is not unworthy of a great
 King. I mention this elsewhere (45).
 [K] This King surpassed himself, in executing the
 project relating to the putting to death the Duke of Guise.]
 His heart had failed him at the battle of the Barri-
 cades; he had given up the day to his rival; had
 fled from Paris, and there left the Duke of Guise all
 the glory of a triumph: but his courage revived in
 Blois, and he there humbled that proud enemy. The
 following words from the Æneid may be applied on
 this occasion:

(42) Ibid. pag. 64.

(43) Ibid. pag. 65.

(44) See the ar- ticle LOGNAC, remark [F].

(45) In the same article.

(46) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2, ver. 307.

*Quondam etiam victis reat in præcordia virtus,
 Victoreque cadunt* (46).

That is,

“ The vanquish'd triumph in their turn, and the
 “ victor's mourn.
 Dryden.

Then was verified the truth of a sentence in Homer, I mean of the remonstrance which Calchas made to Achilles, viz. that a King who is angry with an inferior, gets the better of him one time or other,

Κρίσσαν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτι χόσται ἀπὸ χίρῳ,
 εἴπω γὰρ τι χίλοι γι καὶ αὐτῆρας καταπέψῃ,
 Ἄλλὰ γι καὶ μετόπισθε ἔχει κόποι δ' ἄρα τελέσσῃ,
 Ἐν ἐσθίσῳ ἰούσι (47).

(47) Homer, Iliad. lib. 1. ver. 10. See also Nestor's Remonstrance to Achilles, ibid. ver. 275.

“ Bold is the task, when subjects grown too wise,
 “ Instruct a Monarch where his error lies:
 “ For tho' we deem the short-liv'd fury past,
 “ 'Tis sure, the mighty will revenge at last.

Pope.

I have read the account of this exploit of Henry III in several authors; but I have not seen any relation where the particulars are better connected and professed, than in that which Marcel has inserted in the 4th tome (48) of his *History of France*. There the reader may see all the exactness of the measures which were taken to give success to that mighty blow. The King there discovers the greatest vigilance and resolution, and a soul that is so far master of itself, as carefully to take notice of the most inconsiderable things that might be prejudicial (49). Consider well how greatly he encouraged the Secretary of State, who was to inform the Duke of Guise that the King wanted him. “ Upon this the King hearing that the Duke
 “ of Guise was in the Council, said to Monsieur de
 “ Revol the Secretary of State; *Revol, go and tell
 “ the Duke of Guise, that he must come and speak with
 “ me in my old closet.* The Sieur de Nambu having
 “ refused to admit him, he returned to the closet with
 “ a frighted countenance. He was a great, but fear-
 “ ful man. *Good God, said the King, Revol, what
 “ ails you? what's the matter? How pale you are?
 “ You'll spoil all! rub your cheeks, Revol. . . There's
 “ no harm, Sir, said he; only Mr. de Nambu will not
 “ open the door, unless your Majesty should command it.*
 “ The King orders him from the door of his closet,
 “ to let him come in again, and the Duke of Guise
 “ also (50).” I will take notice, on this occa-
 sion, of a particular which I have read in the *Journal
 des Savans*. What happened at Blois with regard to
 the proposal made to the States, not to suffer any other
 Religion in France, except the Catholic . . . shews suffi-
 ciently that Henry III was more politic than the genera-
 lity of the world imagines (51).

(48) Pag. 626, 627.

(49) What the author of the relation says of the disquietudes with which the King was seized, does not disagree with this; for they did not hinder either his application or vigilance.

(50) Marcel, Hist. de France, tom. 4. pag. 631.

(51) Journ. des Savans, of the 25th of January 1666, p. 83, 84. In the Extract of Memoires du Duc de Nevers.

[L] He behaved in such a manner, as had made the Pope despise him.] See the *Critique generale* of Maimbourg's Calvinism, and you will there meet with (52) two exclamations of Sixtus V; the one relating to the rashness which he ascribed to the Duke of Guise, and the other to the simplicity, which he ascribed to Henry III. He spoke with great freedom and bluntness on that occasion. Some authors (53) relate of this Pope, that, reflecting on the conduct of that Monarch, he said, *I have done all that lies in my power to extricate myself from the Monkish condition, and he does what ever he can to get into it.*

(52) Letter 3. num. 2. pag. 38. of the 3d edit.

(53) See Naudé, chap. 1. of his Coups d'Etat, pag. m. 22.

reign, more taxes ; a greater number of edicts were published for levying of money, and the public treasure was more profusely squandered, than ever had been known in the Kingdom. The evil would have been still greater, could that Prince have obtained leave to alienate the royal demesnes ; but this the States General of France would never consent to [M]. It is to be observed that Henry III, who with regard to his favourites, was not jealous of authority, and did not aspire to independence, had a passionate desire to increase the regal power [N]. I shall take some notice of his devotions [O] ; will not

[M] *The States General of France would never consent to . . . alienate the royal demesnes.*]

(54) Remark [I].

(55) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 433.

(56) President of Bourdeaux, one of the Deputies to the States of Blois, in 1576.

Besides what I have said upon this in the article of BODIN (54), I will here quote a passage from Mezerai (55). " With regard to the alienation of the crown-lands . . . Emar (56), by order of the assembly, answered Bellievre, whom the King had sent thither ; that such an alienation was absolutely forbid, by the common and fundamental Law of the State ; that the King's demesnes or crown-lands were like a woman's jointure, which cannot be sold or appropriated to any other use by her husband : that they were still more sacred than those of the Church, because they cannot be alienated for any cause whatsoever, even with solemnity ; and indeed it was never known that recourse had been had to this expedient, even when France was in the greatest necessity, and had been in greater danger than it was at that time, as in the reign of King John, for whose deliverance the French were obliged to give so much money, so many cities and provinces ; that in a word, they were one of the strongest pillars of the throne, and on which the portions, dowries, and appennages were founded ; and therefore, that the royal demesnes ought to be strengthened rather weakened, and raised higher rather than lowered : and that the reason why the third estate so strongly remonstrated the consequences of that alienation, was, because whatever should be taken from the crown-lands, must be made good at their expence ; and that the whole loss would fall on them alone, and not on the other two estates, which, on that very account, consented more easily to it." If the reader is desirous of seeing the limitations of the royal authority in that respect, let him read what follows. " By the edict enacted anno 1565 at Moulins, where all the Princes and great Lords were assembled, with a numberless multitude of Presidents and Counsellors of the supreme Courts, it is expressly decreed, that all alienations made, or to be made, of the crown-lands, should be void except in two cases, viz. for making a provision for the younger children of our Kings ; and for mortgages necessary to raise sums sufficient for the exigencies of the war ; and that in these two cases, letters patents should be passed and published in the Courts of Parliament ; it being very expressly forbid them, to pay any regard to such letters, for any other cause or time whatsoever, although it should be but for one year (57)."

(57) Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. 6. tom. 1. pag. 341.

[N] *Henry III, who, with regard to his favourites . . . did not aspire to independence, had a passionate desire to increase the regal power.*]

(58) When he made his entry into Roan, as Governor of Normandy.

These are two points. The first I prove by a remark that was made on the great credit and interest of Duke d'Epéron ; and on a Fortune, made of silver gilt, which the city of Roan presented him with (58). That Goddess held him in a strict embrace, and below was the following Italian words ; E per non lasciarti. i. e. " Will not abandon thee." A motto taken from the ambiguous and equivocal turn in his name ; to show that his grandeur could never be destroyed ; as indeed the King having an excessive favour for him, had before protested to him, that he would make him so great in the midst of his friends, that it should not be in his power to lessen him, though he should afterwards desire to do it. This is a circumstance we have since learnt from Duke d'Epéron, by a fine letter which he wrote, during his disgrace, to the King (59). Those persons who say that Kings never love any body, and who look upon that as a great fault, are in a double error ; for most Monarchs are apt to give into such an excess of friendship, as occasions more disorders than could arise from an indifferent and insensible heart. See, above, the

(59) Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. 13. tom. 2. pag. 72.

comparison which Bodin has made between the last years of the reign of Francis I, and Henry II's reign. See likewise the remark [B] of this article. It were perhaps to be wished, that Kings resembled the wise men of the Stoics, viz. were without love or hatred. It is at least very certain, that the too kind, too tender, too beneficent, and too profuse disposition of our Henry, gave rise to a multitude of Calamities. I now proceed to the second point.

The States of the Kingdom in 1576, had resolved to nominate twelve Deputies to assist in the King's council, when the papers which the three Estates were to present to his Majesty, should be examined there. This resolution did not please Henry III, he fearing that those State-Deputies would prevent his disposing of his affairs in such a manner as to increase his power ; but when he was made sensible, that his authority would thereby be very much increased, he was greatly pleased that the States had taken such measures ; was angry that they had changed their minds, and was very much disgusted at Bodin, who had caused that change (60). It will be very proper to hear Thuanus. *Cum Bodinus tertium ordinem, si ulterius pergerent, intercessurum diceret, sacer ordo, ac max nobilitas acquievit, ac commune suffragiorum votum fuit, ne ulli delegati, qui cum regis consiliariis de postulatis decernerent, ab Ordinibus eligerentur. contrarium cum initio placuisset, eaque re non mediocriter Rex animo commotus esset, ut supra ostendimus, postea mutaverat, à Lugdunensi Archiepiscopo, ut putatur, induit, qui principi POTENTIAE SUAE AMPLIFICATIONIS SUPRA MODUM CUPIDO, ex quo Majestati regiae decrementum metuebat, ex to incrementum accessurum artificiose persuaserat (61). i. e.*

(60) See above, the remark [I] of the article BODIN.

Bodin having declared, that the third Estate would oppose that affair, if it should be carried any farther ; the Clergy, and presently after the Nobility, acquiesced ; and it was unanimously voted, that no Deputies should be elected by the Estates, to debate with his Majesty's Council, with relation to petitions, though the very reverse had formerly been resolved upon by them, where by they had greatly disgusted the King, as was shewn above. But his Majesty afterwards changed his opinion with regard to this affair ; induced, as it is thought, by the Archbishop of Lyons, who artfully suggested to the King, who had a prodigious desire to increase the royal power, that instead of decreasing it, as he imagined, this would increase it."

(61) Thuan. lib. 63. pag. 187.

The Archbishop of Lyons acted the subtle Politician on this occasion.

[O] *I shall take some notice of his devotions*] I shall borrow the words of Verdier Vau Privas : " He performed several extraordinary devotions, going sometimes at ten o'clock at night to the Carthusian Monastery, to hear mattins. He instituted the brotherhood of the White Penitents, and the Annunciation of our Lady at the Augustines in Paris ; and used to go in procession like others, with his sackcloth and whip at his girdle. . . . He would likewise institute several other societies or societies, as that of St. Jerom, called the Blue Penitents in Marmoutier College ; that of the Crucifix and of Black Penitents, in St. Michael's College ; and that of the Grey Penitents of St. Francis, at St. Eloy. He brought Feuillants, who are certain reformed Monks of the order of Cistercians, from the Abbey of Feuilliance near Thoulouse, and fixed them in the suburb called Saint Honoré, whither he used often to go and perform his devotions. He had built a house near the Monastery of the Capuchins, where people likewise used to go on certain days, and perform spiritual exercises. Every one was door-keeper, and performed the other offices in his turn ; and he there went by the name of brother Henry ;" and

not omit that he was eloquent; had a love for the Sciences; and took a great delight in hearing the conversation of learned men; but he was charged with doing this unfeasonably, as also with regard to the pains he took to study the Latin tongue [P]. Two very curious Memoirs have been sent me, the one relating to the propofal which this King had been prevailed upon to approve, viz. to recognize the Duke of Lorraine's eldest son for

"and if any person wanted to speak with him, he was obliged to ask for brother Henry, as when any Courier arrived there, or any other affair happened, whilst he was in that conclave. He founded another fraternity or brotherhood of Hieronymitans in Vincennes, and at St. Mary de vie faine. He caused a great and noble house to be built in the Horse-Market, after a fantastical manner, with certain small cells, in order to go and spend some days there in a Monkish way. . . . (62). He used to wear . . . at his girdle a pair of beads containing ten Ave Maria's (63)." This Author had great reason to say, that many people used to look upon all this as grimace (64); for the writers of the League, and others also, have slandered him very much on that account. I shall content myself with citing a passage which I met with in a libel of the Leaguers. "The cells built by that hypocrite, were only to serve as a cover to his impurities, and wicked, filthy, and Sodomitical practices: John d'Esperson knows something of this, and cannot give me the lie on that occasion. Men of the greatest wisdom have justly observed, that this was only to amuse fools, and that they were cages designed for other sorts of birds; and not a religious simplicity, which has ever been the real motive for all Princes and men of honour to sequester themselves, who were not, (like that specious Hermit) struck intimately with a spirit of hypocrisy (65)." Du Verdier observes, that the Preachers, and among others Maurice Poncet, cried aloud against these brotherhoods and processions made by the King. This Poncet seems to have been the most furious of them all. I here quote what Pierre Matthieu says on this subject, whereby the reader will find, that all these acts of outward devotion were more outward grimace, without any inward amendment. "On Sunday the 24th of March 1583, the King imprisoned Poncet the Friar, who preached in Lent at Notre Dame, for having preached with too much freedom, the foregoing Saturday, against that new brotherhood (66), calling it the brotherhood of Hypocrites and Atheists; and to prove this (I repeat his very words) I was informed from very good hands, that yesterday evening, which was the Friday of their procession, the spit was turning for the supper of those corpulent Penitents; and that, after having devoured the fat capon, they had, for their night-collations, young girls, that were got ready for them. . . . Ye wretched hypocrites, you there mock God under a mask, and carry a whip at your girdle merely out of shew. But heaven knows you ought not to carry it there; but it ought to be laid on your backs and shoulders, till such times as you have been very heartily threshed with it; for there is not one among you but richly deserves it. For these words the King, without desiring otherwise to speak to him, saying that he was an old fool, caused him to be conducted in his coach, by the Captain of the watch, to his Abbey of St. Pere at Melun, without doing him any other harm, than the fear he was under had put him in, as he was going away, viz. that they would throw him into the river (67)."

[P] He was eloquent, had a love for the sciences, . . . but he was charged with doing this unfeasonably, as also with regard to the pains he took in learning the Latin tongue.] Mezerai gives the substance of the speech which that Prince made to the States of Blois, in 1576, and adds (68), "This beautiful speech delivered by the mouth of a King, with a truly royal action, and a wonderful grace, was unanimously applauded by the assembly. However, the wisest in it grieved, that that Prince, who was admired for the great number of outward qualities he possessed, should not have had an education suitable to his birth; and they could not forbear, at the same time that they applauded the natural beauty of his genius, detesting those who had so wickedly

corrupted him." He also gives the substance of the harangue which the Prince in question spoke at the opening of the States of Blois in 1576, and he prepares the reader for it by the following words (69): "He made a fine speech to them, wherein he observed so much moderation, as to declare, that he was willing to assure them, that he had forgot all past injuries; but it was upon condition that, all factions being suppressed, his authority should be restored in all its force. He expatiated on this with so much art and politeness, that had the only question been, whether he was a good Orator, he would have gained his point." I shall confirm this elo- gium by a letter, which one of the Deputies (70) wrote to the States of Blois. "It was the most beautiful and most learned speech ever heard, not only from a King, but from one of the best Orators in the world. He delivered it with such grace, such assurance, such gravity and sweetness, that he drew tears from many, from which number I cannot exempt myself: for I felt such an emotion in my soul, as that Prince spake, that I was forced, in spite of myself, to discover it by my tears. He represented in so compassionate a light, the miseries of this Kingdom; set forth, in such strong colours, the sorrow this filled him with, compared the felicity, &c. (71)." It would be to no purpose to object, that his speeches were made for him; for this would not hinder his being considered as very eloquent, considering the manner in which he spoke. Those who fill the first seats in the Parliaments, merit sometimes the title of good Orators, tho' they get others to compose the speeches which they deliver at the opening of the sessions; and how many excellent Preachers are not Authors of the sermons which they deliver? I will not stop here, but will quote another passage from Mezerai, to shew that this Monarch spoke exceedingly well off-hand (72). "He became so eloquent, by the natural disposition he had for it, that if it were possible for there to be any excess in so charming an accomplishment, we might have reason to say that he was too great a master of it. And indeed, he was greatly delighted with numerous assemblies, and such things wherein outward splendor was concerned, where it was found, that his speech was always the finest; and that even the extempore answers which he used to make to the Deputies and Embassadors, were better than the speeches which they had prepared with great art and pains (73)." I know not whether this great Historian ever insinuated, that the speeches of this Monarch had been wrote by another. I know Thuanus relates, that it was thought Morvillicr was Author of that which the King spoke to the States of Blois in 1576 (74); but I am certain that if this Prince did not compose these speeches, he at least examined and corrected them. This I am persuaded of from what I am going to say.

He was passionately desirous of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the French tongue, and of speaking it politely and correctly. The pains he took for this purpose, was crowned with the utmost success. *Noster Gallia Rex Henricus III, elegantiae sermonis sui studiosus (aliquot praesertim ante obitum annis, quo tempore plura regia quam multi credunt, babeat) baud infelici & inutili studio, fuit. In eo enim tandem excelluit: & ita quidem ut non minus castigatum quam ornatum esse cuperet* (75). i. e. "Our Henry III, King of France, was vastly curious with regard to the elegance of his diction (particularly some years before his death, at which time he possessed more royal qualities than is generally imagined) and was no ways unsuccessful in that study; for at last he excelled in it, and endeavoured as much to be accurate, as he did to be elegant." He would guess the Author of a book by the title in which it was wrote. Hence it was that he supposed Henry Stephens had wrote a certain anonymous book (76), and he was not mistaken in his conjectures. He was vastly zealous for the improvement of his native tongue; and having

(62) Du Verdier, *Profopogr.* tom. 3. pag. 2559.

(63) *Ibid.* pag. 2560.

(64) *Ibid.* pag. 2559.

(65) *Martyre des deux Freres*, fol. c. edit. of 1589, 8vo.

(66) That of the Penitents.

(67) Pierre Matthieu, *Hist. des derniers Troubles*, pag. m. 15.

(68) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 422. See also pag. 481.

(69) *Idem, ibid.* pag. 714.

(70) In 1583.

(71) Marcel, *Hist. de France*, tom. 4. pag. 602.

(72) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 799.

(73) See Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, pag. 481.

(74) Thuan. lib. 63. pag. 179.

(75) Henri. Stephan. *Epist. Dedicat. Traictatus de Lipsii Latinitate*, pag. 11.

(76) *Idem, ibid.*

for his successor [Q]; and the other relates to what the Deputy of the League was ordered to represent to the Pope, after James Clement the Dominican had assassinated this King [R]. This execrable murder was perpetrated in the town of St. Clou. Some Protestant

having commanded Henry Stephens to show the advantages and excellency of it, he was so very urgent with him to draw up such a work, that he was forced to bring him a printed copy of it very soon. *Ita ergo dicitur fuerit, ut intra breve temporis spatium non solum compositum sed excusum etiam afferre ad illum oportuerit* (77). I have observed in another place (78), that he wanted that learned man to make a parallel between the Ciceronians of Italy and those of France.

(77) Idem, ibid.

(78) Citation (3) above of the article BUNEL (Peter.)

(79) Citat. (27) of the article BODIN.

(80) La Caille, *Hist. de l'Impri-merie*, pag. 135.

(81) That is, at the time of the civil war, which the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre caused in the beginning of his reign.

I also said (79), that he had an affection for Bodin, because of the learned discourses he heard him pronounce. He was very fond of the conversation of a great many other learned men. I am to observe that, in 1579, he gave 3000 livres to Henry Stephens, together with a yearly pension of 300 livres (80).

It remains for me to prove, that it was thought he spent, in those things, a part of his time which he ought to have devoted to more urgent affairs. "If our Prince had reason to fear, it was at that time (81); nevertheless this new King, as though he had enjoyed a profound peace, instead of arming himself for the field, applied himself to learn, on one side, Grammar and the Latin tongue under Doron, (who he afterwards created Counsellor of the great Council) and on the other hand formed a kind of Academy with Pibrac, Ronfard, and other wits, on certain days, where every one discoursed on some subject, as had before been agreed upon. This was a truly noble and laudable exercise, but no ways proper, considering the affairs that King then had upon his hands. The grammatical lessons he used to take in this manner, made me display my anger in the six Latin verses following:

*Gallia dum passim civilibus occidit armis,
Et cinere obruitur semisepulta suo,
Grammaticam exercet media Rex noster in aula,
Dicere jamque potest vir generosus, Amo.
Declinare cupit, verè declinat & ille,
Rex bis qui fuerat, fit modo Grammaticus* (82).

(82) Pasquier's *Lettres*, liv. 19. tom. 2. pag. 482.

"Whilst France is still laid waste with civil wars,
And lies half buried deep beneath its ashes,
Our Pedant-Monarch studies Grammar rules,
And now he conjugates, and now declines.
Decline! yet that he does, who twice a King,
Is now, a what? a mere Grammaticaster.

(83) Idem, ibid. pag. 483.

(84) A young, and very promising Counsellor. Pasquier's *Lettres*, tom. 2. pag. 483.

(85) Ibid. pag. 484.

(86) Idem, ibid.

(87) It was communicated to me by Mr. Marais, who was mentioned at the end of the remark [Q] of the 3d Duke of GUISE, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris; to which he has added the following note: In an instruction which Henry III gave the Sieur de la Cayette at his setting out for Florence, Mr. de Schomberg is called Counsellor to his Majesty in his Council of State, and Marshal of his German Sol-diers.

Pibrac having said once to Pasquier (83), that he had heard that Marillac (84) was Author of that epigram, added, *that if he was sure of it, he would make him atone for what he had done; for it does not become a subject to ridicule in that manner the manners and behaviour of his King* (85). This would be just, replied Pasquier (86), "in any person's mouth but yours, who ought to think, that if a King, who is exposed to the view of all his subjects, does not put some restraint upon his actions, it will be extremely difficult for him to prevent the discontent of those who revere him. He added, that such kind of verses were wrote, not by one who was an enemy to his Majesty, but who rather idolized him; and therefore was sorry to see him, on that account, become the contempt of all his people; and that we ought all to wish, as the case then stood, that this epigram might fall into the King's hands, to be a lesson to him, not of Latin Grammar, but of the manner in which he ought to conduct himself."

[Q] *The proposal this King had been prevailed upon to approve, viz. to recognize the Duke of Lorraine's eldest son for his successor.*] Monsieur de Schomberg prevented this. I am possessed of the copy (87) of the memorial he drew up on this subject, and which I thought very worthy of being inserted here at length.

"Memoir of the Sieur du Schomberg.

"Sometime after the death of Messieurs de Guise, which happened at Blois, Cardinal de . . . pro-

posed, in his Holiness's name, that in case his Majesty would declare the Marquis du Pont, his nephew, heir to the crown, and get him recognized as such with the usual solemnities; his Holiness was certain, that the King of Spain would give the Infanta in marriage to the said Marquis, which would put an end to all the troubles in France. The King went to agree to this, at the solicitation of some persons about him, Mr. de Schomberg diverted this design by employing the following reasons: that this would be inverting the order established in France; abolishing the fundamental Laws; and transmitting to posterity a certain monument of its meanness and cowardice, for which his Majesty would be justly blamed by Historians; and his servants and subjects branded with perfidy and disloyalty, with which vice he himself was resolved not to be infected. That this war was between Frenchmen against Frenchmen, who, at first, discover great heat and vigour; but afterwards return, of themselves, to a rational way of thinking. That his Majesty should be follicitous only of living, of gaining time, and standing upon his guard against any resolute villain, who, in his first fury, might attack his person; and that his Majesty would give order for a waistcoat of mail to be made, for his usual wear. This was justly resolved upon, but not put in execution. The Sieur Schomberg having prevailed with the King to change his resolution, by the remonstrance above-mentioned, his Majesty commanded that Gentleman to tell him, by what methods he thought it would be possible for him to quell those tumults. The Sieur de Schomberg having immediately complied with the King's command, he requested his Majesty not to follow the maxims he had hitherto made use of; and not to imagine that this affair could be terminated by his usual lenity and forbearance; and therefore, that he must resolve with himself to have recourse to arms, and appear with the greatest number of troops in the field. That for this purpose he should countermand Mr. de Nevers who was then before Garrache; and give a pledge to the King of Navarre, to march with all his forces to his assistance; send into Germany, Italy, England, Denmark, and to all other Potentates, to acquaint them with the justice of his cause, and the consequences of it; and desire them to enable him to raise a great army of foreign forces. This proposal was violently contested, and chiefly by Mr. de Nevers, who went such lengths as to say it was heretical; that neither the Pope nor any of the Catholics would be pleased to see the said King of Navarre so near his Majesty's person. On the contrary, Mr. de Schomberg continuing firm in his opinion, declared that this war did not relate to Religion, in any manner, but to the State; and that his Majesty could not so safely make use of any person as of the said King, as it was his interest to endeavour at the preservation of the Kingdom; which he enforced with a great many other strong reasons, and these proved so effectual, that from this instant the treaty with the said King began at Blois, and was afterwards executed at Tours, where the two Kings had their first interview. With great reason therefore the service, which the Sieur de Schomberg did then to France, in the two points in question, especially to the House of Bourbon, was greatly celebrated. The King then advised, that the said Sieur de Schomberg should write to the President Jeannin, to keep the Duke of Mayenne to his allegiance. But his Majesty having heard of the departure of the said Sieur de Mayenne from Lyons, and his coming this way, the said letter was never sent, and it is still among my papers in Germany, full of excellent reasons and persuasions, which have since contributed to the reduction of the said Duke of Mayenne."

[R] *What the Deputy of the League was ordered to represent to the Pope, after James Clement, the Dominican, had assassinated the King.*] Those pieces cannot

Protestant authors have taken notice of this circumstance, and have found some mysteries in it. The incident they alledge will be looked upon as very doubtful till such times

not be preserved with too much care, which are so many authentic proofs of the fury which seized the greatest part of the French under Henry III, and some years after his death. Many people will endeavour to darken the truth of these incidents; but we must anticipate their pernicious attempts, for the farther men are from an age in which things have been transacted, the greater opportunity they have to wrangle. Henry III had not been dead an hundred years when an anonymous writer dared to publish a treatise (88), to shew that James Clement did not kill that Monarch. This is swearing that it is night at noon day. The reader will find such circumstances as clearly convict that Monk, in a piece, a copy whereof has been sent to me (89), and which I shall insert here at length.

(88) Intituled, *La Fatalité de St. Clow*. It was printed in 1672. Maimbourg the Jesuit speaks of it, and refutes it in a few words, in *L'Histoire de la Ligue*, liv. 3. pag. m. 353.

(89) The same Mr. Marais communicated it to me.

(90) He had just before given an account of the murder of the Guises, and the revolutions with which it was attended.

(91) NOTA BENE.

(92) NOTA BENE.

“ *Extract of what was represented to the Pope by the Commandeur de Diou, Ambassador for the union of Catholics at Rome.*

“ It was then (90), most holy Father, that the evil appeared most violent; and that the prayers of both Clergy and People were continued with greater fervency than ever; and we ought truly to believe, that they have forced pity from the divine Majesty, who would not suffer so many good people, and so zealous for the holy cause, longer to doubt his goodness and mercy; but rather to free them from their languishing state, by so great, so wonderful an effect or event, that the more it is considered, the more it raises our thoughts to contemplate and admire his incomprehensible judgments. What I mean is the King's death, which came to pass in so strange a manner, that the truth of it, and the impossibility which was objected to it, were long contending for the priority! At last the news was confirmed by several concurrent advices; and tho' your Holiness has had particular advice of it from other hands, I yet flatter myself that you will not be tired with the relation I shall give you of it. A Friar of the Order of St. Dominic, of the Convent of Paris, named brother James Clement, twenty three or twenty four years of age, born in the village of Sorbonne in the diocese of Sens, and the last of three or four hundred who are in the said Convent, yet divinely elected and chosen for so generous an exploit as that which God has achieved by his hands, had often boasted (91) to his brethren, even after the defeat at Senlis, that he saw the affairs of the enemies prosper; that the King should never die but by his hands; at which the rest of the fraternity used to laugh, and call him, out of scorn, Captain Clement. However, this did not make him relinquish this thought, and the resolution he had formed; on the contrary, he confirmed himself so strongly in the desire he had of coming to the execution, as made him constant in his design; he now thinking of nothing but the manner by which he might most easily accomplish it. In making this attempt he must resolve upon death; but what kind of death, he could not pitch upon: but he was willing to suffer the most cruel that could be inflicted on him; a constancy so wonderful in a Monk, that the like is not found in this age. To come to the point: he found means to procure, very secretly, the letters of some Politicians; and concerted with them to give the King ample advice of what was transacting in the city, to the advantage of his affairs. He got some words, by way of credentials, from them; and obtained from Count de Brienne, prisoner in the Castle of the Louvre, a passport, in order that he might get a more favourable access to the enemy's army. Being now furnished with all things necessary for waiting upon the King, he set out from Paris the last day of July in order to go to St. Cloud, and took leave of the reit of the Friars (92), exhorting them to pray for him; saying, that he was going, for the service of God, to deliver the people from misery, without any hopes of returning back; and that he did not value whether he did or not, provided that God would be

“ so gracious as not to let him fail in his design, of the event which they should hear in twenty four hours. Arriving the said day at St. Cloud, he could not get an opportunity of speaking to the King; so passed the night there, which might have given him other counsel. The next day being the first of August, he waited upon the Sieur de la Guesle, the King's Attorney General in the Parliament of Paris, which he had left; and informing him that he had been intrusted with letters, and sent by some of the King's trusty servants, and had some credentials relating to matters of great importance to his Majesty; he therefore desired to be introduced by him, in discharge of his duty. The King being informed of this gave orders for the Monk to be brought in, when he withdrew into his closet, and there talked above a quarter of an hour with him; during which he gave him letters, one by one, till his Majesty had received the last; and the King asking him whether those were all, the Friar replied, I believe not, Sir, but think there must be some more. Upon this, putting his hand farther up into his sleeve, he drew forth the knife he had hid there; stabbing, in the ventricle or stomach, the King, who finding himself wounded, cried out, and seized the hand of the Jacobin, who still kept the knife in the wound, whereby he hurt himself very much, and with it stabbed the Friar in the face, who, that instant, received numberless stabs from those who came running in to the King; and whilst he was slaughtering in this manner, it is said that he spoke as follows: *I thank God that I die so easy a death; so I did not think to have quitted life in this manner, and to come off at so cheap a rate; upon which his dead body was cast into the street, and afterwards burnt, as was told to Mr. de Mayenne. Thus the King died at two a clock, the next morning after he had been stabbed. Your Holiness will please to take notice of some of the most remarkable circumstances in this incident; for it happened, on the day that the Church celebrates the feast of St. Peter in Vinculis, whom God delivered, miraculously, by his angel, out of Herod's hand, and those of the Jews to whom he was to be given up; and the Catholics may declare, that on the same day God delivered them out of the hands of the Heretics, and from the yoke of a Prince, who had a strong desire, in his heart, to fill all Christendom with desolation. On what day, most holy Father, could the monitory of your Holiness against an impenitent King, and a contemner of the holy apostolical See, be better authorized by the power of God? When twenty four hours after the assassination of the Duke of Guise, the said King caused to be inhumanly butchered, in cold blood, the late Cardinal his brother; it is observed that the watch-word given to the murderer was *St. Clement*. Whilst this execrable crime was committing, he was in his closet, making merry with his favourites and the accomplices of the said murder; and God suffered a Friar, named Clement (93), to kill him (93) in his closet, in the midst of a great army, which was not able to secure his detestable life. He was so much possessed by impiety, ever since hypocrisy had made way for it, that he abhorred those preachers who had publickly inveighed against his vices; and, for that reason, he thought of nothing but their ruin, and to take a cruel revenge on them, which he used often to declare and protest in his most private discourses, where every one had liberty to give his opinion, with respect to the punishment that should be inflicted on them; but his barbarous designs have been prevented by a Monk, of the Order of preaching Friars, who has inflicted on him the divine punishment which others had foretold him. These things, most holy Father, are in my opinion of so much consequence, that your Holiness will judge them worthy of consideration. Farther, it is manifest that this action is not the work of men. It is a very great remedy to our evils, which God has applied to them by the ministry of*

“ your

times as they shall answer the observations of Peter Victor Cayet [S].

HENRY

“ your Holiness ; and it must be hoped that, by your
“ kind interposition, he will add a perfect cure to
“ it ; to effect which I shall make my most humble
“ requests and supplications, as I am commanded to
“ do both by the Duke de Mayenne, and the said
“ Lords of the general Council, whom I hope your
“ Holiness will honour so far as to accept of them.”

This instrument furnishes us not only with infallible
proofs against all those who should deny that James
Clement had perpetrated the murder, but likewise
against all such as endeavour to justify his brethren the
Jacobins of Paris. Varillas has expressly given the
reasons or arguments of those poor apologists (94), but

(94) Varillas,
Hist. de Henri III.
liv. 11. p. 252.
Dutch edit.

has said nothing to refute them. He first lays down
what is alledged in vindication of the Jacobins in gen-
eral, after which he speaks as follows (95) : but one of

(95) Idem, pag.
253.

them, named Father Bernard Guyart, printed a book,
but did not dare to prefix his name to it. He therein
pretends to justify the Order of St. Dominic, with re-
gard to the murder of Henry III. The particle but
at the beginning of the period, prepares all readers
for the particular apology of James Clement ; no one
can imagine that Bernard Guyart intended any thing
else, and yet Varillas speaks only of the general jus-
tification of St. Dominic's Order. Let the Gramma-
rians censure the Historian for so ill placing the par-
ticles called by them *adversatives* ; I leave that office
to them, and shall content myself with animadverting
on him upon another point. The treatise intitled,
Fatalité de St. Cloud, is doubtless the same work which,
according to Varillas, was published by Bernard
Guyart ; now the chief design of this treatise is, to
shew that James Clement did not kill Henry III.
Varillas does therefore very wrong, not to consider this
work under that idea, but under that of a general ap-
ology for the Dominicans. This fault appears to me
more excusable, than that of omitting to say, that the
book intitled, *Fatalité de St. Cloud*, should not hinder
any person from adhering to the general opinion.

Maimbourg has writ as he ought to have done, in
saying, that notwithstanding the book in question, it
yet must be owned that James Clement was guilty of
the murder ; and that it is the best way to agree sin-
cerely with the public voice, of what profession soever a

(96) Maimbourg,
Hist. de la Ligue, just.
liv. 3. pag. m.
354.

man may be (96). What he adds to this is not so
suffer any manner thereby in their honour. For, in fine,
faults are personal ; and no man of good sense would
ever take it into his head to reproach so holy an Order
as that of St. Dominic, with the crime of a particular
person. Now there is not the least solidity in those
words. The crime perpetrated by James Clement is
not a personal crime ; it is that of the monastery of
the Dominicans or Jacobin Friars in Paris. These

(97) See, above,
the Memoir of
the Deputy of the
League, to the
Court of Rome.

knew his design (97), did not divert him from, but
approved the execution of it. His Prior, after hav-
ing been duly convicted by several witnesses of making
the eulogium of this assassin, in the pulpit, was put to
death (98) ; and as the city of Paris, and especially
the preachers, bestowed numberless blessings and ap-
plauses on the Friar who had killed the King ; and
as all the other cities of the Kingdom which sided
with the League and the Pope himself (99) applauded
that infamous action ; it may be affirmed that the
crime committed by James Clement was that of the
whole League and of the Court of Rome ; for the
authors, the advisers, and approvers of an action, are
all thought to be under the same predicament, as I

(98) Thuan. lib.
98. pag. 346.

shall shew in some other place (100).

(99) Idem, lib.
95. pag. 302.

shall shew in some other place (100).

(100) In the arti-
cle PROLUS.

[S] Till such time as they shall answer the observa-
tions of Peter Victor Cayet.] Weigh well the following

(101) Cayet,
Chronol. Nouv.
ad ann. 1589,
folio 224 verso.

words (101) : “ Huguenots say, Death has carried this
“ King from our world into the other ; but, which is
“ a remarkable circumstance, in that very room, where,
“ it is thought the counsel was taken, relating to
“ the furious massacre on St. Bartholomew's day
“ in the year 1572. These words are found in
“ the additions to the *Inventaire de l'Histoire de
“ France*, by Montliard. The book intitled, *Recueil
“ des 5 Rois*, printed at Geneva, makes the same af-
“ fertion in very near the same words ; and in the
“ work called *de l'Etat de l'Eglise*, wrote by John

Taffin, a Protestant Minister, are the following
words : *It has been observed, that, by the providence
“ of God, this happened in that very room wherein,
“ anno 1573, the resolution had been taken, with re-
“ gard to the furious massacre on St. Bartholomew's
“ day. Here we have remarkable circumstances, and
“ observations with respect to the providence of God,
“ lightly ; and I will presume to say, falsely publish-
“ ed. For at the time that the massacre on St. Bar-
“ tholomew's day was perpetrated, the place where
“ the King was wounded belonged to one Chapellier,
“ a citizen of Paris ; and he possessed it two years
“ after that, and his Majesty had never entered it
“ when Duke of Anjou, nor did he come into it till a
“ long time after his return from Poland. The
“ Queen his mother did not purchase it till after the
“ death of the late King Charles, with an intention
“ to build there ; but finding there would not be room
“ enough, she gave it, anno 1557, to the Sieur Jerom
“ de Gondy's Lady, who pulled down the house, and
“ quite new modelled it ; having adorned it with
“ grottos and fountains, and so finely embellished it,
“ that it has been since resorted to by Princes and No-
“ blemen of high distinction, which it had never
“ been before. Now the compiler of the aforesaid
“ *Recueil des cinq Rois*, from which the said Montli-
“ ard and Taffin have extracted what they had insert-
“ ed in their several books, for he wrote before them,
“ has the following words ; *It is said that the consul-
“ tation for the massacres was held in that room &c.*
“ Behold a *Hearsay*, invented by the author of the
“ said *Recueil* or *Collection*, which hearsay was taken
“ into the *Memoires & petits Discours*, printed at Ge-
“ neva in 79, with regard to what happened at the
“ massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, in which it is
“ said, that the resolutions of it was formed at St.
“ Clou and in the Tuilleries. . . . Now, to give
“ some colour to this slander, the author of the said
“ *Recueil*, from the King's being killed in Gondy
“ palace, draws the following conjecture ; and art-
“ fully foists in the following words . . . *It is said
“ that . . . in the very room &c.* Montliard who wrote
“ after him, goes still farther, and says, *It is believed
“ &c.* ; yet this is not a *hearsay*, some persons, ac-
“ cording to him, believing it. But Taffin the Pro-
“ testant Minister who wrote after them all, is still
“ more confident, asserts this, and says that it was
“ by the providence of God. Now what a falsehood is
“ this ! And indeed the Attorney General having
“ complained, in court, against Montliard on that
“ account, these words, with many others, were e-
“ razed from his book ; and he himself was greatly
“ troubled, saying for his excuse, that it was only a
“ hearsay ; but his book being afterwards reprinted
“ at Geneva, all this was inserted again, and is looked
“ upon as a matter of fact, among persons of that
“ party (102).” If the incidents which Cayet relates*

(102) Cayet,
Chronol. Nouv.
ad ann. 1589,
folio 225.

concerning the house where Henry III was assassinated,
are true, we can no longer doubt but that the Prote-
stant authors whom he refutes are greatly in the
wrong ; and that the mysterious circumstances which
they have taken the pains to point out, are meer illu-
sions, and the vain chimeras of credulous minds. But
if they could have proved that Cayet is mistaken ; it
had been a commendable thing in them, to reprint
in the Geneva edition, those particulars which Mont-
liard had been forced to suppress. It is certain that,
according to the maxims of order and regularity, the
public ought to have been told, in the Geneva edi-
tion, why that passage was restored ; or in other words
it ought to have been proved, in the most authentic
manner, that the council relating to the massacre, had
been held at St. Cloud, in the very room where the
Jacobin killed Henry III. I have the Roan edition
in 1612 (103) of the *Inventaire* of John de Serres,
which contains the passage which the Attorney Gene-
ral caused to be suppressed. Mr. Mezerai supposes
that the reflections made by the Huguenots, descended
to a mere mysterious detail. *They wrote*, says he (104),
*that the King was wounded at the same hour, on the
“ same day, in the same place, and in the very room,
“ where he had concluded the massacre on St. Bartholomew's
“ day.*

(103) It is in
the title, *Je ven-
dent à Rouen chez
Esfienne Vereul,
dans la Court du
Palais.*

(104) Mezerai,
Hist. de France,
tom. 3. pag. m.
799.

HENRY IV, King of France, was one of the greatest Princes, mentioned by the Historians of these latter ages: and it may be affirmed, that had the love he bore to the fair sex suffered him to exert all his noble qualities [A] in all their strength and beauty, he would have surpassed or equalled such heroes as are most admired. Had this Monarch, the first time he debauched his neighbour's wife or daughter, met with the same punishment as was inflicted on Abelard, he would have been able to conquer all Europe [B], and would, perhaps, have eclipsed the

day. He says nothing against it, he does not cite any author, and does not imitate Peter Cayet in any respect. This mysterious remark is urged still more strongly in a book intitled, *Journal des choses mémorables advenues durant tout le Règne de Henry III Roy de France & de Pologne*; and which has perhaps been printed above twenty times in Holland, with three or

(105) *Le Divorce Satirique*; les *Amours du grand Alexandre*; la *Confession Catholique de Sanci*; *Discours merveilleux de la Vie de Catherine de Medicis*.

(106) *Journal de Henry III*, pag. 316, 317. edit. of 1699.

(107) i. e. the death of Henry III.

(108) Pag. 129.

(109) Ibid.

(110) Anselme, *Hist. des grands Officiers*, pag. 375.

(111) On the backside of the title is the following words: *Journal du Règne de Henry III*, wrote by M. S. A. G. A. P. D. P. Now these initial letters are exactly filled up with the following words, by Mr. Servin, *Avocat General au Parlement de Paris*.

(112) Pellisson, *Hist. de l'Académie Franc.* pag. m. 330.

four satyrical pieces (105). The last edition is of 1699. The *Journal* is here inserted more at large than in the edition of 1693: now the words following are found at the end of the additions (106): *The more we seek for observations and particulars in so astonishing an accident (107), the more wonders we find in it; so that posterity will look upon this King's death, as a wonder composed of numberless wonders, among which this has been observed, as very worthy of remark, and yet very true, viz. that in the returning from his affairs, as he did when he was killed, the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day was concluded on; the late King, who then was called Monsieur, presided in the Council, viz. in the town of St. Cloud in Gondy-House, the first of August 1572, in the same room, and at the same hour, which was eight in the morning; the breakfast, consisting of three spits of partridges, being ready, below, for the contrivers of that execrable action.* It is to be observed that this addition was superfluous; for every thing considerable in it is found, in the very same words, in the *Journal of Henry III*, printed in 1693 (108), and 1699 (109); and I believe it is likewise in the preceding editions.

If one could be sure that the *Journal* in question as published by the Dutch Bookellers, was wrote by a Catholic; it would then be certain, that the reflections made by the Protestants on the circumstances of Henry III's death, are weaker than those of a writer of the other party. The three Protestant authors whom Victor Cayet refutes have improvidence on the other. The first contents himself with a 'Tis said: the second was not satisfied with so faint a word, he saying, 'tis believed; whilst the third expresses himself in a still more positive manner. This is generally the case in publishing of news; the last relation is generally the most decisive, and contains the greatest number of circumstances. It seems a kind of auction, where people are to bid higher than one another; because the goods are decreed to him who offers most. But however this be, the Journalist of Henry III outbids the three Protestant bidders. He relates the incident, not only as very worthy of remark, but also as very true. Father Anselme (110) ascribes this *Journal* to Mr. Servin; which agrees well enough with the initial letters that have been put in the editions of the book (111). But Pellisson asserts (112) that Mr. de l'Etoile, a member of the French Academy, was son to an *Audencier* or Usher in the Chancery at Paris, who "had collected a great number of particulars relating to his own times, from which one of his friends, to whom he had lent them, drew up the piece intitled, *Journal de ce qui s'est passé sous Henry III.*" The question is to know, whether those who were possessed of the manuscript before it was first published, have not added, retrenched, or altered any thing in it. However, it is the business of those who rely on this part of the *Journal*, to answer the reasons urged by Peter Cayet.

[A] Had the love he bore to the fair sex, suffered him to exert all his noble qualities.] It cannot be said of this Henry, as of some great Commanders, who were very fond of pleasures (1), that he quitted the pursuit of them, when they interfered with his affairs; for he lost all the advantages which might have accrued to him by the victory of Coutras, merely to fly to a mistress. Hear Mezerai on that occasion (2). "The King of Navarre signalized himself, in that battle, much more by his valour, than by his con-

duct in reaping advantages from it; for, so far was he from marching directly towards the Queen's army, as the Prince of Conde would have done, promising, if troops should be given him, to go and seize on the passes of Saumur, that he suffered his victorious army to separate, being contented with taking an oath from the Captains, for them to come, on the 20th of November, to the confines of Angoumois and Perigord, in order to march towards the Reistres or German Horse. He kept but 500 horse; and taking Count de Soissons with him, made his way into Gascony, whither he was drawn, in a forcible manner, as it were, by the strong passion he had for the beautiful Countess of Guiche (3). One of the most troublesome affairs in which Henry IV was ever involved, was doubtless the siege of Amiens; and nevertheless he took the fair Gabrielle with him thither, and lodged her not far from him; and could he have followed his own impulse, he would have kept her there during all that dangerous expedition: "But he was soon after forced to remove this scandal from the sight of his soldiers; not only because of their murmurings which reached his ears, but also by reason of the reproaches of Marshal de Biron (4)."

The reflection I made at the beginning of this remark, viz. that there have been great Commanders, who were very fond of pleasures, and yet could quit the pursuit of them upon occasion, is not unknown to those who are acquainted with the character of Alcibiades and Sylla. See what Salust says of the latter. *Sulla . . . animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior: otio luxurioso esse, tamen ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata* (5). i. e. "Sylla . . . possessed a mighty soul; he was fond of pleasures, but still more so of glory: he passed his leisure hours luxuriously, and yet never suffered his pleasures to interrupt business." Here follows what is said of Alcibiades. *Quum tempus posceret, laboriosus (Alcibiades) patiens, liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita, quam victu; affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime interveniens. Idem simul ac se remiserat, nec causa suberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur in uno homine tantam inesse dissimilitudinem, tamque diversam naturam* (6). i. e. "Alcibiades, upon occasion, was laborious, patient, generous; no less splendid in his equipage than in his table; affable, kind; and could suit himself, very artfully, to all circumstances. But whenever he had a mind to relax, and had no business upon his hands, he was luxurious, dissolute, lewd, and intemperate; so that every one was surprized to find, in the same man, such opposite manners and contrary characters." The reader will meet with other examples in the remark [A] of the article SURENA.

[B] Had this Monarch . . . met with the same punishment as was inflicted on Abelard, he would have been able to conquer all Europe.] On the contrary, will it be said, he would have grown sluggish and cowardly; for the same spirits which prompted him to the love of women, made him valiant; and most great Captains were leud. I answer, that though it is certain many great Commanders have been of a very amorous complexion, it yet does not follow that their courage and their lust resulted from the same principle in their constitution. These two qualities had their several causes; and all that can be said is, these two causes conspired to form the constitution of those persons: but one may easily prove, that there is no manner of affinity or relation between those two qualities. How many cowardly people and more fearful than hares (7), are prodigiously vigorous in affairs wherein Venus is concerned? What man was ever more brave, more intrepid, than Marshal de Gassion, who bore a mortal hatred to the fair sex (8)? Was not

(3) See the notes on *Amours du grand Alexandre*, num. 3. where book 101. of Thuanus is cited.

(4) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronolog.* tom. 6. pag. 170. ad ann. 1595.

(5) Salust. in *Bello Jugurth.* pag. m. 362.

(6) Cornel. Nepos, in *Alcibiade*.

(7) This comparison makes me recollect, that no animals are more fearful and more lascivious than hares.

(8) See his Life, in tom. 4. pag. Count 329. & seq.

(1) See the end of this remark.

(2) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 5. pag. 308. ad ann. 1587.

the glory of Alexander and Cæsar. It would be to no purpose to object, that such a punishment would have quite enervated his courage [C]. It was his prodigious

Count Tilli, who never knew woman in all his lifetime (9), one of the greatest Captains of the XVIIth Century? Did not Viscount de Turenne, though no debauchee in any manner, equal those thunderbolts of war, those famous Generals who were his contemporaries; and who were almost as remarkable for their leudness as for their triumphs? And to give still stronger proof, was not the brave Sigismund Battori, Prince of Transilvania, firnamed the *Invincible* (10), because of his mighty exploits, as impotent in the wars of Venus, as he was brave in those of Mars; and having confessed his impotence (11), his marriage with Maria Christina, daughter of Charles Archduke of Greys, was declared void? Some Eunuchs have been extremely brave Generals; for not to go so far back as the renowned Narfes, who lived under the Emperor Justin II, in the VIth Century; is it not known that one of the most valiant Generals of Soliman was an Eunuch? *Erat Haliis Eunuchus, sed corporis defectum animo pensabat: de cetero statura brevi, sufflato corpore, colore duxeo, subtristi vultu, torvis oculis, & inter latos & eminentis humeros depresso capite, ac prominentibus ex ore duobus veluti aprugnis dentibus deformis* (12). i. e.

(9) *Veneris vinitate se fuisse jacuorat.* Puffendorf, *Res. Suecicar.* lib. 4. pag. 64. col. 2. See also Blanc, *Hist. de Baviere*, tom. 4. pag. 381.

(10) *Discours Historique & Politique sur les causes de la Guerre de Hongrie*, printed at Colen 1666, pag. 264.

(11) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 166.

(12) Thuan. lib. 17. pag. 361.

(13) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(14) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(15) Justin. lib. 36. *sub finem.*

(16) Livius, lib. 26. *sub fin.* Val. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 3. num. 1.

(17) See remark [B] of the article of the first ANTONIA.

injury for any person to make the least comparison between his valour and that of the lustful Proculus, who turned tyrant; a Latin letter of whom Flavius Vopiscus has preserved, which I would not offer to translate. *Tacendam non est, quod & ipse gloriatur in quadam sua Epistola, quam ipsam melius est ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere.* Proculus Metiano affini s. d. Centum ex Sarmatia virgines cepi. Ex his una nocte decem inivi: omnes tamen quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies xv reddidi. *Gloriatur (ut videtis) rem ineptam, & satis libidinosam: atque inter fortes se haberi credit, si criminum densitate coalescat. Hic tamen quum etiam post honores militares se improbe & libidinoso, tamen fortiter ageret, . . . in imperium vocitatus est* (18). We find that it is said in the passage above, that Proculus was a good soldier, but still his valour was not to be compared to that of Aurelian. What shall we say of Alexander the Great, who was fired by so extraordinary a courage? His chastity has been much more applauded than it deserved; but yet it must be owned, that by his natural disposition and constitution he had more indifference, in proportion, than inclination for the fair-sex; and this is sufficient to refute those, who suppose I know not what mechanical connexion between lust and valour. To the modern examples before quoted (19), I shall add that of an intrepid Knight who lived in the XVIth Century, and who merited the title of the *stearless and blameless Knight*. The reader will find by these characteristics that I mean Bayard. Love was never his master; and he proved, on several dangerous occasions, that he was master over it. See his life. What a long list I should give, were I to set down all those who have resembled Sardanapalus; creatures that were brave in no other place except in bed; but, in every other place, sluggish and cowardly. Were Caligula, Nero, and Heliogabalus, warriors? Did they not plunge, with the most infamous excess, into leud debaucheries? Was Domitian, who invented a new term (20) for those abominable exercises in which he signaled his strength, ever looked upon as a good soldier or a good Commander? Those sparks who were formerly called *mignons de couchette*, would sometimes make a campaign, in order to get rid of the contempt, to which the suspicion of their being cowards exposed them among brave men; but they behaved so ill on these occasions, that one might justly apply to them what Jupiter answered Venus, when she complained to him, upon her being wounded in her attempting to succour Æneas in a battle: Do not you concern yourself with war: it is not your province, which is that only of making love.

(18) Flavius Vopiscus, in *Proculo*, pag. m. 735. tom. 2.

(19) In the preceding remark.

(20) *Libidinis nemiæ assiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus clinopalen vocabat.* Suet. in *Domit.* cap. 22.

(21) *Hóm. Illiad.* lib. 5. ver. 423.

Οὐ τοι τέκνοι ἐμὸν δίδωσι ἀλιμνῆα ἔργα· Ἄλλα σὺ γ' ἡμερῶντα μελέηχοιο ἔργα γάμοιο (21).

“Not those, O daughter, are thy proper cares,
“Thee milder arts besit, and softer wars;
“Sweet smiles are thine, and kind endearing
“charms, &c.

POPE.

Helen gave Paris the like advice, as is seen in a remark where I refute Mezerai (22). This Historian imagines, that Ladies love brave men, from a supposition that they are as active and vigorous in love exercises, as in combats. But he does not form a right judgment of their motives; glory or vanity are the great springs of their prepossession in favour of brave men. Monluc observes that women would choose to be widows, rather than to see their husbands return from the field in health, but loaded with shame and dishonour. It is plain that lust has nothing to do in this; and since it furnishes a first proof against Mezerai, I will here quote Monluc's own words. He directs himself to the Governors of a town, and shews the prejudice they will do themselves in case they don't defend it bravely. “Not only your Sovereign, *conatus be* (23), the Princes and Lords will behold you, with an evil eye, but likewise women and children. But to go farther, your own wives, though they pretend to love you, will yet hate you, and

(22) Rem. [O] citation (47) of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

(23) Monluc, *Comment.* liv. 3. pag. m. 500, 501.

digious incontinence [D], that prevented his rising to so great a height as he otherwise might have done; but notwithstanding that powerful obstacle, he nevertheless deserves very justly the surname he bears (a). To prove this, we need but consider the astonishing difficulties he surmounted, before he was settled on the throne; and the flourishing state he brought his Kingdom to, which, at his ascending the throne, was in a most calamitous condition. He inherited this crown in a very distant degree of consanguinity [E]. We in all probability should know, and should admire much more, the vast extent of his merit, had he lived five or six years longer; for he was just going to begin the execution of a mighty design (b), when he was murdered in his coach the 14th of May 1610, by one Ravailiac. Some Historians relate, that this had been foretold him the day before [F]; but those who have examined this matter thoroughly, find

(a) He is called Henry the Great. See citation (47) of the article BARCLAY (John).

(b) See at the year 1610 his History written by Hardouin de Perceux.

“and esteem you less in their hearts. For such is the nature of all women, that they bear a mortal hatred to cowards and poltroons, though ever so spruce; and love the bold and courageous, though ever so ugly and deformed. They partake in your grace. And though they are folded in your arms, in bed, pretending to be overjoyed at your return; they yet wish you had been strangled, or that a bullet had taken your head off. For in the same manner as we conclude, that the greatest disgrace that can accrue to a man, is to have his wife a whore; the women think on the other side, that the greatest shame they can meet with, is to have a cowardly husband. Thus, Governor, you see what a wretched chance you will stand, should you lose your town, since you will be cursed by your own wife.”

[D] *His prodigious incontinence.*] I need not scruple to give it that name, after the stories which Daubigné has published on that subject, especially after the following words of a very grave Historian. “If it was the business of history to make apologies, it might clear him from the greatest part of those reproaches, but not however from the frantic passion he had for gaming. . . . Much less could it excuse him, for his abandoning himself so immoderately to women, which had been so public and general from his youth to his death, that it cannot even be called love and gallantry (24).” The following particulars related by Mr. de Perceux are very strange. “It were to be wished, for the honour of his memory, that gaming had been his only fault. But the perpetual frailty which he had, with regard to beautiful women, was another fault, much more blameable in a Christian Prince, in a man of his years who was married, to whom God had been so gracious, and who revolved so many mighty enterprises in his mind. He sometimes was fired with only transient desires, and which captivated him but one night; but when he met with beauties who struck his heart, he loved to distraction; and, in these wild transports, he no ways seemed to be Henry the Great. It is related, in fabulous antiquity, that Hercules took up a distaff, and spun for love of the beautiful Omphale: now Henry did something more groveling for his mistresses. He one day assumed a peasant’s disguise, and took a truss of straw on his back, to get access to Madam Gabrielle; and it is said that the Marchioness de Verneuil has seen him more than once at her feet, “suffering her disdain and insults (25).” It must be a piercing sorrow to all good Huguenots, to see their chief lead so scandalous a life, even in Rochelle. He there debauched the daughter of a Gentleman of the long robe, and had a son by her. *The Church had frequently told him of his crime, which he would confess ingenuously enough*; but he could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge it publicly, till a little before the battle of Coutras (26). The detail of that is found in the Life of du Pleisis Mornai (27).

[E] *He inherited the crown in a very distant degree of consanguinity.*] “It was doubtless by an uncommon good fortune that the crown of France fell to him, there never being a more remote succession than that, in any hereditary Government; for there were about ten or eleven degrees of consanguinity between him and Henry III; and at his birth there were nine Princes of the blood before him, viz. Henry II and his five sons; Anthony King of Navarre, his father, and two sons of that Anthony, elder brothers of our Henry. All these Princes died, to make way for him to the crown (28).”

[F] *Some Historians relate, that his death had been foretold him the day before.*] We will begin this remark by the words of Peter Matthieu (29). “Upon this la Brosse, a learned Physician and Mathematician, said to the Duke of Vendosme, by way of sequel to a longer discourse, that provided the King could but avoid the accident with which he was menaced, he would live thirty years longer. No one cares to inform Kings of what may give them uneasiness; and therefore the Duke de Vendosme, thinking it more proper that la Brosse should be the messenger of his own news, besought the King to hear him, upon which the King asked what la Brosse wanted. Here the Duke of Vendosme said nothing; but his silence making the King still more desirous of knowing the motive of it, he pressed him; the Duke excuses himself; but at last as the King laid his absolute commands upon him, he informs him of what la Brosse had said to him. You are quite a simpleton, says the King to the Duke, to give credit to this. Sir, answered Vendôme, in these things credulity is a fault but not fear; the safety of your Majesty’s person obliges every individual, and me above any other person, not to despise the least information that may be given; and therefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty to hear him. However, the King would not consent to this, and even forbid his speaking about it. I can do no less, says the Duke, than inform the Queen of it. The King declared twice, that should he ever break it to her, he would never love him; and so la Brosse was sent away. I heard all this, word for word, from the Duke de Vendôme’s own mouth.” This is related in a very positive strain; but what follows, is no less so, though it quite overthrows Peter Matthieu’s relation: “So true it is, it is a Philosopher who speaks (30), that most Historians are credulous and liars; and that they thereby always confirm the credulity and falshood of prognostications, when they relate those stories without refuting them. But without going farther; why should not the antients have done it, since we often see it practised in our own time? Has not one of our Historians, speaking of the death of our great Henry IV, affirmed; that having been informed of it by a Prince still living, whom it is not necessary to name, the evening before the unfortunate stroke was given; his Majesty despising this advice, had answered, that la Brosse was an old fool of an Astrologer &c. I being desirous of hearing this from the mouth of the Prince in question (†), above thirty years since, in presence of a Princess (‡), of great worth, he did her the honour to say that it was all a falsity. And but two days since only, in order to be better informed of it, and that I might not publish any thing in writing of that consequence, without being first well assured of it; I had the honour to speak again to him about it before several persons of his family, and he confirmed the same thing to me; adding farther, that the Historian (†) had confounded times and things; and that la Brosse had indeed told him, after this unhappy accident, that he had foreseen it by calculating his Majesty’s horoscope, (as Astrologers always do, after things are come to pass) but not that he had given him notice of it the evening before, in order that he might inform his Majesty of it. Nevertheless this is related by a French author, who lived in that age. Who then, in times to come, will not give credit to him? Will it be thought that a man, appointed and paid to write History, durst say a thing of that importance, and

(29) *Relation de la Mort de Henri IV*, pag. m. 24.

(24) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* tom. 6. pag. 392.

(25) Perceux, *Hist. de Henry le Grand*, pag. m. 461, 462, ad ann. 1609.

(26) *Vie du Pleisis Mornai*, pag. 108.

(27) Pag. 108.

(28) Perceux, *Hist. de Henry le Grand*, pag. m. 514.

(30) Peter Petit, Surveyor of the Fortifications, *Dissertation sur les Cometes*, pag. 89.

(†) Mr. de Vendosme.

(‡) Madam de Chevreuse.

(§) Matthieu.

it to be false. He was of so generous a disposition, that it was no way probable he ever advised the Duke of Alençon to make away with Catherine de Medicis [G]; nevertheless, we find this asserted in some memoirs. He met with the fate common to great men, I mean that he was unhappy in his family. The two wives he married one after another, in the life time of both, brought a thousand vexations upon him [H]. But this he deserved, since he disregarded so much the sacred laws of marriage. His second wife was one of those Princesses against whom he had raised some objections, in examining with Roni what kind of wife would suit him (c). His notions with regard to marriage are very curious [I]; and few conversations are more solid and agreeable, than those

(c) See the remark [I].

“ even cite a living Prince who could witness it, in case it were not true? It is nevertheless as I say; and if any one doubts of this, he may inform himself about it, and I am not sorry that I have an opportunity to mention it in this place; as well to undeceive posterity, as to shew that a great many particulars are written of this kind, which do not deserve the least credit.”

It is to be observed that Mr. Petit does not relate this altogether as faithfully as he ought to have done. He supposes that the Historian said, that the King made the following answer, *la Brosse is an old fool of an Astrologer*; but the Historian does not say this; for, according to him, it was to the Duke of Vendome that the King said, *you are a madman*.

We will exhibit a second testimony, with the refutation of it. “ The evening of the same coronation, “ la Brosse, an excellent Physician and Mathematician, “ said to the Duke of Vendome, that if the King “ could but escape a dangerous accident, which “ threatened him immediately, he should live thirty “ years longer; and begged that he would introduce “ him to his Majesty: But the King being told the “ subject he intended to speak to him about, would “ not hear la Brosse (31).” Now this is refuted in the following words of Marshal de Bassompierre (32);

It is false to assert that la Brosse desired to be introduced to the King; but had he desired it, the answer invented by him (33) would have been true, viz. that he (34) would have scorned to speak to him, for he looked upon him as a madman. It is related in a discourse on the death of Henry IV, annexed to the Duke de Nevers's Memoirs, that the Duke of Vendome declared to several persons, that la Brosse never spoke to him about it.

[G] *It is no way probable he ever advised the Duke of Alençon to make away with Catherine de Medicis.* Le Laboureur relates that this Queen, seeing Charles IX draw near his end, was afraid “ that the Duke of “ Alençon would be advised to claim the regency, “ and even the crown, in prejudice of the King of “ Poland his brother. This made her form the design “ of a conspiracy, which might give her an opportunity of seizing upon his person, and that of the “ King of Navarre. She confined them, under a “ strong guard in the Bois de Vincennes, till the King's “ death, but without declaring them Prisoners. In “ the mean time she spread a report, in all places, “ of this conspiracy, for which she caused the Marshals of Montmorency and Cossé to be arrested; “ and, to remove all occasion of doubting this, she “ sacrificed la Molle and Coconnaz, two favourites “ of that Duke, to this state-intrigue. . . The Duke “ of Alençon (so great was his fear) himself betrayed his “ cause, and his domesticks; and he who best sustained “ the character of an oppressed Monarch, who was “ yet incapable of acting unsuitable to his dignity, “ was Henry IV, then King of Navarre. Not but “ that he was afraid he was ruined; and it was in “ this view that he was accused, as some memoirs “ inform me, of having advised Monsieur, the King “ of France's brother, to pretend to be sick, in order “ to oblige the Queen to come and visit him; and “ then, upon pretence of desiring to reveal something “ to her in private, to cause her retinue to withdraw, and then strangle her. His motives or pretences for it were, their safety, the opportunity of the King's death who was in his expiring moments, the credit and authority which time would give their friends; and that the same policy which made her renounce the laws or ties of blood and nature, dispensed them, out of a stronger consideration than that of reigning, from abhorring an action “ which would save to the state, two Princes, who

“ were necessary to it, by the death of a woman who “ disturbed the tranquillity, and caused the ruin of “ it. He had not the courage to attempt it, nor “ the discretion to hold his tongue some time after; “ and this is the cause of that deadly and implacable “ hatred which Catherine of Medicis bore to the “ King of Navarre; and therefore she did not scruple to engage in the conspiracy against her own “ son, Henry III; and to disturb the government “ when she had no children, to prevent Henry IV “ from succeeding him; and to substitute, in his “ room, Henry Duke of Lorraine, her grandson by “ her daughter (35).” According to these memoirs, Henry IV intended to be one of the murderers of the Queen-Mother.

[H] *His two wives brought a thousand vexations upon him.* It is not necessary to prove this with respect to Margaret de Valois; we will therefore allege that proof which relates to Mary of Medicis. The high esteem and affection, which the French had for him (36), would not suffer them to be so much offended at his scandalous way of living; but the Queen his wife was greatly vexed at it; so that it occasioned perpetual disputes betwixt them, and made the Queen disdainful and ill-tempered. The discontent of these domestic quarrels, doubtless retarded the execution of the mighty design he had projected, for the happiness and perpetual repose of “ Christendom; and for the destruction, afterwards, “ of the Ottoman Power (37).”

[I] *His notions with regard to marriage are very curious.* I am going to cite a very long passage; nevertheless I am certain that it will appear short to curious Readers, it containing a kind of critique on a considerable number of Princesses; and a very solid argumentation of Henry IV, with respect to the choice of a wife. Here follows what he said to Mr. de Roni his favourite (38). “ So that nothing more seems “ wanting, for the accomplishment of this design, “ but to see whether I can get another wife whose “ qualifications may be so excellent, that I may not “ plunge into the greatest misfortune of this life, “ which, in my opinion, is to have an ugly ill-natured and worthless wife, instead of the ease, repose “ and satisfaction which I proposed to find in the “ marriage-state: that if wives could be got by wishing, in order that I might not repent of so hazardous a step, mine should be endowed, among “ other good qualities, with the seven following principal ones, viz. beauty in her person, chastity in “ her life, complaisance in her temper, ingenuity and “ skilfulness in her mind, fruitful with regard to issue, “ eminent with respect to extraction, and rich as to “ her possessions. But I fancy, my friend, that this “ woman is dead, or rather that she perhaps is not yet “ born, nor ready to come into the world; and nevertheless let us consider a little, what maidens or women, whom we have heard of, within or without “ the Kingdom, would be a fit wife for me. And “ forasmuch as I have, in my opinion, thought of it “ more than you have done; I will tell you briefly, “ that the Infanta of Spain, how old and ugly soever “ she may be, would do well enough for me, provided “ I could marry the Low-Countries with her, tho' it “ were upon condition of restoring to you the Earldom “ of Bethune. Neither could I refuse Princess Reibelle (39) of England, in case, as it is said publicly, “ that the Crown is justly hers, she had only been “ declared presumptive heirs of the Kingdom: but in “ I will not expect either the one or the other, the “ King of Spain, and the Queen of England being far “ from entertaining any such thoughts. I have sometimes been spoke to about certain Princesses of Ger-

(35) Le Laboureur, *Addit. aux Mem. de Castellan*, tom. 2. pag. 381.

(36) i. e. for Henry IV.

(37) Prefixe, *Hist. de Henry le Grand*, pag. m. 463, ad ann. 1609.

(38) *Mem. de Sulli*, tom. 2. pag. 112. edit. de Hollande, 12mo.

WHAT the King desired in a wife.

(39) I copy this word as I find it in my edition.

(31) Du Pleix, *Hist. Henry IV*, pag. 411.

(32) *Remarques sur Du Pleix*, pag. 172.

(33) i. e. Du Pleix.

(34) i. e. Henry IV.

this King had on that subject. It was very plainly seen, that Religion was nothing but a false pretence, both of the League and the King of Spain: it was known, I say, by the endeavours that were employed, to prevent the Pope from giving him absolution. I have taken notice in another place (d) of the facetious remarks made by d'Aubigné, on the strokes of the switch, which the proxies of this Prince received when he was absolved at Rome. I shall take some farther notice of it here [K].

(d) In the article BOTERO, remark [C].

Henry IV was born at Pau in Bearn the 13th of December 1553 (e). Anthony of Bourbon his father, and Joan d'Albret his mother, carried him to the Court of France when he was but five years old; but he staid there only a few months, and returned to Bearn (f). Anthony returned to Court, after the death of Henry II, and was appointed Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, after the death of Francis II. He sent for the Queen his wife, and the Prince his son, to him, and died of a wound which he had received at the siege of Roan in the year 1562; after which his wife, whom he had treated injuriously [L], returned to Bearn, where she openly embraced the principles of Calvin (g). She left her son at the Court of France, under the direction of la Gaucherie, a prudent Preceptor.

“ many, whose names I have forgot, but I don't like
 “ in any manner the women of that country, and
 “ fancy that had I married one of them, I must al-
 “ ways have a hoghead of wine by my bed side;
 “ not to mention that it has been told me, that there
 “ was a Queen of France of that country, who al-
 “ most ruined the French; which several considerati-
 “ ons have given me a distaste to German women.
 “ One of Prince Maurice's sisters has also been pro-
 “ posed to me, but besides their being all Huguenots,
 “ and that such an alliance might make me suspected
 “ at Rome, and among the zealous Catholics, that
 “ their mother was a Nun, and something else which
 “ I will tell you another time, make me averse to it.
 “ The Duke of Florence has likewise a niece who
 “ is said to be handsome enough; but he being one
 “ of the most inconsiderable families in Christendom
 “ that bears the title of Prince, it not being above
 “ threescore or fourscore years, that his predecessors
 “ were only ranked among the most illustrious citi-
 “ zens of Florence; and of the same family with the
 “ Queen-mother, Catherine, who brought so many
 “ evils upon France, and particularly to my self, I
 “ am afraid of marrying into that House, lest it
 “ should prove prejudicial to myself, my friends and
 “ my kingdom. These, I believe, are all the fo-
 “ reign Ladies I am to speak of. As to those within
 “ my own realm, my niece of Guise is one of those
 “ that would please me best, notwithstanding the ru-
 “ mour which some malicious people have spread,
 “ viz. that she is a little wantonly inclined; for with
 “ regard to myself, besides that I believe it very
 “ false, I should choose rather to have a woman that
 “ was a little amorous, than one who should prove
 “ ill-tempered, which she is no ways suspected to be,
 “ but on the contrary, of a very soft, pleasant humour,
 “ and complaisant in her conversation; she also is of
 “ a good family, handsome, tall, and likely to have
 “ fine children soon. The only circumstance I fear, is,
 “ the too strong affection she discovers for her own
 “ family, and especially for her brothers, which might
 “ inspire her with a desire to aggrandize them to my
 “ prejudice, and still more to that of my children, in
 “ case she should ever enjoy the regency. There like-
 “ wise are two daughters of the house of Maine,
 “ the eldest whereof, though so swarthy, would not
 “ displease me, she being prudent and well educated;
 “ but then they are too young. There are two in
 “ the House of Aumalle, and three in that of Lon-
 “ gueville, whose persons are far from contemptible;
 “ but other reasons will not suffer me to apply
 “ my thoughts that way. So much for Princesses.
 “ You, besides, have one daughter in the house of
 “ Luxemburg, one in that of Guimené, my cousin
 “ Catherine of Rohan; but the last is a Huguenot,
 “ and I don't like the others: and next, the daughter
 “ of my cousin the Prince of Conti, of the house
 “ of Luce, who is a very beautiful, well-educated
 “ Princess; and indeed she would please me best,
 “ were she older. But though I should like them all,
 “ so far as I know them, who can assure me that I
 “ shall find in them, the three principal qualities united,
 “ which I require in a wife, and without which I
 “ would not marry? viz. that I should have issue by
 “ them, that they should be of a sweet and complai-
 “ sant humour, and sufficiently qualified to assist me

“ in affairs of a sedentary kind; and to govern my
 “ kingdom and my children well, in case I should die,
 “ before they were of age, sense, and judgment, to
 “ endeavour to imitate me; as very probably will be
 “ the case, should I marry in so advanced an age.
 “ But pray, Sir, answered you, what do you mean
 “ by so many affirmatives and negatives, from which
 “ I can infer nothing except this, viz. that you are
 “ very desirous to be married; but that no woman
 “ upon earth is fit or qualified to be your wife? So
 “ that, at this rate, we should implore the assistance
 “ of heaven, to restore the Queen of England to her
 “ bloom of life; and raise from the dead Margua-
 “ re of Flanders, Mademoiselle of Burgundy, Jane la
 “ Loca, Anne of Britany, Mary Stuart, all rich
 “ heiresses, in order for you to take your choice from
 “ among them; for, according to the temper you
 “ have discovered, speaking of Clara Eugenia, you
 “ would like some of those Ladies who were possessed
 “ of such extensive territories. But omitting all these
 “ impossibilities and idle notions, let us consider a
 “ little what is to be done &c.

[K] I shall take some farther notice on the strokes of the switch. I shall borrow the words of a Walloon Minister (40). “ The psalm *Miserere* was sung when Henry the Great was reconciled to the See of Rome, on which occasion du Perron and d'Ofiat, prostrate, and their faces turned to the east, respecting the King of France, in presence of the Roman Pontiff and the Consistory, received, in that King's name, his penance decreed by the holy See, which was, to adjust to every verse a stroke of a switch over his head, shoulders and back, down to the feet, from the beginning of that psalm to the end. Du Perron in his Letters, folio 172, gives us the verbal process of that King's absolution, by Pope Clement VIII, . . . D'Ofiat, his sharer or companion in the royal penance, shews how gentle it was.” In the instruction of the Inquisition was the following hyperbolic expression (41). When the choristers sung *Miserere mei*, the Pope, at every verse, *verberabat et percutiebat humeros Procuratorum cujuslibet ipsorum virga quam in manibus tenebat.* i. e. “ He beat the shoulders of each of the proxies with a rod which he held in his hand.” The blows were felt no more on that occasion, than if a fly had crept on their clothes.

[L] Joan d'Albret . . . who had been . . . treated injuriously . . . by her husband.] The lure employed to draw him off from the Protestant Religion, was, to promise him the Kingdom of Sardinia. He was so weak as to believe these promises; “ and he began to withdraw, by insensible degrees, from the Protestants; and to vex the Queen, his wife, all kinds of snares being spread for him, by which a man addicted, as he was, to women, could be overreached; thus forgetting every other thing by insensible degrees, he now thought of nothing but the Kingdom of Sardinia and women, among whom a certain maid of honour belonging to the Queen began to have a considerable share of his affection. In the mean time the Queen of Navarre, like a very prudent and virtuous Princess, endeavoured to reclaim him; enduring all things possible, and re- monstrating to him what he owed both to God and his subjects. But so greatly was he bewitched, that

(b) *Ibid.* pag. 42.

(i) *Ibid.* pag. 24.

(k) *Ibid.* pag. 25.

(l) *Ibid.* pag. 29.

Preceptor. She sent for him to Pau in 1566; and appointed Florent Chretien to be his Preceptor, in the room of la Gaucherie, who was dead (b). This Preceptor who was a zealous Protestant, educated that Prince in his own Religion. Joan d'Albret declared herself their protectress in 1569, and came for that purpose to Rochelle with her son, whom she devoted from that time to the defence of this new Religion. In this quality he was declared leader or head of the party; and his uncle the Prince of Conde his Lieutenant, with Admiral de Coligny (i). He was in the army when the battle of Moncontour was fought, and had a most ardent desire to engage in the combat; but this he was not allowed to do, for fear of hazarding his person too much (k). From that time he followed the army, till the peace was concluded, viz. the eleventh of August 1570, and then returned to Bearn. His marriage with Princess Margaret, sister to Charles IX, was solemnized at Paris in August 1572. His mother was come to Paris some months before, to prepare his nuptials, and died there whilst her son was upon the road. He began to assume the quality of King, when news was brought him, in Poictou, of her death (l). It is universally known that the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day was perpetrated a few days after the marriage of this new King; and that he being reduced to the necessity of going to mass, or losing his life, chose the former. The answers which certain authors put into his mouth, are mere chimeras of their brain [M], and only shew the desire they had to employ their reading. Henry was obliged, against his will, to spend some years in the Court of France. He there dissembled very artfully all his uneasinesses: he even repulsed, and frequently suppressed them, by some love-intrigue, to which he was strongly prompted by nature, and this was not a little heightened by the depravity and lustfulness of the Ladies. One of his principal mistresses (m) was the Lady de Sauves, wife to a Secretary of State. However, love did not so far engross all his

(m) *Prefixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. 39.*

time,

" all this was to no purpose, which the Queen ob-
 " serving, she had recourse only to tears and entrea-
 " ties, which melted every one to compassion, ex-
 " cept the said King her husband. During these
 " transactions the Queen-mother endeavoured to per-
 " suade her to bear with the King her husband, to
 " which she at last made the following answer, that
 " rather than ever go to mass, if she had the King-
 " dom and her son in her hands, she would throw
 " them both to the bottom of the sea, that they
 " might be no obstacle to her; for which reason they
 " troubled her no more on that subject (42).

[M] *The answers, which certain authors put into his mouth, are mere chimeras of their brain.* During the massacre, Charles IX sent for, into his closet, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde; and declared to them, that if they did not immediately renounce their heretical tenets, they should meet with the same fate as the Admiral. *The King of Navarre, prodigiously surprized at these words which were uttered with a menacing tone of voice, and at the dreadful spectacle he had seen before his eyes, answered with great humility, and trembling at the same time; that he besought his Majesty to leave them free and undisturbed with regard to their lives and consciences, and that they were ready to pay obedience to him in all other respects (43).*

Though I make use of Mezerai's words, the reader may be assured that it is the same thing as if I employed the very words of a Calvinist Historian; for d'Aubigné (44) relates the answer made by the King of Navarre, in the very same terms; and it is as follows in the *Inventaire* of John de Serres. "The King of Navarre beseeches his Majesty to call to mind his promise, the consanguinity he had so lately contracted, and not to do him any violence in the Religion he had imbibed from his infancy (45)." The author of the *History des choses memorables* does not say more; and the author of the *Commentaries de statu Religionis & Reipublicæ in regno Gallie* is not more full with regard to the sense, though he employs more words (46); and it is to be observed that he says expressly, that the answer was made with a trembling tone of voice (47). Thus we see four Protestant writers agree with Mezerai, and consequently we cannot suspect the latter's veracity. This being the case, may we not justly laugh at the Historian, who spins the answer in question to three or four pages? "Our Henry, says he (48), made such

" as shewed, at that time, what the greatness of his
 " courage, the depth of his sense, and the great gen-
 " tleness of his clemency, would be. He besought
 " his Majesty to call to mind the word of honour he
 " had given him; the near relation they bore to one
 " another, and the new alliance they had concluded
 " together; and not to offer any violence to the Re-
 " ligion which he had sucked in, from his infancy,

" like his nurse's milk. He said it was a great mis-
 " fortune that so august a King, whose soul possessed
 " the seeds of all the exalted virtues, should have been
 " so perniciously counselled, to force his subjects, by
 " murders and massacres, to worship and serve God
 " after his fancy and caprice. That nothing could
 " subdue a courageous people, and especially the
 " French, but the mildness of their Prince, whom
 " they worship almost as if he was God. That Fla-
 " minius had employed this method, in order to make
 " the Romans masters of all Greece; so that, though
 " he was possessed of superior force in the city of
 " Thebes, he yet employed as much persuasion, in
 " order to gain the people, as an Orator would have
 " done from the rostrum; and that he ought to know,
 " that he was King over a people who cannot bear a
 " perfect liberty, nor an entire slavery; and that the
 " regal power was not a government over slaves, but
 " over fellow citizens. That he had often heard, that
 " those great Romans had commanded over all Na-
 " tions, and made themselves masters of the world, to
 " shew that they were governed by reason, and did
 " not abandon themselves to revenge. . . (49). Your
 " Majesty is sensible, that one single example of hu-
 " manity among the Romans, was more efficacious
 " towards subduing the Falisci, who were foreigners,
 " than all their military power had been; what there-
 " fore might not your Majesty's mildness and cle-
 " mency have effected with regard to Protestants?
 " A mighty King, like to your Majesty, should not
 " do all he can, but imitate the Sun who, the higher
 " he is in the horizon, the slower he moves. . . (50).
 " Those who have given you such evil counsel are
 " more to blame than you, and deserve to be punish-
 " ed as much as those, who poison the public fountains
 " or aqueducts, and consequently kill all those
 " who drink of them." I have omitted most of the
 " particulars which this compiler of common places puts
 " into the King of Navarre's mouth; but I shall not
 " curtail, in any manner, the reply which he falsely as-
 " cribes to Charles IX. "These are fine maxims, said the
 " King, which you learnt of Chretien your tutor; but
 " I know one much finer than any of them, viz. that
 " God has invested the King with the supreme com-
 " mand, the springs of which it is not lawful for a
 " subject to touch; it is glory sufficient for him that
 " he obeys. Go, and obey what I command, upon
 " pain of death; and although I am not obliged to
 " give you an account of my actions, I yet will in-
 " form you, that every illustrious example seems to
 " have something of injustice in it, which is compen-
 " sated by the public utility (51)." I am to observe,
 " that this author supposes that the King sent for the
 " King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde separately;
 " but other Historians relate, that Charles IX sent for
 " those two Princes at the same time.

(42) *Bete, Hist. Ecolef. liv. 4. pag. 622. ad ann. 1561.*

(43) *Mezerai, Hist. de France, tom. 3. pag. 257.*

(44) *D'Aubigné, tom. 2. liv. 1. chap. 4. pag. m. 347.*

(45) *Invent. de l'Hist. de France, tom. 2. pag. m. 704.*

(46) *Lib. 10. folio m. 35.*

(47) *Quæ tamen humilissimo animo & consensu ore ab illo dicebantur. Ibid.*

(48) *Julian Peleus, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, Hist. des Faits & de la Vie de Henry le Grand, tom. 1. pag. 328.*

(49) *Ibid. pag. 331.*

(50) *Ibid. pag. 332.*

(51) *Ibid. pag. 333.*

time, but that he sometimes intermeddled with State-intrigues; he being concerned in those which were projected to remove the Queen-mother from the Administration, and drive the Guises from the Court (n); but the Queen having discovered these practices (o), caused him and the Duke of Alençon to be put under an arrest, set a guard over them, and ordered them to be examined on several heinous particulars (p) [N]. These two Princes were set at liberty by Henry III, to meet whom they had been conducted by Catherine of Medicis as far as Beauvoisin Bridge (q). The King of Navarre went, at last, secretly away, in the year 1576, and withdrew to Alençon (r). He then returned to the Huguenot party, and again professed his first Religion (s). The Rochellers opened their gates to him, and after residing some months in their city, he went and took possession of his Government of Guyenne (t). From that period, to the year 1589, his life was divided between battles, negotiations and amours. His wife was a great impediment to him; and nevertheless she sometimes was of advantage to him [O]. There were frequent ruptures and pacifications between him and the Court of France, but at last Henry III concluded a sincere alliance with him, to oppose the League, which, since the death of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, was grown more furious than ever. The reconciliation and confederacy of these two Kings was concluded in April 1589; and their interview was in Tours, the 30th of the same month, and the greatest demonstrations of a reciprocal satisfaction were seen on that occasion. They some time after joined their troops together in order to besiege Paris. This they did in person, and were upon the point of taking that great city, and of punishing the inhabitants as they deserved, when the King of France was killed by James Clement, at St. Clou. The King of Navarre succeeded him in the throne the 2d of August 1589; but he did not obtain the crown without the utmost difficulties; he not being able to force the chiefs of the League to recognize him as King, till after he had renounced the Protestant Religion. The citizens of Paris persisted in their rebellion till the 22d of March 1594; I mean that the King did not make his entry into it till that day. The year after he declared war against the Spaniards, but had little reason to be satisfied with it; he losing much more than he gained by it; however, from a felicity unknown to all his predecessors, he concluded a treaty of peace by which he indemnified himself for his losses [P]. This treaty was concluded at Verbins the 2d of May 1598. From that time till the day of his death, the Kingdom was free

(n) Ibid. pag. 33.
 (o) In 1574.
 (p) Ibid. pag. 36.
 (q) Ibid. pag. 37, 38.
 (r) Ibid. p. 46.
 (s) Ibid. pag. 47.
 (t) Ibid. p. 48.

(52) Prefixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. m. 36, ad an. 1574.
 (53) See the remark [G] above.
 (54) Prefixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand, pag. 54.
 (55) Ibid. pag. 57.
 (56) Ibid.
 (57) Ibid. pag. 58.

[N] The Queen-mother . . . ordered him and the Duke of Alençon . . . to be examined on several heinous particulars.] “ (52) “The Chancellor would have examined the King of Navarre, but, although he was a prisoner and threatened, he yet would not derogate so much from his dignity as to answer: nevertheless, to satisfy the Queen-mother, he addressed a long speech to her, wherein he deduced a great many particulars relating to the present state of affairs; but then he did not accuse any person, which the Duke of Alençon had been so weak as to do (53).”
 [O] His wife was a great impediment to him, and nevertheless she sometimes was of advantage to him.] Catherine of Medicis had brought her to him in 1578 (54). He then kept his little court at Nerac. (55) Both the husband and wife were displeas'd at seeing one another again. “ (56) Margaret, who was fond of the great splendor of the Court of France where she swam, if I may employ the expression, in a full current of intrigues, looked upon her residing in Guyenne as a kind of banishment; and Henry, knowing her temper and conduct, would have had her at a distance from him rather than near. “ However, as he found that this was an evil, which could not be remedied, he resolv'd to suffer it, and left her at perfect liberty . . . (57); and suiting himself to the times, and the necessity of his affairs, he endeavoured to reap some advantage from her intrigues and interest. He gained a benefit, that was far from being inconsiderable, in the conference which himself and the deputies of the Huguenots had at Nerac with the Queen-mother. For whilst she fancied that she should enchant them, by the charms of the beautiful young Ladies she had with her, and by Pibrac's eloquence; Margaret opposed the same artifices to her; won over the Gentlemen who were in her mother's retinue by the charms of her own women; and employed her own so dextrously, that she strongly captivated poor Pibrac's mind and heart, insomuch that he was actuated entirely by her, and did every thing the very reverse of what the Queen-mother intended; for she, not imagining that so wise a man could have acted in so silly a manner, was deceived in many articles; and insensibly prevailed upon to yield much

“ more to the Huguenots than she had resolv'd to do.”
 [P] From a felicity unknown to all his predecessors, he concluded a treaty of peace by which he indemnified himself for his losses.] Bodin (58) observes, that the Spaniards had not, for an hundred years, concluded any treaty with France, without having had the advantage in it. That author had reason to assert this, Henry IV being the first King of France who had reaped any benefit by concluding a peace with Spain. He recovered all the towns he had lost in Picardy, and likewise Blavet which the Spaniards were masters of. This peace did not pass uncensured; some people blaming the King of Spain, and others the King of France. We will cite Prefixe. “ Several of the French, who did not well know the wretched condition the King of Spain and his affairs were in, could not conceive how it had been possible for that Prince to purchase the peace at so dear a rate, as to give up six or seven good towns, and among them Calais and Blavet, which might be called the Keys of France. On the contrary the Spaniards, who saw that their King was in a languishing condition, his treasury exhausted, his Low-Countries tottering, Portugal and his territories in Italy upon the point of revolting, and the son that was to succeed him, a good Prince indeed, but who loved ease and tranquillity; were surprized that as the French had so bravely retaken Amiens, and joined all their forces together after the treaty of Mercoeur, they had not made an irruption into the Low-Countries, because they in all probability would have been conquered, either wholly or in part. The King answered, that if he had desired peace, it was not because he was tired out with the inconveniencies of war, but to give the Christian world an opportunity of breathing; that he knew very well, that such was the situation of things at this time, that he might have reaped great advantages; but that the hand of heaven frequently crushed Princes in the height of their prosperity; and that a wise man ought never, from the opinion he might entertain of some favourable event, to be averse to the concluding a good peace, nor rely too much on the appearance of a present happiness, which a thousand unforeseen accidents may change; it often happening, that a man overthrown and very

(58) Bodin, de la Republique, liv. 5. chap. 1. pag. m. 676.

wards of fifty Historians, and more than five hundred Panegyrist, either Poets or Orators, had spoke of this Monarch with applause. It is certain, on the other side, that many authors have maliciously endeavoured to throw a shade over his glory. Mr. de Sulli complains of this, refutes their calumnies, and asserts, among other particulars, that this Prince did not suffer his mistresses to fleece him at will [R]. However, I am of opinion, that had he not been happy in some faithful servants, who checked the rapaciousness of those

(72) Matthew, *who have borne all the burthen and heat of the day* (72). chap. xx. ver. 12. It was thought sufficient, in the parable, to equal the recompence of those who had laboured the whole day, to the reward of such as had worked but an hour, and had done no prejudice before. There certainly were many such murmurs, which doubtless could not have been appeased by the following answer of the master of a family, *Is your eye evil, because I am good* (73)?

(73) Ibid. ver. 15.

(74) Compare, with this, the remark [AA] of the article CHARLES V.

Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri (75).

(75) Virg. *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 567.

Du Pleffis Mornai, in a letter he wrote to Morlas in 1594, whilst those who had followed the League were disengaging themselves from it on advantageous conditions, employs the remarkable words following: "We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son, provided you say with a sincere heart to the obedient son, *thou knowest, my son, that all I have is thine*; and that you, at least, do not sacrifice the obedient son, to make the better entertainment for the prodigal one. In fine, I am greatly pleased with whatever is done, provided it be advantageous; but I dread those bargains, in which things are given up, and nothing got but mere words; the words of those, who hitherto have had no words at all (76)."

(76) *Memoires of du Pleffis Mornai*, tom. 2. pag. 398. 399.

[R] Mr. de Sulli complains of this . . . and asserts, among other particulars, that this Prince did not suffer his mistresses to fleece him at will.] He speaks of certain Historiographers, who had bestowed their eulogiums and censures unjustly. They scarce saw one fault in those whose hirelings they were, and scarce one tolerable quality in Henry the Great, *who had given them nothing*. And "so far as much, says he (77), as they cannot deny him some praises, among a numberless multitude which are publicly bestowed upon him by the consent of all nations, they maliciously forget such as are most necessary to be known; disguise others; and extenuating them all as much as possible, they employed another kind of malice, filled with imposture, viz. to ascribe to him, impudently and falsely, desires, projects, designs, enterprizes, and resolutions, with regard to state-affairs; all of them the most absurd, silly, impertinent and ridiculous possible. On this occasion they give themselves airs; they talk as if they had been the King's greatest confidants, and been admitted into all his most secret thoughts and designs; or held intelligence with some of his most familiar servants both for peace or war, who had told them all these particulars. Afterwards proceeding to discourse on his private conversation, the state of his family, his behaviour in it, and especially on his recreations, diversions, sports, pleasures, pastimes and festivities; though they were for the most part ordinary, common and familiar to men in general, nay even to women; and all ways most general, universal, tolerated, lawful and permitted to all Kings, Potentates, Princes and great Lords, there being few to be found, even among the most prudent, virtuous, gracious, pious and holy, who were not delighted with them, and which their people and subjects have not cheerfully suffered, when, for such pleasures and pastimes, there has not been committed any injustice, rape, murder, violence, extortion or plundering. Nevertheless, when they come to discourse on the gaiety and mirth of this so clement and gracious a Prince, they exaggerate and misrepresent them to such a degree, by so many falsehoods and fallacious circumstances; by so many mischievous and pernicious consequences; charging him with so many vi-

(77) See *Memoires du Sulli*, in the preliminary Epistle to tom. 3. folio m. e. ij.

cious, shameful, infamous and even execrable and scandalous desires and passions; that one would imagine, in hearing them speak with so much audaciousness, impudence, boldness and rashness, that they were the searchers into the hearts and thoughts of men . . . or that they had been his Majesty's confessors and great penitentiaries . . . and they have especially been so rash, as to rank in the number of his mistresses, a Lady whose qualities, eminence, virtues and wisdom, should ever have cautioned him, even though he had thought of her, not to look upon her as such; and therefore these knavish writers deserve a most severe punishment for writing after this manner. These writers say in other places, that the woman had gained so great an ascendant over him, because vice was grown natural and habitual to him by long use and acquaintance with wicked people; and that he was so distractedly fond of some of those beauties, that he had no other will but theirs; and that this weakness was the cause that the most important affairs were transacted by their mediation, and that they were not refused any thing they desired. They so often add such a number of trifling, impertinent particulars, that all these rash falsehoods being too prolix to be refused by the present discourse, which was drawn up for another purpose, we shall refer those who are desirous of seeing their calumnies set in a full light, to all that will be said of them in the course of these memoirs, from which it will appear, how, and for what reasons, the King never intended to marry a Lady of gallantry; that the women had no manner of influence in state-affairs; and that he had servants, who, by his command, would tell them their faults, even in his presence; and divert them from, and refuse them such things as they might think to be unjust and prejudicial to the state, the affairs and revenues of the King, or to his people; and they were forced to submit to this." This shall be confirmed by some words extracted from a letter of Henry IV, wherein the reader will see the calumnies that were spread against him. "Some blame me as being too fond of edifices and costly works; others censure my hunting, hounds and hawks; some reproach me with cards, dice, and other kind of games; others blame me on account of women; some tax me with loving feasts, banquets, and dainties; whilst others find fault with me for being delighted with assemblies, plays, balls, dances, and running at the ring, in which (say they to reproach me) I am still seen with my grey beard, as much delighted, and being as proud of having run victoriously, entered twice or thrice, as they merrily express it, and carried off some fine Lady's ring, as I could have been in my youthful days, nay, as the most vain man in my Court. I will not deny but that there may be some truth in all these discourses; but I must observe at the same time, that as I do not act in an immodest manner on these occasions, this ought rather to be spoke in my commendation than as a fault; but be this as it will, I surely ought to be excused for delighting in such diversions, as they are not any way inconvenient or prejudicial to my people, by way of recompence for the frequent bitterness I have tasted; and for the many uneasinesses, disgusts, fatigues, perils and dangers, which I have past through from my childhood till the age of fifty . . . The scriptures do not absolutely command us to be free from sins and failings, so far as such infirmities are inseparable from the baseness and impetuosity of human nature; but only not to be enslaved from them, nor to suffer them to gain an empire over our wills; and this I have studied to do, not being able to do better: And you are very sensible, from many things which have past, with regard to my mistresses (all people thinking

those harpies, and whose resistance he approved, they would have had a still more absolute ascendant over him, Henry did not often discover, though he did more than once, those snares which were laid for him by beautiful women [S]. Such persons as were of approved fidelity, might venture to give that Prince their advice without angering him; and we do not find that Villeroy displeased him, for having delivered himself with such a freedom to this Prince, as might have offended him or any other [T]. It cannot be denied but that this Monarch had a great fund of generosity, which made him abhor a numberless multitude of artifices, which are but too much seen in those who govern. We will here see, on this subject, the judgment he formed of the artifice, which a King of France had employed [U].

HERACLEOTES

“ that love was the most predominant passion in me)
 “ whether I have not often asserted and maintained
 “ your opinions in opposition to their whims and
 “ chimeras, even so far as to tell them, when they
 “ pretended to give themselves airs and make a noise,
 “ that I had rather lose ten such mistresses as they,
 “ than one such servant as you, who were necessary
 “ to me for affairs of an honourable and useful na-
 “ ture (78).”

(78) *Mémoires de Sully*, tom. 3. pag. 137, 138.

[S] There were some occasions in which Henry escaped those snares which were laid for him by beautiful women.] Catherine of Medicis asking him at the conference of St. Brix (79), “ What he would have? He answered, looking on the Ladies in her train, I am not for any thing there, Madam; as though he hinted thereby, that he would never more suffer himself to be ensnared by such lures.” But he had not shown the like prudence on other occasions; for some time after the massacre on St. Bartholomew’s day (80), “ he suffered himself to be captivated by the charms of certain Ladies of the Court, which it is said that Queen had employed, purposely to amuse the Princes and great Lords, and to discover all their thoughts (81).” What an abominable Queen was this! Every one knows what name is given to such a behaviour. Heavens! what a school was this for young Ladies of quality. Ladies who went by the name of Maids of Honour! And it is to be observed, that had this Queen desired to keep two or three hundred, she would have been supplied with them; so great was the corruption in those times, the use to which those Maids of Honour were employed being well known.

(79) A castle near Cognac.

(80) Perefice, *Hist. de Henry le Grand*, pag. 80. ed. ann. 1586.

(81) *Ibid.* pag. 33.

[T.] Villeroy delivered himself with such a freedom to this Prince, as might have offended him.] What people are they who do not know that it is a very rude advice, and which touches to the quick, to represent to a person, that he is not able to maintain his rank, but forgets the dignity of his character? Now Villeroy represented this to Henry IV. and he is applauded for it by Naude. One of the best Counsels, says he, (82), that Mr. de Villeroy ever gave to Henry the Great, who had led a Soldier’s life during the wars which had broke out at his accession to the Crown, was, when he told him, that a Prince who was regardless of the reverence due to his Majesty, suffered it to be contemned and affronted. That the Kings his Predecessors, in times of the greatest confusion, had always behaved as Kings, and that it was high time for him to speak, write, and command as a King.

(82) Naude, *Coups d’Etat*, chap. 1. pag. m.

[U.] We will here see the judgment he formed of the artifice which a King of France had employed.] He was “ a great observer of such things as relate to the preserving the reputation of Princes, wherein he chose rather to recede from his own right and power, than to give the least occasion for censuring his sincerity; he always blaming faithless and insidious Princes, not excepting even his predecessors, whenever the conversation fell on such of their Actions, in which they had been wanting with regard to prudence in their promises and publick faith, as he did one day, when the subject of discourse, in his presence, was on the weighty affairs of King Philip of Valois; and his great courage, which was so ill seconded by fortune.” He was a great Monarch, (said the King) but there were certain subtilties in his words, which would have become wheelers of little Children better than Kings, as was the following, which I no ways approve. He had concluded a treaty with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and promised by the treaty, not to make war with the Empire, notwithstanding which, he levied both sea and land armies, with which he invaded the Low Countries, under

the command of the Duke of Normandy his eldest son, who was defeated by sea at Sluys; and having laid siege to the City of Thim, the King his father was at that siege, as a soldier fighting under his son, being nevertheless one of his Counsellors; he thinking, by this captious equivocation, that no one could blame him for breaking the treaty which he had made as King of France; as tho’ it were not the same thing to attempt any enterprise on’s self, as by another (83). It is not long since that walking with a Doctor, he told me that Henry IV. having been told a fraud of the King of Spain, cried out, It must be owned, that Kings are great knaves. I immediately ask’d whether he had read this particular in any Book, to which he replied, that this was one of Henry IV’s smart sayings, (*), inserted in the collection which was published of them, at the end of his history written by the bishop of Rhodéz (84), preceptor to Lewis XIV. I very much doubt this, replied I; for I formerly read that work of Mr. de Perefice quite through, and I have not the least idea of what you now tell me; and yet these words are so very likely to make an impression, that they could not be easily forgot. I afterwards run over Perefice’s work, and found that they were not there, and accordingly I wrote word to the Doctor about this. He then sent me word, that upon recollection, he believed that this exclamation of Henry IV. is told in one of Howel’s Letters (in English). I relate this only by way of advice, viz. that we must not trust bear says; and that incidents vary greatly, by their passing from one writer to another. What a difference there is between the words of le Grain and those of Howell!

(83) Baptiste le Gruin, *Décade du Roy Henry le Grand*, liv. 8. pag. m. 781.

(84) Hardouin de Perefice.

(*) There is a collection of them, but two repar-tees are wanting which this Prince made when but fifteen years of age; and which his renowned mother, the illustrious Joan d’Albret, Queen of Navarre, has preserved. The Queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis, in concert with the Cardinal of Lorraine, had sent the Sieur de la Motte-Fenelon to the Queen of Navarre, to dissuade her from joining her forces with these, which under the command of the Prince of Conde, the Protestants were assembling in 1568, just before the civil war. As la Motte-Fenelon one day, directing himself privately to the Prince of Navarre, studiously affected to appear surprized, that he, being so young, should engage in a quarrel which properly concerned no one but his uncle the Prince of Conde, and those Huguenots who waged war against the King: I do so, answered the young Prince, because it being manifest, that upon pretence of rebellion with which my Uncle and the Huguenots are falsely charged here, our enemies have no less a design in view than to extirpate the whole royal branch of Bourbon, we are determined to die all together, to save the expences of mourning, which we otherwise should be obliged to wear for one another.

The same Gentleman directing himself, another time, to the Prince of Navarre, bewailed the miseries which, he said, the fire of this war would occasion throughout the whole Kingdom. Pugh, says the Prince; such a fire as this may be extinguished with a bucket of water. How could that be, said la Motte-Fenelon? by forcing, (continued the Prince) the Cardinal of Lorraine, the true and principal incendiary of France, to swallow down that water till he burst. It is the Queen of Navarre herself who, pag. 234, 235, of a collection printed in 12mo, Anno 1570, entitled, *Histoire de notre temps*, &c. relates this in a long, noble manifesto of her’s. By the way, I know not whether Henry IV. was not as much obliged, for this vivacity and fire, to his mother, as to his father Anthony of Bourbon, who is not represented, in our history, as possessed of very shining qualities; and a circumstance which

(a) Diog. Laert. lib. 7. num. 166.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem, num. 167.

HERACLEOTES (DIONYSIUS) so named because he was of Heraclea (a) a city of Pontus, studied under various masters, and at last attached himself to the founder of the Stoics (b). From him he learnt to assert, that pain is not an evil; that nothing but vice deserves this name, as nothing but virtue deserves the name of good; and that all other things are indifferent. He persevered in this doctrine so long as he was in health; but being afterwards afflicted with the sharpest pains, he abjured his opinions [A], and renounced the Sect of the Stoics; and, what is worse, embraced that of the Cyrenaics, who made the summum bonum, to consist in pleasure. He now entered without the least sense of shame, and in the most public manner, into the stews; and was willing that the whole world should know the pleasures in which he immersed himself (c). Some persons even say, that he was a debauchee from his youth [B]; and that recollecting as he passed

which is pretty strong in the mother's favour, is a delicate raillery we find, page 236 and 237 of the manifesto in question, of that Princess, with regard to one Descars, a Limousin Gentleman, who had ridiculously boasted to the King and the Queen Mother, that he had the command of 4000 Gentlemen, who would be able to prevent so much as one single Huguenot from marching, to join the Prince of Conde's army. However, as the Queen of Navarre, and her forces, passed without opposition; not to mention that Descars was not considerable enough, to prevail with so great a number of the Gentry to follow him as Volunteers: In all probability, said she, by these 4000 Gentlemen, Descars understood Swine, who were called Gentlemen in his Village, because they are clothed in filk. The Reader may here observe the origin of the word Pourceaugrac. REM. CRIT.

[A] Being afterwards afflicted with the sharpest pains, he abjured his opinions.] On account of this change, he was called παραδιδυμος (1), which we may translate deserter. Some relate, that his having sore eyes was the occasion of Heracleotes's changing his opinion, but others ascribe it to the pains he felt in the gravel. Cicero gives us both these traditions (2). Nobis Heracleotes ille Dionysius flagitiose deservisse videtur à Stoicis propter oculorum dolorem. Quis vero hoc didicisset à Zenone, non dolere quum doleret? Illud audierat, nec tamen didicerat malum illud non esse, quia turpe non esset, & esset ferendum viro. Hic si Peripateticus fuisset, permansisset, credo, in sententia, quoniam dolorem dicunt malum esse, de asperitate autem ejus fortiter ferenda præcipiunt eadem quæ Stoici (3). "Dionysius Heracleotes seems to have left the Stoicks infamously, because of a pain in his eyes. For what man had been taught by Zeno, that what is really painful is not so? He had been told, but without understanding it, that pain was not an evil, because it does not reflect ignominy on men, and ought to be borne by them. Had Heracleotes been a Peripatetic, I fancy he would have continued as such, they maintaining that pain is an evil; but they inculcate, in like manner as the Stoicks, that men ought to bear it courageously." I have quoted more words than I needed to have done, to prove what I advanced, and yet I do not think my Labour lost; for I shew by the way, that the controversies between the Stoicks and Peripatetics, with respect to the nature of pain, was but a mere dispute about words. Both agreed that it ought to be borne courageously, but one part would not allow it to be called an evil, and the other asserted that it was. Did this deserve to have such a pother made about it? We dispute at this time, both in Divinity and Philosophy, about things wherein the misunderstanding is no less visible. Here follows another passage of Cicero; I will cite it at length, in order that the Reader may have a full view of the manner in which our Philosopher Heracleotes reasoned. He presumed greatly on the strength of Philosophy; he judging that as it was inferior to the force or violence of pain, pain must consequently be an evil. Homo sanè levis Heracleotes Dionysius, cum à Zenone fortis esse didicisset, à dolore deductus est. Nam cum ex renibus laboraret, ipso in ejulatu clamitabat, falsa esse illa, quæ antea de dolore ipse sensisset. Quem cum Cleanthes condiscipulus rogaret, quoniam ratio eum de sententia deduxisset, respondit, Quia cum tantum operæ Philosophiæ dedissem, dolorem tamen ferre non possem, satis esset argumenti, malum esse dolorem. Plurimos autem annos in Philosophia consumpsi, nec ferre possum: malum est igitur dolor. Tum Cleanthem, cum pede terram percussisset, versus ex Epigonis ferunt dixisse:

Audisne hæc Amphiaræ, sub terram abdite ?

Zenonem significabat: à quo illum degenerare dolebat (4). (4) Idem, Cicero, Tuscul. 2. cap. 25.

"Dionysius Heracleotes, being a fickle man, after Zeno had taught him strength and hardness, fell from it, being vanquished by pain; for being troubled with great pain in the kidneys, he cried aloud in the anguish he felt, that what he had formerly taught with regard to pain, was false. And when Cleanthes, his fellow disciple, asked him wherefore he had altered his opinion, he replied, since I have devoted so many years to Philosophy, and yet am not able to bear pain, this shews sufficiently that pain is an evil. Upon this Cleanthes, after stamping his foot on the ground, is said to have repeated the following Verse out of the Epigonæ,

"Amphiaræus now laid low in Earth,
"Hearst thou this ?

"He hinted at Zeno, from whom he was grieved
"that Heracleotes had degenerated."

[B] Some persons say that he was a debauchee even from his youth.] We have just now seen, that he had adhered many years to the severe maxims of the Stoicks, and this he himself asserts, if Cicero may be credited. What are we then to think of a story which we meet with in Athenæus? Shall we conclude that this author took a pleasure in collecting whatever scandalous stories he met with, whether true or false, in the most satyrical writers? I shall leave this to the decision of my readers; and will only insert Athenæus's Greek, with Dalecampius's translation (5) which it may be necessary to rectify by Casaubon's notes. Ην δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος ἔτι ἐν τῷ, ὡς φησὶ Νικίας ὁ Νικαῖος ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς πρὸς τὰ Ἀφροδίσια ἱερῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας εὐχῆς παιδικῆς ἀδαφίρας· καὶ ὡς ἐπιτόμιμος μετὰ τινῶν γυναικῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ παιδικόν εἰς ἃ τῆ προστηρία παρακληθὲς ἠφιλε καλλεῖς, ἔχων τότε κατὰ τύχην, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα πάλιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀποδίδου. Fuit autem Dionysius ille, quod ait Niceas Nicæensis libro de Successionibus, jam ab adolescentia, tam immani furiosaque libidine percitus, ut sine discrimine cum plebeis ancillis ac pedissequis coiret & aliquando cum familiaribus inambulans, ubi ad ancillarum ædes venit, quas pridie ingressus aliquot obolos quas debebat non solverat, casu tum forte in loculis habens, distentâ manu coram omnibus numeraverit (5).

(5) Athen. lib. 10. pag. 437.

"It is related in Niceas Nicæensis's Book of Successions, that this Dionysius was, from his youth, fired with such lust, that he would lie indiscriminately with all the wenches who came in his way. And that walking one day with some friends, and going by the house of certain girls, with whom he had had an affair the day before, and to whom he owed a few pence, he happening to have some then in his pocket, stretched forth his hand, and paid his debt before every one." Those who shall well remember Athenæus's seventh book will easily join with Cicero; and will believe that Dionysius did not quit the Stoicks, till after he had spent a great number of years among them; for Athenæus calls him an old man at the time he deserted; and cites Timon the joker, who used to say that this man had begun to devote himself to pleasure, at a time when the season proper for it was over. But I had better quote the original, which is in Chapter VI, Book VII, Page 281 of Athenæus. Περὶ δὲ Διονυσίου τῷ Ἡρακλειῶτι τι δὲ καὶ λέγεται; ὡς ἄντικρυς ἀπαθὲς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς χιτῶνα ἀποδύνασθαι, καὶ μεταδύμενος καλῶν ἡμεῶν ἔχματα, καὶ τοὺς γυναικῶν ἀπορίας τὰν τῆς σοφῆς λόγων,

(1) That word signifies immutatus, and not transfusor, as Athenæus's translator renders it, book 10. pag. 437. See Vossius, De Hist. Græc. pag. 466. Casaubon, in Athenæum, pag. 733. had always observed that fault.

(2) Compare citation (3) with citation (4).

(3) Cicero, lib. 5. de Finib. cap. 31. Laert. num. 166. speaks only of his sore eyes.

passed by a brothel, that he had left it the day before without paying what he owed the strumpets, he put his hand into his pocket, and paid his debts regularly, in presence of every one. A puzzling objection was made to him [C], viz. his admitting, with all the Dogmatists, that there is a rule to discover truth from falsehood. He composed several philosophical works, and likewise some Poems (d). He imposed upon Heraclides by one of his Poems [D]. He lived to fourscore years of age, when being grown quite weary of life, he starved himself (e). He burnt with lascivious desires, even in an age when nature was not able to satiate them [E].

(d) Diog. Laert. lib. 7. num. 167.

(e) Idem, ibid.

Moreri

λόγων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον μεταπαύδοντας· ἀπὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐχρησίου ὁ Τίμων ἔφη,

Ἦντα ἔχονθ' ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἀρχέτας ἰδόντα. Ἦντα ἰσᾶν: ἄνθρωπος δὲ γαμῶν, ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀποκαίσεσθαι.

Quid autem de Heraclote Dionysio attinet dicere? Aperte quidem et palam virtutis exuta veste, cum indignum mutasse et alienum sumpsisse criminarentur, gaudebat, quamvis jam natu grandis à Stoicorum schola defecisset, et transivisset ad Epicurum. De illo non invidiose Timon scripsit.

Ille voluptati se tradit jam moriturus. Tempus amandi, tempus habendæ conjugis, est quod Rebus ab his tandem moneat desistere tempus.

i. e. "What shall be said of Heraclotes Dionysius? who having divested himself publickly of the robe of virtue, and being accused for so shamefully changing his principles, only laughed at the reproach, though he was so far advanced in years when he abandoned the Stoics and went over to the Epicureans. Timon wrote pleasantly of Heraclotes as follows:

"He dedicates his ebbing life to pleasures. There is a time for love, a time for marriage; And there is a time we should abstain from both."

I shall add that Lucian observes, that Dionysius was extremely sober and prudent, when he left the Stoics (6). I dare not affirm, as Menage does (7), that he travelled into Asia in Alexander's retinue; and that he danced to the sound of flutes at this conqueror's nuptials. Athenæus indeed speaks this of one Dionysius Heraclotes; but how many persons does he mention of the same name, without distinguishing them by any characteristic?

(6) Ἄνθρωπος ἄσπετος. Lucian in his accusato, pag. 325. tom. 2.

(7) In Laert. lib. 7. pag. 334.

[C] A puzzling objection was made to him.] The person who made it was one Antiochus. He had gone over to the sect or principles of those who did not admit of any knowledge, that is, any proposition to be certainly true; and he afterwards had quitted that sect, after having long maintained incomprehensibility, and wrote subtilly in favour of it. Scripsit de his rebus acutissime, et idem hoc acrius accusavit in senectute quam antea defensiverat. Quamvis igitur fuerit acutus, ut fuit, tamen inconstantia elevatur auctoritas. Quis, inquam, etiam iste dies illuxerit, quæro, qui illi offenderit eam quam multos annos esse negavisset veri et

(8) Cicero, Acad. falsi notam (8)? i. e. "He wrote with great acuteness and subtilty on these subjects; and censured his former doctrine more vehemently than he had before defended it. Therefore, although he was a subtle and acute writer, yet his fickleness lessened his authority. For I would enquire of him when that propitious day would arise, which should reveal to him that criterion of truth and falsehood which he had denied during so many years." Now whilst he was opposing knowledge or certainty, he harassed our Heraclotes in a most dreadful manner; he believed for a long time, says he to him, that there was no other good but virtue; after which you asserted, that virtue is only an empty name, and that the supreme good consists in pleasure. You therefore ought to believe, that falsehood presents itself to our minds, and impresses itself there under the same characteristic or image under which truth exhibits itself; and consequently that this distinguishing characteristic of truth and falsehood, which you trust to in affirming or denying, is deceitful and illusive. The whole strength of the objection in question consisted in this, that Heraclotes had successively maintained two contradictory propositions. Antiochus felt the force of his own objection, when he had changed his opinion, he being defeated, with the same weapons which he had employed against Heraclotes. Here follows Cicero's Latin (9). Quoque solebat uti argumento

(9) Idem, ibid.

A SCEPTICAL OBJECTION.

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tum, cum ei placebat, nihil posse percipi, cum quaereret, Dionysius ille Heraclotes, utrum comprehenderet certa illa nota quæ assentiri dicitis oportere, illudne, quod multos annos tenuisset, Zenonique magistro credidisset, bonum quod esset, id bonum solum esse; an quod postea defensivavisset, boni inane nomen esse, voluptatem esse summum bonum: qui ex illius commutata sententia docere vellet, nihil ita signari in animis nostris à vero posse, quod non eodem modo possit à falso, is curavit, quod argumentum ex Dionysio ipse sumpsisset, ex eo ceteri sumerent. i. e. "He employed this argument, whilst

he thought that we could not arrive at any certainty of truth; which, said he, of those two opinions did Heraclotes find out, by that criterion, to which you declare that we ought to submit; whether the first which he had long maintained, and had been taught by Zeno his master, or that nothing is good but what is virtuous; or that which he afterwards defended, viz. that virtue is a vain and empty name, and that pleasure is the supreme good? he intending to shew, from Heraclotes's changing his opinion, that truth does not make any impression on the mind, but what it may likewise receive from falsehood. He took care, that others should draw the same argument from his inconstancy, as he had drawn from that of Heraclotes." This objection may puzzle such modern Protestants, as assert that the truths of the Gospel do not enter into our minds by the way of evidence, but by that of sense. What will they say should they be shewed some Christians who change their religion; and who in imitation of our Heraclotes, a long time espouse with incredible zeal and ardor, the very tenets which they afterwards reject with equal ardor? Does not the sensation of falsehood, will it be asked, impress or stamp itself on the mind, with all the same characteristics as the sense of truth?

[D] He imposed upon Heraclotes by one of his poems.] Having written a Poem intitled Παρθενόραον, he published it under Sophocles's name, as tho' he had been the author of that poem. Heraclides was so far imposed upon as to think it had really been writ by Sophocles, and quoted it as such in one of his works. Heraclotes then discovered the artifice, which Heraclides would not believe in any sophocles, he asserting that it certainly was writ by Sophocles; and even when Heraclotes sent him his manuscript, he still persisted in his opinion, and declared, that chance might make two poets form the very same composition (10); so displeasing it is to an author, to own that he has suffered himself to be imposed upon in such a manner. Scaliger, when imposed upon thus by Muretus, was not so obstinate, but then he was prodigiously vexed at it.

(10) Diog. Laert. lib. 5. num. 92, 93.

[E] He burnt with lascivious desires, even in an age when nature was not able to satiate them.] Upon a high festival, which he solemnized as agreeably as he could, he caused a courtesan to be brought, that nothing might be wanting to the festivities of the day; but old age had impaired his faculties to such a degree, that all his attempts were fruitless. He confessed his imbecillity, employing the words (11) which Homer puts into the mouth of one of Penelope's gal-lants, who not being able to bend Ulysses's bow, cried, let another take this bow, I am not able to bend it (12). Antigonon on Heraclotes declared in like manner, that since he was not able to engage with the courtesan, another man ought to take her. Ὅσοι τὸν Διονύσιον τῆς οὐκίτης συνιστάσθαι, ἐν τῇ τῶν Χίων ἱστῆ, καὶ μὴ δουλεύοντι διὰ τῆς γῆρας χρεῖσθαι ἢ ἀμελεῖσθαι ἰταίρα, ὑποσέφασιν εἶπαι πρὸς τὰς συνδιπλώσας, ὅτι δυναμὸν ταύσας, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ. Tradit Dionysium cum domesticis, diebus festis congiurum, serias illas agentem, cum ob senectutem meretrice quam adduxerant uti non posset, ad convivas faceret, dixisse, Arrigeret nequeo, sumas alius (13). Antigonon Caryitius related those particulars in the life of our Heraclotes.

(11) He made some alterations in them by way of parody. See Calaubon on Athenæus, pag. 733. (12) Odyss. lib. 21. pag. m. 647. (13) Athen. lib. 10. pag. 437, &c. Antigonon Caryit. o.

G g

Moreri has made considerable blunders [F].

[F] *Moreri has made considerable blunders.* I. He says that *Dionysius Heracleotes . . . having quitted Zeno's school, became a follower of the Cynics.* Now he should have said the *Cyrenaicks*, which sect differed greatly from that of the Cynicks. The reader may judge of this, from the opposite characters that were found in Aristippus and Diogenes. There is not in the main, any great difference between Diogenes Laertius, who declares that our Heracleotes went over to the Cyrenaicks, and Athenæus who says that he went over to the Epicureans; for though Epicurus gave a more virtuous explication of the word pleasure, he agreed with the Cyrenaicks, that the ultimate end of man, the supreme good, the happiness of man, is pleasure. II. The following words, *he did not scruple in any manner . . . to do publicly what might give him pleasure.* are a consequence of his first error, and a new error. Had Heracleotes gone over to the Cynicks, he would not have been ashamed to lie with a woman in the middle of the streets; but as he did but go over to the school of Aristippus, who was an agreeable debauchee, a polite libertine, and who knew the world admirably well; and as the Cyrenaicks who were for indulging nature to the utmost of its wishes, were not

nevertheless as barefaced and impudent as the Cynicks, it is wrong for any writer to assert that he had as little deference and respect, as Diogenes, for his neighbour's eye. I own, that he was willing to have people see him enter into the public brothels, and that it should be known he had lain with prostitutes (14); but every one knows that this does not signify, to know a woman publicly, and in the sight of every one, as the Cynicks used to do. III. It would be impossible for any one to represent in a more confused manner than Moreri has done, our Philosopher's deserting the Stoicks. *Dionysius*, says he, *being extremely tortured with a dreadful pain in his eyes, would never say that pain was an indifferent thing.* Is this a faithful description of the change of this philosopher? Would not the reader be apt to image to himself a man who is put on the rack, in order to force him to declare, that pain is an indifferent thing; and who persists obstinately in refusing to make such a confession? See in the passages above cited (15) from Cicero, the genuine state of this affair. IV. He should not have subtracted ten years (15) from Heracleotes's age; he *starving himself* at eighty years of age, and not at threescore and ten.

(14) Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 χαλασθῆναι
 ὄντιον καὶ τὰ
 λα ἀπαρῶν
 οὐκ ἴδοντο.
 Lustra ingrediebatur
 ceterisque voluptatibus aperte
 operam dabat.
 Laertius, lib. 7.
 num. 167. The
 common version
 is express in too
 strong terms, and
 very probably
 misled Moreri.
 Palam lustra in-
 grediebatur, cæ-
 teraque sub omni-
 um gerebat oculis
 quæ ad volupta-
 tem pertinere.

HERACLIUS, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the twelfth Century, made his own fortune by his art and conduct. He was a native of Auvergne, without either friends or fortune; notwithstanding which he rose to be Archbishop of Cæsarea, and afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem. His handsome air and artful conduct procured him the most intimate confidence of the King's mother; insomuch that the oppositions of the Archbishop of Tyre were of no effect, though founded on prophecies [A]. It was in vain that he protested against the election of Heraclius, appealed to the Pope on that account, and even went to Rome in order to get it revoked; he had not time sufficient to put an end to this affair. Heraclius caused him to be poisoned [B], and going afterwards to Rome, got himself confirmed by the Pope. He succeeded Almericus the Patriarch, who died in 1180. He led a very scandalous life with the wife of a Merchant of Napoli in Syria, whom he sent for to Jerusalem after her husband's death (a). The particulars of this incident are related below, in old French [C]. He must not be distinguished from

(a) See Histoire de la Conquête du Royaume de Jerusalem par Saladin, printed in Paris, anno 1679.

[A] *Though founded on prophecies.* He said, that it was threatened in the prophecies, that as the Cross was conquered by one Eraclius (Heraclius) it should be lost under another (1). I am of opinion that he would have spoke more conformably to History, had he said, that as the Infidels had taken the Cross under one Eraclius, i. e. under the Empire of Heraclius, they should re-take it under another Heraclius. I know very well that the Emperor Heraclius recovered, by a treaty of peace, the Cross which the Persians had carried off; but can we call this conquering the cross?

(1) Histoire de la Conquête de Jerusalem par Saladin. See the remark [C].

[B] *The Archbishop of Tyre . . . had not time sufficient to put an end to this affair. Heraclius caused him to be poisoned.* I found this particular in the preface which Bongars wrote to the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. He relates that William Archbishop of Tyre, the same who wrote the History of those times, declared, but in vain, to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, that it would not be proper for them, in any manner, to nominate Heraclius to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. He told them the prophecy related above; and, to prevent their entertaining a thought that he aspired to the vacant dignity, he conjured them not to nominate either Heraclius or himself. However, they nominated these two; and the King, pursuant to the promise he had made his mother, chose Heraclius, who immediately published his mandate, requiring obedience from the Archbishops and Bishops, subordinate to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The Archbishop of Tyre was the only Prelate who refused to appear; he appealing to the Pope, and boasting he would prove that Heraclius was not worthy of the Patriarchat. He set out immediately for Rome, and met with a very gracious reception there; and settled matters on such a foot, that it was believed Heraclius would inevitably be deposed; but the new Patriarch warded off the blow, by bribing a Physician who poisoned William the Archbishop. Heraclius afterwards went to Rome, and was indulged by the Pope

in all things he desired. Bongars met with these particulars in none but French Authors.

[C] *The particulars of this incident betwixt, in old French.* The *Histoire de la Conquête de Jerusalem*, abovecited, was published at Paris in 1679. The Editor had taken it from an old manuscript, which Mr. Cabart de Villermont had put into his hands. He publishes what follows in the very words and orthography of the original: *Et celle (2) tenoit li Patriarche tout en apiert, & sans celée de gens, ainsi comme un homme fait sa femme, fors tant qu'elle ne manoit pas avec li, & quant li Patriarche alloit au Monstier, elle estoit aussi bien aornée de riches draps, comme se cou fut une Emperées ou une Reine, & ses serians devant li, & quant aucunes gens la veoient qui ne la connoissoient point, si demandoient qui cette Dame estoit, ainsi qu'on fait des gens qu'on ne connoit; & ceux qui la connoissoient disoient que cou estoit la Patriarchesse, la femme le Patriarche, & sachez qu'elle avoit nom Pasque de Riveri, & si avoit assez d'enfans du Patriarche. On come que ce Prelat assitant à un Conseil d'importance, un sal s'estant fourré dans la chambre, courut droit à lui, & lui dit, Sire Patriarche preparez moi une riche recompense, car je vous aporte de joyeuses nouvelles, vostre femme Pasque de Riveri est heureusement accouchée d'une belle fille (3). i. e. "The Patriarch kept her in the most public manner, as a man does his wife, except that he did not live with him. And whenever the Patriarch went to church, she was in as rich and splendid a habit as if she had been an Empress or Queen, having her domestics before her; and when any persons, who did not know her, used, when they met her, to ask who that Lady was, people would answer, the Patriarchess, wife to the Patriarch. The reader is to know that her name was Pasque de Riveri, and that she had several children by the Patriarch. It is related that this Prelate being in Council when affairs of an important nature were debating, a madman happening to get into the room, ran up to him and said, Lord Patriarch, " get*

(2) i. e. the widow to the merchant of Napoli in Syria.

(3) I give this passage, according to the copy I took of it, a long time since. I fear I have not always followed the orthography according to the printed book; and I have it not by me at this time to compare them.

from the Patriarch Heraclius, mentioned in the history of the Crusades, and who discovered so much animosity against Henry II King of England [D], when he found that this Prince did not care to go and succour Jerusalem in person. He was the chief of the embassy which the Princes of the holy Land had sent into the West to ask for succours; and he had undertaken in Palestine, to bring thither the King of England, or one of the three Princes his sons (b).

(b) Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, liv. 4. tom. 2. pag. 65. Dutch edit.

"get ready a handsome reward for me, for I bring you joyful news, Pasque de Riveri, your wife, is happily brought to bed of a lovely girl."

(4) Bongars *Præfat. Gestorum Dei per Francos.*

Bongars tells the same story in Latin, and more at large (4); for he says that the French Author who relates it, observes that this conduct of the Patriarch served as a pattern or example to others; and that the Priests, the Clerks and Monks, were so immersed in lewdness and adultery, that scarce so much as one woman was chaste in Jerusalem; and that Jesus Christ, seeing these obscene actions in the city where he had shed his blood, to redeem his people, would no more suffer them than those of Sodom and Gomorrah. For this reason he repurged it so thoroughly of this filthy practice, that of all those who were living in Heraclius's time, only two persons escaped imprisonment, when that city was taken by Saladine. The same Bongars quotes Marinus Sanutus, and Paulus Æmilius, the first of whom says, that the people used to give the name of *Patriarchessi* to Heraclius's concubine. *Cui (Almerico) successit, Heraclius tam perniciosi exempli, ut precedentem ornatissimam mulierem quam publicè tenebat vulgus Patriarchissam vocaret* (5). Paulus Æmilius asserts, that this Patriarch and his clergy led a dissolute life. *Sacerdotes fuisse flagitiis sceleribusque obrutos: atque adeo ipsum Patriarcham neque caste neque integrè vitam egisse* (6).

(5) Marinus Sanutus, lib. 3. Part 4. cap. 24. apud Bongars, *Præf. Gest. Dei per Francos.*

(6) Paulus Æmilius, *de Rebus gestis Francorum*, lib. 5. sub finem, apud eandem, *ibid.*

(7) Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, liv. 4. tom. 2. pag. 57. Dutch edit.

(8) *Ibid.* pag. 58. ad ann. 1185.

(9) *Ibid.* pag. 59.
(12) *Ibid.* pag. 63.

[D] It was he . . . who discovered so much animosity against Henry II, King of England.] This Prince, to expiate the crime he had committed, by occasioning the assassins of St. Thomas (a Becket) Archbishop of Canterbury, to murder that Prelate in his own church, had submitted to a penance of the Pope, by which he had bound himself to convey, in person, in three years time, a considerable succour to the Holy Land. Above ten years were elapsed since the time fixed upon, and yet this King did not prepare to fulfill his promise (7). This made Heraclius hope that he should be successful in his negotiation. He made an extremely pathetic speech to that Monarch, after presenting him with the keys of Jerusalem, and those of the Holy Sepulchre (8). He was made to hope that his request should soon be indulged, but the King did not keep his word with him. Henry consulted his Clergy, in order to enquire, if, in the present posture of affairs, it was incumbent on him to fulfill his promise; and submit to that part of the penance which the Pope had enjoined him, and to which he had solemnly bound himself (9). Heraclius the Patriarch was present in this assembly where this case of conscience was examined. "All the Bishops and Abbots . . . concluded unanimously, that not only the King was not then obliged to go to Palestine, but that it would be much better for the salvation of his soul, to continue in his dominions; because that the promise he had made, in submitting to the penance, from which he might, and even ought, to be dispensed, could not prejudice or interfere with that which is absolutely indispensable, and which he had taken at his coronation, viz. to rule his subjects with goodness and justice; and to defend them from the insults of foes both foreign and domestic, which it would not be possible for him

to do during his absence, considering the state of affairs at that time. They all added unanimously with the Lords, that as to one of the King's sons who was demanded in his stead, the assembly could not come to any determination on that head, since they were absent; and that the resolution they were to take depended absolutely on them (10)." The Patriarch, "who was a very passionate man, was so exasperated at this resolution, that he had like to have spoilt all, by quite neglecting the respect and veneration he owed the King; and by treating him in such a manner as cannot be excused, what attempts soever may be made to cover it with the name and specious appearance of zeal (11)." He answered the King, who offered fifty thousand marks of silver for this war (12), "That they did not want his money, but his person; that they had more gold and silver than they desired; and that the only motive of their coming so far was, to look for a man who wanted money, in order for carrying on a war, advantageously, against the Infidels; and not to search for money, which should want or require a man who had the art of applying it advantageously in this war. By the way, added he, with a most insulting air, you have hitherto reigned with great glory; but know that God, whose cause you abandon, will now forsake you. To be persuaded of the truth of this, you need but compare the mercies he has indulged you, with the horrid crimes you have committed, and with which you have so ungrately repaid him. You have broke the faith that you owed to the King of France your Sovereign; and you now alledge that the war, which you are afraid he will declare against you, as a pretence for your refusal. You have caused the holy Archbishop of Canterbury to be murdered, and you now refuse to go and defend the Holy Land, after having most solemnly engaged in it upon the holy Sacrament. The Patriarch observing that the King, changing colour, redned with anger and indignation: "Do not imagine, continued he stretching out his neck towards him, that I fear the effects of that fury, which the truth you are told, but cannot bear, lights up in your soul. Behold my head; treat me as you have done St. Thomas; I shall be as well satisfied to die by your hand in England, as by that of the Saracens in Syria; and indeed you are little better than a Saracen (13)." The King bore all these words patiently, and continued to treat the Patriarch with great civility, even so far as to conduct him to his own ship at Roan, from whence he conveyed him to the frontiers, in order that he might be present at the conference which he had there, during three days, King; and which, with King Philip, concerning the Holy War (14). Heraclius returned back, without obtaining what he desired, and even without the succour that was offered him, and which his passion made him foolishly slight, contrary to all the rules of prudence and good sense, and to the great prejudice of his Sovereign's affairs: so greatly it concerns Kings not to abandon their interest to the discretion of those who have very little; and who very often are deprived, by the strong passions with which they are fired, of the little they have.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 61.

(11) Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, liv. 4. tom. 2. pag. 62. Dutch edit.

(12) *Ibid.* pag. 63.

(13) Maimbourg tells us, pag. 64. that the Patriarch said some things still more injurious to the King; and which, He adds he, I will not repeat.

(14) Maimbourg, *ibid.* pag. 65.

HERALDUS (DESIDERIUS) in French *Herault*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, has given good proofs of his erudition, by several works he published [A]. He disguised himself under the name of *David Leidbrefferus*, to write a political Dissertation on the independence of Kings (a), some time after the death of Henry IV. He died in June 1649, and left children [B]. Salmasius and our

(a) It was refuted by Joannes Eusebion the Jesuit.

[A] He has given good proofs of his erudition, by several works he published.] His *Adversaria* appeared in 1599. This is a little book which, if the Scaligerana may be credited, he repented the having published. His Notes on Tertullian's Apology, on Minu-

tius Felix, and on Arnobius, have been esteemed. He also wrote notes on Martial's Epigrams.

[B] He left children.] Mr. Daillé (1), speaking of such Proteftant writers as condemned the executing Charles I, King of England, quotes the *Pacificque royal* 21. pag. 127.

our Heraldus wrote against one another [C].

en deuil, by Mr. Heraud. This Author, son to our Desiderius Heraldus, was a Minister in Normandy, when he was called to the service of the Walloon Church of London, under King Charles I; and he was so zealous a Royalist, that he was forced to return to France, to escape the fury of the Commonwealth's Men, who were displeas'd at his exhorting them to submit to their lawful Prince. He returned to England after the Restoration, and resumed his antient employment in the Walloon Church at London; some time after which he obtained a Canonry in the Cathedral of Canterbury, and enjoyed it till his death. I was lately told this by a person who had opportunities of being acquainted with his history. See also the last page of Bochart's Letter to Dr. Morley.

[C] *Salmasius and our Heraldus wrote against one another.* "An old, and very learned Counsellor, named Mr. Heraut (*Desiderius Heraldus*) is dead here. He was engaged in a quarrel with *Salmasius*, who had wrote against him, about four years since, *Observationes ad Jus Atticum & Romanum*. Heraut, who found himself injuriously treated in that book,

"was writing an answer to it in folio; but as he was snatched away by death, I believe it must be sold as it is, and an end put to it where the author found his own. He seem'd to be three score and ten. . . . He was looked upon as a very learned man, both in the Civil-Law and in Po'ite Literature, and wrote with great facility on any subject he might pitch upon (2)." I am informed by a letter of Mr. Sarrau (3), that Heraldus, after being silent twenty seven years, having looked over his papers at the request of his friends, was going to publish the work intitled *de Autoritate rerum judicatorum*. The piece he had prepared against *Salmasius* was printed in 1650. It is a folio volume, and intitled *Quaestiones quotidiane, & Observationes ad Jus Atticum ac Romanum*. There are two books, in the Bodleian Catalogue, ascribed to *Hier. Herbarius*, which were certainly misplaced by the Printers. They ought to have been put a little higher, under *Desid. Heraldus*. Here follow the titles of them; *De rerum judicatorum autoritate Libri II*, Paris 1640. *Observationum & Emendationum Liber unus, ibid.*

(2) *Patin, Lettre* 29. pag. 121. of tom. 1. dated Nov. 3, 1649.

(3) It was written in the year 1639. See *Sarrau*, vii, Epist. pag. 16.

HERBELOT (BARTHOLOMEW D'), a French Writer, eminent for his skill in the Oriental Learning, was born at Paris December the 4th 1625 of a good family. When he had passed through a course of polite Literature and Philosophy, he applied himself to the study of the Eastern Languages, especially the Hebrew, in order to understand the original text of the Old Testament. After a continual application for several years he took a journey into Italy, being persuaded that the conversation of the Armenians and other Eastern people, who frequent that country, would perfect him in the knowledge of those Languages. At Rome he was particularly esteemed by the Cardinals Barberini and Grimaldi, and contracted a strict friendship with Lucas Holstenius and Leo Allatius, two of the most learned men of the last age. Upon his return from this journey, in which he spent a year and an half, Monsieur Fouquet, Procureur General of the Parliament of Paris, and Sur-intendant of the Finances, invited him to his house, and gave him a pension of fifteen hundred livres. Though that Minister was disgraced soon after, yet our author was preferred to the place of Interpreter for the Eastern Languages. Some years after he took a second journey into Italy, where he gained so great a reputation, that persons of the highest distinction for their learning or rank, were solicitous of his acquaintance. Ferdinand II Grand Duke of Tuscany gave him extraordinary marks of his esteem. It was at Leghorn that Monsieur d'Herbelot had the honour of seeing the Duke for the first time. He had frequent conversations there with his Highness and the Prince his son, and they were so highly pleas'd with him, that they engaged him to promise to visit them at Florence. He arrived there July the 2d 1666, and was received by the Secretary of State, who conducted him to an house prepared for him, where he was entertained with great magnificence, and had a chariot kept for him at the expence of the Grand Duke. A Library being at that time expos'd to sale at Florence, the Duke desired Monsieur d'Herbelot to see it, to examine the manuscripts in the Oriental Languages, to select the best of them, and to mark the price. When this was done, that generous Prince purchased and made them a present to our author. These distinguished favours confer'd upon him might seem a reproach to France for suffering itself to be deprived of a person of his merit. But Monsieur Colbert, who had a great affection for men of learning, invited him to return to Paris, with assurances that he should receive the most substantial proofs of his esteem for him. The Grand Duke would scarce permit him to depart, and refused to consent till he had seen the express order of the Minister for his return. When he came to France the King often did him the honour of conversing with him, and gave him a pension of fifteen hundred livres. During his stay in Italy he began his *Bibliothèque Orientale* [A], which he finished in France. Whatever could not be insert'd in this work was digested by him under the title

of

[A] *His Bibliothèque Orientale.* He wrote this work at first in Arabic; and Monsieur Colbert had a design to print it at the Louvre with a set of types cast on purpose. But after the death of that Minister this resolution was wav'd, and Monsieur d'Herbelot translated his work into French, in order to render it of more extensive use. He committed it to the press, but had not the satisfaction to see the impression finished, for he died in the course of it. It was printed at Paris 1697 in folio under this title, *Bibliothèque Orientale, ou Dictionnaire universel contenant generalement tout ce qui regarde la Connoissance des Peuples de l'Orient. Leurs Histories & Traditions veritables ou fabuleuses. Leurs Religions, sectes & politique. Leurs Government, Loix,*

Coûtumes, Mœurs, Guerres, & les Révolutions de leurs Empires. Leurs Sciences & leur Arts. Leurs Théologie, Mythologie, Magie, Physique, Morale, Médecine, Mathématiques, Histoire naturelle, Chronologie, Géographie, Observations Astronomiques, Grammaire, & Rhétorique. Les vies & actions remarquables de tous leurs Saints, Docteurs, Philosophes, Hijoriens, Poëtes, Capitaines, & de tous ceux qui se sont rendus illustres parmi eux par leur Vertu, ou par leur Savoir. Des Jugemens critiques & des Extraits de tous leurs Ouvrages, de leurs Traitez, Traductions, Commentaires, Abreges, Recueils, de Tables, de Sentences, de Maximes, de Proverbes, de Contes, de bons Mots, & de tous leurs livres, écrits en Arabe, en Persan, ou en Turc, sur toutes sortes de sciences, d'Arts,

of *Antologie*; but this was never published, any more than a Turkish, Persian, Arabian, and Latin Dictionary, to which he had given the last hand, and some other works. It was in consideration of his extraordinary talents that Monsieur de Pontchartrain procured him, upon the death of Monsieur d'Auvergne, the place of Royal Professor of the Syriac Language. He died December the 8th 1695, aged seventy years, after a sickness of ten or twelve days. He was no less conversant in the Greek and Latin Learning than in the Oriental Languages and History. He was indeed an universal scholar; but what was most valuable in him, was, that his modesty was equal to his erudition. He never spoke of what he was a great master of, without being called upon by his friends; he was not the least dogmatical, nor preferred his own sentiments to those of others: he heard their reasons with patience, and answered with the utmost civility. His uncommon abilities were accompanied with the utmost probity, piety, charity, and other Christian virtues, which he practised through the whole course of his life (a).

(a) See his *Eloge* par Monf. Cousin, prefixed to our Author's *Bibliotèque Orientale*; Perrault, *Hommes illustres, qui ont paru en France pendant le XVII^e Siècle*, tom. 2. pag. 154-158. edit. Paris 1701, and *Journal des Savans* du 3 Janvier 1696.

d'Arts, & de Professions. Par Monfr. D'Herbelot. This work is a proof of the author's profound knowledge of the Eastern learning. It contains the substance of a great number of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Books,

which he had read; and informs us of an infinite multitude of particulars unknown before in Europe.

T.

HERBERT (EDWARD) Lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire, an eminent English writer in the seventeenth Century, was descended of an antient family, and son of Richard Herbert Esq; [A], by Magdalen youngest daughter of Sir Richard Newport [B], and sister to Sir Francis Newport of High-Houll in Shropshire Knt. grandfather to Francis Lord Newport, Comptroller of the Household to King Charles II (a). He was born at Montgomery-Castle in Wales (b) in 1581, and was entered a Gentleman-Commoner of University-College in Oxford in 1595 [C], where he was put under an eminent Tutor, and laid the foundation of that admirable learning, of which he was afterwards master. Thence he betook himself to travel, and applied himself to military exercises in foreign countries, by which he became a most accomplished Gentleman (c). After his return he was made Knight of the Bath, when Prince Henry was installed Knight of the Garter (d), which was on the 2d of July 1603 (e); or on the 23d of that month, when sixty one Knights of the Bath were created, being the day before King James's coronation (f). He was afterwards one of the Counsellors to that King for military affairs (g); and was sent Embassador to Lewis XIII King of France to mediate for the relief of the Protestants of that Realm then besieged in several parts; but was recalled in July 1621 on account of a dispute between him and the Constable de Luines [D], but at his return he justified his conduct so effectually, that he was immediately

(a) *Life of Mr. George Herbert.* By Isaac Walton, printed with the *Lives of Dr. Donne &c.* by Mr. Walton, pag. 262, 263. 4th edit. Lond. 1675.

(b) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 262.

(c) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 117. 2d edit. London 1721.

(d) Walton, *ubi supra*, pag. 263. and Wood, *Hist. & Antiquit. Universit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 65.

(e) *Camdeni Apparatus Annalium Regis Jacobi I.* subjoined to *G. Camdeni & illustrium Virorum Epistol.* pag. 2. edit. London 1691 in 4to.

(f) *Idem*, *ibid.* (g) Wood, *Atb. Oxon. ubi supra.*

[A] Descended of an ancient Family, a Son of Richard Herbert, Esq;.] Richard Herbert was the son of Sir Edward Herbert, Knt. son of Sir Richard Herbert, Knt. son of the former Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in the County of Monmouth, who was youngest brother of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke in the reign of King Edward IV (1).

[B] Magdalen, youngest daughter of Sir Richard Newport.] Lloyd erroneously calls her Susan (2) This Lady having continued a Widow above twelve years, after the death of her first Husband Mr. Herbert, married a noble Gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby. She was eminent for the excellent accomplishments of her body and mind, and highly esteemed by Dr. John Donne the Poet (3), who had a long and intimate friendship with her, and left a character of her in one of his Poems intitled, *The Autumnal* (4), which begins thus:

No Spring nor Summer Beauty hath such Grace,
As I have seen in one Autumnal Face.
Young Beauties force our Love, and that's a Rape;
This doth but counsel, yet you cannot scape.
If 'twere a shame to love, here 'twere no shame,
Affections here take Reverence's Name.

In all her Words unto all Hearers fit,
You may at Revels, or at Counsels fit.

He sent her likewise with a Letter dated at Micham, July 11. 1607 (5), several holy Hymns and Sonnets, and a Poem intitled,

To the Lady Magdalen Herbert, of St. Mary Magdalen.

" Her of your Name, whose fair Inheritance
" Betwix was, and jointure Magdalo,

" An active Faith so highly did advance,
" That she once knew more than the Church did
" know,
" The Resurrection; so much Good there is
" Deliver'd of her, that some Fathers be
" Loth to believe one Woman could do this;
" But think these *Magdalens* were two or three.
" Increase their Number, Lady, and their Fame;
" To their Devotion add your Innocence,
" Take no matter of th' Example, as of Name,
" The fo' lurch half; and in some Recompence,
" That they did harbour Christ himself, a Guest,
" Harbour these Hymns, to his dear Name address."

She died in the year 1627; and Dr. Donne preached her funeral Sermon at Chelsea near London, where she lies interr'd.

[C] Was enter'd a Gentleman Commoner of University College in Oxford.] This we are assured of by Mr. Wood (6), whose authority in these points is unquestionable. And therefore Mr. Isaac Walton is mistaken in asserting (7), that he was entered in *Queen's College*; 1721. confounding him with another of the same name, an Esquire's son of Montgomery, who was matriculated in that University as a Member of *Queen's College* in the beginning of July 1608, aged 17 years, and who appears to be the same, who was afterwards a Knight and Attorney General in the reign of King Charles I. (8.)

[D] Recalled in July 1621, on account of a dispute between him and the Constable de Luines.] Camden informs us (9), that he had irreverently treated the Constable *Edw. Herbertus revocatur e Gallia, quod Luinum Constabularium irreverenter tractasset.* Mr. Isaac Walton observes (10), that Sir Edward, while he continued at the court of France, " could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines; who was then the great and powerful

(6) *Alben. Oxon* vol. 2. col. 117. 2d edit. London 1721.

(7) Pag. 266.

(8) Wood, col. 118.

(9) *Annalium Regni Jacobi I. Apparatus*, subjoined to *G. Camdeni & illustrium Virorum Epistol.* pag. 73. edit. London 1691 in 4to.

(10) Pag. 263.

ately sent back on his embassy. In 1624 he published his book *De Veritate* [E]. In 1625 he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland by the title of Lord Herbert of Castle Island; and in 1631 to that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire. After the breaking out of the civil wars he adhered to the Parliament (b), and on the 25th of February 1644 had "an allowance granted him for his livelihood, and having been spoiled by the King's forces (i)." Besides his *History of the Life and Reign of King Henry VIII* [F], which is greatly admired, and his book *De Religione Gentilium*,^{(i) White Locke, pag. 134}

(b) White Locke's *Memorials of the English Affairs*, pag. 105. edit. London 1732 and Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 117.

erful favourite at Court; so that upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the Duke, and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same Embassy." Lloyd relates the Affair in the following manner (11): Sir Edward, while he was in France, had private instructions from England to mediate a Peace for the Protestants in France; and in case of refusal, to use certain menaces. Accordingly being referred to de Luines the constable and favourite, he delivers to him the message, reserving his threatnings till he saw how the matter was relished. De Luines had concealed behind the curtain a Gentleman of the reformed Religion, who being an Ear-witness of what passed, might relate to his friends what little expectations they ought to entertain of the King of England's intercession. De Luines was very haughty, and would needs know what our King had to do with this Affair. Sir Edward replied, "It is not to you, to whom the King my master oweth an account of his actions; and for me, it is enough that I obey him. In the mean time I must maintain, that my master hath more reason to do what he doth, than you to ask why he doth it? Nevertheless, if you desire me in a gentle fashion, I shall acquaint you farther." Upon this de Luines bowing a little, said, *Very well*. The Ambassador answered, that it was not on this occasion only, that the King of Great Britain had desired the peace and prosperity of France, but upon all other occasions, whenever any war was raised in that Country; and this he said was his first reason. The second was, that when a Peace was settled there, the King of France might be better disposed to assist the Palatinate in the Affairs of Germany. De Luines said, *We will have none of your advices*. The Ambassador replied, that he took that for an answer, and was sorry only, that the affection and good will of the King his master was not sufficiently understood; and that since it was rejected in that manner, he could do no less than say "That the King his master knew well enough what to do." De Luines answered, *We are not afraid of you*. The Ambassador smiling a little, replied, "If you had said, you had not loved us, I should have believed you, and given you another answer. In the mean time, all that I will tell you more, is, that we know very well what we have to do." De Luines upon this rising from his chair with a fashion and countenance a little discomposed, said, *By God, if you were not Monsieur the Ambassador, I know very well how I would use you*. Sir Edward Herbert rising also from his chair, said, "that as he was the King of Great Britain's Ambassador, so he was also a Gentleman; and that his sword, (whereon he laid his hand) should give him satisfaction, if he had taken any offence." After which de Luines making no reply, the Ambassador went on towards the door; and de Luines seeming to accompany him, Sir Edward told him, *that there was no occasion to use such ceremony after such language*; and so departed, expecting to hear further from him. But no message being brought from de Luines, he had in pursuance of his instructions a more civil audience of the King at Cognac, where the Marshal of St. Geran told him, that he had offended the Conitable, and was not in a place of security there; to which he answered, "that he thought himself to be in a place of security wheresoever he had his sword by him." De Luines resenting the affront, procured Cadinet his Brother, Duke of Chaun, with a Train of Officers, (of whom there was not one, as he told King James, but had killed his man) to go as an Ambassador extraordinary; who misrepresented the affair so much to the disadvantage of Sir Edward, that the Earl of Carlisle, who was sent to accommodate the misunderstanding, which might arise between the two Crowns,

(11) Pag. 1018, 1019, 1020.

got him recalled until the Gentleman who had stood behind the curtain, out of regard to truth and honour, related all circumstances so, as that it appeared, that tho' de Luines gave the first affront, yet Sir Edward had kept himself within the bounds of his instructions and honours. He afterwards fell on his knees to King James before the Duke of Buckingham, requesting, that a Trumpeter, if not an Herald, might be sent to de Luines, to tell him, that he had made a false relation of the passages abovementioned; and that Sir Edward Herbert would demand satisfaction of him sword in hand. The King answered, that he would take it into consideration; but de Luines died soon after, and Sir Edward was sent again Ambassador to France.

[E] In 1624 he published his Book *De Veritate*.]

It was printed at Paris, and reprinted there in 1633 in 4to, and at London 1645 in 4to under the following Title: *De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, à falso. Cui Operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus; primus de Causis Errorum: alter de Religione Laici. Una cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religionibus Laici, & quibusdam Poematibus. Autore Edwardo Barone Herbert de Cherbury in Angliâ, & Castri Insulæ de Kerry in Hiberniâ, & Pari utriusque Regni.* The Treatise *de Veritate* was translated into French, and printed at Paris in 1639 in 4to under the following Title: *De la Verité en tant qu'elle est distincte de la Revelation, du Vraisemblable, du Possible, & du Faux, par Edward Herbert de Cherbury: traduit du Latin & augmenté par lui-même.* In this Book our author asserts the doctrine of innate principles, and in his chapter *de Instinctu naturali* lays down these six marks of his *Notiæ Communes*. 1. *Prioritas*. 2. *Independencia*. 3. *Universalitas*. 4. *Certitudo*. 5. *Necessitas*, i. e. as he explains it, *faciunt ad hominis Conservationem*. 6. *Modus Conformationis*, i. e. *Assensus nullâ interpositâ morâ*. At the latter end of his *Tract de Religione Laici*, he says thus of those innate principles, *Adde ut non uniuscujusvis Religionis Confinio ardeantur quæ ubique vigent Veritates: sunt enim in ipsâ mente calitas descriptæ nullisq; traditionibus, sive scriptis, sive non scriptis, obnoxia. And Veritates nostræ Catholicæ, quæ tanquam indubia Dei effata in foro interiori descriptæ.* Thus having given the marks of the innate principles or common notions, and asserted their being imprinted on the minds of men by the hand of God, he proceeds to set them down, and they are these; 1. *That there is some supreme Deity*. 2. *That this Deity ought to be worshipped*. 3. *That Virtue joined with Piety is the best Method of divine Worship*. 4. *That sins ought to be repented of*. 5. *That there will be rewards and punishments after this Life*. Mr. Locke (12) observes,

that tho' he allows these to be clear truths, "and such as says he, as if rightly explained, a rational creature can hardly avoid giving his assent to, yet I think he is far from proving them innate impressions in *Foro interiori descriptæ*." To which purpose he makes several reflections. Gassendi wrote a confutation of our Author's *De Veritate* at the desire of Peyrescius and Elias Diodati, and finished it at Aix; but as he did not publish it, he retouched it in 1641; and the Lord Herbert paying him a visit in September 1647, Gassendi was surprized to find, that this piece had not been delivered to him, for he had sent him a copy; upon which he ordered another copy to be taken of it, which that Nobleman carried with him to England. Gassendus's Tract is entitled, *Ad Librum D. Edwardi Herberti Angli de Veritate Epistola*, and is imperfect, some Sheets of the original being lost (13). It was printed after Gassendus's death in the edition of his works at Lyons 1658 in fol. *Gassendi*, lib. 2. Mr. Richard Baxter in his *More reasons for the Christian Religion* has likewise some reflections upon our Author's Book. ^{(12) Essay concerning human Understanding, lib. 1. cap. 3. (13) Vie de Pierre Gassendi, pag. 137. edit. Paris 1737.}

[F] His History of the Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.] It was printed at London 1649, 1672,

Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos Causis [G], both printed after his death, he wrote in 1630 *Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream Insulam*, published by Timothy Baldwin LL.D. and Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford, at London 1656 in 8vo; and *Occasional*

and 1683 in fol. and reprinted in the *second volume* of Kenner's *Compleat History of England*. In the *Dedication* to the King he observes, that this work took its first beginning from his Majesty's particular and unexpressed commands; and the parts thereof, says he, as fast as I could finish them, were lustrated by your gracious eye, and consummated by your judicious animadversions... I am not yet ignorant, that the King, whose history I write, is subject to more obliquies, than any since the worst Roman Emperor's times. But I shall little care for censure, as long as the testimonies I use do assure and warrant me; since I pretend not to describe him otherwise, either good or bad, but as he really was. Only where he holds any doubtful part, I conceive it will be but just to give a favourable construction. Mr. Wood tells us (14), that our author was assisted in collecting the materials for this history by Mr. Thomas Master, Fellow of New College in Oxford. "Four thick volumes in folio of such materials, says that writer, I have lying by me, in every one of which I find his [Mr. Master's] hand-writing, either in interlining, adding, or correcting, and one of those four, which is intitled *Collectaneorum Liber secundus*, is mostly written by him, collected from Parliament Rolles, the Paper-Office at Whitehall, Vicar General's Office, books belonging to the Clerk of the Council, MSS in Cotton's Library, Books of Convocation of the Clergy, &c. printed authors, &c. And there is no doubt, that as he had an especial hand in composing the said *Life of King Henry VIII*, (which as some say, he turned mostly into Latin, but never printed) so had he a hand in Latinizing that Lord's book *De Veritate*, or others." Archdeacon Nicholson tells us (15), that in this History our Author acquitted himself with the like reputation as the Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by that of *Henry the Seventh*. For in the public and martial part this honourable Author has been admirably particular and exact from the best records that were extant; though as to the Ecclesiastical, he seems to have looked upon it as a thing out of his province, and an undertaking more proper for men of another profession.

[G] *His book De Religione Gentilium Errorumque apud eos Causis*.] The first part was printed at London 1645 in 8°, and the whole in 1663 in 4to, and reprinted there in 1700 in 8vo. In 1645 he sent the manuscript of this book to Gerard John Vossius, as appears from a letter of his Lordship to that learned man dated from his house near Westminster on the 15th or 25th of August that year (16), and from Vossius's Answer dated at Amsterdam 3 Kal. Jan. 1645. (17). An English translation of this work by Mr. William Lewis was published at London 1705 in 8vo under the following title: *The antient Religion of the Gentiles and Causes of their Errors considered. The Mistakes and Failures of the Heathen Priests and wise Men, in their Notions of the Deity and Matters of Divine Worship, are examined with regard to their being destitute of Divine Revelation. With a compleat Index. By the learned and judicious Edward Lord Herbert of Chisbury, &c.* In the first chapter our author mentions the *Occasion of the whole Work*, and tells us, that when for a long time he had employed his most serious thoughts in considering whether any common means for the obtaining eternal salvation were so proposed to all mankind, that from thence we might necessarily infer the certainty of an universal divine providence, he met with many doubts and difficulties not easy to be solved. He found, that many of the Fathers of the Church had not only a mean opinion of the antient religion of the Heathens, but also condemned it. The Divines of the last age also pronounce as severe a sentence against all those, who are without their pale; so that according to their opinions, the far greatest part of mankind must be inevitably sentenced to eternal punishment. This appearing to our author too rigid to be consistent with the attributes of God, he began to consult the writings of the Heathens themselves. But when from their own histories he found that their Gods were often not only mere men, but also some of them most vile, and when he had observed that their religious worship,

rites and ceremonies, were ridiculous and extravagant; he was very much inclined to be of the common opinion against them. But then again when he considered, that this was altogether incompatible with the dignity of an universal divine providence, he began to make a diligent enquiry, whether they meant the same by God as we now do. Now by God we understand a perfect, immense, and eternal Being: And he found, that with them it sometimes signified nature, or a certain imperfect, finite, and transitory power; so that not only heaven, the planets, stars, ethereal and aerial spirits, but also men who had deserved well of mankind in general, or their country in particular, were unanimously translated into the number of their Deities. Their Emperors likewise, some of whom were the worst of men, were deified in their life-time; and even the *fever, fear, and paleness* were esteemed Gods and Goddesses by them: so that they ascribed divine honour to whatsoever was above the common rank of mankind, or exceeded the apprehension of the vulgar. But still it is very evident, that wherever we find the attributes of *Summus, Optimus, Maximus*, they meant the same God and common Father with us. So that the word God being explained, the doubts which arise in comparing our God with theirs, will soon be cleared. But yet neither their religious worship or rites could ever make our author have an ill opinion of the common people, they being the invention of the Priests only; and therefore this might solely be imputed to their great men, and not to the populace, who were only passive in this affair. Our author thinks, that it cannot be denied, that Priests have introduced superstition and idolatry, as well as frowny quarrels and dissensions wherever they came. This inclined him not to make so rash and peremptory a determination concerning the future state of the Heathen Laity, as some Divines have done; they being only culpable for totally devoting and subjecting themselves to the authority of their Priests. Their great defection from the pure worship of the supreme God being justly to be attributed to the sacerdotal order, this put him upon the enquiry, whether amongst those heaps of Heathen superstitions a thread of truth might be found, by the assistance of which it was possible for them to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth of error, in which they were involv'd. Upon this five undeniable propositions immediately occurred, which all mankind in general must acknowledge. I. That there is one supreme God. II. That he ought to be worshipped. III. That virtue and piety are the chief parts of divine worship. IV. That we ought to repent of our sins. V. That the Divine Goodness dispenses rewards and punishments both in this life and after it. Our author observes, that the modern Divines were more considerate in their determinations concerning the souls of the Heathens; The most rigid, such generally as are least acquainted with learning in general, and especially polite literature, expressing themselves to this purpose: "that after the fall of Adam all mankind was formed and produced out of a degenerate mass. Some of them out of the good pleasure of God, and through the intervention of Christ's death were elected to eternal glory; but the far greater part, nay even those, who never heard of the name of Christ, were reprobated and determined to everlasting perdition; and the most innocent and irreproachable lives, which the Heathens could lead, will avail nothing, in regard their works were merely moral, and upon that account altogether insignificant." Now when our author perceived that they resolved the causes of salvation or damnation only into the good pleasure of God on the death of Christ; he found that their opinion was grounded not on reason, but on some peremptory decrees, which no person pretended to know; and he could not think these Divines to pry into the secret councils of God, as to establish any thing for certain. He left them therefore, as entertaining mean and unworthy thoughts of the Deity and mankind in general. Then he met with some other Divines, who asserted, that Christ was revealed to such Heathens, as led pious and honest lives, at the very moment of their death,

(14) *Athen. Ox.* vol. 2. col. 40.

(15) *English Historical Library*, Part 1. pag. 226. edit. London 1696 in 8vo.

(16) *Vide Clavium Virocum ad Vossium Epist.* num. CDX. pag. 272, 273. edit. London 1690 in fol.

(17) *G. J. Vossii Epist.* num. DV. pag. 435, 436.

casional Verses, published 1665 in 8vo, by his son Henry Herbert [H], and dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, grandson of our author. We have likewise other occasional Poems of his in the books of other Writers, and particularly in that of Mr. Joshua Silvester, intitled, *Lacrymæ Lacrymarum: or the Spirit of Tears distilled for the untimely death of Prince Henry*. London 1613 in 4to. He died at his house in Queenstreet in London August the 20th 1648, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church of St. Giles's in the Fields, with an inscription upon a flat marble stone over his grave [I]. Christian Kortholt has ranked him, on account of his book *De Veritate*, with Hobbes and Spinoza, in his Dissertation, intitled, *De tribus Impostoribus magnis, Edwardo Herbert, Thomâ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinozâ, Liber*: printed at Kilon 1680 in 4to, and at Hamburg 1700 in 4to. Wood tells us (k), "that he was a person well studied in the Arts and Languages, a good Philosopher and Historian, and understood men as well as books." And Mr. Lock (l) styles him *a man of great parts*.

(k) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. 2. col. 117.

(l) *Essay concerning Human Understanding,*
lib. 1. cap. 3. § 15.

deaths, and so they were conveyed to paradise. But their opinion being neither founded on history, tradition, or rational conjecture, it appeared to him very improbable, though these Divines shewed much greater tenderness towards mankind. At last he consulted the schoolmen, to see if their sentiments concerning the Heathens were more just and regular; but they skipping from faith to reason, and then immediately again from reason to faith with wonderful agility, and being so very nice and subtle in their distinctions, he could not receive the least satisfaction from them. Amongst other axioms he found this an established one amongst them; *Facientibus quod in se est, non desit gratia salutaris*. i. e. "Saving grace is never wanting to those, who do all that is in their power." He had recourse then to other authors, but especially *Crellius*, a very learned man, who hath written concerning the state of the souls of the Heathens, and quoted several excellent passages upon this subject out of the most antient Fathers; by which our author found they were of opinion, that some of the best amongst the Heathens, through the infinite mercy of God, might be capable of eternal salvation. He soon embraced their opinion, not seeing how the doctrine of an universal divine providence, could be solved otherwise, than that some means should be afforded unto all men, by which they might come to God. And seeing that nature or common providence supplies us here with all things necessary and convenient for food and raiment; he could not conceive how the same God either could or would leave

any man quite destitute, either by nature or grace, of the means of obtaining a more happy state. And though the Heathens did not make to good use of them as they might have done, yet the Deity is not in the least to be charged with their miscarriage. He knew it to be a generally received opinion, that common providence doth not afford sufficient means without the concurrence of grace and particular providence. But his design is to make it evident, that an universal providence is extended to all mankind. Now since the Heathens, as the scriptures testify, and learned Divines acknowledge, worshipped the same God as we do, had the same abhorrence of sin, and believed the rewards and punishments after this life; he could not but think, that after they had led a good life, they were made partakers of the fulness of that divine grace, especially in regard they knew the most rational and clear parts of the true divine worship.

[H] Occasional Verses, published at London 1665 in 8vo by his son Henry Herbert.] They were published under this title: *Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cberbury and Castle-Island, deceased in August 1648*. The Dedication is dated March the 18th 1667.

[I] With an inscription upon a flat marble-stone over his grave.] The inscription is as follows. *Heic inhumatur corpus Edwardi Herbert Equitis Balnei, Baronis de Cberbury & Castle-Island, Auctoris Libri, cui titulus est, De Veritate. Reddor ut herbae, vicissimo die Augusti anno Domini 1648*. T.

HERBERT (GEORGE), brother of the preceding, was an eminent English Poet and Divine. He was born at Montgomery Castle in Wales April the 3d 1593 (a), and educated in Grammar Learning at Westminster School, where he was a King's Scholar; and about the year 1608 was elected into Trinity College in Cambridge (b). In 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and March the 15th 1615 was chosen Major Fellow of his College, and the same year became Master of Arts (c). In 1619 he was chosen Orator of the University; which office he held eight years (d); and during that time had learned the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that he might in time (as his predecessors Sir Robert Naunton, and Sir Francis Netherfoll had done) obtain the place of Secretary of State, he being at that time highly esteemed by the King and the most eminent of the Nobility. This and the love of a Court-Conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be somewhat more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend his Majesty, wherever the Court was, who gave him a *Sine Cure*, which Queen Elizabeth had formerly conferred on Sir Philip Sidney, worth about a hundred and twenty pounds *per ann.* (e). His hopes of preferment at Court failing upon the death of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hamilton, he entered into holy Orders, and on the 15th of July 1626 was collated to the Prebend of Layton Ecclesia in the diocese of Lincoln by the Bishop of that See (f). About the year 1630 he married Jane, the daughter of Charles Danvers of Bainton in Wiltshire Esq; a near kinsman to the Earl of Danby (g). April the 26th the same year he was inducted into the Rectory of Bemerton near Sarum, to which he was presented by the King, upon the advancement of Dr. Curle to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells (h). Here he discharged the duty of his function in the most exemplary manner. We have no certain account of the exact time of his death; but it happened between the years 1630 and 1640. His Poems, intitled, *The Temple*, were printed at London 1635 in 12mo, and his *Priest to the Temple; or the Country Parson's Character and Rules of holy Life*, was published by Mr. Barnabas Oley at London 1652, and the third edition in 1675. He was highly valued by the most eminent persons of that age. Dr. Donne inscribed to him a copy of Latin Verses; and the Lord Bacon dedicated to him his Translation of some Psalms into English metre.

(a) Walton's
Life of Mr.
George Herbert,
printed with the
Lives of Dr.
John Donne &c.
pag. 262. 4th
edit. London
1675.

(b) *Ibid.* pag.
265.

(c) *Ibid.* pag.
272.

(d) *Ibid.* pag.
273.

(e) *Ibid.* pag.
277, 278.

(f) *Ibid.* pag.
281.

(g) *Ibid.* pag.
290.

(h) *Ibid.* pag.
291, 292, 293.

HERBERT

HERBERT (THOMAS), son of Christopher Herbert, and grandson of Thomas Herbert Alderman of York, descended from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in Monmouthshire Knt. was born in York, and admitted a Commoner of Jesus College in Oxford in 1621, under the tuition of Mr. Jenkin Lloyd his kinsman. But before he took a degree, his uncle Dr. Ambrose Aikroyd, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, brother to his mother Jane, daughter of Jo. Aikroyd of Folkerthorpe in Yorkshire, invited him to that College. He made but a short stay there, and went up to London to wait upon William Earl of Pembroke, who owing him for his kinsman, and intending his advancement, sent him to travel in 1626 at his expence. He spent some years in his travels in Africa and Asia, an account of which he published [A], and upon his return waiting on the Earl, the latter invited him to dinner the next day at Baynard's Castle in London, but dying suddenly that night (a), Mr. Herbert's expectations of preferment from him were frustrated; upon which he left England a second time, and visited several parts of Europe. After his return he married, and settling himself in his native country, prosecuted his studies. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he adhered to the interest of the Parliament, and by the endeavours of Philip Earl of Pembroke was appointed one of the Commissioners of Parliament to reside in the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and a Commissioner to treat with those of the King's party for the surrender of the garrison of Oxford. He afterwards attended that Earl, especially in January 1646, when he with other Commissioners were sent from the Parliament to the King at Newcastle about peace, and to bring his Majesty nearer London. While the King was at Holdenby, about May 1647 Mr. Herbert and James Harrington Esq, author of the *Oceana*, were appointed Grooms of his Majesty's Bed-chamber [B]; and the former attended on the King to his death. Upon the Restoration he was advanced by letters patent dated July the 3d 1660, to the dignity of Baronet by the name of Thomas Herbert of Tinterne in Monmouthshire, because Little Tinterne about half a mile from Tinterne Abbey was his own estate, and the seat of his grandfather Thomas Herbert (b). Besides his *Threnodia Carolina*, containing an historical account of the two last years of the Life of King Charles I [C], he wrote an account of the last days of that King,

(a) He died April 10, 1630.

(b) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 690, 691, 692. 2d edit. London 1721.

[A] *An account of which he published.* It was printed under the title of *A Relation of some Years Travels into Africa and the great Asia, especially the Territories of the Persian Monarchy, and some parts of the Oriental Indies, and Isles adjacent.* London, 1634, 1638, and 1677, in Folio. This last is the fourth impression, and has several additions. This book was translated by Mr. Wicquefort into French, with an account of the revolutions of Siam in the year 1647. Paris, 1663, in 4to.

[B] *While the King was at Holdenby, about May 1647, Mr. Herbert and James Harrington, Esq; author of the Oceana, were appointed Grooms of his Majesty's Bedchamber.* Mr. Wood tells us (1), that when the King was settled at Holdenby, the Parliament Commissioners, pursuant to instructions, addressed themselves all together to his Majesty, and desired him to dismiss such of his servants as were there, and had waited upon him at Oxford. "This their application was in no wise pleasing to the King, he having had long experience of the loyalty and good affection of those his servants, as appeared by his countenance and the answer he made ere he gave the Commissioners any answer. Howbeit after some expostulation and deliberation, he condescended to what they proposed, they not opposing the continuance of Mr. James Maxwell's and Mr. Pat. Maule's attendance upon his royal Person, as Grooms of his Majesty's Bedchamber, in which place they had several years served the King. Next day his Majesty's servants came, as at other times; into the Presence-Chamber, where all dinner-time they waited, but after his Majesty rose from dinner, he acquainted them with what passed betwixt him and the Commissioners, and thereupon they all knelt and kissed his Majesty's hand, and with great expression of grief for their dismissal, they poured forth their prayers for his Majesty's freedom and preservation, and so left Holdenby. All that afternoon the King withdrew himself into his bedchamber, having given order, that none should interrupt him in his privacy. Soon after this his Majesty purposing to send a message to the Parliament, he after dinner called Philip Earl of Pembroke to him, and told him, that he would have Mr. Herbert come into his chamber; which the Earl acquainting the Commissioners with, Mr. Thomas Herbert, our Author, was brought into the Bedcham-

ber by Mr. Maxwell, and upon his knees desired to know the King's pleasure. He told him, he would send a message to the Parliament, and having none there, that he usually employed, and unwilling it should go under his own hand, called him for that purpose. Mr. Herbert having wrote as his Majesty dictated, was enjoined secrecy, and not to communicate it to any, untill made public by both Houses, if by them held meet; which he carefully observed. This errand was, as I conceive, his Majesty's message for peace, dated from Holdenby, the 12th of May, 1647." About a week after the King told the Commissioners, that since Mr. James Levington, Henry Moray, John Ashburnham, and William Legge, were for the present dismissed, he had taken notice of Mr. James Harrington and Mr. Thomas Herbert, who had followed the Court from Newcastle, and having received satisfaction concerning their sobriety and education, he was willing to receive them as Grooms of his Bedchamber, to wait upon his person with Mr. Maule and Mr. Maxwell; which the Commissioners approving, they were that night admitted. Being thus settled in that honourable office, and in good esteem with his Majesty, Mr. Herbert continued with him, when all the rest of the chamber were removed, till his Majesty was brought to the block. . . . His Majesty, though he found him to be Presbyterianly affected, yet withall he found him very observant and loving, and therefore intrusted him with many matters of moment.

[C] *His Threnodia Carolina, containing an historical account of the two last years of the Life of King Charles I.* This was written by him in 1678, on the following occasion. The Parliament having a little before taken into consideration the appointing of seventy thousand pounds for the funeral of that King, and for a monument to be erected over his grave, Sir William Dugdale, then Garter King of Arms, sent to our Author, then living at York, to know of him, whether the King had ever spoke in his hearing, where his body should be interred. To this Sir Thomas returned a large answer, with many observations concerning his Majesty; which Sir William Dugdale being pleased with, desired him by another letter, to write a treatise of the actions and sayings of the King, from his first confinement to his death; which he did accordingly.

(c) Vol. 2. col.
693, & 697.

King, published by Mr. Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* (c) [D], and at the desire of his friend John de Laet of Leyden, translated some books of his *India Occidentalis*; but was prevented by business from perfecting them. He assisted also Sir William Dugdale in compiling the third volume of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*. He died at his house in York March the 1st 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, aged seventy six years, and was interred in St. Cross Church in Fossegatestreet in that City, where a monument was erected to his memory by his widow Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gervas Cutler of Stainborough in Yorkshire. His first wife was Lucia daughter of Sir Walter Alexander, servant to King Charles I, by whom he had issue Philip, Henry heir to his father, Montgomery, Thomas, William, &c. A little before his death he gave several manuscripts to the public Library at Oxford, and others to that belonging to the Cathedral at York; and in the *Asmolean Museum* at Oxford there are several Collections of his, which he made from the Registers of the Archbishops of York, given to it by Sir William Dugdale.

[D] Wrote an account of the last days of that King, published by Mr. Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. Mr. Wood observes (2), that about the same time that Sir Thomas wrote his *Tbreadia Carolina*, himself "having occasion to write to him for information (3) of certain persons then or about that time (3) attending the King, he thereupon sent him several letters in answer to his queries, with divers other matters by way of digression; which letters contain, as it seems, the chief contents of *Tbreadia Carolina*, and are several times quoted in this work (4). . . . With the said letters, which Mr. Wood received from Sir Thomas, he received from him an account of the last days of King Charles I of ever blessed memory, with an earnest desire, that if he should have any occasion to make mention of that most pious and good King, he would by no means omit him for these reasons: 1. Because in the said account there are many things, that have not yet been divulged. 2. That he was grown old, and not in such a capacity, as he could wish, to publish it. And 3. That if he should leave it to his relations to do it, they, out of ignorance or partiality, may spoil it. Upon his desire, and these reasons given, he [Mr. Wood] did then promise him to find some place to receive it in a work that he was then compiling, viz. *Athenæ Oxonienses*." We shall add here a copy of a very remarkable letter from our author to Dr. Samways, by whom it was sent to Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and referred to in col. 524, line 73, Vol. II. of the *Athenæ Oxon.* Edit. 1692, and in col. 701, line 39, of the same volume, Edit. 1721. This letter was found in a copy of that book lately in the hands of the Lord Viscount Preston, and was communicated to us by the very learned Richard Rawlinson, LL.D. and F.R.S. It is as follows.

" Sir,

" After his late Majesty's remove from Windsor to St. James's, albeit according to the duty of my place I lay in the next room to the Bedchamber, the King then commanded me to bring my pallace into his chamber, which I accordingly did the night before that sorrowful day. He ordered what cloaths he would wear, intending that day to be as neat as could be, it being (as he called it) his wedding-day. And having a great work to do (meaning his preparation to eternity) said, he would be stirring much earlier than he used. For some hours his Majesty slept very soundly. For my part, I was so full of anguish and grief, that I took little rest. The King some hours before day drew his bed-curtains to awake me, and could by the light of a wax-lamp perceive me troubled in my sleep. The King rose forthwith, and as I was making him ready, Herbert, said the King, I

" would know why you were disquieted in your sleep. " I replied, May it please your Majesty, I was in a dream. What was your dream, said the King? " I would hear it. May it please your Majesty, said " I, I dreamed, that as you were making ready, one " knocked at the Bedchamber door, which your Majesty took no notice of, nor was I willing to acquaint you with it, apprehending it might be Colonel Hacker. But knocking the second time, your Majesty asked me, if I heard it not? I said, I did, but did not use to go without his order. Why then go, know who it is, and his business. Whereupon I opened the door, and perceived that it was the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, in his pontifical habit, as worn at Court. I knew him, having seen him often. The Archbishop desired he might enter, having something to say to the King. I acquainted your Majesty with his desire; so you bid me let him in. Being in, he made his obeysance to your Majesty in the middle of the room, doing the like also when he came near your person; and falling on his knees, your Majesty gave him your hand to kiss, and took him aside to the window, where some discourse passed between your Majesty and him, and I kept a becoming distance, not hearing any thing that was said, yet could perceive your Majesty pensive by your looks, and that the Archbishop gave a sigh; who after a short stay again kissing your hand, returned, but with his face all the way towards your Majesty, and making his usual reverences, the third being so submissive, as he fell prostrate on his face on the ground, and I immediately slept to him to help him up, which I was then acting when your Majesty saw me troubled in my sleep. The impression was so lively, that I looked about, verily thinking that it was no dream. The King said, my dream was remarkable, but he is dead; yet had we conferred together during life, it is very likely, albeit I loved him well, I should have said something to him might have occasioned his sigh. " Soon after I had told my dream, Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London, came to the King, as I relate in that narrative I sent Sir William Dugdale, which I have a transcript of here, nor know whether it rests with his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Sir William, or be disposed of in Sir John Cotton's Library near Westminster Hall; but wish you had the perusal of it, before you return into the North. And this being not communicated to any but yourself, you may shew it his Grace, and none else, as you promised.

" Sir,

" Y[ork], 28
" Aug. 80.

" Your very affectioned
" Friend and Servant,
Tho. Herbert.
T.

HERCULES. There have been several heroes of this name [A], but he of Thebes was the most renowned, because the Greeks ascribed to him the actions achieved by the

[A] There have been several Heroes of this Name.] Cicero reckons six. Quamquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus scire sane velim, plures enim tradunt nobis ii qui interiores scrutantur & reconditas literas: antiquissimum Jove natum, sed item Jove antiquissimo; nam Joves quoque plures in prisca Græcorum literis invenimus. Ex eo igitur & Lyfite est is Hercules, quem concertavisse cum Apolline de tripode accepimus. Alter tra-

ditur Nilo natus Ægyptius, quem aiunt Phrygiæ literas conscripsisse. Tertius est ex Idæis Dactylis, cui inferias afferunt. Quartus Jovis est, & Asteriæ Latonæ sororis, quem Tyrii maxime colunt, cujus Cartbaginem filiam ferunt. Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur. Sextus hic ex Alcumena, quem Jupiter genuit; sed tertius Jupiter: quoniam, ut jam docebo, plures Joves etiam accepimus (1). i. e. " I want very much to be informed, " which

(1) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. 3. cap. 26.

the rest, and have studiously affected to speak concerning him, according to the fabulous genius of their Nation. I intend to write of that Hercules only. He was looked upon as the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. I observed in other articles (a), in what manner that Lady was imposed upon by this God; and will not repeat that, nor what is found in Moreri. Our Hercules exerted prodigious strength, as well in the combats of Mars, as in those of Venus [B]. He also was a prodigious eater [C], of which

(a) See the articles ALCMENE and AMPHITRYO.

“ which of the Hercules’s it is we chiefly worship, “ for those who peruse secret History, declare, that “ there were several of this Name; the most ancient “ of all having sprung from Jove, and the most ancient “ of the Jupiters; for we find several of the Jupiters in old Greek Authors. ’Twas this Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Lyfeto, who is related to have had a contest with Apollo concerning a tripod. Another Hercules, an Egyptian, Nilus’s son, whom we are told was the inventor of the Phrygian Letters. A third descended from the Idæi Daëyli, to whom infernal rights are offered. A fourth Hercules was the offspring of Jupiter and Asteria, Latona’s sister, who is chiefly worshipped by the Tyrians, and who is said to have a Daughter called Carthage. There was a fifth in India, and who is named Belus; and a sixth, the son of Alcmena by Jupiter, but a third Jupiter; because, as I shall soon show, we are told of several Jupiters.” According to this account, the Egyptian Hercules would be but the third; however, the Egyptians gave him the first place (2). Diodorus Siculus (3), who speaks of three Hercules’s, declares him of Egypt to have been the eldest; and owns that a similitude of name and inclinations, was the reason why the acts of the others have been ascribed to the Theban Hercules, who was the youngest of them all. ’Tis said, that Varro reckons forty-four Hercules’s.

(2) Inde proximum annis (Nili) ut dicitur Herculi, quem indigenæ ortum apud se antiquissimum præbent, eoque qui postea pari virtute fuerit in cognomentum ejus adscito. Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 60.

(3) Lib. 3. fol. 52.

(4) Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 556.

(5) Pausan. lib. 9. pag. 302.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Έπειθε δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄνομα ἡρώου-μας κισσῶν. Ηρακλῆα ἰσχυροῦτον ὄντα ἀνδρῶν οἴλου θυγατρὶ ἀφικνοῦμαι. Idem, ibid.

(9) Liv. 4. cap. 29.

(10) The father of these fifty girls is called Thestius by some, and Thestius by others.

(11) Vigenere, for Philostratus, tom. 1. pag. 98. edit. in 4to.

(12) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[B] Our Hercules exerted prodigious strength, in the combats of Venus.] Some relate (4) that Hercules, in seven days, crott the virgin Flower of the fifty Daughters of Thestius; others (5) declare, that this business took up but one night; and add, that he had got each of them with child of a Boy; and that two of them, the eldest and youngest brought him each twin sons. According to some writers (6), the youngest would never consent to lose her maidenhead; but to punish her for this, he sentenced her to perpetual virginity, and would have her serve him as priestesses; and for this reason, a priestesses who was to live for ever a maid, was to officiate in Hercules’s temple in Thestis (7). Pausanias could not think, that Hercules could have been so prodigiously exasperated with the Daughter of his good friend (8); he therefore considered the sentence, which Hercules was said to have pronounced on her, as a very severe punishment. What he relates of the friendship which Thestius had for Hercules, agrees very well with what we read in Diodorus Siculus (9), viz. that Thestius (10) being desirous that his daughters might give him posterity, of which Hercules might be the father, invited him to a grand banquet, and regaled him in a very magnificent manner, and then sent him his fifty Daughters one after the other. Vigenere has said pleasantly enough, that this was the stoutest battle in which Hercules was ever engaged in his life (11); and yet the antients have not ranked this in the catalogue of his labours. It has been observed, that because he made war, sometimes in one country, and at other times in another, and was very fond of the fair sex, he had dispersed or settled women in different parts of the world, in order that he might have some for his purpose wherever he came. Lactantius had just reason to laugh at the Heathens, who had ranked in the number of their Deities, a man who left works of his uncleanness in all parts of the earth. Hercules . . . nonne orbem terræ quem peragrasset ac purgasset narratur, stupris, libidinibus, adulteriis inquinavit? nec mirum, cum esset adulterio genitus, Alcmenæ. Quid tandem potuit in eo esse divini, qui suis ipse vitiiis mancipatus, & mares, & Fœminas, contra omnes leges infamia, dedecore, flagitio, afficit (12). i. e. “ Did not Hercules, who is said to “ have travelled through the whole earth, and to have “ purged it from Monsters, defile and pollute it with “ whoredoms, with leud and adulterous actions? “ but this we are not to wonder at, since he sprung “ from Alcmena’s Adultery. Now what could there

“ be divine in him, who being himself a slave to vice, “ in opposition to all Laws, brought infamy, shame, “ and guilt on both sexes.” Arnobius has ridiculed the Heathens very agreeably, for supposing that nine nights were required for Jupiter to get a child; and that Hercules in one night’s time got fifty women with child. Quis illum (Jovem) in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilasse continnis? non vos? . . . Et sane adjungitis beneficia non parva: siquidem vobis Deus Hercules natus est, qui in rebus hujusmodi patris sui transfret exuperaretque virtutes. Ille noctibus vix novem unam potuit prolem extundere, concinnare, compingere: at Hercules sanctus Deus natus quinquaginta de Thestio nocte una perdocuit, & nomen virginitatis exponere, & genitricum pondera sustinere (13). i. e. “ Who declared that this Jupiter lay nine whole nights with “ Alcmena? was it not you? and you really make noble “ advantages result upon it; and from this embrace “ your God Hercules sprung, who greatly surpassed “ his father in such kind of feats. Jupiter could scarce “ get one child in nine nights; but the holy God “ Hercules, in a single night, not only deflowered “ Thestius’s fifty Daughters, but got them all with “ child.” It is to be observed that Thestius was frightened at this vigour of Hercules (14).

[C] He was a prodigious eater.] He boasted that he could eat more than any other man, and therefore was extremely vexed to meet with one who equalled him in that particular. He disputed the prize of voraciousness with one Lepreus, but did not win it (15). Each sacrificed an Ox; and as Hercules eat all his at a single meal, his antagonist exerted himself no less speedily and vigorously with regard to his victim. Lepreus ought to have stopt here; but he was so insolent as to challenge Hercules to engage him in another kind of combat, in a true Duel, in which he lost his life. I shall expatiate farther on this dispute, at the end of this remark. Here follows another Story. Hercules travelling with his wife, and young Hylas his son; and finding that the child was very hungry, he addressed a husbandman, and desired some victuals; however he got nothing, upon which he took one of the Oxen from the plough, sacrificed it to the Gods, and eat it (16). This canine appetite did not abandon him, even in Heaven, whence it is, that Callimachus exhorts Diana not to catch hares, but wild boars and bulls; because Hercules had not lost now he was among the Gods, that faculty he had of eating prodigiously when among men.

(13) Arnobius, lib. 4. pag. 145.

(14) Qualemquid vixit post crimina noctis, Thestius obstupuit scias fecer. Stat. Silv. 1. lib. 3. ver. 42.

(15) Pausan. lib. 5. pag. 151.

(16) See Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. 7. pag. m. 693, 694. Apollonius, lib. 2. pag. 145. does not say so much, and has not the same circumstances; but he owns that Hercules killed and eat the ox. The Scholiast on Apollonius, lib. 1. ver. 1220, says the same as Natalis Comes.

(17) Callimachus in Hymno Diana, ver. 159. pag. m. 78.

Οὐ γὰρ ὄγῃ Φρυγίῃ περὶ ἰπὸ δουρὶ γυνὴ θυαλίς Παιδαρτ’ ἀδραρυίης ἔτι αὖ σαπρὸν νδὲς ἐκείνη Τῆσσι ἀρ’ ἀρ’ ἰσχυρῶν συνώλ’ ἐθ’ Θεοδάμας (17).

“ Tho’ now a God, he is not less voracious, “ Than, when a man, in Phrygia’s blooming plains, “ He loos’d from Theodamas’s plough, the ox, “ And eat it at a meal.

Athenæus cites some verses of Epicharmus, which express admirably well the voraciousness of this hero.

Πρώτον μὲν αἰὲν ἔσθοντ’ ἰδὸς ἡν, ἀποβάσεις, Βράμῃ μὲν ὁ φάρογξ ἴσθδ, ἀραβὸν δ’ ἂ γυάθ. Φοῦν δ’ ὁ γόμφου, τήληγ’ ὁ κινόδου, Σίξῃ δὲ ταῖς ῥίνεσσι, κινὸν δ’ ἔαλα, τῶν τετραπόδων ἰδὸν ἦτορ (18).

(18) Athen. lib. 10. init.

“ Should you behold his furious meals, you’d die; “ Hear his jaws crash, and his swollen cheeks resound; “ The thunder of his grinders, and the roar “ Of his wide nostrils, see his moving ears.

He cites some other Poets to prove his position, viz. that Hercules was a prodigious great eater, ὅτι ἦν ἡ ὁ Ηρακλῆς ἀδραρυίης; and does not omit Lepreus’s competitor on. Here follows all he says of it.

Lepreus

which I shall relate some extraordinary particulars; as also of his mighty quaffing [D], for which he was no less remarkable. He displayed the voraciousness of his appetite, on an occasion that gave rise to a very singular ceremony, viz. that opprobrious expressions were always vented against Hercules, all the time that the inhabitants of Lindus were offering up sacrifices to him [E]. Some, from the strong love which Hercules had for wine

wine

Leprus challenged Hercules to a gluttonous contest, and was overcome. Εἰσαίσιμος δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκ Λαρκῆϊ πρὸς πολυφωγίας ἐρίζων ἰκτείνω παρακαλεσάμενος, καὶ πωλιεύου (19). i. e. "Hercules is brought in contending with Leprus, who had challenged him, for the prize of gluttony, on which occasion Hercules came off victorious." Zenodotus relates, that Hercules had put in chains Leprus, grandson to Neptune, after having cleaned the Augean stables: He set him at liberty after he had ended his labours, and then had three contests with him. They play'd at Quoits, they strove who should pump water with the greatest vigour, and who should have the soonest devoured an ox. Hercules came off victorious on all these occasions. At last Leprus being intoxicated with liquour, challenged Hercules anew, and was killed by him. Others relate, that they did not dispute who should eat most, but who should drink most; and that Hercules was victorious over Leprus (20). Others pretend that their contest was, who should soonest eat up a bull, and who should drink most (21). I shall relate some other particulars in the remark [H].

(19) Idem, ibid.

(20) *Matris in Herculis Laudatione.* Caucalus, Rbor Cbius, frater Theopompi Historiographi in Herculis Laudatione, apud Ath. ibid.

(21) *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 24.*

(22) *Status, Tbeb. lib. 6. ver. 531.*

(23) *Q. Curt. lib. 10. cap. 4. num. 18. edit. Freinshem. See also Plutarch in Alexandro, sub fin.*

(24) *Seneca, Epist. 83.*

(25) *Diod. Sic. lib. 17. cap. 117.*

(26) *Macrob. Saturn. lib. 5. cap. 21. See Dempsterus in Rosinum, lib. 5. cap. 30. pag. m. 856.*

[D] His mighty quaffing.] To be convinced of this, we need but consider the prodigious size of his goblet, which required two men to carry it; but as to himself, he wanted but one hand, in order to lift it up, and drink it off.

Huic pretium palmæ gemini cratera ferebant Herculeum juvenes. Illum Tyrrinthius olim Ferru manu sola, spumantemque oris supino Vertens seu monstri victor, seu marte solebat (22).

"The prize, a mighty goblet, by two youths
"Aloft was held; and Hercules of old,
"With ease oft carried it, with but one hand;
"And, from the field or labours when return'd,
"Could drink it off, tho' running o'er the brim.

It appears by the History of Alexander the Great, that in feasts in which the guests quaffed in an extraordinary manner, they all drank off a mighty cup, called the cup of Hercules. It was reserved for the close, as may be inferred from Alexander's not having drunk it, when he was taken sick at table. *Nondum Herculis Scypho epoto repente velut telo confixus ingemuit (23)*, during a feast in which he before had drunk very copiously. Others say he had drunk it, and that it proved his fatal dose. *Alexandrum . . . intemperantia bibendi atque ille Herculeanus & fatalis scyphus condidit (24)*. Diodorus Siculus relates, that Alexander having quaffed a great quantity, at last emptied Hercules's cup, and immediately fell into a swoon (25). To reconcile these several variations, I believe it must be supposed that the Monarch in question was struck as he was drinking off this cup, and before he had drunk it off. The Historian in question observes, that this cup of Hercules was of a vast size. But what can be more express, with regard to this subject, than the following words of Macrobius? *Scyphus Herculis poculum est, ita ut Liberi patris tantbarus: Herculem vero pictores veteres, non sine causa cum poculo fecerunt & nonnunquam casabundum & ebrium, non solum quod is heros bibax fuisse perhibetur, sed etiam quod antiqua historia est Herculem poculo tanquam navigio ventis immensa maria transisse. Sed de utraque re pauca ex Græcis antiquitatibus dicam, & multisibum Heros istum fuisse, ut taceam quæ vulgo nota sunt, illud non obscurum argumentum est, quod Ehippus in Busrude inducis Herculem sic loquentem, &c. (26)*. i. e. "Hercules's cup is the scyphus, as the cantharus is that of Bacchus. It was not without reason that the ancient Sculptors represented Hercules holding a cup, and sometimes reeling and drunk; not only because the hero in question is said to have been a quaffer, but also because we are told in ancient History, that Hercules failed over boundless seas in a cup, as though it had been a

"ship. But I will present my readers with a few particulars concerning both, from the Greek antiquities. With regard to Hercules's being a mighty quaffer, not to mention what is commonly known, we have no ill proof of this, where Ehippus, in his Busris, introduces Hercules speaking as follows, &c." Athenæus seems to denote the capacity of this cup, he saying (27), that that which killed Alexander, held two congiarii or gallons. We learn a very remarkable particular from Stefichorus the Poet. He says that Pholus drunk a health to Hercules in a pitcher holding twenty four pints. *Centaurorum & Lapitharum convivium describens (Stefichorus) ait Pholum (quem propterea hospitem Alcidae nuncupat Lucanus) implevisse Herculi craterem trium lagenarum capacem, quem prior ipse obbibisset: amplum autem fuisse oportuit, qui urnam, hoc est, quatuor & viginti sextarios caperet (28)*. He drank it off first, and was pledged a moment after by Hercules.

(27) *Lib. 10. cap. 9. pag. 434.*

(28) *Hadrian, Junius, Animadvers. lib. 4. cap. 5. pag. m. 410.*

Σκυφίον δὲ λατῶν δῖπας ἤμασιρον ὡς τριτάγωνον Πῦν ἐπισχόμενον, τὸ ρά οἱ παρῆθεν Φόλον κειράσας (29).

(29) *Apud Hadrian, Junium, ibid.*

Hercules (de eo enim loquitur) acceptum in manus scyphum plenum, trium lagenarum capacem, ori admoventes obbibit, quem Pholus ipsi infuderat.

"He took the mighty cup, which Pholus fill'd
"With three Lagenæ, and at once quaff'd off
"The glorious bumper."

Athenæus explains after a very probable manner, the reason, why the Poets feigned that Hercules crossed the sea in a cup. This fiction, says he, in all probability took its rise, from the pleasure this hero took in drinking out of large glasses, *Μήσωςι μεγάλοις ἔχμασι πωλιεύου ὁ ἦρας, δια τὸ μέγιστον πωλιεύου οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐκ συγκραφίης* ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν πωλιεῖω ἰμυβολόγησαν (30). *Poculis fortasse, quia heros amplis gaudebat, per jocum scriptores, ac Poetæ, cum in poculo navigasse fabulati sunt; for he was a mighty drinker: Ὅλι δὲ εἰς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν πλῦτων πινόντων ποσειδέων (31)*. *Bibacem inter alios Herculem fuisse antea nos memoravimus.*

(30) *Athen. lib. 11. pag. 496.*

(31) *Idem, ibid.*

[E] *Opprobrious expressions were always vented against Hercules, all the time that the inhabitants of Lindus were offering up sacrifices to him.* I related above, that Hercules eat up an ox which he had taken from a peasant; but I shall add here, that the peasant, all the time he was devouring the animal, vented the most opprobrious expressions against him, which was only a diversion to Hercules; so that when an altar was erected to his honour, he would have this peasant to be his priest, and commanded him to repeat the same curses, every time that sacrifices should be offered up to him; for, did he use to say, I never in my life eat with a better appetite. Lactantius relates this incident at large. *Apud Lindum, quod est oppidum Rhodi, Herculis sacra sunt, quorum à cæteris longo diversus est ritus. Si quidem non ὠφνημία, ut Græci appellant, sed maledictis, & execratione celebrantur, eaque pro violatis habent, si quando inter solemnes ritus vel imprudenti alicui exciderit bonum verbum. Cujus rei hæc ratio redditur, si tamen ulla esse ratio in rebus vanissimis potest. Hercules, cum eo delatus esset, famemque pateret, aratorem quendam aspexit operantem, ab eoque petere cepit, ut sibi unum bovem venderet. Ille negavit fieri posse, quia spes sua omnis colendæ terræ duobus illis jumentis niteretur. Hercules solita violentia usus, quia unum accipere non potuit, utrumque sustulit. At ille infelix, cum boves suos mactari videret, injuriam suam maledictis ultus est, quod homini eleganti & urbano gratissimum fuit. Nam dum comitibus suis epulas apparat, dumque alienos boves devorat, illum sibi amarissime conviciantem, cum risu, & cachinnis audiebat. Sed postquam Herculi divinos honores ob admirationem virtutis deferri placuit, à civibus ei ara posita est, quam de factis βοῦλεγον, id est bovis jugum nominavit; ad quem duo juncti boves immolarentur, sicut illi, quos abstulerat aratori,*

wine and women, have denied his atchieving the noble exploits ascribed to him [F]. A very particular circumstance is told concerning the greediness with which he devoured his victuals, it being said, that the motion on these occasions made his ears move (b). This is a very rare and uncommon thing [G]. I fancy it is a mistake to assert, that Hercules

(b) See the remark [C].

aratori, eumque ipsum sibi constituit Sacerdotem, ac praecepit, ut iisdem maledictis semper in celebrandis sacrificiis uteretur, quod negaret, se unquam epulatum esse jucundius (32). i. e. "In Lindus, a city of Rhodes, there are offered up, to Hercules, rites which differ greatly from those used in other places. For these rites are not performed with praises, but with curses; and they would be thought to be profaned, should a good or virtuous word slip inadvertently from any person who was present at the solemnity, for which the reason is given, if there can be any reason in such trifling practices. Hercules, as it is related, coming that way, was hungry, when seeing a countryman ploughing, he desired him to sell him an ox. The countryman replied, that he could not oblige him on that occasion, because those oxen were the only cattle he had to plough with. Hercules employing his usual violence, since he could not be favoured with one ox, took them both away. The unhappy peasant, seeing his oxen slaughtered, took his revenge by curses, which were exceedingly pleasing to the elegant and polite Hercules; for whilst he was preparing this entertainment for his companions, and was devouring the cattle which did not belong to him, he laughed at, and ridiculed the ill-fated owner, who was cursing him in a most bitter manner. But when it was afterwards judged proper, in admiration of the virtues which Hercules possessed, to pay him divine honours, the inhabitants of that city erected two altars to him, which he, from the action itself, called the yoke of oxen. Here two yoked oxen were to be offered, as were those which he forced from the peasant, whom he constituted his priest; and commanded him to employ always the same kind of curses in solemnizing the sacrifices, Hercules declaring that he had never in his life feasted with greater delight."

(32) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 21. pag. m. 70. See also Conon, apud Photium, pag. 429.

[F] Some have denied his atchieving the noble exploits ascribed to him.] Megacles in Athenæus, censures the Poets who came after Homer and Hesiod, for their saying that Hercules had commanded armies and taken cities, since it is certain that he led a very voluptuous life, having several lawful wives, and getting a very great number of young-women with child clandestinely, Ὅς μὲν ἰδοῦντας πλείους τὸν μετ' ἀνδράπων βίον διτίλειται πλείους μὲν γυναικίας γήμας, ἐκ πλείων δὲ λάθρα παρδίνων αἰδοσαμένων. Cum maxime voluptariam inter homines vitam egerit, plurimarum uxorum maritus, & puellis quam multis compressis, è quibus suscepit liberos (33). Besides, he was a great lover of good eating and drinking; so that after his example, those who offered libations to him, quite emptied the glasses, and did not leave so much as a drop. Other proofs were brought (34) of his softness and effeminacy; and it was pretended that Stefichorus first armed him with a club, a bow, and a lyon's skin. We meet with one particular in Erasmus, which strongly opposes the tradition concerning Hercules's effeminacy. It is in the explication of the proverb, beware of the man with the black buttocks (35). Erasmus tells us, that a mother gave this caution to her two sons, who were unlucky rogues. They were for attacking Hercules as he was sleeping under a tree; but he awaked, and tied them to his club (36), and threw them over his shoulders with their heads downward. By this posture they discovered that Hercules's back was very hairy, and that the hair was very black and thick; a circumstance which made them call to mind their mother's caution, and forced a laugh from them. Hercules being told what they laughed at, gave them their liberty. The words of Erasmus which I am to cite are these: Melampygos Græcis significat eum qui nigro sit podice: quo quidem cognomento notatus est Hercules quod eam corporis partem, non Lydorum more vulsam, neque candidam (quemadmodum effæminati solent) sed nigris pilis hirsutam ac sylvosam haberet. Nam Græci quemadmodum molles & imbelles, fraetiosque delicias, πυργόγγυς ἢ λυκοπόγγυς appellant; itidem è diverso fortes ac strenuos,

(33) Athen. lib. 12. cap. 1. pag. 512.

(34) Idem, ibid.

(35) Μὴ τῷ μελαμπύγῳ πύργου. It is the 43d proverb of Century 1. of the second Chi-liad in Erasmus.

(36) See Moreri under the word Achemen.

μελαμπύγγος vocare consueverunt, ut auctor est Lycophronis interpres. i. e. "Melampygos signifies, among the Greeks, one who has black buttocks, which surname was given to Hercules, because that part of his body was rough and shaggy, with black hair, and not shaved after the manner of the Lydians, nor white as effeminate people are. For as the Greeks call'd the effeminate and weak, and such as immersed themselves in luxury white-breech'd: so, on the contrary, they commonly gave the name of black-breech'd to the valiant and strong, as we are told by the interpreter of Lycophon." See Suidas under the article μελαμπύγγος τυχούς, in Melampygon incidat. See also Apostolius, Zenobius, Diogenianus, in their collections of proverbs.

[G] This is a very rare and uncommon thing.] The Journal of the Academia Naturæ curiosorum (37) mention a maiden whose ears moved. The author of Nouvelles de la republique des Lettres, giving the extract of this Journal, observed (38) that there was no room to doubt of this singular particular, after what Abbé de Marolles attests concerning Crassot the Philosopher, pag. 32 of his Memoirs. "He very much resembled, says he, the portraits of those Cynical Philosophers, which are found in the cabinets of the curious, he being slovenly like them; having a long and bushy beard, and his hair neglected and uncombed. There was one thing very peculiar in him, which I never saw in any other person; and this was, he could move his ears up and down without touching them." Peter Messie relates in the 24th chapter of part I, that St. Austint had seen (39) a man, who not only mov'd his ears at pleasure, but also his hair, without making the least motion either with his hands or head. Give me leave to join to this some collections which bear a relation to it. I shall begin with a pretty long passage from Casaubon (40). *Istud planè communi hominum naturæ contrarium est; quibus [solis (41) ex omnibus animalibus (nisi forte simias excipias)] dedit aureis ἢ πωλοπόκιλος τῷ ΘΕΟΥ σοφία moveri suapte sponte nescias. [Nam quod scribit Martialis, Cinnae cuidam natum filium auribus longis Quæ sic moventur ut solent Asellorum: poetica sine dubio licentia est, non rei veritas.] Narrat tamen Eustathius sacerdotem fuisse quendam aureis motantem. Accipimus etiam à viris fide dignis, visas manifeste aures movere viro cuidam eruditissimo (42) cum Allbrugum fides transiens, vivicomburii periculum sibi à magistratu imminere intellexisset, quod diceretur nefandi criminis reus Tolosa in Italiam fugere. i. e. "This interferences directly with the common nature of men, to whom only of all animals, unless apes ought to be excepted, Heaven has given ears which move of themselves. For what we find in Martial concerning the son of one Cinna, who had long ears which moved like those of asses, it is doubtless a poetical fiction, and not a true incident. Nevertheless Eustathius tells us that a certain Priest moved his ears. I have also been told by persons worthy of credit, that the ears of a certain man of learning were plainly seen to move, when travelling by the borders of Savoy, he found that he was in danger of being burnt alive by the magistrate, on its being reported that he was flying into Italy from Thouloufe, because he had perpetrated a heinous crime." Since Casaubon does not doubt the truth of Eustathius's report, nor what had been told him concerning the learned man who had fled from Thouloufe, why does he doubt what relates to Cinna's child, in the 39th epigram of the 6th book of Martial? He would have less doubted it had he taken notice, not only of what St. Austint relates in Chap. XXIV, Book XIV, De civitate Dei: sunt qui & aures moveant vel singulas vel ambas simul. i. e. "Some people move their ears either singly or together:" but also what is attested by Vesalius. This great anatomist affirms (43), that he saw, in Padua, two men whose ears moved. He explains the cause of this motion in another place. Interdum, says he (44), quibusdam raris fibris carnalis membrana quam carnosam vocamus supra aures augetur, & modice auri*

(37) In the volume for anno 1685.

(38) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for September 1686, pag. 1021.

(39) St. Austint's words, cited below, do not denote that he had seen this, and therefore Father Hardouin in Plin. lib. 11. pag. 543. should not have said, quæ vidis Augustinus.

(40) Casaubon, in Athen. lib. 10. cap. 1. pag. 702.

(41) This is extracted from Aristotle, μέγρον ἀνθρώπου οὐς οὐ κινεῖται, says he, lib. 1. Hist. Animal. cap. 9. Pliny in like manner, Aures homini tantum immobiles, lib. 11. cap. 37.

(42) It is a little probable, that An honny Muretus is hinted at here.

(43) De humani Corporis Fabrica, lib. 2. cap. 13. apud Coquezum.

(44) Ibid. cap. 17. apud eundem Coquezum, ibid.

Hercules would be drawn in this attitude, in one of his most famous portraits [H]. It is false to assert, that his club was in a chapel at Rome [I], and that it drove away from thence

auri proximam cutem, & ipsam quoque aurem motu agit arbitrio. i. e. "Sometimes by means of certain delicate fibres, the fleshy membrane, call'd by us Carnosa, is stretched above the ears, and gives the skin next the ear, and the ear itself, an arbitrary motion. Du Laurent affirms, that he had seen some persons, who gave motion to their ears (45). Valverdu saw a Spaniard do the same in Rome (46). Procopius compares Justinian "to an ass, not only on account of his dulness and stupidity, but likewise because of his self-moving ears, whence he was called, in a full theatre, γαυδων, that is to say, word for word, master-ass, by those of the green faction or Prasini, to which he was an enemy." I read these words in la Mothe le Vayer, pag. 134 of tom. 3 in 12mo. He cites pag. 36 of Procopius's secret History.

[H] It is asserted that Hercules would be drawn in this attitude in one of his most famous portraits. This is told by Costar, in his Dialogues. Here follows the sequel of what he there says concerning Hercules. In the Anthologia a peasant "highly applauds Mercury's moderation, for being satisfied with milk and fruits; and complains against Hercules, for requiring a considerable number of sheep and oxen in sacrifice. And being told; But this God preserves your flocks so well. What difference is there, replied he, whether my flocks are devoured by wolves, or by their keeper?"

--- Τι τὸ πλῆθος ἢ τὸ φυλακτὸν Ὀλλυται ὑπὸ λύκων ἢ ὑπὸ τῆ φυλακῆς (47).

(45) Laurent. lib. 11. Hist. Anat. cap. 12. apud eundem, ibid. I have verified this passage.

(46) Valverdu, lib. 2. Anatomie Corporis Humani, cap. 2. apud eundem, ibid. I correct Coquerus, who calls him Valvardus.

(47) Entretiens de Voiture & de Costar, pag. 32.

Voiture thus answers Costar. "It is true indeed that Hercules eat gladly of sheep, and devoured a great number of them. The Argonauts in their voyage to Colchos, put him ashore on an island. Many pleasant reasons are given for this: some say that it was because he broke all the oars as he rowed; others, because he was too weighty; some, because the Argonauts were afraid that he alone would carry away all the glory; and others again because he eat too much. I remember to have read in a Greek Poet (that is to say Greek and Latin) that he moved his ears as he eat, &c. (48)." Costar answering his friend, says to him that Hercules eat like a Devil, and that, according to Athenæus, . . . he had an ox at every meal. He cites Philostratus in his picture of Theodamas. We there find the following words according to Vigenere's version, page 906 of vol. I. "You perhaps found it in Pindar, where having fought in Coronus's hovel, he eat up an ox so compleatly, that he did not even think, that the bones ought to be left." Costar cites also Lactantius, in chapter 21 (50) of the Christian Institution. It is to inform his friend of the ceremony of the execrations which were vented by the Lyndians, when they offered up their sacrifices to Hercules. He tells him, that in this case Hercules was of the same humour with fortune, which is never had in so much honour as when she is reviled; and that she is accused of occasioning all the changes and disorders which happen in the world, cum convitiis colitur, this is an expression of Pliny's (51)." He adds that this "Beef-eater (for thus he was firnamed βεφαγῶ and βετῶν) was so renowned for his voraciousness, that the antients consecrated to him a bird call'd by them glutton; it is that which is called in French Foulque, in Latin Gavia or Furica, and in Greek λαίη. One might say of him, continues he, as Martial says of Tucca, viz. that he was not satisfied with being a glutton, but would have every one know, and speak of it.

Non est Tucca satis, quod es gulosus, Et dici cupis, & cupis videri (52).

(48) Ibid. pag. 38.

(49) Ibid. pag. 55.

(50) He should have added of book 1. Besides, this work of Lactantius is not intitled, Christian Institution, but Divine Institutions. Vigenere mistook Costar.

(51) These words of Pliny are in chap. 7. of book 2. but they do not signify, that Fortune is never so much honoured as when she is exclaimed against.

(52) Martial, lib. 12. Epig. 41.

And indeed, he once revealed himself to Parrhasius the painter, in the same state he was in, when his ears moved; and he would be painted in the same attitude in which Theodamas had seen him. He cites, with regard to this apparition, the twelfth book of Athenæus; and observes that in Pliny, lib. 35, cap. 10, one Demon, an Athenian painter, boasts his having painted Hercules in the city of Lindus, exactly as he had seen him in his slumbers. He carried this boasting so far,

as to put it into the inscription of the picture Οἷος δ' ἰνὸν χιόν φαντάζετο πολλὰκι φοιτῶν Παρρῆσιω δὲ ὕπνῳ, τοῖσ' ὁ δ' εἰν ὄρῳ. Qualem noctu videntur se objiciebat dormienti Parrhasio, talem hic videre licet (53); but it does not follow from thence, that he ascribes to Hercules that self motion of the ears mentioned by Costar. is a strange boldness to affirm, 1st, that we find in Athenæus that Hercules appeared to Parrhasius in the same state he was in when his ears moved; 2dly, that Theodamas had seen Hercules in that very attitude; but these two errors are inconsiderable in comparison of the blunder I shall here take notice of. Here follow Pliny's words. Pinxit Demon Atheniensium, argumento quoque ingenioso. Volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem; eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, & omnia pariter ostendere. Idem pinxit Thesea, . . . & in una tabula quæ est Rhodi, Meleagram, Herculem, Persea (54). i. e. "He painted the people

(53) Athen. lib. 11. pag. 544.

(54) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. m. 202.

of Athens, and that after a very ingenious manner; for he drew them fickle, passionate, unjust, and inconstant; and, at the same time, exorable, merciful, haughty, humble, fierce and cowardly. The painter in question drew likewise Theseus, . . . and in one picture, which is in Rhodes, Meleager, Hercules, and Perseus." Pliny here enumerates the works of Parrhasius; the word Demon signifies the people of Athens, whose opposite passions Parrhasius had represented after an ingenious manner. Here Costar metamorphoses this picture of Parrhasius into a painter: and pretends that this chimerical painter ascribed to himself the picture of Hercules, where that hero moved his ears. But this is a new blunder; for supposing Demon to be a Painter, no other picture could be ascribed to him but that picture, which was at Rhodes, viz. the picture where Meleager, Hercules, and Perseus had been painted, and which Pliny distinguishes plainly from the Hercules that was in Lindus, which was exhibited agreeable to the painter's dream; & Herculem, qui est Lindi, talem à se pictum, qualem sæpe in quiete vidisset (55). But if we are for ascribing the Hercules of Lindus to the pretended Demon, we must also ascribe to him the greatest part of Parrhasius's pictures.

(55) Idem, ibid. pag. 204.

[I] It is false to assert, that his club was in a chapel at Rome. A famous protestant divine has writ as follows (56). You shall frequently hear in our Temples Atheism and Error combatted and trampled on: Those villon des Maximepests are drove from them by the odour of the word of God, which is there preached in its purity; as anti-main des Provinces ently, in Rome, Hercules's Club used to drive out Dogs and Flies from the chapel where it was. He quotes the second chapter of Solinus, where nothing like this is found; but here follows what he says in Chapter I. Hoc sacellum Herculi in boario foro est, in quo argumenta & convivii & majestatis ipsius remanent. Nam divinitus illo neque canibus neque muscis ingressus est. Etenim cum viscerationem sacrificolis daret, Myiagram deum dicitur imprecatum, clavam vero in aditu reliquisse, cujus olfactum refugerint canes: id usque nunc durat: i. e. "This little Temple dedicated to Hercules, stands in the Forum Boarium, and proofs still exist in it both of the sacrifices and majesty of the God; for by his divine power neither dogs nor flies enter it, and when he gave the bowels to the priest, it is said that he prayed to the God Myiagrus, and left in the entry his Club, the smell whereof drove away Dogs; and this continues to this present time." It is plain Solinus does not affirm that Hercules's Club was still there; he saying only, that Hercules had left it in the entry of that place, where he gave the priests an entertainment after the sacrifice; and that the smell of this Club drove away Dogs. Such was the effect the Club had; but as to the Flies, they were not repulsed by the Club, but by the prayers which Hercules offered up to the God Myiagrus. What was observed on this occasion, viz. that the Flies and Dogs kept at a distance from that place, continued in the whole series of succeeding ages. This is what Solinus says; but it was not necessary that the Club should be preserved in the chapel, nor does Solinus say so. If the incident abovementioned related by the protestant Minister had been true, this Club might have been ranked among the Talismans; and be compared

thence dogs and flies; and it is a still falser assertion to maintain, that he set up pillars at the Cape called *Finesterre* [K], and there lodged a mirror or looking-glass which had an astonishing property [L]. Some writers say, that he lived but till fifty years of age; and that he then consumed himself in the flames, because he no longer had strength to bend his bow [M]. He was the last child that Jupiter had by any mortal woman [N].

It

compared to the Fly, which we are told, is engraved on the Door of the Shambles in Toledo, and which keeps flies at a distance from them. Since we are upon this subject, I shall relate a particular which I read in a modern writer (57), viz. that in Misitra, dogs never go into the Turkish Mosques, nor the Churches of the Christians. This the Turks explain by a miracle with regard to themselves, and by a natural reason with respect to the Greeks. Guillet's words are as follow :

(57) Guillet, *Lacedaemone ancienne & nouvelle*, pag. 232. Dutch edit.

Dogs that never go into Churches.

" The Turks speak of the discretion of these dogs, as of something miraculous. These animals sometimes slip into private houses, when they find the doors of them open; but as to the Mosques, they need not be shut at all, for the dogs never enter them. The Turks take an occasion from hence to make a wonder of it; and call that a miraculous respect, which is only an imitation of the young Dogs, who have ever seen the oldest keep at a distance from the doors of Mosques, where, in all probability, they had been heartily drubbed by the first Turkish inhabitants to make them keep away from them for ever. Neither are Dogs to be seen in the Churches of the Greeks; but this is not looked upon as strange by the Turks, who give a reason for it, which, to me, appears probable enough. I before observed, that when the Greek Schismatics go into their Churches, they make so profound a bow, that their hands touch the Ground. The Turks say, that the Dogs seeing them stoop their hands so low, imagine that it is in order to take up stones, and to throw at their heads; and that the fear of this keeps them at a distance from the Churches."

To return to Hercules's Club, I say that a great miracle was related concerning it, viz. that being fixed in the Ground, it had taken root, and shot up into a tree. Πρὸς τὴν τῆ ἀγάλματι τὸ ῥόπαλον θύει φασὶν Ἡρακλῆος καὶ (ἢ γὰρ κατ'αὐτὸν) τὴν μὴ (ὄτρω πικρὰ) ἐκίθη τῆ γῆ καὶ ἀνιθλάσθησιν αὐτῆς. *Ei clavam ab Hercule dedicatam perhibent, factam ex oleastro. Quod adjiciunt miraculum, haud scio an cuiquam fide dignum videri possit, eam clavam radicibus aëris regerminasse* (58). I add, that 'twas the Troezenians who related this incident. They had the statue of Mercurius Polygius, to which Hercules had consecrated his Club. It is universally known that it was of the wood of the olive-tree; and Pausanias says, that this tree, whence it was taken, was still shewn, which Hercules found near the fen called Saronis (59). Here is an article proper for a writer who would undertake a collection of historical parallels, with respect to certain stories told by Heathens as well as Christians; for we find by travellers, that at the gate of the old fortress of Smyrna, there is a great wild cherry-tree, which the Greeks of that country declare to have been the staff of St. Polycarp, first bishop of Smyrna, which the instant after it was fixed in the ground, shot forth branches (60).

(58) Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 74.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Spon, *Voyage de Grèce*, tom. 1. pag. 232. Dutch edit.

(K) . . . nor that he set up Pillars at the cape called *Finesterre*.] The fiction with regard to the foundation of Corrunna, which I shall speak of in the following remark, has made some learned men conclude, that Hercules had set up pillars in that place. Paul Jovius fell into this error, for which he was censured as follows by Ludovicus Nonnius. *Ab hac fabula persuasi nonnulli, credere arcem Herculis fuisse, & alteras columnas ab illo hic fixas, non secus ac circa Gades, dictamque urbem hanc Corrunna tanquam columnam: quod egregium etymon apud Paulum Jovium, virum aliàs gravem & doctum, tantum valuit, ut ab imperito aliquo Hispaniæ antiquitatis persuasus, huic opinioni etiam subscriberet, cum in vita Gonfalvi Ferdinandi d'Aguiar, agens de adventu Regis Philippi I. in Hispaniam, ita scriberet: Nec diu Philippus amicorum suorum studia, vota que frustratus, ut sua regna ex arbitrio administranda susciperet, in Cantabriam Oceano devectus, pervenit in portum, qui vocatur ad Columnas, fortasse quòd ibi quoque alteræ Herculis columnæ, sicuti Gadibus, positæ fuerunt, quum eo externo litore terræ Hispanicæ finis. Sed opinio hæc infirmiori tibicine sulca*

quàm ut rationibus convelli mereatur (61). i. e. " This fiction made some people imagine, that it was a castle which had been built by Hercules; that he set up pillars there, as he did near Cales; and that this city was called Corunna, as it were, Columna or Pillar. This fine etymology was thought so good by Paul Jovius, in other respects a man of learning and judgment, that being misled by some writer who was ignorant of the antiquities of Spain, he has given into it, he writing as follows in the Life of Gonfalvo Ferdinando d'Aguiar, where he speaks of the arrival of Philip I. in Spain: *Nor did Philip long baulk the desires and wishes of his friends, viz. that he would take the reins of Government into his own hands. Being arrived in the Bay of Biscay, he went on shore in the harbour of Columna, which perhaps had that name, because certain pillars were set up there as at Cales, this being the utmost limits of Spain. But this opinion is so weakly grounded, that it does not deserve a confutation.*"

(61) Ludov. Nonnius, in *Hispania*, cap. 54. pag. m. 170.

[L] . . . nor that he there lodged a mirror or looking-glass, which had an astonishing property.] Ludovicus Nonnius, after saying that the *Flavium Brigantium* of the antients is the present *Corunna*, adds that the inhabitants inscribe the foundation of it to Hercules; and say, that he built a tower there, wherein he fixed a mirror, that brought the most distant Ships in sight. *Incole ab Hercule conditam referunt, turrimque hic esse ab eodem exstructam, in qua speculum arcana arte fabricatum erat, unde naves vel longissimo spatio distantes contemplari liceret* (62). The origin of this fiction is almost as ridiculous as the fiction itself. *In tam ridiculam opinionem vocum ignorantia & antiquitatis imperitia ita lapsi sunt, nam cum turris illa specula dicitur, speculum illud mirandum sine opifice ullo confinxere* (63.) i. e. (63) Idem, *ibid.*

" They fell into this ridiculous opinion from their unskilfulness in language and antiquity; for that tower being called *specula* in Latin, they raised this astonishing mirror or *speculum* without the assistance of any artist."

[M] He then consumed himself in the flames, because he no longer had strength to bend his bow.] 'Ως καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνίλα μὴ δύμεις τὸ δικαῖον ἐπιτύχαι τὸ ἐν πικρῆς γυρόματος. *Ut igne vitam sibi abstulerit, quod arcum suum intendere non posset annos jam natus quinquaginta* (64), i. e. " That he burnt himself to death, because he could not bend his bow, at fifty years of age." Some persons who trifle away their leisure in searching after allegories, imagine that under these words the following meaning is shadowed, viz. that Hercules finding himself no longer able to dally with the fair-sex, was so struck with this dreadful change, that it threw him into the deepest melancholy, and made him resolve to dispatch himself. He would have been more impatient than Milo the wrestler (65), who (65) See the article ACHILLES citation (128).

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[N] He was the last child that Jupiter had by any mortal woman.] Diodorus Siculus makes this remark, in order to heighten the glory of Hercules. He supposes, that Jupiter left off all commerce with the fair sex, because he would not have his last Productions inferior to the preceding ones. *In hac ipsa (Alcmena) tandem desit, nec cum ulla deinceps mortali rem habere sobolemque procreare voluit, ne præstantioribus scilicet deteriora substitueret* (66). He therefore was afraid, that the children he should get after Hercules would not come up to him. The younger Pliny says a thing (67) which recalls that thought to my memory. It turns on Nerva's dying a little after he adopted Trajan. I have read in Lactantius, a strong railery, with regard to the greatest of the Gods ceasing to beget children. *Cum verò dicantur aliqui (Dii) ex aliquibus nati, consequens est, ut semper nascantur siquidem aliquando sunt nati; vel si aliquando nasci desierunt, tale faceret. Plin. scire nos convenit, cur, aut quando desierint. Non illepe in Panagyr. Trøj. Seneca*

(62) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 196.

(63) Idem, *ibid.*

(64) Prol. He-phæst. apud Phostium, Cod. 190. pag. 472.

(65) See the article ACHILLES citation (128).

(66) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 14. See the remark [C] of the article ALCMENA.

(67) Hunc (Nervam) Di i caelo vindicaverunt, ne quid post illud divinum & immortale factum mortale faceret. Plin. in Panagyr. Trøj. Seneca

It was said that he had been three days in a whales's belly [O], and got safe and found out of it, with the loss only of his hair. He was adopted, after his death, by Juno ; but it is said that he refused to be incorporated in the College of the twelve greater Deities [P]. I must take some notice of the Hercules of Gaul [Q].

One

Seneca in libris moralibus Philosophiæ. QUID ergo est (inquit) quare apud Poetas salacissimus Jupiter deseruit liberos tollere? Utrum sexagenarius factus est, & illi lex Papia sibi imposuit? an impetravit jus trium liberorum? An tandem illi venit in mentem,

Ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris ?

(68) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 16. pag. m. 51, 52.

Et timet, ne quis sibi faciat quod ipse Saturno (68) ? i. e. " Since some Deities are said to spring from others, it follows, that they should always continue to be born in case they are once so ; or if at any time they left off being born, it is proper we should be informed, why, or when they did this. Seneca says, pleasantly, in his Ethics; Wherefore do the Poets relate that Jupiter, who was so very lustful, has ceased to procreate children? Is it because being now threescore, the Lex Papia has check'd his Prowess? Or has he obtained the privileges enjoyed by the fathers of three children? Or does the following proverb occur to him?

Expect to be treated yourself as you've treated others?

" and so is afraid, lest any one should serve him as he did Saturn."

[O] 'Twas said that he had been three Days in a whale's Belly. I will borrow the words of Philostratus's commentator, to describe that adventure, and the circumstance that gave occasion to it. " The Gods having once upon a time formed a conspiracy in order to imprison Jupiter their sovereign, he being privately told this by Themis, frustrated their plot, and punished them after a different manner. As to Neptune and Apollo, he sent them in his indignation, to serve the masons who were building the walls of Ilion ; where, having hired themselves to Laomedon, after the work was completed, he indeed rewarded Apollo with a great number of sacrifices and offerings, but did not offer to satisfy Neptune. The God being exasperated at this, sent an enormously large whale, which disgorging great floods of water on the country, quite drowned it ; and Laomedon, by the command of the Oracle, to free himself from that calamity, was forced to expose his daughter Hefione, dressed in her royal robes, to this monster, in order to be devoured by him. Hercules happening to pass that way, and being moved with pity, offered Hefione's father to deliver her, upon condition that he would give him the horses sprung from an immortal race, which he had had from Jupiter, for Ganymede, whom he forced away to Heaven, to serve him as cup-bearer. The terms being approved of, Hercules, armed cap-a-pee, plunged headlong down the monster's throat ; whence descending to his belly, he remained shut up three days there, all which he spent in hacking and hewing, till such time as he had chopt it to pieces. Laomedon refusing after this to perform the contract, Hercules returned to Troy with six ships filled with soldiers, and sacked that city ; put Laomedon to death ; carried off Hefione prisoner, and presented her to Telamon, the father of Ajax, for his having first mounted the wall (69)." It is pity that Vigenere should not have cited any author. To supply this defect, I will quote a passage from Tzetzes, which Mr. Drelincourt communicated to me (70). Τρεῖς ἡμέρας γὰρ τῆ Ἡρακλείας καλεῖ δια τὸ ἐν τῷ κοίτι τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἶναι ὡς ἰσπέρας καλεῖ Λυκέφρον δια τὸ ἀφοτίσθαι καὶ σκολεῖν εἶναι τὴν γαστέρα τῆ Ἰφιτα (71). The Scholiast on Homer (72) relates most of the particulars, which I have cited from the Commentator on Philostratus ; and informs us that this story was found in Hellenicus. By the way, Hercules did not come out the same way as he went in ; he issuing at the breach, I mean by the whale's belly. I have not been able to verify whether Natalis Comes has justly related what he cites from Andrætas of Tenedos, with respect to the loss of Hercules's hair (73). Ubi vero

(69) Vigenere, in the Summary of Perseus in Pbilistratus, tom. 1. pag. m. 466.

(70) With several other particulars relating to the text of this remark.

(71) Tzetzes ad Lycophronem, pag. 13.

(72) In Iliad. lib. 19. ver. 145.

(73) Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. 8. cap. 3. pag. m. 821.

cetus accessisset, bians in ejus os Hercules irruit, ubi cum per triduum fuisset, ceto disrupto exiit omnibus amissis capillis capitis, ut scriptum reliquit Andrætas Tenedius in navigatione Propontidis (74). i. e. " When the whale (74) Vossius, de Hystor. Græcis, pag. 321. says, that this work of Andrætas is cited by the Scholiast, upon Apollonius in lib. 2. " approached with open jaws to Hercules, he rushed " down his throat, where, when he had staid three " days, the whale bursting, he issued out, having " lost all the hair off his head, as we find it related " by Andrætas of Tenedos, in his voyage to the Pro- " pontis." Lycophron insinuates plainly, that the heat of the whale's belly occasioned Hercules's hair to fall off.

Ἐμπυς δὲ δαιτρός ἡπάταν Φλοιδάμειον, Τυθῶ λέγει αἰφλόγους ἐπ' ἰσχάραις, Σμήρηνας ἰσάλαξ κωθίας πίδα (75).

(75) Lycophron. ver. 35.

Vivus autem dissector intestinorum ambustus, In calido campo, in ollæ facis non ignitis, Jubas capitis desillarvit.

[P] He was adopted, after his death, by Juno, but it is said that he refused to be incorporated in the College of the twelve greater Deities. Juno, who had persecuted him with so much violence in his life-time, was greatly inclined to love him when he was dead. This verifies the following lines of Horace.

Diram qui contudit Hydram, Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit, Comperit invidiam supremo sine domari (76).

(76) Horat. Ep. 1. lib. 2. ver. 10.

" He that kill'd Hydra, he design'd by fate " To quell the monsters rais'd by Juno's hate ; " Tho' he, the mighty he, had always try'd, " Found envy could be vanquish'd only when he " dy'd.

CREECH.

Here follows what we find related by Diodorus Siculus. After that Hercules had been ranked among the Gods, he was adopted by Juno, who was afterwards a kind mother to him. The ceremony of this adoption was as follows. Juno went to bed ; when, to imitate a true delivery, she placed Hercules in such a manner, that he fell to the earth from under her petticoats. The barbarians likewise observed this ceremony in their adoptions, in Diodorus Siculus's time. Hercules was afterwards married to Hebe ; but he refused the honour which Jupiter would have done him, viz. to associate him into the College of the twelve greater Deities ; and he gave this reason for his refusal, viz. that as there was no vacancy in that College, he ought not to enter it ; and that it would be very unjust to degrade any other Deity, to make room for him (77). Juno had for a long time begun to act as a mother with regard to Hercules ; but it was without knowing him. The affair was this. Alcmena, dread- ing the jealousy of that Goddess, did not dare to own herself to be Hercules's mother, and therefore exposed him in the middle of a field as soon as he was born. Minerva and Juno soon came that way ; and as Minerva was gazing upon this child with admiring eyes, she advised Juno to suckle it. Juno did so ; but the child bit her nipple to such a degree, that she felt an intolerable pain, and laid down the child. Minerva then took it up, and carried it to Alcmena, as to a nurse she would recommend him to (78). A parallel might here be drawn between Moses and Hercules. (77) Ex Diod. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 40. (78) Ex eodem, ibid. cap. 9.

[Q] I must take some notice of the Hercules of Gaul.]

A modern Author (79) has imitated the Greeks whilst he refused them : He has transferred to this Hercules most of the actions performed by the other ; and has left the Grecian Hercules none but moral conquests, that is to say, only triumphs over his passions. According to this author, the Gallic Hercules built the city Alise or Alexia in Gaul (80). He was attacked by Albion King of Great Britain, and by Bergiona, both sons to Neptune. He defeated them in Provence, by

(79) Audigier, Origine des François, & de leur Empire, Part 1. pag. 225, & seq.

(80) Idem, ibid.

ibc

One of the most celebrated Athenian Orators observes, that writers took an extreme delight in celebrating the combats and bravery of Hercules; but did not make the least mention of his other qualities, which yet might have furnished them with a very noble field. He declares, that that part of the exalted character of Hercules, which they had neglected so much, would require an excellent Orator; and that had he thought of drawing it in his youth, he would have shewn that this hero had surpassed all other men, in prudence, in knowledge, and in justice, more than in bodily strength. Old age, adds he, does not suffer me to attempt this panegyric in that respect; I find myself too weak to undertake so important and copious a subject (c). This Orator's remark may make us reflect on the depraved taste of the mind of man [R]. We may confirm what this great Rhetorician

(c) *ExtraBod*
from Isocrates,
Orat. ad Philip-
ppum, p. m. 152.

the succour which he received from his father Jupiter, who observing that the army of his son was unprovided with arrows, discharged such a volley of stones on the enemy, as quite overpowered them (81). *In quo (lapideo campo) Herculem contra Albionem & Bergionem Neptuni liberis dimicantem cum tela descissent, ab invocato Jove adjutum imbre lapidum ferunt, credas pluisse, adeo multi passim, & late jacent* (82). He was the first among the Gauls who went into Italy by the way of the Alps (83). "He there made Umbria habitable, having formed the river Arno out of its marshes. He led the Gallic colonies on the other side of the Pyrenees, where Gerion, King of Spain, was vanquished . . . He died during this expedition into Spain, where he was honoured with a magnificent temple which the Tyrians dedicated to him in the city of Gades, where his bones still existed in the time of Pomponius Mela, who affirms this particular (84)." His accoutrements were as follow: a quiver hanging at his back, a club in his right hand, and a bow in his left; with the face of a bald, wrinkled, swarthy old man, whose aspect was yet venerable; drawing after him a crowd of people, who were bound with little chains of gold and silver, hanging from his tongue; and though these chains were vastly slender, yet none of these captives endeavoured to break them; and all, on the contrary, discovered by their air and countenance, that it would have been a grief to them to be delivered from so delightful a captivity, as being vanquished, much more by the eloquence of the Gallic Hercules, than by the strength of his arms. Such is the description which Lucian has given us of him (85)." This description agrees little with what Menage read in some book, viz. that our ancient Gauls had a great veneration for Hercules, because he was of a MIGHTY STATURE AND STRONG; and having declared, on their being converted to Christianity, that it would be one of their greatest troubles not to see his image any more; they were comforted in being told, that the Christians had a saint, who was six times as TALL and as STRONG as Hercules (86). (a).

(81) *Ibid.* pag. 231.

(82) Pomponius Mela, lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. m. 38, 39.

(83) Audigier, *Origine des Français*, Part 1. pag. 230.

(84) Lib. 3. cap. 6. but Pomponius speaks of the Egyptian Hercules.

(85) Audigier, *Origine des Français*, Part 1. pag. 229.

(86) *Suite de Managiana*, pag. 225. Dutch edit.

"His accoutrements were as follow: a quiver hanging at his back, a club in his right hand, and a bow in his left; with the face of a bald, wrinkled, swarthy old man, whose aspect was yet venerable; drawing after him a crowd of people, who were bound with little chains of gold and silver, hanging from his tongue; and though these chains were vastly slender, yet none of these captives endeavoured to break them; and all, on the contrary, discovered by their air and countenance, that it would have been a grief to them to be delivered from so delightful a captivity, as being vanquished, much more by the eloquence of the Gallic Hercules, than by the strength of his arms. Such is the description which Lucian has given us of him (85)." This description agrees little with what Menage read in some book, viz. that our ancient Gauls had a great veneration for Hercules, because he was of a MIGHTY STATURE AND STRONG; and having declared, on their being converted to Christianity, that it would be one of their greatest troubles not to see his image any more; they were comforted in being told, that the Christians had a saint, who was six times as TALL and as STRONG as Hercules (86). (a).

§ (a) That is, six Hercules Alexicaci, in which sense St. Christopher is the Hercules of the French, and in general of all the Roman Catholics, witness the fine verses following, quoted by St. Aldégonde, in his *Tableau des differens de la Religion*, Tom. II. fol. 136, printed in 1605.

*Christophori sancti faciem quicumque tustur,
Illa nempe die mala morte non morietur.*

"Whoe'er shall see St. Christopher's bright face,
The stroke of death, that day, he need not fear."

(87) Audigier does not cite Diodorus's Work; it is in chap. 24. of Book 5. Hanov. 1611, in 8vo.

(88) Compare with Diodorus Siculus these words of Ammianus, Marcellinus, Book 15. cap. 9. *Celtas nomine Regis amabilis, & matris ejus vocabulo Galates dictos.*

Audigier applies to his hypothesis, as well as he can, a story related by Diodorus Siculus; viz. that the daughter of a King of Celtæ, proud of her extraordinary stature, and her exquisite beauty, despised all the suitors who addressed her in marriage; but when she had seen Hercules, she had a violent desire to have an affair with him, with her father's consent. Her passion was indulged. Hercules had a son by her, named Galates (87). The Historian does not name this daughter, but others pretend that she was called Galatea (88). This story is related differently in the *Erotica* of Parthenius. We there find, that Hercules, when he was driving Gerion's oxen from Erythia, went through Gaul; and came to the house of Bretau-

nus, father to Celtina, who fell so violently in love with this hero, that stealing Gerion's oxen from him, she could not be prevailed with to restore them, but upon condition that he should lie with her. Hercules, as well to recover his oxen, as on account of Celtina's beauty, went in to her, and got a boy, who was called Celtus, and gave his name to the Celtæ. Herodotus (89) relates, that Hercules being in Scythia, laid himself on the ground on his lion's skin, and fell asleep. At his waking, he did not see his mares; upon which he sought for them every where; and when he was arrived in Hyleus's country he entered into a cave, where he met with a maid, who had nothing of the human shape, but from the head to the girdle; the remainder resembling a serpent. Have you seen my mares, says he to her? Yes, replied she, I have them in my custody, but will not return them unless you will lie with me. Hercules was willing to recover them on that condition; but when the sport was ended, the girl postponed as long as she could the restoring him the mares; she having a strong desire to begin again. At last, when she could no longer detain Hercules, he being very desirous of leaving that place with his mares, she spoke thus to him: I kept them for you, and you have rewarded me; for I am now big with three boys, by you. *Τὴν δὲ Φάναι ἰαυτὴν ἔχειν, καὶ ἐκ ἀποδοῦσιν ἕκαστην αὐτῇ οἱ μυχθῆσαι, τὴν δὲ Ἡρακλῆα μυχθῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τῆς τέτης. κείνη τε δὲ ἰσχυραῖα τῆν ἀποδοῦσιν ἔϊππον, βυλομένω ὡς ἀλάστον χρόνον συνίαι τῷ Ἡρακλῆϊ.* *Illamque respondisse, se quidem illas habere: sed non prius reddituram ei quam cum ipsa colisset: Herculem pro ea mercede cum sæmina concubuisse. Sed quum illa differret reddere equas, cupida diutissime cum Hercule concumbendi, &c.* (90).

(89) Herod. lib. 4. cap. 9.

(90) Herodot. *Ibid.* pag. m. 227, 228.

Audigier pretends (91) that the Celtic Jupiter, the most ancient of the Jupiters, is the father of our Gallic Hercules; and that all the greater Deities of Greece (91) were first known in Gaul (92). This is a very strange pretension, but not so chimerical as that of the learned Rudbeck (93).

(91) See *Novo. de la République des Lettres*, Feb. 1685. pag. 140.

[R] A remark of Isocrates may make us reflect on the depraved taste of the mind of man.] The prudence of Hercules, his philofophy, his justice, were qualities of an infinitely more valuable kind than his bodily strength. *Καὶ τῆ φρονήσεως καὶ τῆ φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆ δικαιοσύνης, ὧν ἅπαντα διεισπύειν ἀνάσσει τῶν προσισημαίων, ἢ τῆ βίον τῆ τῷ σώματι.* *Et prudentia, & literis, & justitia plus antecelluisse (Herculem) superiorum temporum hominibus omnibus, quam robore corporis* (94). And yet the Orators and Poets applauded him only for those actions, which strength had enabled him to perform; and at the same time suffered the perfections of soul to be buried in oblivion. They did thus, as well because they themselves were more struck with glittering, than with solid things; as because they were persuaded that their auditors and readers would be more ready to applaud the relation of battles, than the description of such virtues as are exercised in times of peace. Horace has very well observed this, in supposing that the shades or ghosts listened favourably to the poetical compositions of Sappho and Alcæus; but that they were more delighted with the latter, because they treated of nothing but wars, state-revolutions, banishment, &c. (95).

(92) See *Novo. de la République des Lettres*, Feb. 1685. pag. 140.

(93) *Dura novis, Dura fugæ mala, Dura belli.* Hor. Od. 13. lib. 2.

*Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur Umbra dicere: sed MAGIS
Pugnas, & exactos tyrannos
Denjum humeris bibit aure vulgus* (96).

(96) *Ibid.*

"With

(d) See Pufferat
on Propertius,
Eleg. 10. lib. 4.

Rhetorician has observed; with regard to the knowledge of this hero; it being well known, that the Antients declared, that there was a very intimate correspondence between the Muses and Hercules (d); thence it is that he was surnamed *Musagetes*, i. e. the companion and conductor of the Muses; and that those nine Deities were put under his protection, in the temple which Fulvius Nobilior built in his honour [S]. The thought

“ With silent reverence ghosts admire
“ The wondrous fury of his lyre :
“ The vulgar shades throng most to hear
“ Of Kings depos'd, of feats of war,
“ And drink them with a greedy ear.

CREECH.

It is to be further observed, that such subjects as tyrants overthrown, and monsters tamed, in a word, times of confusion and slaughter, give a writer a better opportunity of displaying his genius and eloquence, than a life or series of years, led after an uniform manner, and spent agreeably to the rules of virtue. An Historian who has no great events to describe, sleeps over his work, and makes his readers yawn; but a civil war, two or three conspiracies, and as many battles, the same leaders sometimes humbled, and at other times exalted; such subjects, I say, sharpen his pen, warm his imagination, and always keep his readers in a breath. I am really of opinion, that should he be commanded to write the history of a peaceable reign, such an one as was not chequered with variety; he would bewail himself much after the same manner as Caligula did, viz. because there did not happen some grievous calamities in his reign. *Queri etiam palam de conditione temporum suorum solebat: quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur. Augusti principatum clade Variana: Tiberii, ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas, memorabilem factum: sui oblivionem imminere profperitate rerum. Atque identidem exercituum cedes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia, biatum aliquem terræ optabat* (97). i. e. “ He would often complain pub-

(97) Sueton. in
Caligula, cap. 31.

“ licly of the state of the times in which he lived, “ because they were not made remarkable by some public calamities; saying that the defeat of Varius would transmit to posterity the remembrance of Augustus's reign; and the falling of the theatre in Fidenæ, the reign of Tiberius; but that he himself was in danger of being for ever forgot, because of the felicity of the times in which he lived. He would frequently wish for the slaughter of armies, for famine, pestilence, the burning of cities, and earthquakes.” Desolations and public calamities are of advantage to an Historian, and add a lustre to his writings. He pities, if he be a good man, the illustrious vestal who was buried alive, and abhors the tyrant who, to make his reign the more remarkable, caused that Vestal to be put to death: *Cum Corneliam Vestalium maximam defodere vivam concupisset* (Domitianus) *ut qui illustrari seculum suum ejusmodi exemplo arbitraretur* (98); but this melancholy incident is, at the same time, of advantage to his pen, it proving an ornament to his books. This work is a kind of ship that never sails better than during storms; a tempest is to him a kindly gale; a calm is as unpropitious to him as to a real ship; and when an Historian can begin as Tacitus does, *Opus aggredior optimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsâ etiam pace sævum. Quatuor Principes ferro interempti. Tria bella civilia, plura externa, ac plerumque permixta* (99). i. e. “ I am

(98) Plin. Epist.
11. lib. 4.

(99) Tacit. Hist.
lib. 1. cap. 2.

“ going upon a work that is fruitful in mighty events, “ made cruel by wars, discordant by seditions, and “ dreadful even in peace. Four Monarchs slain, three “ intestine wars, more foreign, and these generally “ blended.” When, I say, he can begin thus, he prejudices his readers in his favour, and is very sensible that he has made choice of a favourable subject. But still it shews a bad taste, to prefer the relation of warlike actions before an account of such as are equitable; and to admire still more in a man his bodily strength, and the boldness whereby he is enabled to defeat a wild boar, or a bull, than that virtue which gives him the mastery over his passions, and prompts him to establish good and wholesome laws among his neighbours. This virtue, though it does not shine so much as the other, has much more of true grandeur in it; there is more reality in such of Hercules's qualities as writers had taken no notice of, than in those which they

so pompously magnified. But what shall we say? they comply'd with the taste of the public. It is to be observed that young people take much greater pleasure in reading romances than true histories; and that after years have ripened them, and matured their judgment, they choose to peruse a Thuanus and a Mezerai, rather than a Calprenede and a Scuderi. But very few persons lose the taste of their younger years, with respect to the description of a calm and unruffled reign, and the history of a reign filled with troubles and mighty events.

[S] *The Muses . . . were put under his protection in the temple.* This temple was built by Fulvius Nobilior, who had vanquished the Ætolians in the year of Rome 565. He was Consul at that time. The name of their chief city was Ambracia, which he took; and having found therein the statutes of the nine muses, he carried them to Rome, where he consecrated them to the temple which he caused to be built in honour of Hercules, and put them under the protection of this God. I am of opinion that we should not have known these particulars, had they not been mentioned by an Orator who lived five or six centuries after. His words deserve to be quoted. *Ædem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia Censoria fecit, non id modo secutus, quod ipse literis & summa Poetæ amicitia duceretur, sed quod in Græcia tum esset imperator, acceperat Herculem Musagetem esse, id est comitem ducentemque Musarum; idemque primus novem signa, hoc est annuum Camænarum, ex Ambraciensi oppido translata, sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecravit, ut res est, quæ mutuis operibus & præmiis juvenari ornarique deberent; Musarum quies defensione Herculis, & virtus Herculis voce Musarum* (100). i. e. “ Fulvius Nobilior raised a temple in honour of Hercules and the Muses, in the Circus Flaminius, out of the monies he got amassed when Censor. He was prompted to this, not only because he was a great patron of letters and poetry; but because he had been informed, whilst he was Generalissimo in Greece, that Hercules was called *Musagetes*, that is, the companion and leader of the Muses. It was he also who first put the statues of the nine Muses, brought by him from the city of Ambracia, under the protection of this most powerful God. This was very proper, because they ought to help and adorn each other with reciprocal services and rewards. The Muses should owe their tranquillity to the bravery of Hercules, and Hercules's bravery be sung by the Muses. It is just in this orator to assert, that mighty warriors and the Muses want one another: it is the business of the former to procure tranquillity and security to the Muses; and it is the duty of these to immortalize the illustrious actions of heroes by their poems. One might, in consequence of this orator's notion, apply what follows to our Hercules, viz. that those who achieve actions worthy of being celebrated by the Poets, are themselves lovers of verse (101). It is to be observed that Hercules, according to Statius, was well skilled in Music.

(100) Eumenius;
in Oratione pro
scabulis infrauran-

(101) Carmen
amat quisquis
carmine digna
gerit.

(102) Statius,
Sylv. 1. lib. 3.
ver. 50.

*Dic age, Calliope, socius tibi grande sonabis
Alcides, tenoque modos imitabitur arcu* (102).

The sense is,

“ Tune, tune, Calliope, the heavenly lyre,
“ With thee, in concert, Hercules shall sing,
“ And add his twanging bow.

Others observe that he was skilled in astrology: Naudæus asserts this as certain; but, by his leave, he has discovered a little ignorance on this occasion. It is in that part of his *Coup d'Etat*, where he speaks of some persons who had employed fraud, in order to obtain the honour of deification. “ What Hercules perceived, says he (103), was much more ingenious; for being extremely well skilled in astrology, witness fables concerning his life, which suppose him to carry the heavens together with Atlas, he chose precisely at the time when a great comet made its appearance,

(103) Naudé,
Coups d'Etat,
chap. 2. pag. 128.
89.

thought, which Posidonius employed, to ridicule a passage in a tragedy of Æschylus, was not just; and Strabo who censured it, did not know wherein the real defect of it consisted [T]. This relates to a certain shower of stones which fell, in order to succour Hercules, whilst he was engaged in battle against the Ligurians.

“pearance, to lay himself on the burning pile, where he would die, in order that this new celestial fire might be present as a witness, and make mankind believe what the Romans would persuade, in after-ages, the world concerning their Emperors, by means of an eagle, which used to fly out of the midst of flames, as though it was going to waft the soul of the deceased Monarch into Jupiter’s arms.” Here we have an author who supposes that the appearance of comets may be foretold by astrology: but he is mistaken, and has been censured for it by his commentator (104).

criticks; for should one go about to dispute on predestination and providence, many things would be found both in morality and physicks, which might give people occasion to say, that they might have been better ordered in another manner: for instance, it would have been better for rain to have fallen in Egypt, than for it to be moistened by the waters of Ethiopia; it would have been better, had Paris been shipwrecked in his passage to Lacedæmonia, than to let him carry off Helen; and to punish him for it afterwards, to the great detriment of both Greeks and Trojans; a circumstance which Euripides ascribes to Jupiter. Καὶ τὸν Πάριον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην πλύνει, ναυκλίω περιπυσθῆναι. ἄλλα μὴ τὴν Ἑλίην ἀρπάσαντα, δίκας τίσασαι τοῖς ἄδικηθῆσιν ἕτερον, ἢ ἵνα τοσοῦτον ἀπειργασατο φθόρον Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης ἀτίμητον εἰς τὸν Δία,

(104) See the Reflexions de Louis de Mai sur les Coups d’Estat de Naudé, pag. 144.

It is to be observed, that the temple, which Fulvius Nobilior had built in honour of Hercules, lay almost in ruins in Augustus’s time; but Lucius Martius Philippus (105) rebuilt it, and added a portico. See Ovid de Fastis, at the close of the 6th book; and epigram 51 of the 5th book of Martial.

Ζῆος γὰρ κακὰ μὲν Τροσὶ πῆμα δ’ Ἑλλάδι εἶλον γινώσθαι, τὰ δ’ ἐβούλευσεν πατήρ.

(105) This Philippus was second husband to Augustus’s mother.

[T] Strabo, who censured a thought of Posidonius, did not know wherein the real defect of it consisted. Æschylus supposes (106), that it was foretold Hercules, that in his combat against the Ligurians, he should be destitute of arrows, the fates having so ordained it, and this in a place where it would not be possible for him to get any stones; but that, when reduced to this extremity, he would excite the pity of Jupiter, who would waft a cloud filled with stones; and that, with these he should vanquish the Ligurians. Would it not have been infinitely better, said Posidonius, for Jupiter to hurl these stones at the Ligurians, and quite destroy them, than to reduce Hercules to such a necessity? ἢ τὸ σῶτον δοῦμαι ποιῆσαι λίθων τὸν Ἡρακλῆα. Quam ad tot lapidum indigentiam redigere Herculem (107). Strabo has answered this censure, and said two things; first, that a vast number of stones were required, because the enemy to be fought were very numerous, so that, in this respect, Æschylus’s thought is more probable than that of his Censor. Τὸ μὲν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀνάγκαιος ἦν, εἴπερ πρὸς καὶ ὄχλον παραπληθῆ. ὥς τε ταύτη γινώσκοντες ὁ μὲν ὁμοῦ φησὶ τῷ ἀνασκυλάσει τὸν μῦθον. At verò tot lapidibus opus erat contra tantam multitudinem; ut hac quidem in parte fabulæ autor probabiliora dixerit, quam fabulæ reprehensor (108). Secondly, he adds, that as the Poet said expressly, that this was a thing ordained by fate, it ought to have stopped the mouths of all

Et Paridem cum Spartam peteret debuisse potius naufragium facere, quam rapta Helena postmodo sceleris dare, autorem tantæ cladis Græcorum ac Barbarorum: quam Euripides Jovi imputat:

(106) See Strabo, lib. 4. pag. m. 126.

Jupiter malum Troibus, & cladem Græcæ Volens contingere, ista decrevit pater (109).

(109) Strabo; lib. 4. pag. m. 127.

(107) Idem, ibid.

I am of opinion that Strabo used more artifice than sincerity. It is no ways probable that Posidonius grounded his raillery on Hercules’s having wanted so great a number of stones; but nevertheless as his words would bear that sense, Strabo took advantage of it. But still he has not animadverted on the real fault of the criticism. He should have answered Posidonius, that had Jupiter intended merely, and in general, to knock the Ligurians on the head, he had much better have showered down the stones on their heads, than round about Hercules; but that designing to make Hercules defeat that people, the stones were therefore to fall near him, and not on his enemies. The critic went upon a notion, which is an inexhaustible source of fallacious syllogisms; and did not consider that fate includes, at one and the same time, both the end and the means.

(108) Idem, ibid. pag. 127.

HERLICIUS (DAVID) a Philosopher, a Physician, and Astrologer, was born at Ceitz in Misnia, December the 28th 1557. He wanted the assistance of his mother’s relations to be educated at school, for his father’s estate was not sufficient to maintain him there. He learnt to write verses and to sing; by which means he got something on several occasions when necessity oppressed him [A]. He continued but a little while at the University of Wittemberg, because Peucer, whose Lectures he chiefly designed to hear, was put in prison. As he could not therefore improve himself under that learned Professor, he went to Leipzig, where he made a considerable progress in his studies. He went afterwards to Rostock, where the Professors gave him leave to read private Lectures. He acquitted himself so well of that function, that the Duke of Wittemberg made him Sub-Principal of the College of Guffraw. He continued two years in that post, and employed all the time he could spare in the practice of Physic, and in drawing Horoscopes (a). He spent the two following years (b) at Primislaw (α), where he taught natural Philosophy, and in the year 1513 he accepted the like employment at Anclam, where he also practised Physic. The next year he published an Almanack, which was extremely applauded [B].

(a) Quicquid temporis extrordinarii lucrari poterit, Astrologia studio, constructioni & judicio geniturarum tribuit, & insuper ad medicinam facitandam se applicuit. Eichstadius, ubi infra Quotation (d).

(b) In the Marquisate of Brandenburgh.

Since

[A] By which means he got something, when necessity oppressed them.] This is what his Friend Eichstadius ingeniously confesses. Sponte, says he, (1) ad Poësin & Musicam exercendam se dedit: à quo utroque studio etiam postea in Academiis, quoties aliquâ inopiâ laborabat, fructus non parviteros percepit, etque sibi viros bonos & homines doctos patronos atque amicos conciliavit; sicut & habuit duos alios fratres Stralsundi in Pomerania & Musica Instrumentali & Vocali (quorum unus Cantorem Scholæ, alter Musicum organicum in templo Nicolaitano inibi egit) celebres atque excellentes. i. e. “He applied himself of his own accord to the learning of Musick, from which he reaped afterwards considerable benefits in

“the universities, whenever he laboured under any want; and by his skill in that art he made himself Patrons and Friends of several honest and learned men. He had also two brothers famous at Stralsund in Pomerania, for their skill both in instrumental and vocal Musick, in which they excelled, one of whom was Chantor to a School there, and the other Organist of St. Nicholas’s Church.”

(α) The true name of that City, both in German and in French and English is Prenslaw. CRIT. REM.]

[B] He published an Almanack, which was extremely applauded.] Here follow Eichstadius’s words (2), Anno (2) Apud Witte, 1584. ibid. pag. 76.

(1) Eichstad. in Vita Davidis Herlicii, apud Henning. Witte, Memor. Medicorum, Decad. 1. pag. 74.

Since that time he made one constantly every year during fifty two years. In the year 1585 he was chosen to teach Mathematics in the University of Gripswald, and he continued thirteen years in that post, and published several works. He received the degree of Doctor of Physic in that University with great solemnity in the year 1597; and at a year's end he accepted the Professorship of Natural Philosophy, which was offered him at Stargard in Pomerania, whence he removed to Lubeck in the year 1606, where he had an employment of the same kind. He did also practise Physic there with great reputation (c); and yet, through I know not what inconstancy, he retired to Stargard, where he passed the remainder of his life. He died August the 15th 1636. He had had a very sad loss the preceding year; for his house and all his papers were burnt in the fire, which consumed the whole city of Stargard to ashes October the 7th 1635. Had it not been for this loss the public would have seen an infinite number of our Herlicius's Astrological Observations [C]; for he had very much studied that Science (d). He got money by drawing of Horoscopes [D], and as he did not want wit, he acted with all the caution he could, that he might not too much expose the uncertainty of his

(c) See the remark [E], quotation (12).

(d) Taken from a Letter of Laurence Eichstadius, inserted in Hennings Witte's *Memorie Medicorum*, Decad. II. pag. 73. &c. Art.

1584. *primum suum Calendarium & Prognosticon de mutationibus auræ & tempestatum in hoc physiatu publicavit, quod magno hominum applausu statim exceptum fuit.* i. e. "Whilst he was in the post of teacher of natural Philosophy, he published in the year 1584. "his first Almanack and Calendar of the changes of the wind and weather, which was immediately received with a great applause." This good success encouraged him to continue his work, and he had the pleasure to see that his Almanacks were translated into several Languages, and that upon this account he was considered as the ornament of Pomerania. *Sed & Prognostica annua de statu aëris, quæ jam per quatuor ac decem annos conscripserat, maximo labore, summa fide, indefessisque observationibus, in usum Pomeraniæ & regionum regnorumque adjacentium quotannis per 52 annos continuavit. Qui labor progressu annorum in tantam lucem venit, ut non tantum à Germanis in suo idiomate expetitus, verum etiam ab exteris in Latinam, Bobemicam, Polonicam, Danicam, & denique Suevicam linguam translatus, mox hinc inde in vicina climata illatus, atque HERLIC IUS noster tam utili anniversario opere Decus & Ornamentam Pomeraniæ factus sit* (3). i. e.

(3) Ibid. pag. 77.

"He had already published his annual Calendar of the constitution of the air during fourteen years, and continued with great labour, with the utmost exactness, and by unwearied observations, during fifty-two years to publish it yearly for the use of Pomerania, and the adjacent Countries and Kingdoms. This work in process of time gained such a reputation, that not only the Germans desired to have it in their own tongue, but it was also translated by foreigners into the Latin, Bohemian, Polish, Danish, and Swedish Languages, and thus it was dispersed thro' the neighbouring countries, and our Herlicius became by this useful annual work the glory and ornament of Pomerania." He loved this kind of labour to such a degree, that one of the reasons why he left Lubeck was, that he hoped to have at Stargard the leisure he wanted to finish a large work, of which Astrology was to be a considerable part (4). *Ut defatigatus istis plurimis negotiis, curis, turbis, honestum sibi otium quæreret, & DEO, suis Musis atque affinis*

(4) Ibid. pag. 77, 78.

(5) *vacare commodius posset, rursus valedicens Lubecæ anno 1614; cum universa sua familia rebus compositis Stargardiam Pomeranorum se contulit, ubi majore tranquillitate literariâ ad absolvendum & expoliendum opus illud magnum, quod de triplici Calendario Ecclesiastico, Aitronomico, & Astrologico conscribere inceperat, sed ante annum (6), prob dolor, in communi Civitatis Stargardensis flamma unâ conflagravit, se frui posse sperabat.* i. e. "Being disturbed there, at Lubeck, by a great

(6) That is to say in the year 1635.

deal of business, cares and troubles, he desired to live in a place where he might enjoy an honest leisure, and apply himself to his duty towards God, cultivate the Muses, and see his relations: he left therefore Lubeck again in the year 1614, and having settled his affairs he retired with his whole family to Stargard in Pomerania, where he hoped to live with a greater literary tranquillity, so that he might finish and polish that great work, which he had begun to write, of a threefold Calendar, namely, Ecclesiastical, Astronomical, and Astrological: but, oh, misfortune! it perished a year ago in the flames that burnt the whole city of Stargard." See the following Remark.

[C] Had it not been for this loss the Publick would

have seen an infinite number of our Herlicius's Astrological Observations.] That the reader may see how much this man applied himself to the minutest particulars of Astrology, I shall transcribe the following instances of it, as I find them in his life. *Interea suas Observationes Astrologicas publici juris facere decreverat sæpe enim ad me scripsit, quod ultra mille & ducenta collegerit Themata, quæ suo tertio operi Calendariographico & Astrologico inserere, iisque veritatem aliquot Aphorismorum Astrologicorum probare nitetur: e. g. Quod Planetæ benefici, Jupiter & Venus conjuncti, imprimis in octava domo longam vitam & annos (ultra 70) diuturnos polliceantur. Item, quod Formabant, insignis stella asterismi Aquarii, in octava domo celebrem & gloriosum post mortem faciat. Item, quod Cauda Draconis in prima domo Cæli vel altero oculo carentem, vel gibbosum fore minetur. Ut complures alios taceam. At hæc cum reliqua sua instructissima Bibliotheca (cujus similem vix privatus alius tota nostra in Pomerania quoad Mathematicos, Historicos, & Medicos libros possedit) in communi Stargardensi excidio flammis conflagravit* (7). i. e. "He designed in the mean time to publish his Astrological Observations; for he wrote to me often that he had collected above one thousand and two hundred Horoscopes, which he proposed to insert in his third Astrological and compleat Calendar, endeavouring to prove thereby the truth of some Astrological Aphorisms. As for instance, That the kind Planets Jupiter and Venus, being in a Conjunction, especially in the eighth house, promised a long life, and a great number of years (above threescore and ten). And also, that the bright Star Formabant in the Constellation of Aquarius, being in the eighth house, rendered a man celebrated and famous after his death: And also, that the Dragon's Tail in the first house of the Heavens threatened that a person should be born either blind of one eye, or crooked. Not to mention a great many other such maxims. But all this, together with his Library, which was so large that hardly any private person in all Pomerania was possessed of the like, especially with regard to Mathematical, Historical, and Physical Books, perished in the flames, that destroyed the City of Stargard."

(7) Witte, *Memor. Medicorum*, Decad. I. pag. 81.

[D] He got money by drawing of Horoscopes.] The Bohemians and Polanders were those that paid him most liberally. *Diversæ sæpe nationes ad eum confluebant, & ob multa experimenta nominisque celebritatem judicium de suis genituris ab eo posebant Germani & exteri, præsertim Bohemi & Poloni, quorum liberalitatem præ reliquis prædicabat* (8). i. e. "Several nations referred to him, and on account of his numerous experiments, and the reputation he had gained, the Germans and the Foreigners desired him to draw Horoscopes, but especially the Bohemians, and the Polanders, whose generosity he extolled above that of any other nations." And as he was one of those who make much of themselves, he spared his eyes that they might be of use to him in his old age, and therefore he made use of the assistance of his friend Eichstadius, who also meddled with Astrology: he gave him his Horoscopes to calculate, and asked him his advice of them. *Et quia in sua ingravescente ætate parcere oculis, & ad plures annos eorum usum reservare volebat, haud raro a me petiit, ut sibi ad calculum geniturarum perficiendum, & aliquod breve judicium de iis ferendum subvenirem, cui lubens annui* (9).

(9) Ibid.

Art [E]. The prediction he published against the Turks did not prove true in the event [F]. He

[E] He acted with . . . caution . . . that he might not too much expose the uncertainty of his art.] He would never work for those that could not tell him exactly at what hour they were born, and he chose rather to lose what money he might have received from them, than to run the risk of exposing his reputation. Numquam illis γινώσκων suum adornare volebat, qui sine cognita nati-vitatis hora ad eum accedebant; maluitque dignitati Artis, quam pecuniæ turpique lucro consulere (10). What he wrote to Eichstadius, proves that he was sincere, and that he really imagined Astrology was a venerable science, the dignity of which ought to be kept up, though it would cost something. He did not like that people should ask him, of what colour cloaths or horses ought to be, in order to be lucky; he perceived very well that he was in danger of being mistaken, if he pretended to answer such questions. He was angry with several Astrologers, who for want of such a cautiousness, expose judicial Astrology to contempt and censure; and upon the whole he wished he were rich enough to have no occasion to get a livelihood by this despicable trade. Sobriè quoque hanc artem tractari volebat: hinc aliquando in suis literis ita ad me perscripsit: Utinam amicis fortuna me intueretur oculis, ut sine Astrologiciis gerris senectuti meæ (quæ mihi cæcitate minatur) prospicere possim, nunquam γινώσκων calculo inquirerem. Interim quomodo multi plura inquirunt, & scire desiderant, quam ars nostra fert, aut patitur, aut habet, aut explicat, malo juxta conscientiam agere, quam Sanctam Uraniam nostram deturpare & velut stuprare, eique nigrum salem vel atram notam aspergere: quum alias tot superstitionibus Chaldaicis nostra Ars scateat, quas multi ex nostratibus adhuc mordicus tenent. Multi ex me scire laborant, qui colores vestimentorum & equorum fortunati sibi sint futuri? Hæc & alia monstra questionum sæpè albis dentibus rideo, sæpè etiam detestor. Amo enim virginitatem nostræ Artis, nec patiar eam ita nefario suppro pollui, ne Misastrologi hoste abusus in contemptum Astronomiæ nobis objicere possint (11).

(10) Ibid.

(11) Eichstadius, apud Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 76.

i. e. "He was of opinion that this art must be managed with caution, whence he wrote to me sometimes after this manner: O that fortune would look kindly upon me! that without meddling with those astrological trifles, I might make provision for old age, which threatens me with blindness; and I would never draw any horoscope. In the mean time, when a great many persons enquire for, and desire to know more things, than are within the compass of our art, or more than it can explain, I choose rather to act with conscience, than to disgrace, and, as it were, to defile our sacred Astrology, and to cast a blemish upon it. For our art abounds still with a great number of Chaldean superstitions, which several of our countrymen are still obstinately fond of. A great many ask me, what colour of cloaths and horses will be lucky to them? Sometimes I laugh heartily at these and other such absurd questions, but I do also often abhor them. For I am enamoured with the virgin state of our art, nor can I suffer that it should be so abominably defiled, as to give the enemies of Astrology an opportunity to object to us those abuses to the contempt of the art itself." One can hardly imagine why a man, who had so much business in the practice of physic (12), and who never had any children, should fear to want bread in his old age, unless he drew horoscopes. This may give some weight to the slanders that were spread abroad against him, and persuade us that he made extravagant expences in keeping mistresses.

(12) Idem, *Ibid.* pag. 77.

[F] The prediction he published against the Turks, did not prove true in the event.] Monsieur Thomasius delivered an oration at Leipzig, October the 15th, 1665, at a solemn thanksgiving for the peace which had been concluded between the Emperor and the Ottoman Port. The Millenarians were very much displeas'd with this peace, because they had foretold that the end of the Turkish Empire was near at hand. They grounded their predictions on some passages in the scripture, and on a number of presages, which they explained after their own fancy. Non aliis armis instructi prodierunt, qui per hos annos credi a nobis volebat, fore brevi, ut jam delatum Ottomanidarum imperium cerneremus: non levi, opinor, cum sacræ Scrip-

turæ profanatione, quam & generis diversissimi prædictionibus sociarent, & sui cerebri somnia cogere interpretari (13). i. e. "The same arguments were made use of by those, who during these last years would have us believe, that we should soon see the Ottoman Empire destroyed; which, in my opinion, was a great profanation of the holy scripture, which they put in the same rank with predictions of a quite different nature, and by which they would absolutely explain the idle fancies of their own brains." This is their constant practice, which they renew daily. Thomasius wonders, that after so many false predictions, that had been published of the pretended approaching ruin of the Ottomans, men did not prophesy with more caution. One would think however, that the more persons there are, that have been mistaken in their prophecies, the less reason there is to fear a mistake for the future; for after all, the word of God, who cannot impose upon us, has promised us the overthrow of that powerful Monarchy. And this it is which makes the new Prophets the bolder. The Orator does not insist upon this reason only; he does also imagine, that these Gentlemen are misled by an eager desire of enjoying the golden age here upon earth. Sed fortasse curiositati huic nihil potentiorum stimulum admoveat, quam nescio cujus aurei seculi per mille duraturi annos persuasio, ubi prostrigatis ab omni latere hostibus Deo dilecta cohors in otio sit suavissimo victura. Trahimur omnes beatæ bis in terris vitæ cupiditate. Itaque si qua nobis eam fama polliceatur, et sitientissimas aures adjungimus, inque omnes articulos temporis, qui favore huic affectui videntur, enixè vigilamus (14). i. e. "But there is perhaps nothing that raises this eager desire of knowing futurity more, than a persuasion of-I know not what golden age that is to last a thousand years, during which God's enemies being every where destroyed, the chosen people is to live in the most delightful ease. So that if any report promises us the reproach of that age, we hearken to it most earnestly, and watch with the utmost attention every circumstance, that seems to favour this desire." He represents afterwards to his audience, that there never was, during the XVIIth Century, any considerable war against the enemies of the true church, but some predictions were spread abroad, promising the entire overthrow either of the Pope, or of the Turks, or of both. The glory of this overthrow was promised first to Frederick King of Bohemia, then to Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards to Charles Gustavus. Tantæ victoriæ lauream erant qui superioris Germanici bellæ tempore Friderico Palatino, erant qui Gustavo Adolpho Suecorum Regi, erant qui Carolo Gustavo destinarent, cum is Poloniam ante hos novem annos infestaret (15). i. e. "During the war in Upper Germany, some designed the glory of this great victory to Frederic Elector Palatine; others to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; others again to Charles Gustavus, when he was making war in Poland about nine years ago." He speaks afterwards of our David Herlicius, who towards the latter end of the XVIth Century had promised that the Empire of the Turks would soon be destroyed. Plenus talium in primis est Davidis Herlicii, in aliis fortasse prædictionibus, quam in hac felicioris Astrologi, libellus, quem sub finem ævi superioris, miserè Pannoniam vexante Turcâ, vulgavit. Ibi Danielelem, Apocalypsin, dictum Eliæ, præfagia Joannis Hilteni, Antonii Torquati Ferrariensis, Turcarum ipsorum, cursus siderum, conjunctiones planetarum, quasi in exercitum unum conscribi video, quo in animis hominum ultimo prælio cum Turcâ decidatur (16). i. e. "Such things are above all to be met with in a little book of David Herlicius, who perhaps was a happier Astrologer in other predictions than he was in this. He published that book towards the latter end of the last century, when Hungary was miserably oppressed by the Turks. Daniel, the revelation of St. John, a saying of Elijah, the presages of John Hiltenus, of Anthony Torquatus of Ferrara, and of the Turks themselves, with the course of the stars, and the conjunctions of the planets, are collected together there, as it were into an army, by which in the people's opinion, the Turks were to be destroyed in a last and decisive battle."

(13) Thomasius in *Orationib.* pag. 397.

(14) Idem, *Ibid.* pag. 395.

(15) Idem, *Ibid.*

(16) *Ibid.*

He was twice married, and very unhappy with his first wife [G]. It was perhaps his fault; for he was charged with being one of those whore-masters, who go and make love abroad. His friend does not clear him well of that charge [H]. There are

[G] *He was very unhappy with his first wife.* God knows for what reason, says the writer of his life. Anno 1593 honestissimam virginem Reginam Hungers primarii civis Primislavienfis filiam in matrimonium accepit, cum qua tamen non adeo concorditer (causam novit Deus) vixit, & sine fructu matrimonii per 17 annos (17). i. e. "In the year 1593 he married a very honest virgin named Regina Hungers, who was the daughter of one of the most eminent citizens of Primislav; but he did not live in great union with her (God knows why) and they had no children during seventeen years they were married." Seventeen years are a pretty long term for persons that are not well matched together. We seldom meet in those who write the lives of illustrious persons, with the ingenuity we have here. I have perused a great many eulogies and lives of learned men, since I am about this work, but I hardly read in any of them that they do not live well with their wives; it is almost always asserted, that their marriage was blessed with the most happy union that can be wished for; and yet the neighbours very often know the contrary. I remember a particular which deserves some attention.

(17) Eichstadius, in Vita Herlicii, apud Witte, Memor. Medicor. pag. 76.

A learned Roman (18) who died in the year 1640, had his wife under so strict a confinement, that he suffered no body to see her, nor her to see any body. *Uxorem adeo amplius quadraginta annos quibus cum ea vixit custodius suis domi subjeclam habuit, ut mortalium nemini fas fuerit aspicere* (19). He would not even suffer that the Curate of the parish should come to his house in the Easter holy-days, to take an account of the persons that lived in his family, and to make the aspersions with holy water, as it is the custom at Rome. He used to say, that when the Pope went by his house, he gave his blessing to the whole family, and that this was sufficient: and if the Curate pretended to insist, he was ill used, and threatened with a stick. *Parochis, quibus mos est quotannis, Paschaliibus feriis, suis in parochiis capita hominum recensere, ac singulorum domus aqua laustrali conspergere, verborum contumeliis, ac metu etiam fustis, si ausi essent accedere, domi suae foribus abigebat, quod diceret, Pontificem Max. cum illac iter faceret, bene domui suae dicere, proinde nihil opus esse cuiusquam ad eam rem opera.* It happened one day, that he asked the Curate of his parish leave for his wife not to keep Lent, upon which the Curate answered, that he would not grant it, unless he saw with his own eyes, in what condition the patient was: the husband replied aloud, that the distemper was in the womb; do you please, added he, to see the place where the distemper is? Nicius Erythraeus was present at that conversation. *Atque ipsemet adfuit, cum in sacrario S. Spiritus in Saxia Parocho, neganti, non aliter se uxori ejus potestatem facturum vespere carnis in quadagesima, nisi suis ipse oculis, quo morbo affecta esset, aspexisset, palam multis audientibus, dixit, Uxori meae morbus in matrice invenit, placetne morbi locum aspicere?* It is an easy matter to judge, whether such a man could live forty five years with his wife without any dispute or quarrel whatsoever: And yet this is asserted in his epitaph, which is inserted in page 275 of Prosper Mandolio's *Bibliotheca Romana*. *Sed quod raro contingit cum Claudia Sebastiani Tiburtina uxore sine querela conjunctissime vixit annis XLV. i. e.* "But, what happens very seldom, he lived forty five years, without any dispute, and in the strictest union with his wife Claudia Tiburtina, Sebastian's daughter." We must depend neither upon epitaphs, nor eulogies.

(18) His name was Jasper Caesilius.

(19) Nicius Erythraeus, Pinacoth. 1. pag. 229.

(20) Idem, ibid.

[H] *His friend does not clear him well of that charge.* Some, says he, assert that Herlicius loved young girls; his stars would have it so; but if one pretended to infer from thence, that this occasioned the unhappiness of his first marriage, I would answer in his defence, that he had no children by either of his wives, and that he used to say, he sowed in a barren field; and consequently, he designed only to be beloved by the young girls, but not to enjoy them. *Ferunt nonnulli eum, quum aetas ferret, non abhorruisse à puellarum amoribus, id quod in genesi ejus conjunctio Veneris cum Marte pra se ferre videtur. Quod si quis hinc eum fortè sa-*

lacem, & hinc multas turbas in priore matrimonio ortas esse dixerit, ille sciat, D. HERLICIUM ex utraque sua conjuge nullos liberos vel Herlicium suscepisse, sed illorum exortem fuisse, atque in sterili agro (ut dicere solebat) laborasse, & proinde animo juvenicularum mutuo potius, quàm coitu captum esse (21). And in order to add strength to this apology he quotes Cardan, who proved by the great number of his children, that he was very lascivious. *Hieron. Cardanus quidem in judicio suae geniturae se lascivum fuisse multitudine procreatorum liberorum probat* (20). There was never a more wretched apology; for in the first place, Herlicius did not boast of his continence and moderation in the pleasures of love, but only complained that he cultivated a barren ground. He had laboured therefore, and confessed it himself. What inference can you draw then from his having no children? Will you infer from thence, that if he endeavoured to gain the young maiden's affection, it was only for the bare pleasure of being beloved by them, without pretending to any thing besides? But such a conclusion can by no means be drawn from the premises. In the second place, barren marriages are no proofs at all of less incontinency, on the contrary, the Physicians assert, that too great a lasciviousness is one of the causes that hinders a conception; and that the reason why some marriages are fruitless the first year, is, that the young married couple are too lavish of their embraces, so that before their first heat is abated, nature being too often disturbed and interrupted, cannot well perform her functions. Read Aristotle quoted by Montagne (23). *(23) Montagne, Essais, liv. 3. chap. 5. pag. m. 120.* "A man, says Aristotle, must come to his wife prudently and sparingly, lest if he should tickle her too lasciviously, she should go beyond the rules of reason. What he asserts as a rule of conscience, the Physicians prescribe as a necessary precaution to preserve one's health: namely, that a pleasure excessively hot, voluptuous and frequent, spoils the seed, and prevents conception. They assert farther, that this being naturally a faint congression, a man ought to come to it seldom, and only after a considerable interval, in order to furnish it with a proper and fruitful heat.

(21) Eichstadius, in Vita Herlicii, apud Witte, Memor. pag. 78.

(22) Idem, ibid.

(23) Montagne, Essais, liv. 3. chap. 5. pag. m. 120.

Quo rapiat sciens Venerem, interiusque recondat.

"That the woman may long after the veneral pleasure, and receive the seed in its proper place."

Laurence Joubert a famous Physician, designed one of the chapters (24) in his book of the popular errors, to refute those, who never cease to embrace each other, in order to have children, and those who do it but seldom, for fear of having too many. The ignorant vulgar, says he (25), is mistaken two contrary ways, acting intirely against their own intention. Some who do earnestly wish to have children, never cease to embrace their wives as often as they can; and others spare them for fear of having too numerous a family: whereas it happens quite otherwise than they expect. For what could be performed by one good bit, may be destroyed by the next. And besides, when they come to it so often, without being prompted by nature, the seed has not time to be thoroughly ripened, and perfect. Whence it proves unfruitful, and useles like water.

(24) It is the 6th of the 2d book.

(25) Joubert, Erreurs populaires, liv. 2. chap. 6. pag. m. 74.

It is very justly observed, that it is better not to have one's cause pleaded, than to commit it to an indifferent Counsellor. Eichstadius deserves to be compared with that person, whom Scipio the Prætor recommended to one who had a law-suit. *Ille Siculus, cui Prætor Scipio patronum causæ dabat hospitem suum, hominem nobilem, sed admodum stultum: Quæso, inquit Prætor, adversario meo da illum patronum, deinde mihi neminem dederis* (26). i. e. "A Sicilian, to whom Scipio the Prætor recommended a Counsellor to plead his cause, a man who was his guest, and of a noble birth indeed, but very silly, told him, pray, Prætor, recommend that man to my adversary, and I shall be content to have no body to plead my cause."

(26) Cicero, de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 69.

ate a great many books of his extant [I]. I forgot to observe that he was a very good Lutheran.

[I] *There are a great many books of his extant.*] Most of them are in the German tongue: Those that are in Latin, are either Poems, Orations, or Philophi-

cal and Physical Treatises. Witte gives a catalogue of them (27). (27) *Memoriae Medicor Decad.* 1. pag. 87.

HERMANT (GODFREY) one of the most celebrated writers in the seventeenth Century, was born at Beauvais February the 7th 1617. "From his infancy he gave proofs of a lively genius, and a happy memory, which qualities he enjoyed to the end of his life. He learnt the Greek and Latin Tongues with a wonderful readiness, and in an age in which children can hardly read and write. He was but twelve years old when *Messire* Augustin Potier Bishop and Count of Beauvais sent him to study Rhetoric under the Jesuits at Paris. When he had finished his course of Philosophy in the College of Navarre, and of Divinity in the Sorbonne, this good Prelate, who loved him, made him return to Beauvais, to teach the *Belles Lettres* and Rhetoric there. In the year 1640 he sent him again to Paris, to be tutor to his nephew Monsieur d'Ocquerre. Notwithstanding this employment he taught Philosophy in the College of Beauvais, that he might be admitted a member of the Sorbonne. He was made a Bachelor in the year 1641, and Canon of the Cathedral Church of Beauvais in the year 1642. None but his friends were all this time acquainted with his merit. But the Jesuits having presented a petition to the King in the year 1643; desiring to be incorporated with the University of Paris, Monsieur Hermant was chosen to defend the cause of the University;" and he wrote three or four books which gained him great reputation. Monsieur le Camus Bishop of Bellai congratulated him upon it in such a manner as deserves to be related [A]. He represented to him, that the resentment of the Jesuits was to be dreaded. But as Monsieur Hermant lived without any ambition, he did not give them an opportunity to exert their credit to his prejudice. "He was made Prior of the Sorbonne in the year 1644, and Licentiate and Rector in 1646. In the second year of his Rectorship, there happened one of those fortuitous events; which make some persons think favourably of Judicial Astrology [B], and prevent them

[A] *Monsieur le Camus . . . congratulated him in such a manner as deserves to be related.*] Monsieur Hermant published four pieces on this occasion; 1. The Observations on the Petition of the Jesuits; 2. The first Apology for the University; 3. The Academical Truths; 4. The second Apology; this last is a reply to the Answer which the Jesuits published. His name was not put to any of these four pieces. "Monsieur le Camus Bishop of Bellai having found that Monsieur Hermant was the author of them, went to meet him at Albiac-Houffe, where he lodged, and embracing him told him that he blessed God for giving him in his younger days, not only so much wit and learning, but also courage and strength of mind enough, not to dread the hatred and revenge of so formidable a society, as that was, against which he wrote. And yet all the wrong the Jesuits ever could do him, came only to this, namely, that they did not love him, and never spoke of him with any esteem, though he had been their pupil. His modesty screened him against their most dreadful resentment, nor could they oppose him in the pursuit of the first ecclesiastical dignities, which were all at their disposal, because he was so far from hunting after them, that he even refused them, when they were offered him, and he was pressed to accept of them (1)." To have no ambition is very often a safe sanctuary.

[B] *There happened during this Rectorship one of those fortuitous events, which make some persons think favourably of Judaical Astrology.*] Here follow the words of the memoirs, that have been communicated to us (2). "Marcellus, Professor of Rhetoric in the college of Lisieux, had composed a Latin elogy of Monsieur the Marshal de Gassion, who was shot with a musquet at the siege of Lens. Marcellus was to deliver it in a public oration, when an old Doctor who made it his chief business to read all the bills that were posted up, and being surprized to see one, in which it was advertised, that Marcellus was to deliver his oration that day at two of the clock in the afternoon, ran immediately to complain of it to Monsieur Hermant, and representing to him that it was not to be suffered, that a funeral oration of a man, who died in the pretended reformed religion, should be delivered in a Catholic university, he desired him to appoint a meeting, to

determine this affair. Monsieur Hermant could not refuse his request, so that the assembly met, and it was resolved by a majority of votes, that they should go immediately to Marcellus, to forbid him to deliver Monsieur de Gassion's panegyrick. The astrologers were exceedingly pleased with this, and made all the world observe, that in the almanac of the celebrated Larrivey, amongst other predictions for that same month, there was written in a large character, LATIN LOST." That the reader may be the better acquainted with the circumstances of the prohibition that was notified to the Marshal de Gassion's panegyrist, I shall transcribe here a passage from du Boulai (3). "Monsr. Will. Marcel, Professor of Rhetoric, in the college of Lisieux, having advertised, by bills posted up, that he would deliver a funeral oration on Marshal de Gassion, the Rector anbad him to do it, because the said Gassion died an Huguenot. Upon which Monsieur James Desperiers, Principal of the same college, went with the said Marcel, to complain to the Chancellor of France, who referred them to the Rector's sentence: as appears from the deed extracted from the records of the German nation. 22 Decemb. (an. 1647) Ampl. D. *Rector habitis Comitibus ex consilio D. D. Decanorum, & 4 Procuratorum prohibuit D. Guill. Marcel. Eloquentia Professorum in Collegio Lexovico declamare laudes & praecordia demortui Marefchalli nomine Gassion, quod prolixo programme publico notum fecerat omnibus studiosis; sed quia res erat pessimi exempli, & contra Religionem laudare hominem in haeresi mortuum, noluit Academia acquiescere instantissimis precibus D. Marcelli, neque D. Desperiers Gymnasiarchae Lexovici, qui provocarunt ad D. Seguiet Franciae Cancellarium, qui eos auditos ad Amplif. D. Rectorem hujus rei Judicem remisit. Et sic silentium illis impostum est.*" i. e. "December the 22d, 1647; the Rector in a general assembly, and by the advice of the Deans and of four Procurators, has forbidden William Marcel Professor of Rhetoric in the college of Lisieux to deliver publicly an oration in the praise and commendation of the late Marshal de Gassion; which he had given notice of to all the students, in a long advertisement publicly posted up; but as it was of a very bad example, and against religion, to commend a man who died an heretic, the university would not yield to the earnest request of Marcel,

(1) Taken from *Memoirs*, communicated to the bookseller.

(2) Ibid.

(3) *Cesar Egasse du Boulai, Remarques sur la Dignité, Présence, &c. du Recteur de L'Université de Paris* pag. 91.

“ them from condemning it without restrictions.” I shall give a compleat catalogue of the works which Mr. Hermant published [C], and I shall give some account of his controversy with Father Maimbourg [D]. He died suddenly in the street at Paris July the

“ Marcel, nor of Monsieur Desperiers Principal of the college of Lisieux, who appealed thereupon to Monsieur Seguier Chancellor of France, by whom they were referred to the Rector, who is the proper judge in this affair; and thus they were both silenced.”

A COLLECTION of passages relating to scruples of the Church of Rome about commending of heretics.

How many reflections could not one make upon that spirit of policy, or of mistaken devotion, which makes the Church of Rome refuse to heretics the praises they deserve? But waving all reflections, I shall only take notice of some facts, and I begin with a passage in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, taken from the extract of a book of Daniel Francus, intituled, *de Papistarum Indicibus Librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum*. i. e. “Of the Papist’s expurgatory Indexes and those of books prohibited.” “The author

“ relates the rules, which the Inquisitors are obliged to follow, by which it appears, amongst other things, that they have a positive order to blot out, without any mercy, all the praises that are bestowed upon a heretic. These are things which we must see with our own eyes in order to believe them; otherwise, we should never imagine that religion is capable of putting such a byass upon our minds. Bellarmine was so fully persuaded, that it was a part of an orthodox character never to praise an heretic, that the author ridicules him for asserting positively †, that we do not find the Catholics ever commended the doctrine or the actions of those heretics. And yet he

(†) De Notis Ecclief. c. 6. art. 1.

“ proves against Bellarmine that his touch-stone is not very much to be depended upon, as appears by the eulogies, which Cochleus, Æneas Sylvius, Poggius of Florence, Clavius the Jesuit, Monsieur de l’Aubespine Bishop of Orleans, and Caramuel have bestowed upon Hereticks. But yet this acquaints us with the true genius of the Inquisition. It is something very remarkable; for the Inquisitors give orders to erase from all sorts of books the prefaces, dedications, and absolutely all that can in the least be to the honour of persons who are separated from the Church of Rome, without excepting the Princes themselves. Hence it is, that it is commanded in the *Expurgatorii Indexes*, that if any Historian said, such a day was born Christopher, the illustrious Duke of Wittemberg, *Præclarus Dux Wertenbergensis*, the title illustrious, præclarus shall be erased, which yet is of so little consequence, that it is given in Latin to the meanest scholar. They command also, that all the capital letters, which are usually prefixed to proper names, signifying that an heretic is styled a Doctor, Mr. a celebrated Divine, vir clarissimus, vir reverendus, a famous man, a reverend man, be immediately

(4) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July 1685, Art. 2. pag. 776, &c.

(5) *Gazette de Paris*, of March 14, 1633.

(6) *Journal des Savans*, for Jan. 19, 1665, in the account of the book, *de Divina Pjesmodia*.

(7) This is not true; it is a long time since Demiter did this in his *Antiquities*. See also the same in Nicholas Vignier’s *Treatise de l’Antechrist*, of the Geneva edition 1613, in 8vo.

(8) Balzac, *Extrait d’une Lettre a Mr. le Marquis de Montausier*. It is to be met with at the end of his *Letters to Mr. Conrard*, p. 416. of the Dutch edition 1659.

“ blotted out. The Jesuit Serrarius asserts in his *Mirror*, that the praises of a heretic in the book of a Catholic, are an abomination unto God, in the same manner as those abominable offerings, which are mentioned in the XXIIId chapter of Deuteronomy, verse the 18th (4).” I have read in the Paris Gazette, that in the year 1633, the master of the sacred palace published at Rome a prohibition to keep any prose, or verse, or image, or picture, or medal made to the memory of Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden (5). Monfr.

Sallo has the following reflections in his account of a work of Father Bona. *This writer*, says he (6), *is the first that ever gave a catalogue of the authors he quotes, with his opinion of every one of them* (7). *There are some things pretty curious in this Critique. But let us observe, that we ought not to think it strange, that this good father should speak so ill in this Critique of the Heterodox Authors even upon subjects in which faith is not at all concerned; for he writes at Rome, where it is a crime to approve the least thing in the book of an heretick.* Let us add to this these words of Balzac (8).

“ Madam de Saumaise desired me, by Mr. Conrard’s means, to write a few lines to the memory of her husband to be engraved on his tomb. But I was very far from promising it to her, being in a condition in which I could not have kept my word, and labouring under pains, which never abating, left no room for poetical thoughts. And besides, funerals, and all that relates to funeral rites

“ belonging to religion, I was of opinion that the epitaph of a Huguenot could not be written by a Catholic. I say, such an epitaph as this, which is to be placed in a Protestant Church, which ought to be written in a Christian stile, and in which it would be very difficult, on account of some word, upon which a favourable construction might be put, that the deceased was passed from this life to a better. Now, you know, my Lord, that it is a sin in our Church to use such expressions, and that they have been condemned at Rome in the writings of the greatest men of this age.”

Take notice that this maxim of Rome is not always practised, for if you consult James Laurent in the IIId and VIth Chapters of his *Prodiga Jesuitarum liberalitatis*, i. e. “the prodigal liberality of the Jesuits,” you will find there some praises that were bestowed by Roman Catholic authors upon the morals and learning of the Heterodox. See the margin (9).

[C] I shall give a compleat catalogue of the works which Monsieur Hermant published.] I make no scruple to stile it thus, because I shall transcribe from the Memoirs, which have been communicated to me. In the year 1644 he published an apology for his friend Monsieur Arnaud against a libel of F. Nouët intituled, *Remarques judicieuses sur le livre de la Frequentee communion*. i. e. “Rational remarks upon the books concerning the frequent taking of the sacrament.” In the year 1651, “he wrote under the name of St. Julien against the fantastical notions of Labadie a renegado Jesuit; and under that of *Hieronimus ab Angelo Forti* three Latin letters to Monsieur de Saintebeuve against Monsieur des Marets a Minister at Groeningen, who had taken some advantage from a Catechism concerning Grace, printed by a pious Bishop’s orders. He published St. Chrysostom’s Life in 1664, that of Athanasius in 1671, St. Basil’s Asceticks in 1663, and the Lives of St. Basil and of St. Gregorius Nazianzenus in 1674. He published *Devout Conversations on St. Matthew* in 1690. And since his death they have published his *Devout Conversations on St. Mark*, and a small Treatise of Silence. A person of quality having desired him to give him the Extracts he had made from the Councils, trusted an unfaithful writer with them, who kept a copy of them, and printed it at L’Isle in the year 1693 with this title, *Clavis Discipline Ecclesiasticae, seu Index universalis totius Juris Ecclesiastici*. i. e. “A Key to the Church Discipline, or an universal Index to the whole Ecclesiastical Law.” His Extracts are disgraced in that edition by such additions as are unworthy of Monsieur Hermant, and which might injure his reputation if the public were not told that they are not his, and especially the collection of the letters falsely ascribed to our first Popes. God grant, that we may once have his *Ecclesiastical and Civil History of Beauvais*, and the territories belonging to it, and that it may not be lost in the hands of those, who seized upon it to the prejudice of one of his friends, whom he trusted with it, charging him in his last will with the care of publishing it (10).”

[D] I shall give some account of his controversy with Father Maimbourg.] This Jesuit “having transcribed

“ in his History of Arianism all that was most curious and remarkable in the life of St. Athanasius, imagined that if he did but disgrace the author of it in a wicked and malicious preface, it would be sufficient to hide his plagiarism, and that no man in the world would think that he would have deigned to extract the least thing from a book, of which he spake with so much contempt. He censures Monsieur Hermant, 1. For transcribing the passages of the authors he quotes. 2. For giving at the end of his work an explanation of the most difficult points. 3. For saying, that it is difficult to say any thing more of the order and rank in which the members of the Council of Nice sat, except only that they were regulated by the simplicity, modesty and civility of the members themselves; and that the arguments which are alledged to prove the contrary, “ how

(9) Lorenzo Craffo has inserted the Eulogies of several Protestants, and amongst others of Gustavus Adolphus and of Salmasius, amongst the Eulogies of the great Captains, and of the learned men, which he published in Italy.

(10) Taken from the Memoirs quoted above.

the 11th 1690, as will appear by his epitaph. I shall transcribe it at length, though it was not put upon his tomb [E], for his enemies had malice and power enough to prevent it (a).

(a) Taken from *Memoirs* sent to the bookseller.

“ how plausible soever they appear, are not extremely strong, nor proper to determine the question. Monsr. Hermant publishing in the year 1674 the Lives of St. Basil and of St. Gregorius Nazianzenus, answered in his Preface Father Maimbourg’s three objections or cavils, and finishes his reply thus. “ But some persons will perhaps find fault with me for dwelling too long upon the refutation of a charge which has no solid foundation, and indeed, I might have despised it intirely. For it is certain that an author exposes himself to the indignation of all equitable persons, when having made an advantage of another’s labours, and enriched and adorned himself with their spoils, all his gratitude terminates in loading him with injuries. This will excuse me from giving a particular answer to the writer who has acted thus with regard to me; and it is enough for me to know, that there is no rule more universally admitted in the world, than this maxim of the Canonists, namely, that we ought first of all to make a restitution to them we have robbed. *Spoliatus ante omnia restituendus*. I must make a better use of my time, than to examine his blunders, which are perhaps more numerous, than he imagines. What he censures in my History of St. Athanasius will stand by the unconquerable strength of truth; it is not necessary that I should support it with new arguments, &c. (11).”

(11) Taken from the *Memoirs* quoted above.

(12) *Ibid.*

[E] I shall transcribe his epitaph, though it was not put upon his tomb.] Let us make use of the very words in the *Memoirs* we have quoted (12). “ A Canon, who was his relation, had composed an epitaph for him, which had been approved by the Chapter; but some false brother having given the Jesuits notice of it, they caused it to be suppressed by an Order from the court, at the very time when in the fight of the whole city of Paris, and to the disgrace of the Church, they were prophaning a whole chapel by raising a monument to Lulli . . . Here follows the epitaph which was designed for Monsieur Hermant.

“ *Heic resurrectionem expectat*
 “ GODEFRIDUS HERMANT BELLOVACUS,
 “ *Eruditione clarus, fama celebris, virtute præstantior,*
 “ *Rektor quondam Academiæ Parisiensis*
 “ *strenuusque defensor,*

HERMESIANAX, an elegiac Poet, born at Colophon, was honoured with a statue erected to him in his native place (a). See the remark (b) of the article LEONTIUM.

(a) Pausanias in *Eliacis*, (and not *Iliacis*, as we read in Vossius, *de Hist. Græc.* pag. 374.) *Sive* lib. 6. pag. 194.
 (b) The remark [A].

HERMIAS, a Philosopher of Alexandria in the fifth Century, studied with Proclus under Syrianus. He had two sons, Ammonius and Heliodorus, who were of his profession, and the former of whom became much more celebrated than the latter. Hermias was a very honest and plain man, of a mild temper. He was as laborious as a man can be; but he had an indifferent genius, and could not invent those strong arguments, which one who pretends to philosophize has occasion for. He had an admirable memory, and could repeat to a wonder the Lectures of his Professor, and what he read in books; this was what he excelled in; for if he had the objections or difficulties of an opponent to answer, he soon discovered his weakness. His system of Morality was very sound [A]. It is asserted that he did not approve of those diminutive and endearing expressions, which mothers

[A] *His system of morality was very sound.* We may judge of it by the maxims he followed when he bought any thing. He asserted that one must never make an advantage of the seller’s ignorance, but that one ought to acquaint him with the true price of his wares, when he does not know it. They who acted otherwise were according to him guilty of a very great injustice. They did not rob after the manner of Highwaymen, and with danger of their lives, but they perverted the law, and corrupted justice. He did not like this axiom *volenti non fit injuria*. i. e. “ There is no injury done to a man that consents to

“ *Doctor & Socius Sorbonicus,*
 “ *Hujus Ecclesiæ Canonicus,*
 “ *Amans disciplinæ si quis unquam sanctioris*
 “ *Excessi vir ingenii, stupendæ doctrinæ, facundiæ mirabilis*
 “ *Debebantur majora.*
 “ *Oblata recusavit modestiâ singulari.*
 “ *Impendit*
 “ *Doctis elucidata illustrium Patrum gesta,*
 “ *Piis Sacras in Matthæum & Marcum exercitationes,*
 “ *Civibus urbis hujus & Diocesis historiam.*
 “ *Omnibus seipsum, verbo, conversatione, charitate.*
 “ *Super impendit*
 “ *Egenis sua omnia.*
 “ *Repentinâ morte ereptus non improvisâ*
 “ *Parisiis istu sanguinis exanimatus viâ publicâ*
 “ A. R. S. MDCXC. xi. Julii. Æt. LXXIII.
 “ *Ad sacelli hujus cancellos tumulum designavit sibi,*
 “ *Dignum cum Ambrosio ratus requiescere sacerdotem*
 “ *ubi offerre consueverat.*”

i. e. “ Here waits for the resurrection GODFREY HERMANT of Beauvais, famous for his learning, celebrated for his reputation, but more eminent still for his virtue. Being formerly Rector of the University, he was a strenuous assertor of her rights. He was a Doctor and Fellow of the Sorbonne, and a Canon of this Church. He was as great a lover as any man in the world of the holy discipline; he had an exalted mind, wonderful learning, and an admirable eloquence. He deserved greater preferments; but his great modesty made him refuse those that were offered him. He bestowed upon the learned clear accounts of the lives of the most illustrious Fathers, upon the Pious his observations on St. Matthew and St. Mark, upon his fellow-citizens the history of this city and diocesis: he sacrificed himself for all in his words, conversation, and charity: lastly he left all that was his to the poor. He was snatched away by a sudden but not unexpected death, and died in the street at Paris of a bloody-flux in July 11, 1690, in the 73d year of his age. He chose his tomb here in the Chancel of this Chapel, thinking with St. Ambrose, that it was proper a Priest should rest in the same place where he used to officiate.”

“ it.” He pretended that besides the injuries that are committed by mere force, there are others that are done without acting against the consent of those that suffer them. He used himself to practise this noble theory; for as he observed one day, that a man who was selling him a book to him did not put the whole value upon it, he acquainted him with it, and paid for the book more than he was asked for it. He did the same several other times, and whenever there was occasion for it (1). *Και ὅχι ἀπαξ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ταύτην, ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑδὲ τις ἐπιστροφή· ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰκις, ὅσα τις συνήκασεν ἀγνοῦν τὸν πικρὰς ποῖλα τὸ δίκαιον τίμημα ἐπαδίκουτο,* (1) Taken from Photius, pag. 1044.

(a) Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἠγαγκτῆσαι, καὶ ἰπτιμίσει τὸν παιδικὸν τούτου ὑποκαρμίν. Photius, *Biblioth.* pag. 1044. mothers and nurses are wont to use with regard to children, and that he reproved his wife severely (a) on that account (b). (b) Taken from Photius, in the Extract of Damascius, pag. m. 1044.

(2) Photius, in Damascio, *Biblioth.* pag. 1044. ἰπιδίμντο. i. e. "Nor did he practise this kind of fame are very scarce. "justice once only, which others do not in the least mind, but several times, and as often as the feller Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno. "acquainted him with it." Can any thing be imagined more worthy a Philosopher? The Christians who do the "A black swan is not half so rare a bird." (3) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 164. Dryden.

HERODIAN, an eminent Greek Historian, flourished under the reigns of Severus, Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, and Maximin (a). His History contains eight books, and begins from the death of Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher, and ends with the death of Balbinus and Maximin, and the beginning of the reign of Gordian. It was translated into Latin with great elegance by Angelus Politianus, and passed thro' several editions. Julius Capitolinus (b) charges him with favouring Maximin out of prejudice against the Emperor Alexander. Photius (c) tells us, that his style is elegant and perspicuous, and that he is scarce inferior to any Historian in his manner of writing. Isaac Casaubon (d), and John Henry Boecler (e) incline to acquit him of the imputation of partiality against Alexander cast upon him by Capitolinus. (d) In *Notis ad Capitolinum in Maximinis.* (e) In *Præfatione in Herodianum,* edit. Argentorati 1644 in 8vo.

HERODOTUS, an antient Greek Historian, was born at Halicarnassus, according to Pamphila cited by Aulus Gellius (a), in the first year of the seventy fourth Olympiad, since he was fifty years old at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and but four years of age when Xerxes invaded Greece. The name of his father was Lyxus, and that of his mother Dryo (b). The city of Halicarnassus being at that time under the dominion of Lygdamis, grandson of Artemisia Queen of Caria, Herodotus quitted his country in search after the liberty which is necessary to learned men, and retired to Samos, from whence he travelled into Egypt, Italy, and through all Greece; and in his travels acquired the knowledge of the origin and history of Nations. He then begun his History [A], and after having laboured in that work in the Isle of Samos, he returned to

[A] *His History.* His principal design in it was, to write an account of the Persian war against the Greeks, from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes; but he also extended it to the History of other nations. Lucian informs us (1), That our Author having left Caria to go into Greece, employed his thoughts in contriving measures, by which in a small time, and without much trouble, he might gain great reputation. He foresaw, that it would be tedious to go through the respective places, and recite them to the Athenians, Corinthians, Argives, and Lacedemonians. He thought it most proper to take the opportunity of their assembling all together; and accordingly recited his work at the Olympic Games; which rendered him more famous than even those, who had obtained the prizes. None were ignorant of his name, nor was there a single person in Greece, who had not either seen him at the Olympic Games, or heard those speak of him, who came thence; so that wherever he came, the people pointed to him with their Finger, saying, "This is that Herodotus, who has written the Persian wars in the Ionick Dialect; this is he, who has celebrated our victories." His work is divided into nine Books, each of which are distinguished by the name of one of the Muses. His style has been admired by all antiquity, and the best Judges of the modern Ages. With regard to the truth of his History, he has been accused by several Authors as faulty in that respect. Ctesias suspected him in his Histories of the Medes and Assyrians. And Manetho censured his account of Egypt; and it is said, that Thucydides had him in his eye, when he blames those Histories, which were writ for no other end but to divert the Reader. But that Historian did not apply this to our Author, but says in general of all Histories of that character. Strabo particularly accuses Herodotus of this fault, and tells us, that he trifles very agreeably, interweaving extraordinary events with his narration by way of ornament. Juvenal likewise aims at him in that passage (2):

(1) Du Pin, *Bibliothèque Univ. Hist.*

(2) Satyr 10.

————— *Creditor olim*
Velificatus Athos, & quicquid Grecia mendax
Audet in Historia.

But none have ventured to attack him with so much freedom as Plutarch, who conceived a warm resentment against him for casting an odium upon his countrymen the Thebans. This he owns to be the motives of his

writing that little Treatise of the Malignity of Herodotus (3), in which he accuses that Historian of having maliciously taxed the Honour not only of the Thebans and Corinthians, but almost all the Greeks, out of partiality to the Medes, and in order to raise the glory of his country higher in the person of Artemisia Queen of Halicarnassus, whose heroick Actions in the battle of Salamis he so exaggerates, that this Princess alone takes up the greatest part of his Narration. Plutarch owns, that it is one of the best written and most agreeable pieces, which can be read; but adds, that amidst the charms of his Narrative he makes his Readers swallow the poison of Detraction; and compares the Malignity, which he imputes to him, to Cantharides covered with Roses. Some are of opinion, that Plutarch's criticism is written with so much heat, that he seems possessed of all that ill nature, which he ascribes to his Antagonist. But La Mothe le Vayer (4) observes, that if we consider in what manner Herodotus speaks in his *Urania* of Themistocles, whom he accuses of Rapine and carrying on a correspondence with the Persians, it is not easy to acquit him of the suspicions of what Plutarch charges him with. Dion Chrysostom likewise (5), introduces our Author among the Corinthians, expecting from them a reward for his History, in which they had a great share; and tells us, that he had not yet falsified them. But because the Corinthians declared, that they would not purchase honour with money, he changed the account of what passed in the Sea-fight at Salamis, accusing Adimantus the Corinthian General of flying in the beginning of the battle, and betraying by that means the common cause of Greece. Dion adds a little afterwards, that he could not allow of what Herodotus has written upon this subject, the publick Epitaphs and Inscriptions on Sepulchres, erected by the consent of all Greece in the Island of Salamis, testifying against him. And he recites part of the same Epigrams of Simonides the Poet, which Plutarch had cited to shew Herodotus guilty of Prevarication. However, our Author has not wanted persons to defend him. Aldus Manutius, Joachim Camerarius, and Henry Stephens have written Apologies for him. And the long Voyages to the North or South, and to the East Indies, which have been made in the later times, have greatly justified his writings, and shewn a prodigious number of things related by him upon the authority of others, tho' doubted by himself, to be true. T.

(3) Περὶ τῆς Ἡεροδοτοῦ κακοδοξίας.

(4) *Jugemens de Historiens Grecs & Latins.*

(5) Orat. 37.

to his own country, and expelled the tyrant, but afterwards finding himself exposed to the envy of his fellow-citizens went to Thurium in Italy, where he died, though some say it was at Pella (c). The only remaining work of him is his History abovementioned; besides which he promised in two places of his first book to write the History of Assyria; but this never appeared, being probably prevented by his death; for if it had ever been published, it is scarce credible that none of the Antients should mention it. Aristotle indeed (d) blames Herodotus for saying that an eagle drank during the siege of Antioch, because, as he affirms, that bird, as well as those who have forked claws, never drinks. And this fact not being mentioned in all our author's nine books yet extant, some writers have conjectured, that Aristotle meant the History of Assyria, to which the siege of Nineveh properly related. There is ascribed to Herodotus a *Life of Homer*, printed at the end of his works; but there is no probability that this was written by the ancient Herodotus. The author of that *Life* does not agree with him with respect to the time when that Poet lived; for, he says, that Homer flourished CLXVIII years after the Trojan war, and DCLXII years before Xerxes's expedition into Greece. But Herodotus in his *Euterpe* affirms, that Homer and Hesiod preceded him CD years; and consequently they flourished at a greater distance of time from the taking of Troy. Besides, the style of this piece is very different from that of Herodotus, and the author mentions several things of Homer, which do not at all agree with what the Antients have said of that Poet; and he treats of his subject more like a modern Grammarian than an ancient Historian. Suidas mentions an Abridgment of Herodotus's History by Theopompus of Chios. There is so much resemblance between our Author and Homer, that Longinus (e) assures us, that none but Herodotus perfectly imitated that Prince of Poets; and that he alone is Ὀμηροειδέτατος. Cicero (f) styles him the *Father of History*. It was a monstrous error of James Gaultier the Jesuit, in his *Chronographical Tables* printed at Cologne in 1616, to place our author under Constantine the Great and his children.

(c) Idem.

(d) *De Animal.* lib. 8. cap. 18.

(e) In his *Treatise of the Sublime*.

(f) *De Legibus*, lib. 1.

(g) Hence it is that he styles himself *Acropolis*, in his *Philosophies*.

HEROLD (BASIL JOHN) was born at Hochstad (a) on the Danube in Suabia, in the year 1511. He applied himself to polite Literature, and went to Basil in the year 1539, where he studied at the same time Divinity and History. He married there, and was appointed Minister to a village of that Canton; but as the booksellers had found him proper for their service, they prevailed upon him to return to Basil in the year 1546. He prepared works for them with an incredible application; and it was to reward his continued labours, that the Magistrates of Basil presented him with the freedom of their city in the year 1556 (b). I shall give the titles of most of his works [A]. Lezana, who wrote the *Annals of the Carmelites*, has committed a very gross blunder when he mentioned this author [B]. Konig has made two writers of John Herold, and Basil John

(b) Taken from Martin Hancklius, *de Scripturis Rerum Romanarum*, tom. 2. pag. 142.

[A] I shall give the titles of most of his works.]

(1) In the remark [C] of the article ERASMUS.

I have mentioned in another place (1) his *Philosophies*, five *Declamatio pro Desid. Erasmo Rot. contra Dialogum famosum Anonymi cujusdam Medici*. i. e. "The lover of falsities, or a Declamation for Erasmus against an infamous Dialogue of a certain anonymous Physician. This piece was printed at Basil in the year 1541 (2). His six Books *Belli sacri Historia continuata*, a continuation of the History of the holy war, was printed by William of Tyre in folio in the year 1560; they begin with the year 1185, and end at the year 1521, as also his *Principes juventutis sive Panegyricus Ferdinando Archiduci Austriae dicatus, cum Historia Turcici belli anno 1556 gesti*; i. e. "The prince of the youths, or a Panegyric offered to Ferdinand Arch-duke of Austria, together with the History of the war waged against the Turks in the year 1556." He translated several works into the German Tongue, of which you will find a Catalogue in the Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca. His *Pannoniae Chronologia* or Chronology of Hungary is generally printed with Bonfidius's Decads. His *Treatise de Germaniae veteris verae quam primam vocant locis antiquissimis; item de Romanorum in Rhetia littoralis stationibus, & hinc ortorum ibidem vicorum atque municipiorum hodie superstitem originibus*. i. e. "Of the most ancient place of old true Germany, which they now call the first, and of the stations of the Romans in Rhetia or the Banks of the Danube, and of the origin of the Towns and Cities which do still subsist, and owe their Foundation to these Nations." This Treatise, I say, has been inserted in the first vol. of Simon Scharidius's *Collection de Scripturis rerum Germanicarum*, i. e. "Of the writers of the Affairs of Germany." Christopher Lehman (3) has criticized upon it in the first Book of his *Chronicle of Spires*; but there has been a vindication of Heraldus published. How laborious the latter was, will appear to any one who consults the Preface (4), which he has

(2) Gesnerus, in *Biblioth. folio 425 verso*.

(3) See Zeiller, *De Historicis*, Part 2. pag. 74.

(4) Gesner, *Biblioth. fol. 425 verso* gives a passage of it.

prefixed to the first Volume of Eugyppius's *Treasures*: He promises there a collection of Stratagems, and I find in Gesner's Epitome, that he has published six Chiliads or Thousands of it. He made a funeral Oration on the death of the Emperor Ferdinand, which was printed at Francfort in the year 1564. We must not forget to observe, that he published (5) the writings of 76 Authors under the Title of *Orthodoxographi*. i. e. "Orthodox writers," and an *Hæresologia seu Syntagma veterum Theologorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum numero 18, qui grassatas in Ecclesia Hæreses confutarunt, & præcipua Theologiae capita tractarunt* (6). (6) At Basil in the year 1556. "and Latin, who have refuted the Heresies, which have raged in the Church, and who have treated of the chief subjects in Divinity."

(5) At Basil in the year 1555.

(6) At Basil in the year 1556.

[B] Lezana . . . has committed a very gross blunder, when he mentioned this Author.] He observes under the year 1159, that St. Antoninus was in the wrong to transcribe word for word a passage from John Heroldus, without refuting him. This passage contains a description of the first dress of the Carmelites. The Jesuit Papebroch has censured this blunder, observing that St. Antoninus flourished a whole Century before John Herold; for, adds he, St. Antoninus died in the year 1459, and the *Principes juventutis*, which Herold dedicated to the Arch-duke Ferdinand, was printed in the year 1557 (7). There is not a full Century between them; for we have some Books of Heroldus, printed in the year 1540; but yet Lezana was greatly mistaken. Here follows a question, which this Jesuit proposed to a Carmelite, who wrote against him (8). (8) Papebroch. *An Joannes Heroldus Hochstensis, continuator belli sacri, cujus Continuationis singulos libros Catholicis Prælatibus dedicavit, semper cum laude etiam de religiosis mendicantibus locutus, sed in solis Carmelitis explodens enormem quem fingebant sese in Syria habuisse, monasteriorum ac Fratrum numerum; an, inquam Heroldus iste indignus sit qui citetur, tanquam infelissimus sedis Apostolicæ*

(7) See Daniel Papebroch, *Respons. ad Exhibita. Errorum*, p. 153.

(8) Papebroch. *Synopsi Quæst. curioforum*, Art. 24. pag. 43.

(c) See Cave, *Script. Eccles. Hist. Literar.* Part 2. pag. 314, 315, of the Geneva edit. 1699.

John Herold ; he should not have distinguished the one from the other. There was in the fifteenth Century a Dominican Friar named JOHN HEROLDUS, a German by nation ; he was an able Divine, and a very good Preacher. He composed several books, which have been printed in different places. There was an edition of his works published at Mentz in the year 1612 in three volumes in quarto (c).

licæ hostis: esto juvenis sub nomine Heroldi Acropolitani, scripserit Apologiam pro Erasmo, inter prohibitos relatam. i. e. "Whether John Herold of Hochstad, who continued the History of the holy war, every part of which continuation he dedicated to some Catholick Prelate, and who always spoke with praise, even of the mendicant Fryars, but only rejected that immense number of Monasteries and

"Brethren, which the Carmelites feigned they had in Syria, whether, I say, this Herold is unworthy to be quoted, as being a most bitter enemy of the Apostolick See? though, indeed, in his youth, he wrote under the name of Herold of Acropolita an Apology for Erasmus, which is ranked amongst the prohibited Books."

HERWART (JOHN (GEORGE) Chancellor of Bavaria towards the beginning of the seventeenth Century, gained a reputation by the Apology he wrote for the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria against the falsities of Bzovius, whom he also charged with several other blunders. Scaliger judged him an indifferent Chronologist (a).

(a) See the *Scaligeriana*, under the word *Chancellor*, pag. m. 48.

Our Herwart was descended from a Patrician family, which came originally from Augsburg ; I shall give the title of a Chronological work he composed, and that of a book which his son published [A], and which contains a very particular opinion concerning the first Gods of the Heathens ; for the author maintains, that the Winds, the Magnetical Needle, &c. were the first Gods of the Egyptians, and that they were worshipped under mysterious names. There is a branch of the family of the Herwarts settled at Paris, where they hold a considerable rank (b).

(b) *Monf. Bachelier Des-Marets*, whom I have already mentioned above, quotation (3) of the article EPENDORF, has communicated to me almost all that I observe in this addition, both in the Text and in the Commentary.

[A] I shall give the Title of a Chronological work he composed, and that of a Book which his son published.] *Chronologia nova, vera, & ad calculum astronomicum revocata.* i. e. "A new and true Chronology, calculated from Astronomical Observations," printed at Munich in the year 1612, in 4to ; *Part prima.* Part the first. The second part was printed in the year 1626. *Part altera quæ est Chronologicorum seu emendatæ temporum rationis, adversus incredibiles aliorum errores.* i. e. "Part the second, which contains the Chronology reformed from the incredible errors of others," in 4to. You will see his son's Christian name in the following title, which I promise to transcribe. *Admiranda Ethnica Theologiae Mytheria propalata, ubi lapidem magnetem antiquissimis passim nationibus pro Deo cultum, & artem qua navigationes magneticæ per univversum orbem instituerentur à veterum sacerdotibus sub involucris deorum deorumque, & aliarum perinde fabularum cortice summo studio occultatam esse noviter demonstratur. Accessit exacta temporum ratio adversus incredibiles Chronologiae vulgaris errores. Opus diu desideratum. Jo. Fredericus Herwart ab Hohenburg in Schuwindeck S. E. Bavariæ, &c. à Consiliis ex incompletis optimi parentis P. M. eruit monumentis, atque ad finem perduxit.* i. e. "The wonderful Mytheries of the Heathen Theology unfolded ; shewing that the Loadstone has been worshipped every where by the most antient nation, as a God, and that the art of navigating over the whole world by the help of the Loadstone was most carefully hid by the Priests of the antients under the mysterious names of the Gods and Goddesses, and under the veil of such other Fables. To which is added, an exact account of times, against the incredible errors

of the vulgar Chronology. A work that has been a great while wanted. Joh. Frederick Herwart of Hohenburg in Schuwindeck, counsellor to the Elector of Bavaria, has extracted it from the imperfect manuscript of his late father, and completed it." At Munich, 1626, in 4to. There is a great deal of learning in this work ; we find an Index prefixed to it, intitled, *Tabula nauticæ & hieroglyphicæ descriptionis totius mundi vetustissima, quæ Theologiam Chaldaeorum Babylonis Ierogrammaton Ægypti, & Orphei Phrygiæ, nec non Magiæ, Sophiæque Zoroastri & Magorum Persidis ostendit originem.* i. e. "An Index containing a description of the most antient navigation, and of the Hieroglyphicks used in the whole world ; which shews the origin of the Theology of the Chaldeans of Babylon, of the holy scribes in Egypt, and of Orpheus in Phrygia ; as also of the Magic and Wisdom of Zoroaster, and of Magi or Wise-men in Persia." Vossius's silence with regard to the Books I have mentioned here, is to be wondered at. That learned man does not say a word of them, neither in his collection of Chronology, nor in his large work of the origin of Idolatry, where he has collected a great many particulars concerning the Loadstone, and where he did not forget to observe, that the winds were worshipped as Gods. Did not he in the least know, that the two Herwarts both the father and the son were Authors ? This would be strange in a man of such an extensive reading. Or did he not care to quote them, though he were acquainted with their works ? This would not be less strange in an author, who loved so much to make a shew of his reading.

HESHUSIUS (TILEMANNUS) a Divine of the Augsburg Confession, born at Wesel [A] in the year 1526, gained a very indifferent reputation by his restless and violent temper. He was still very young when two considerable posts were conferred upon him at Heidelberg, namely that of Divinity Professor, and that of Preacher in the Church of the Holy Ghost. He did not perform his functions without occasioning a great confusion ; for there arose a terrible dispute between him and William Clebitius concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist. The Elector Palatine Frederic III, being persuaded that Melanchthon's opinion would be of great weight to put an end to this controversy, consulted him upon that subject. His answer exasperated Heshusius, who would not swerve a jot from Luther's opinions ; and as there was no likelihood to see an end of the injuries with which the parties loaded each other [B], as long as Heshusius should live

(1) Quenstedt, *de Patris Viror. Illust.* pag. 208.

[A] Born at Wesel.] According to Moreri, he was born at Ober Wesel, upper Wesel, on the Rhine in the Diocess of Treves. But Quenstadt (8), who asserts it

was at Wesel in the dutchy of Cleves, deserves, I think, more credit.

[B] There was no likelihood to see an end of the injuries

live at Heidelberg, he was commanded to leave that City. He went into Saxony, and published some polemical writings in the University of Iena. Being called into Prussia he taught Divinity at Koningsberg, till he was banished in the year 1577 with the Ministers of his faction. He had a violent dispute with Wigandus upon subjects of very little importance (a) [C]. He retired with his family to Lubec, and thence to Helmstadt, where he was made Professor of Divinity. He died there September the 25th 1588. He did strongly oppose the doctrine of Ubiquity in the Conference of Quellenburg held in the year 1583 [D]. Melchior Adam, from whom I have borrowed what I have been relating, gives us but a very superficial account of this man's actions. I advise them, who have a mind to see them related more at length, to consult Heshusius's Life written by

(a) *Ingens inter ipsum & Wigandum dissidium fuit, exortum propter abstracti usum.* Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 622.

(2) *Publice post mortem auctoris, contraque voluntatem ejus editum exstat in Consil. Tb. Part 2. pag. 378.* Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theol.* pag. 622.

(3) Melch. Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 622.

(4) Calvin. in *dilucida Explicat. Janae Doctrinae de vera participatione*, pag. 840. *Traſſat. Theolog.*

(5) Intituled, *Aſſertio contra Bezanianam Exceſſivam Sacramentorum.*

(6) Micraelius, *Synagm. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* pag. m. 267.

(7) Micraelius, *ibid.*

(8) *Wigandus Episcopus Pomezaniensis.* *Idem,* *ibid.*

juries with which the Parties loaded each other.] Melanchthon's answer was composed in the year 1559; they published it after his death, without any regard to his intention (2). Heshusius fell in a furious passion against him, and forgot the respect he owed to his great Master. *Heshusius itaque cum Lutheri de caena sacra sententiam mordicus retineret ac propugnaret: à principe Electore, ut finis effet convivorum & insectationum in sua urbe, dimissus offensusque vehementer judicio Melanchthonis de se, acerbe respondit, ac ne moro tuo quidem & bene merito praeceptorum pepercit* (3). i. e. "Heshusius, who maintained and defended Luther's opinion concerning the Lord's Supper obstinately, was banished from the Town by the Elector; and being extremely offended at Melanchthon's judgment of him, he answered him passionately, nor did he in the least spare his Master, though he was dead, and to whom he was very much obliged." Calvin reproves him for his passion against Melanchthon. *Paulisper expendant lectores, says he (4), quam atrociter Philippum Melanchthonem suum praecceptorem cujus memoriam sancte revereri debuerat, fugillet ac laceret Probrosus elogiis Philippum ita digito monstrat, ut videri possit data opera materiam ejus traducendi in scribendo libro captasse.* i. e. "Let the Readers consider a little, how grossly he defames and abuses Philip Melanchthon, who was his Master, and whose memory he ought to have religiously revered . . . He leads him with such opprobrious language, that he seems to have taken an opportunity of writing that Book on purpose to traduce him."

[C] He had a violent dispute with Wigandus upon subjects of very little importance.] The origin of this dispute was as follows: Heshusius asserted in a Book against Beza (5), that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is to be worshipped in abstracto (6). *Non solum in concreto dici debere, filium Dei esse adorandum, omnipotentem, & vivificum, sed etiam in abstracto carnem Christi esse adorandam: quia majestas adorationis sit carni communicata.* i. e. "We ought to say not only, that the almighty and vivifying son of God is to be worshipped in concreto, that is, the Godhead being considered united with the human nature, but also that Christ's flesh is to be adored in abstracto, that is, being considered without that union, because the majesty of adoration is communicated to the flesh." Great clamours were raised against him on this account; it was pretended that he asserted, Jesus Christ's flesh is adorable in itself, without considering the hypostatical union. *Quod in abstracto & in sua essentia caro Christi, etiam extra unionem considerata, sit adoranda (7).* He denied that this was his opinion, and he explained his meaning. But his adversaries were not satisfied with this. Bishop Wigandus (8) asserted, that this proposition, *Humanitas Christi in abstracto est adoranda, omnipotens, vivifica.* i. e. "Christ's human nature considered in itself is adorable, almighty, and vivifying," that this proposition, I say, was dangerous. Heshusius maintained that he never asserted it, and explained his meaning again; but to no purpose: A Synod was assembled, in which Heshusius's expression was rejected, and Wigandus would even oblige him to make a public recantation; which Heshusius refusing to do, he was banished the country, though he promised to alter and correct the improper expressions that dropped from his pen. All the Ministers who endeavoured to support him, received the same treatment. The administrator of Prussia consulted in the year 1578 the Divines, who were met at Hertzburg, to draw up articles of union and agreement, and having received from them an answer that

was favourable to Heshusius, he commanded Wigandus not to put an end to this controversy. This was the eleventh schism that happened in the Lutheran church (9). It is more useful, than some persons may imagine, to be acquainted with such histories; we learn by them to know by what factious spirit the authors of such controversies are animated.

[D] He did . . . oppose the doctrine of Ubiquity in the conference of Quellenburg, held in the year 1583.] This conference was held January the 14th, and 16th, 1583 (10), between the divines of his Highness the Elector of Saxony, and those of Brunswick. Heshusius was at the head of the latter. The acts of this dispute and conference were published. *In eo (Colloquio) praecipuae partes demandatae à Theologis Brunsvicensibus Heshusio fuerunt, qui diuipendit negavit dogma illud generalis Ubiquitatis . . . in sacrae scripturae canonie haberi, neque inde posse demonstrari* (11). i. e. "In this conference the divines of Brunswick committed the chief part to Heshusius, who openly denied that the doctrine of a general Ubiquity . . . was to be found in the holy scripture, and asserted that it could not be proved from it." Quenstedt pretends that Heshusius did not know the true state of the question, ascribing to his adversaries a doctrine which they did not hold, and which was a mere invention of his own brains. This is often the case in such controversies. Let us transcribe Quenstedt's words: they are historical with regard to our Doctor. *Vesalia inferior vulgo Unter Wesel . . . urbs Cliviae clarissima, . . . excepit in hanc lucem editum . . . Tilemannum Heshusium Theologum Lutheranum insignem, multisque scriptis Didacticis & Polemicis contra Calvinianos clarum, qui ante Librum Concordiae defendit Omnipraesentiam Carnis Christi, postmodum verò non tam ipsam in Libro Concordiae de Majestate Christi hominis doctrinam, quam praconceptum cerebri sui idolum impugnavit, talem scilicet omnipraesentiam, quã substantia Carnis Christi sit localiter, diffusivè & objectivè in omnibus creaturis, cum qua portentosa ubiquitate nostris Ecclesiis nihil quicquam fuit commercii. Vide Concord. Concord. Hutteri, cap. XLVI.* (12). i. e. "Lower Wesel . . . a famous city in the Duchy of Cleves . . . gave birth . . . to Tilemann Heshusius, a very eminent Lutheran Divine, who asserted the omnipotence of Christ's flesh, before the book of concord was published. But afterwards, he refused not so much the doctrine concerning the Majesty of the Man Christ, which is asserted in the book of Concord, as a vain fancy of his own brains, namely such an omnipresence, by which the substance of Christ's flesh is locally, extensively, diffusively, and objectively in all the creatures, which monstrous ubiquity our churches never dreamt of. See Hutterus's Concord of Concord, chap. 46." Micraelius pretends that Heshusius disputed only out of spite against the doctrine of Ubiquity. There was an assembly held to consider of a vindication that was to be published of the book of Concord, in which assembly measures were taken which Heshusius did not approve of. This was enough to exasperate his contradicting spirit, and to make him take up arms against the Ubiquitarians. *Contra Calvinianos ore & calamo omnipraesentiam carnis Christi fortiter usque ad annum Christi 1582 defendit. Tandem cum nonnulli theologorum ad conscribendam pro Formula concordiae apologiam convenissent: ille suum ad arbitrium non omnia agi indignatus, majestatem Christi, libro Concordiae insertam, quam ubiquitatem generalem vocant, oppugnare cepit, & cum Dan. Hoffinanno, collega, orthodoxis eam sententiam affinxit, ac si substantiam carnis Christi extensive ac localiter in omnibus creaturis esse*

(9) Taken from Micraelius, *ibid.*

(10) According to Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 622. Micraelius places it under the year 1585. I cite him below quotation (14).

(11) Melch. Adam. *ibid.* pag. 622.

(12) Quenstedt, *de Patriis Viror. Illust.* pag. 622.

by his son-in-law [E]. Heshufius was four times banished [F], and he took care, if we may believe Calvin (b), not to receive any detriment by it. He has published several books [G]. They who mention to us a sect of the Heshufians, and who charge them with the opinion of Arius, deserve the utmost contempt [H], and

(b) See the remark [F].

esse dicent. Sic igitur proprii cerebri commentum impugnans, loco omnipresens introductum multipresensiam (13). i. e. "He had vigorously defended Christ's omnipresence against the Calvinists, both in his discourses and in his writings, till the year 1582. But at last, when some Divines were agreed about an apology for the formulary of union, Heshufius being exasperated because every thing was not done according to his own will, began to attack Christ's Majesty, as it is asserted under the name of general Ubiquity in the book of Concord, and with his colleague Dan. Hoffman, he ascribed to the orthodox an opinion, as though they asserted that Christ's flesh is extensively and locally present in every creature. Thus, attacking a fancy of his own brains, he supposes a presence in several places, instead of an omnipresence." Daniel Hoffman assisted him vigorously, and would not yield one single point in the conference of Quellenburg (14).

(13) Micrælius, Syntag. Eccles. Hist. pag. 758.

(14) *Nec pertinacia ejus in Quadenburgensi Colloquio anno 1585, frangi voluit. Idem, ibid. pag. 759.*

(15) *Acta Eruditor. Lipsens. Mense Junio 1684, pag. 288.*

(16) That is to say, in the book which is intitled, *Historia Ecclesiastica seculi à Christo nato sexti decimi supplementum, celeberrimum ex illo ævo Theologorum Epistolis ad Joannem, Erasum, & Philippum Marbachios constant. editum à Jo. Fechtio.*

[E] *Melchior Adam . . . gives us but a very superficial account of this man . . . I advise . . . to consult Heshufius's life . . . by his son-in-law.* The authors of the Journal intitled *Acta Eruditorum*, published at Leipsic, were in the right to observe it (15). *Tilemanni Heshufii vitam concisam admodum & mancam ad nos transmisit Melchior Adam, Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 621. seq. multo locupletiore, eamque carmine heroico exarantam, & Heshufii commentariis in Esaiam adjectam generis D. Jo. Olearii: ubi & quartum, quod sustinendum illi fuit, mentionem reperies exilii; cujus historiam illustrabunt egregie quæ* (16) *Parte II. sub anno 1565. p. 182. seqq. tum in ipsius Heshufii, tum in aliorum epistolis leguntur.* i. e. "Melchior Adam has given us but a short and very imperfect account of Tilemannus Heshufius, in his lives of the German Divines, p. 621, &c. We have a much fuller account of him written in heroic verse by his son-in-law John Olearius, and added to Heshufius's Commentary on Isaiah; you will find there an account of his fourth banishment, the history of which is wonderfully cleared up by what we read of in the letters of Heshufius and others, in the second part, under the year 1565, pag. 182, &c."

[F] *Heshufius was four times banished.* You may have observed in the passage from the Journal of Leipsic, which I have just now quoted; here follows a distich, which confirms the same particular, and which is not very honourable to this Doctor's memory.

*Queritur, Heshufi, quarta cur pulsus ab urbe;
In promptu causa est, seditiosus eras* (17).

(17) See the article ACRONIUS in the text.

"They ask, Heshufius, why you was banished from a fourth city? The reason of it is plain; you was a quarrelsome man."

(18) Calvin. *Tractat. Theolog. pag. 842. col. 1.*

The character Calvin gives us (18) of Heshufius does wonderfully confirm what is asserted in this distich. *Illuc* (19) *eum rapit naturæ intemperies, vel quod videt in moderata docendi ratione nullum sibi laudis gradum relinquere, qui tamen ambitione totus ad insaniam usque flagret. Certè in suo libello turbulenti se ingenii hominem, præcipitis etiam audaciæ & temeritatis esse prodit . . . Concionatur de ingentibus suis periculis, qui semper non minus securè, quam lautè, delicias suas coluit. Prædicat multiplices arumnas, qui cum largos thesauros habeat domi repositos, semper amplis stipendiis suas operas vendiderit, omnia tamen solus ingurgitat. Verum quidem est, quum multis locis tranquillum nidum figere voluerit, sæpius propria inquietudine fuisse excussum. Sic Glosario (20), Rostochio, Heidelbergæ, Brema pulsus, Magdeburgum nuper concessit. Ac laudi quidem danda essent exilia, si pro constanti veritatis confessione solum vertere sæpius coactus esset: sed quum homo inexplerabili ambitione plenus, contentionibus & rixis deditus, immani verò ferocia ubique fuerit intolerabilis, non est cur queratur aliorum injuria se fuisse vexatum, qui sua importunitate molestias homini delicato graves exhibuit. Interea tamen providè sibi cavuit, ne damnosæ essent migrationes: quin etiam divitiæ ipsum magis animosum reddunt.* i. e. "His violent temper brought him to this, or his

(19) That is to say, ad Paradoxæ, & opinionum absurditatem, i. e. "To paradoxes, and absurd opinions."

(20) I think it ought to have been Gulario.

"knowing, that he could not get any reputation by a moderate way of teaching, though he be ambitious even to madnes. And indeed he shews himself in his little book a turbulent man, of a desperate audaciousness and temerity. He boasts of the great dangers to which he has been exposed, though he treats himself delicately, living with as much security as splendor. He mentions his numerous misfortunes, who having large sums of money at home, always sold his labours for a great price, and yet enjoys all by himself alone. It is true indeed, that as he designed to lead a quiet life in several places, he was often banished from them because of his restless temper. Thus being banished from Goslar, Rostoch, Heidelberg and Bremen, he removed lately to Magdeburg. These banishments might be honourable to him, had he been obliged to remove from place to place for his constant confession of the truth. But as this man through his insatiable ambition, quarrelsome temper, and excessivefulness, was every where unsufferable, he ought not to complain that he was unjustly vexed, since by his own outrageousness he drew upon him those vexations, which indeed were hard for a man of a tender constitution. However, he took care not to suffer any damage by these changings of habitation; nay, his very riches render him more outrageous." We might infer from this passage, that Heshufius was banished above four times; for it is not observed there that he was banished from Iena, and then from Prussia; nor could this be observed, since these facts happened after this book of Calvin was written (21). He was expelled from Iena in the year 1573 (22), and went into Prussia, where he was made Bishop of Samia in Morlinus's stead.

(21) It was written in the year 1561.

(22) Micrælius, Syntag. Hist. Eccles. pag. 758.

[G] *He has published several books.* A Commentary on the Psalms, on Isaiah, and on all St. Paul's Epistles. A Treatise of the Lord's Supper, and of Justification. *Affertio Testamenti Jesu Christi contra blasphemias Calvinistarum.* i. e. "A Vindication of Christ's Testament, against the blasphemies of the Calvinists." *Antidotum contra impium dogma Math. Flacii Illyrici, quo adserit quod peccatum originis sit substantia.* i. e. "An Antidote against Math. Flacius Illyricus's impious opinion, who asserts that original sin is a Substance." *De seruo hominis arbitrio, & conversione ejus per Dei gratiam, contra Synergie assertores.* i. e. "Of man's will being enslaved and of his conversion by God's grace, against those who assert, that a man co-operates in his conversion." *De vera Ecclesia, ejusque auctoritate.* i. e. "Of the true Church and of her Authority. . . &c."

[H] *They who mention to us a sect of the Heshufians . . . deserve the utmost contempt.* I have more than once (23) given my opinion of those wretched Compilers of Catalogues of Heretics. The only voucher they have on this occasion is a Dialogue of Lindanus, in which are the following words (24): *Heshufii, a Tilemanno Heshufio quem Calvinus Servetianum infamat, Boquinus Arrianum, Wilhelmus Cleinwitzius vero præter peccatum plurimis de fidei capitibus accusat: quibus hoc anno (25) sua ref-*

(23) See the article BEZANITES.

pondit defensione objecta inficiatus, nisi quod illud Trinitas est unitas negat se meminisse an dixerit in lectionibus: cum ita discrete doceat de præsentia Christi corporis in cæna Domini objectione quinta. i. e. "The Heshufians are thus called from Tilemannus Heshufius, whom Calvin represents as a disciple of Servetus; Boquinus as an Arian, and Will. Cleinwitzius, besides the crime of embezzling money, charges him also with errors in several points of the Christian Faith. He answered them this year (1564) by denying the charges, adding that he did not remember he ever asserted in his lectures that the Trinity is an Unity, whereas he asserts it expressly in his Treatise of the Presence of Christ's Body, in the Sacrament, Objection the fifth." There are three things to be censured in this passage. I. It is an impertinent piece of injustice to charge a man with the heresies, of which his adversaries accuse him in the heat of the controversy. Has not Hunnius a Lutheran author

(24) Lindanus, in *Dubitat. Dial.* 2. pag. 135.

(25) That is to say the year 1564, which is the date of Lindanus's dedication.

and yet Moreri followed their account.

wrote a pretty large book in which he boasts that he has convicted Calvin of Judaism? And therefore tho' Calvin, Boquinus, and other such adversaries of Heshufius, being exasperated by his opprobrious language, ascribe Arian opinions to him, no man of sense will think this a sufficient reason to stile him an Arian. He will think, that such imputations may very well be the fruit of too great a leisure, which a man misemploys in examining too scrupulously every word of his enemy, and in putting a false construction upon them, with a design to find them heretical by far-fetched consequences. II. The injustice, which would only be impertinent, if a man did not know Heshufius's answers-becomes absolutely criminal, when it is known that he publicly denied those things, with which his adversaries charged him. Now Lindanus himself tells us that he knew this. III. Though this Divine had taught some

heresies, it does not follow from thence that there is a sect of Heshufians in Germany. A Professor who teaches particular doctrines does not always make profelytes to them, much less to his disciples always separate from the Church, which is necessary to deserve the name of a sect.

Prateolus, upon the bare credit of Lindanus, has put the Heshufians in the catalogue of heretics. Father Gaultier (26) has done the same on the bare credit of

(26) In *Tabula Chronographica*.

O imitatores servum pecus, ut mihi saepe Bilem, saepe jocum, vestri movere tumultus (27)!

(27) Horat. *Epist.* 19. lib. 1. ver. 19.

"Base imitators, slaves to others wills,
"How oft you move my frowns, how oft my smiles?" Creech.

HEYLIN (PETER) an eminent English writer in the seventeenth Century, was descended from an ancient family of his name at Pentrie-Heylin in Montgomeryshire, and second son of Henry Heylin, Gentleman (a), by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham in Kent (b). He was born at Burford in Oxfordshire November the 29th 1600(c), and educated in Grammar-learning in the free-school there, where he distinguished himself by several exercises both in prose and verse, particularly a Tragic-Comedy upon the wars and destruction of Troy, and other exercises historical (d). In 1613 (e), he was admitted into Hart-Hall in Oxford; and the next year stood for a Demy's place in Magdalen-College, but being very young, and the Fellows already pre-engaged, he was then put by, but the year following elected (f). In 1616 he wrote an English Tragedy, called *Spurius*, which was so generally approved of by the society, that Dr. Langton the President ordered it to be acted in his lodgings (g), but it was never printed (h). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts October the 17th 1617 (i), he read every long vacation, till he was Master of Arts, Lectures on Cosmography in the common Refectory of the College, of which the first being performed in the latter end of July 1618, it was so well approved, that he was chosen Probationer-Fellow, and Moderator of the Senior Form in the Hall; and on July the 19th 1619 was admitted perpetual Fellow (k). July the 1st 1620 he took the degree of Master of Arts (l). The year following he published his *Microcosmus: A Description of the Great World* [A]. In 1623 he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr. Howson, Bishop of Oxford, at St. Aldate's Church in that city (m). In 1625 he made a tour to France for about five or six weeks, the particulars of which he wrote an account of, which was printed about thirty years after [B]. April the 24th 1627 he answered *pro forma*, upon these two questions, 1. *An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?* i. e. "Whether the Church was ever invisible?" 2. *An Ecclesia possit errare?* i. e. "Whether the Church can err?" both which he determined negatively; which gave great offence [C]. In February 1627 he

(b) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 279. 2d edit.

(i) Idem, *Fest. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 203.

(k) Barnard, page 87.

(l) Wood, *Fest. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 216.

(m) Idem, *Hist. & Antiquit. ubi supra*, and Barnard, page 93.

was

[A] The year following he published his *Microcosmus*.] It was printed at Oxford 1622, and 1624 in 4to, and enlarged afterwards to a great folio, intitled, *Cosmography in four books*, &c. London 1652, 1664, 1677, 1682. Dr. John Barnard informs us (1), that the first edition was published November the 7th 1621: and the first copy was presented to Prince Charles, to whom it was dedicated, who received the author very graciously, being introduced by Sir Robert Carr, one of the Gentlemen of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, and afterwards Earl of Ancram. The first edition being highly approved, it was reprinted and enlarged in the second edition in 1624, and presented again to the Prince. But the book being afterwards put into King James I's hands by Dr. John Young Dean of Winchester, his Majesty was greatly pleased with it, till he fell upon a passage, wherein Mr. Heylin gave precedence to the French King, and stiled France the more famous Kingdom, which so offended him, that he immediately ordered the Lord Keeper to call in the Book. Mr. Heylin, then at Oxford, was informed of this by Dr. Young, and advised by him to repair to Court, that by the Prince's patronage he might pacify the King's resentment; but not knowing whether the Prince himself might not also be offended, he staid at Oxford, and by the advice of the Lord Danvers sent up an apology to Dr. Young, which was an explanation of his meaning upon the words in question. He alledged, that the error in one passage (2) was not his own, but the Printer's, who had put *is* instead of *was*; and that when he mentioned the precedence of France before England, besides that he did not speak of

England as it then stood augmented by Scotland, he had it from Camden in his *Remains*. The King was satisfied with his apology; and Mr. Heylin took care, that the whole clause, which gave so much offence, should be left out of all his books (3).

[B] In 1625 he made a tour to France for about five or six weeks, the particulars of which he wrote an account of, which was printed about thirty years after.] The original of this account he presented to the Lord Danvers (4); but a copy of it he kept by him, and to correct a false copy which had been printed, he published it at London in 1656 in 4to. under this title. *A full relation of two Journies: the one into the main Land of France; the other into some of the adjacent Islands. In five Books.* In this relation he treats the French nation with great contempt and ridicule.

[C] Both which he determined negatively, which gave great offence.] In stating of the first question he tells us (5), that he "fell upon a different way from that of Dr. Prideaux the Professor in his lecture *de Visibilitate Ecclesiae*, and other Tractates of and about that time, in which the visibility of the Protestant Church (and consequently of the renowned Church of England) was no otherwise proved than by looking into the scattered conventicles of the *Berengarian* in Italy, the *Waldenses* in France, the *Wickliffists* in England, and the *Hussites* in Bohemia; which manner of proceeding not being liked by the Respondent, as that which utterly discontinued that succession of the hierarchy, which the Church of England claims from the very Apostles and their immediate successors, he rather chose to find out a visible Church

(3) Barnard, *ubi supra*, page 94-101.

(4) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 276.

(5) Appendix to the *Advertisements on Mr. Sanderson's History*.

in

(a) *Theologo-Historicus: or the true Life of the most reverend Divine and excellent Historian Peter Heylin, D. D. Sub-Dean of Westminster.* Written by his son-in-law John Barnard, D. D. pag. 75. edit. London 1683.

(b) *Ibid.* pag. 80.

(c) *Ibid.* pag. 74.

(d) *Ibid.* pag. 81, 82.

(e) Wood, *Hist. & Antiquit. Universit. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 203.

(f) Barnard, *ubi supra*, pag. 84, 85.

(g) Idem, pag. 86.

(1) *Theologo-Historicus: or the true Life of the most reverend Divine and excellent Historian, Peter Heylin, D. D.* pag. 89.

(2) *Microcosmus*, pag. 441. Line 1. edit. 1624.

was recommended by the Earl of Danby to Dr. William Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, for his advancement in the Church (n); and in the latter end of 1628 he attended the Earl as Chaplain into the Isle of Guernsey, of which his Lordship was Governor; where continuing about three weeks, upon his return, he wrote an account of that voyage [D]. June the 13th 1629 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (o), and was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty by the interest of the Earl of Danby (p). In 1630 he preached on Aet-Sunday before the University of Oxford at St. Mary's on Matth. xiii. 25. [E]; and the same year resigned his Fellowship, having been married almost two years before [F]. In 1631 he published his *History of St. George* [G]; and in October the same year was presented by the King to the Rectory of Hemingford in Huntingdonshire; and on the first of November following his Majesty gave him a Prebend of Westminster. In 1632 (q) the King bestowed on him the Rectory of Houghton in the Bishoprick of Durham, worth near four hundred pounds *per ann.*; which he afterwards exchanged with Dr. Marshall for the Rectory of Alresford in Hampshire; which exchange he was commanded by his Majesty to make, that he might live nearer the Court (r). April the 13th 1633 he took the degree of Doctor

(n) See Dr. Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*; or the *Life and Death of William Laud*, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1b. 3. ad ann. 1627.

(o) Wood, *Festus Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 247.

(p) Idem, *Atben. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 277. and *Barnard*, pag. 120, 121.

(q) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(r) Barnard, pag. 142, 143.

of

“ in Asia, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, yea Rome itself, “ as also in all the Western Provinces, then subject to the “ power of the Roman Bishop when he was the chief “ Patriarch.” He observed likewise in his Disputation, that the writers of the Romish Church, even Bellarmin himself, had stood up as cordially in maintenance of some fundamental points of the Christian Faith, against Anti-Trinitarians, Anabaptists, and other heretics of these last ages, or other learned men of the Protestant Churches; which point Mr. Heylin closed up with these words; *utinam quod ipse de Calvino, sic semper errasset nobilissimus Cardinalis*. These words so exasperated the Professor, that he called our author *Papicola, Bellarminianus, Pontificus* (6). This raised a great clamour against Heylin for the present, which Dr. Prideaux increased the Monday after, when Mr. Heylin opposed Mr. William Hayes of Magdalen Hall, at which time he was again treated as a Papist by the Professor in the public school of Divinity. On the 5th of August following Mr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, preaching to the University in the Chapel of Merton College, of which he was a Fellow, touched upon the passages, which had happened between Dr. Prideaux and Mr. Heylin, in order to expose the latter to censure (7); who to clear himself from the suspicion of Popery, in November following preached before the King on *John iv. 20*, in which sermon he declared with great zeal against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome (8).

(6) Barnard, pag. 108, 109.

(7) Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 276.

(8) Barnard, pag. 111.

[D] Upon his return he wrote an account of that voyage.] It was printed in his *Full Relation of two Journeys* abovementioned.

[E] In 1630 he preached on Aet-Sunday before the University of Oxford at St. Mary's on Matth. xiii. 25.] In this sermon, says Mr. Wood (9), “ he discovered “ the great mystery of iniquity, which lay hid under “ the specious project of the Feoffees for buying in of “ Impropriations, and was the first who gave notice “ of the danger of it to the undeceiving of the people. “ It made much noise, and brought to him more “ envy.” The Reader may consult *Prynne's Canterbury's Doom*. p. 386. and Dr. Heylin's *History of the Life and Death of Archbishop Laud*, L. III. p. 210.

(9) Col. 277.

[F] The same year he resigned his fellowship, having been married almost two years before.] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (10); and Dr. John Barnard (11) owns this clandestine marriage, and tells us (12), that though “ it was performed upon St. Simon “ and St. Jude's day between ten and eleven of the “ clock in the morning in his own College Chapel, “ in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses “ of both sexes, and the wedding dinner kept in his “ own chamber (13);” yet all this while it was a marriage clandestine, a marriage in masquerade, a marriage inognito to the College, because the President and Fellows neither knew nor believed there was a true solemnization of marriage in their Chapel; and though some of them were invited to the wedding-dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment and not to a marriage. Indeed it was not clandestine against the *Laws of our Church and Realm*, because the usual ceremonies and formalities of both were performed in the solemnization betwixt the parties; but such marriage was expressly against the *Laws and Statutes of the College-Founder*, and much more for a married Fellow to keep his Fellowship after. The young Gentlewoman was Letitia, third Daughter

(10) Ibid.

(11) Pag. 17.

(12) Pag. 18, 19.

(13) *Life of Dr. P. Heylin*, by George Peck, pag. 13.

of Thomas Highgate of Heys Esq; (4).

(14) Barnard, pag. 114.

[G] In 1631 he published his *History of St. George*. It was printed with this title, *The History of that most famous Saint or Soldier of Jesus Christ St. George of Cappadocia, asserted from the fictions of the middle ages of the Church, and opposition of the present*. London 1631 and 1633 in 4to. To this was subjoined *The Institution of the most noble order of St. George, named the Garter, and A Catalogue of all the Knights of the Garter from the first institution to this present; as also of the principal Officers thereto belonging*. At the end of the edition in 1633 is *A Review of the whole work, consisting of additions and emendations*. On the 2d of February 1633, the author was introduced by Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, to the King at Whitehall, to whom he presented this History, which his Majesty graciously received. He afterwards presented several copies to all such Knights of the Garter and men of eminence, as were then in London, and was received by them all with great respect, except by Archbishop Abbot and William Earl of Exeter, the former disliking the argument, and the other treating him as a begging scholar (15). Soon after this History was attacked by a Discourse of Dr. George Hakewill, which, as our author says (16), was full of most base and malicious calumnies, both against the person and religion of the author. Whereupon his Majesty having received notice of it from Bishop Laud, (who had a copy of it sent to him from Oxford by Dr. William Smith the Vicechancellor, and he from Dr. Hakewill to be approved before it was sent to the press) commanded Mr. Heylin to consider of the matter, and withal sent him to Windsor to search into the records of the Order of the Garter there. The command he immediately obeyed, and accordingly published a second edition of the History in 1633, wherein he endeavoured to answer all Dr. Hakewill's objections. Upon the publishing of this, he heard no more of the Doctor till a second edition of that writer's *Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*, wherein Mr. Heylin found a Retraction of the passages, which related to St. George. However, though the Doctor thought proper to continue silent rather than to reply, he about the same time acquainted his friends what his sentiments were of the Second Edition of the *History of St. George*, in several Letters; in one of which he writes thus (17). In the second impression of this book [*The History of St. George*] where he hath occasion to speak of the Roman writers, especially the legendaries, he magnifies them more, and when he mentions our men, he vilifies them more than he did in his first edition. But the matter is not much, what he saith of the one or of the other, the condition of the man being such, that his word hardly possesseth either for commendation or slander, &c. From this History of St. George is taken a little Pamphlet, intitled, *The History of that most famous Saint and Soldier of St. George of Cappadocia, &c.* London 1661 in 7 sheets in 4to. and another for the most part, intitled, *The History of the Life and Martyrdom of St. George the titular Patron of England, &c.* London 1644 in eight sheets in 4^o, written in verse by Thomas Lowick Gent. And many things are taken thence with due acknowledgment by Elias Ashmole Esq; in his *Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter*. London 1672 in fol.

(15) Barnard, pag. 124. and Wood, col. 279, 280.

(16) Appendix to the *Advertisements on Sanderson's History*.

(17) See Sanderson's *Post haste. A Reply to Petrus's Appendix to his Treatise*, intitled, *Respondet Petrus, &c.* London 1658 in 4to, pag. 13.

(1) Wood, *Faſti* of Divinity (s) [H].
Oxon. vol. 1.
col. 258.

(1) Barnard, pag.
172, 173, 174.

(2) Idem, pag.
174. and Wood,
Alben. Oxon.
vol. 2. col. 278.

In 1636 he published his *History of the Sabbath* [I], and his *Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham* [K], and wrote two other Tracts [L]; and the year following published his *Antidotum Lincolnienſe* [M]. Upon the ſuſpenſion and imprifonment of Dr. John Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and Dean of Weſtmiſter, he was choſen Treaſurer of the Church of Weſtmiſter; and preſented by his brethren the Prebendaries to the Rectory of Iſlip near Oxford, worth about two hundred pounds *per ann.* (t), which in 1638 he exchanged for that of South-Warnborough in Hampſhire (u); and the ſame year was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace for that County (w). In 1639 he was employed by Archbiſhop Laud to tranſlate (w) Wood, *ib'd* the Scots Liturgy into Latin; and on April the 10th 1640 he was choſen by the College of Weſtmiſter their Clerk to ſit in Convocation (x); but was ſoon after brought (x) Barnard, pag. 177. into trouble by his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams, and William Prynne [N]. He re-tired

• Appendix to
the 2d Part of
his *Examen Hiſ-
toricum.*

† When Dr.
Heylin took his
degree of Bache-
lor of Divinity in
1627.

[H] Took the degree of Doctor of Divinity.] Upon this occaſion he maintained the affirmative of theſe three queſtions. I. *An Eccleſia habeat auctoritatem in determinandis fidei controverſiſ?* i. e. “Whether the Church hath authority in determining Controverſies of Faith?” II. *An Eccleſia habeat auctoritatem interpretandi Scripturas ſacras?* i. e. “Whether the Church hath authority of interpreting the holy Scriptures?” III. *An Eccleſia habeat auctoritatem decernendi Ritus & Ceremonias?* i. e. “Whether the Church hath authority of appointing Rites and Ceremonies?” Our author tells us * that Dr. Prideaux was as little pleaſed with theſe queſtions, and the reſpondent ſtating of them, as he was with the former †. And therefore to create the greater odium, he openly declared that the reſpondent had falſified the public doctrine of the Church, and charged the article with that ſentence, viz. *Habet Eccleſia Ritus ſive Ceremonias, &c.* which was not found in the whole body of it. And for proof thereof he read the article out of a book, which lay before him, beginning thus, *Non licet Eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur, &c.* To which the reſpondent readily answered, that he perceived by the bigness of the book, which lay on the Doctor's cuſhion, that he had read that article out of the Harmony of Confessions, published at Geneva 1612, which therein followed the edition of the articles in the time of King Edward VI, anno 1552, in which that ſentence was not found; but that it was otherwiſe in the articles agreed on in the Convocation anno 1562, to which moſt of us had ſubſcribed in our ſeveral places. But the Doctor ſtill perſiſting upon that point, and the reſpondent ſeeing ſome unſatisfiedneſs in the greateſt part of the auditory, he called on one Mr. Weſtly, (who formerly had been his Chamberfellow in Magdalen College) to ſtep to the next Bookſeller's ſhop for a Book of Articles; which being obſerved by the Doctor, he declared himſelf very willing to decline any further proſecution of that particular, and to go on directly to the diſputation. But the reſpondent was reſolved to proceed no further, *uſque dum liberaverat animam ſuam ab iſta calumnia*, as his own words were, till he had freed himſelf from that odious calumny. But it was not long before the coming of the book had put an end to that controverſy, out of which the reſpondent read the article in the Engliſh tongue, in his *verbis*, viz. *The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith, &c.* which done, he delivered the book to one of the ſtanders-by, who deſired it of him, the book paſſing from one hand to another till all men were ſatisfied.” But Mr. Anthony Collins remarks upon

being complained of to the King by Bp. Laud, Chancellor of the University, Dr. Prideaux was obliged to ſend up a proteſtation with letters to the Biſhop (19), in Auguſt following, but was ſo exaſperated at Dr. Heylin upon this account, that at the ſame time (the King being then at Woodſtock) he cauſed a paper to be ſpread about the court, relating to the affair in the laſt act; it very much tending to Dr. Heylin's diſgrace, who reſenting it, in October following, when his Maſtey's declaration concerning lawful ſports was published, and raiſed a great clamour againſt the King and Biſhop Laud, tranſlated Dr. Prideaux's *Lecture upon the Sabbath*, to which he prefixed a Preface, and published it in Hilary-Term 1634; by which Lecture Dr. Prideaux loſt much of his character among the Puritans (20).

[I] In 1636 he published his *History of the Sabbath*. It was twice printed at London in 4to that year, and written to ſatisfy thoſe, who turned the obſervation of the Lord's Day into a Jewiſh Sabbath, not allowing themſelves or others the ordinary liberties, or works of neceſſity which the Jews never ſcrupled (21).

[K] His Answer to the Biſhop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.] Dr. John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln having published *A Letter to the Vicar of Grantham*, againſt placing the Communion-Table in the manner of an Altar; our author wrote the tract above-mentioned under this title: *A Coal from the Altar: or an Answer to the Biſhop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham*. London 1636 in 4to. To which the Biſhop in 1637 returned an answer under this title; *The holy Table, Name, and Thing, &c.* pretending that it had been written long ago by a Miniſter in Lincolnſhire, in answer to Dr. Cole, a Divine in Queen Mary's reign.

[L] Two other Tracts.] The one intitled, *A brief Diſcourſe by way of Letter touching the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons, Can. 55.* written at the requeſt of the Biſhop of Wincheſter in 1636, and afterwards printed in the firſt part of his *Eccleſia vindicata*. The other is intitled, *A brief and moderate Answer to the ſeditious and ſcandalous Challenge of Hen. Burton, late of Friday-ſtreet, in two ſermons preached by him on the 5th of November 1636, and in the Apology ſet before them*. London 1637 in 4to.

[M] His Antidotum Lincolnienſe.] The whole title is as follows: *Antidotum Lincolnienſe: or an Answer to a book intitled, The holy Table, Name, and Thing, &c. ſaid to be written long ago by a Miniſter in Lincolnſhire, and printed for the Dioceſe of Lincoln, anno 1637. Written and inſcribed to the grave, learned, and religious Clergie of the Dioceſe of Lincoln.* By Peter Heylin, *Chaplain in Ordinary to his Maſtey*. London 1637 in 4to. It is dedicated to the King. The Impri-matur is dated May the 7th 1637. Another Answer likewise came out againſt the Biſhop's *Holy Table, &c.* intitled *Two Looks over Lincoln: or a View of his Holy Table, &c.* London 1641 in four ſheets and a half, written by Richard Day, who ſtiles himſelf a Miniſter of the Goſpel, but appears to be an enemy to the Ceremonies of the Church. In this Tract Dr. Heylin's *Coal from the Altar* is ſometimes animadverted upon.

[N] Brought into trouble by his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams, and William Prynne.] The Doctor preaching on his courſe at Weſtmiſter-Abby, and exhorting Chriſtians to moderation, love, and charity among themſelves, for the preſervation of the public peace, although

§ *Hiſtorical and Critical Eſſay on the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England*, Introducti-on, pag. 23.

(18) *Alb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 278. and *Hiſt. & An-tiquit. Univerſit. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 340.

(19) Idem, *Hiſt. & Antiq. ibid.*

(20) Idem, *ibid.* and *Alb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 278.

(21) Idem, *Alb. Oxon. ibid.*

tired first to his living of Ailresford, and afterwards to Oxford; upon which in the beginning of 1643 the House of Commons voted him a Delinquent, and made an order for the sequestration of all his estate, and his excellent Library was carried to Portsmouth (y). At Oxford he was employed, by the King's command, in writing the *Mercurius Aulicus*, begun by Sir John Berkenhead. In 1645 he left Oxford, and travelled in disguise from place to place, himself and his family being in the greatest necessity (z); and the same year settled with them for some time at Winchester, till that city was taken; and in 1648 removed to Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire, the seat of his elder brother, which he farmed for six years of his nephew Colonel Heylin; and cleared his

(y) Barnard, pag. 202, 203, 204. and Wood, *Atten. Oxon.* col. 273.

(z) Barnard, pag. 205, & seq.

although they differed in some opinions, made use of these words: "Is it not that we are so affected with our own opinions, that we condemn whatsoever shall opine the contrary; and so far wedded to our own wills, that when we have espoused a quarrel, neither the love of God, nor the God of love shall divorce us from it? Instead of hearkening to the voice of the church, every man hearkens to himself, and cares not, if the whole miscarry, so that himself may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon which stubborn height of pride what quarrels have been raised? What schisms in every corner of this our church? (to enquire no further,) some rather putting all into open tumult, than that they would conform to the lawful government, derived from Christ and his Apostles to these very times." At the speaking of these words, the Bishop of Lincoln sitting in the great pew knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, *no more of that point, no more of that point, Peter.* To whom the Doctor readily answered, *I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then I have done*; which was as follows: "Others coming into close and dangerous factions, because some points of speculative Divinity are otherwise maintained by some than they would have them. Also regardless of the common Peace, that rather than be quiet, we will quarrel with our blessed peacemaker for seeking to compose the differences, tho' to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we foolishly divide our Saviour, and rent his sacred body on the least occasion, rarely conceiving that a difference in a point of judgment must needs draw after it a disjoining of the affections also, and that conclude at last in an open schism. Whereas diversity of opinions, if wisely managed, would rather tend to the discovery of the truth, than the disturbance of the church, and rather whet our industry than excite our passions. It was St. Cyprian's resolution, *Neminem, licet aliter senserit, a communione amovere*, not to suspend any man from the communion of the church, although the matter then debated, was, I take it, of more weight than any of the points now controverted: which moderation if the present age had attained unto, we had not then so often torn the church in pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity to our Saviour's body, which was not offered to his garments." After the sermon was ended, Dr. Heylin took his friend Sir Robert Filmer and some other Gentlemen of quality, who were his auditors, to his house, where he immediately sealed up the book, which contained this sermon, and other notes, to which they also set their seals, that so there might not be the least alteration made in the sermon, nor any ground to suspect it, which was presently after sent to the Bishop, who kept it in his hands for some days, and then returned it untouched. This is the account of

(22) Pag. 192-196.

(23) *Extraneus Vapulus; or the Observer rescued from the violent but vaine Assaults of Hamon L'Estrange Esq; &c.* pag. 58, & seq.

Dr. John Barnard (22); but Dr. Helyn himself relates the latter part of the story with some different circumstances (23), and tells us, that as soon as he was brought back to his stall, the Bishop calling on Dr. Wilton, another of the Prebendaries, to bear witness of what passed between them, required the Doctor to deliver a copy of the sermon, to which the Doctor cheerfully yielded, and presently gave his Lordship the whole book of sermons, which he had then with him. The same day, as they came from the evening service, the Bishop sent one of his gentlemen to desire the Sub-Dean, Dr. Wilton, and Dr. Heylin, to come to his lodging; to which it was answered openly, and in a full cloyster, by Dr. Heylin, that he would not go; that he would meet his Lordship in either of the houses of Parliament, or either of the courts of Westminster-Hall, or the public Chapter of the Church, and would

there answer any thing that he would charge him with; but that he would never shuffle up the business in the Bishop's lodging, or take a private satisfaction for a public baffle. He had scarce put off his church-vestment, when his friends the Bishop of Peterborough, and Sir Robert Filmer, who had heard all that had passed before, came to spend an hour with him; and not long after comes the Sub-Dean from the Bishop of Lincoln with the book of sermons, assuring him, that the Bishop meant him nothing but well; that he had read none of the sermons, but that which had been preached that morning; that he professed himself much beholden to him for committing into his hands so great a trust; and lastly, that since the Doctor would not come to receive the book, he had sent it to him. To which the Doctor made reply, that since the book was taken from him in the sight of hundreds; he would not otherwise receive it, than in the same place, or a place more public; that therefore he should carry back the book to him that sent it, to the end that he might read over all the rest of the sermons, and pick out of them what he could to the Doctor's disadvantage; that as he did not court his favours, or expect any thing from him, so neither did he fear his frown, or any further mischief, which he could do to him equal to what he had done already; and lastly that he was more ashamed of the poorness of this prostitution than at the insolencies of the morning: which being the best answer that the Sub-Dean could at that time obtain from him, he threw the book into the room, and so went his way. The Doctor understanding what reports had been spread abroad upon the accident, some saying that the Bishop had interrupted him for preaching against the Scots, some of whose commissioners were then present, others for preaching in defence of Transubstantiation, and others for Arminianism, he gave an account thereof to the King, and then transcribed a copy of the whole passage, which had been and was to have been spoken, and sent it in a letter to Mr. John White, of the Temple, whom he observed to hear the sermon, desiring him to communicate it to the Committee, that when he was to appear before them the second time, they might be satisfied in all things touching that particular. This address took so good an effect, that Mr. White, though most eagerly bent against the Doctor at his first appearance, did the business for him, reading the whole passage to that Committee, and testified what he saw and noted when he was at the sermon; and thereupon it was declared by the unanimous voice of all then present, that there was nothing in that passage which did not become an honest man to speak, and a good Christian to hear; and not only so, but that the Bishop was transported beyond his bounds, and failed in his accustomed prudence. And this perhaps both smoothed the way unto the Doctor for his next appearance, where he found better entertainment than he did at the first; and drew the Bishop into gentler and more moderate counsels. About the same time he was summoned to appear before the Committee for the Court of Justice, on the complaint of Mr. Prynne, who had joined him in a petition with the Lord Archbishop, as the chief agents and contrivers of all his sufferings (24); but though it was resolved upon the question on Tuesday April the 20th, 1641, that the sentences against Mr. Prynne in the Star-Chamber were illegal, and it was ordered, that the charge against the Doctor should be transmitted to the Committee for religion, to be considered of with such other charges and complaints as were come against him; yet after that time the Doctor never heard more of this business, nor of any other, which did or might create any trouble to him from the houses of Parliament, or any of the Committees or Members (25).

(24) Barnard, pag. 192-196.

(25) *Id. Extraneus Vapulus*, p. 57, 58.

his temporal estate from sequestration by composition with the Commissioners at Goldsmith's Hall. Thence several years after he removed to Abingdon in Berkshire, where he bought an house called *Lacies Court*. In 1657 he suffered in his estate by decimation. In 1660, upon his Majesty's return to his Kingdoms, he was restored to his Spiritualities, but never rose higher than the place of Sub-Dean of Westminster [O]. His writings are very numerous [P]. He died May the 8th 1662, and was interred before the Sub-Dean's Stall within the Choir of St. Peter's Church at Westminster, where he had a monument erected to him. Mr. Wood tells us (aa), that he was "a person endowed with
" singular

(aa) *Atb. Oxon.*
vol. 2. col. 279.

[O] Never rose higher than the place of Subdeacon of Westminster.] Mr. Wood observes (26), that this was a wonder to many, and a great discontent to him and his; but the reason, says that Historian, being manifest to those, that well know the temper of the person, I shall forbear to make mention of that matter any further.

Dr. Barnard tells us (27), that he happened to be present when Dr. Cosins, Bishop of Durham, came to see Dr. Heylin, and said, "I wonder, brother Heylin, thou art not a Bishop, for we all know thou hast deserved it." To which he answered, Much good may it do the new Bishops I do not envy them, but wish they may do more than I have done.

[P] His writings are very numerous.] Besides those already mentioned he wrote the following. I. *Theomacchia*, a Comedy, written in 1618, but never printed.

(28) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 273. and *Hist. & Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 204.
ed (28). II. *An Essay called Augustus*, printed in 1682, and since inserted in his *Cosmography*. III. *An uniform Book of Articles to be used by all Bishops or Archdeacons in their Visitations*, London 1640 in 4to. IV. *De Jure Paritatis Episcoporum*, a manuscript written in 1640, upon a proposition in the House of Lords, whether Bishops should be of the Committee for the preparatory Examinations in the cause of Thomas Earl of Strafford. It was afterwards printed and inserted in his *Historical and miscellaneous Tracts*, London 1681 in fol. V. *Reply to Dr. Hakewill's Dissertation touching the sacrifice of the Eucharist*, London 1641 in 4to. VI. *An Help to English History: containing a Succession of all the Kings of England, and the English Saxons, the Kings and Princes of Wales, &c. As also of all the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquises, and Earls within the said Dominions, in three Tables*, London 1641 in 8vo. Published under the Name of Robert Hall, Gent. Several Additions to this Book were made by Christ. Wilkinson, a Bookseller living against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, London; the first Edition of which Additions came out in 1670 in 8^o, with the name of Pet. Heylin put to the book, who made use of Dr. Francis Godwin's *Commentary of the Bishops of England*, in his succession of Archbishops and Bishops, and of Ralph Brook's and Augustin Vincent's *Catalogue of the Succession of the Kings, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, &c.* Mr. Wood observes (29) that our Author is said to have written and published in the same year 1641, a Book entitled, *Persecutio Undecima*, &c. London 1641, 1648 in 4to and 1681 in fol. but that finding no such thing in the Doctor's Diary, which he had several times perused, he cannot affirm him to have been the Author. VII. *History of Episcopacy, in two parts*, London 1642 in 4to. Published under the name of *Theophilus Churchman*. This makes the second part of his *Ecclesia Vindicata*, &c. London 1657 in 4to. VIII. *Historical Narration of Liturgies*, &c. written in 1642, and afterwards printed in the first part of his *Ecclesia Vindicata*. IX. *A Relation of Lord Ralph Hopton's Victory near to Bodmin in Cornwall, on the 19th of Jan. 1642*, Oxford 1642-3 in one sheet in 4to. X. *A Brief Relation of the remarkable Occurrences in the Northern Parts, viz. the Landing of the Queen's Majesty in the Bay of Burlington from Holland, and of the Repulse given to the Rebels at the Town of Newark*, Oxford 1642 in 2 sheets in 4to. XI. *A View of the Proceedings in the West for a Pacification*. XII. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leicestershire about the Treaty at Uxbridge, shewing that all the Overtures, which have been made for Peace and Accommodation, have proceeded from his Majesty only*, printed in 1643 in 4 sheets in 4to. XIII. *The Round-heads Remembrances: or true and particular Relation of the great Defeat given to the Rebels by his Majesty's Subjects of Cornwall, under the Command of Sir Ralph Hopton, on Tuesday 16th of May 1643*, printed 1643 in one sheet in 4to. This Pamphlet is generally said to have been written by Dr. Heylin (30).

(29) *Atb. Oxon.*
vol. 2. col. 281.

(30) *Idem, ibid.*
col. 221.

XIV. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell*, printed 1643 in 4to in a sheet and an half. This is supposed by Mr. Wood (31) to be the same with a (31) Col. 282. Pamphlet; intitled, *Thieves, Thieves; or a Relation of Sir Jo. Gell's Proceedings in Derbyshire, in gathering up the Rents of the Lords and Gentlemen of that County by pretended Authority from the two Houses of Parliament*, printed 1643 in 4to. XV. *The black + Cross; shewing that the Londoners were the cause of this present Rebellion*. XVI. *The Rebels Catechism, composed in an easy and familiar way to let them see the heinousness of their Offence, &c.* printed in 1643, in 4 sheets in 4to. XVII. *Discourse in answer to the common, but groundless Clamour of the Papists nicknaming the Religion of the Church of England by the name of a Parliament Religion*: Written in 1644 at the request of George Ashwell of Magdalen College in Oxford. But when the Book was printed, it had the following title; *Parliament Power in Law for Religion: or an answer to that old and groundless Calumny of the Papists nicknaming, &c.* Oxford 1645 in 6 sheets in 4to. In another edition printed at London 1603, in 7 sheets in 4to, it hath this title; *The way of Reformation of the Church of England declared and justified against the Clammours of our Adversaries, reproaching the Religion here by Law established by the name of a Parliament Religion, &c.* This was afterwards printed in the first part of our Author's *Ecclesia Vindicata*: XVIII. *A brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the most reverend and renowned Prelate the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; with a copy of his Speech, and other passages on the Scaffold, more perfect than hath been hitherto printed*. Oxford 1644 in 4 sheets in 4to. XIX. *Bibliotheca Regia: or, the Royal Library, &c.* London 1649, 1650, and 1659 in 8vo. Our Author's name is not put to it; but it is generally known to be his Collection from some of the works of King Charles I. In this Book is inserted the Conference between that King and the Marquis of Worcester at Ragland. XX. *Stumbling block of Disobedience, &c. in answer to an Examination of the two last Sections in Calvin's Institutions against Sovereign Monarchy*. Written in 1644, and printed at London 1658 in 4to with this title; *The Stumbling-block of Disobedience and Rebellion, cunningly laid by Calvin in the Subjects way, discovered, censured, and amended*. XXI. *The Promised Seed*, written in English Verse. XXII. *The undeceiving the People in point of the Tithes, &c.* London 1648, 1651. Published under the name of *Pb. Treleinie*: which is an Anagram for Peter Heylin. It was reprinted at London 1657 in the first Part of his *Ecclesia Vindicata*. XXIII. *Theologia Veterum: The Sum of Christian Theology contained in the Creed, according to the Greeks and Latins, &c.* London 1654 and 1673 in fol. XXIV. *Full Relation of two Journies. The one into the main Land of France; the other into some of the adjacent Islands, in 5 Books*, London 1656 in 4to. To this is subjoined *A Survey of the Estate of the two Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with the Isles depending, &c. in one Book*. London 1656 in 4to. Our Author published both the Books, because a little before one William Leak, a Bookseller, published a false copy of them under the title of *France painted to the Life*, fathered it upon Richard Bignall (32). XXV. *Observations on the History of the Reign of King Charles, published by Hamon L'Estrange, Esq; for Illustration of the story, &c.* London 1656 in 8vo. upon the publishing of which *Observations* Mr. L'Estrange printed another Edition of the said History at London 1654 in fol. and at the end added a piece, intitled, *The Observer observed, or Animadversions upon the Observations on the History of King Charles, &c.* In answer to which Dr. Heylin published, XXVI. *Extraneous Vapulans; or the Observer rescued from the violent but vain Assaults of Hamon L'Estrange, Esq; and*

(32) See Heylin's Preface to his *Extraneous Vapulans*.

(bb) Ibid.

“ singular gifts, of a sharp and pregnant wit, and solid and clear judgment . . . a bold and undaunted man among his friends and foes, (though of very mean port and presence) and therefore by some of them he was accounted too high and proud for the function he professed. On all occasions he was a constant assertor of the Church’s right and the King’s prerogative, either in their afflicted or prosperous estate, a severe and vigorous opposer of Rebels and Schismatics, a despiser of envy, and in mind not at all discouraged.” Mr. Wood likewise observes (bb), that in some things he was too much a party man to be an Historian, and equally (cc), an enemy to Popery and Puritanism. Dr. Barnard informs us (dd), that he was of a middle stature, his face oval, his complexion florid, his hair short and curling, his eyes quick and sparkling, before he lost his sight; that he had a prodigious memory, not usually taking notes, or making

(cc) See Dr. Edw. Stillingfleet’s *Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatic Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, &c.* in answer to *Tbo. Godden’s Dialogues*, London 1679, in 8vo.

(13) See H. Hickman’s Preface to his *Justification of the Fathers and Schoolmen &c.* and Dr. Barnard’s *Life of Dr. Heylin*, pag. 237.

(34) Col. 285.

the Back Blows of Dr. Barnard, an Irish Dean. By a well wisher to the Author of the Observations on the History of the Reign of King Charles, London 1656 in 8vo. The Preface signed by our Author is dated at Lacies Court in Abingdon June the 7th 1656. XXVII. *Ecclesia Vindicata; or the Church of England justified*, 1. *In the way and manner of her Reformation, &c.* 2. *In officiating by a publick Liturgy.* 3. *In prescribing a set form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons.* 4. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.* 5. *In retaining the Episcopal Government, and therewithal the Canonical Ordination of Priests and Deacons*, London 1657 in 4to, dedicated to Mr. Edward Davys, Vicar of Shilton in Berkshire, formerly his Master in the Free School of Burford in Oxfordshire. It contains the several pieces abovementioned. XXVIII. *Respondet Petrus; or the Answer of Peter Heylin, D. D. to so much of Dr. Bernard’s Book entitled, the Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a Party by the said Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath, &c.* London 1658 in 4to. It was not burnt as it had been reported (33). XXIX. *An Appendix in answer to certain passages in Mr. Sanderfon’s History of the Life and Reign of King Charles, &c. printed with respondet Petrus.* Whereupon Will. Sanderfon, Esq; published a Pamphlet, intituled, *Post-haste, a Reply to Peter’s Appendix to his Treatise, intituled, Respondet Petrus* 1658 in 8vo in three sheets in 4to. XXX. *Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles (the second Monarch of Great Britain) from his Birth to his Burial*, London 1658 in 8vo. This Life Mr. Wood (34) supposes to be the same with that, which was printed with and prefixed to *Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ*, printed at the Hague 1649 in 8vo. XXXI. *Examens Historicum; or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes and Defects in some modern Histories, viz.* 1. *In the Church History of Britain*, by Tho. Fuller. To which is added, *An Apology of Dr. Jo. Cofin, Dean of Peterborough, in answer to some passages in the Church History of Britain*, in which he finds himself concerned. 2. *In the History of Mary Queen of Scots, and of her son King James VI.*; The History of King James I. of Great Britain; and the History of King Charles I. from his Cradle to his Grave, by Will. Sanderfon, Esq; London 1658 in a large 8vo. To this is added, *An Appendix in an Answer to some passages in a scurrilous Pamphlet called A Post-haste Reply, &c. by Will. Sanderfon, Esq; Soon after Dr. Thomas Fuller published a thin folio, intituled, The Appeal for injured Innocence*, which was commonly bound up with the remaining Copies of his *Church History* in Quires; and Mr. Sanderfon wrote a Pamphlet, intituled, *Peter pursued; or Dr. Heylin overtaken, arrested, and arraigned upon his three Appendixes*: 1. *Respondet Petrus*, (35). 2. *Answer to Post-Haste Reply* (36). 3. *Advertisements on three Histories, viz. of Mary Queen of Scots, King James, and King Charles*, 1658 in 8 sheets in 4to. XXXII. *The Parable of the Tares, expounded and applied in ten sermons, with three other sermons by the same Author*. London 1659 and 1661 in 4to. XXXIII. *Certamen Epitolaræ: or the Letter-Combat, managed by Peter Heylin, D. D. with 1, Mr. Baxter of Kidderminster.* 2. *Dr. Barnard of Grays-Inne.* 3. *Mr. Hickman of Mag. C. Oxon.* and 4. *J. H. (37) of the city of Westminster Esq; With 5, An Appendix to the same, in answer to some passages in Mr. Fuller’s late Appeal.* London 1650 in 8vo. The Epistle prefixed to it, and addressed to his dear brethren, the poor remainders of the old regular and conformable Clergy of the Church of England, is dated at Lacies-Court in Abingdon May the

(35) Mr. Sanderfon here means the Appendix to *Respondet Petrus*.

(36) This hath no Appendix, and therefore Mr. Sanderfon is mistaken, since it is itself an Appendix to *Examens Historicum*, or *Advertisements on three Histories*.

(37) James Harrington, Author of *the Oceana*.

2d 1659. XXXIV. *Historia Quinqu-Articularis: or a Declaration of the Judgment of the Western Churches, and more particularly of the Church of England, in the five controverted Points, reproached in these last times by the name of Arminianism. Collected in the way of an Historiall Narration out of the public acts and monuments, and most approved Authors of those severall Churches.* By Peter Heylin. London 1660 in 4to. The Preface is dated at Lacies-Court in Abingdon December the 26th 1659. To this book is added a *Postscript to the Reader, concerning some particulars in a scurrilous Pamphlet intituled, A Review of the Certamen Epitolaræ, &c.* dated at Lacies-Court December the 29th 1659. The same year was published a book, intituled, *Fratres in malo: or the matchless Couple represented in the Writings of Mr. Edward Bagshaw, and Mr. Henry Hickman, in Vindication of Dr. Heylin and Mr. Thomas Pierce*. London 1660 in 4to. In the title-page it is said to be written by M. O. Bachelor of Arts; but it was universally supposed at that time, that Dr. Heylin or Mr. Pierce, or both, had an hand in it (38). Mr. (38) Wood, col. 285. Hickman wrote *Animadversions upon our Author’s Historia Quinqu-Articularis*; the first edition of which was printed at London 1661, and the second in the same city in 1674, with the following title. *Historia Quinqu-Articularis Exarticulata; or Animadversions on Dr. Heylin’s Quinquarticular History: in which, 1. The Aspersions cast on foreign reformers are wiped off. 2. The Doctor’s manifold Contradictions are manifested. 3. The Doctrine of the Arminians in the five points is proved to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Reformed Church of England.* By Henry Hickman, B. D. The same Edition corrected and enlarged. XXXV. *A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter’s in Westminster on Wednesday the 29th of May 1661, on Psalm xxxi. 21.* London 1661 in 4to. XXXVI. *History of the Reformation of the Church of England from the first Preparations to it made by King Henry VIII, until the legal settling and establishing of it under Queen Elizabeth, &c.* London 1661, 1670, and 1674 in folio. It was answered in a book intituled *Plus Ultra: or England’s Reformation needing to be reformed. Being an Examination of Dr. Heylin’s History of the Reformation of the Church of England, &c. wherein by laying together all that is there said by the Doctor about the Reformation of the Church, and by many Testimonies of Reverend Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, and by several Observations made upon the whole, it doth evidently appear, that the present State of the Church of England is no way to be rested in, but ought to proceed to a farther degree of perfection.* Written by way of Letter to Dr. Heylin by H. N. O. J. Oxon. in 7 sheets in 4to. XXXVII. *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the History of the Life and Death of William [Laud] Archbishop of Canterbury &c.* London 1668 and 1671 in folio. XXXVIII. *Aerius Redivivus: or the History of the Presbyterians. Containing the Beginning, Progress, and Successes of that Sect. Their Oppositions to Monarchical and Episcopal Government. Their Innovations in the Church; and their Imbroylments of the Kingdoms and Estates of Christendom in the pursuit of their Designs.* From the year 1536 to the year 1647. By Peter Heylin, D. D. &c. London 1670 and 1672 in folio. It is dedicated by his son Henry Heylin to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled. The Doctor assures us in his Preface, that he “ adventures upon nothing but what is warranted by the testimony of unquestioned authors, from whose sense, says he, I shall never vary, though I may find it sometimes necessary not to use their words. And by so doing, I shall keep myself unto the rules of a right

making collections out of authors, but committing what he read to memory; and that he was of great generosity and charity.

“right Historian, in delivering nothing but the truth, without omitting any thing for fear, or speaking any thing in favour of the adverse party, but as I shall be justified by good authors.” XXXIX. *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts*, London 1681 in folio. Several of these are mentioned before; as 1. *Ecclesia Vindicata*. 2. *History of the Sabbath in two Parts*. 3. *Historia Quinq- Articularis*. 4. *Stumbling-Block*, &c. 5. *Traſtatus de Jure Paritatis*, &c. Dr. Heylin's Life is prefixed to this volume, written by *George Vernon*, Rector of Bourton on the Water in Gloucestershire; which being altered and mangled, says Mr. Wood (†), before it went to the press, by the Bishop of Lincoln,

T. Barlow, and the Bookseller that printed it, Henry Heylin son of our author made a protestation against it; and Dr. John Barnard, who married Dr. Heylin's daughter, wrote his Life to correct that of Vernon, who likewise drew up another Life, which he published at London 1682 in 8vo. Dr. Heylin wrote also *A Discourse of the African Schism*: and in 1637 at Archbishop Laud's desire, drew up *The Judgment of Writers on those Texts of Scripture, in which the Jesuits found the Popedom and the Authority of the Roman Church*; both which Pieces the Archbishop intended as materials towards his large *Answer to Fiber the Jesuit*; which was printed 1639 in folio. T.

(†) Col. 285. See likewise, col. 1025.

HICKES (GEORGE), the second son of William Hickes, the youngest son of ——— Hickes of Nefse near Nunnington in the parish of Stangrave in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Gentleman. His mother was a daughter of the Reverend Mr. Kay or Key Rector of Topcliffe in Yorkshire. His parents settled upon a large farm at Newsham in the parish of Kirkby Wiske near Thrusk in the North Riding, called Moorhouse, where their son George was born on June the 20th 1642. He was educated in the grammar school at North Allerton under Mr. Thomas Smelt, a very loyal man as well as a good schoolmaster; and was admitted in April 1659 Batteler in St. John's College Oxford. Soon after the Restoration of King Charles II he removed to Magdalen College where Dr. Henry Yarborough was his Tutor, under whom he gave such proofs of his great parts and progress in learning, that he had certainly been chosen Demy if he had been of a statutable County. February 24th 1662 he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, and immediately removing to Magdalen Hall he completed that degree by *determination*. On the 23d of May 1664 he was unanimously chosen Fellow of Lincoln College against three competitors, and one of them a Gentleman of the *Savil* Family. December the 8th in the year following he was admitted Master of Arts. And that Cambridge may have some small share in the honour of so great a man, he was July the 8th 1668 incorporated in the same degree at that University. June the 10th 1666, he was ordained a Deacon, and on December the 23d next following he was ordained a Priest, by Dr. Walter Blandford Bishop of Oxford. He became an eminent Tutor soon after, taking his Master of Arts degree, and discharged this office with great diligence and reputation for seven years, till he endangered his health, and was thereupon advised to travel about the country for its recovery. Sir George Wheeler, who had been his Pupil and had always a filial affection for him, took this opportunity of inviting him to accompany him in his travels. They set out in October 1673 and made the grand tour of France; after which in the same month next year they parted, Mr. Hickes being obliged to return to take his Bachelor of Divinity's degree. At Paris where he staid a considerable time he became acquainted with Mr. Henry [A] Justell, who in confidence told him many secret affairs, particularly that of the intended persecution of the Huguenots in France, and of a design in Holland and England to extirpate the Royal Family of

[A] Justell.] Dr. Hickes has left behind him an account of these matters in a letter to a friend: “The very obliging manner in which Mr. Justell received me, and the particular respect he professed for those of our nation, encouraged me to wait upon him again, when I found him alone. He then talked with great freedom of his acquaintance in England, most of which were great men, and of that party which were accounted not well affected to the crown. . . . As I acquainted him with the rout I intended to take in making the tour of France, he would have persuaded me to wait upon the honourable Mr. Algernoon Sydney, and young Mr. Hambden, who lived both together some where in Guien or Languedoc, at a place, the name of which I have now forgot, and who since have been unfortunately signalized by their different fates. But knowing how different my principles were from theirs, I told him I had particular reasons why I thought it not proper for me to wait upon them, one of which was, because I was to travel in company with others. . . . After my return to Paris, I never failed to visit him once a week . . . It happened once that talking of the many temples or Protestant churches that I observed were demolished in several places, he told me most of them were such as had been irregularly erected since the Edict of Nantes; and that the King, though he had acted very severely in razing

“such temples, yet he had not much violated the privileges granted by that Edict, because, as his phrase was, those temples were *mal fondex*. Then he proceeded to tell me, . . . Alas, Sir, as I am wont to talk in confidence with you, so I will tell you a secret that almost none of us know besides myself: Our extirpation, meaning the Protestants, is decreed, we must all be banished our country or turn Papiſts: I tell it you, because I intend to come into England, where I have many friends, and that when I come to see you among the rest, you may remember that I told it you. Upon this I asked him how long it would be before this sad persecution would be put in execution; he answered within four or five years at most, and remember, saith he again, that I foretold the time . . . Among other things he told me how many and inveterate enemies the King and Monarchy of England had in Holland, where a secret design had been long managing with the disaffected party in England, to extirpate the Royal Family of the Stuarts; and when I expressed my surprize and unwillingness to believe so strange and wicked a design, he told me again, that it was not so strange and incredible as I thought it, and that I was young enough to see it brought to pass . . . It was about the time the Bill of Exclusion was thrown out of the House of Lords, and the King had overcome the difficulties in which

of the Stuarts, and committed to him his father's manuscript of the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Universalis* to be presented in his name to the University of Oxford; and when he delivered it to him he made him this complement, that he had long waited for a person to entrust with one of the greatest treasures he had, and now had met with one according to his heart's desire. After his return home May the 14th 1675 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, being about that time Rector of S. Ebbe's Church in Oxford. Not long after he received a letter from Dr. Jane Chaplain to Dr. Compton Bishop of London to tell him the Duke of Lauderdale had asked the Bishop if he knew Mr. Hickes Fellow of Lincoln College, and if his Lordship thought he would accept of being his Grace's Chaplain. He was very cautious at first of complying with this offer, because the Duke was then loaded by his enemies with most heavy reproaches, and said to be guilty of the most enormous vices. But Dr. Fell Bishop of Oxford assured him those scandalous reports were only the lies and malice of the Presbyterian and Republican Party; and upon his advice he returned answer to Dr. Jane, that he waited for his Grace's commands when he should attend upon him, and accordingly he was made the Duke's Chaplain by letters under hand and seal dated September the 15th 1676. In May 1677, his Grace being to be made High-Commissioner of Scotland took his Chaplain with him into that Kingdom, where he was received by many of the Nobility, and particularly by the Bishops with the greatest respect. In April 1678 the Lord Commissioner sent Mr. Hickes up to Court with Dr. Burnet Archbishop of Glasgow to lay before the King the proceedings of the Faction in Scotland, which began then to be turbulent and audacious; as also to undeceive the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Prelates as to the scandalous and false reports which the malice of the adverse party had raised against the Duke. In the latter end of the next month he returned with the Archbishop of Glasgow to Scotland, when he was desired by the worthy Dr. Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrews to accept the degree of Doctor of Divinity in that University as a testimony of his and his country's great esteem for him, and of the eminent and faithful service he had done to the Church. Which request of the Archbishop's the Duke approved so well, that Mr. Hickes was obliged to agree to it; and to do his Chaplain the more honour he sent his son-in-law and servants with him thither, where he was dignified with that title in a full Convocation. After which when Dr. Hickes was returning with his Patron into England, the Archbishop of St. Andrews in his own name and that of all his Brethren presented him with the eighteen volumes of Labbe's Councils as an acknowledgment of his services to that Church. December the 17th 1679 he was actually created Doctor of Divinity of the University of Oxford. A little before viz. September the 13th he married Mrs. Frances Marshal widow of Mr. John Marshal Citizen of London and daughter of Mr. Charles Mallory of Raynham in Essex. She was perfectly of his own principles as well as of her father's, who had been a great sufferer under Cromwell: and she had the happiness of a great both active and passive courage, which afterwards made her a very patient and cheerful fellow-sufferer with her husband. In March 1679 he was promoted by the King to a Prebend of Worcester, and was installed on the 11th of June; and in August following he was presented by Dr. Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury to the Vicarage of All-hallows Barkin near the Tower of London, which obliged him to leave his good Patron the Duke of Lauderdale to the great regret of his Grace, and with all that concern on his part which the best men are wont to express at parting with their dearest friends. He also resigned his Fellowship, being on December the 27th 1681 made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. In August 1683 the King advanced him to the [B] Deanery of Worcester upon the recommendations of the Commissioners for disposing of Ecclesiastical Preferments, in the place of Dr. William Thomas Bishop of St. David's, who kept that dignity in commendam with his Bishoprick till he was translated to Worcester; and on October the 13th he was installed.

The

" he was involved by his restless enemies, that Mr. Justell came into England, and after he had been some time in London, he came to visit me at my house on Tower-Hill, where presently after the common forms of congratulating one another, he said, Sir, do not you remember what I told you of the persecution we have since suffered, and of the time when it would begin, and now you see all has accordingly come to pass. When I had answered I was very sorry for it . . . I then put him in mind of another thing he had foretold, which I hoped would never happen, I mean, Sir, said I, the extirpation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts . . . But to this he replied nothing, but with a shrug said, *Par Dieu, Monsieur, le Roy d'Angleterre c'est un tres grand Roy*, and this was all the answer I could get from him."

[B] Deanery of Worcester.] Upon the vacancy the vogue of both town and country gave this Deanery to Dr. Hickes, but it was so far from his thoughts, that he went to the Archbishop of Canterbury to solicit for Dr. Cave, who gave him then no other answer, but

that he believed it would be hard to bring that about. All the Commissioners were for Dr. Hickes, except the Earl of Halifax, who opposed it to the utmost, having been underhand set against him by Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet, by whom his Lordship had been always much influenced. But when he found all opposition fruitless, his Lordship proposed that Dr. Hickes should be promoted to this dignity, on condition of quitting all his other preferments, which was done with design to get him out of London, where about two years past he had had a greater interest than even Dr. Tillotson himself. When the recommendation of the Commissioners was brought to the King, the Earl of Clarendon, with whom Dr. Hickes had not then the honour to be acquainted, standing by the King and over reading the paper in his Majesty's hand, observed that conditional clause in it, and said thereupon to his Majesty, Sir, by this clause the Commissioners take from the Doctor more than they give him. To which the King answered, I think so too; for which reason his patent passed the seals without taking notice of that additional clause.

3

The next year upon the death of Dr. Gulston Bishop of Bristol the Duke of Beaufort went to his Majesty to desire him to promote the Dean of Worcester to that See; but the King, in great respect to the Dean, said he would not offer him that small Bishoprick, though if he would accept of it he should hold his Deanery in commendam with it; and no doubt, if his Majesty had lived long enough, he would have conferred upon him one of the best [C] Bishopricks in the Church. In May 1686 he left the Vicarage of Barkin, and went to settle on his Deanery, the Bishop of Worcester having offered him the Rectory of All Church, but fourteen miles distant from that City. He was collated June the 24th and inducted two days after. Upon the Revolution, he with many other great and worthy men refusing to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, fell under suspension August the 1st 1689, and was deprived February the 1st 1690; but continued in possession till the beginning of May following; when reading in the Gazette that the Deanery of Worcester was granted to Mr. William Talbot, since successively Bishop of Oxford, Salisbury, and Durham, immediately he drew up in his own hand writing a [D] claim of right to it directed to all the members of that Church, and May the 2d 1691 affixed it over the great entrance into the Choir, that none of them might plead ignorance in that particular. The Dean hereupon expecting the resentment of the Government privately withdrew to London, where and near it he absconded for many years; till on the 18th of May 1699 the Lord Somers, then Lord Chancellor, a Worcestershire man, and who had opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted with his great worth, procured, without his seeking, an Act of Council to order the Attorney General to cause a *Noli prosequi* to be entered to all proceedings against him. Soon after their deprivation the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. William [E] Sancroft and his Collegues began to consider about continuing the Episcopal succession among those who adhered to them; and having resolved upon it, they sent Dr. Hickes over with a list of the deprived Clergy to confer with King James II about the matter. The Doctor set out May the 19th 1693, and going by the way of Holland, by reason of many difficulties made it six weeks e'er he arrived at St. Germain's. He had several audiences of King James, who readily complied with all that was desired, and taking his leave of the King on the latter end of July, he arrived at Rotterdam on the 7th of August, where he waited two months to return in a Fleet of Merchants; but when he should have gone on board he was seized with an ague and fever, which detained him till January 24th, on which day he went from Rotterdam, and going on board the Packet the 26th, arrived at Harwich the 29th. At length he came to London the 4th of February, and on the Eve of St. Matthias the consecrations were performed by Dr. William Lloyd Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Francis Turner Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Thomas White Bishop of Peterborough at the Bishop of Peterborough's lodgings at the Reverend Mr. Giffard's house in Southgate. Dr. Hickes * was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Thetford, and Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe Suffragan of Ipswich; at which solemnity Henry Earl of Clarendon was present. The Dean had been recommended to the King by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Wagstaffe

* The instrument of his Consecration bears date 29 Feb. 1693.

[C] *Best Bishoprics in the church.*] A few months after he was made Dean, the Lord-Keeper North told him the King had commanded him to acquaint him, that he did not intend he should stay long at Worcester, and therefore desired he would apply himself to study the Parliament Rolls, because the Bishops, for want of more knowledge in that matter, were, since the Reformation, of the least influence of any Members in the House of Lords, whereas before that time they used to have the greatest sway there. Hereupon his Lordship presented the Dean with Ryley's *Placita Parliamentaria*, which is the first volume of the Rolls, and told him when he had read that, he should have the use of the rest in order from him. The Dean had read over the first and second volumes in MS. and half the third, when King Charles died, which made him give over that study, knowing he could not expect to be a favourite in the next reign.

[D] *Claim of right.*] The Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State, called it Dr. Hickes's Manifesto against the Government; Dr. Francis Lee has published it in the Appendix, No. iv. to his Life of Mr. Kettlewell, with this title, *The Protestation of Dr. George Hickes, and Claim of Right fixed up in the Cathedral Church of Worcester.*

[E] *Sancroft and his collegues.*] Not long after the Revolution there was a report spread about the town, and it was not only reported but printed in several pamphlets, that the Archbishop was one of the Lords Spiritual who wrote to the Prince of Orange to invite him over into England. Dr. Hickes acquainted the Archbishop with this report, who absolutely denied he had done any such thing, and said several things in his own justification. Last of all he said, Mr. Dean, do you know Dr. Stanley, I refer you to him to justify me from this false and groundless report. He being

satisfied with what his Grace had told him, did not think it needful to trouble Dr. Stanley at that time. But afterwards, May 17, 1715, at the request of some friends he wrote to the Doctor, to desire the favour of him to give an account of the conferences between the Archbishop and him upon the subject of the invitation. In answer to which Dr. Stanley returned the following letter.

" Sir, " Amen-Corner, May 26.
" I do not remember that ever I heard, that the late good Archbishop Sancroft was thought to have invited the Prince of Orange over into England. If any one did charge him with it, I believe it was without ground. All that I can say as to the matter is, that in 1687, when I came into England out of Holland, I confess I did desire the Archbishop to write to the then Princess of Orange, on whom I had the honour to attend, to encourage her still to give countenance to the Church of England, but he was pleased not to write to her. And afterwards when we were come over into England, and a report being spread abroad that some of the Lords Spiritual as well as temporal had invited the Prince of Orange into England, in my discoursing with the Archbishop, I remember that he said to me, I am now glad that I did not write to the Princess as you desired, for if I had written to her, they would have said that I had sent to invite them over. This is true, and this is all that I can say of that affair.

" I am, Sir,
" 22d of Feb. " Your most faithful Friend,
" 1693. " and humble Servant,
Will. Stanley.

Wagstaffe by the Bishop of Norwich. It has been lately averred in print, that the Doctor was once in the mind to take the oaths and save his preferments; but this is so contrary to his character all his life-time, that few people will believe such a report, raised on purpose to asperse him after he had many years lain peaceably in his grave, where a generous adversary would scorn to insult him. Every body, I believe, will confess thus much of him, that he was a person of universal learning, and one of the greatest ornaments of the age he lived in, as his immortal [F] works will bear witness for him to all future generations.

[F] Works.] He hath written and published the following pieces. 1. *A Letter sent from beyond the seas to one of the chief Ministers of the Nonconforming party, by way of reply to many particulars, which he sent to the author in a letter of news, useful for these distempred times. By a lover of the Established Government both of Church and State.* Ann. 1674, in 4to. It was afterwards reprinted under the following title. *The judgment of an anonymous writer concerning these following particulars.* 1. *A Law for disabling a Papist to inherit the Crown.* 2. *The execution of penal laws against Protestant Dissenters.* 3. *A Bill of comprehension, all briefly discussed in a Letter sent from beyond the Seas to a Dissenter ten years ago,* the second edition, 1684. This Letter was in reality an answer to his elder brother Mr. John Hickes, a Dissenting Minister, bred up in Cromwell's time at the College of Dublin, and deeply infected with the principles of those times, whom the Doctor always endeavoured to convince of his errors, but without success, the said Mr. John Hickes persisting in them to his death, and at last, to the Doctor's great grief, suffering for his rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth; though upon the Doctor's unwearied application and petition, the King would have granted him his life, but that he had been falsely informed, that this Mr. Hickes was the person who advised the Duke of Monmouth to take upon him the title of King. Upon the Duke's landing the Dean knowing his brother's principles and inclinations, used the utmost diligence to get him secured by the Lieutenantcy, but he could not be found. 2. *A Discourse to prove the strongest temptations conquerable by Christians in a Sermon on 1 Cor. x. 13,* preached before Sir Thomas Davis, Lord Mayor of London, and Court of Aldermen, the 14th of January 1674, and dedicated to them, being printed at their desire, in 1677. It had a second edition, 1683 4to. 3. *Ravillac Redivivus, being a narrative of the late trial of Mr. James Mitchel, a Conventicle Preacher, who was executed the 18th of January, 1677, for an attempt which he made on the sacred person of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to which is annexed an account of the trial of that most wicked Pharisee Major Thomas Weir, who was executed for adultery, incest, and bestiality.* It was first printed in 1680, in 4to, the MS. copy being transmitted by the Author to Dr. Simon Patrick, then Prebendary of Westminster, who sent it to the press. The second edition was in Folio, 1682, very much augmented and enlarged, and at the end there is added an Appendix, containing an exact relation of the proceedings before the Lords of the Articles against Charles Maitland of Halton, Treasurer-Depute, for perjury, having given a false testimony at the tryal of James Mitchel. The writing of this book was occasioned by his attending in quality of Domestic Chaplain upon the Duke of Lauderdale in Scotland, who to confute the many lies raised by the Fanatics about Mitchel's trial, desired him to write the true narrative of that trial, which he did from the Records of the Criminal Court. 4. *The Spirit of Popery speaking out of the mouths of sanatical Protestants; or the last Speeches of Mr. John Kid, and Mr. John King, two Presbyterian Ministers, who were executed for high treason at Edenburg, on the 14th of August 1679.* London 1680, Folio. To which is subjoined, *A Narrative of the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews from the records of the Privy Council.* The Doctor was standing by his Patron, the Duke of Lauderdale, when he opened the Scotch packet which brought the news of that murder, the several relations of the barbarous manner whereof so affected him (the Doctor) that it made him ill for some time. The fact was so misrepresented by the faction in both Kingdoms, and particularly at London, by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, that Dr. Hickes desired leave of his Grace to write the true narrative of it from the records of the Privy Council, as they were sent up by

order to his Grace. It was no sooner published but all those lying reports were silenced, though the dispersers of them were not ashamed. *Ravillac and the Spirit of Popery* were published privately, and under the disguise of a Scottish Gentleman, so that it was some time before the Author was known, though the King, to whom the Lord Chancellor Nottingham first shewed and recommended the book, enquired of the Bishop of London who was the Author of it: The Bishop then could not tell. Soon after his Majesty knowing it was Dr. Hickes, took a particular liking to him, and not long after made him Prebend of Worcester against the powerful solicitations of the Duke of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, for another very deserving person. These two pieces are with several additions, and some alterations prepared by the Author for another impression. 5. *A Narrative of a strange and sadden apparition of an Archangel at the Old-Baily, on Monday March the 7th 1680, English Style, betwixt the hours of three and five in the afternoon, to the great astonishment of the Court, and all that were present. Dedicated to all the Ministers and Church-Wardens of the whole Nation. By an eye-witness of the Apparition.* Printed in the year 1681, one sheet Folio, and dated March 15 in the same year. The courage wherewith the Doctor preached against the disaffected, put them upon contriving to blast his reputation, which in confederacy with his two Church-Wardens, both of that party, more particularly one Sherman, and with Sheriff Bethel, they attempted in the following manner. They employed one Whitaker to indict the Doctor of Idolatry in worshipping St. Michael the Archangel, and to cover their design, they joined with him in the same indictment his two Church-Wardens and the Lecturer. The Church-Wardens pleaded guilty, and then one of them, Sherman, went and told the Doctor they had done so, and that it was the opinion of his best friends that he should do so too. To which the Doctor replied, for worshipping St. Michael, pray where? In your Church, saith he. How, Mr. Church-Warden? For bowing to him, saith he, as you go up to the Communion-Table. Why, replied the Doctor, is St. Michael there? No, says the other, but the figure of him stands over it. To which the Doctor replied, that though he had been resident about four months, he had never observed any such figure. This made him desire Sherman to describe it, who told him it was a graven wooden image, gilt over, as big as a man, with a trumpet at his mouth, and a label on his breast, with these words, *Awake, ye dead, and come to judgment.* This, replied the Doctor, is a symbol of the Resurrection, and not of St. Michael. But my brother and I, saith the Church-Warden, have pleaded guilty, and you had best do so too. To this the Doctor answered, I am a Doctor of Divinity; and a Minister of the Church of England, and will sooner plead guilty to an indictment of treason, than to one of idolatry. You may take your course, and I will take mine. Afterwards the Doctor enquired when this image was made, and upon what occasion; and he was informed it was first made and set up in Cromwell's time upon the Church clock, between the two figures of Time and Death, on the inside of the tower; whence how it came to be afterwards removed and placed over the Altar, is related in this Narrative. The Doctor having got a copy of the indictment, went next day to the Old-Baily to plead not guilty; but before he went into the Court, he was informed that all the party were there, and Mr. Sherman with the image, waiting till he came in, when they intended to set up a loud laugh, and put him out of countenance. But he disappointed them, and came to the Court the next day, attended with some of the chief of his parish, and he was there received with great respect, and pleaded not guilty, and desired time to traverse till the next

generations. He was particularly remarkable for his skill in the old Northern languages, and has shewed how useful the knowledge of the Saxon tongue is both to Lawyers and Divines. And to use the words of that most excellent man his dear friend (a) Mr. Nelson, though he was admirably skilled in other parts of useful learning, yet he hath laboured
(a) In his Life of Bishop Bull, pag. 512. " with

fections, which was granted. Here I must observe, that the party being disappointed the day before, did however carry St. Michael into the Court and set up a loud laugh; and Sheriff Bethel made some reflections upon the idol, as they called it, which occasioned the Doctor's writing this *Narrative*. At the first publication 1500 were sold one morning; and it so confounded the party, that when the Doctor came the next sessions, there was not one appeared to prosecute. But Bethel presuming again to inveigh against the idol, the Doctor begged leave to answer him, and was heard very patiently. After which Sir Job Charleton, one of the Judges, stood up, and said: Whether the image be an idol or not an idol, or whether the Doctor is guilty of idolatry or not, belongs to the Court Christian to judge, and is not of the cognifance of this Court. So the indictment was quashed.

6. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised in a Sermon on 1 Cor. xii. 4. preached before the University of Oxford on All Sunday, July 11. 1680*, printed in the same year, at the request of the then Vice-Chancellor Dr. Timothy Halton, and many others, who heard it preached, and dedicated to him. It had three editions in quarto, and a fourth in 8vo, 1709, much enlarged, before two other Discourses occasioned by the new Prophets, viz. the *History of Montanism*, wrote by Mr. Francis Lee, deprived Fellow of St. John's Oxon, and the new pretenders to Prophecy examined by Nat. Spinkes a deprived Clergyman. The plans of these two Discourses were first designed by the Dean himself, but being disabled by his infirmities, he prevailed upon the two learned Gentlemen already mentioned to write them for him; but he has prefixed a Dedication of his own to the whole Book to the Rev. Sir George Wheeler, D. D. and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Durham. The design of this discourse was to rescue the holy Scriptures from the abusive interpretations of Enthusiasts, and it was so acceptable to the world, at its first appearance, that the Dr. received the particular thanks of very learned men for it both by Letter and otherwise.

7. *Peculium Dei: a discourse about the Jews as the peculiar people of God*, in a Sermon on Rom. ix. 4, 5. preached before the Aldermen of London, February 6. 1680-81. printed at their desire soon after, and dedicated to Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen. The design of this discourse was to confute the many dangerous doctrines and opinions ancient and modern, grounded upon the misunderstanding the Jewish Oeconomy and the Mosaic Law. The Doctor first preached it in his course at St. Mary's before the University of Oxford when he was only B. D. and Dr. Allestree then Regius Professor was so pleased with it, that he sent for him next day, and gave him particular thanks for it.

8. *The true notion of persecution stated*, in a Sermon on 2 Cor. iv. 9. preached at the time of the late contribution for the French Protestants. Published at the earnest request of many that heard it 1681. The Author endeavours in it to remove the prejudices many had then taken against the French Refugees, as people altogether of the same ill principles with our Dissenters both with respect to Church and State; and tho' it was the only Sermon preached in their favour upon that occasion, yet he never received the least thanks from any of them, which he could ascribe to no other cause more probable, than because about that time he had signalized himself against those who disturbed the peace of the Church and State.

9. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London upon Acts xvii. 7. at Bow Church on January 30. 1681-2, and then printed at their request with a Dedication to Sir John Moor, Lord Mayor, &c. At the preaching of it, a knot of Gentlemen standing in the middle Isle were heard to curse and threaten the Doctor, with which he was immediately after acquainted in the Vestry by some loyal Gentlemen, who thereupon offered him their service to conduct him home for fear of danger from those threats; but the Doctor thankfully refused

to give them that trouble, or betray the least fear in a cause wherein God had given him the spirit of courage, which made him refuse the like offer from the Lord Mayor the same Evening. The printing of this Sermon, which had afterwards several editions, was much opposed in the Court of Aldermen by Sir Patience Ward, who said the Doctor had spoken many things in the pulpit concerning the principles of the Dissenters which he could not prove, and that was the occasion of his adding in the margin his proofs from their own writings. This Sermon did also so enrage the Party, that they employed Mr. Samuel Johnson to write against it; and the Doctor in a Book, intitled, *Julian the Apostate*, which the Doctor answered in his *Jovian*, whereof hereafter. 10. *The moral Shechinah, or, a discourse of God's glory*, in a Sermon on 1 Cor. x. 32. preached at the Yorkshire Feast in Bow Church, June 11. 1682, and printed at the request of the Stewards of that Feast, with a dedication to them. 11. *A Discourse of the Sovereign Power*, in a Sermon on Rom. xiii. 4. preached at St. Mary le Bow November 28. 1682, before the Artillery Company: published at their request, to whom and Sir William Prichard, Lord Mayor of London, it is dedicated.

12. *Jovian, or, an Answer to Julian the Apostate*; printed twice in 1683, 8vo. This excellent answer in defence of passive Obedience the Doctor wrote at the desire of Archbishop Sancroft, tho' many artful endeavours were used with him from other hands to prevent the writing of it: particularly by Dr. John Williams of the Poultry, since Bishop of Chichester, an enemy to the Doctrine of Non-resistance. Of Mr. S. Johnson's reply to this Book after the Revolution, and of the answer to that Reply by Dr. William Hopkins, Prebendary of Worcester. Dr. Hickes has given an account in his preface to Dr. Hopkins's Sermons. This Book with many large additions the Author had prepared for another impression. It is observable, that Dr. Kennet, tho' he mentions *Julian* in his complete History, takes no notice of this learned answer.

13. *The case of Infant Baptism in five Questions* 1683 in 4to. It is the fifth case in the second Volume of a Book, intitled, *A Collection of Cases and other Discourses lately written to recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England* 1685 quarto. On this pious design the Clergy met several times at the Deanery of St. Paul's, Dr. Hickes being then Resident upon his Prebend at Worcester. At his return Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, sent to desire to speak with him, and told him what had been done in his absence, and added smiling, they had left one case for him, that of infant Baptism, which several of them, and particularly Dr. Cave, had refused to undertake. To which Dr. Hickes replied, that then his was Hobson's choice, but however he would not refuse it.

14. *A Sermon on Heb. xiii. 16. preached at the Church of St. Bridget on Easter Tuesday, being the first of April 1684, upon the subject of Alms-giving*, before Sir Henry Tulle, Lord Mayor of London, and the Court of Aldermen, at whose desire it was printed, and to whom it is dedicated.

15. *A Sermon on Psal. xiv. 7. preached in the Cathedral Church of Worcester upon the 29th of May 1684*; published then at the joint request of the Mayor and Aldermen of that City, and dedicated to them.

16. *The Harmony of Divinity and Law in a Discourse on Prov. XXX. 31. about not resisting of Sovereign Princes* 1684 4to. This discourse was the subject of three Sermons preached on January 30. and the two preceding Sundays at Allhallows Barkin upon occasion of the dying Speech of Mr. Algernon Sydney, and of the prevailing opinion then spread abroad by some Lawyers, upon the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, that the King could not pardon any person impeached by the house of Commons before his trial, for that the impeachment of that House had the nature of an appeal of Murder, which is at the suit of the Party. Of which and many other particulars relating to that busy juncture, see more in the preface to this

(b) *Linguarum
Vet. Septentr.
Theſaurus.* 2 vol.
fol.

“ with great ſucceſs in (b) untrodden paths, a certain mark of a great genius, whereby
“ the utmoſt parts of Europe will have an occaſion to celebrate his profound erudition.
“ But he excelled in his own profeſſion, having built his ſtudy of Divinity upon the
“ holy

this Diſcourſe. 17. *Speculum Beate Virginis, a Diſcourſe on Luke 1. 28, of the due praiſe and honour of the Virgin Mary, by a true Catholick of the Church of England* 1686, and reprinted with additions the ſame year. This was the ſubſtance of ſome Sermons preached in his pariſh Church, for that he had found diſperſed amongſt his pariſhioners ſome popiſh papers which aſſerted, that when the Romaniſts prayed to the Saints in heaven, they did no more than when they deſired their Brethren on earth to pray for them in the name and through the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt. 18. *An Apoſtologetical Vindication of the Church of England in answer to her Adverſaries, who reproach her with the Engliſh Hereſies and Schiſms*, 1686. in 4to, reprinted with many additions, a large Preface and an Appendix of papers relating to the Schiſms of the Church of Rome, in 8vo 1706. This Diſcourſe was at firſt a Sermon preached in his Pariſh Church upon occaſion of his Maſteſty's printing King Charles II's papers: the preaching of which occaſioned much talk in the town. The Sunday following being deſired by Dr. Sherlock to preach for him at his Lecture in St. Dunſton's in the Weſt, the Dean preached the ſame Sermon there in a croud'd audience, which very much increaſed the town-talk, and was by ſome ſpy moſt odiouſly repreſented to the King; who thereupon commanded the Biſhop of Ely to bring the Dean to him at an hour appointed, and as ſoon as his Maſteſty had notice they were come, he came out and took them into his cloſet, where the Dean expecting ſome ſevere reproof from his Maſteſty, carried with him ſeveral Popiſh Pamphlets to produce for his vindication. But his Maſteſty only telling him he had been informed the Dean called King Charles's papers printed by his Maſteſty's order, a ſcandalous libel, with other reproachful expreſſions, he reply'd, he hoped his Maſteſty would not believe him capable of ſo treating any thing that came from his hands. Upon which the King immediately reply'd, that indeed he did not believe it: ſaying, Mr. Dean, perhaps you preached againſt thoſe papers becauſe you did not believe them to be my brother's: but to convince you they are, if you ſhould have any doubt of it, and that you may convince others, I will ſhew you the originals written and interlined with his own hand, to which you are no ſtranger; whereupon his Maſteſty immediately fetched the papers and gave them into the Dean's hands, who upon the ſight of them told his Maſteſty that he acknowledged that to be the late King his brother's hand. What his Maſteſty ſaid to him farther upon this occaſion was to this effect; that as he reſolved to protect the Clergy of the Church of England, ſo he hoped, that according to their profeſſed principles they would be dutiful and loyal to him. Soon after this the Dean being invited by the Biſhop of Worceſter to accept the Rectory of Allchurch, he left London, and was no ſooner ſettled in his Deanery, but the Papiſts there began in all public meetings to aſk the people tauntingly, where the Church of England was, and bid them go aſk their Biſhop and their Dean where to find it among ſo many ſects and ſchiſms. This news was brought daily to both their ears, which occaſioned the Dean at the requeſt of the Biſhop to enlarge the Sermon abovementioned into a juſt Diſcourſe upon that ſubject; after the firſt publication of which the adverſaries were never heard to mutter the leaſt word about the Engliſh Hereſies and Schiſms. 19. *The celebrated ſtory of the Thebean Legion no fable: in answer to the objections of Dr. Gilbert Burnet's preface to his tranſlation of Lactantius de mortibus Perſecutorum, with ſome remarks on his diſcourſe of perſecution*. This piece was written in the year 1687 but not published, till 1714 in 8vo. The reaſon why it was then published, and not when it was firſt wrote, is given by the very Reverend Mr. H. Bedford in his preface to this treatiſe. 20. *Reflections upon a Letter out of the country to a member of this preſent Parliament, occaſioned by a Letter to a Member of the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Biſhops lately in the Tower, and now under ſuſpenſion*, in 4to, ſubſcribed A. Z. Theſe reflections were written, as appears by the occaſion of them, in the year 1689 by the Dean

then at Worceſter. The author of that letter to which they are an answer, was generally preſumed to be Dr. G. Burnet, who is that *Butting* Divine pointed at in the *Reflections*. Soon after the publication of them a paper came out, wherein it was aſſerted, that Dr. Burnet was neither the author of that letter, nor had any hand in it, which whether true or no, was yet generally diſbelieved. 21. *Inſtitutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ & Mæſo-Gotbicæ, Auctore G. Hickeſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero. Grammatica Iſlandicæ Runolphi, Ionæ, Catalogus librorum Septentrionalium. Accedit Edwardi Bernardi Etymologicum Britannicum*. Oxoniæ 1689 in 4to. While the Dean was writing the preface to this book, there were great diſputes every where, and particularly in the Houſe of Commons, about the original contract, which occaſioned him to infer therein the ancient coronation-oath of our Saxon Kings, wherein there is not the leaſt foothold of any ſuch contract. A little before the book was published the Dean aſked leave of Archbiſhop Sancroft to dedicate it to him, when they were both under ſuſpenſion for not taking the new oath; and having the good Archbiſhop's leave, who had hitherto of his great modeſty reſuſed almoſt all the requeſts of this nature which had been made to him, the Dean wrote a dedication and ſent it from Worceſter to Dr. Mill Principal of Edmund Hall, who had the care of the impreſſion. But he to the Dean's great diſſatisfaction did in compliance with the times ſuppreſs that dedication, and inſtead of it only inſcribed the book to the Archbiſhop as it now ſtands in print. 22. *A Letter to the author of a late paper, intitled, a Vindication of the Divines of the Church of England &c. in defence of the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience*. 1689 in 4to. The author of the *Vindication* was Dr. Edward Fowler, though his name was not to it. Before the Dean published this answer he ſhewed it to Dr. Sherlock, telling him he feared one paſſage in it was too ſharp upon their old friend. But the Doctor reply'd, it ſhall go, for he deſerves it. 23. *A word to the wavering, in answer to Dr. Gilbert Burnet's Enquiry into the preſent State of Affairs*. 1689 in 4to. 24. *An Apology for the new Separation, in a Letter to Dr. John Sharp, Archbiſhop of York, occaſioned by his farewell Sermon preached at St. Giles's in the Fields June the 28th 1691*. The Apology is dedicated to the Gentlemen of the Veſtry of St. Giles's, to whom the Archbiſhop had dedicated his Sermon. Printed 1691 in 4to. 25. *A Vindication of ſome among ourſelves againſt the falſe principles of Dr. Sherlock, in a Letter to the Doctor, occaſioned by the Sermon which he preached at the Temple Church on the 29th of May 1692. In which Letter are alſo contained Reflections on ſome other of the Doctor's Sermons publiſhed ſince he took the oath*. 1692 4to. The ſecond edition of this *Vindication*, with a large Preface, was ſeized in the preſs. This book was a great mortification to Dr. Sherlock, who in that Temple Sermon had preached againſt his old brethren under the phraſe of *ſome among ourſelves*, with great diſreſpect, which occaſioned the Dean to expoſe him in ſuch a manner as he thought he deſerved and could never answer. All he had to ſay for himſelf to his friends was, that the author had betrayed the ſecrets of private converſation, which occaſioned the Dean to ſend him a letter written in another hand, and without a name, to challenge him to ſhew any one particular paſſage in the *Vindication* relating to himſelf, which he had not before that ſaid in ſeveral companies, and to many other of his old friends as well as to the author of the *Vindication*: but he never thought fit to make any answer thereto. 26. *Some Diſcourſes on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon, occaſioned by the late funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter*. 1695 in 4to. To this piece Biſhop Burnet wrote an answer, intitled, *The Biſhop of Sarum's Vindication*, whereto the Dean made a reply, as the learned Editor of the abovementioned Treatiſe, intitled: *The celebrated ſtory of the Thebean Legion, no fable*, informs us in his Preface, but for obvious reaſons never published it. 27. *The Pretences of the Prince of Wales examined and rejected, in a Letter to a friend in the Country*, dated November the 7th 1701. In this Treatiſe all the arguments againſt the birth are ridiculed

“ holy Scriptures, and the primitive Fathers of the Church, as the best Expositors of those sacred Writings,” and pointed out the way to his Brethren of the Clergy how to make themselves masters of the true Theology, by paying less regard to modern inconsistent

culed and confuted. 28. *Antiqua Litteraturæ Septentrionalis Libri duo, quorum primus G. Hicessii S. T. P. Linguarum Vet. Septentrionalium Theaurum Grammatico-criticum & Archæologicum; Ejusdem de antiquæ Litteraturæ Septentrionalis utilitate dissertationem Epistolarem; & Andreae Fontaine Equitis Aurati Numismata Saxonica & Danico-Saxonica complectitur. Alter continet Humfredi Wanleii Librorum Vet. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant, Catalogum Historico-criticum; necnon multorum Vet. Cod. Septentr. alibi extantium notitiam, cum totius operis sex Indicibus.* Oxoniæ 1705 in folio. This most extraordinary laborious and splendid work is justly celebrated by those who have any relish for antiquities in all parts of the learned world, as may be shewn by numerous testimonies of both our own countrymen and foreigners who have declared their approbation of it. The Great Duke of Tuscany's Envoy sent a copy of it to his master, which his Highness looking into and finding full of strange characters, called a Council of the *Dotti*, and commanded them to peruse it, and give him an account of it. They did so, and told him it was an excellent work, worthy to be placed in his Highness's Library, and would be an ornament to it: and that they believed the author was *un buono d'uno cervello particolare*, i. e. “A man of a particular head.” This was the Envoy's compliment to the author when he went to him with a present from his master. 29. *Several Letters which passed between Dr. G. Hicess and a Popish Priest, with an Appendix containing several remarkable papers.* 1705 in 8vo. Reprinted 1715. The person on whose account this book was published, was the Lady Theophila Nelson wife of Robert Nelson Esq. 30. *A second Collection of Controversial Letters relating to the Church of England and the Church of Rome, as they passed between Dr. G. Hicess and an honourable Lady.* 1710 in 8vo. This Lady was the Lady Graciana Carew of Haccombe or Hadcombe in Devonshire near Exeter. Before this book there is a large Preface wherein he vindicates the doctrine of the Eucharist's being a sacrifice, and himself from the aspersions cast upon him by Dr. Kennet, Dr. Hancock and others upon account of that doctrine. 31. *Two treatises, one of the Christian Priesthood, the other of the dignity of the Episcopal Order, written to obviate the erroneous opinions in a late book intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church with a large prefatory discourse in answer to the said book. With an Appendix whereto are added in this edition several new Tracts.* The third edition enlarged in two vol. in 8vo. 1711. About the latter end of 1714 he published a *Supplement of Additions* to this learned work. The occasion of writing it was not only the general ignorance the author had observed among the laity of all sorts, of the nature of the Sacerdotal Powers, and their duty to their Bishops and Priests, but also a want of a due knowledge of these matters among too many of the Clergy themselves, for whose sake more especially he wrote these two Tracts. While the Doctor was writing the prefatory discourse in answer to the *Rights* &c. Dr. Thomas Turner President of Corpus Christi in Oxford, sent him notice in a Letter dated May the 5th 1707, that he was asked by every one he met whether the Dean was writing against the University or no; for they had all been informed of it, and were confident it was so. “I am therefore, says he, desired by some wise and good men, and very good friends of yours and mine, to lay the thing before you, to intreat you to consider what advantage you will give both to your enemies and ours. You will force the University to reply upon you, or to employ somebody to do so, to shew you we say no more than Mr. Hooker, Bishop Andrews, Mr. Thorndike and several others do, nay no more, as I am desired to tell you, though I cannot assert it upon my own knowledge, than you yourself say of the French Protestants in your Sermon about Persecution: to which it is added, I cannot tell certainly how truly, that you yourself communicated with them.” The Dean thanked the President May the 13th for his kind letter of advice, and thus proceeds. “To return you and my good friends an answer, I am not writing against the Univer-

sity, nor intend to write against it. In my answer to the *Rights* I have been forced by my undertaking to say things which do not agree with your letter to the *Genevenses*, but without reflection, or couching any reflection upon the University, or on the Bishop of London, whose letter to the Church of Geneva I never saw till Friday last: And as I had finished my whole answer before I saw his Lordship's Letter, so I had finished that small part of it which relates to the other Protestant Churches, excepting a few queries to a certain person, before I saw the University's letter: and as the University's letter ought not to be called an answer to what I have written of the other Protestant Churches, so what I have written on that subject neither is nor ought to be esteemed as an answer to it. Mr. President, I was bred, I thank God for it, in the University, and I hope I love and honour it as much as any man that ever was bred in it, and will ever thankfully acknowledge that I have received great favours and kindnesses from it: and these considerations, and not all the others mentioned in your letter, had I a mind to write an answer to the University's letter, would effectually restrain me; and therefore depend upon it, I shall neither write such an answer, or any ways encourage such an answer to be written. As to the considerations in your letter which most nearly concern myself, I freely own that when I was in France 34 years ago I went to *Charenton*, and once there received the Sacrament, and afterwards at *Blois*; but when I came to *Montpellier*, I declined the Sacrament though I went to the Temple, having by reading and conferring about the mission of the French Protestant Ministers altered my opinion, I should have said my *Irenicum* opinion, for I had no other than *Irenicum* principles when I went into France, having not read so much as St. Ignatius's Epistles or any other father. We went from *Montpellier* to *Lyons*, where I was a month and never went to the Temple, thence we went to Geneva, where once out of curiosity I went to the great Church, and once to the Church at the bridge, upon invitation to hear their most celebrated Preacher, who preached one of Dr. Sanderfon's Sermons in French. There also I was invited to the Sacrament by Mr. Diodati, but not going, he told me he believed I absented as many English did who questioned their mission, and afterwards he grew cold and dry in his conversation with me. I believe the English he meant was my Lord Chancellor Clarendon and the English that were with him. I have now made a frank confession of my error, and I hope my friends will allow a man to alter his opinion upon better information once in 35 years. The great compassion I had for the French Protestants made me preach and publish my Sermon of Persecution 25 years since, in which I said all I could for them to remove a common objection against them that they were of the same principles with our Presbyterians, and as much enemies to the Church of England. In that Sermon I think I have said nothing contrary to my principle, or if any kind expression leans or seems to lean towards favouring or approving their Church and Ministry, though I think there is none such, it must in equity pass for an unguarded expression, which slipt from me while my eye was wholly directed to the design I had to do them good.” This satisfied Dr. Turner, who thanked him May the 26th for his great condescension, and says, “Indeed, Sir, I did not intend to call you to that account you give of yourself: after which I think it but just and reasonable you should be allowed to alter your opinion in so many years for the better, rather than as a great many others have done for the worse. If men may be thus allowed to differ from themselves, much more sure from others, especially if it be without offence to them, as I hear your book is.” 32. *A seasonable and modest Apology in behalf of the reverend Dr. G. Hicess, and other Nonjurors, in a Letter to Thomas Wise, D. D.* 1710, 8vo. This seems as if wrote by some friend, but it was his own performance.

consistent systems, and more to the consentient suffrage of the primitive Writers. And as no one better understood the Doctrine, Worship, Constitution and Discipline of the Catholick Church in the first and purest ages of Christianity, so no one has proved the Church

ance. In this he vindicates himself and his friends from the weak arguments Dr. Wile had urged against the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and from the calumny of their being inclined to Popery; which the said Doctor had raised against them. Dr. Wile made some trifling reflections upon this Apology, in his book, intitled, *The Christian Eucharist rightly stated*, which were refuted by a friend of the Dean's, or rather, as I guess from the title by the Dean himself, in a piece, intitled, 33. *A Vindication of the Reverend Dr. G. Hickee; and the Author of the seasonable and modest Apology, &c. from the undeserved Reflections of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Wile, &c.* 1712, in 8vo. 34. *A Collection of Sermons formerly preached by Dr. Hickee*, in two volumes, with a Preface by Mr. Spinckes, 1713, in 8vo. Of most of these Sermons I have given some account above; only I must add, they are dedicated by the Author to Dr. John Montague, the Dean and the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Durham, wherein he expresses his great obligations to that Chapter: and that in the second volume there are from pag. 135, several Sermons never before published; viz. Sermons 11, 12, on *John xv. 14. Shewing an universal obedience to the Divine Will, to be the only proper means of obtaining the favour of God.* 13. Upon the third verse of the Epistle of St. Jude, entitled, *Earnestness in contending for the Faith; preached at Worcester at the triennial Visitation of Dr. Thomas, Bishop of that Diocese.* 14, 15, Upon James ii, 23. *Explaining the Doctrine of Justification.* 16. On Psalm viii. 5. *preached upon the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel.* 17. Upon Psalm lxxii. 8. *preached before the Master, Wardens, &c. of the Trinity House of Deptford Strand.* 35. A Letter in the Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 302, pag. 2076, entitled, *Epistola Viri Reverendi D. G. Hickee S. T. P. ad D. Hans Sloane, M. D. & S. R. Secr. de varia lectione inscriptionis quæ in statua Tagis exaratur per quatuor alphabeta Hetrusca.* 36. *Two Letters to Robert Nelson, Esq; relating to Bishop Bull*; the first dated Hamstead, August 5, 1712, and the other February 3, 1713, published in the Life of that Bishop, pag. 513, &c. 37. *Some Queries proposed to Civil, Canon, and Common Lawyers*, in half a sheet in Folio, 1712, printed after several editions with another title, in 8vo 1714, viz. *Seasonable Queries relating to the Birth and Birth-right of a certain Person.* There was an answer to them in 1713, which helped rather to spread than confute them. The Answerer by mistake supposes Mr. Lesley wrote them. 38. *A Discourse wherein some account is given of Dr. Grabe and his MSS.* prefixed to a short tract, found among his English MSS. and published by the Dean with this title, *Some instances of the defects and omissions in Mr. Whiston's collection of testimonies from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, against the true Deity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, by Dr. Grabe, 1712, 8vo.* 39. He likewise reprinted and published three short Treatises. 1. *A Modest Plea for the Clergy*, by Dr. Lancelot Addison. 2. *A Sermon of the Sacerdotal Benediction*, by Samuel Gibson. 3. *A Discourse published to undeceive the people in the point of Tythes*, by Dr. Heylin; and set a Preface before them in defence of the Priesthood and true Rights of the Church, 1709, 8vo. Since his decease were published the following pieces: 40. *The Constitution of the Catholick Church, and the nature and consequences of Schism, set forth in a Collection of papers written by the late Right Reverend George Hickee, D. D.* 1716, 8vo. The Book begins with Letters which passed in King William's time, between the Doctor and a Serjeant at Law, Mr. T. Geers, Brother to Mrs. Susanna Hopton, a Lady famous for her Piety and Charity. Two years before he died, or thereabouts, the Dean reviewed these Letters, and made several Alterations in them, as a man has a right to do with his own works: which is the reason of the difference between them as here printed, and the copy of them, which Dr. Nathaniel Marshal, who endeavoured to answer them, had the use of, in order to shew the variations of them. Next come 40 Propositions concerning the polity of the Church, and the nature of Schism, which were sent to the same Serje-

ant, who returned them with some objections; to answer which the author wrote a Vindication, dividing it into four parts, the two first of which were printed under the title of a discourse concerning the dignity of the Episcopal Order; the two last are inserted in this Book. The next paper is intitled, *A Letter written for the use of a Gentleman (Robert Nelson, Esq;) who lived in the Communion of the Nonjurors till the Death of the Rev. Father in God Dr. William Lloyd, Lord Bishop of Norwich; but shortly after his Death, left it, and joined himself to the other opposite Communion of the Church of England before this Letter could be finished.* On Thursday before Easter, April 6. 1710, Mr. Nelson being of opinion with Mr. Dodwell, that the Schism was at end by Bishop Lloyd's death, acquainted the Dean by Letter, *that he found himself under an obligation of changing his practice, and that he thought he ought not to neglect those advantages which attend the approaching Festival, however he thought it proper to acquaint him with his Resolution, that if he had any thing farther to offer, he might consider it before Easter, and tho' he differed from him in this point, yet no body could have a greater value and esteem for him.* The Dean's answer, dated Good-Friday, is in these words, "Honoured Sir, You may remember I came to you this day sennight in the Morning to tell you, that on the Wednesday before a friend of mine came to me to let me know, you had declared your resolution of going to church, and that it would be a reflection on me if I did not do something to prevent it if I possibly could. Upon this I told you I had begun the Thursday Morning following to put something in writing for your consideration, but that I was interrupted by a long visit, and discouraged to proceed, because I had heard you had declared your resolution of leaving our Communion for the other, and given a real proof of it by asking the benediction of one of their Bishops, which you did not deny nor ask me to go on; but on the contrary came to me the day following in the Evening to pray me not to give myself any farther trouble in writing upon your account, because you thought we had talked all we could say upon that subject; to which I replied, we had, I thought, talked but little, and seldom together of it, and however that talk was at best but talk, and had not the advantages of writing. This and what I often heard since of your declaring your resolution with all frankness in other places made me think no more of my papers till yesterday, when I resolved by God's assistance to finish them, because they may be of use to me in confirming other persons, who are undetermined: but upon reflection of what I have to write I fear it will take up some time with all my infirmities to finish it; indeed more than at first I thought it would. However, when it is finished and fit to be read, I will impart it to you, if you can prevail with your self in the mean time to forbear going to the publick; though if it should have no effect upon you after declaring yourself so often under an obligation of changing your practice, it would occasion such insulting reflections upon me by many, as you know are usually made in such cases upon successful endeavours to convince. Such at all times has been my behaviour towards you, since I had the honour of your acquaintance, and so much experience have I had of your candor, that I doubt not in the least of your continuing your esteem for me, of which I have had so many proofs. And I do assure you, that your change shall never alter or diminish that respect and honour for you, of which I have given the world publick Testimonies." On the same day Mr. Nelson returned an answer, and assured the Dean, "he had some difficulty to satisfy myself in a point which was not supported by his accurate judgment, and if he could have resigned himself implicitly to the determination of another, the great deference he had for him would quickly have influenced his choice. He tells him the frequent Conversations he had with him upon the subject, and the perusal of papers which he knew

Church of England to be perfectly conformable thereto in every thing of moment, with more solid and convincing arguments, and with greater clearness and vivacity of thought and expression, against all her adversaries, whether Infidel, Puritanical, or Popish. He was a person very strict in his principles of morality, and did not allow himself a liberty of breaking the laws of Christ for his own convenience, or of bending or misinterpreting them to serve any interest whatsoever. What he was convinced was his duty he closely adhered to, choosing to suffer any thing rather than violate his conscience. Tho' he wrote with some sharpness against such as he believed acted with a view to serve their own ambition and avarice; yet to others worthy of his acquaintance, though of different principles,

“ passed through his hands, together with several particulars discoursed over with him by Mr. Cherry, made him think it not necessary to trouble him upon this occasion, and he is confident none but the person who came to the Dean would have thought it any reflection upon him, if he had not given himself any farther trouble. But when the Dean had declared he had put pen to paper, in order to convince him the Schism was not at an end, he thought the respect which will always be paid him by him, obliged him, notwithstanding the convictions of his mind, not to change his practice till he had finished his thoughts, which he hoped he would have concluded this week. He declares he should be sorry to draw any reflections upon the Dean by his conduct, and let him determine which way soever, his much superior sense ought not to suffer, tho' many too frequently insult upon such occasions. Therefore, adds he, as you know the state of my mind at present, I desire you to judge whether or no I should defer going to the publick. If you require it, I will wait till you have finished your papers, tho' I must own to you, that the reasons of those who have already complied appear to me so convincing, that except you desire the contrary, I should think myself obliged to change my practice sooner. — The latter end of your Letter gives me great Satisfaction, for any coldness in your friendship would have been a load upon my mind, which would have oppressed me very much. I am sure it is a great Instance of your goodness that you have given me so many publick and private testimonies of your favour; and it will be still a farther proof of it, that the difference between us creates no diminution in your kindness, which I shall always endeavour to cultivate to the best of my power; and I shall reckon it as a happy circumstance of my life to be able to say of you, as some great man did of his friend: “ *Ita dissenſi ab illo, ut in diſjunctione ſententiæ, conjuncti tamen amicitia maneremus.*” The next day, Easter Eve, April 8, the Dean replied as follows: “ Honoured Sir, As you know I cannot in conscience advise you to go to Church, or in the least approve your going thither, so considering the declarations, I know you have made in several places, and I doubt not in several others, of which I have not heard, to go thither; I think I should be justly censured for great imprudence by my friends, and for great confidence and self-sufficiency by our enemies, should I take upon me, after so many signal manifestations of your resolution, by which you have raised the expectations of the other communion, to require or desire you to defer the putting of it in practice, when there are so little hopes of convincing you, who are so far gone towards the other side, and even ready to enter into the church, that were there no more than the expressions of your own letters, they are enough to make me think you are too much fixed to be reduced by any thing I can write; and if you were so far gone from us towards any other communion, I should think the same. I believe, Sir, you would judge so of me were you in my condition and I in yours; and therefore prudence obliges me in this, as in my former letter, to leave you wholly to the liberty of your own judgment, especially considering that should I desire you to forbear going to church to morrow, where I have reason to presume you are expected, it would give the expectants occasion to enquire why you did not come, and oblige you to tell the reason, which being known would soon become town-talk, and

“ raise the expectations both of friends and enemies; and at last when you went thither, extremely expose me and our communion, and bring upon us, in the condition and crisis we are, and are like to continue in, all the indignation, scorn and derision of the world, which you, I am sure, who understand the times so well, can better imagine than I can express: I wish, Sir, you had written the letter which you wrote to me on Thursday in the evening a month or six weeks ago, before you were so much determined, and had made yourself expected at the other side, then the controversy might have been managed with more privacy between us, and without those great inconveniencies and mighty prejudices, to which I believe you cannot but think it would now expose your most faithful, &c.” The next day Mr. Nelson went to church, and for this reason it is apparent the author never designed this letter for his view, although having begun it by way of letter to him, he still continued to address it to the same person. These two worthy men, notwithstanding their difference of sentiments, constantly maintained the strictest friendship, which was never interrupted till Mr. Nelson's death. 41. The Introduction and some part of Mr. Kettlewell's Life prefixed to his works in Folio 1719, which Life was about the same time printed alone in 8vo. 42. A volume of Posthumous Discourses published by Mr. Spinckes 1726. The titles and texts of the Sermons are, 1. *What willingness of mind is accepted by God*, upon 2 Cor. viii. 12. 2. *Confirmation of Divine Original*, upon Heb. vi. 2. 3. *Upon Rev. xiii. 11, 12. The Episcopal Character the Ordinance of Christ*. 4. *Upon 2 Cor. iii. 1, 2, 3. That people should be tender of the reputation of their Pastors*. 5. *Upon St. Mark x. 14, 15. The necessity of becoming like little children before we can be the disciples of Christ*. 6, 7. *Upon Phil. iv. 7. Peaceableness the chief of virtues and a Preservative against Heresy*. 8. *Upon Rev. ii. 4, 5. Remissness in the love of God and decay of Zeal, preface the losing a light of the Gospel*. 9. *On Mat. v. 17. Christianity not the destruction, but the perfection of Judaism*. 10, 11. *Upon Luke xi. 42. Moral Laws to be preferred before positive, though the positive have a title to be observed*. 12. *On Jam. ii. 10. The whole Law ought to be obeyed*. 13. *Upon 1 John iii. 7. The same subject as the former*. 43. *Dr. Hicke's Determination of two Questions: 1. Whether there ought to be a true Sacrifice in the Church? 2. Whether there is any such thing in the Church of England, since the present Liturgy established at the Reformation?* It is printed from p. 51, to p. 67, in a book intitled, *Two Discourses, wherein it is proved that the Church of England bleſseth and offereth the Eucharistic Elements, &c.* 1732, in 8vo. 44. *Some Propositions concerning Separation, &c. seriously tendered by a Minister to the consideration of one of his Parishioners, who lived in full Communion with the Church by Law established, and with those who separate from it in Congregational Meetings, to which is annexed, an Answer to a Popish Letter: they are printed in a pamphlet entitled, Three short Treatises never before printed, the first and second by the late very Reverend Dr. George Hicke: the third, A Letter against a Protestant's marrying a Popish, by Mr. Kettlewell, 1732, in 8vo.* Besides these works there are extant many excellent Prefaces and Recommendations wrote by him, at the earnest request of the Authors or Editors of other works. 1. A short recommendation to a serious and pathetic contemplation of the mercies of God, in several most devout and sublime thanksgivings, 1699, in 12mo. 2. A Preface to the Case of Sureties in Baptism, in which is shewn that Schismatics ought not to be admitted as Godfathers and Godmothers in the

principles, he was remarkably affable and courteous; and he was much respected by men of all ranks and opinions, not only for his uncommon learning, but likewise for his agreeable and polite conversation. Some years before he died he was grievously tormented with the stone, a distemper to which the most studious are ever liable. At length his constitution, though naturally strong, being quite broke with age, and the frequent returns of racking pain, he gave way to nature December the 15th 1715, in the seventy fourth year of his age, and was on the 18th interred [G] in St. Margaret's Church-yard Westminster by his fellow-sufferer the very Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Spinckes.

the ministration of that holy Sacrament, by Dr. William Higden, 1701, in 4to. 3. Preface to Thomas à Kempis of *the Imitation of Jesus Christ*, volume the second 1707, and 1711, 8vo. 4. Dedication to Edward Hyde, Baron Clifton, of *the Gentleman instructed in the conduct of a virtuous and happy Life*. Third Edition, 1707, in 12mo. 5. Preface to a *Latin Letter of Dr. Morley, late Bishop of Winchester, to the learned Janus Ulitius, made English by the Reverend Mr. James Hope*, depriv'd Curate of Easington, under Dr. Denys Granville, depriv'd Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, 1707, in 4to. 6. Preface to two Discourses, viz. 1. *Of the strict Observance of Ash-Wednesday*. 2. *A Defence of those who keep Lent*, 1708, 12mo. 7. Dedication to the Duchess of Ormond, recommending *the Education of a Daughter*, by the Author of *Telemachus*, made English 1708, in 12mo. 8. Preface to *The Divine Right of Episcopacy asserted*, by — Tremellier, 1708, in 8vo. 9. Preface to seventeen Sermons of Dr. William Hopkins, published by the Dean, *being an account of his Life and Works*, 1708, in 8vo. 10. Preliminary discourse to *Spinoza reviv'd*, 1709, in 8vo. 11. Preface to the *Invalidity of Lay-Baptism*, in a Letter to the Author, by Mr. Roger Lawrence, 1709, in 8vo. 12. Recommendation to the very Reverend Mr. Hilckiah Bedford's translation of *the Answer to Fontenelle's History of Oracles*, 1709,

in 8vo. 13. Preface to twelve Sermons of Mr. Cock, the depriv'd Vicar of St. Oswald's Durham, with some account of his Life, 1710, in 8vo. 14. Preface to *Episcopal Ordination the only Apostolical Ordination*, by Archdeacon Hamilton, 1713, in 8vo. 15. Letter before Groome's *Dignity and Honour of the Clergy*, 1710, in 8vo. 16. Preface to the *Devotions in the antient way of Offices*, published by the Dean four times; the last edition, 1712, in 8vo. A farther account of the Reformation and Reformer of this book, Mrs. Susanna Hopton, may be seen in the Preface to *the second Collection of Controversial Letters*. 17. A short Recommendation to Sir John Hayward's *Passion Week*. 18. Judgment prefixed to Mr. Archibald Campbell's book entitled, *Some primitive Doctrines reviv'd*, 1713, in 8vo, and reprinted in Folio, 1721. Besides the abovementioned Sermons, there are still several in MS. in a private hand, from whose accurate judgment and known impartiality, it is not to be doubted but the world and the Dean's memory will receive equal justice.

[G] *Interred.*] The Inscription on his Tomb-stone is, *Depositum Georgii Hicke, S. T. P. non ita pridem Coll. Linc. Oxon. Socii, & Ecclesie Cathedralis Wigorniensis Decani qui obiit 15 die Decembris 1715*: by his own direction, as appears from his Will, printed 1716, in 8vo.

(a) Steph. Byzant. Βραχυμῆτις & Ταρχυμία.

HIEROCLES, the author of a book intitled, Φιλίσοπος, *The Lovers of History* (a) had related a great many fabulous stories, if we may judge of his book by the passages which Tzetzes has quoted from it. He asserted that the torrid Zone is inhabited by men whose ears serve them for an umbrella, and by others whose feet served them for the same purpose when they lifted them up. He boasted that he had seen it; and that he heard it reported that there are some men who have no heads, and others who have ten heads, four hands and four feet (b). It is not known at what time he lived, but it is not in the least probable, that he is the same Hierocles, who from a Wrestler turned Philosopher, and who was a native of Hyllarima, a city of Caria (c).

(b) Tzetzes, Chil. 7. Histor. 146. ex Hierocle.

(c) Steph. Byzant. Φοε Τηλλάρμα.

HIEROCLES, a great persecutor of the Christians in the beginning of the fourth Century, was at first President of Bithynia, and afterwards Governor of Alexandria. He was the chief promoter of the bloody persecution, which the Christians suffered under the Emperor Dioclesian. It was not sufficient for him to crush them by the power he enjoyed by means of his employments, he would also destroy them with his pen; for which purpose he composed two writings which he addressed to them, and in which he endeavoured to prove, that the holy Scripture refutes itself by the inconsistencies with which it abounds, according to him. He railed against our Saviour, and against his Apostles, and he made a parallel between Jesus Christ's miracles, and those of Apollonius of Tyana, in order to shew that Apollonius was equal and even superior to Jesus Christ in that respect (a). Two Fathers of the Church have refuted him [A]. It is reported, that

(a) Taken from Lactantius, cap. 2. 3. Divin. Institutionum. See the remark [A].

[A] *Two fathers of the Church have refuted him.*] Namely, Lactantius and Eusebius. The former relates that at the time he was teaching rhetoric in Bithynia (1), and the Church of the Christians was pulled down there, two authors undertook to write with a design to insult the truth that was oppressed. One of these writers was a Philosopher, whose work was despised, and soon neglected. The other was one of the Judges, and handled this subject with more malice. *Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripsit, qui erat tum è memero judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ persecutionis fuit, quo scelere non contentus, etiam scriptis eos, quos affixerat, infecutus est. Composuit enim libellos duos non contra Christianos, ne inimicè insectari videretur, sed ad Christianos, ut humanè ac benignè consuleretur; in quibus ita falsitatem scripturæ sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria; nam quedam capita, quæ repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur . . . præcipue*

(1) Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. 5. cap. 2.

tamen Paulum Petramque laceravit, cæterosque discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminarios, quos eisdem tamen rudes, & indoctos fuisse testatus est; nam quosdam eorum piscatorio artificio fecisse quæstum . . . (2). Ipsum autem Christum affirmavit à Judæis fugatum, collecta noningentorum hominum manu latrocinia fecisse. . . Item cum facta ejus mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit ostendere Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse (3). (3) Idem, ibid. cap. 3. pag. 308.

i. e. "There was another who wrote upon the same subject more smartly: he was then one of the Judges, and had been the chief promoter of the persecution, which the Christians suffered; but not being satisfied with this crime, he attempted to abuse them in his writings, whom he had already vexed as a Judge. He wrote therefore two small books, not against the Christians, lest he should seem to inveigh against them as an enemy, but addressed to the Christians, that he might be thought to advise them kindly as a friend. In these books he endeavoured to prove that the holy Scripture is false, by shewing

the holy martyr Ædeseus, being acted by a very great zeal, approached him whilst he was presiding at the trial of some Christians at Alexandria, and loaded him with shame both by words and deeds ; I mean that whilst Hierocles was upon his Tribunal, Ædeseus gave him a box on the ear, upbraiding him with his infamous cruelty [B]. I shall take notice of some blunders of Moreri and of Cardinal Baronius's [C].

HIEROCLES,

“ that it is inconsistent with itself; he insisted upon
“ some points which seemed to contradict each other,
“ and he had collected so many secret particulars, that
“ he appears to have been for some time a Christian
“ himself. . . . He abused chiefly Peter and Paul,
“ and the other disciples, as though they had been
“ the contrivers of the cheat, and yet he confessed
“ at the same time that they wanted skill and learning;
“ for some of them gained their bread by being fish-
“ ermen. . . He asserted also, that Christ himself be-
“ ing banished by the Jews, assembled nine hundred
“ men, at whose head he robbed and plundered the
“ country. . . And to evade the consequence of Christ's
“ miracles, the truth of which he did not disown, he
“ pretended to prove that Apollonius had performed
“ such or even greater wonders.”

We do not meet with that author's name in this passage ; but we do not doubt but Lactantius meant the same Judge whom he calls Hierocles in another book.

*Incidisti . . . in Hieroclem ex Vicario præsidem, qui auctor
& consiliarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit (4). i. e.*
“ You fell into the hands of Hierocles, who from
“ a Lieutenant became a Magistrate, and was the
“ chief author and adviser of the persecution.” In
order to confirm this, we shall make two observations, the one concerning the title of the book which this great persecutor of the Christians wrote; the other concerning the name which Eusebius gives to the author of that book.

*Asus est libros suos nefarios, ac
Dei hostes φιλολατρίαις annotare. i. e.* “ He dared to in-
“ title his abominable and impious books, *The Lovers*

(4) Lactant. *De Mortib. Persecutorum.* pag. 311. cap. 3. *of Truth.* These are Lactantius's words (5). Now Eusebius calls the author of the book intitled *Φιλολατρίαις*, Hierocles (6). It is therefore unquestionable, that the author whose name does not appear in Lactantius's

(6) Euseb. *contra Hieroclem.* pag. 511, 514. *Vo- lum. de Demost. Evangel.* 5th book, is the same who is called Hierocles in the treatise *de Mortibus Persecutorum*. i. e. “ Of the deaths of the Persecutors.” Observe that Eusebius in his refutation of this author confines himself to the parallel between Jesus Christ's miracles, and those of Apollonius of Tyanea. He does not attempt to answer the other objections, and only observes, that Origen had refuted them beforehand in his book against Celsus, and that Hierocles only borrowed the thoughts and expressions of another. Observe also with regard to this parallel, that Eusebius only cursorily runs over Apollonius's Life written by Philostratus, and makes a few critical remarks upon it. It is certain that Eusebius has not done wonders in that refutation. Here follows what Dr. Cave said of it. *Posterioris hujus operis partem de comparatione Apollonii cum Christo refutandam in se suscepit Eusebius libro contra Hieroclem; quod & SATIS JUNGE præstitit, cum potius Philostrati libros de vita Apollonii in eo opusculo breviter percussit & refellit (7).* i. e. “ Eusebius undertook to confute in his book

(7) Cave, *Hist. Liter. Script. Ecclæs.* Part 2. pag. m. 61.

“ against Hierocles the latter part of this work,
“ which contains a parallel between Apollonius and
“ Jesus Christ : but he has done it very indifferently,
“ for he rather runs over and refutes Philostratus's
“ Life of Apollonius.” Observe lastly, that Lactantius did not design to make a particular answer to Hierocles ; for he is so far from following him closely, that he never answers directly any objection transcribed from the work of that enemy of Christ. His design was to establish the foundations of the Gospel, and to ruin those of Paganism : he thought that this would be answering at once all that the adversaries of Christianity had published, or would publish for the future. *Li- tergo, de quibus dixi, cum præsentem me ac dolente, sacrilegas suas literas explicassent, & illorum superba impetate stimulatæ, & veritatis ipsius conscientia, & (ut ego arbitror) Deo, suscepti hoc manus, ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accusatores justitiæ refutarem; non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poteram, sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profugarem. Non dubito enim, quin & alii plurimi, & multis in locis, & non modo Græcis, sed etiam Latinis literis monumentum injustitiæ suæ firaverim,*

quibus singulis quoniam respondere non poteram, sic agendam mihi hanc causam putavi, ut & priores cum omnibus suis scriptis perverterem, & futuris omnium facultatem scribendi, aut respondendi amputarem (8). i. e. “ When

“ therefore, they, whom I have mentioned, had ex-
“ plained before me and to my grief, their sacrilegious
“ opinions, I being provoked at their haughty impiety,
“ and animated by the knowledge of truth, and, as I
“ imagine, moved by God himself, have under-
“ taken to refute the enemies of religion, with all the
“ strength I am capable of. I do not indeed design to
“ write against them who can be answered in a few
“ words, but to bear down with one stroke all those who
“ any where undertake or have undertaken the same
“ task. For I do not doubt, but several others, in a
“ great many places have left monuments of their im-
“ piety not only in Greek, but also in Latin; and as
“ I could not make a particular answer to every one
“ of them, I thought it was proper thus to plead this
“ cause, that I might overthrow the former authors
“ with all their mights, and at the same time put it
“ out of the power of any future author both to write
“ any more (against our religion) and to answer me.”

[B] *It is reported, that . . . Ædeseus gave Hierocles a box on the ear, upbraiding him with his infamous cruelty.* Eusebius does not express himself clearly, but we ought to think that this circumstance is implicitly

meant by the words he made use of. *Λόγους τε & ἔργους τὸν δικαστὴν αἰχμήν & ἀτιμίαν περιβαλὼν.* i. e. “ He
“ loaded the Judge with shame and disgrace both by
“ his words and deeds (9).” Here follows Valesius's

note upon this passage (10). *In hoc Eusebii loco, ἀτιμίαν quidem designat verbera, quibus iudex affectus est ab Ædeseo. αἰχμήν verò denotat convicia, quibus Ædeseus iudicem ipsum appetiit. Utrumque autem indicat Eusebius*

his verbis: λόγους τε & ἔργους τὸν δικαστὴν, &c. i. e. “ In this passage of Eusebius, the word *ἀτιμία* (dis-
“ grace) relates to the blows which Ædeseus gave the
“ Judge ; and the word *αἰχμήν* (shame) signifies the re-
“ proaches he loaded him with. Eusebius gives us
“ both these particulars to understand in these words ;
“ *By his words and deeds he loaded the Judge, &c.*”

Eusebius does not tell us the name of the Judge who was treated thus ; it is from other writers that we learn his name was Hierocles. You will find this, with some other particulars, in the following words of Metaphrastes: you will find there, that he struck the Governor of all Egypt, that he threw him down on the ground, and repeated his blows. *Post hanc calamitatem, incidit in Hieroclem, qui totam Ægyptum administrabat. Hunc cum in Dei martyres injuria ferventem animadvertisset, sanctasque Dei virgines iradentem nominibus, nec tantam indignitatem perferre posset, simile fratrem facinus aggreditur. Namque Divino repletus zelo procedit, & verbis ac factis Hieroclem confundit. Manu enim sua plagas illi in os infligit, humique supinum prosternit & cædit: ac mones, ne audeat contra naturæ leges Dei servos offendere (11).* i. e. “ After this calamity he met with

“ Hierocles, who was Governor of all Egypt. And
“ observing that this man unjustly raged against God's
“ Martyrs, and exposed God's holy Virgins to the
“ panders, and not being able to suffer so great an in-
“ justice, he attempted an action like that of his bro-
“ ther; for being animated with a divine zeal, he
“ loaded Hierocles with shame both by words and deeds :
“ for he struck him on the face with his hand, and
“ throwing him down he continued to beat him, warn-
“ ing him, never to venture any more to vex God's
“ servants against the laws of nature.” Valesius quotes the *Meneum* or Martyrology of the Greeks; in which it is asserted that Hierocles the Governor was struck by Ædeseus at Alexandria (12):

[C] *I shall take notice of some blunders of Moreri and of Cardinal Baronius.]* I. He styles our Hierocles a Platonic Philosopher, though he was not so much as a

Philosopher, taking the word in a general sense. I have not met with any author among the ancients, that makes him of that profession; and I find that

Dr.

(8) Lactant. *Divin. Instit.* lib. 5. cap. 4. pag. 311.

(9) Euseb. *de Martyr. Palestin.* cap. 5. pag. m. 326.

(10) Valesius, *Not. in Eusebium*, *ibid.* pag. m. 177.

(11) Metaphrastes, *apud Valecium*, *ibid.*

(12) *Αὐτοχρηστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἱεροκλῆν;* i. e. “ his own brand.”

HIEROCLES, the son of that Alypius, who had commanded the Roman Army in England,

(13) *Philosophus, an solum homo politicus, non liquet.* i. e. "It is not certain whether he was a Philosopher, or only a Politician. Cave, *Hist. Liter.* Part 2. pag. m. 279. He styles him a Philosopher in Part 2. pag. 61. without telling us how his doubts were removed.

(14) Baron. *ad an.* 68. num. 31. pag. m. 654.

(15) *Idem, ibid.*

(16) This blunder has been corrected in the Dutch edition, and in that of Paris.

(17) Lactant. lib. 5. cap. 2, and 4.

(18) Taken from Lactant. *ibid.* cap. 2.

(19) Baronius, *ad an.* 302. num. 51. pag. m. 730.

(20) *Ineptus, vanus, ridiculus apparuit.* i. e. "He appeared to be impertinent, silly and ridiculous." Lactant. *Divin. Institut.* lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. 307.

(21) *Idem, ibid.*

Dr. Cave amongst the moderns, doubts whether we ought to call him a Philosopher (13). II. Moreri mentions another *Hierocles an Heathen Philosopher, and one of the Judges of the Areopagus, who laboured to demonstrate that Apollonius of Tyanea was the same with Jesus Christ.* Eusebius wrote against him, adds he. This is multiplying beings without any necessity. For that Hierocles, who was refuted by Eusebius, does not differ from him, whom Moreri had given an account of in the preceding article, and whom he had called a Platonic Philosopher.

III. We know of no Hierocles who was a Judge of the Areopagus. Cardinal Baronius who has misled Moreri in this particular, might very easily have avoided that mistake; for he grounded his assertion on Lactantius's authority, whose very words he transcribes (14). Now Lactantius tells us expressly, that the author who wrote against the Christians, was one of the Judges in Bithynia. Since therefore Baronius supposed very rightly, that the name of this adversary of the Christians was Hierocles, he should not have placed him among the Judges of the Areopagus. Take notice that he is in the right to observe, that Eusebius and Lactantius wrote against the same Hierocles; and yet Moreri, who only transcribes from Baronius, mentions two Hierocles's to us, the one refuted by Lactantius, the other by Eusebius. IV. Moreri did not understand these words of Baronius. *Nil magis monstrare conatus est (Hierocles) quam Apollonium aequalem fuisse Christo* (15). i. e. "The chief thing, which Hierocles laboured to prove is, that Apollonius was equal to Jesus Christ." Moreri imagined that these words signify, that Hierocles pretended to prove that Apollonius was the same with Jesus Christ (16). What I have still to observe is rather against Cardinal Baronius, than against Moreri. We have seen above, that Lactantius mentions two Heathen authors, who wrote against the Christians. Baronius pretends that our Hierocles is the second of these authors, and that Porphyry is the first. Moreri transcribes this without making any critical remark upon it. He declares indeed that in this particular he follows Baronius's opinion. Let us therefore level our remarks against this Cardinal, and observe to him, that he would not have found Porphyry's character in that passage of Lactantius, had he examined it narrowly. The former of these Heathen authors was at Nicomedia at the same time with Lactantius, and published his invective against the Christians in that very city (17). He was a man abandoned to all manner of vice; covetous, voluptuous, and excessively prodigal in his diet. He was very rich, and made his court very assiduously to the Judges, in order to enrich himself more and more; namely, by selling their verdicts, and stopping the proceedings that were carried on against him by his neighbours, whose estates he seized upon. The three books he published against the Christians were very silly and ridiculous; he knew nothing of the matter, and knew not what he said. The Christians laughed at him, and he miscarried most wretchedly in his design (18). Such is the character of this author and of his book, if we may credit Lactantius. How then could Baronius (19) imagine that Porphyry was hinted at in this description? Where did he find that Porphyry continued a great while at Nicomedia? A man cannot court the favour of the Judges in order to keep possession of the lands, on which he unjustly seizes about his country houses; a man, I say, cannot do this, when he is a travelling; it is such a conduct as requires a fixed abode, and a settled establishment. If therefore Baronius were in the right, it must be supposed that Porphyry was thus settled at Nicomedia; now this is a circumstance which no author ever mentioned. This Philosopher spent the greatest part of his life at Rome and in Sicily; and besides, he was never charged with indulging himself in sensual pleasures; and after all, he did not write in a silly manner against the Christians. They complained indeed of his cavils, of his malice, and of his slanders; but they did not assert, that he wanted wit, or that his books were impertinent and ridiculous (20), or that they exposed him to the censure of the heathens themselves, instead of the reputation he expected. *Verum hic, pro sua inani contemptus est; qui gratiam, quam speravit, non est adeptus, et gloria, quam captavit, in culpam reprehensionis conversa est* (21). i. e. "But this author was

despised for his silliness; nor did he gain the favour of the heathens as he expected; and instead of the reputation he aimed at, he was only blamed." Porphyry had been a Christian, according to Baronius (22); he ought not therefore to have been so grossly ignorant of the subject he handled, as the person whom Lactantius mentions; for you must observe, that this father, having asserted, that that writer examined several things in particular, adds immediately, *one would think that he had been formerly a Christian, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur* (23). This observation ought to have been of some weight with Baronius, not to mistake Porphyry in the character, which Lactantius gives us of the Philosopher, who wrote ignorantly and impertinently against the persecuted Christians.

To conclude, let us observe that the preface which this Philosopher had prefixed to his Book, is proper to shew us how much the persecutions carried on by the Heathen were like those which the Christians carry on. A selfish and flattering Author never fails to write against the persecuted Party; he looks upon it as a fair opportunity to commend his Prince, and will be sure to improve it. He expatiates on the service that is done to God, and on the charity of the Teachers, who ought to make instruction go hand in hand with the authority of the laws, that they, who have the misfortune to err, being brought back to the knowledge of the truth, may thus escape the Punishment, which their obstinacy would otherwise draw upon them. This voluptuous Philosopher of Nicomedia omitted none of those common-place Topics; one would think that he was the model, which several French Authors copied after, who wrote whilst the Protestants were persecuted in France. You will find in the following passage, how he expressed himself. *Professus ante omnia Philosophi officium esse, erroribus hominum subvenire; atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id est, ad cultus Deorum; quorum numine ac majestate (ut ille dicebat) mundus gubernetur: nec pati, homines imperitos quorundam fraudibus illici; ne simplicitas eorum praece ac pabulo sit hominibus astutis. Itaque se suscepisse hoc munus, philosophia dignum; ut praeferret non videntibus lumen sapientiae; non modo ut susceptis Deorum cultibus resanescant, sed etiam ut pertinaci obstinatione deposita, corporis cruciamenta devitent; neu saevae membrorum lacerationes frustra perpeti velint. Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratia opus illud elaborasset, effusus est in principum laudes; quorum pietas, et providentia (ut quidem ipse dicebat) cum in ceteris rebus humanis, tum praecipue in defendendis Deorum religionibus claruisset; consultum esse tandem rebus humanis, ut cohibita impia et anili superstitione, universi homines legitimis sacris vacarent, ac propitios sibi Deos experirentur* (24). i. e. "He declared first of all, that it is

the Duty of a Philosopher to undeceive men in their Errors, and to lead them back into the road of truth, that is to say, to the worship of the Gods, by whose Providence and Power, as he pretended, this World is governed; and not to suffer that unskilful Persons be imposed upon by the artifice of others, lest their innocence should make them a prey to crafty men. That he therefore undertook this task, worthy of a Philosopher, in order to carry the light of wisdom before those that were blind; not only that they might come to their right sense again and worship the Gods, but also that by renouncing their obstinacy, they might avoid the cruel punishments that were designed for them, and not expose themselves any longer in vain, to have their members tortured and torn in pieces. And that it might appear with what design he wrote that book, he expatiated on the praises of the Princes, whose piety and wisdom, as he said, had been eminent not only in the government of civil affairs, but also chiefly in defending and promoting the worship of the Gods. That the welfare of human kind was at last provided for, by suppressing that impious and silly superstition, and bringing all men to a lawful worship, which would render the Gods kind and propitious to them." It is easier to recede from the method of the persecutor Dioclesian, than from that of his Panegyrist.

(22) Baron. *ad an.* 302. num. 53. *ubi vocat* Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 19. N. B. It is cap. 23. in Reading's edition, published at Cambridge 1720.

(23) Lactant. lib. 5. cap. 2.

(24) *Idem, ibid.* pag. 306.

England, and whom Julian the Apostate sent to Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple, was impeached together with his father, under the Emperor Valens, and tormented so cruelly, that they did no longer know which of his members to torture again, in order to extort from him by the violence of the rack, what they would have him declare (a). Orders were at last given to carry him to the place of execution; but whilst he was going thither, the whole people addressed the Emperor in a body, and petitioned him so earnestly for that man, that they obtained his pardon. This is what may be inferred from a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, compared with another in St. Chrysostom [A]. Our Hierocles was a disciple of Libanius, and had a great share in his esteem [B].

(a) *Omni laniena excruciato, ut verba placencia Principis, vel potius arcessitori loqueretur, quocum pennis non latuerent membra, vivis exuisset.* Amm. Marcell. lib. 29. cap. 14. pag. 556.

[A] He obtained his Pardon. This is what may be inferred from a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, compared with St. Chrysostom. The passage in Marcellinus is as follows. *Ipsē quoque Alypius, post multationem bonorum exulare præceptus, filium miserabiliter ductum ad mortem, casu quodam prospero revocatum excepit* (1). i. e. "Alypius being ordered to go into banishment, his estate being forfeited, did also by a lucky event recover his Son who was unhappily going to be executed." The passage from St. Chrysostom is in the third Homily on the incomprehensible nature of God. This Father, in order to acquaint his audience with the powerful efficacy of a whole people's prayer, quoted to them an instance which they had seen ten years ago, when a certain malefactor, who was going to the place of execution with a gag in his mouth,

(1) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 29. pag. 557.

obtained his pardon at the request of the whole people of Antioch, who went in a body to petition the Emperor for him. Valesius (2) does not doubt but this Malefactor was Hierocles the son of Alypius.

(2) Hen. Valesius, in Marcellin. lib. 29. pag. 557.

[B] He had a great share in the esteem of Libanius. Libanius in a letter to Alypius (3) tells him, that his son being still but a Child, appeared wiser than grown persons, and that there were several fathers, who when they reproved their children, proposed to them the example of Alypius's son. Ammianus Marcellinus's character of him agrees upon the whole with that which Libanius gives him. *Citatus est cum Hierocle filio adolescente indolis bonæ.* i. e. "He was summoned with his son Hierocles, a youth of a virtuous disposition (4)."

(3) Lib. 4. Epist. 284. apud Valecium, *ibid.*

(4) *Citatus est cum Hierocle filio, adolescente indolis bonæ.* Amm. Marcell. *ibid.* pag. 556.

HIEROCLES, a Platonic Philosopher in the fifth Century, taught at Alexandria with great reputation, and was admired for the strength of his mind, and the beauty of his noble expressions (a). He wrote seven books upon Providence and Fate, and dedicated them to the Philosopher Olympiodorus, who by his embassies did the Roman Empire great services, under the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius the younger (b). These books are lost, and we know them only by the extracts which are to be met with in Photius. It appears from these extracts that Hierocles had shewed, that there is a perfect agreement between Plato's doctrine and that of Aristotle, and that they who denied it, did not well understand the opinions of these two great Philosophers (c). He racked his brains a thousand ways to remove the difficulties which occur in the doctrines of Providence, Fate, and Freewill; and he pretended that the ground or principle of all this consisted in the soul's passing from one body into another, and in the life which the souls had led before they entered into human bodies. He spent all his strength upon this subject, so that he had none left to think of strong arguments proper to establish the doctrine he undertook to prove (d); and therefore Photius observes, that all his great shew of reasoning came at last to nothing but trifles (e). We may observe something very singular in this Philosopher's doctrine; for he asserted that Plato taught, the world was made out of nothing [A].

(a) Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 242. pag. m. 1037.

(b) Idem, Cod. 214. pag. 549.

(c) Idem, *ibid.*

(d) Idem, *ibid.*

(e) *Εἰς ἄλλοι ἀπο τοῦ πολὺ μολοῦτον διαλύονται σπουδαίως. Ἰν πηγὰς οὐρεσὶ ἰλλὰ μακρινὰ ἀβίη. Idem, *ibid.**

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[A] He asserted that Plato taught, the world was made out of nothing. Hierocles (1) refused in a very strong manner the Platonick Philosophers, who asserted, that though God should operate eternally by his power and wisdom, he would yet be incapable of forming a world without the help of uncreated matter. These Philosophers maintained that God did not produce any thing but by co-operation of matter, the existence or being of which did not depend on him. Every thing, added they, was potentially contained in that matter; God only extracted things from it, and put them in order. Hierocles argued with a great deal of judgment against this Hypothesis; he asserted that such a work of God would be the effect of an unnecessary labour, rather than a proof of goodness. *Ὁ δημιουργὸς μᾶλλον ἀνὲν ἀγαθότητος θεῶ. Quod supervacanea potius esset diligentia quam bonitatis Dei* (2). For why should he labour to put that in order which he has not made? Is not a being that is from all eternity self-existent sufficiently regular? And is not every thing that happens to such a being against the nature of it? And is it not therefore a defect? *Τὸ γὰρ δὴ μὴ εἶναι ἄ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ διατάττειται πᾶσι, πάντως περὶ τῆς εὐταξίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως κειμένης; τὸ γὰρ ἀγνοίᾳ κατ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφίσταται ἢ τι προσλάβει, παρὰ φύσιν προσλήψεται. τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν διατεθῆναι, κακὸν τῷ μετατρέποντι ὡς ἐκ ἀγαθοῦ τῇ λεγομένη ὕλη τὸ κοσμοῦσθαι, εἴπερ ἀγνοίᾳ εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ χρόνου μοιοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ. i. e. "Why does he endeavour to put that into order, which he has not created, since things that are not created, are of their own na-*

(1) Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 251. pag. 1380.

(2) Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 251. pag. 1380.

ture in a good order? For if any thing be added to what is uncreated and self-existent, it is added against nature; now what is added against nature is bad; so that it is not good to adorn the said matter, since it is uncreated, not only with regard to time, but also with regard to the cause of its existing (3). He infers from thence that God could not have begun his work but by an evil action (4), namely, by undertaking to deprive a substance uncreated like himself and his own sister, of her natural condition. These are such strong arguments (5), that whoever weighs them duly, and is concerned for Plato's reputation, will endeavour to prove, that he did not admit two collateral principles, both eternal and independent from each other, viz. God and matter. This is no doubt the reason why our Hierocles ascribed to him the doctrine of a Creation strictly so called. I am apt to think, that he had read it in the writings of the Christians, and that being sensible of the strength of the arguments, which shew the absurdity of an uncreated Matter, and adding to this the most exalted notions of a Creator, whose power and majesty are infinite, he supposed, for the glory of his sect, that its founder had known God under the notion of a being, who by a bare act of his will was capable of producing the universe. *Ὅτι δημιουργὸν θεῶν, φησὶ, προφίσησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἰφιστάται πάσης ἐμφαντοῦς τε καὶ ἀφαντοῦς διακοσμήσεως, ἐκ μηδενος ἀπὸ προκειμένου γεννημένης. ἀρκῶν γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνου βούλησιν αἰς ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὄντων. i. e. "Plato, says he, supposed that God is the author of all, and that he has produced this whole universe with all that is visible"*

(3) Idem, *ibid.*

(4) *Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δημιουργίας ἀπὸ τινος κακοπρίας ἐνσπείρειται. i. e. "Beginning his creation with an evil action." Idem, *ibid.**

(5) Compare this with what is observed in the remark [R] of the article EPICURUS.

He married only with a design to get children [B]. His wife became possessed with the Devil (f). In vain did he use the most civil expressions to deliver her from that Devil; the evil spirit had no regard to his compliments: but Theopsebius (g), without understanding Magic, exorcised her so effectually, that he forced the Devil to retire. Jonsius, who proves very strongly that our Hierocles lived after Eusebius, is however mistaken in other particulars [C], namely, in supposing that he was the author of an History of Apollonius of Tyana, and that the seven books concerning Providence were refuted by a writer named Eusebius, different from him who wrote the Church History, &c.

(f) Photius, Cod. 242. pag. m. 1037.

(g) He was a disciple of Hierocles.

(6) Photius, Bibliob. Cod. 251. pag. 1381.

(7) See there-mark [C] in the article HEMMINGIUS.

(8) Photius, Bibliob. Cod. 242. pag. 1037.

(9) Δακτύλιον ἁγιος καὶ παιδῶν τοῦ συμβιβασίου. i. e. "A ring rendering the union fruitful." Idem, ibid.

(10) Idem, ibid.

(a) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 155, 156.

(b) Diod. Siculus, lib. 10. cap. 67. See also Plutarch. de Sera Numinis Provid. pag. 551, 552.

(c) Idem, Diod. ibid.

(d) Idem, ibid. cap. 48.

"visible and invisible in it out of nothing that existed before; because his will alone was sufficient to produce whatever exists (6)." But it would be very easy to shew that this is an officious lie, since Plato does very clearly suppose the being of an independent and uncreated matter. We may therefore assert, that Hierocles made use on this occasion of his skill as much as he had done in any other; I mean the skill of putting such a sense as one pleases upon an Author's words (7), or at least of finding two or three different systems in his works. He understood this practice perfectly well; for the two explications he gave of Plato's Gorgias, were intirely different, and yet they seemed to agree with the Platonick Doctrine. These are sports of wit, but which require a most fruitful imagination. Ἀντικαβαλῶν τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὰ ὕστερα ἕρου εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπῆν· ἑκάτερον δὲ ὁμοίως, ὃ καὶ παράλογον ἀκούσθαι, τῆς Πλάτωνος ἐχόμενα, καθόσον οὐκ εἰς προαιρέσιον. τὸτο μὲν ἐν ἰσθμῶνται, τοῦ ἀνδρός ἡλικίῃ ἢ ἄρα τὸ τῶν φρονῶν πύλαος. i. e. "When his two explications were compared together, they appeared, if I may say so, very different; and yet, which looks like a Paradox, both his explications seemed to agree with Plato's Doctrine. Which shews how fruitful this man's genius was."

[B] He married only with a design to get children.] Damascius makes the same observation with regard to Theopsebius a Disciple of Hierocles, and this shews us that the most celebrated Platonick Philosophers were persuaded, that these were the true rules and real bounds of Matrimony, and that all that went beyond these limits, was a disorder, or at least a licentiousness, in which wise men ought not to indulge themselves. This Theopsebius finding that his wife was barren, made a ring of chastity, and gave it her. Formerly, said he to her, I made you a present of a ring of generation (9), but now I give you a ring of continence, which will help you to lead constantly a chaste life. Ἐπικερὸν σοὶ παρεσόμενον αἰεὶ τῆς σώφροσ· εἰ- κωρίας. i. e. "It will always be to you a help to chastity (10)." You may continue with me, if you please, and if you can contain yourself; but if you do not like this condition, you may marry another man; I consent to it, and the only favour I beg of

you is, that we may part friends. She readily accepted the offer. Here my Author stops, and leaves us in the dark; for we do not know whether the woman accepted the former or the latter offer. The Author should not have left his account thus ambiguous.

[C] Jonsius, who proves that our Hierocles lived after Eusebius, is however mistaken in other particulars.] His first Argument is, that Hierocles mentioned Plutarch the Athenian, who lived after Jamblichus (11). Now the latter flourished under Julian the Apostate; we have still some letters, which this Emperor wrote to him. The second argument is, that Olympiodorus, to whom Hierocles's Books were dedicated, did not live before the reigns of Honorius and Theodosius the Younger; for he wrote an History which began with the seventh Consulship of Honorius, and the second of Theodosius the Younger, and he continued it to the reign of Valentinian, or to the year 425 (12). Jonsius is in the right on this foot to maintain, that the same Eusebius, who wrote the Church History, the Evangelical Preparation, &c. did not refute the writings of this Hierocles; but he is mistaken when he asserts that they have been refuted by another Eusebius. Here follows the cause of his blunder. He imagined that the same Hierocles, who composed the seven books upon Fate, wrote also the History of Apollonius of Tyanea, entitled, Philalethes, and of which there is a refutation amongst the works of Eusebius. This is mistaking Hierocles the Persecutor of Christians under the Emperor Dioclesian, for Hierocles a Philosopher of Alexandria under Theodosius the Younger. It is a little surprising that Jonsius, who had a very extensive and exact Knowledge of the Authors who had the same name, knew nothing of the President of Bithinya, and Governor of Alexandria, who vexed the Christians so much, who wrote against them, and whose name was Hierocles. Let us infer from all this, that this learned man was mistaken in believing that Eusebius refutes our Hierocles's opinions upon Fate. It is certain that Eusebius refuted only the opinion of Apollonius, such as he had read it in Philostratus (13).

(11) Jonsius, de Script. Hist. Phil. sep. pag. 303.

(12) Idem, ibid. pag. 324. He quotes Photius, Cod. 80.

(13) Observe, that Dr. Cave, Hist. Literar. Script. Eccl. Part 1. pag. 131. censures these two blunders of Jonsius.

HIERO I King of Syracuse was the son of Dinomenes and the brother of Gelon, who after he had invaded the sovereign power at Gela, was so happy as to see the city of Syracuse submit to him, when he had no other design but to restore some citizens of that City, whom the populace had banished. He was so well pleased with this new acquisition, that of his own accord he resigned Gela to his brother Hiero, and applied himself entirely to the government of Syracuse, employing all possible means to put that city in the most flourishing condition (a). His reign was glorious and happy; he acquired a great reputation by his victories, and gained the love of his subjects by his equity and moderation (b). Hiero, who succeeded him, did not follow his steps; he was covetous and passionate, and was very far from imitating Gelon's virtuous conduct; for which reason several persons had a mind to rebel against him; but the memory of his predecessor was so dear to them and so glorious, that it prevented their rebellion (c). He had a great mind to put his brother Polyzelus to death, whom the Syracusans loved very much, and whom he suspected to aim at the sovereign power. He designed to send him to assist the Sybarites, who were besieged by the Crotonians: he designed, I say, to send him thither, that he might be killed in battle; but Polyzelus, who perceived his wicked intention, refused the employment, and seeing that the King his brother was extremely exasperated at his refusal, retired to the Court of Theron, who reigned at Agrigentum. They were sometime after reconciled by Theron's mediation (d). The latter might have made an advantage of this misunderstanding, but he was an honest man (e), and would reward one kind office with another [A]. His son Thrasyldeus suc-

(e) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 53.

[A] Theron would reward one kind office with another.] Whilst Hiero was making prepara-

tions to attack Theron, to whose court his brother was retired, the inhabitants of Himera sent him Deputies

ceeded him, and was unfortunate in the war in which he engaged against the Syracusans. Hiero invaded the country of the Agrigentines with a strong army, and gained a victory which made Thrasyldeus lose his crown (f). Observe here the difference there is between Poets and Historians. The same Hiero, who is represented as a very accomplished Prince in Pindar's Odes [B], appears to be a very bad King in Diodorus Siculus's History. I think, that if the Poet flatters him too much, the Historian does not treat him with a sufficient impartiality; for he does not relate all that is to his honour; I mean, that Hiero became more moderate, and was very much improved in his morals by conversing with some men of wit [C], whom he loved and loaded with favours. He died in the city of Catania the second year of the 78th Olympiad (g), after he had reigned near twelve years (h). It was a city which he had entirely changed, having driven the ancient inhabitants out of it, and settled there in their stead a Colony of Greeks from Peloponnesus, and from Syracuse (i). He changed its name of Catania into that of Ætna, and would himself be surnamed Ætneus, when he was proclaimed Conqueror at the Pythick Games (k). The solemnities of his burial were like those that used to be celebrated for heroes (l). His brother Thrasylbulus succeeded him, but his tyrannical actions forced the citizens of Syracuse to revolt, and they reduced him to such straits, that he was obliged to submit to very hard terms. He retired into Italy in the country of the Locri, where he past the remainder of his days in a private life. He reigned but one year. The citizens of Syracuse having restored the Republican Government, continued it till the time of Dionysius's tyranny. This was an interval of threescore years (m). We may observe, that it is surprising that Dinomenes, Hiero's son, did not succeed him.

(f) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 53.

(g) Idem, ibid. cap. 66.

(h) Idem, ibid. cap. 38. pag. m. 397.

(i) Idem, ibid. cap. 49.

(k) See Pindar. Pyth. Od. 1. & ibid. Commentar. Job. Benedicti.

(l) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 66. Observe that the ancient inhabitants of Catania settled again in that city, and destroyed the monument raised to Hiero. See Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 185.

(m) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 67, 68.

He

to offer him their assistance, and even to let him know that they were determined to live under his Government. Thrasyldeus, Theron's son, had been sent to command them, and had made himself odious to them by his outrages and by his pride. Hiero took hold of this opportunity, not to prosecute his design of continuing the war, but to procure a pacification. He gave the King of Agrigentum notice of what the inhabitants of Himera contrived. This notice made Theron take necessary measures to make their plot miscarry; and was the reason why he made peace with the King of Syracuse, and restored a good understanding between the two brothers (1). Moreri, quoting the Xith Book of Diodorus Siculus, asserts, that Hieron routed the tyrant of Agrigentum, who despised him. I could not find the least hint of this particular in Diodorus Siculus. Observe that the Historian Timæus had related, that Theron not being able to bear that his son-in-law Polyzelus should be abused by Hiero, declared war against this King of Syracuse; but it ended immediately, and before there was any act of hostility committed on either side (2). Let us observe by the by, that Demarata (3) Theron's daughter, was married to King Gelon, who on his death-bed ordered that she should marry Polyzelus (4).

(1) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 48.

(2) See Benedictus's Commentary on Pindar, Od. 2. Olymp. pag. 43.

(3) Concerning this woman, see Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 26.

(4) See Benedictus's Commentary on Pindar, Od. 2. Olymp. pag. 43.

(5) See the 1st Ode of his Olympicks, and the 1st, 2d, and 3d of his Pythicks.

(6) See Pausanias, lib. 8. pag. 687.

(7) Jo. Benedictus, in Pindar. Od. 1. Olymp. pag. 2.

(8) Pindar. Od. 1. Olymp.

(9) Diod. Sicul. lib. 11. cap. 38, 39.

[B] Hiero . . . is represented as a very accomplished Prince in Pindar's Odes.] He carried the prize of the horse-Race at the Olympick Games, and had the same advantage at the Pythick Games, and was also conqueror at the chariot-races. These Victories were celebrated in a lofty stile by the Poet Pindar (5); and you may be sure, that tho' his digressions fill up above three fourths of his Odes, yet he does not forget to observe, that Hiero had all the virtues of a good and brave King. Observe that the inscription of Hiero's *ex Voto* (6), (or the offering he had vowed) shews, that he carried the prize three times at the Olympick Games, twice at the horse-races, and once at the Chariot-races. John Benedictus (in French *Benoist*) who in his Commentary on Pindar asserts (7), that Hiero carried the prize of the horse-races at the Olympick Games celebrated in the 73d Olympiad, is mistaken; for Hiero was already King of Syracuse when he carried that prize (8), and he did not begin to reign at Syracuse till the 75th Olympiad (9). The same Commentator pretends that he died after he had gained such another victory in the 77th Olympiad, which is supposing that he reigned above sixteen years, and contradicting the best Historians without any reason.

[C] Hiero became much more moderate, and was very much improved in his morals by conversing with some men of wit.] He was one of the most ignorant men in the world, and as rustic as his brother Gelon; but having had a fit of sickness, he spent the leisure, which the weakness of his body gave him, in conversing with learned men, and became learned himself: and when he had entirely recovered his health, he continued to take a delight in those conver-

sations, and often discoursed with Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchilides (10). The Author, who acquaints us with this, adds, that he was a great lover of literature; that he was very generous; that he had an exalted mind; that he lived with his three brothers without any mistrust; that he loved them tenderly, and was also thus beloved by them; and that his inclination to make considerable presents, determined Simonides, though he was then very old, to cross the sea, and to come to him (11). There are some Critics (12), who pretend that it is inconsistent with Chronology to suppose that Hieron had seen Simonides: but others shew that they are mistaken (13). All the ancient writers were fully persuaded of their meeting, and conversing together. Xenophon supposes a dialogue between them (14), which is a very good piece. Hiero speaks there as a man of wit, and of great judgment. The Historian Timæus had asserted, that Simonides was the mediator of the peace, that was concluded between Hiero and Theron (15). See also Athenæus (16) and Pausanias (17); and observe, that though there were not the least flattery in the praises which Pindar and Ælianus bestowed upon Hiero, yet one could not infer from thence, that Diodorus Siculus gave a false account of him: for what he has observed concerning Hiero's covetousness and passionate temper, might be true with regard to his conduct before he fell sick. I do not observe this with a design to excuse Diodorus in every respect: I still blame him for not mentioning Hiero's conversion, and for hinting but too plainly that he never mended his morals. *Μία ἢ τὴν ἱέρωνος τολύμην παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν Θρασυβούλου ἠ ἀδελφῆς ὑπεβίβασε τῇ κακίᾳ τὸν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα* (18). i. e. "Hiero being dead, Thrasylbulus his brother reigned in his stead, and exceeded in wickedness his predecessor." This seems absolutely false to me, and in my opinion we ought to give some credit to Ælian and to Plutarch (19), and to quote this Prince as an instance, which proves the truth of the following maxim of Horace:

(10) Ælian. D. v. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.

(11) Idem, ibid. lib. 9. cap. 1.

(12) Bisciola, tom. 2. Hor. sub. tit. lib. 2. cap. 19.

(13) See Kuhniius's Notes on Ælian. lib. 4. cap. 15.

(14) Intituled, *ἱέρων, ἢ τολύμηνος*. Hieron, sive Tyrannicus.

(15) See Benedictus's Commentary on Pindar, Ode 2. Olymp. pag. 43.

(16) Athen. lib. 14. pag. 656.

(17) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 6.

(18) Diod. Sicul. lib. 19. cap. 67.

(19) Plutarch. de sera Numinis Vindicta, pag. 551. & in Apophthegm. pag. 175.

Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non miserecere possit, Si modo cultura patientem commodat aurem (20).

(20) Horat. Ep. 1. lib. 1. ver. 39.

"The rash, the lazy, lover, none's so wild,
"But may be tam'd and may be wisely mild;
"If they consult true virtue's rules with care,
"And lend to good advice a patient ear.

C R E C H.

Let us observe that the distemper which gave our Hiero an opportunity to use himself to learned conversations, was the Gravel. The Scholiast on Pindar (21), quotes upon this occasion a work of Aristotle which is lost. Moreri was grossly mistaken, when he ascribed to Hiero II what relates only to Hiero I. I mean that learning acquired in bed, &c.

(21) See Jo. Benedicti Commentar. in Pindar. pag. 260, 296.

(n) See Pausanias, lib. 8. cap. 42. pag. 687. & lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 479. (o) See Athenæus, lib. 6. pag. 231, 232. (p) See Benedictus's Commentary on Pindar, Od. 1. Pyth. pag. 263. (q) Ibid.

He survived him, as appears by an inscription of the gifts which his father had vowed to Jupiter Olympius (n). The offerings which this King of Syracuse consecrated in the temple of Delphi were very splendid (o). He had no children by his first wife, who was the daughter of Anaxilaus King of Rhegium, and cousin of Theron (p). But by his second wife, who was Niocles's daughter, he had Dinomenes, whom I have mentioned above (q). It is pretended that he made him Governor of the city of Catana with the title of King of Ætna [D]. I cannot tell to which of his two wives we ought to ascribe the answer related by Plutarch (r).

(r) Plutarch. in Apophteg. pag. 175. See above. the remark [E] of the article DUELLIUS.

[D] It is pretended, that he made his son Governor of Catana, with the title of King of Ætna. They who pretend this, ground their opinion on the following (12) Pindar. Od. words of Pindar (22). 1. Pyth. pag. m. 262, 263.

Μοῦσα κ' ὡς Δεινομένει κλαδῆσαι
 πειθέο μοι ποίαν τιρίπταν,
 χάσμα δ' ἐκ ἀλλότριοι ν-
 καφρία παύειθ'.
 ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ
 φίλιον ἐξέταμιν ὕμνον.
 τῷ πόλις κείαν θεομά-
 τω σὺν ἰλευθήρια,
 Ἴλλιδ' ἑταβρίας ἴεων
 ἐν νόμοις ἐκίησσε.

i. e. "Assist me, Muse, to sing to Dinomenes the prize carried at the chariot-races, for it becomes a son to rejoice for his father's victory. Let us afterwards invent an hymn acceptable to the King of Ætna, for whom Hiero has built a city, the liberty of which is settled by the Gods, and in which Hiero published the Doric Laws." Bene-

dictus's note upon this is as follows. *Postquam Poeta laudavit Hieronem ab ἰουκία, & filium Dinomenem a studio in patrem: ad alias ejusdem Dinomenis laudes digreditur: quem Ætnæ regem appellat: nam illam a se conditam Hiero dedit filio administrandam: eumque duce[m] Ætæcorum constituit.* i. e. "After the Poet has commended Hiero for his happiness in his children, and his son Dinomenes for his love and respect for his father, he proceeds in a digression to praise Dinomenes upon other accounts, and he styles him King of Ætna, because Hiero having founded that city, gave the government of it to his son, whom he made King or Commander of the Ætæneans." This makes us wonder the more to see that Thrafsybulus succeeded to Hiero. I am apt to think, that the Syracusans favoured the brother rather than the son, in order to do more honour to Gelon's memory. For Dinomenes, Hiero's son, was only Gelon's nephew; whereas Thrafsybulus was Gelon's brother. So that by raising them to the throne, who were Gelon's nearest relations, the Syracusans shewed very plainly, that they looked upon him as the chief foundation of any person's pretensions to the crown.

HIERO II, King of Syracuse, was descended from the family of Gelon, who had reigned in the same place; but his mother being a servant, his father Hierocles looked upon him as a child who was a disgrace to his family, and therefore he abandoned him to the care of fortune (a), that is to say, that he exposed him. The bees nursed him for several days; and the Soothsayers declaring that this was a sign that he would be a King, Hierocles had him brought home again, and took all possible care of his education. The child made a considerable progress, and distinguished himself several ways. He became a perfectly handsome and strong man, he spoke with a very good grace, and he fought very often with those who challenged him, and was always the conqueror. He received as a reward a great many military gifts from Pyrrhus (b). When Pyrrhus was gone, the Syracusans made him Prætor [A]; and as he acquitted himself of that office with a great deal of prudence, all the cities agree unanimously to choose him their Captain General against the Carthaginians, and they raised him afterwards to the Throne (c). Soon after he carried on a vigorous war against the Mamertines, whom he had already defeated on some occasions; and he proposed to drive them out of the city of Messana*, which they had seized against the Law of Nations. As they did not find themselves in a condition to resist him, they applied themselves, some to the Carthaginians, and others to the Romans. The question whether they should be assisted was strongly debated at Rome, and at last passed in the affirmative; and this was the beginning of the Punic War. The Consul Appius Claudius, who was sent to the assistance of the Mamertines, landed with his army in Sicily, in the year 490 after the building of Rome. The Mamertines gave their city up to him, and obliged the Carthaginian General, who commanded

(a) Ex Ancilla natus ac propterea à patre, velut debonissimum generis, expositus fuerat. Justin. lib. 23. cap. 4.

(b) A Pyrrho rege multis militaribus donis donatus est, Ibid. ibid.

(c) Justin. lib. 23. cap. 4. * Now Messina.

(1) Polybius, lib. 1. cap. 3.

[A] The Syracusans made him Prætor. I have been contented with following Justin's compendious expressions; but I shall give here a more particular account of this fact, which is imperfectly related by that Author. I observe then, that there was a misunderstanding between the Citizens of Syracuse, and their army; and that the army being encamped near Mergana, proceeded to the election of the Magistrates, and conferred that dignity on two Officers of the army, Artemidorus, and Hiero. The latter being introduced into the City by the secret intrigues of his friends, overcame all the oppositions of the contrary party, and behaved himself with such moderation and generosity, that the inhabitants consented to own him for Prætor, though they looked upon those assemblies as unlawful, in which the soldiers pretended to choose the Magistrates (1). Polybius, who is my voucher here, relates two instances of Hiero's policy. The first is, his putting a stop to a disorder which was very prejudicial to the State. The Syracusans, who continued in the City whilst the army and the Prætors were in the field, raised a thousand seditions,

and laboured to make innovations in the Government: it was therefore necessary, that when the army was absent, some person should keep the Citizens in awe. Leptines was very proper for this design, for he had a great many clients in the City, and great credit with the people. Hiero therefore made lure of him, by marrying his daughter, and by this means he provided for the public tranquillity at Syracuse, whilst he should be abroad at the head of the army. His second stroke of policy was his getting rid of the old foreign soldiers, who were mutinous and dissolute. He took the field with a pretence of attacking the Mamertines (2); and when he came in sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one composed of the soldiers who were Syracusans, the other of the foreigners; he put himself at the head of the former, as though he designed to assault the enemy; and left the latter exposed to the fury of the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces. He raised other troops, and attacked the enemies so opportunely, that he gained a glorious victory over them. He was chosen King after this great action (3).

(2) This was the name which those soldiers took who made themselves masters of the city of Messana by artifice. See Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 7. (3) Taken from Polybius, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9.

commanded in their citadel to leave it. The Carthaginians besieged Messina, and entered into an alliance with Hiero, who joined his army with theirs. The Roman Consul resolved to give them battle, and attacked first the Syracusans; the fight was sharp; Hiero behaved himself with a great deal of courage; but he was routed, and thought fit to return to Syracuse. Appius Claudius having also gained a victory over the Carthaginians, was master of the country, and advanced to Syracuse, and besieged it. Hiero observing that all Sicily was under a consternation, and that the army of the Carthaginians was very much weakened, made some proposals of a peace to the Romans; his proposals were accepted, and from that time till his death he continued faithfully attached to the interest of the Romans (d), and gave them all possible proofs of the most sincere friendship [B]. If he had lived but five or six years, after he entered into an alliance with them, and if we should judge of things according to the practice of this age, we should

(d) Ex Polybio, lib. 1. cap. 10, & seq.

[B] He gave the Romans all possible proofs of the most sincere friendship.] I shall relate what he did, when the affairs of the Romans were in very great confusion after the battle, which Hannibal gained near the lake called Thrasymenus (4). This was the third battle they had lost in Italy, since Hannibal entered that country, that is to say, in one year only. This would be more than sufficient at this time, to make a Prince forsake his allies, and side with the conqueror; a Prince, I mean, whose dominions should be situated, as Syracuse was with regard to the Republic of Carthage. Yet Hiero followed only the rules of Generosity; he continued a constant friend to the Romans, and sent them a powerful supply. Read the following words of Livy (5). *Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Hostium cum magno comœatu accessit. Legati Syracusani in senatum introducti nunciarunt, cœdem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo agrè tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria, regni que sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probè sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem propè adversis rebus, quàm secundis, esse, missa tamen à se omnia, quibus à bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant. Quæ ne accipere abnuant, magnoperè se p. c. orare, Jam omnium primum omnis causa victoriam auream pondo CCCXX. afferre sese; acciperent eam, tenerentque & haberent propriam & perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne comœatus deessent. Et quantum præterea opus esset, & quò jussissent, subvevros. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romani Latini que nominis non uti populum Romanum: levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque missæ mille sagittariorum ac funditorum aptam manum adversus Baleares ac Mauros, pugnaesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut & Hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Annibali summittenda. Ab senatu ipsa responsum regi est, Virum bonum, egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munificè adjuvisse: id, perinde ac deberet, pergratum populo Romano esse. Aurum & à civitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum: victoriam, omenque accipere: sedemque ei se divæ dare, dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi. In ea arce urbis Romæ sacratam, volentem propitiâque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores, sagittariique, & frumentum traditum consulibus. i. e. " At that time a fleet, sent by Hiero, landed at Ostia, laden with a great deal of provisions. The Embassadors of Syracuse being admitted into the Senate, declared that Hiero was so much grieved at the death of the Consul C. Flaminius, and at the slaughter of their army, that no misfortune of his own or of his Kingdom could afflict him more. And though he was sensible that the Majesty of the Romans was in a manner more wonderful in their adversity, than in their prosperity; yet he sent them all the assistance that is usually expected in war from good and faithful allies. And he earnestly desired the Fathers not to refuse that assistance. The Embassadors added, that they had brought with them, first of all, as a good omen, a golden statue of Victory, of three hundred and twenty pound weight, which they desired the Senate to accept, and to keep for*

(4) In the year 537, since the building of Rome.

(5) Titus Livius, lib. 22. pag. 340, 341. See also Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 8. num. 1. in Extr.

ever as their own. That they had also brought three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley, that they might not want provisions; and if they had occasion for more, it should be sent to whatever place they should order. That they knew the Romans never made use of any foot-soldiers or horsemen, but such as were natives of Rome, or at least of Latium: that Hiero had however sometimes observed, auxiliary troops lightly armed in the armies of the Romans, and even such auxiliaries as were foreigners; and therefore he sent them a good number of archers and slingers, whom they might oppose against the Balearians, Mauritanians, and other nations who sling offensive weapons from a distance. To these gifts they added a piece of advice, which was, that the Prætor, who was to command in Sicily, should sail with a fleet into Africa, that the enemy might have the war in their own country, and be thus less capable of sending Hannibal fresh supplies. The Senate's answer to the King was, that Hiero was a good and excellent ally to the Romans, who had constantly been faithful to them, from the time he became a friend to them, and had at all times and in all places generously assisted them: that the people of Rome acknowledged this with pleasure, as they ought to do; that when some cities sent them gold, they were thankful for the favour, but would not accept the gold. But yet they accepted the statue of Victory as a good omen, and would give it a seat in the Capital, which was the Temple of Jupiter the Great God. That being consecrated in that Temple of the city of Rome, the Goddess would for ever be kind and propitious to the Romans; lastly, that the slingers, the archers, and the provisions, should be committed to the care of the Consuls." One can hardly meet with such a generous behaviour in private men towards each other. Gelon, Hiero's son, was not capable of following this noble example; he left the vanquished party, without minding in the least how much his father would be grieved at it. You will find Livy's words in the following passage from Casaubon. *Fides & vera & constantia ejusdem (Hieronis) in conservanda Po. Ro. majestate laudari satis pro merito non queat; quum præsertim ea mox & deinceps persepe secuta sint tempora, quæ ejus constantiam eximie probarent. Quot & quantas clades populus Ro. bello Punico primo, & secundi initio sit perpeffus, nemo necit. Solent adversa hominum voluntates & abdita mentium nudare. Hieronis propositum & constantiam in suscepta semel amicitia Romanorum, non Reguli calamitas, non Claudii naufragium, non Thrasymenus, non Trebia, postremo ne Cannensis quidem dies potuit labefactare. Mansit inconcussa illi fides, etiam tunc quum & in Italia & extra Italiam omnes Po. Ro. socii & amici ad Pænos fortunam secuti inclinabant. Ne domus quidem Hieronis tota (verba sunt Livii) ab defectione abstinuit. Namque Gelo maximus stirpis contempta simul senectute patris, simul post Cannensium cladem Romana societate ad Pænos defecit. Hiero tamen nibilo secius immotus stetit, ceu Marpesia quædam cautes, eique etiam tunc fides constitit: quam etiam ad extremum vitæ constantissime servavit (6).* (6) Casaubon, Commentar. in Polyb. pag. 152, 152.

i. e. " One cannot sufficiently commend Hiero's industry and constancy in supporting the Majesty of the Romans; especially since there happened soon after, and in succeeding times, such exigences as put his constancy to great trial. All the world knows how many and what great misfortunes befell the Romans " in

should have reasons to wonder at his constancy. What then ought not our admiration to be, when we consider that he lived near fifty years after he made that alliance? This long reign was very happy; for Hiero's conduct was attended with so much prudence, that he was safe amongst his subjects, and gained great reputation abroad, and all his affairs, both public and private, succeeded according to his wish. He cultivated the friendship of the Greeks, and was proud of having his share in the crowns they distributed (e). His sons erected an equestrian statue, and another on foot to him at Olympia (f). His subjects also raised statues to him in the same city (g). The money he gave to the Rhodians, and the presents he sent them, after that great earth-quake, which had done a very considerable damage in their island, and thrown their Colossus down, are a very eminent proof of his generosity and magnificence (b). He built a ship, which was one of the most famous vessels of antiquity. Archimedes (i) had the direction of that work. You will find a description of it in Athenæus (k), who quotes a book written on purpose upon this subject by a certain Moschian. The 16th Idyl of Theocritus is addressed to this King of Syracuse, and the author seems to complain that he praised him without receiving the least reward from him. Hiero wrote some books of Agriculture (l), and died at the age of fourscore and ten years [C], the second year of the 141st Olympiad, and the 539th (m) since the building of Rome. He survived his son Gelon (n), who had been married with Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus (o), and who had a son by her called Hieronymus (p). He observed that this Hieronymus had a great deal of pride, and he was afraid, lest the good condition, in which he had settled his Kingdom, should soon be altered under such a Prince: he desired therefore to restore the Syracusans their liberty, but his daughters dissuaded him from it [D]; and in his old age, he had not that strength of mind which was necessary to resist the caresses and artifices of these two women, who were night and day about him. He was therefore obliged to leave his Kingdom to his grandson, under the

guardianship

“ in the first Punic War, and in the beginning of the
 “ second. Adversity does generally discover men's
 “ true inclinations, and their most secret thoughts.
 “ But neither Regulus's unfortunate case, nor Claudi-
 “ us's shipwreck, nor the battle of Thrasymenus, nor
 “ that of Trebia, nor even the slaughter of Cannæ
 “ were capable of shaking Hiero's constancy, or
 “ weakening in the least the friendship he once had for
 “ the Romans. His fidelity continued firm, even
 “ when all the allies and friends of the Romans, both
 “ within and without Italy, were ready to join with
 “ the Carthaginians, because fortune favoured them.
 “ Nay the very family of Hiero, as Livy tells us,
 “ was not intirely free from defection. For Gelon,
 “ the eldest of his children, in spite of his father's old
 “ age, abandoned the Romans, and joined with the
 “ Carthaginians, soon after the battle of Cannæ was
 “ lost. Yet Hiero stood unmoved, like a Marpesian
 “ rock, and even then he was faithful, and continued
 “ so most constantly to the end of his life.”

Let us add another observation; viz. that this Prince's fidelity for the Romans was sometimes very burthen-
 some to him; for it happened on some occasions, that the ships of the Carthaginians made great
 havock in his territories (7). Let us observe lastly, that on his death-bed he recommended to the guardians of his grandson, who was to succeed him, not to suffer any alteration to be made in the alliance, which he had so long and so faithfully kept with the Romans (8).

[C] Hiero... died at the age of fourscore and ten years.] Livy asserts it, as you will see in the following remark. Lucian quotes (9) Demetrius Callitianus, who wrote that Hiero died of sickness, aged fourscore and twelve years, after he had reigned threescore and ten years. But let us keep to the even number mentioned by Livy and by Valerius Maximus. *Siciliæ rector Hiero ad nonagesimum annum pervenit* (10). i. e. “ Hiero the Governor of Sicily lived to be ninety years old.” Let us take notice by the by of a little mistake of Father Hardouin. *Hieron, Siciliae Rex, quem inter scriptores de agricultura memorant Varro, & Columella l. 1. c. 1. cum Attalo Philometore Pergami rege. Multa de eo præclara habet Valerius Max. l. 8. c. 13. p. 405* (11). i. e. “ Hiero King of Sicily, whom Varro and Columella (B. I. Ch. I.) mention among the writers on agriculture, with Attalus Philometor King of Pergamus. Valerius Maximus relates a great many honourable particulars of him.” Consult Valerius Maximus in the passage quoted by Father Hardouin; you will find nothing there concerning Hiero, but the seven words which I have

transcribed; but you will find there a great many curious things concerning Massinissa King of Numidia. I am persuaded that a false glance of the eye was the occasion of Father Hardouin's being mistaken. Having skipped one line, he imagined that the whole page in Valerius Maximus related to Hiero: this skip made him overlook the word Massinissa, which is in the following line; such an overlooking is oftener the cause of mistakes, than some persons are apt to imagine. A writer who is to consult a great many authors, dwells as little as he can upon every thing in particular; his eyes run swiftly over the pages, they slide sometimes so nimbly over certain lines, that there is not the least notion of it preserved in the mind. In such a case a man connects together in his writings facts which should be separated.

To conclude, remember that Hiero did not reign threescore and ten years, as Lucian asserts; for he was Prætor during seven years, before he was proclaimed King (12).

[D] He desired to restore the Syracusans their liberty; but his daughters dissuaded him from it.] It was because they knew that they and their husbands would have the chief management of the affairs of the Kingdom. Livy describes this admirably well. *In Sicilia, says he (13), Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis, regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem ejus translatum, puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modicè laturum. Lætè id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Quæ ita futura cernens Hiero, ultima senectâ voluisse dicitur liberâ Syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. Huic consilio ejus summa ope obistere filia: nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratæ, regimen rerum omnium penes se, virosque suos, Andronodorum, & Zoilum: nam ii tutorum primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agentis annum, circumfesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privatamque curam. Itaque tutores numero quindecim puero reliquit.* i. e. “ Hiero's death had made a great alteration in the affairs of the Romans in Sicily; Hieronymus his son succeeding him, a child who would abuse liberty, and much more the sovereign power. His guardians and friends were very glad that this character of his gave them an opportunity to throw him headlong into all manner of vices. Hiero foreseeing this, had some design in his old age, they say, to restore the Syracusans to their liberty, lest the Kingdom, which had been established by wisdom and prudence, should again be imprudently ruined, under the government of a child. But his daughters

(e) See Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 12.

(f) Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 480.

(g) Idem, ibid. cap. 15. pag. 489. But observe that he asserts, pag. 480. that his sons raised two statues to him; and, pag. 489. that they raised but one, and the Syracusans two.

(b) See Polyb. lib. 5. cap. 88.

(i) Concerning the care which Hiero took to have Archimedes's Geometrical Speculations applied to mechanical uses. See Plutarch, in Vita Marcelli, pag. 305.

(7) See Tit. Liv. 22. pag. m. 349.

(8) Livius, lib. 24. pag. 381.

(9) Lucian. in Macrobis, pag. 635. tom. 2. Oper.

(10) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 13. num. 1. in Ext.

(11) Hardouin, in Ind. Autor. Plinii, pag. 115.

(k) Athen. lib. 6. pag. 206, &c. See the article ARCHIMEDUS.

(l) See the remark [C].

(m) And not 529, as Moreti says.

(n) Calvisius, ad ann. Rome 538. supposes the contrary, but he is mistaken.

(o) Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 479.

(p) Polybius, in Excerpt. Legat. cap. 1. T. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 382.

(12) See Casaubon, in Polyb. Librum 1. pag. m. 99, 100.

(13) Titus Livius lib. 24. pag. 381.

guardianship of fifteen persons. What the old man had foreseen and dreaded, came really to pass. Syracuse was in the utmost confusion after his death [E]. Pausanias, who asserts that Dinomenes killed him (q), is mistaken.

(q) Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 430.

“ did all that was in their power to persuade him from that design. They knew that the child would have the name of a King, but that all the power would be lodged with them, and their husbands, Andronodorus and Zoilus. For these were named the first guardians to the young Prince. Nor was it an easy matter for a man, who was fourscore and ten years old, and night and day beset by the women, who cajoled him continually, to have his thoughts free, and apply them to public and private affairs. So that he left the child under the care of fifteen guardians.”

[E] Syracuse was in the utmost confusion after his death.] The first thing that was done was, that they acquainted the people with Hiero's last will, and shewed them Hieronymus their new King, who was then but about about fifteen years old. Some persons appointed on purpose to applaud, approved the last will; others were under the greatest uneasiness, and considered the Kingdom as an orphan who had lost his father. They proceeded afterwards to the King's funeral; and if he was interred in a solemn manner by the great number of persons who attended his burial, it ought to be ascribed to the people's affection for him, rather than to his family's care (14). It was afterwards seen that Andronodorus, the deceased's son-in-law, and one of Hieronymus's fifteen guardians, declared that the King was of age to govern the Kingdom, and that the guardianship was expired. By this means he got into his own hands and for himself alone the power of all the other guardians. A Kingly attendance was soon introduced; and whereas Hiero had always been dressed like the other citizens, his grandson appeared in public dressed in a purple habit, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded with a life-guard. Pride, cruelty, and dissoluteness were soon answerable to this pompous appearance, and one would have thought that Hieronymus made it his business, that his subjects might bewail the loss of his grandfather. The Syracusans had loved him to such a degree, that had his grandson been possessed of all the good qualities of the best Princes, they would hardly have been sufficient to satisfy them. How great therefore must their discontent have been, under a successor, who was so different from Hiero? I cannot sufficiently admire the noble expressions, which Livy makes use of to represent this. *Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ charitati Hieronis. Verum enim vero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu omnia quàm disparia essent, ostendit. Nam qui per tot annos Hieronem, filiumque ejus Gelonem, nec vestis habitu, nec alio ullo insigni differentes à cæteris civibus viderent, conspexere purpuram, ac diadema ac satellites armatos: quadrigisque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem, more Dionysii tyranni. Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur mores, contemptus omnium hominum, superba aures, contumeliosa dicta: aditus non alienis modo, sed tutoribus etiam difficiles: libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas (15).* i. e. “ It was hardly possible for any good and modest Prince to gain the people's favour, coming to the throne after Hiero, who had been so much beloved. But Hieronymus, as though he would have made his subjects wish again for his grandfather's reign, shewed by his first appearance in the world, the great difference there was in every respect between their characters. For they who for so many years had observed that Hiero and his son Gelon did not in the least differ from the other citizens in their dress, nor in any other mark of distinction, beheld now the Prince dressed in a purple habit with a diadem on his head, and attended by a numerous guard; and coming sometimes from his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, after the manner of Dionysius the

(14) Funus fit regi magis amore civium, & charitate, quam cura suorum celebrat. Tit. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 381.

(15) T. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 381.

“ Tyrant. His morals answered his haughty appearance and his dress; he scorned all men, heard them with pride, and gave them opprobrious language: it was difficult not only for strangers, but even for his guardians to have access to him; his licentiousness was unheard of, and his cruelty beyond expression.” This young King preferred the alliance of the Carthaginians before that of the Romans (16). But he had not time to do the former any service; there was a conspiracy against him, and he was killed (17). Andronodorus sheltered himself as well as he could in the strongest places of Syracuse, and yet notwithstanding the advice of Demarata (18) Hiero's daughter, he submitted to the new republican government, and was made Prætor. But new troubles arising, he endeavoured to make an advantage of them, being tired with the repeated instigations of his wife (19). He advised about his undertaking with Themistius, the husband of Harmonia Gelon's daughter, and trusted a player with his design, who betrayed him; so that he and Themistius were killed, as they were entering into the Senate-house (20). In order to justify this murder it was necessary to acquaint the people with the crime of these two men. The orator who was ordered to do it, observed amongst other things, that their wives had inspired them with ambition. Hereupon a great outcry was made in the assembly, the people declaring that these women must be put to death, with the whole family of the tyrants. Orders were given for it immediately, and the thing was done accordingly. Livy, who relates this story, adds to it a reflection concerning the capricious and changeable temper of the populace.

Sub hanc vocem ex omnibus partibus concionis clamor oritur, nullam earum vivere debere, nec quenquam superesse tyrannorum stirpis. Hæc natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt, & non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes irriterent: sicut tum extemplo Prætoris rogationem promulgaverunt. Acceptaque penè prius quàm promulgata est, ut omnis regia stirps interficeretur. Missique à Prætoribus Demaratam Hieronis, & Harmoniam Gelonis filias, conjuges Andronodori & Themistii, interfecerunt (21). i. e. “ At this word the whole assembly cried out, that none of these women ought to live, and that whole family of the tyrants ought to be put to death. For such is the character of the multitude, they either obey slavishly, or proudly command. Liberty, which is a medium between both, they know not how to enjoy with moderation, nor how to use rightly; nor are there wanting some persons who make it their business to inflame the people's passion, and who provoke their eager and impatient minds to slaughter and bloodshed, as it happened on this occasion: for the Prætors put the question immediately, and it was carried in the affirmative almost before it was proposed, the whole people voting that all the royal family should be put to death. And the Officers sent by the Prætor killed Demarata Hiero's daughter and wife to Andronodorus, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, and Themistius's wife.” There was another of Hiero's daughters named Heraclea. As soon as she knew that the Officers came to put her to death, she took sanctuary in the chapel of her house, and stayed with her household Gods, and employed the most moving supplications and the strongest arguments to save her life, or at least her daughters; but it was in vain; they dragged her out of the chapel, and cut her throat; her two daughters, who had made their escape out of the house, were killed in the streets (22). See the margin (23).

(16) Idem, ibid. pag. 381. See also Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. cap. led (17).

(18) Livius, ibid.

(19) What she told him is related in the remark [F] of the article PERIANDER towards the end.

(20) Fessus tandem uxoris vocibus monentis, nunc illud esse tempus occupandi res, dum turbata omnia nova atque incognita libertate essent, dum regis stupidiis passus observaretur miles: dum &c. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 391.

(21) Idem, ibid.

(22) Idem, ibid. pag. 392.

(23) I shall make some reflections upon this in the remark [C] of the article HOBBS.

HIERO, a great friend of Nicias, and the Chief or Leader of the Colony that restored Thurium (a), pretended to be the son of Dionysius surnamed Χαλκός [A], that is

(a) A city in Italy.

[A] The son of Dionysius, surnamed Χαλκός.] This Dionysius was a Poet, and some of his poems were

still extant in Plutarch's time (1). His elegies have been quoted by Athenæus (2), and by Aristotle (3). He

(3) Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2.

to say, *made of Brass, Æneus*. He had been educated at Nicias's house, who himself taught him polite Literature and Music; and Hiero, in return, had recourse to a great many artifices to support Nicias's interest (b). I have met with an error in Amiot, (c) See quotation and in some Dictionaries (c).

(b) Taken from Plut. in Vita Nicias.

He was also an orator; for he was surnamed *Χαλκός* being persuaded to it by his oration (4). See the margin (5).

(4) Callimachus, in *Traçt. de Rbetoribus*, apud Athen. lib. 15. pag. 669. (5) Observe that Amiot pretends that this Dionysius was at the Head of the Colony that settled at Thurium. But Plutarch ascribes this to Hiero. Observe also, that Charles Stephens, Lloyd and Hoffman assert that the Poems which were extant in Plutarch's time, were written by Hiero, which is false.

HIEROPHILUS a Physician, of whom I can say nothing, but that he taught Physic to a certain Maiden called Agnodice. She was obliged to disguise herself in men's cloaths; for there was a Law amongst the Athenians, by which the women and the slaves were forbidden to study Physic (a). Agnodice, who set up for a midwife, was the occasion of the altering of that Law. This story is too curious not to be related in a note [A].

(a) Athenienfes couerant ne quis seruus aut fœmina artem Medicinam disceret. Hygin. cap. 274.

HILDEBERT

[A] *This story is too curious, not to be related in a remark.* Hyginus tells us, "that as there were no midwives amongst the ancients, a great many women died in labour, because they were ashamed to send for a Physician; and that there was a law amongst the Athenians, by which the women were forbidden to meddle with Physick. Wherefore a young maiden who had a strong inclination for that science, disguised herself in men's cloaths and studied it. She went afterwards to the women who were in labour, and to remove all their scruples, she shewed them first of what sex she was, and then delivered them. The Physicians observing that this made them lose their practice amongst the women, impeached Agnodice, and charged her with a criminal conversation with the women; they complained even of a certain collusion between them, as though the women pretended some indispositions in order to favour their gallant. In a word, they had her condemned by the Areopagites, but Agnodice gave in a full court such evident proofs of her innocence in that respect, that the Physicians were obliged to play another game; they pleaded the Law, by which all persons of her sex were forbidden to practise Physick. Hereupon the Athenian Ladies became parties in the cause, and at their request the Law was amended; so that it was afterwards lawful for the women to learn that art (1)." The author from whom I have borrowed this passage makes an observation against Hyginus. "These words of Hyginus, says he (2), are a little inaccurate; for one might infer from his discourse, that since Agnodice had begun to deliver the women, they did no longer send for Physicians, when they were in labour, which would prove against this author's own observation, that before that time they were wont to make use of the Physicians assistance. But if he wanted accuracy, we may however clear him from contradiction, by supposing his meaning was, that the women finding themselves eased in their labour by Agnodice, would no longer employ any other but her, in their other distempers, in which they had no reason to be ashamed to send for a Physician." This author makes another reflection concerning Hyginus's observing that before Agnodice practised the art of midwifery, several women died because they were ashamed to send for a Physician (3). "It must be confessed, says the author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (4), that modesty is not much less subject than other things to the whimsical changes of the fashion. There was a time when it was the fashion to be ashamed of sending for a man-midwife, and we read in a book of Louisa Bourgeois, a very understanding midwife, that Henry IV recommended her to do her duty so well in delivering Queen Mary de Medicis, that there might be no occasion to send for a man, which, added he, would make her modesty suffer too much. It is now the fashion not to have that modesty; our age is truly much more knowing than the former ages were." This raillery against our age is not well grounded; for if on the one hand there be less modesty now in some respects, than there was formerly, on the other hand impudence is not so great amongst us, as it was at Athens. Are there

any honest women to be met with now-a-days, who in a full court would dare to lift up their shift in order to shew the Judges of what sex they are? And yet this is what Agnodice did in the Areopagus, the most grave and most venerable tribunal that was then in the world. *Quod cum vidissent medici, se ad fœminas non admitti, Agnodicen accusare cœperunt, quod dicerent eum glabrum esse & corruptorem earum, & illas simulare imbecillitatem. Quo cum Areopagita consedisent, Agnodicen damnare cœperunt. Quibus Agnodice tunicam alleuavit, & se ostendit fœminam esse* (5). i. e. "The Physicians seeing that they were no longer called by the women, began to impeach Agnodice, saying she was a man without a beard, who debauched the women; who pretended to have distempers, that they might have an opportunity to send for him. The Areopagite being met again to condemn her, Agnodice took her gown up, and shewed them she was a woman." Can one imagine greater impudence than this was? Had she not already given before this sufficient proofs of her want of shame? Could she not discover her sex in a more modest manner than that she made use of with the women? *Quæ cum credere se nolisset, æstimans virum esse, illa tunica sublata ostendebat se fœminam esse* (6). i. e. "A woman, in labour, refusing to trust herself in Agnodice's hands, the latter took up her gown to shew that she was a woman." Those Prelates, who in order to prove their innocence shewed their nakedness to whole Councils (7), were not by far so impudent as this Athenian Lady.

I have observed in another place, that Albertus Magnus pretended to midwifery, if we may depend upon scandalous reports (8). If it be so, it is a long while since the modesty of the Athenian Ladies is out of date. And as Albertus Magnus's reputation was very well established, who knows but there were some women who took a pride in being delivered by him? as the affected Ladies in Moliere would have every thing belonging to them, even to their very drawers, made by the best workmen.

Since the first edition of this Dictionary was printed, I have met with an observation in the *Acta que factioibus Eruditorum* of Leipzig, which will furnish me with a Supplement to this Article. It must be confessed, say the Authors of that Journal, that the French are more proper than any other nation, to teach us the method of assisting the women who are in labour. Not because the French have a more happy genius, but because they have often an opportunity to be present at a woman's delivery. It is now the fashion in France, that even new-married women are not at all ashamed to be seen and handled by the Chirurgeons without the least scruple, and women of all conditions desire that a Chirurgeon be with them, and assist them when they are near their time. There is a quite different custom amongst the other nations, for the women generally speaking, and especially those that have been but lately married, are so bashful and scrupulous, that they can hardly be persuaded to suffer themselves to be examined by their Midwives, or by their female friends; they are determined to it only in case of necessity, and when their pains are so violent that it overcomes their reluctance. As I have not translated

(1) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, 17 Jan. 1686, p. 28, 29.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 30.

(3) *Antiqui obfœtrices non baurant, unde mulieres verecundia ductæ interierant.* Hygin. cap. 274.

(4) Jan. 1686, pag. 30.

(5) Hyginus, cap. 274. pag. 329.

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 328.

(7) Concerning Dionysius, Patriarch of Constantinople, see the *Nouvelles Lettres contre Maimbourg*, pag. 686. and add the following passage to it: *Attendantibus Nicephoro & Zonara, quem Macedonius Episcopus Constantinopolitanus, sub Anastasio, falso attribuitur & Manichæorum ab adolescentulis, impura Veneris; & Metbodius Patriarcha, sub Manichele, stupri accusati essent; ambo ut convincerent mendacium, tunicâ sublata ostendisse, virilibus se carere: & exinde à criminibus illis liberos atque immunes fuisse pronuntiatos.* Salmuth. in *Pan-cirolum*, Part 2. pag. 88.

(8) See his article remark [B].

HILDEBERT, Bishop of Mans, and afterwards Archbishop of Tours in the 12th Century, had led a very dissolute life before he was raised to the episcopal character [A]. It is to no purpose that some persons pretend to dispute it against the Annalist of the Church of Rome [B], and object to him the discoveries of a critic. Father Maimbourg successfully expatiated upon an action of this Prelate [C], with a design to abuse the few Bishops,

the passage from the Journal of Leipzig word for word, I shall transcribe it here that the reader may see I have given the sense of it with all the fidelity that is requisite. *Non est negandum, de adjuvandis parturientibus Gallos præ cæteris nationibus nos instruere posse, non ingenio, sed occasione, qua licet illis quam frequentissima partui adesse, feliciores. Ita enim moris apud ipsos esse, utposito pudore, etiam recens nuptæ ad tactum atque explorationem omnium chirurgo admittant faciles, & partus tempore præsentis atque adjuutores semine quelibet eos expectant. Quod longe fit aliter apud cæteras nationes, ubi plerumque vix persuaderi possunt uxorcule, imprimis nuper in matrimonium ductæ, ut obstetricibus propriique sexus amicis suis faciant copiam, nisi doloribus*

(9) *Abbr. Erud. ac necessitate vixitæ* (9). Thus the Authors of the Journal of Leipzig speak in the beginning of their account of a Book published by a Chirurgeon of Paris (10) in the year 1694 with this title, *La Pratique des Accouchemens*. i. e. "The Practice of Midwifery." This Chirurgeon did not publish his Observations till after a long course of Experience; for he had been present at the delivery of four or five thousand women. Another chirurgeon of the same city (11) published the next year a Book entitled, *Observations sur la Grossesse & l'Accouchement des Femmes*. i. e. "Observations upon the women's pregnancy and delivery." This work contains seven hundred choice observations out of about three thousand more which the Author had made (12). This is sufficient to prove that it is very much the fashion at Paris to send for men-midwives instead of women. Time will come perhaps, when the same fashion will prevail almost through all Europe; shame and modesty will have the fate of a thousand other things, which are subject to the fantastical and inconstant laws of custom.

[A] *He had led a very dissolute life before he was raised to the episcopal character.* Even after he was promoted to the dignity of an Archdeacon, he took so many concubines that he had a very great number of bastard sons and daughters. This is what Ivo Bishop of Chartres wrote to him (1). *Dicunt quidam de majoribus Cenomanensis Ecclesiæ, qui antea vitam tuam se nosse testantur, quod ultra modum laxaveris fræna pudicitie, in tantum ut post acceptum Archidiaconatum accubante lateribus tuis plebe muliercularum, multam genueris plebem puerorum & puellarum.* i. e. "Some of the most ancient Persons of the Church of Mans, who declare that they are very well acquainted with your former way of living, assert, that you indulged yourself in sensual pleasures to that degree, that after you was made an Archdeacon, you used to lie with a whole tribe of Concubines, by whom you have got a vast number of boys and girls."

[B] *It is to no purpose, that some persons pretend to dispute it against the Annalist of the Church of Rome.* Juret (2) censures Baronius for asserting in his Annals upon the authority of this Letter of Ivo of Chartres, that Ildebert was given to women before he was a Bishop, and he pretends that this letter was written to one Aldebert, and not to Ildebert. Aldeberto Cenomanensis Ecclesiæ electo. i. e. "To Aldebert Bishop elect of Mans." *Thus that letter is intitled at the end of the manuscript of Ivo of Chartres's Letters which is lodged in St. Victor's library. But father Sirmond has very well cleared Baronius, in his Notes upon Geoffrey de Vandôme. Here follow his words.* Ildebertus, vir in Episcopatu eximius: ante illum vitæ solutiois, ut indicat Ivonis epistola 277. *Quam quidem, qui de Ildeberto, de quo agimus, scriptam, pertinacius neget, is opinor, clausis oculis sibi credi velit. Ecquæ enim alia Ivonis tempore Cenomanensis Episcopi electio fuit, quàm Ildeberti? quem præterea scimus ex Archidiacono, quod Ivo notat, ad Episcopalem Cathedram evectum. Neque tamen hæc ita dissero, ut viri docti, qui contra sensit, nomini obtretem: sed quia immortalis memoriæ Cardinali Baronio me de-*

(1) This letter is the 277th. See Menage, *Hist. de Sablé*, pag. 107.
(2) *Natus in Ep. 277. Ivonis Cæsar. mensis.*

bere judico, ut quæ rectè & verè ab eo dicta sunt, ea ut pro veris habeantur, enitar quoad possum (3). i. e. "Ildebert, a man eminent in his Episcopal functions, had led a dissolute life before he was made a Bishop, as appears from Ivo's 277th Letter. For they who obstinately deny that our Ildebert is mentioned in that letter, must pretend, in my opinion, that we should blindly believe them upon their word. For what other person was elected Bishop of Mans, in Ivo's time, but Ildebert? who, we know, was raised from an Archdeacon to the Bishop's see, which Ivo also observes. I do not observe this with a design to asperse the Author, who is of a contrary opinion, but only because I think I owe that justice to Cardinal Baronius of immortal memory, to prove, as much as lays in my power, that to be really true, which he has asserted with reason and truth." Monsieur Menage adds several very good observations to these Arguments of Father Sirmond. "Ildebertus, says he (4), is the same name with Aldebertus; and Ildebert, Bishop of Mans, calls himself Aldebertus in one of his Letters printed in the 13th Volume of the *Spicilegium. Ranulpho, Dei gratia, Dunelmensis Episcopo, omni honore & gratia sublimando, Aldebertus humilis Cenomanorum Sacerdos*. i. e. To Ranulphus, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Durham, worthy of all honour and grace, Aldebert, an humble Priest of Mans. Thus he is also called in a Record of the Abby of Etival, quoted by Monsieur Pavillon in his Notes on Arbrissel's Life. *Aldeberto Episcopo Cenomanensi*, for thus we ought to read his name in that passage, and not *Alberto*. *Episcopo Cenomanensi*, for there never was a Bishop of Mans named Albertus. In a Record of the Abby of Frontevaux, cited by Cosnier in his notes on Arbrissel's Life, he is also called *Audebertus*, which is the same as *Aldebertus*. Courvaisier in his Life of Ildebert support Ivo of Chartres's assertion by the following passage of the *Necrologus* † of St. Peter de la Cour du Mans. *Tertio Idus Augusti, obiit Geruafius, Hildeberti Præsulis filius; matris Ecclesiæ canonicus, qui vivens ad bujus Ecclesiæ servitium quandam contulit Bibliothecam; cujus anima quiete fratur æterna.* i. e. August the 11th died Gervase, Bishop Hildebert's son, and a Canon of our mother the Church; who in his life time bestowed a Library for the use of this Church. May his soul enjoy eternal rest. Courvaisier pretends that this Gervase was the Bishop's bastard; Bondonnet maintains that he was only his spiritual son. But this Prelate's *delicta juventutis* (i. e. The Sins of his Youth) are mentioned, in the Lives of the Bishops of Mans, published by Dom. Mabillon in the third volume of his *Analeæ*, which again confirms the account given in Ivo of Chartres's Letter." Monsieur Menage quotes in his additions (5) two records cited by Bather de la Mainferme (6), in which our Hildebert is called *Aldebertus*. So that Juret's censure (7) falls to the ground with all the commendations which Father Maimbourg bestows upon him. See the following Remark. [C] *Father Maimbourg successfully expatiated upon an action of this Prelate.* He first commended this Bishop; the blessed Hildebert, said he (8), Bishop of Mans, and afterwards Archbishop of Tours, has been one of the most holy and most learned Prelates the Gallican Church ever had. "We have some Letters and some other beautiful works of his in the collection of the Fathers. St. Bernard stiles him the excellent Pontiff and the chief support of the Church; whom the most celebrated writers mention with great elogium, and whose Holiness God himself was pleased to shew, and to honour by the miracles which were performed at his tomb. And on this occasion, I think that to do his memory the Justice it deserves, I am obliged to observe, that they, who on the credit of a letter of Ivo of Chartres, have asserted, that when Hildebert was made Bishop of Mans, he

(3) Menage, *Hist. de Sablé*, pag. 107, 108.
(4) *Ibid.* pag. 108.
(5) *Ibid.* pag. 108.
(6) *Ibid.* pag. 108.
(7) *Ibid.* pag. 108.
(8) *Hist. du Libranisme*, liv. 2. pag. 292.
† A catalogue of the dead, or bill of mortality.

shops, who still opposed the extension of the Regale. The remark I shall make upon this subject, will contain some particulars of our Hildebert's life. Illyricus has placed him amongst the witnesses of the truth, because he wrote a very smart letter against the Court of Rome [D]. He was not of a distinguished family [E].

" he led a very scandalous life, have mistaken him for another, being misled by the inscription of that letter, in which they found *Hildeberto*, instead of *Aldeberto*, which is in the ancient manuscripts, as Monsieur Juret, to whom we are obliged for this important observation, proves in his learned notes " on Ivo of Chartres's life." Father Maimbourg relates afterwards how Hildebert was translated from the Bishoprick of Mans to the Archbishoprick of Tours by Pope Honorius II. in the Year 1125; and he observes that this prelate finding that King Lewis the Big had given two Canonships in his diocese during the vacancy of that see, he went himself to court to make his humble representations to the King (9). His Majesty heard him, but as he would not be satisfied with the sentence that was given, and demanded a canonical judgment, all the income of his Archbishoprick was seized upon because of his obstinacy. This made him have recourse to the most humble petitions, and he recommended his case to a Bishop, for whom the King had a great esteem. *I do not write to you, says he* *, with a design to complain of the King's proceedings against me; nor to rouse you by my expostulation, nor to raise clamours, troubles, seditions, and storms against the Lord's anointed, nor to demand that the severity and censures of the Church be made use of against him. Far from it; I only beg of you, that by your kind and charitable offices, you would prevail upon his Majesty, not to exert the weapons of his anger and indignation against a poor Bishop, full of years, and who desires nothing but rest. Father Maimbourg does not omit to observe, that the King kept the upperhand, and had the full enjoyment of his right, and that Honorius a very holy Pope, and this Archbishop's great protector, did not find fault with it. Thus you see how this Historian found an opportunity to insert in his History of Lutheranism an episode concerning the affairs of the Regale, with a design to pay his court to the King, by rendering the conduct of the Bishop of Ponniers and that of Pope Innocent XI odious. He did the same with regard to all the affairs of his time, as it is objected to him in the fourth and fifth letter of the general censure of his history of Calvinism †.

[D] He wrote a very smart Letter against the Court of Rome.] The description he makes of the vices of that court is very lively, and I think it lost nothing of its strength in the French translation, which Monsieur Du Pleffis Mornai made of it (10). Hildebert was still but Bishop of Mans when he wrote that letter; but when he wrote another to Honorius II, complaining that all the causes were carried to Rome by way of appeal, he was Archbishop of Tours. He wrote a description of Rome in verse, which ends with these two lines.

*Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.*

" Happy city, if it had no Masters; or if its masters were ashamed to want faith."

HILTEN (JOHN) a German Cordelier, pretended to ground his predictions on the Prophet Daniel's Book in the year 1485 [A]. Melanchthon, who had seen the original of this work, relates, that the author foretold that the Pope's power would begin to decline in the year 1516, and that afterwards it would draw nearer and nearer to its ruin, and

[A] He pretended to ground his predictions on the Prophet Daniel's book in the year 1485.] I met with this date in a passage quoted by Melchior Adam, in which we see in what University this Cordelier studied. *Ego olim juvenis, it is Hilten that speaks (1), almae matris Universitatis Erpburdensis alumnus, ardens philosophus: nunc senex exuli solitudini deditus ab anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo primo, in hunc annum millesimum quadringentesimum octogesimum quintum ejusdem Domini Jesu Christi voluntate: qui & me instigavit ex suo libro cognoscere veritatem, contra vacuos errores de futuro tempore nunc volantes. Quam me solum scire amor Dei & proximi non finit, sed & aliis piis & benevolis impertiri admonet. i. e.* " I who in my youth

Coeffeteau (11) does not deny that the Letter to Honorius was written by Hildebert, but he has not the same opinion of the other. *It is not at all probable, says he, that Hildebert wrote that letter, considering not only, that it is not to be found, either amongst those that are printed, or amongst those that are manuscript, which I got with several other scarce books from Messieurs Du Puy . . . but also because if we except the follies of this Prelate's youth, we find that he was always very modest, and had constantly a very great respect for the holy see, as we shall shew immediately (12). Let us observe further, that neither Vignier, nor Illyricus, nor du Pleffis tells us upon what subject that letter was written. They give us only a fragment of it without any title, or any other mark by which we may discover the true Author of it.* It is reasonable to relate what was answered to this. " If this way of reasoning is good, we shall get a double advantage by it, and we shall infit with much more reason, and better vouchers, upon his party's base imposition in forging of new pieces, and falsifying the ancient writings. Illyricus having met with this letter amongst the others, published the very words of it, which appear very plainly not to be of his invention. If he, and the others after him, quote it without mentioning the title or subject of it, this ought not to appear new to those who have seen his printed Letters, amongst which there are a great many, concerning which it is impossible to guess to whom they were written, and to know particularly upon what subject (13)." Thus speaks Rivetus. He observes a little lower, that Gretter (14) cannot believe that the 82d Letter, which speaks of suppressing or regulating the appeals to Rome, came from Hildebert, though Coeffeteau asserts, " it is really his." The curious may consult Father Hommey's *Supplementum Patrum*, which contains several pieces of Hildebert, with notes on his Letters, and an addition of the name of the persons, to whom they were written (15).

[E] He was not of a distinguished family.] " There is near Montoire in the Province of Main a place called *Lavardin*, from which a very illustrious family of the Vandômois take their name . . . La Croix du Main asserts in his *Bibliothèque*, in the Article of James Lavardin, that Hildebert Bishop of Mans was of that family, which is not true. He was a native of the place called Lavardin, but not of the family of that name; he was a man of great learning and merit, but of a mean extraction (16)." Here follow la Croix du Maine's words (17). *This family of the Lavardins (18) has usually produced learned men even from the remotest antiquity. For Hildebert, Bishop of Mans and afterwards Archbishop of Tours above five hundred years ago, was of that family, and was surnamed of Lavardin, and in his time he was reckoned the most learned Poet and Orator, as appears also from his Latin Epistles and Poems.*

" have been educated in the University of Erford, and who was a zealous Philosopher, have now in my old age been confined to a solitary banishment from the year of our salvation 1471, to this year 1485 by Christ's will, who also has prompted me to study the truth from his book, against the idle errors, which are spread abroad concerning future events; nor does the love of God and of my neighbour suffer me to keep the truth to myself, but commands me to impart it to all pious and well-disposed persons." Notwithstanding this passage, Melchior Adam asserted a few lines before he transcribed it, that Hilten lived in the XIVth Century. This is a want of attention very common with writers.

(9) Ibid. pag. 193.

* Nec tamen lac loquor tanquam vobis clamorem super Christo Domino deponens, tanquam postulant Ecclesiasticae rigorem disciplinæ. Subvenire Ecclesiæ & mihi per vestrum deprecor interventum, & Regi ex charitate suggeri, ne sagittas suas in senem compleat sacerdotem. Hildebert. Epist. 6. apud Lucam Dacherium, tom. 13. Spicilegii.

† Critique générale du l'Histoire du Calvinisme, written by Mr. Bayle himself.

(10) In pag. 280, of his *Mystère d'Iniquité*.

(11) *Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 757.

(12) He observes in the next page, that Hildebert being persecuted by the King of England in the year 1107, went to implore Pope Paschal's advice and assistance, and that having held a Synod at Nantz under Honorius, he sent that Pope the acts of it.

(13) Rivet, *Remarques sur la Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 240.

(14) In *Examine Mystérii Pleffisani*, pag. 376.

(15) See the *Alta Erud. Lips.* 1685, pag. 465.

(16) *Suite du Menagiana*, pag. 107. of the Dutch edition.

(17) *Biblioth. Française*, p. 190.

(18) He speaks of the family of the Lavardins near Montoire in the Vandômois: which is different from that of Lavardin six leagues distant from Mans, the Lords of which family bore the surname of Beaumanoir, and are originally come from Brittany.

be never restored; and that about the year 1600 the Turks would reign in Italy and in Germany (a) [B]. Some relate (b), that he foretold that the world would see a very cruel man in the year 1600, and that Gog and Magog would reign over all Europe in the year 1606. After he had endeavoured with a great deal of labour to find when the world would end (c), he concluded at last that it would be in the year 1651 (d). Monsieur du Pleffis-Mornai extracted from these predictions only what served his purpose [C]. Hilten imagined that charity would not suffer him to conceal the knowledge of futurity, which God had communicated to him (e). It is said he died in the year 1502 (f).

(a) Taken from a Letter of Melancthon to Melancthon. It is the 6th of the 2d book, pag. 259. of the London edition 1642.

(b) See Freher. Theatrum, p. 97.

(c) Maltus fuit in inquirendo fine mundi. Melchior Adam, in Vitis Theol. pag. 5.

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) See the remark [A].

(f) Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 97.

[B] He foretold that the Turks would reign in Italy and in Germany. He seemed to promise that the Turks would, by the means of a very great reformation, be the ruin of Popery: but those that had reformed themselves were afterwards to destroy Mahometism, and then the Emperor of the Romans was to resign his Crown to Jesus Christ, never to recover it any more.

Ita dixerit omnia Calchas (2).

“ Thus Calchas ordered every thing.

It appeared from the event, that John Hilten was not much better acquainted with futurity, than this Soothsayer of the Greek army. Let us transcribe his own words (3). *Plures gloriantur Romanum Papam esse monarcham, quia Jesus omnia dedit Petro & ejus successoribus. Fateor, verum quamdiu sunt ejus vicarii. Sed legantur revelationes S. Brigittæ: & videbitur querela Christi de perverfione illius vicariatus. Quapropter Deus dedit gladium Mahometo: quo monarchiam illam à vicario ad ejus Dominum Jesum Christum compellit, vicarium & omnes Christianos reformando. Qui plenè reformati exurgent: & delebunt sectam Mahometi. Quo facto, ultimus Imperator Romanus resignabit cum effectu Jesu Christo coronam regalem, & omne jus Imperiale; non recepturus, ut Constantinus. i. e. “ Several persons “ boast that the Pope of Rome is a Monarch, because “ Christ gave Peter and his successors all power. I*

(2) Virg. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 128.

(3) Apud Melancthon, in Vitis Theol. p. 4.

“ grant it is true, as long as they are really Christ’s Vicars. But read St. Briget’s Revelations, and you will see how Christ complains of the corruption of that Vicarship. For which reason God put a sword into Mahomet’s hand, who will restore that Monarchy from the Vicar to his Lord Jesus Christ, by reforming both the Vicar himself and all the Christians. Who being perfectly reformed will rise against Mahomet’s sect, and destroy it; [after which the last Roman Emperor will effectually resign to Jesus Christ his royal Crown, and all his imperial rights, not to recover them any more, as “ Constantine did.”

[C] Monsieur du Pleffis extracted from Hilten’s predictions only what served his purpose. “ John Hilten, “ a Monk of Henac in Thuringia, who notwithstanding all human foresight, was imprisoned because he “ had censured some monastical abuses, being very “ ill, called for the Keeper, and told him, I have (4) Du Pleffis “ not said much against the Monks, but there will Mornai, Mystere “ arise a person in the year 1516, who shall over- d’Iniquité, pag. “ throw them all, and whom they will not be a 573. He quotes “ ble to resist. And that same year Luther began Philip Melancthon, in Apolog. “ to preach (4).” He is mistaken in one year; for Cap. de Votis “ the Lutheran Æra begins only with the year 1517. I Monasticis. believe also that he does not write well the name of the place, and that he should have said Eisenac instead (5) See Micræli- “ of Henac. He ought also to have observed, that this Hist. Eccles. pag. “ happened about the year 1500, according to Me- 647. lancthon (5).

HIPPARCHIA, the Philosopher Crates’s wife, had been so charmed with this Cynic’s discourses, that she would absolutely marry him at any rate. She was courted by a great many lovers who were handsome men, and distinguished by their rank and riches; her relations pressed her to choose an husband amongst all these rivals, but nothing was capable to withdraw her affection from Crates. She declared that Crates was to her instead of every thing, and that if they would not marry her to him, she would stab herself. Upon this declaration her friends applied themselves to Crates, and desired him to exert all his eloquence, and to make use of all his authority with this maid, in order to cure her of her passion. He exerted all his skill, but she was so obstinate, that he lost his labour. At last, when he found that both his arguments and his advices proved ineffectual, he displayed his poverty before her [A], he shewed her his crooked back, his bag and his cloak, and told her: *This is the man you will have; this is all the furniture you will meet with at his lodgings; consider of it seriously; you cannot become my*

[A] Crates displayed his poverty before her.] There is no Author who gave a more accurate account of this than Apuleius: he asserts, that Hipparchia answered, she had sufficiently considered this affair, and was persuaded, it was impossible for her to find either a more handsome, or a richer husband than Crates was, and that he might lead her whithersoever he pleased. He led her to the portico, which was one of the most stately public buildings that could be seen at Athens, and where the greatest number of people continually resorted. There Crates consummated his marriage. All the world would have seen it, and the bride was determined to entertain them with that shew, but one of Crates’s friends spread his cloak about them, and made them thus a kind of curtains, which prevented the people from seeing them. That the reader may see I do not ascribe any thing to my author, but what he relates, I shall transcribe his own words. *Adeoq; is (Crates) cupiebatur, ut virgo nobilis, spretis junioribus prociis, ultro eum sibi optaverit. Cumque interscapilium Crates retexisset, quod erat aucto gibbere, peramque cum baculo & pallium humi posuisset, eamque suppellectilem sibi esse puellæ profiteretur, eamque formam quam viderat: proinde sedulo consuleret, ne post querelæ causam caperet: enimverò Hipparche conditionem accipit. Jamdadum sibi provisum satis, & satis consultum respondit: neque ditiozem maritum, neque formoso-*

rem uspiam gentium posse invenire. Proinde ducet quo (1) Apuleius, in liberet. Ducit Cynicus in porticum. Ibidem, in loco ce- Florida. pag. m. lebræ, coram luce clarissimâ accubuit: coramque virginem 350. imminuisset, paratam pari constantiâ; ni Zeno provinciu (2) In Historia palliastri, à circumstantis coronæ obtutu magistrum in Mulierum Philo- secreto defendisset (1). Monsieur Menage (2) asserts, that Sopharum, ad cal- St. Clemens of Alexandria relates, that the nuptials of cem Diog. Laert. Crates and Hipparchia were celebrated in the Portico, pag. 497. which was surnamed Ποικίλη (variegated): but it is (3) Ἐρὶ τῆς καὶ τα κινωμένης ἐν certain that Clemens of Alexandria does not say this; τῆς ποικίλης ἐστὶν- it can only be inferred from these words of his: The- λισ. i. e. “ For “ whose sake Cynogamia, says he (3), were celebrated in the Poecile. (name) τῆς παρ- on Hipparchia’s account. The word Cynogamia signi- cibus) the Cy- fied, according to the same Monsieur Menage (4), a- “ nogamia were festival, which the Cynics celebrated to the honour and “ celebrated in “ the Poecile.” memory of Crates’s nuptials. He adds, that Monsieur Clem. Alexand. Petit the Physician had made a very beautiful poem Stromat. lib. 4. on the amours and wedding of this Cynic. This poem pag. 523. is intitled Cynogamia. Several readers will remember (4) In Laert. here a French verse transcribed by Furetiere (5): lib. 6. num. 96. (5) Under the word Reins; this verse is Reigner’s and relates to the fights of Lapithæ, a people of Thes- saly.

“ Voulurent chauds de reins faire noces de chiens.

“ Being full of lust they would make a Cynic wed- ding.”

my wife, without leaving such a life as our sect prescribes us. He had hardly done speaking, but she declared that she was infinitely pleased with the proposal. She took the habit of the Order; I mean the Cynic's dress, and she loved Crates to such a degree, that she rambled every where with him, went to entertainments with him [B], and did not even scruple to pay him conjugal duty in the open streets [C]. It was one of the tenets of this Sect, that we ought not to be ashamed of any bodily exercise which nature requires of us [D]. Hipparchia dining once at Lyfimachus's house with Theodore the

[B] *She went to entertainments with him.*] This and her rambling up and down with Crates, were what the other Grecian Ladies never did. They were shut up in the inner rooms of the house, none were admitted to see them but their relations, nor did they ever go to any entertainment, but at their relations houses. Cornelius Nepos, who relates this, observes that the manners of the Romans were quite different from these. The women lived then at Rome, as they do now at Paris. The fashion of Italy has been very much changed since that time. It has been long ago like that of ancient Greece. *Altri tempi, altri costumi.* Other times, other fashions. Let us transcribe Cornelius Nepos's words (6). *Quem Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Græcia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum: neque sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ γυναικῶν appellatur: quod nemo accedit nisi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.* i. e. "Who is there amongst the Romans, that is ashamed to lead his wife to an entertainment? Or is there a mother of a family, who does not reside in the best part of the house, and see a great deal of company? It is quite otherwise in Greece. The women are not suffered at an entertainment, except it be with their relations; and they keep in the inner-rooms of the house, which are called the women's apartment; and none are admitted to see them but their nearest relations."

(6) In *Præfat.*

[C] *She did not scruple to pay him conjugal duty in the open streets.*] The reader will not wonder that the Woman-Philosopher, Hipparchia, acted against the custom of her sex with regard to the two articles, which I have just now mentioned, since she was capable to trample under her feet the principles of decency and modesty with regard to this third particular. It is impossible to carry the contempt for custom farther. This was love's grand triumph; that virtue was made a sacrifice to it, which is the most natural to the fair sex; I mean, that shame, that bashfulness, which is a thousand times more deeply rooted in the women's hearts than even chastity itself. And what is more surprising still, Hipparchia was from the very first time fully prepared for this piece of impudence; there was no occasion to persuade her to it by little and little and by degrees. Juvenal observes that nothing is difficult for the women, when they have a mind to gratify their love. Must they embark with an husband, against whom they have taken a disgust; they cannot be persuaded to it; the inconveniencies of the sea are too great for them: but are they to follow a gallant on board a ship, they have the best stomach in the world; nothing is more agreeable than a sailor's life.

*Fortem animum præstant rebus quas turpiter audent,
Si jubeat conjux, durum est conscendere navim,
Tunc sentina gravis, tunc summus vertitur æer:
Quæ mæchum sequitur, stomacho valet. Illa maritum
Convomit, hæc inter nautas & prandet & errat
Per puppim, & duos gaudet tractare rudentes (7).*

(7) *Juv. Sat. 6.*
ver. 97.

"But womankind, in ill, is ever bold.
"Were she to follow her own Lord to sea,
"What doubts and scruples would she raise to stay?
"Her stomach sinks, and her head giddy grows;
"The tar and pitch are nauseous to her nose.
"But in love's voyage nothing can offend;
"Women are never sea-sick with a friend.
"Amidst the crew, she walks upon the board;
"She eats, she drinks, she handles every cord;
"And if she spews, 'tis thinking of her Lord."

DRYDEN.

Hipparchia proves the truth of this observation: she

was excessively in love with Crates; his system was, that we ought to give up all manner of shame; *non aliter hæc sacra constant*, i. e. "these mysteries cannot otherwise be celebrated," he probably said to her; and she consented to it in order to please him. This particular is related by several authors. Sextus Empiricus (8), and Theodoret (9) assert it, and I have already quoted two other writers. But St. Augustin had a particular opinion concerning this subject. He imagined that the Cynics only used postures and fruitless endeavours. But the Latin tongue is much more proper to represent his opinion than our language. *Illum (Diogenem) vel eos qui hoc fecisse referuntur, potius arbitror concumbentium motus dedisse oculis hominum nescientium quid sub pallio gereretur, quam humano premente conspectu potuisse illam peragi voluptatem. Ibi enim Philosophi non erubescerent videri se velle concumbere, ubi libido ipsa erubesceret surgere (10).* i. e. "I should be apt to think that Diogenes and the others, who are said to have done this, did only expose some motions to men's view, who were ignorant of what was done under the cloak, rather than I could believe that such a pleasure can be tasted when other persons are lookers-on. For these Philosophers did not blush to seem to do what lust itself blushed to perform. A modern author has acted the Cato against this father of the Church, and censures him very severely for that reflection. "As for what he adds, that he cannot believe that Diogenes nor his followers, who, as it was reported, did every thing in public, found any true and real pleasure in it, imagining, that they only imitated under the Cynic cloak the motions of those who embrace each other, thus deceiving the spectators, though in reality they could not do any thing to the purpose before witnesses; this, I say, is what I am ashamed to relate, and which I desire you to read in his own words (11). . . . Is it possible that so great a man should suffer his imagination to dive into these Cynic mysteries, and that St. Augustin's hand did not scruple to lift up Diogenes's cloak, in order to shew us motions under it, which shame (though this Philosopher pretended to have none) made even him hide under his cloak (12)."

[D] *That we ought not to be ashamed of any bodily exercise, which nature requires of us.*] See what we have observed above in the remark [L] of the article **DIOGENES**. Some persons think that the Cynics were so called, because, after the example of the dogs, they lay with their wives in the open streets. *Nam quid ego de Cynicis loquar; quibus in propatulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Quid mirum si à canibus, quarum vitam imitantur, etiam vocabulum nomenque traxerunt (13).* i. e. Why should I mention the Cynics, who are used to lye with their wives in the open streets. Why should we wonder that since they imitate the dogs, they should have their names from them." The Cynics pretended to have reason on their side. For, say they, if it be lawful to know one's wife, it is lawful therefore to know her in public. *Hoc illi canini Philosophi, hoc est Cynici, non viderunt, proferentes contra humanam verecundiam, quid aliud quam caninam, hoc est immundam impudentemque sententiam, ut scilicet quoniam justum est quod fit in uxore, palam non pudeat id agere, nec in vico, nec in platea qualibet conjugalem concubitum devitare (14).*

i. e. "The canine Philosophers, that is to say, the Cynics, did not see this; who asserted, against all human modesty, this obscene and impudent, and dog-like opinion, namely, that because what a man does with his wife is lawful, they must not be ashamed to do it publicly, nor to come to conjugal embraces even in the open streets." I have quoted elsewhere (15) an argument of Diogenes much like this. This is the pitiful sophism, *a dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*, that is to say, "drawing a general and absolute inference from what is said with re-

(8) *Pyrroniarum Hypopyrseon*, lib. 1. cap. 14. pag. m. 31; & lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 152.

(9) *Sermon. 12. de Virtute Activa.*

(10) *August. de Civitate Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 20.

(11) Here he transcribes the passage from St. Augustin.

(12) *La Mothe le Vayer, in the Hexameron rustique*, pag. 63, 64, 65.

(13) *Laëtant. lib. 3. cap. 15. Divin. Institut.*

(14) *August. De Civit. Dei*, lib. 14. cap. 20.

(15) Above, in the beginning of the remark [E] of the article **DIOGENES** the Cynic.

the Atheist, proposed him a subtle objection, to which he made no verbal answer,

“gard to some particular case or circumstance.” It is, as though a man should argue thus. It is unwholesome to drink wine; it is therefore unwholesome to drink it when a person has a fit of the ague. These Philosophers did not know that there are several actions which are good only in some circumstances; so that the want of these circumstances is sufficient to make an action bad which otherwise had been good. To lend money to a friend, that he may pay his creditors, is a very commendable action; but to lend him money that he may get drunk, or that he may game, is a very ill action. There are some actions which are bad in their own nature; no circumstances in the world can ever render them good and lawful; but there are other actions which are sometimes good and sometimes bad, according to the times, places, and other circumstances, in which they are done. I confess that this is not sufficient to silence the Cynics; for they might urge their argument after this manner: when an action is good and lawful in its own nature; we ought not to be ashamed to commit it: now the conjugal duty is an action good and lawful in its own nature, we ought not therefore to be ashamed to perform it; it may therefore be lawfully performed in public: if any thing could make this public action unlawful, it would be only the want of shame and modesty in such circumstances, in which men ought to be bashful and modest. The whole difficulty would then be reduced to this single question. Must we be ashamed to perform the conjugal duty in the sight of the public? This is a fine question indeed, will some say, and who is there that doubts of it? I, would Diogenes answer, I doubt of it; and shew me that I am in the wrong. We might reply to him, that shame, with regard to those actions, is a natural sense, and therefore that the want of shame on those occasions is against nature. But, would Diogenes reply, if shame were a natural sense, the brutes, who follow the instinct of nature so exactly, would also choose secrecy and darkness, when they want to propagate their species. Now this is absolutely false; all men, at least, would in such a case look for the darkest and most hidden recesses, which again is false; for there are some nations in the Indies, who perform the act of generation in the sight of all them that happen to go by. This is what the famous Pyrrhonian Empiricus observes (16), in order to shew, that the ordinary practice is not grounded on an immutable and eternal law of nature, but only upon custom, and that is a mere effect of education. He might have alleged the custom of the MOSYNIANS of whom I shall give an article hereafter. A modern author has observed that certain nations used to make love in the very temples, and that they said, that if the Gods were displeas'd with this action, they would not suffer it in the other animals (17). He adds that there is a sect amongst the Mahometans, which still practise this, and that we found the inhabitants of the new world in this state of innocency. One might reply to Diogenes, that it is sufficient that the civilized nations are subject to shame, and that we ought not to mind the conduct of the barbarous nations; but he would reply in his turn, that the nations we style barbarous and wild, have much less swerved from the rules of nature, than those nations, who by their niceties and subtleties have so much multiplied the laws of decency and civility; and that after all, there being no prescription against the law of nature, every one has a right to claim it at any time and in any place whatsoever, without any regard to the arbitrary yoke of the customs and opinions of his countrymen.

Let this be observed in order to shew how much human reason is capable to mislead us. It has been given us with a design to direct us to the right way, but it is an uncertain, changeable and flexible instrument, which may be turned on every side like a weather-cock. See what use the Cynics made of it, in order to vindicate their abominable impudence. I may add for the honour and glory of the true religion, that she alone furnishes us with arms that are proof against all the sophisms and fallacious reasonings of these men; for though we could not meet in the Holy Scripture with a direct commandment concerning the secrecy

with which the pleasures of the marriage-bed ought to be enjoyed, it is sufficient to observe in the first place, that the nature of the Gospel obliges us to avoid all that is capable to weaken the impressions of modesty and shame: secondly, that there are clear and positive passages, in which we are forbidden to do any thing inconsistent with decency, or which may give offence to our neighbours. I do not know whether any of those casuists, who have so much mispent their leisure hours in examining such cases of conscience, as are in a manner only metaphysical, ever thought of examining to what kind of crimes the impudence of a Crates and of a Diogenes ought to be referred. These Philosophers did not believe there was any divine law upon this subject, nor that men were obliged to conform to the customs of their country; they imagined that by not conforming to them, all the blame they could draw upon themselves was that of rusticity, and want of complaisance for a received custom. To be unpolite and rustical, and an ill observer of the customs and usages of one's country, is not a crime, or an evil action morally speaking. What could one therefore object against the Cynics, supposing they were not condemned by the revealed truth? I never read any thing whatsoever upon this subject, nor do I know that any person ever asserted, that a Cynic action would be criminal at present only for these reasons; 1. because of the offence given to one's neighbours: 2. because it is shewing a contempt for the customs of one's country: 3. because of the neglect in preserving the limits of chastity. I suppose here a man, who is persuaded that the action considered in itself has not been expressly forbidden in the Scripture, and that it is not against the law of nature. If it were against it, those sentences, by which the Judges appoint a congress, would be so many crimes, for which the Judges themselves would be answerable.

There are, no doubt, some casuists, who would think that self-pollution, which Diogenes committed in a full market (18), are greater crimes, than Crates's and Hipparchia's meeting. It is a strange and most scandalous thing, to see Chrysippus, that celebrated and severe Stoic, commend Diogenes's action. *Ἐταμίῳ τὸ Διογένη τὸ εἰδῶν ἀποτιθέμενον ἐν Φωκίῳ, ἢ λέγουσα πρὸς τῆς αγοράς, εἶδε καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἕως ἀποτίθησθαι τῆς γαστέρος ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπον. Diogenem laudat, qui in publico masturbasset, dixissetque adstantibus, utinam liceret sic etiam famem attritis ventre pellerere (19).* This Cynic could not have cleared himself by his sophism. It is lawful to perform the conjugal duty; it is therefore lawful to perform it in the street; for his action is bad both in private and in public. Sextus Empiricus confesses, that it was looked upon as abominable, though Zeno the founder of the Stoic sect had approved it, and several others had practised it as a very good action. *Τὸ τοιαύτην ἰσχυρῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἐν ἀγορῇ ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ὡς ἀγαθὴν τοῖς τότε χριστοῦ τοῦ κακῶ συνειδυόμεθα. Quum praeterea detestabile sit apud nos aischrotyon, Zeno approbat, & alios quosdam ut bono quodam hoc usos male accepimus (20).* Diogenes had recourse to another sophism: he pretended that what some fishes do is a lesson of nature to us (21); but this sophism is not better than that, which might be borrowed from the practice of the Lydians. To conclude, though the Cynics endeavoured to find out arguments to palliate their abominable impudence, yet they dared to continue in that practice. The general indignation which it drew upon them, was probably a stronger curb on them than the notions of decency. St. Augustin observes that natural modesty got the ascendant at last even in these men. *Vicit tamen pudor naturalis opinionem hujus erroris, nam etsi perhibent, hoc aliquando gloriabundum fecisse Diogenem, ita putantem sectam suam nobiliorem futuram, si in hominum memoriam insignior ejus impudentia figeretur, postea tamen à Cynicis fieri cessatum est; plusque valuit pudor, ut erubescerent homines hominibus, quam error, ut homines canibus esse similes affectarent (22).* i. e. “Yet natural modesty got at last the advantage over this erroneous opinion; for though it be reported that Diogenes did it sometimes with boasting, imagining that his sect would thus gain a greater reputation, if his notorious impudence was deeply

(16) Τὸ δημόσιον γινώσκοντες μὴ γινώσκοντες καὶ οὐκ αἰσχροῦ ἕνεκα δεικνύοντες, ἵνα τῶν ἰσχυρῶν οὐκ αἰσχροῦ ἕνεκα μὴ γινώσκοντες οὐκ αἰσχροῦ ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων Κρότωνος ἀσκησάμεν. Sext. Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypo. lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 152.

(17) La Mothe le Vayer, Dialog. d'Orasus Tubero, pag. m. 165. He quotes Herodotus, lib. 2.

A REFLECTION upon the weakness of human reason.

(18) See his article remark [L]. (19) Plutarch. de Stoicor. Repugnant. pag. 1044.

(20) Sext. Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypo. lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 153. (21) See his article quotation (73).

(22) De Civit. Dei, lib. 14. cap. 20.

answer [E], but only made use of his hands; and whatever he could say of do afterwards, he found her so bold and resolute, that nothing could daunt her (a). She wrote some books which have not been transmitted down to us [F]. Moreri has committed some errors in this article [G], and Lorenzo Crasso

(a) Taken from Diogenes Laertius, in Hipparchia, lib. 6. num. 96, & seq.

“ deeply rooted in the memory of men; yet the Cynics have since left it off; and the shame which made men blush before men had a greater influence over them than that error, by which they would make men act like dogs.” But as the most general rules are always liable to some exceptions, we meet in Lucian with the Cynic Peregrinus, who begins again to imitate Diogenes's conduct. *Ἐν πολλῷ δὲ τῶν ἀπειρημένων δὴ μὴ ἀνεφλῶν τὸ αἰδῆν, ἢ τὸ ἀδιάφορον δὲ τῶτο καλύμναι ἰ- ππάρχειας.* Multa autem in corona populi pudenda con- strebat, & hac indifferentia vocans ostentabat (23).

(23) Lucian de Morte Peregr. pag. m. 767. tom. 1.

An observation designed for those who might take offence at what I have related.

Those who may think it strange that I should relate such horrid obscenities as these are, want to be told, that they do not sufficiently consider either the privileges or the duty of an Historian. Any man, who at this time writes the History either of an ancient Philosopher, or of some other person who gained some reputation in former ages, has a right to relate all that the books acquaint him with, whether they be commendable actions, or such as deserve the reader's horror and execration; if he collects only what is praiseworthy, he acquits himself very ill of the duties, which the nature of his work requires of him. One has more liberty in writing the Life of a modern person; for if he has committed some very obscene actions, which the public is not acquainted with, they may be omitted, if it be found necessary to obviate some inconveniences, which might arise from the publication of such things. But as to a fact related by an hundred authors, one is not free to use such a discretion; and if an Historian should choose to omit some particulars, he yields to a very insignificant and useless scruple; for the readers will easily find by other means, what is thus concealed from them. All the world is so well acquainted with Diogenes the Cynic's impudence, that there are even some sayings spread abroad concerning him, which are not related by any ancient writer whatsoever. *Du Monsieur put me in mind of a book of the Orleans, intituled The Human Plant to the Queen; which is a ridiculous title: this made me remember Diogenes's saying: Planto hominem.*

(24) Perroniana, under the word Orleans, pag. m. 225.

I plant a man (24). These are Cardinal Du Perron's words. There are numberless persons, who relate the same story in their private conversations: it is to be met with in several books, in which it is asserted, that Diogenes embracing a woman in the public streets, was asked *what he was doing?* and that he answered, *φύτείν ἄνθρωπον: I plant a man.* None of the ancients, as far as I know, have related this story, and Monsieur Du Rondel, whom I have consulted upon it, answered me, that he never met with it but in modern authors. Since therefore such an ill-grounded story has been spread abroad concerning this ancient Philosopher's impudence, it is impossible but the world must know what is really related by the authors whose words I quote. To what purpose should I then conceal or suppress those particulars? But then, you will say, I ought to have chosen such expressions, as might cover those obscenities with a thick veil. I reply, that this would have been a proper method to lessen the horror with which they ought to strike us; for those nice and dark expressions, which are used now about smutty subjects, do not disgust the reader so much, as a more natural and stronger style would do, which would so much the more fill the reader with indignation, as the author does not lose his time in inventing indirect expressions, which after all, and to speak the truth, are nothing but mere varnish. I add, that it is more useful and more important than people are apt think, thus to represent with ingenuity those wickednesses and abominations, which the Heathen Philosophers approved. This is proper to humble and mortify our reason, to convince us of the infinite depravation of man's heart, and to teach us a truth, which should never be out of our mind, namely that men wanted a light from heaven, a revelation, to supply the defects of the Philosophical light;

(25) Above, quotations (19), (20).

for you see that the Stoics (25), who applied themselves more than any other Philosophers, to moral Philosophy and Ethics, approved Diogenes's impudent obscenities: so that we may apply to them particularly St. Paul's general assertion against the Heathens, *professing them-*

selves to be wise, they become fools (26).

(26) Epistle to the Romans, ch. 1. ver. 22.

[E] Hipparchia . . . proposed an objection: . . . to which Theodorus the Atheist made no verbal answer.] It was a Sophism which might be easily solved, and urged against her. If I, said she to him, should commit the same action, which you had lawfully committed, I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action. Now if you should beat yourself, you would act lawfully; if therefore I should beat you, I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action. Theodorus did not lose his time in answering her like a Logician, but fell upon her and untied her gown. Considering the dress, and manner of speaking of this time, we should say, that he took up her petticoats. Thus Monsieur Menage explains these words of Diogenes Laertius; *ἀνίσχυε δ' αὐτῆς θοματίω.* This is a very merry and galant way of answering a woman. Hipparchia was not put out of countenance: and when Theodorus had repeated to her some verses from a Tragedy, which gave the Character of a woman, who left her spinning-wheel and her distaff, she replied, I know myself under that character, I am that woman, but do you think that I made a bad choice, in choosing to spend my time in philosophizing rather than in spinning? Let us see now what Theodorus might have answered, if he would have taken that trouble. To make a direct answer, he might have observed, that the action of Theodorus's beating himself, and the action of Hipparchia's beating Theodorus, were two different actions, and not actions of the same kind: so that there were four terms, or propositions in Hipparchia's syllogism. In order that two actions may be like each other, there must be the same relation between the agent and the patient in the one, as there is in the other. Now there was not such a relation in the actions mentioned in Hipparchia's supposition. If Theodorus had had a mind to turn the argument against Hipparchia, and to puzzle her, he might have argued thus: If I should commit the same action, which your husband may do lawfully, I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action. Now your husband acts lawfully when he kisses you, &c. Therefore, if I should kiss you, &c. I could not be charged with committing an unlawful action. One might have seen, whether Hipparchia, who was very impudent, would have dared to answer before witnesses, with a *concedo totum*: I grant the whole Argument.

[F] She wrote some Books which have not been transmitted down to us.] Suidas asserts, that she wrote *Hypotheses Philosophicas: Epicheremata quedam, & questiones ad Theodorum cognomento Atheum.* i. e. “Philosophical Hypotheses or Suppositions: some Reasonings, and Questions proposed to Theodorus sur- named the Atheist.” Monsieur Menage's conjecture is very probable; namely, that we must not read in

Diogenes Laertius (28), *Φίεται δὲ τῷ Κράτητος βιβλίον* (28) In Hipparchia. i. e. “There is a Book of epistles to Crates extant;” but *Φίεται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κράτητα βιβ.* 98. *λίον ἰππάρχειας.* i. e. There is a Book of epistles to Crates extant.” According to this conjecture, we may assert, that Hipparchia published Letters, which she wrote to her husband, and in which she philosophized nobly, and in a stile like that of Plato. We must say also that she wrote some Tragedies, in which she employed the lofty stile of Philosophy. It would be very strange that Diogenes Laertius, who wrote Crates's life, should have mentioned this Philosopher's writings in Hipparchia's Life. It is in order to clear him of this blemish and irregularity, that Monsieur Menage made the conjecture we have mentioned above.

[G] Moreri has committed some errors in this Article.] He ought not to have said, that Hipparchia's love for the sciences made her prefer Crates before all the other persons that courted her with a design to marry her. She loved Crates's person, and it was for his sake that she began to philosophize. It is true that she had been charmed with his beautiful and learned discourses; but this is not a sufficient ground for asserting that the reason why she chose this Philosopher

rather

(b) Diog. Laert. in Hipparchia, lib. 6. num. 94, and 96. (c) A city in Thrace, which has also been called Hipparchia. Menag. Not. ad Diog. Laert. lib. 6. num. 96.

Crasso also [H]. I forgot to observe, that Hipparchia, and her brother Metrocles, who was a disciple of Crates (b), were born at Maronea (c). They flourished in the time of Alexander. From Hipparchia, and Crates's marriage, came a son named Pasicles (d).

(d) Diog. Laert. in Crates, lib. 6. num. 88.

(29) It is that of Mr. Menage, which I have mentioned in the foregoing remark.

rather than any other man was, that she loved the sciences. There have been maidens and women, who fell in love with some Ministers by hearing them preach; and who chose to marry them rather than any other men, though they might have made a more advantageous match. The learning and eloquence of these Ministers was indeed the cause of those Ladies falling in love with them, but it was not the love for the sciences or for books that made them marry those Gentlemen. If Moreri had mentioned the correction (29) of the Passage in Diogenes Laertius, he might have observed, that according to this Historian, Hipparchia's stile was very much like Plato's, and that she wrote Tragedies: but as he did not mention that correction, he could not reasonably assert the rest.

ogni altro per Crates vecchio, povero, et mal d'apparenza (30). i. e. " Though she being a rich and beautiful young lady was courted by a great many men, yet she refused them all, and chose Crates, an old, poor, and ill-looking Man. 3. That she dressed in men's clothes in order to follow Crates every where. 4. That having disputed with Theodorus, who denied a Providence, she convinced him by very strong proofs and unquestionable arguments. * Riusci cost dotta che in disputa convinsse con fedissime prove e incontrastabili ragioni, e con somma sua gloria Teodoro che negava la divina provvidenza (31). Read the text of this Article, and you will find that Lorenzo Crasso has mistaken the sense of Laertius's words. The riches, beauty, and nobility which Laertius mentions, belong only to Hipparchia's lovers. She did not dress in men's clothes in order to follow Crates, but because he declared to her, that he would not marry a woman but who would submit to the rules of the Cynic Sect. Lastly, you have seen that her dispute with Theodorus was not about Providence, nor about any point of religion. One cannot imagine how much Authors mislead their Readers.

(30) Lor. Crasso, Istoria di Paolo Crato, pag. 296.

(31) Idem, ibid.

(a) Suidas, pag. 2264.

* HIPPARCHUS a great Astronomer born at Nice in Bithynia (a), flourished between the 154th and the 163d Olympiads [A]. There is one of his works still extant, it is his Commentary on Aratus's Phaenomena [B]. Monsieur Rohault was very much mistaken [C], when he asserted that this Astronomer was not acquainted with the particular motion of the fixed stars from West to East; by which motion their Longitude changes. Pliny mentions Hipparchus pretty often, and with great commendations. He places

(1) Eight; one in the 2d book, and the seven others in the 3d. See Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. pag. 159.

[A] He flourished between the 154th and the 163d Olympiads.] The proof of this is as strong as can be desired, for it is taken from the astronomical observations he made in that space of time. Ptolemy has given us some of them (1). Vossius was in the right to place Hipparchus under the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, and under that of Ptolemy Evergetes, and to censure Suidas who only observes, that this Astronomer lived in the time of the Roman Consuls; he should have mentioned a more particular time; that of the third Punic War, and that of the War against the Numantines. Thus far Vossius is in the right: but when he asserts that he agrees with Suidas about the time when Hipparchus lived (2), he forgets himself, and asserts a falsity; for Suidas does not agree better with Vossius upon this point, than with an Author, who would have placed Hipparchus at the beginning of the fourth century of Rome, or at the end of the fifth. Calvisius (3) was in the wrong to assert, that Suidas places Hipparchus 130 years after the first Ptolemies. A French Author (4) is not less evidently mistaken, who asserts that Hipparchus lived in Plato's time. Moreri, who had no guide in this Article but Vossius, ought to have found in that Author a powerful preservative against all the blunders which he has committed. He places Hipparchus in the years of Rome 570 and 80 under the reigns of Ptolemy and Philometor Evergetes Kings of Egypt. Ought he not to have made the Olympiads mentioned by Vossius (5) agree with the time that passed from the year 589 since the building of Rome, to the year 625? Further, when one mentions Ptolemy without any addition to his name, it is a sign that one means the first King of that name who reigned in Egypt; and there are few accurate writers, who do not distinguish him more particularly. It is therefore a very gross blunder, to make use of the word Ptolemy absolutely and without any addition, when one does not intend to speak of the Prince, who had Egypt for his share after Alexander's death. Now it is plain that Moreri does not mean that Prince, or if he does, he is greatly mistaken; for a man, who lived in the Year 570 and 80 of Rome, could not flourish under the first Ptolemy, who died in the year 468 since the building of Rome. Moreri has been mistaken in another particular; he supposes that there was a King of Egypt, whose name was Philometer Evergetes.

taryon Aratus's Phaenomena.] It is properly a criticism on Aratus; for Hipparchus charges him with having plundered Eudoxus's Books, and transcribed even those observations in which Eudoxus was mistaken. He makes the same remarks against Aratus the Grammarian, who wrote a Commentary on Aratus. Peter Victorius is the first that published this Commentary of Hipparchus. Father Petavius gave afterwards a more correct edition of it, to which he added a Latin Translation which he made himself (6). Hipparchus's (6) other works were, de Constitutione Stellarum Inerrantium, & statione immota, deque mensura Luna motu secundum latitudinem, &c. (7). i. e. " Of the order and constant situation of the fixed Stars, as also of the Moon's monthly motion in longitude, &c." [C] Monsieur Rohault was very much mistaken [C] Such great Mathematicians as he was, have not, generally speaking, a very exact knowledge of facts; and they often commit unawares historical blunders (8). However it be, let us see what this learned Cartesian tells us, who by his very spelling of Hipparchus shewed that he did not understand Greek.

(6) Vossius, de Scient. Mathem. pag. 160.

(7) Idem, pag. 159. et Suidas.

(8) Compare this with what is observed in the remark [R] of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

(2) Convent de arate Suidas. Vossius, ibid.

(3) Ad annum Mundi 3665.

(4) Coustel, du Calcul Ecclesiastique, pag. 139.

(5) The 154th and 163d.

Hipparchus, says he (9), spent the greatest part of his life, without observing any thing else concerning the fixed Stars, but that they move from East to West, in circles, which seemed to him to be exactly parallel to the Equator, from which he inferred, that they are all fixed in the solid substance of the same heaven (which is called the Firmament,) and which he placed beyond all the Planets; and as he was of opinion, that it was not necessary this Heaven should borrow its motion, which is simple, from any other Heaven above it, he asserted, that this was the last of all the Heavens; that it was this which moved all the others the same way as it moved itself; and that it was thus the Primum Mobile, or First Mover. Hipparchus being therefore of opinion, that the fixed Stars did not change their place in the Heavens, he imagined that they might serve to determine the course of the Planets; just as one might make use of several rocks in the sea, to mark the course of the ships, which leave no tracks behind them as they sail along. With this view he exerted his skill in measuring the distance there is between every fixed Star, and the Ecliptic in which the Sun moves; and this he calls the latitude of a Star. He endeavoured afterwards to determine the number of degrees and minutes on the Ecliptic, which are reckoned from West to East, from the first points of Aries to the Point overagainst which each fixed Star

WHAT is meant by the Longitude and Latitude of the Stars.

[B] There is extant bis Commem-

places him amongst those men of a sublime genius, who by foretelling the Eclipses taught mankind that they ought not to be frightened at these Phænomena [D], and that even the Gods

Star corresponds, which is called its longitude; but death having interrupted his design, it could not be carried on but by his successors. Ptolemy, who came about two hundred years after Hipparchus, designed to give an account of the motion of the Planets, and being curious to examine, whether his predecessor had exactly marked the longitude and latitude of the fixed Stars, he found that their latitude was indeed such as he had marked it, but that their longitude was increased two degrees. He inferred from thence, that the fixed Stars, besides their motion from East to West in twenty four hours, had also another motion from West to East in circles parallel to the Ecliptick; by which motions they were to finish a whole revolution in the space of thirty six thousand years, since they advanced two degrees in two hundred years. And as the Firmament could have but one motion proper to it, Ptolemy ascribed to it the motion from West to East in thirty six thousand years, and asserted that its diurnal motion from East to West was borrowed from another Heaven, which must be beyond it. And thus men began to believe that the Primum Mobile, or First Mover, is a Heaven, which contains no Stars, and surrounds the Firmament.

(10) Regis, *Système de Philosophie*, tom. 3. pag. 42, 43. of the Lyons editions 1691, in 12mo.

(11) Gadroys, *Système du Monde*, chap. 2. pag. 27.

Monsieur Regis (10), who is another very learned Cartesian, asserts the same thing in fewer words. But Monsieur Gadroys, an excellent Cartesian, very well knew, that the discovery of the particular motion of the fixed stars from west to east, must be ascribed to Hipparchus (11). He had probably considered with more attention than the others, a particular related by Gassendi, which is as follows. The Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, imagined that all the fixed stars were placed in the concavity of the last Heaven, and consequently of the first mover, and that therefore they moved only from east to west, on the poles of the equator. But at last Hipparchus found, 130 years before Christ, that this hypothesis could not be true: for having considered, that according to Timocharis's observation, made two hundred years before, there were eight degrees west between the Spica Virginis, and the point of the autumnal equinox, and that he could find but six degrees between that star, and that point of the firmament, he inferred from thence, that the fixed stars must have a proper motion from west to east on the poles of the ecliptic; and that if Timocharis's observation were exact, the progress of the fixed stars by this particular motion was one degree every hundred years. He wrote two treatises upon this new doctrine, the one intitled, *Of the Motion of the Equinoxes and Solstices*; and the other *Of the length of the year*. *Quare & intellexit, si Timocharis quidem rite observasset, ac Stellæ moveri sic perseverarent, peragi hoc motu unum gradum intra annos proxime centum, Intellexit præterea debere hunc motum fieri secundum Zodiacum, seu super Eclipticæ Polis; idque prædixit tam in Tractatu, quem inscripsit de transgressu Æquinoctialium, Solstitialiumque punctorum, quam in eo, quem conscripsit, de Anni magnitudine, ut apud Ptolemæum habetur* (12). Observe that Gassendi does not exactly set down the time when Timocharis lived, for this Astronomer flourished about the CXXIX Olympiad, and only 130 years before Hipparchus made the first observations, which Ptolemy mentions. But this error of Gassendi is much more pardonable than that of Monsieur Gadroys (13).

(12) Gassendus, *Physica*, Sect. 2. lib. 3. pag. m. 596. primi Volum. Operum, ex Ptolemæo 7. *Almag.* 2. & 3.

(13) He supposes but 200 years between Timocharis and Ptolemy the Astronomer. *Syll.* pag. 30. whereas there were above 400 years between them. Rohault, who puts but two centuries between Hipparchus and Ptolemy, tom. 2. Part 2. pag. 36. of his *Physique*, ought at least to have imitated Gassendi, who puts 260 years between these two Astronomers.

(14) Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 12.

(15) Idem, *ibid.*

[D] Pliny . . . places him amongst those . . . who by foretelling Eclipses taught mankind, that they ought not to be frightened at these Phænomena.] Thales was the first amongst the Greeks, who could discover when there was to be an eclipse. Sulpitius Gallus amongst the Romans began to succeed in this kind of predictions, and gave an essay of his skill that way very seasonably the day before the battle was fought, in which Perseus was vanquished (14). After these two Hipparchus improved that science very much; for he made *Ephemerides*, or Catalogues of Eclipses for six hundred years. *Post eos utriusque sideris cursum in sexcentos annos præcivuit Hipparchus, mensis gentium, dieque & horas, ac situs locorum & visus populorum naturæ particeps* (15). i. e. "After them came Hipparchus, who foretold the course of the sun and moon

for six hundred years, calculated according to the different manner of reckoning the months, days, and hours used by several nations, and for the different situations of places and nations: the succeeding ages witness, that he seems to have been admitted in Nature's privy-council." Thus Pliny calls him upon this account Nature's Confident. The elogiums, which he on this occasion bestows upon the Astronomers, are, in my opinion, very well grounded. *Viri ingentes supraque mortalium naturam, tantorum numinum lege deprebensa, & misera hominum mente absoluta in defectibus stellarum scelera, aut mortem aliquam fideram parvente . . . Macti ingenio esse cæli interpretes, rerumque naturæ capaces, argumenti repertores, quo Deos hominesque vicissis. Quis enim hæc cernens, & stator fiderum (quoniam ita placuit appellare) labores, non suæ necessitati mortalis genitus ignoscat* (16) ? i. e. "Most eminent men, who are raised above the condition of mortals; you have discovered the laws, by which the great Gods rule this universe; and thus you have delivered the wretched minds of men from the terror under which they laboured at the sight of an eclipse, dreading either some great misfortune, or the death (if I may say so) of the sun or moon . . . Let the reputation of your great genius be spread more and more, O interpreters of Heaven, who understand the nature of things, and found means to explain it; by which you excell the Gods and men. Who, though born a mortal, would not excuse fate, when he considers these Phænomena, and reflects upon the regular returns of the labours (since men were pleased to call the eclipses thus) of the sun and moon."

This elogium in prose is full as good as the following one in verse.

*Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoscere primis,
Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
Credibile est illos pariter vitiiisque locisque
Altius humanis exseruisse caput.
Non Venus & vinum sublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumve fori, militiæque labor.
Nec levis ambitio, perfusæque gloria fuco;
Magnarumve fames sollicitavit opum.
Admovère oculis distantia sidera nostris;
Ætheraque ingenio supposuère suo.
Sic petitur cælum: non ut serat Offan Olympus;
Summaque Peliacus sidera tangat apex* (17).

(17) Ovid. *Fast.* lib. 1. ver. 297. & seq.

"Happy minds, who first endeavoured to know this, and who first attempted to ascend into Heaven, if I may say so. It is probable that they raised themselves higher than other men, above all human vices and pleasures: neither love nor wine subdued their lofty souls; nor was their time taken up in civil or military employments; vain ambition did not fill their hearts, nor were they fond of empty glory; nor was their breast possessed with an eager desire after riches. They brought the distant stars nearer to our view, and subjected the very sky to their inquiries. This is the way, that leads to Heaven; nor is it necessary to heap up mountains upon mountains to reach the sky."

Hipparchus had so carefully examined what relates to eclipses, that he had marked the proportion there is between the several intervals of time, at which they happen (18). He had observed that the eclipses of the moon might return after five months, and those of the sun after seven months, and that the sun may be eclipsed twice within the space of thirty days, with regard to different parts of the earth. *Intra ducentos annos Hipparchi sagacitate compertum est, & lunæ decessum aliquando quinto mense à priore fieri, solis vero septimo: eundem bis in triginta diebus supra terras occultiari, sed ab aliis atque aliis hoc ceni.* Some have misunderstood these words of Pliny; there is a very learned man, who imagined that by the words *intra ducentos annos* we must understand, that two centuries must be past, before one eclipse of the moon can succeed another at five month's distance (19); whereas

(18) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 13. (19) *Neque vero sensus est, ut existimavit vir aliqui extra ingenii aleam positus, expectandos esse annos ducentos ut recurat Luna decessum* Harduinus, in Plinium, lib. 2. cap. 13. pag. 159, 160.

Gods were bound by laws [E]. He admires him for making a review of all the stars, for reckoning them, and for acquainting us with the situation and bigness of every one of them; by which his descendants will be enabled to discover, not only whether they are born and die, but also whether they change their place, and whether they increase or decrease. We learn from this passage of Pliny, that Hipparchus ascribed a celestial origin to our souls [F]. Strabo (b) charges this Astronomer with loving too much to find fault, and to have pretty often criticised in such a manner, as favoured more of cavil, than of an accurate genius. Pliny judges more favourably of him (c).

(b) Lib. 1, 2. p. 57.

(c) Hipparchus in coarpuendo eo (Eratosthene) & in reliqua omni diligentia mirus. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 108.

Pliny's meaning is, that Hipparchus had discovered that proportion two hundred years ago. Pliny's Chronology is exact; there were two hundred years between him, and that famous Astronomer.

[E] . . . and that even the Gods were bound by laws.] There is no inconvenience in asserting that God loves and approves what is regular and good, by a necessary and indispensable law; for on the contrary, the being capable to act against this law would be an imperfection. But to be subject to an order, by which the exercise of our functions is stopped or weakened, is certainly a defect. So that they, who pretended that the stars are Gods, if they designed to reason coherently, ought to have said, that the Astronomers found out the blind side of the divine nature, her dependency on a very oppressive law, which submitted her to a kind of death, or to a fainting fit, or to slavery. It will be objected, that the sun is not less bright in itself during an eclipse, than either before or after it: but may not I answer, that a messenger, who is arrested, does not lose for all that, any thing of his strength and health? And yet this is a proof of his being subject to a burdensome law; in a word, it is a sign of weakness to see that he cannot continue his journey. Apply this to the sun, and you will find, that the eclipses are a proof of its imperfection: they prevent it from shining on the earth. The sun in this case is a Prince whose messengers are stopped, and whose functions are suspended. If Pliny had designed to reason, he would

to please those, who do not like to turn from one book to another, in order to gratify their curiosity. *Idem Hipparchus nunquam satis laudatus, ut quo nemo magis approbaverit cognitionem cum homine fiderum, animasque nostras partem esse cæli; novam stellam & aliam in ævo suo genitam deprehendit: ejusque motu, quia die fulsit, ad dubitationem est adductus, anno hoc sæpius ferret, moverenturque & eæ, quas putamus affixas. Idemque ausus, rem etiam Deo improbam, annumerare posteris stellas, ac sidera ad normam expandere (21), organa excogitatis, per quæ singularum loca, atque magnitudines signaret: ut facile discerni posset ex eo, non modo, an obirent, nascerenturque, sed an omnino aliqua transirent, moverenturque; item an crescerent, minuerenturque, cælo in hereditate cunctis relicto; si quisquam, qui rationem eam caperet, inventus esset (22).* i. e. "The same (22) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. 182, 183. "Hipparchus, who can never be sufficiently commended, since he shewed how nearly men are related to the celestial bodies, and that our souls are a part of Heaven; Hipparchus, I say, observed a new star, which first appeared in his time; the motion of which, the day it shined, made him doubt, whether such stars arose often, or whether even those stars, which are thought to be fixed, did also move. He also dared, which is a great work for the Gods themselves, to give posterity an account of the number of the stars, and of the situation of the celestial bodies, having contrived a machine, in which he marked their places, and their bigness; by this means it was easy to observe, not only whether any star perished, or whether there arose any new one, but also whether they changed their situation, and had any proper motion; and also whether they grew larger or smaller: thus he left the Heavens as a legacy to his successors, in case there should be any persons capable of understanding that science."

(20) This consideration would have more weight than that which Lucretius urges above quotation (8) of the article BAUTRU (William).

not have drawn from this phenomenon the consequence he mentions; he would not have said, that this phenomenon of eclipses ought to make us easy in this state of mortality (20); but he would have said that this proves the stars are not a divine nature.

[F] We learn from a passage in Pliny, that Hipparchus ascribed a celestial origin to our souls.] It is so beautiful, that by transcribing it at length, I am sure

HIPPOMANES. There is in the plan of this Dictionary a long article upon the Hippomanes. I do not insert it in this place, because I have altered the design I had at first of giving indifferently real and personal articles. But I shall give it in the form of a dissertation at the end of this work.

HIPPONAX, a Greek Poet, born at Ephesus, lived, not in the 23d Olympiad, as Eusebius has asserted [A], but in the 60th, as Pliny testifies it (a). Being banished from Ephesus, by the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas (b), he settled at Clazomenæ [B]. He was deformed, short and thin (c). But his deformity has been accidentally the cause of his immortality; for he is little known but by the satirical verses, which he wrote against

(a) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(b) Suidas, in Ἰππωνάξ.

(c) Ælian. Div. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 7.

TWO

[A] He lived not in the XXIII^d Olympiad, as Eusebius asserted.] Scaliger (1) refutes him by a passage from Pliny; he thought therefore that Pliny was not mistaken. This is right: but then he adds that Eusebius followed Tatian, and he refers us to his Notes upon Number 908, in which Notes there is not a word relating to Hipponax. This is not being very exact. Eusebius may also be refuted by Proclus's authority (2), who asserts that Hipponax flourished under the reign of Darius. He means no doubt the son of Hytaspes, who began to reign in the LXIVth Olympiad.

(1) Pag. 79.

(2) Apud Photium, Biblioth. pag. 983.

[B] He settled at Clazomenæ.] Hence it is that the Poetess Sulpitia describes him after this manner:

Nec trimetro jambo, nec qui pede fractus eodem Fortiter irasci discis duce Clazomenio (3).

(3) De Editio Domitiani, Inter Cæsaribus Virgilio, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1617, pag. 247.

Neither he, who writes satires in Iambic verses of six feet, nor he, who being exasperated by the same kind of saures, learns to rail stoutly after the example of the Clazomenian."

If what Monsieur le Fevre relates be true, namely, that Hipponax lived at Ephesus when he revenged himself of those, who had insulted him on account of his deformity, it will follow from thence, either that he returned into his native country, or that his banishment was not occasioned by this story. I have not met with any thing in Pliny, that shews that Hipponax was or was not of Ephesus, or that he and the Statuaries whom he satirized, did or did not live in that city. And yet Monsieur Dacier (4) would persuade us that Pliny is of the same opinion with those who assert, that our Poet's verses obliged his enemies to retire from Ephesus. Lloyd and Hoffman say, that Bupalus lived at Clazomenæ (5). I imagine this is only an inference drawn from the following particulars. They have observed on the one hand, that Hipponax retired into that City, and on the other, that Bupalus made a ridiculous and comical statue to represent him; from these two facts they inferred, that Bupalus lived at Clazomenæ.

(4) Rem. sur Horace, tom. 5. pag. 151.

(5) Charles Stephens says the same under the word Bupalus.

two Statuaries [C], who had made the most ridiculous figure of him that was in their power (d). He sent out against them a thundering legion of iambic verses, which vexed them to such a degree, that it was reported they hanged themselves out of spite. Pliny maintains that this is false, and proves it so, by a great number of statues which they made since that time in the neighbouring islands. Some authors write, that they only left Ephesus where Hipponax lived (e). However it be, this author was, and is still very much distinguished by his satyrical humour and verses [D]. His slanders did not even spare those to whom he owed his life (f). Some writers pretend, that he was starved to death [E]. It is observed, that though he was short and thin, yet he was very strong, and could throw an empty vessel farther than any other man could do (g). He was not the first nor the only person, who by his invectives have been the cause of other people's death [F].

(d) Plinius, lib. 35. cap. 5.

(e) Apud Tanaq. Fabrum, *Vie des Poetes Grecs.*

(f) Ο καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαῖκῶν. i. e. "Who barked even at his own parents." Anthol. lib. 3. cap. 30. num. 22. pag. m. 655.

(g) Metrodor. Scepius, apud Athenæum, lib. 12. pag. 552.

HIRPINI,

[C] Against two Statuaries.] They were two brothers, the one called Bupalus, and the other Athenis; they were of the isle of Chios, and the sons of Anthermus, whose father was named Micciades, and his grandfather Malas. All these persons had practised Sculpture in that island from father to son, so that this art might be as antient there as the Olympiads. *Si quis borum familiam ad proavum usque retroagat, inveniet artis ejus originem cum Olympiadum origine cepisse* (6). i. e. "If you will trace this family up to the great-grandfather, you will find that this art began with the Olympiads." Pausanias (7), speaking of the statue of Fortune, and of that of the Graces, which were to be seen at Smyrna, and which Bupalus had made, commends him on that account. He makes him more antient than Pindar; two witnesses like Pausanias and Pliny, deserve more credit than the Scholiast on Horace (8), who asserts that Bupalus was a Painter, wherein he has been followed by Messieurs le Fevre (9) and Dacier (10), and by almost all the writers of Dictionaries (11). Suidas makes both the brothers Sculptors; and because he calls the latter Athenis, Father Hardouin imagined, that the passage in Pliny, where this Sculptor is named *Antbermus*, was corrupted; and therefore he put the word *Athenis* instead of that. See the remark [E], and the article BUPALUS. [D] He was distinguished by his satyrical humour and verses.] This gave rise to some proverbs, which we meet with in Cicero (12). *Eum additum jam tum pato esse Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo praconio*. i. e. "I take him to be already ruined in his reputation by Calvus Licinius's Hipponactean commendation of him." Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, as the two greatest patrons for slander:

(6) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(7) Pausan. lib. 4. pag. 140. and lib. 9. pag. 309.

(8) In VI Epod.

(9) *Vie des Poetes Grecs.*

(10) *Remarques sur Horace*, tom. 5. pag. 151.

(11) See the remark [A] of the article BUPALUS.

(12) *Epist.* 24. lib. 7. ad famil.

————— In malos asperrimus
Parata tollo cornua.
Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener,
Aut acer bovis Bupalus.

(13) Horat. 6. Epod. See also Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, lib. 3.

————— "To rogues a deadly foe,
"I'm still prepar'd to strike the blow:
"As sharp as fierce Archilochus his song,
"Like Hipponax revenge a wrong.

CREECH.

Here follow Pliny's words: *Hipponacti notabilis vultus fœditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus lascivia jocularum ii proposuere ridendum circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distrixit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impulisse: quod falsum est*. i. e. "Hipponax's face was remarkably ugly; wherefore these Statuaries made a figure of him out of joke, which they exposed to the laughter of a multitude of people. Hipponax was so exasperated at this, that he lashed them very severely in his verses, which vexed them to that degree, that some think they hanged themselves; but this is not true." There are three or four epigrams in the Anthology (14), in which Hipponax is represented as being still dreadful even after his death. The passengers are advised to run from his tomb, because it was a place where there fell a terrible hail. *Θεῖος τὸν καλαζικῆν τάφον, τὸν Φηκίδος, fugæ grandinantem tumulum horrendum* (15).

(14) Lib. 3. cap. 25.

(15) Ibid. num. 24. pag. m. 566.

[E] Some writers pretend, that he was starved to death.] I do not think there is any ground for this assertion but the two following lines.

(16) Ovid. in *Ibid.* ver. 525.

*Uique parum stabili qui carmine læsit Athenas
Invivis pereas, deficiente cibo* (16).

i. e. "May you perish for want of bread, and hated by all, like him, who injured Athens (or Athenis) by his lame verses."

Some writers pretend, that Ovid did not write *Athenas* but *Athenim*, whence it would follow that he meant Hipponax here. *Qui primus iambum claudicare fecit, & scazonta in Bupalum & Athenim composuit, ut est apud Suidam, ut recte Ovidius, parum stabile, id est claudam carmen ei tribuat*. i. e. "Who first made lame Iambic verses, and wrote satyrs in that kind of verse against Bupalus and Athenis; whence Ovid ascribes to him an *unsteady*, that is a *lame poem*." Thus speaks Alciat in the XVIIIth Chapter of the fifth Book of his *Parerga*. Turnebus does not dislike this opinion. *Videtur*, says he (17), *de Hipponacte hoc intelligi, qui claudicante & parum stabili versu, id est scazonte in Bupalum & Athenim invectus est Atheniensis: quo in carmine ne Athenis quidem pepercerat. Quid tamen si pro Athenas, Athenim scribamus, quæ ab eo probris oneratum accepimus? ne hanc quidem lectionem improbarem, etsi alteram delere non auserim*. i. e. "It seems that this must be understood of Hipponax, who in his lame Iambic verses inveighed against Bupalus and Athenis two Athenians; in which poem he did not spare even the city of Athens: but what, if instead of *Athenas* we should write *Athenim*; for we are told that he loaded Athenis with injuries? I cannot disprove this reading, though I should not dare to expunge the other." Monsieur Boissieu (18), who transcribes these two passages, observes that Sanctius and Valerius approve them. And for his part, he admits that opinion with all his heart, and thinks it very probable, that Ovid should have mentioned the two inventors of the Iambic verse one after the other. Now, he had just mentioned Archilochus, and we know from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (19), from Clemens of Alexandria (20), from Rufinus (21), and from the Poetess Sulpitia (22), that Hipponax invented the *Scazons*. Monsieur Boissieu might have censured Turnebus for asserting, that Hipponax's two adversaries were of Athens: for Pliny expressly observes that they were of the isle of Chios, and that they were used to mark it upon their works. *Quibus subjecerunt carmen non vitibus tantum cœnferi Chium, sed & operibus Antbermi filiorum* (23). i. e. "On which (their works) they engraved an inscription, declaring that the isle of Chios was famous not only for her wine, but also for the works of Anthermus's sons." What Turnebus asserts, namely that Hipponax did not spare the city of Athens in his verses against those two Sculptors, is intirely groundless, and said at random. A German Minister (24), having applied the two verses in Ovid to Hipponax, continues thus. *Ex Plinio nimirum compertum est Athenim vel Athenam sculptorem in Hipponactis scripta incurrisse, carmina ejus sustulisse maledica, autorem verò leibali inedia fuisse confectum*. i. e. "For we know from Pliny, that Athenis or Athenas the Sculptor fell upon Hipponax's writings, and demolished his slandering verses; and that the author of them died for want." Pliny says no such thing.

(17) *Adversus* lib. 9. cap. 25.

(18) *Comment. id* *Ibid.* pag. 100; 101.

(19) *Lib. de Is-* *andria* (20).

(20) *Stromat.* lib. 1.

(21) *De Mariis* *Comiciis*.

(22) *Hæc versos* have been quoted in the remark [B].

(23) *Plin. lib.* 36. cap. 5.

(24) *Spizelius, in Fel. Literat.* pag. 718.

[F] He was not the first nor the only person, who by his invectives have been the cause of other people's death.] Before him, Archilochus had wrote satires, which obliged two or three persons to hang themselves (25). Polliagrus being abused in a Comedy hanged himself (26). We ought not to wonder that a satire should make a man desperate, since we find that a mere censure produced sometimes that fatal effect. Pythagoras having reproved one of his disciples somewhat severely before several

(25) See the article ARCHILOCHUS, remark [C].

(26) *Ælian. Var. Hist.* lib. 5. cap. 3.

HIRPINI, a Nation of Italy in the country of the Samnites. They were so called, because they had a wolf (a) for their leader, when they went to settle a colony. Some authors relate, that on a certain day, when they celebrated a great solemnity, they walked upon fire without burning themselves [A]; but it is probable that these authors ascribe to them, what belongs only to the *Hirpii* [B], who lived in another part of Italy. They were

(a) A Wolf was called *Hirpus* in the language of the Samnites. Strabo, lib. 6. pag. 173.

several persons, threw him into so dismal a melancholy, that it obliged him to strangle himself; and after that time this great Philosopher never reproved any person but privately. Πυθαγόρου δὲ τραχύτερος ἐν πολλοῖς γινώσκων προσερχόμενος, ἀπαγγέλλει τὸ μισθάζειν λέγουσιν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μὴδέποτε τὸν Πυθαγόρου αὐδίζετο ἄλλω παρόντι ἄλλου νεοειρησάσθαι. *Ferunt, adolescentulum quendam à Pythagora, cui operam dabat, multis presentibus compellatum asperius, suspendio vitam finisse, atque ab eo tempore Pythagoram numquam alio presente ququam corripuisse* (27). Diodorus Cronus died with grief, being severely reproved by a King of Egypt, because he could not solve those difficulties in Logic, which Stilpo proposed to him at the King's table (28). There have been censures, which they did not occasion the death of the persons censured, yet vexed them to such a degree, that they made them attempt the reprover's life. Apollodorus the Architect lost his life, because he had made the Emperor Hadrian observe some defects in a temple which this Prince had ordered to be built (29). These latter ages afford us several instances of all these effects of censure. Muret had been acquainted with a man, whom some verses, that had been written against him, threw into so deep a melancholy, that it carried him to the grave. And hereupon that writer quotes Plato, who advises those, that are concerned for their reputation, to take care not to exasperate the Poets. *Laceffiti (poetæ) ita se ulciscuntur, ut interdum eos à quibus offensi erant, ad mortem adegisse narrentur. Nam præter id quod de Archiloco accepimus, novi ego, qui hæc ætate tantum versibus suis inimico dolorem inusserit, ut ex eo ille sit mortuus...* quocirca Plato in Minos præcipit iis, qui bonæ famæ studiosi sunt, ut diligenter caveant, ne cum poetis inimicitias suscipiant (30). i. e. "When the Poets are provoked, they know how to revenge themselves so, as

(27) Plutarch. de Discrim. Adu. lat. & Amici, pag. 70, F.

(28) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 112. See also Pliny, lib. 7. cap. 57.

(29) Xiphilin. in Hadriano, pag. m. 258.

(30) Muretus, Variar. Lect. lib. 2. cap. 1.

(31) Naude, Considerations sur les Coups d'Etat. See also Thuanus, lib. 90.

(32) In the article of GUARINI remark [B].

(33) Varillas, Histoire de Charles IX, tom. 2. pag. m. 18.

(34) Morale Pratique des Jésuites, tom. 3. pag. 122. where they correct an error of the first vol.

(35) Morale Pratique, tom. 1. pag. 268.

(36) Hist. de l'Acad. Française, pag. m. 322.

to force sometimes those that exasperate them to kill themselves. For besides what we read of Archilochus, I know a Poet, who at this time did by his verses give his enemy so much pain, that it proved his death... Wherefore Plato, in his Minos, advises those who are tender of their reputation, to take care not to draw upon them the resentment of the Poets." It is reported that George of Trebizonde died with grief, when he saw that the blunders, which he had made in his translation of Ptolemy, were censured by Regiomontanus, and that the sons of the deceased poisoned the Critic (31). I have observed in another place (32), that it was thought John Denores would have died with grief, at the reading of Guarini's Reply, had he lived long enough to see that work published. *The zealous Calvinists... published so outrageous a libel against Quintin... that this Doctor, who was too easily vexed, went to bed after he had read that libel, and never got up any more* (33). He had harangued in favour of the Clergy at the meeting of the States of the Kingdom in the year 1560: the criticism on his oration was the occasion of his death. Gregory of Valencia having read before Pope Clement VIII

(34), a passage from St. Augustin otherwise than he should have done, was convicted of a falsification; upon which the Pope told him (35). *Is it thus you pretend to impose upon the Church of God? "These words were like a thunderbolt," which struck Valencia down: he swooned away in the Pope's presence, and died two days after.*" See in the article CERASI another stroke of the same Pope. "Monsieur de l'Étoile used to censure boldly, bluntly, and with the utmost severity all that he disliked in those things, upon which he was asked his opinion. He is charged with occasioning a young man to die with grief and sorrow, who came from Languedoc, bringing a Play with him, which he thought a masterpiece in its kind, and in which he was shewn very clearly a thousand faults." I borrow these words from Monsieur Pellisson (26). Philip II King of Spain did not censure in a less killing manner than the King of Egypt, whom I have mentioned above. "Cardinal Espinosa died, because he heard Philip II

speak only these single words, by which he perceived

that he had lost the King's favour. Cardinal yo

joy el Presidente. Cardinal I am the President of the Council. And the same King, telling a Secretary, who had spilt ink instead of sand upon some writings. *Este es el tintero, y eslotra* (37) I imagine it should be *esta era*.

vadera; these few words went so deep to the poor Secretary's heart, that from the King's presence he retired to his bed, and died (38)." There are instances of some authors, who have murdered, or attempted to murder their Censors. Murtola being mad to see that the Cavalier Marino had ruined his reputation in a satire, let off a pistol at him in the streets of Turin; he missed him, though he had loaded his pistol with five balls, and had fired very near him; he confessed that his design was not to wound but to kill Marino (39). Here follows what we read in Monsieur Baillet (40). "Francis Robortel having criticized some words of Baptist Egnacio, a Venetian, was like to be killed with a bayonet, which this Egnacio stuck into his bowels, in answer to his critic." Baillet quotes *Job. Imperial. Musæi histor.* pag. 61, & *Theoph. Spizel. de felic. literat. comment. 4. p. 485.* Here follow Imperialis's words. *Cum Alciato pariter, aliisque clarissimis ejus ævi luminibus, internecinas prope similitates exercuit* (Robortellus) *quo factum ut semel Venetiis Baptista Egnatius optimus ac doctissimus vir crebris ab eo laceffitus injuriis, educto senili gladiolo in eum impetum facere non dubitavit.* i. e. "There was almost a mortal hatred between Robortel, and Alciat, and also between him and other most eminent men of his time; whence it happened, that Baptist Egnacio a very good and learned man, being provoked by Robortel's repeated injuries, did not scruple to fall upon him sword in hand."

Had I dispersed all this in several places throughout my work, I should have escaped the censure of those, who will style this remark *an insignificant collection of commonplace topics.* But as I mind my reader's convenience rather than my own, I am content to submit to that censure, if I save them the trouble of collecting, what I might have thus dispersed.

I shall add a new instance to the foregoing. *A certain Poet having presented Pope Urban VIII with a work, the subject, disposition and verses of which were unworthy of a Christian, the Pope upbraided him so earnestly with his impudence, that the poor wretch died with grief and shame.* You will find these words in the 3d page of a book, which Father Mençurier published at Paris in the year 1681, with this title, *Des Représentations en Musique anciennes & modernes.* i. e. "Of ancient and modern musical Acting upon a Stage."

[A] *Some authors relate that they walked upon fire, without burning themselves.* Varro, who exploded all kinds of superstitions as much as lay in his power, having mentioned a certain salve, adds immediately this observation, the *Hirpini* rubbed the soles of their feet with it, when they were to walk upon fire. *Varro ubique expugnator religionis, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret: eo uti solent Hirpini ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento plantas unguunt* (1). These words do not give us the least hint concerning the situation of the *Hirpini*: so that we cannot determine, whether Varro spoke of a people, who were a part of the nation of the Samnites, or whether, like Servius, he gave the name of *Hirpini* to persons who lived near mount Soraçte in Etruria, and who were properly called *Hirpii*. Several persons imagine, that Varro meant that nation amongst the Samnites, which was called *Hirpini*. If this was really his meaning, it is very probable that he was misled by the resemblance of the names. They who walked upon fire were different from the Samnites, and lived pretty far from them. Their name was *Hirpii* and not *Hirpini*. Servius the Commentator was mistaken with regard to their name, and this mistake had led him into some others, concerning the situation of those who walked upon fire in the solemn festival of mount Soraçte, as we shall see in the following remark.

[B] ... *What belongs only to the Hirpii.* Virgil does

(37) I imagine it should be *esta era*.

(38) La Mothe le Vayer, Lettre 53. pag. 44. of the 10th vol.

(39) See the *Anti-Baillet*, tom. 1. num. 95.

(40) *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 1. pag. 66.

(1) Servius, in *Æneid.* lib. 11. ver. 787.

were anciently other festivals, in which the same shew was to be seen [C].

HOBBS

does not name those who walked upon the fire, he only hints that they lived near mount Soraete.

*Summe Deum sancti custos Soraetis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo
Pascitur, & medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis (2)*

(2) Virgil. *Æn.*
lib. 11. ver. 785.

“ O Patron of Soraete's high abodes,
“ Phœbus the ruling pow'r among the Gods;
“ Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine
“ Are fell'd for thee, and to thy glory shine:
“ By thee protected, with our naked soles,
“ Thro' flames unting'd we march, and tread the
“ kindled coals.”
“ Give me, propitious pow'r, to wash away
“ The stains of this dishonourable day.”

Dryden.

But Servius calls them *Hirpini*; *Soraetis*, says he in his Commentary on this passage of Virgil, *mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia collocatus*. i. e. “ Soraete is a mountain of the Hirpini, situated in the road from Rome to Ariminum.” He adds, that this mountain is consecrated to the infernal Gods; and that as they were once offering a sacrifice to Plato there came some wolves which carried off from the fire the entrails of the Victim. The Shepherds pursued them, and entered into a cave, whence arose immediately a deadly vapour which occasioned a very great pestilence, of which an Oracle promised them that they would be delivered if they followed the example of the wolves; that is to say, if they lived upon plunder: They did it, and hence these people were called, *Hirpini Sorani*, that is to say, Pluto's Wolves; for *Hirpus* signifies a *Wolf* in the language of the Sabines, and *Soranus* is Pluto's name. Any person who consults Strabo and Pliny must be convinced that Servius has committed here an egregious blunder. He has blended together the names and histories of two different nations. Strabo (13) relates, that wolf having been the guide of a nation who came to settle a colony in the country of the Samnites, that nation was called *Hirpini*, *Hirpus* signifying a wolf in the language of the Samnites. As for Pliny, he asserts, that there is in the Country of Hirpini a place which is mortal to them that enter it. *In Hirpinis Amfancti ad Memphitis ædem, locum quem qui intravere moriuntur* (4). Virgil describes that cursed place more at large, and observes not only that there arose a dangerous steam or vapour from it, but also that it was an air-hole of Hell.

(3) Lib. 5. pag. 173.

(4) Plin. lib. 2.
cap. 93. pag. m.
240.

*Est locus Italiæ medio sub montibus altis,
Nobilis, & fama multis memoratus in oris,
Amfancti valles.*

*Hic specus horrendum, & sævi spiracula Diis
Monstrantur: ruptoque ingens Aëtheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces (5).*

(5) *Æn.* lib. 7.
ver. 563.

“ In midst of Italy well known to Fame,
“ There lies a lake *Amfanctus* is the name.
“ Here Pluto pants for breath from out his cell,
“ And opens wide the grinning jaws of Hell.

DRYDEN.

There was nothing like this in mount Soraete. The vapour that arose from it was fatal only to birds. Pliny asserts it positively. *Alibi volucris tantum ut Soraete vicino urbis tracta* (6). It is therefore plain that when Servius called this mountain a place consecrated to Pluto, which he said was near a cave, which was mortal to men, he blended together what relates to the *Hirpini*, and what relates to the *Hirpii*. See *Salmastus in Solinum*, p. 85.

(6) Plin. lib. 2.
cap. 43. pag. 240.

If you have a mind to know what the antients say of the *Hirpii* you may soon be satisfied. The *Hirpii* were a few families that lived in the country of the *Falisci* near Rome, and who could walk upon fire without any hurt. This shew was seen every year on mount Soraete, the day when a solemn sacrifice was offered to Apollo. The *Hirpii* walked upon a pile

set on fire without burning themselves, for which reason they were by a decree of the Senate dispensed from bearing arms, and from serving any burthenfome office. *Haud procul Urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt paucae quæ vocantur Hirpi: hæc sacrificio annuo quod fit ad montem Soraetem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur, & ob id perpetuo Senatus consulto militiæ omniumque aliorum munerum vacationem habent* (7). Solinus pretended to follow this account very exactly, and he did not take

(7) Plin. lib. 7.
cap. 2. pag. m.
10.

notice that he had altered a very considerable particular of it. He expressed himself so as to hint that the *Hirpii* passed through the Flames. *Impune insulant ardentibus lignorum struibus, in honorem divinæ rei flammis parentibus* (8). i. e. “ They leap upon the burning piles without any damage, the flames sparing them in honour of divine service.” And yet Pliny does not say this: he does even hint clearly enough, that they only walked over the burning coals. Nor can we doubt but this was all they did, since Varro pretended that they rubbed the soles of their feet with a certain salve. Consider also these words of Virgil, *multa premimus vestigia pruna*. i. e. “ We tread the kindled coals;” and the expressions of the Authors I am going to quote, and you will have no reason to doubt but Salmastus justly censured Solinus. *Sed est Solinus: verba tantummodo curat, rerum securus, quas digerit, mira ubique ableptiæ incusandus* (9). i. e. (9) Salmast. *Excercitat. in Plin.* pag. 86.

(8) Solin. cap. 2.

*Tum Soraete satum præstantem corpore & armis
Æquanim noscens, patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Cum pius arcitenens accensis gaudet aceruis,
Extæ ter innocuos late portare per ignes;
Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna
Inviolata teras, victorque vaporis ad aras
Dona serenato referas solemnia Phæbo (10).*

(10) Silius Itali-
cus, lib. 5.

We have seen that the festival celebrated on mount Soraete, in which they who walked on the fire, acted their part so well, was sacred to Apollo; but we shall now see it consecrated to another Deity. Strabo observes (11) that there was at the foot of mount Soraete a city called *Feronia*. This was also the name of a Goddess, who was extremely revered in that place. There was an admirable sacrifice offered in the *Lucus* or Grove dedicated to this Goddess. Some men, whom the spirit of this Deity seized, walked bare footed on a heap of kindled coals, and did not receive the least hurt from it. *Ἦς (Φερωνίας) τιμὸς ἴστυ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ θωρακιστὴν ἱεροποιῶν ἔχον· γυμνοὺς γὰρ ποσὶ διέ-
ϊσταν ἀνδρακίων κ' σποδίων μεγάλῃν οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς θεῖας τούτης ἀπαθείας. Ibi est lucus Feroniæ, in quo sacrificium perpetratur mirabile: correpti enim ejus numinis afflatus homines nudis pedibus prunarum ardentium struem illesi perambulant* (12). There was every year a solemn meeting at that place, where the spectators were entertained with this shew. It is not much to the honour of the antients that they should be so little agreed amongst themselves, with regard to such particulars as could not but be publickly known.

(11) Strabo, lib.
5. pag. 156.

(12) Idem, ibid.

[C] *There were anciently other festivals, on which the same shew was to be seen.* There was at *Caitabala* in Cappadocia a Temple of Diana surnamed *Parafisa*. The Priestesses of this Temple walked bare-foot upon kindled coals without burning themselves. Strabo mentions it only upon an hear-tay. *Ὅπου φασὶ τὰς ἱερίαις γυμνοὺς τοὺς ποσὶ δι' ἀνδρακίων βαδίζειν ἀπαθείας. Ubi ajunt sacrificas mulieres illesi pedibus per prunas ambulare* (13). There have been Quacks in these latter ages who have done things much more surprising than all that is related of the *Hirpii*, and of these Priestesses. But to shew more evidently how much the antient abuses in religion agree with the modern, I shall relate what I heard the late Monsieur Fremont d'Ablandcourt say, who being a zealous Huguenot be-

(13) Idem, lib.
12. pag. 370.

(14) See the *Journal des Savans*, for the year 1677, pag. 54, and 222. of came, the Dutch edition.

HOBBS (THOMAS) one of the greatest genius's of the seventeenth Century, was born at Malmesbury in England, April the 5th 1588 [A]. He had made a great progress in the Languages [B], when he was sent at fourteen years of age to Oxford, where he studied for five years Aristotle's Philosophy. He afterwards went into the family of William Cavendish, who soon after had the title of Earl of Devonshire conferred upon him, and was Governor to his eldest son. He travelled into France and Italy with his pupil; and perceiving that he remembered little either of his Greek or Latin, and that the Philosophy of Aristotle, in which he had made a considerable progress, was despised by persons of the best sense, he applied himself intirely to polite literature upon his return to his own country. Thucydides appearing to him preferable to all the Greek Historians, he translated him into English, and published that translation in 1618, in order to shew the English, from the Athenian History, the disorders and confusions of a Democratical Government [C]. In 1629 he travelled into France as Governor to a young English Gentleman;

came, during his stay at Lisbon, very well acquainted with the tricks which the Monks use to play. He told me that there is in Spain a certain convent (15), from whence there came every year a Monk who shut himself up in an hot oven, and continued there some hours with only a linnen garment about him. He comes out of the oven in the sight of a croud of people, who takes this for a very great miracle. It brings the Convent a very good income, so that it is worth their while to use a Monk little by little to endure the Heat. But I do not pretend to give an account of all the tricks there may be in this pretended miracle.

[A] Born at Malmesbury . . . April the 5th, 1588.] His mother being frighted at the rumours of the approach of the Spanish armada, was brought to bed of him before her time. It is very surprizing therefore, that he lived so long. Hobbes's father was a Minister (1).

[B] He had made a great progress in the languages.] Before he left Malmesbury school to go to the University of Oxford, he had translated into Latin verse the Medea of Euripides. *Tantos autem jam adhuc in ludo literario degens in literatura tam Latina quam Græca progressus fecit, ut Euripidis Medeam simili metro Latinis versibus eleganter expresserit* (2).

[C] The disorders and confusions of a Democratical Government.] I have known some men of parts, who were surprized, that in Kingdoms, in which the Prince's authority is unlimited, the instructors of youth are allowed to make use of the books of the antient Greeks and Romans, in which we find so many examples of the love of liberty, and so many anti-monarchical maxims. But this is not more surprizing than to see Republican States permit their Law-Professors to explain the Code and Digest, in which there are so many principles, which suppose the supreme and inviolable authority of the Emperor. Here we see two things, which seem equally surprizing, but in reality ought not to surprize any person; for omitting several reasons, which might be urged, may not we say, that the same books, which contain the poison with regard either to Monarchs, or Republics, contain likewise the antidote? If you see on one hand the great maxims of liberty, and the noble examples of courage, with which it has been maintained or recovered; you see on the other, faction, seditions, tumultuous humours, which have disturbed and at last ruined that infinite number of little States, which shewed themselves such zealous enemies of tyranny in antient Greece. Does not this picture seem to be a lesson very capable of disabusing those, who are terrified at the mere notion of a Monarchy? Hobbes thought so (3), since he published the translation of an Athenian Historian with this view. Turn the tables, and you will find, that this picture will be very proper to give an instruction different from the former, and to strengthen the horror against Monarchy: for whence comes it, will it be said, that the Greeks and Romans chose rather to be exposed to these confusions, than to live under a Monarchy? Did not this arise from the hard condition, to which tyrants had reduced them? And must not an evil be very grievous, insufferable, and deplorable, when people choose to deliver themselves from it at so dear a rate? It is certain, that the description, which History has left us of the conduct of several Monarchs, gives us horror, and makes our hair stand an end.

Do not object to me, that generally speaking more disorders have been occasioned by the conspiracies, which have put an end to tyranny, than there would have been by suffering it. Do not represent to me what I have said in the article of HIERO II (4). The Syracusians, who had enjoyed a prodigious happiness under the long reign of that Prince, immediately lost their patience under his successor, who governed in a tyrannical manner: They killed him in the very beginning of the second year of his reign; and soon after put to death the two daughters of Hiero, and his three grand-daughters. Of these five Ladies there were three, against whom no complaint had been made, and who had fled, as one may say, to the foot of the altar. Was not this removing one tyranny to establish a greater (5). Was Livy (6) in the wrong to remark upon this occasion, that the people are incapable of keeping within due bounds; humble even to baseness, when they obey, but insolent to the last degree, when they command? The massacre of these five Ladies was not the rash action of some private persons; it was commanded by the Senate and people of Syracuse, and this even while the memory of Hiero was still fresh among them; a Prince, whom they had loved so tenderly and justly. The injustice of their barbarous decree was so manifest, that they immediately perceived it; they revoked it; but this signified nothing; it was already executed. *Tandem vulneribus confecta, cum omnia replerent sanguine, exanimis corruerunt, cædemque per se miserabilem, miserabiliorum casus fecit; quod paulo post nuntius venit, mutatis repente ad misericordiam animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium, neque locus penitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus esset. Itaque fremere multitudo* (7). i. e. "At length being covered with wounds, and having filled all things near them with blood, they fell down dead; and this miserable slaughter was made much more miserable by this accident, that soon after a messenger came to stop the execution, the minds of the people being of a sudden changed to pity. Resentments afterwards arose from their pity, because the execution had been so much hastened, and no room had been left to prevent the effects of their passion. Upon this the multitude began to murmur." The factions were not extinguished by the intire extirpation of the Royal Family; they increased daily, and in a short time overturned the liberty and sovereignty of the country. They unseasonably exposed Syracuse to the resentments of the Romans, who besieged and subdued it. Silius Italicus describes very well the confusion, into which that city fell, after the tyrant Hieronymus and his relations were killed. It was a confusion from which the Romans knew how to draw a famous conquest. The discord of the city encouraged them to besiege it.

*Sævos namque pati fastus, juvenemque cruento
Flagramtem luxu, & miscentem turpia duris;
Haud ultra faciles, quos ira metusque coquebat
Jurati obruncant, nec jam modus ensibus, addunt
Fæmineam cædem, atque insontum raptâ sororum
Corpora prosternunt ferro, nova sævit in armis
Libertas, jacetque jugum; pars Punica castra,
Pars Italos & nota volunt: nec turba furentum
Desit, quæ neutri sociari fœdere malit* (8).

(8) Sil. Ital. lib. 14. pag. m. 589. i. e. "Not

(15) He told me the name of the place, but I have forgot it.

(1) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 32.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 33.

(3) See the remark [O] of the article PERICLES.

(4) Remark [E].

(5) *Ne tyrannos ulciscendo, quæ adissent scelera ipsi imitarentur.* T. Livius, lib. 24. pag. 393. This is what Heracles, the daughter of Hiero represented to her murderers.

(6) See his words above citation (21) of the article of HIERO 11.

(7) T. Livius, lib. 24. cap. 26.

(a) His name was Gervas Clifton. The father of his former pupil died in 1626, and his pupil in 1628.

Gentleman (a); and applied himself to the study of the Mathematics during that journey [D]. In 1631 he was employed by the Countess of Devonshire (b), to be tutor to her son, who was then thirteen years old, and travelled with him three years after into France and Italy. During his stay at Paris he applied himself to the study of Natural Philosophy, and especially to the enquiry into the causes of the sensitive operations of Animals. He discoursed with Father Marfenne daily upon this point. He was recalled to England in 1637; but foreseeing the civil war, upon reflecting on what passed during the first session of the Parliament of 1640, he went to Paris to seek an agreeable retreat there, in order to philosophize quietly with Father Marfenne, Gassendi, and some other great men. He wrote there his book *de Cive* [E], of which he published but a few

(b) Widow of the Earl of Devonshire, the father of his former pupil.

f. e. "Not being any longer capable of bearing the haughty, cruel, and vitious conduct of the young King, and being inspired by indignation and fear, they kill him; and do not stop there, but put to death the innocent women of his family. Liberty, new to them, rages in arms, and shakes off the yoke. Part of the people incline to the Carthaginians, and part to the Romans, who were well known to them; while others, possessed with the rage of faction, are averse to the alliance of both nations."

Represent all this as long as you please, you will not persuade those, who are prejudiced against Monarchy: they will answer you, that from the very consideration, that the disorders of it cannot be remedied but by such shocking miseries, you ought to conclude, that it is a great evil.

[D] Applied himself to the Mathematics during that journey.] It is pity that he stayed so long before he applied himself to it (9): he was above forty years of age, when he began that study; and this was the reason why he could not perfect himself in it so much as was necessary to avoid giving an advantage to his Critics. His fate was like that of Scaliger. For the rest, he knew perfectly well why Mathematics ought to be studied: it was not to know the properties of angles, or numbers, or lines, or surfaces; but in order to habituate the mind to a solid method of reasoning and proving. *Euclidi operam dare cepit, non tam demonstrationum materia allectus, quam perspicuitate, certitudine, & indivisa rationem serie delectatus. Non enim Mathematicas artes admiratus est, vir perspicacissimus, ob laterum & angulorum affectiones, aut numerorum, linearum, superficiem, corporumve mutuas inter se proportiones (de homogeneis intelligo quantitibus) subtiliter indicatas; quippe istiusmodi omnia à communi vita remotiora facile animadvertit; licet ad praxin relata usus non adeo contemnendi; sed quod metodo ipsis propria intellectus ad rerum cognitionem optime duceretur, atque difficilia inveniendi, vera afferendi, falsa redarguendi certissima ratione imbueretur* (10). i. e. "He began to apply himself to Euclid, not so much induced to it by the subject of the demonstrations, as delighted with the perspicuity, certainty, and uninterrupted series of the reasoning. For this most sagacious man did not admire the science of Mathematics on account of the subtle demonstrations of the properties and mutual relations of sides and angles, or numbers, lines, surfaces, or bodies (I mean of homogeneous quantities) since he readily saw, that all these things were remote from the uses of common life, though when reduced to practice, of no small advantage; but because by the method peculiar to it the understanding is best led to the knowledge of things, and supplied with the most certain means of discovering difficult truths, proving what is true, and refuting what is false."

[E] He wrote at Paris his book *De Cive*.] He made one edition of a small number of copies at Paris 1642. He revised it soon after, and enlarged it in the manner, in which this book appeared in the Amsterdam edition of 1647. It was Sorbier, who procured this second edition. He did more than this, for he translated it into French, and published it in that language (11). Hobbes raised himself a great many enemies by this work; but he obliged the most intelligent persons to own, that no writer had ever penetrated so far into the grounds of politics. I do not doubt, but that he has carried many things too far; this is common with those, who write in order to attack a party, against which they have conceived a great aversion. Hobbes

was exasperated against the principles of the Parliamentarians (12): their conduct was the reason of his living out of his own country, and he was informed every day in the place of his exile, that their rebellion triumphed over the royal authority. He went over to the contrary extreme; he taught, that the authority of Kings ought to be unlimited; and that in particular the externals of religion, as the most fruitful source of civil wars, ought to depend upon their will. There are some, who think, that if we consider only the theory, his system is very well connected, and very agreeable to the ideas, which may be formed of a state well secured against tumults. But because the most just notions are subject to a thousand inconveniences, when they come to be reduced to practice, that is, when they are set against an horrible mass of passions, which reign among mankind, it is not difficult to perceive clearly the defects of our author's political system. He might answer, that the opposite system includes, even in the theory, a necessary principle of confusion and rebellion. However that be, it is said, that the love of his country inspired him with the design of this book, and that his view was to rectify the false principles of the nation which produced there an horrible contempt of the regal authority. *Grassante interim per Angliam civili bello, Hobbes pro summo in patriam amore, quod bonum & fidelem subditum maxime decuit; populares suos sanioribus quam quæ hactenus obtinuerant principiis imbueret, exacerbatos hominum animos ad pacis & concordie rationes revocare, & in summæ potestatis obsequium additiores præstare annis est. Quare reliquis posthabitis studiis, quantum ipsi suppetiit temporis Politicæ scientiæ impendens, Librum de Cive (cujus pauca duntaxat Exemplaria Parisiis 1642 evulgaverat) revisit, & notis utilibus adauxit, in quo subditorum contra summum imperatorem conjurationes rebellionisque, & immanes illas de principe regni vitæque exeundo opiniones penitus damnavit: potestati Civili Jura ab Ecclesiasticis caliginosorum temporum beneficio præcepta restituit, & diram secliariorum hydræ, effrænem nempe conscientiæ libertatem, heroico ausu perdomuit* (15). i. e. "While the civil war was

(12) *Tum pro suo in Regem officio atque obsequio, tum pro decumano quo semper in Democraticis odio laboravit, libellum scripsit juris regni afferendi gratia, qui postea in librum de Cive, & tandem in Leviathan extitit.* Vita Hobbesii, pag. 45.

(9) *Dolendum nonbile hoc ingenium eodem quo & magnum Scaligerum infortunio laborasse, quod Mathematicis studiis, serius paulo animum adiecit.* Vita Hobbesii, pag. 40.

(10) *Ibid.* pag. 39.

(11) At Amsterdam 1679.

(13) *Vita Hobbesii, pag. 45.*
 "While the civil war was raging over England, Hobbes, out of the great regard to his country becoming a good and faithful subject, endeavoured to infuse into his countrymen sounder principles, than had before prevailed among them, to recall their minds, which had been sown and exasperated, to the methods of peace and concord, and to bring them to a greater submission to the supreme authority. Laying aside therefore other studies, he spent all his leisure hours in that of politics, and revised his book *de Cive* (of which he had published a few copies at Paris in 1642) and enlarged it with useful notes; in which book he condemned the conspiracies and rebellions of subjects against the supreme powers, and all these shocking opinions with regard to the deposing of Kings, and putting them to death; restoring to the civil power the rights taken from them by the Ecclesiastics in the dark ages, and heroically subduing that dreadful hydra of the sectaries, namely, a boundless liberty of conscience." The reader I am sure, will not be displeased to see the judgment of Des Cartes upon this work of Hobbes. "I am opinion, says he (14), that the author of the book *de Cive* is the same, who wrote the third objections against my his *Letters*, pag. 104. quoted by Baillet, *Vie de Des Cartes*, tom. 2. pag. 174.
 "I think him a much greater master of morality than of Metaphysics or Natural Philosophy; though I can by no means approve of his principles or maxims, which are very bad and very dangerous, because they suppose all men to be wicked, or give them occasion to be so. His whole design is to write in favour of monarchy; which might

(14) *Tom. 3 of his Letters, pag. 104. quoted by Baillet, Vie de Des Cartes, tom. 2. pag. 174.*

(15) He was not mistaken.

few copies in 1642. He taught Mathematics to the Prince of Wales, who had been obliged to retire to France, and spent all his leisure time in composing his *Leviathan* [F], which he caused to be published in England in 1651. He still resided at Paris. Tho' he had given proofs of his faith according to the rites of the Church of England [G], yet he was rendered obnoxious to the Episcopal party, and this was carried so far, that he was ordered not to come near the King any more (c). This was the reason of his returning to England, where he lived but in an obscure manner, considering his great merit, in the

(c) See the remark [F].

" might be done to more advantage than he has done; upon maxims more virtuous and solid. He wrote likewise greatly to the disadvantage of the Church and Roman Catholic religion; so that if he is not particularly supported by some powerful interest, I do not see how he can escape having his book censured." Des Cartes, was in the right to disapprove of the supposition that all men are wicked; and this puts me in mind, that Montagne, though he knew so well the defects of mankind, was displeas'd, that Guicciardini imputes to bad motives all the actions related in his History (16). It is certain, that there are some, who act upon the principles of virtue, and out of a desire of a good reputation; and that the greatest part of mankind are only moderately wicked. This mediocrity, I own, is sufficient to render the course of human affairs full of iniquity, and marked almost throughout with traces of the corruption of the human heart; but it would be much worse (17), if the greatest part of mankind were not capable of restraining upon many occasions their bad inclinations through fear of disgrace, or hope of praise. Now this is a proof that the corruption is not carried to the highest pitch. I do not consider here the good effects of true religion; I consider man in general.

(16) See the remark [E] of the article GUICCIARDINI.

(17) The reason why innocence is not oppressed upon many occasions, is the mediocrity, which I am speaking of. See the remark [A] of the article EDWARD IV towards the end.

POLITICAL ideas found to be defective in practice.

With regard to the inconveniences which may arise from the suppositions of Hobbes put in practice, I say again, that we must not attack them upon that foot; for has not the opposite system in practice many great inconveniences? Do what you please, raise systems better than Plato's republick, than Sir Thomas More's Utopia, or Campanella's Commonwealth of the Sun, &c. all these fine ideas will be found defective when they come to be reduced to practice. The passions of men, which spring from one another in a prodigious variety, will soon destroy the hopes which may be conceived from these beautiful Systems. See what happens when Mathematicians endeavour to apply to matter their speculations concerning points and lines. They do whatever they please with their lines and superficies; these are mere ideas of the mind, and suffer themselves to be divested as much as we think proper of their dimensions; and for this reason we can demonstrate the finest things in the world concerning the nature of a circle, and the infinite divisibility of matter. But all this fails when we apply it to matter which exists out of our minds, and is hard and impenetrable. Here is an image of the human passions, compared with the speculations of a man, who forms ideas of a perfect government. You will find a very strong criticism of Hobbes's Political System in the Author whom I quote (18).

(18) Galeottus Galatius Karlsruergius, apud Deckherum, de Scriptis Adversariis, pag. 328.

(19) Hobbius tanquam partibus regis minus adiectum, tum ut morum impiorumque in religione opinionum auctorem criminarentur. Vita Hobbesii, pag. 61.

(20) Ibid. pag. 62.

[F] He spent all his leisure hours in writing his *Leviathan*.] He means the body politic under the name of this beast. The Divines of the Church of England, who attended King Charles II in France, exclaimed vehemently against this Book, and said, that it contained a great many impious assertions, and that the Author was not of the Royal Party (19). Their complaints were regarded. Hobbes received orders not to come any more to court; and as he had extremely provoked the Papists, he thought it not safe to continue in France, since he was deprived of the King of England's protection. *Hoc tanto presidio orbatus Hobbius, Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Spirituales Monarchiæ satellitum metu correptus est, quorum odium implacabile sese merito incurrisse senserat, ob detestatas in Leviathane Ecclesiasticorum technas, regni tenebrarum dolos, Pontificis Romani potestatem malis artibus occupatam, quæ in civilis Potestatis jura involando, quæ simplici ac imperitæ plebeculæ sanctis præstigiis illudendo; quare Parisiis se minus tutum judicans, mediâ Hyemis tempestate aufugiens, in patriam se contulit* (20). i. e. "Hobbes being deprived of this important protection, began to grow fearful of the adherents to the Church of Rome, that spiritual monarchy, whose implacable

hatred he knew that he had justly incurred, because in his *Leviathan* he had detected the Artifices of the Ecclesiasticks, and the frauds of the kingdom of darkness, and exposed the power of the Pope, which had been raised by unjust methods, by invading the rights of the civil power, and imposing upon the simple and ignorant multitude by pious frauds. Upon this account thinking himself not safe at Paris, in the midst of the winter he retired from thence into his own country." He translated his *Leviathan* into Latin, and published it with an Appendix in 1668 (21), ten years after it was printed in Low-Dutch. The substance of this book is, that without peace there is no security in a state, and that peace cannot subsist without command, nor command without arms; and that arms are of no use, if they are not put into the hands of one person; and that the terror of arms cannot incline to peace those persons who are urged to war by an evil more terrible than death itself, viz. dissensions concerning things necessary to salvation. *Ejus autem summa hæc fuit, sine Pace impossibilem esse incolumitatem, sine imperio Pacem, sine Armis Imperium, sine opibus in unam manum collatis nihil valere Arma, neque metu Armorum quicquam ad pacem profici posse in illis, quos ad pugnandum concitat malum morte magis formidandum; nempe dum consensus non fit de iis rebus, quæ ad salutem æternam necessariae creduntur, pacem inter civis non posse esse diuturnam* (22). The *Leviathan* has been very much written against, especially in England (23).

(21) At Amsterdam for John Bleauw, with his other Philosophical Works, in two volumes in 4to. He could not procure a permission in England to print them there. Ibid. pag. 70.

(22) The catalogue of the writings published against the *Leviathan* and other works of Hobbes, is to be met with at the end of his Life.

[G] He had given proofs of his faith according to the rites of the Church of England.] Being very sick near Paris, he had a visit from Father Marsenne, who had been advised not to suffer him to die out of the Pale of the Church. This good Father late by the sick man, and after the usual preambles of consolation, began to discourse upon the power of the Church of Rome to forgive Sins. Father, answered Mr. Hobbes, *I have examined a long time ago all these points; I should be sorry to dispute now; you can entertain me in a more agreeable manner. When did you see Mr. Gassendi?* The honest Monk saw well enough what he meant, and turned the conversation to other subjects (24). Dr. Cofins (25) a few days after offered to pray with Hobbes, who consented to it upon condition that he made use of the prayers of the Church of England (26). After prayers he received the Sacrament. *Cum non amplius cuicumque religio est factum faciendi locus, eo momento se Religioni patriis legibus stabilitæ addidissimum ostendit, et precibus juxta ritum Anglicanæ ritus præmissis supremum Viaticum recepit* (27). Upon his return to England in 1651, he found the Churches seized by the rebels, as he said, who had no Liturgy, and he was three months without knowing with whom to communicate. *Concionantes quidem invenit in Ecclesiis, sed seditiosos; etiam preces extemporarias, et illas audaces, et nonnunquam blasphemias, Symbolum autem fidei nullum, Decalogum nullum; adeo ut per tres primos menses non inveniret quibuscum in sacris communicare potuerit* (28). i. e. "He found Preachers indeed in the Churches, but rebels; and extempore prayers, but presumptuous and sometimes blasphemous; no creed nor decalogue; so that for the three first months he could not find with whom to communicate." But at the end of three months he was carried to an assembly, where the Sacrament was administered according to the Church of England, and he communicated there. The author of his life remarks, that it was an evidence of Hobbes's attachment to the Episcopal party and his sincere belief of the Christian religion, since at that time no person was obliged to adhere to any particular communion. *Alterum signum erat non modo hominis partium Episcopatum, sed etiam Christiani sinceri; nam illo tempore ad Ecclesiam quamcumque legibus aut metu cogebatur non* (29).

(24) Vita Hobbesii, pag. 20.

(25) He was afterwards Bishop of Durham.

(26) Obvult se precibus præventis reddidisset, ita (inquit) si præcibus præventis juxta ritum Ecclesiæ nostræ.

(27) Ibid. pag.

(28) Ibid. pag.

(29) Ibid.

the Earl of Devonshire's house [H]. He gained this advantage by his obscure condition, that he had more leisure to compose his book *de Corpore*, and some others [I]. He received great marks of respect from King Charles II at the Restoration in 1660 [K]. From that time till his death he applied himself to his studies, and to oppose the attacks of his adversaries, who were very numerous. He retained the use of his senses till his last sickness [L], tho' he was above ninety one years old. His long life was always that of a perfectly honest man. He was a lover of his country, he was faithful to his King, a good friend, charitable, and obliging. However he was reckoned an Atheist; but the writers of his life maintain, that he had very orthodox notions concerning the nature of God [M]. It was said likewise that he was fearful of spectres and demons.

[H] *He lived in a very obscure manner at the Earl of Devonshire's house.* It was not for want of powerful friends: but as he had great enemies, all that could be done for him was to secure him from being oppressed. So that his situation was the effect of an equilibrium between his friends and enemies (30). He spent the remainder of his life with the Earl of Devonshire.

(30) *Stantem inter amicos & inimicos quasi in aequilibrio, fecerunt illi ne ob doctriam opprimeretur, bi ne augeretur.* Vita Hobbesii, pag. 22.

[I] *To compose his book de Corpore, and some others.* This book was printed at London in 1655 under the title of *Elementorum Philosophiæ sectio prima de Corpore*. The year following Hobbes published *Prælectiones sex ad Professores Savilianas*. His book *de Homine, sive Elementorum Philosophiæ sectio secunda*, was printed at London in 1658. His *Quæstiones de Libertate, Necessitate, & Casu, contra Doctorem Bramballum Episcopum Derriensem*, were printed in the same city in 1656. He had a dispute upon the same subject with Dr. Benjamin Laney Bishop of Ely, which he did not publish till 1676 (31). Dr. Wallis, Professor of Mathematics at Oxford, having published his *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ* in 1655, it occasioned a dispute which lasted till Hobbes's death, and in which a great many reproachful terms were made use of. *Diuturni illius belli Mathematici classicum cecinit, quod acerrimo Marte, adhibitis quadra & circino, intervolantibus nonnunquam acutissimis convitiarum telis, utrinque gestum, vicennium & amplius perduravit, nec tandem nisi Hobbianæ morte conquievit* (32). i. e. "He sounded the charge to that long mathematical war, which was carried on on both sides with great resolution, with square and compass, and sometimes great volleys of the sharpest reproaches, and continued above ten years, and was not ended till the death of Hobbes." Sorbieri mentions this dispute (33).

(31) Ibid. pag. 59.

(32) Ibid. pag. 64, 65.

(33) Sorbieri, *Relation d'Ang.* pag. 78. edit. de Hollande.

(34) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 66.

(35) Ibid. pag. 28. and 103. See Sorbieri, *Relation d'Anglet.* pag. 79.

(36) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 53.

(37) Sorbieri, pag. 79.

(38) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 98, 99.

(39) Ibid. pag. 99.

[K] *He received great marks of respect from King Charles II.* Hobbes left the country, and came to London as soon as he heard of the King's arrival. His Majesty passed in his coach by the house where Hobbes lodged, saw him, and sent for him. He gave him his hand to kiss, and enquired of him concerning his condition and health. Some time after he gave him a particular audience, assured him of his affection, and promised him an easy access (34). He ordered an excellent painter to draw Hobbes's picture, which he placed in his own closet (35). But the most substantial mark of his affection was, that he gave Hobbes an annual pension (36) of an hundred Jacobus's (37).

[L] *He retained his senses till his last sickness.* He was able not only to prosecute the study of the Mathematics, after he was above eighty six years of age, but even to write long poems. *Quod autem inter rara felicitatis exempla numerandum est, summo ingenii vigore & sensibus integris ad obitum usque in Philosophia & Mathesi se assidue exercitavit, & quod magis mirum, Poësin exercuit, quâ propriis animi conceptibus exprimendis, quâ aliorum transferendis* (38). i. e. "But what is to be ranked among the rare instances of happiness, he enjoyed the utmost vigour of his mind, and his senses intire till his death, daily cultivating the study of Philosophy and Mathematics, and, what is more surprizing, exercised his talent in Poetry, both in expressing his own thoughts, and translating those of others." He translated into English verse some books of the *Odyssey* in 1674; and because this essay met with the approbation of the learned, he published a like version of the *Iliad* and the whole *Odyssey* not long after, with a Dissertation upon the Excellencies of Heroic Poetry (39).

[M] *The writers of his life maintain, that he had very orthodox notions concerning the Nature of God.*

Of all the moral virtues there was only that of religion, which was a point in dispute with regard to Hobbes. He was frank (40), civil, communicative of what he knew (41), a good friend, a good relation, charitable to the poor (42), a strict observer of justice (43), and never troubled himself about amassing of wealth (44). This last quality is a favourable prejudice for the goodness of his life; for there is no source of more bad actions than that of avarice. So that when persons knew Hobbes, they had no occasion to ask whether he esteemed and loved virtue; but one might have been tempted to ask him this question:

Hæus age, responde, minimum est quod scire laboro, De Jove quid sentis (45)?

"But pray answer me a small question; what are your sentiments concerning Jove?"

The answer which he might have made sincerely, if we believe the writers of this life, would have been, that there is but one God, who is the origin of all things, and that we ought not to circumscribe him within the compass of our narrow reason. *Deum agnovit, cumque rerum omnium originem, intra angustos tamen humanæ rationis cancellos nullatenus circumscribendum* (46). He would have added, that he embraced Christianity as he found it established in England by the Laws; *Religionem Christianam quatenus in Ecclesiâ Anglicana, rejectis superstitionis ineptiis, regni legibus stabilitur, ex animo amplexus est* (47); but that he had an aversion to the disputations of Divines; that he chiefly esteemed what tends to the practice of piety and good manners; and that he used to blame those Priests, who vitiated the simplicity of Religion by the mixture either of a superstitious worship, or a great many vain and profane speculations. *Quicquid autem ad Pietatis exercitia, aut bonos mores conferret, plurimum fecit. Sanctius illi, & reverentius visum, de Deo credere quam scire. Sacerdotes interim inculpare solitus est, qui Christianam Religionem absolutam ac simplicem, vel superstitione macularent, vel inanibus interdum profanis speculationibus implicarent* (48). They conclude, that those who accused him of Atheism, were notorious slanderers, who could not alledge any other pretence than this, that he had rejected a great many scholastic doctrines, according to which certain attributes were ascribed to God, the model of which is taken from our narrow genius. *Quare fortiter calumniati sunt, qui ipsum Atheismi reum detulerunt; quod inde forsitan profectum quia Scholasticorum aliorumque iste de grege morem rejecerat, qui otiosi in Museis suis sedentes, juxta imbecilem ingenii sui captum, Naturæ Divinæ incomperita affingunt attributa* (49). It is certain that there is no accusation which has been so much abused as that of atheism. An infinite number of little minds or malicious persons cast it upon all those who confine their assertions within the great and sublime truths of solid metaphysics, and the general doctrines of the Scriptures. They would oblige them moreover to adopt all the particular Articles which they are used to propose a thousand times to the people. All who dare leave this road are irreligious persons and free-thinkers, if we believe certain Divines. It was thus Monconys fell under this scandalous imputation. He disputed sometimes very freely against those, who lessened the Majesty of God by the conduct which they ascribed to him, and by the weak reasons which they made use of; and they did him the injustice to treat him as a Libertine, though he was possessed of the most sublime idea imaginable of God. Read the following passage. "That agreeable man-

(40) Ibid. pag. 108.

(41) Ibid. pag. 111.

(42) Ibid. pag. 108.

(43) *Justitia erat cum scientissimus. Ibid. pag. 30.*

(44) *Cum esset pecunie negligensissimus. Ibid.*

(45) *Perfius, Sat. 2. ver. 17.*

(46) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 105.

(47) Ibid. pag. 106.

(48) Ibid. pag. 107.

(49) Ibid.

(d) *Stato ad-
hoc intra juventu-
tis terminos con-
stante (licet ve-
rum fateri) nec
abstemius fuit,
nec purioroc.
Vita Hobbesii,
pag. 104.*

demons [N]. They assert this to be a fable. They own, that in his youth he was a little addicted to wine and women (d); but that however he chose to live a Bachelor, that he might not be diverted from the study of Philosophy. He had thought much more than he had read [O], and never troubled himself about a great Library. He died December the 4th 1679 at the Earl of Devonshire's house, after a sickness of six weeks (e).

(e) Taken from his *L. f.*, printed in 1682.

ner, in which we see him sometimes contradict certain men of narrow minds, who weaken by their arguments the truths which they would establish, made such prejudiced people mistake this instance of his openness and candour for a criminal liberty. But his solid virtue and sincere piety shone every where, and left marks of them to be found in these voyages. In his last sickness he owned to one of his friends, that he had always preserved in his heart a profound submission and infinite regard towards the Deity, of whom he had an idea more sublime than any thing which mankind have conceived of him. When he was at Alexandria, at a time, when he seemed to refuse nothing to satisfy his curiosity, being one night alone upon the terrasses, which serve as a roof to the houses in the East, he found himself of a sudden so possessed with a sensible knowledge of the Deity, that he spent part of that night with inexpressible comfort in continued adorations of the Principle of all Beings (50).

[N] *It is said likewise, that he was fearful of spectres and demons.* His friends have treated this as a mere fable. *Nec minus falso à nonnullis infimulatus est, tanquam solitudinem fugeret, spectra metuens & phantasmata, vana sultorum terroculamenta, quæ Philosophiæ suæ lumine dissipaverat* (51). i. e. "Nor was he less falsely charged by some with avoiding to be alone, out of fear of spectres and apparitions, the vain terrors of the ignorant, but which he had driven away by the light of his Philosophy." But it seems they do not deny, that he durst not be alone; they only intimate that it was because he was apprehensive of assassins. If his Philosophy exempted him from the other fear, and not from this, it did not prevent him from being unhappy; one might apply to him a thought of Horace:

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Theßala rides?*

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una (52)?

"Do you laugh at dreams, the terrors of Magic, miracles, witches, nightly apparitions, and Theßalian portents? . . . What are you the better for being delivered from one thorn out of a great many?"

To remark this by the by, his philosophical principles were not at all proper to remove the fear of apparitions of spirits; for to reason consequentially, there are no Philosophers, who have a less right to reject Magic and Sorcery, than those, who deny the existence of God. But, it is said, Hobbes did not believe the existence of spirits. Say rather, that he did not believe any substances distinct from matter. Now as this did not hinder him from believing, that there were a great many substances, which design and do harm or good to others, he might and ought to believe that there are some beings in the air or elsewhere as capable of doing mischief, as the corpuscles, which, as he affirmed, form all our thoughts in the brain. How came these corpuscles to have more knowledge of the means of doing harm, than those other beings? And what reason is there to prove, that these other beings know not the manner of acting upon our brain, in order to make us see a spectre?

Let us view the point in another light. A man would be not only rash, but even very extravagant, if he were to attempt to maintain, that there was a man, who imagined, that he saw an apparition; and I do not believe that the most obstinate and extravagant unbeliever ever asserted this. All that they do is re-

duced to this, that those persons, who have thought that they saw the apparition of spirits, had their imaginations disturbed. It is confessed then that there are certain parts of the brain, which being affected in such or such a manner, excite the image of an object, which does not really exist without us, and occasion a man, whose brain is thus modified, to think he sees at two paces distance from him a frightful spectre, a fury, a phantom threatening. Such things happen in the head of the most incredulous, either while they sleep, or labour under a most violent fever. Will they venture to maintain after this, that it is impossible for a man, who is awake, and is not in a delirium, to receive in certain parts of the brain an impression very like that, which according to the laws of nature is connected with the appearance of a phantom? If they are obliged to own the possibility of this, they cannot promise that a spectre never will appear before them, that is to say, that when they are awake they shall think they see either a man or a beast, when they are alone in a chamber. Hobbes might therefore imagine, that a certain combination of atoms agitated in his brain, would expose him to such a vision, though he was persuaded that no angel nor soul of a dead person was concerned in it. He was extremely timorous, and consequently he had reason to distrust his imagination, when he was alone in a chamber in the night; for in spite of him, the remembrance of what he had read and heard concerning the apparitions of spirits, would revive, though he was not persuaded, that these things were real. These images, joined to his timorous disposition, might play him a bad trick. And it is very certain, that a man of the same incredulity with himself, but of greater courage, would be amazed, if he should think he saw any person, whom he knew to be dead, enter his chamber. These apparitions in a dream are frequent, whether we believe the immortality of the soul or not. Suppose, that they should happen once to an incredulous man awake, as they often do when he is asleep, we may conceive, that he would be afraid, though he should have a great deal of courage. For a much stronger reason therefore may we believe, that Hobbes would have been greatly terrified.

[O] *He had thought much more than he read* It is frankly owned in his Life, that for a man who had lived so long, his reading was very inconsiderable. He used to say, that if he had spent as much time in reading as other men of learning, he should have been as ignorant as they. *Quin & illud sæpe dicere solitus est, quod si tantum libris incubisset, quantum alii à Literatis vulgo faciunt, eadem cum illis ignorantia laborasset* (53). He considered also another thing, which led him not to regard much a large library; which was, that most books are but extracts and copies from others. *Leßio ejus pro tanto ætatis decursu non magna; Authores versabat paucos, sed tamen optimos. Homerus. Virgilius, Thucydides, Euclides, illi in deliciis erant. Ingentem Librorum suppellestem, qua superbiunt Bibliothecæ, non magnificat, cum Mortales plerumque pecorum ritu antecedentium insistentes vestigiis, vix extra tritas calles, & semitas ab ipsis quorum Tutela & Regimini subsunt, præstitutas, evagari audeant* (54). i. e. "His reading, for so long a life, was not considerable. He read few authors, but those the best. He was greatly delighted with Homer, Virgil, Thucydides, and Euclid. He did not value a vast number of books, which make a shew in libraries, since mankind, like cattle, commonly follow the steps of those, who go before, and scarce ever ventured to deviate from the beaten paths, which are chalked out to them by those, who are their guides."

(50) Preface to *Voyages de Monsieur*, pag. 7.

(51) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 106.

(52) Hor. Epist. 2. lib. 2. pag. 208.

(53) *Vita Hobbesii*, pag. 112.

(54) *Idem*, *ibid.*

☞ HOBBS (THOMAS). We shall add to Mr. Bayle's article of this Philosopher a catalogue

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B b b

(a) *Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish*, p. 107, & seqq. subjoined to the Doctor's Funeral Sermon on William Duke of Devonshire, printed at London 1708 in fol.

a catalogue of his works [A], and some particulars omitted by that writer. Dr. White Kennet informs us (a), that while Mr. Hobbes lived in the Earl of Devonshire's family, his professed rule was to dedicate the morning to his health, and the afternoon to his studies. And therefore at his first rising he walked out and climbed any hill within his reach; or if the weather was not dry, he fatigued himself within doors by some exercise or other to be in a sweat, recommending that practice upon this opinion, that an old man had more moisture than heat, and therefore by such motion heat was to be acquired, and moisture expelled. After this he took a comfortable breakfast, and then went round the lodgings

[A] *A catalogue of his Works.*] They are as follow. I. He translated into English *The History of the Grecian war by Thucydides*, London 1628 and 1676 in fol. and since reprinted in two volumes in 8vo. II. *De Mirabilibus Pecci*, a Latin Poem printed at London 1636 in 8vo. *Secunda editio*, Londini 1666 in 4to. It was translated into English by a person of quality, and the Translation published with the original at London 1678 in 8vo. III. *Elementa Philosophica seu Politica de Cive, id est, de Vita civili & politica prudenter instituenda*: Paris 1642 in 4to. Mr. Hobbes printed but a few copies of this Book, and revised it afterwards, and made several additions to it, with which improvements it was printed by Elsevir at Amsterdam 1647 in 120, under the direction of Monsieur Sorbier, who published a French Translation of it under this title: *Elemens Philosophiques du Citoyen. Traité de Politique, ou les Fondemens de la Societé Civile decouvert par Thomas Hobbes, & traduits en François par un de ses Amis*, printed by Bleau at Amsterdam 1649 in 8vo. There have been since that time several editions of the Latin text. Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry in Ireland, informs us (1), that ten years before, he had given Mr. Hobbes "about sixty exceptions, one half of them political, the other half theological, to that book, and every exception justified by a number of reasons, to which he never yet vouchsafed any answer." Gassendus in a Letter to Sorbier tells us, that our Author's book *de Cive* deserves to be read by all, who would have a deep insight into the subject. Pufendorf (2) observes that he had been much obliged to Mr. Hobbes, whose Hypothesis in this book, though it favours a little of irreligion, is in other respects sufficiently ingenious and sound. *Neque parum debere nos profiteri Thomæ Hobbes, cujus Hypothesis in Libro de Cive, est quid profani sapiat, tamen cætera satis arguta & sana.* Conringius (3) accuses our Author of vanity for boasting, that civil Philosophy was not older than his book *de Cive*, whereas there is nothing good in it which was not always known; and he remarks, that the most absurd consequences must flow from his shocking principles that mankind are not naturally inclined to society, but to discord and war. *Anglus Hobbes libro Elementorum Philosophicorum de Cive edito non dubitavit hinc verbis gloriari, Physica res novitia est, sed Philosophiæ Civilis multo adhuc magis, ut quæ antiquior non sit libro quem de Cive scripsit. Insano profecto fastu. Satis autem apertum est in illis quidem de Cive Elementis nihil esse bonum, quod non ob omni retro memoriâ fuerit notum. Ne quidem illud autem potuisset superesse, si præjudicii defectu vidisset Hobbes quam multum alia deduci debeant ex illo horribili principio, natura inter homines non societatem, sed discordiam institutam esse; & verò illo posito omnis societas humana contra naturæ fuerit institutum. Quo asserto nescio num quid excogitari possit absurdum magis & improbum.* IV. An Answer to Sir William Davenant's Epistle or Preface to *Gondibert*, Paris 1650 in 12mo, and afterwards printed with *Gondibert*. Mr. Hobbes's answer is dated at Paris January 10th 1650. V. *Humane Nature: or the fundamental Elements of Policy; being a discovery of the faculties, acts, and passions of the soul of man, from their original causes, according to such philosophical principles as are not commonly known or asserted.* By Tho. Hobbes of Malmesbury, London 1650 in 12mo. In the Epistle Dedicatory of our Author to William Earl of Newcastle, dated May 9th 1640, he observes, that "from the principal parts of nature, reason and passion, have proceeded two kinds of learning, mathematical and dogmatical. The former is free from controversy and dispute, because it consisteth in comparing figure and motion only; in which things Truth and the Interest of Men oppose not each other. But in the other there is

(1) Preface to his book intitled, *A Defence of true Liberty from antecessent and extrinsecall Necessity*, edit. London 1655 in 8vo.

(2) In the Preface to his *Elementa Jurisprudentiæ Universaliæ*.

(3) *De Civili Prudentiâ*, cap. 14.

"nothing indisputable, because it compareth men, and meddleth with their right and profit; in which as oft as reason is against a man, so oft will a man be against reason. And from hence it cometh, that they who have written of justice and policy in general, do all invade each other and themselves with contradictions. To reduce this doctrine to the rules and infallibility of reason, there is no way, but first to put such principles down for a foundation, as passion not mistrusting may not seek to displace; and afterwards to build thereon the truth of cases in the law of nature, (which hitherto have been built in the air,) by degrees, till the whole have been inexpugnable. Now, my Lord, the principles fit for such a foundation are those which heretofore I have acquainted your Lordship withal in private discourse, and which by your command I have here put into a method. To examine cases thereby between Sovereign and Sovereign, or between Sovereign and Subject, I leave to them that shall find leisure and encouragement thereto. For my part, my Lord, I present this to your Lordship for the true and only foundation of such science. For the stile, it is therefore the worse, because, whilst I was writing, I consulted more with Logic than with Rhetoric: but for the doctrine, it is not slightly proved, and the conclusions thereof of such nature, as, for want of them, government and peace have been nothing else to this day but mutual fears; and it would be an incomparable benefit to the commonwealth, that every one held the opinion concerning Law and Policy here delivered." Next to the Dedication follows an Epistle to the Reader under the name of F. B. i. e. Francis Bowman the bookseller, but said to be written by Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Sarum (4). In this Epistle we are informed, that Mr. Hobbes had written a body of Philosophy upon such principles and in such order as are used by men conversant in demonstration. This he hath distinguished into three parts, De Corpore, De Homine, De Cive, each of the consequents beginning at the end of the antecedent, and insinuating thereupon, as the latter books of Euclid upon the former. The last of these he hath already published in Latin beyond the seas: The second is this now presented; and if these two receive justice in the world, there is hopes we may obtain the first. He, whose care it is and labour to satisfy the judgment and reason of mankind, will condescend so far, we hope, to satisfy the desire of those learned men, whom these shall either have found or made; which cannot be until they shall analytically have followed the grand phenomena of states and kingdoms thorough the passions of particular men into the elemental principles of natural and corporeal motions. The former work was published by the Author, and so is out of danger; this by a friend with leave from him. And to secure this, you are entreated to consider the relations wherein it stands, especially to the book *de Cive*. It was thought a piece of religion not to make any change without the Author's advice, which could not suddenly be obtained; and so it comes forth innocently, supposing nothing to have happened since the dedication of it; which, if it seem a solacism to some, it may to others give satisfaction in calling to mind those times and opportunities, to which we are indebted for those admirable compositions. In the second Chapter Mr. Hobbes endeavours to prove these points; that the subject wherein colour and image are inherent, is not the object or thing seen. That there is nothing without us really, which we call an image or colour. That the said image or colour is but an apparition unto us of the motion, agitation, or alteration, which the object worketh in the brain or spirits, or some internal substance of the head. And that as in conception of vision, so also in conceptions that arise from the other senses, the subject of their inherence is not the subject, but the Sentient.

(4) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 643. 2d edit. London 1721.

lodgings to wait upon the Earl, the Countess, and the children, and any considerable strangers, paying some short addresses to all of them. He kept these rounds till about twelve o' clock, when he had a little dinner provided for him, which he eat always by himself without ceremony. Soon after dinner, he retired into his study, and had his candle with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco laid by him; then shutting the door, he fell to smoking, and thinking, and writing for several hours. He retained a friend or two at court, and especially the Lord *Ar—n*, to protect him, if occasion should require. He used to say, “that it was lawful to make use of ill instruments to do ourselves good.

If

In the *third* chapter he defines *Imagination* to be *conception remaining, and by little and little decaying from and after the act of sense*; and *sleep* to be *the privation of the act of sense, the power remaining*; and *dreams* to be *the imagination of them that sleep*. He observes, that “the causes of dreams, if they be natural, are the actions or violence of the inward parts of a man upon his brain, by which the passages of sense by sleep benumbed, are restored to their motion.” With regard to *remembrance*, he remarks, that by the senses, which are numbered according to the organs to be five, we take notice of the objects without us, and that notice is our conception thereof; but we take notice also some way or other of our conceptions, for when the conception of the same thing cometh again, we take notice that it is again; that is to say, we have had the same conception before; which is as much as to imagine a thing past, which is impossible to the sense, which is only of things present. *This therefore may be accounted a sixth sense, but internal (not external, as the rest), and is commonly called Remembrance*. In the *fourth* chapter he tells, that “the succession of conceptions in the mind, series or consequence of one after another may be casual and incoherent, as in dreams for the most part; and it may be orderly, as when the former thought introduceth the latter; and this is the *discourse* of the mind. But because the word *discourse* is commonly taken for the coherence and consequence of Words, I will, says he, to avoid *Equivocation*, call it *Discursion*.” He remarks, that the cause of the coherence or consequence of one conception to another is their first coherence or consequence, when they are produced by sense. That the remembrance of succession of one thing to another, that is, of what was antecedent, and what consequent, and what concomitant, is called an *Experiment*, whether the same be made by us voluntarily, as when a man putting any thing into the fire to see what effect the fire will produce upon it; or not made by us, as when we remember a fair morning after a red evening. To have had many experiments is what we call *experience*, which is nothing else but remembrance of what antecedents have been followed by what consequents. In the *sixth* chapter he observes, that “there are two kinds of knowledge, whereof the one is nothing else but *sense*, or knowledge *original*, and remembrance of the same; the other is called *Science*, or knowledge of the *Truth of Propositions*, and how things are called; and is derived from understanding.” In the *ninth* chapter he remarks, “that the comparison of the life of man to a race, though it hold not in every part, yet it holdeth so well for this our purpose, that we may thereby both see and remember almost all the passions beforementioned. But this race we must suppose to have no other *Goal* nor other *Garland*, but being foremost and in it. To endeavour, is *Appetite*. To be remiss, is *Sensuality*. To consider them behind, is *Glory*. To consider them before, is *Humility*. To lose ground with looking back, *Vain-Glory*. To be holden, *Hatred*. To turn back, *Repentance*. To be in breath, *Hope*. To be weary, *Despair*. To endeavour to overtake the next, *Emulation*. To supplant or overthrow, *Envy*. To resolve to break through a stop foreseen, *Courage*. To break through a sudden stop, *Anger*. To break through with ease, *magnanimity*. To lose ground by little Hinderances, *Pusillanimity*. To fall on the sudden, is disposition to *weep*. To see another fall, is disposition to *laugh*. To see one out-gone, whom we would not, is *Pity*. To see one out-gone whom we would, is *Indignation*. To hold fast by another, is to *love*. To carry him on that so holdeth, is *Charity*. To hurt ones self for haste, is *Shame*. Continually to be out-

gone, is *Misery*. Continually to out-go the next before, is *Felicity*. And to forsake the course, is to “die.” In the *tenth* chapter he tells us, that the *difference of wits* hath its original from the different passions, and from the ends to which the appetite leadeth them. That fancy consists in *finding unexpected similitudes of things, otherwise much unlike, from whence proceed those grateful similes, metaphors, and other tropes, by which both Poets and Orators have in their power to make things please or displease, and shew well or ill to others as they like themselves; or else in discerning suddenly dissimilitude in things that otherwise appear the same*. That “*indocibility* or difficulty of being taught arises from a false opinion that men know already the truth of that, which is called in question.” That a *principal defect of the mind* is that which men call *madness*, which appeareth to be nothing else but some *imagination of some such predominancy above the rest, that we have no passion but from it. And this conception is nothing else but excessive vain-glory, or vain Dejection, which is most probable by these examples following, which proceed in appearance every one of them from pride or some dejection of mind. As first, we have had the example of one, that preached in Cheap-side from a cart there instead of a pulpit, that he himself was Christ, which was spiritual pride or madness. We have had also divers examples of learned madness, in which men have manifestly been distracted upon any occasion, that hath put them in remembrance of their own ability. Amongst the learned men may be remembered, I think, also those that determine of the time of the world's end, and other such points of prophecy. And gallant madness of Don Quixotte is nothing else but an expression of such height of vain-glory as reading of romance may produce in pusillanimous men. Also a rage and madness of love are but great indignations of them, in whose Brains is predominant the contempt of their enemies or their mistresses. And the pride taken in form and behaviour hath made divers men run mad, and to be so accounted under the name of Fantastick. And as these are the examples of extremities, so also are there examples too many of the degrees, which may therefore be well accounted follies. As it is a degree of the first, for a man without certain evidence to think himself inspired, or to have any other effect of God's holy Spirit than other godly men have. Of the second, for a man continually to speak his mind in a cento of other men's Greek or Latin sentences. Of the third, much of the present gallantry in love and duel. Of rage a degree is malice; and of fantastick madness, affectation.* “As the former examples exhibit to us madness, and the degrees thereof, proceeding from the excess of self-opinion; so also there be other examples of madness, and the degrees thereof proceeding from too much *vain fear* and *dejection*; as in those melancholy men that have imagined themselves as brittle as glass, or have had some other like imagination; and degrees hereof are all those exorbitant and causeless fears, which we commonly observe in melancholy persons.” In the *eleventh* chapter he remarks, that as “*God Almighty* is incomprehensible, it followeth, that we can have no conception or image of the Deity, and consequently, all his attributes signify our inability and defect of power to conceive any thing concerning his nature, and not any conception of the same, excepting only this, that *there is a God*. For the effects we acknowledge naturally do include a power of their producing before they were produced; and that power presupposeth something existent that hath such power; and the thing to existing with power to produce, if it were not eternal, must needs have been produced by somewhat before it, and that again by something else before that, till we come to an eternal (that is to say the first) power, of all powers, “and

“ If I were cast, *said he*, into a deep pit, and the Devil should put down his cloven foot, I would take hold of it to be drawn out by it.” Towards the end of his life he had very few books, and those he read but very little, thinking he was now only to digest what formerly he had fed upon. If company came to visit him, he would be free in discourse till he was pressed or contradicted; and then he had the infirmities of being short and peevish, and referring to his writings for better satisfaction. His friends, who had the liberty of introducing strangers to him, made these terms with them before their admission, that they should not dispute with the old man, nor contradict him. In October

“ and first cause of all causes; and this is it which all men conceive by the name of God, implying eternity, incomprehensibility, and omnipotency. And thus all that will consider, may know that God is, though not what he is; even as a man that is born blind, though it be not possible for him to have any imagination what kind of thing fire is, yet he cannot but know that somewhat there is that men call fire, because it warmeth him.” He observes, that “ by the name of *Spirit* we understand a *body natural*, but of such *subtily*, that it worketh not upon the senses, but that filleth up the place, which the image of a visible body might fill up. Our conception therefore of spirit consisteth of *figure without colour*; and in figure is understood dimension; and consequently to conceive a spirit is to conceive something that hath dimension. But *Spirits supernatural* commonly signify some substance without dimension, which two words do flatly contradict one another; and therefore when we attribute the name of spirit unto God, we attribute it not as a name of any thing we conceive, no more than we ascribe unto him sense and understanding; but, as a signification of our reverence we desire to abstract from him all corporeal grossness.” He tells us likewise, that “ since the knowledge we have of spirits is not natural knowledge, but faith from supernatural revelation given to the holy writers of scriptures, it followeth that of inspirations also, which is the operation of spirit in us, the knowledge which we have, must all proceed from scripture. That the knowledge we have of good and evil inspiration cometh not by vision of an angel that may teach it, nor by miracle that may seem to confirm it, but by conformity of doctrine with this article and fundamental point of Christian Faith, which also St. Paul faith is the sole foundation, *That Jesus Christ is come in the flesh*, 1 Cor. iii. 11.” That seeing our Faith, that “ the scriptures are the word of God, began from the confidence and trust we repose in the *Church*; there can be no doubt but that their interpretation of the same scriptures, when any doubt or controversy shall arise, by which this fundamental point, that *Jesus Christ is come in the flesh* may be called in question, is safer for any man to trust to, than his own whether reasoning or spirit, that is to say, his own opinion.” VI. De Corpore Politico; or, *Of the Elements of the Law*. London 1650 in 12mo. A French translation of this piece was printed at Amsterdam 1653 in 12mo. VII. *Leviathan*; or, *The Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth*. London 1651 in fol. reprinted again with the old date in 1680 in fol. A Latin version with an *Appendix* was published at Amsterdam 1668 in 4to. It was likewise translated into Low-Dutch, and printed at Amsterdam 1678 in 4to. To the English Editions is subjoined a *Review of the Leviathan*. Marchamont Needham (5) tells us, that Mr. Hobbes being at Paris when this Book was first published, he sent one of them as a present to the King of Scots (6), which he accepted in regard he had been his tutor in the mathematicks; but being afterwards informed by some of his Priests, that that Book did not only contain many principles of atheism and gross impiety (for so they call every thing that squares not with the Clergy-Interest) but also such that were prejudicial to the Church, and reflected dangerously upon the majesty of sovereign Princes; therefore when Mr. Hobbes came to make a tender of his service to him in person, he was rejected, and word brought him by the Marquis of Ormond, that the King would not admit him, and withal told him the reason. By which means Mr. Hobbes declines in credit with his friends there of the royal stamp.” A great many Writers

have animadverted upon the Leviathan, particularly Sir Robert Filmer in his *Observations concerning the Original of Government, upon Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan*, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, H. Grotius de Jure Belli. London 1652 in 4to. *An Examination of the Political Part of Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan*. By George Lawson, Rector of More in the County of Salop. London 1657 in 8vo. *The Creed of Mr. Hobbes examined in a feigned Conference between him and a Student of Divinity*. London 1670 in 8vo. This was written by Mr. Thomas Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and who in the Dedication to the Earl of Manchester dated at Cambridge June the 4th 1670, observes, that Mr. Hobbes hath affirmed of God, that he is a bodily substance, though most refined, and forceth evil upon the very wills of men; framed a model of government pernicious in its consequence to all nations; subjected the Canon of Scripture to the Civil Powers, and taught them the way of turning the Alcoran into the Gospel; declared it lawful, not only to dissemble, but plainly to renounce our faith in Christ, in order to the avoidance of persecution; and even managed a quarrel against the very Elements of Euclid. “ He hath long ago, says Mr. Tenison, published his errors in Theology in the English tongue, insinuating himself by the hand of somnells of his style into the minds of such whose fancy leadeth their judgments; and to say truth of an enemy, he may with some reason pretend to mastery in that language.” In 1676 was printed the Earl of Clarendon's *Brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbes's book, intitled, Leviathan*. Oxford 1676 in 4to; the second impression of which was published the same year. The *Imprimatur* by Dr. Ralph Bathurst Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was dated July the 1st 1676. The Dedication to the King is dated at Moulins May the 10th 1673. In the *Introduction* (7) the Earl observes, that Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan* “ contains in it good learning of all kinds, (7) Pag. 2. 2d edit. Oxon 1676 “ politely extracted, and very wittily and cunningly in 4to. “ digested, in a very commendable, and in a vigorous “ and pleasant style;” and that Mr. Hobbes was “ a “ man of excellent parts, of great wit, some reading, “ and somewhat more thinking; one who has spent “ many years in foreign parts and observations, under- “ stands the learned as well as modern languages, hath “ long had the reputation of a great Philosopher and “ Mathematician, and in his age hath had conversation “ with very many worthy and extraordinary men; to “ which, it may be, if he had been more indulgent in “ the more vigorous part of his life, it might have “ had greater influence upon the temper of his mind, “ whereas age seldom submits to those questions, en- “ quires, and contradictions, which the laws and li- “ berty of conversation require. And it hath been “ always a lamentation among Mr. Hobbes's friends, “ that he spent too much time in thinking, and too “ little in exercising those thoughts in the company of “ other men of the same or of as good faculties; for “ want whereof his natural constitution with age con- “ tracted such a morosity, that doubting and contra- “ dicting men were never grateful to him. In a word, “ Mr. Hobbes is one of the most ancient acquaintance “ I have in the world, and of whom I have always “ had a great esteem, as a man, who besides his emi- “ nent parts of learning and knowledge, hath been “ always looked upon as a man of probity and a life “ free from scandal.” The Earl informs us (8), that (8) Pag. 6, 7. when Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles II, went first to Paris from the isle of Jersey, and the Lords Capel and Hopton stayed with himself at Jersey, he heard shortly after, that Mr. Hobbes, who was then at Paris, had printed his book *de Cive* there. The Earl wrote to Dr. Earle, who was then the Prince's Chaplain and Tutor, to remember him kindly to Mr. Hobbes,

(5) *Mercurius Politicus*, num. 34. from Jan. 8. to Jan. 15. ann. 1651-2.

(6) King Charles II.

October 1666, when complaint was made in Parliament against his books, and some proceedings against him were depending, with a *Bill against Atheism and Profaneness*, he was at Chatworth, and appeared extremely disturbed at the news of it, fearing that messengers would come for him, and the Earl of Devonshire would deliver him up, and the two Houses of Parliament commit him to the Bishops, and they decree him a Heretic, and return him to the Civil Magistrate for a writ *de Heretico comburendo*. This terror upon his spirits made him sink very much. He would be often confessing to those about

him;

with whom the Earl was well acquainted, and to desire him to send him that book by the same token that Mr. Sydney Godolphin, who had been killed in the civil wars, had left Mr. Hobbes a legacy of two hundred pounds. The book was immediately sent to the Earl by Mr. Hobbes, with a desire that he would tell him, whether he was sure that there was such a legacy, or how he might take notice of it to receive it. The Earl sent Mr. Hobbes word that he might depend upon it for a truth, and that he believed, that if he found some way secretly (to the end there might be no public notice of it in regard of the Parliament) to demand it of Mr. Francis Godolphin, brother of Mr. Sidney Godolphin, (the former of whom had told the Earl of it,) he would pay it. This information was the ground of the dedication of the *Leviathan* to Mr. Francis Godolphin, whom Mr. Hobbes had never seen. When the Earl went some few years after from Holland with K. Charles II (after the murder of Charles I) to Paris, from whence he went shortly his Majesty's Ambassador to Spain, Mr. Hobbes visited him, and told him, that Mr. Godolphin confessed the legacy, and had paid 100 l. and promised to pay the other in a short time; for all which he thanked the Earl, and said he owed it to him, for he had never otherwise known of it. When the Earl returned from Spain by Paris, Mr. Hobbes frequently came to him, and told him, that his book, which he would call *Leviathan*, was then printing in England, and that he received every week a sheet to correct, of which he shewed the Earl one or two sheets, and thought it would be finished within little more than a month; and shewed him the Epistle to Mr. Godolphin, which he intended to set before it, and read it to him, and concluded, that he knew when the Earl read his book he would not like it, and thereupon mentioned some conclusions; upon which the Earl asked him, why he would publish such doctrine; to which, after a discourse between jest and earnest upon the subject, he said, *The truth is, I have a mind to go home*. Within a short time after I came, says the Earl (9), into Flanders, which was not much more than a month from the time that Mr. Hobbes had conferred with me, *Leviathan* was sent to me from London; which I read with much appetite and impatience. Yet I had scarce finished it, when Sir Charles Cavendish (the noble brother of the Duke of Newcastle who was then at Antwerp, and a Gentleman of all the accomplishments of mind that he wanted of body, being in all other respects a wonderful person) shewed me a letter he had then received from Mr. Hobbes, in which he desired he would let him know freely what my opinion was of his book. Upon which I wished he would tell him that I could not enough wonder, that a man who had so great a reverence for civil government, that he resolved all wisdom and religion itself into a simple obedience and submission to it, should publish a book, for which by the constitution of any government now established in Europe, whether monarchical or democratical, the author must be punished in the highest degree and with the most severe penalties. With which answer, which Sir Charles sent to him, he was not pleased, and found afterwards when I returned to the King to Paris, that I very much censured his book, which he had presented, engrossed in vellum in a marvellous fair hand, to the King, and likewise found my judgment so far confirmed, that a few days before I came thither, he was compelled secretly to fly out of Paris, the Justice having endeavoured to apprehend him, and soon after escaped into England, where he never received any disturbance. After the King's return he came frequently to the Court, where he had too many disciples, and once visited me. I received him very kindly, and invited him to see me often; but he heard from so many hands, that I had no good opinion of his book, that he came to me only that one

(9) Pag. 20.

time: and methinks I am in a degree indebted to him, to let him know some reason, why I look with so much prejudice upon his book, which hath gotten him so much credit and estimation with some other men." The Earl afterwards observes (10), (10) Pag. 317: that the "Review and Conclusion of the *Leviathan* is only an abridgment and contracting the most contagious poison, that runs thro' the book, into a less vessel or volume, lest they, who should, will not take the pains to read the book, or reading it may by inadvertency and incogitancy not be hurt enough by it, may here in less room, and more nakedly, swallow his choicest doctrine at one morsel; and is in truth a sly address to *Cromwell*, that being then out of the Kingdom, and so being neither conquered nor his subject, he might by his return submit to his government, and be bound to obey it: which being uncompelled by any necessity or want, but having as much to sustain him abroad as he had to live upon at home, could not but proceed from a sincere heart and uncorrupted. This *Review* and Conclusion he made short enough to hope, that *Cromwell* himself might read it; where he should not only receive the pawns of his new subject's allegiance, by declaring his own obligation and obedience, but by publishing such doctrine, as being diligently infused by such a master in the mystery of government, might secure the people of the Kingdom (over whom he had no right to command) to acquiesce and submit to his brutal power." The *Leviathan* was censured by the Parliament in October 1666, at which time a bill against atheism and profaneness was brought into the House; and the University of Oxford condemned this book and that *de Civitate* by a decree passed on the 21st of July 1683, and ordered them to be publicly burnt, with several other treatises, which were excepted against. VIII. *A Compendium of Aristotle's Rhetoric, and Ramus's Logic*. IX. *A Letter about Liberty and Necessity*. London 1654 in 12mo. The third edition was printed in 1684 in 8vo. Dr. Bernard Laney wrote *Observations* upon this piece of Mr. Hobbes, which were printed at London in 1676 in 12mo. Dr. Bramhall Bishop of Derry published likewise a *A Defence of true Liberty from antecedent and extrinsecal Necessity, being an Answer to a late Book of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, intitled, A Treatise of Liberty and Necessity. Written by the Right Reverend John Bramhall, D. D. and Lord Bishop of Derry*. London 1655 in 8vo. Dedicated to the Marquis of Newcastle. In the Preface Bishop Bramhall observes, that this "Treatise was not penned for the press, but privately undertaken, that by the ventilation of the question truth might be cleared from mistakes. The same was Mr. Hobbes's desire at that time, as appeareth by four passages in his book (*), wherein he requesteth and beseecheth, (*) Pag. 18, 26, that it may be kept private. But either through forgetfulness or change of judgment he hath now caused or permitted it to be printed in England without either adjoining my first discourse, to which he wrote that answer, or so much as mentioning this reply, which he hath had in his hands now these eight years. So wide is the date of his letter in the year 1652 from truth, and his manner of dealing with me in this particular from ingenuity, if the edition were with his own consent. Howsoever here is all that passed between us upon this subject without any addition or the least variation from the original." The Bishop tells us (11), that the first (11) Pag. 2. day he read over Mr. Hobbes's *Defence of the Necessity of all things*, was April the 20th 1646; and that then, his occasions permitting him, and an advertisement from a friend awakening him, he set himself to a serious examination of it. Mr. Hobbes, in answer to an argument, which he represents as urged by the Bishop, "that if the concurrence of all the causes necessitate the effect, then it follows that Adam had

" no

him, that he meant no harm, and was no obstinate man, and was ready to make any satisfaction. For his prevailing principle, and his resolution upon it, was to suffer for no cause whatever. Under these apprehensions of danger he drew up in 1680 *An Historical Narration of Heresy and the punishment thereof*, labouring to prove, that there was no authority to determine Heresy, or to punish it, when he wrote the *Leviathan*; and that since the dissolving of the High Commission Court no other Courts have any power to decree any opinion to be heretical; and wonders, that since his Majesty had restored the Bishops, and pardoned the Presbyterians, both the one and the other should accuse in Parliament his Book of Heresy; and so runs into a complaint of the fierceness of Divines. Under the same apprehensions he framed *An Apology for himself and his Writings*, setting forth, that the exceptionable things in his *Leviathan* were not his opinions so much as his suppositions, humbly submitted to those who had the Ecclesiastical power, and never since dogmatically maintained by him either in writing or discourse. And it is much to be suspected, as Dr. Kennet observes (b), that upon this occasion he began to make a more open shew of Religion and Church Communion. He now frequented the chapel, joined

(b) Ibid. pag. 111, 112.

"no true liberty," had answered in these words: "I deny the consequence, for I make not only the effect, but also the election of that particular effect to be necessary, in as much as the will itself, and each propension of a man during his deliberation is as much necessitated, and depends on a sufficient cause, as any thing else whatsoever. As for example, it is no more necessary that fire should burn, than that a man or other creature, whose limbs be moved by fancy, should have election, that is, liberty to do what he has a fancy to, though it be not in his will or power to choose his fancy, or choose his election or will. This doctrine, because he says he hates, I doubt had better been suppressed, as it should have been, if both your Lordship and he had not pressed me to an answer." The Bishop in his reply writes thus (12). "My argument was this; if any of these, or all of these causes formerly recited, do take away true liberty, (that is, still intended from necessity) then Adam before his fall had no true liberty. But Adam before his fall had true liberty. He misrecites the argument, and denies the consequence, which is so clearly proved, that no man living can doubt of it. Because Adam was subjected to all the same causes, as well as we, the same decree, the same prescience, the same influences, the same concurrence of causes, the same efficacy of objects, the same dictates of reason. But it is only a mistake, for it appears plainly by his following discourse, that he intended to deny, not the consequence, but the assumption; for he makes Adam to have had no liberty from necessity before his fall; then he proceeds so far as to affirm, that all human wills, his and ours, and each propension of our wills, even during our deliberation, are as much necessitated as any thing else whatsoever; that we have no more power to forbear those actions which we do, than the fire hath power not to burn. Though I honour T. H. for his person and for his learning, yet I must confess ingenuously, I hate this doctrine from my heart. And I believe both I have reason so to do, and all others, who shall seriously ponder the horrid consequences which flow from it. It destroys liberty, and dishonours the nature of man. It makes the second causes and outward objects to be rackets, and men to be but the tennis-balls of destiny. It makes the first cause, that is, God Almighty, to be the introducer of all evil and sin into the world, as much as man, yea more than man, by as much as the motion of the watch is more from the artificer, who did make it and wind it up, than either from the spring or the wheels, or the thread, if God by his special influence into the second causes did necessitate them to operate as they did. . . . Excuse me, if I hate this doctrine with a perfect hatred, which is so dishonourable both to God and man, which makes men to blaspheme of necessity, to steal of necessity, to be hanged of necessity, and to be damned of necessity. And therefore I must say and say again, *Quicquid ostendes mihi sic incredulus odi*. It were better to be an Atheist, to believe no God; or to be a Manichee, to believe two Gods, a God of good, and a God of evil; or with the Heathens to believe thirty thousand Gods, than thus to charge the true God to be the proper cause and the true author of all the sins and evils,

(12) Pag. 59.

"which are in the world." X. *The Questions concerning Liberty, and Necessity, and Chance, stated and debated between Mr. Hobbes and Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of London-Derry*. London 1656, in 4to. XI. *Elementorum Philosophiæ Sectio prima de Corpore*. London, 1655, in 8vo. In English, London, 1656, in 4to. *Sectio secunda*, London 1657, in 4to. Amsterdam 1668, in 4to. XII. *Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics of the Institution of Sir Henry Savile*. London, 1656, in 4to. This is written against Mr. Seth Ward, and Dr. John Wallis. XIII. *The marks of the absurd Geometry, rural Language, &c. of Dr. John Wallis*. London, 1657, in 8vo. Dr. Wallis having published in 1655 his *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ*, it occasioned several books to be written by them against each other. XIV. *Examinatio & Emendatio Mathematicæ bodiarnæ, sex Dialogis comprehensa*. London, 1660, in 4to. Amsterdam, 1668, in 4to. XV. *Dialogus Physicus, sive de Naturâ Aeris*. London, 1661, in 4to. Amsterdam, 1668, in 4to. XVI. *De Duplicatione Cubi*. London, 1661, in 4to. Amsterdam, 1668, in 4to. XVII. *Problemata Physica, una cum Magnitudine Circuli*. London, 1652, in 4to. Amsterdam, 1688, in 4to. XVIII. *De Principiis & Ratiocinatione Geometricarum, contra fastuosum Professore*. London, 1666, in 4to. Amsterdam, 1668, in 4to. XIX. *Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi; unâ cum Responsione ad objectiones Geometriæ Professoris Savilianæ Oxoniæ editas anno 1669*. London, 1669, in 4to. XX. *Rostium Geometricum, sive Propositiones aliquot frustra antebac tentatæ, cum censurâ brevi Doctrinæ Wallisianæ de motu*. London, 1671, in 4to. There is an account of this book in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 72, for the year 1671. XXI. *Three Papers presented to the Royal Society against Dr. Wallis, with Considerations on Dr. Wallis's Answer to them*. London, 1671, in 4to. XXII. *Lux Mathematica, &c. Censura Doctrinæ Wallisianæ de Libris Rostium Hobbesii*. London, 1672, in 4to. XXIII. *Principia & Problemata aliquot Geometrica ante desperata, nunc breviter explicata & demonstrata*. London, 1674, in 4to. XXIV. *Epistola ad Dom. Anton. à Wood, Authorem Historiæ & Antiquitat. Universit. Oxon.* Dated April the 20th, 1674, printed in half a sheet on one side. "It was written to Mr. Wood, says that Historian (13), upon (13) *Art. Oxon.* his complaint made to Mr. Hobbes of several de- vol. 2. col. 645. letions and additions made in and to his life and character (which he had written of him in that book) by the publisher (Dr. Jo. Fell) of the said *Hist. & Antiq.* to the great dishonour and disparagement of the said Mr. Hobbes. Whereupon, when that History was finished, came out a scurrilous Answer to the said Epistle, written by Dr. Fell, which is at the end of the said History." In this Answer Dr. Fell styles Mr. Hobbes, *irritabile illud & vanissimum Malmbsburienie Animal*; and tells us, that one Mr. J. A. had sent a magnificent elogium of Mr. Hobbes drawn up by him, or more probably by Hobbes himself, in order to be inserted in the *Hist. & Antiq. Univers. Oxon.* but the Editor finding in this elogium a great many things foreign to the design of that work, and far from truth, he suppressed what he thought proper. And whereas Mr. Hobbes had complained, that in the *Historia & Antiq.* only *ingenium acre*, but not *subrium* was ascribed to him, Dr. Fell observes, that he shall

in the service, and was generally a partaker of the Sacrament. And whenever any strangers, in conversation with him, seemed to question his belief, he would always appeal to his conformity in Divine Service, and referred them to the Chaplain for a testimony of it. Others thought it a mere compliance with the orders of the family, and observed, that he never went to any Parish Church, and even in the Chapel upon Sundays he went out after prayers, and turned his back upon the sermon; and when any friend asked the reason of it, he gave no other answer but this, that *they could teach him nothing but what he knew*. He did not conceal his hatred to the Clergy; but it was visible, that the hatred was owing to his fear of their civil interest and power. He had often a jealousy that the Bishops would burn him; and of all the Bench he was most afraid of Dr. Seth Ward Bishop of Sarum, because he had most offended him. Dr. Kennet observes likewise (c), that his whole life was governed by his fears. In the first Parliament of 1640, while it seemed to favour the measures of the Court, he wrote a little Tract in English, wherein he demonstrated, as himself tells us (d), that "all the power and rights necessary for the peace of the Kingdom were inseparably annexed to the Sovereignty in the King's person." But in the second Parliament of that year, when they proceeded fiercely against those who had written or preached in defence of the Regal Power, he, *doubting how they would use him, went over into France, the first of all that fled, and there continued eleven years* (e). At Paris he wrote and published his *Leviathan*, a plea for

(c) Ibid. pag. 113.

(d) Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners and Religion of Thos. Hobbes, by way of Letter to a learned Person, pag. 5.

(e) Ibid. pag. 6.

shall not appeal to those, who were conversant with him and his writings, but to Mr. Hobbes himself, who in his book *De Principiis Et Ratiocinatione Geometricarum* says thus: *In magno quidem periculo versari video Existimationem meam, qui a Geometris ferè omnibus dissentio, eorum enim, qui iisdem rebus mecum aliquid ediderunt, aut solus insanio ego, aut solus non insanio; tertium non est, nisi quod dicit forte aliquis, insaniamus omnes*. Upon which Dr. Fell observes thus. "Si insanite eum contingat; non ab Editore injuria facta est; si alii omnes eruditi mente sua moti insanire illum censeant, non est quod furiosorum sententia illum moveat, nec queratur reperiri hominem unum, qui demens pariter cum fuerit, communi omnium suffragio calculum adjecerit." XXV. *A Letter to William Duke of Newcastle, concerning the Controversy had with Dr. Laney, Bishop of Ely, about Liberty and Necessity*. London, 1670, in 12mo. XXVI. *Decameron Physiologicum: Or ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy, &c.* London, 1678, in 8vo. To this is added *The Proportion of a straight Line to bold the Arch of a Quadrant*. An account of this book is published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 138, pag. 965. XXVII. *His last words and dying Legacy*. Printed on one side of a sheet of paper in December 1679, and published by Charles Blunt, Esq; from the *Leviathan*, in order to expose Mr. Hobbes's doctrine. XXVIII. *His memorable Sayings in his Books and at the Table*. Printed on one side of a broad sheet of paper, with his picture before them. XXIX. *Behemoth: The History of the Civil Wars of England from 1640 to 1660*. London, 1679, in 8vo. XXX. *Vita Thomæ Hobbes*. This is a Latin Poem written by himself, and printed at London in 4to, in the latter end of December 1679; and a fortnight after that, viz about the 10th of January, it was published in English verse by another hand, at London 1680, in five sheets in Folio. The Latin copy was reprinted and subjoined to *Vita Hobbiana Auctarium*. XXXI. *Historical Narration of Heresy, and the Punishment thereof*. London, 1680, in four sheets and an half in folio; and in 1682 in 8vo. This is chiefly extracted out of the second chapter *De Heresi* of his Appendix to the *Leviathan*. After he has reduced from our Saviour's time the different punishments by laws enacted against those, who were declared Heretics throughout the several ages of the church, he proceeds to an account of the laws in force in England against Heretics from the first proposition of Christianity, to the last civil wars; and observes that the High Commission had the sole power of declaring what was Heresy according to the sense of the first four General Councils, invested in them in Queen Elizabeth's reign; that after this Court was taken away at the beginning of the Civil Wars, no person stood empowered by lawful authority, either to declare what was Heresy, or to punish any one proved to be this way obnoxious. At this time, he tells us, his *Leviathan* was published, for the writing of which he could not be accounted heretical; and he gives the reasons, which induced him to write and publish that book. This treatise of our Author was animadverted upon by

Mr. John Dowell, Vicar of Melton-Mowbray in Leicestershire, in a little tract, intitled, *The Leviathan heretical: Or the charge exhibited in Parliament against Mr. Hobbes justified, &c.* Oxford, 1683, in 12mo; in which book, pag. 137, the Author informs us, that Cromwell having gained the Protectorship, was so highly pleased with many of the principles laid down in the *Leviathan*, that he offered Mr. Hobbes the place of Secretary to him. XXXII. *Vita Thomæ Hobbes*, written by himself in prose, and printed at Caropolis, i. e. London, and prefixed to *Vita Hobbiana Auctarium*, 1681, in 8vo, and 1682, in 4to. XXXIII. *A Brief of the Art of Rhetoric, containing in substance all that Aristotle hath written in his three books of that subject*. Printed in 12mo, but without a date. It was afterwards published in two books. London, 1681, in 8vo, the first bearing the title of *The Art of Rhetoric*, and the other of *The Art of Rhetoric plainly set forth; with pertinent examples for the more ready understanding and practice of the same*. To which is added, XXXIV. *A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England*. XXXV. *An Answer to Archbishop Bramhall's book called, The catching of the Leviathan*. London, 1682, in 8vo. XXXVI. *Seven Philosophical Problems, and two Propositions of Geometry*. London, 1682, in 8vo, dedicated to the King in 1662. XXXVII. *An Apology for himself and his Writings*. In this piece he observes, that those things, which he delivered in the *Leviathan*, were not his own opinions, but submitted to the judgment of the Ecclesiastical Power; and that he never maintained any of them afterwards either in writing or discourse; and that what is in it of Theology, contrary to the general sense of Divines, was not introduced as his own opinion, but propounded with full submission to those, who had the Ecclesiastical Power. XXXVIII. *Historia Ecclesiastica carmine Elegiaco concinnata*. Aug. Trinob. i. e. London, 1688, in 8vo. XXXIX. *Traclatus Opticus, insertus in Merfennus's Cogitata Physico-Mathematica*. Paris, 1644, in 4to. XL. *Observationes in Cartesii de primâ Philosophiâ Meditationes*. These objections, which are called the *third*, are published in all the editions of Des Cartes's *Meditations*. XLI. He translated into English verse, *The Voyage of Ulysses; or Homer's Odyssey*, book 9, 10, 11, 12. London, 1674, in 8vo. And XLII. *Homer's Iliads and Odyssees*. London, 1675 and 1677, in 12mo. To which is prefixed a Preface concerning Heroic Poetry. Mr. Pope in the Preface to his translation of *Homer's Iliad* tells us, that Mr. Hobbes in his Version "has given a correct explanation of the sense in general; but for particulars and circumstances lopps them, and often omits the most beautiful. As for its being esteemed a close translation, I doubt not many have been led into that error by the shortness of it, which proceeds not from the following the original line by line, but from the contractions abovementioned. He sometimes omits whole similes and sentences, and is now and then guilty of mistakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen, but through carelessness."

"His

for the absolute power of Princes, which seemed to be calculated for the new measures then laid for the Government of France, to obtain the easier protection from the Church. The same passion of fear that brought him into France, drove him back to England. For as soon as he was dismissed from his attendance on the King, to escape the resentments of those whom he thought his enemies, he made haste for England, and confessed,

(f) *Ibid.* pag. 8. that he came home, *because he would not trust his safety with the French Clergy* (f). He was not called in question by Cromwell, who had no reason to dislike his tenets; and in the other changes he was *always safe*. After the Restoration he watched all opportunities to ingratiate himself with the King and his prime Ministers; and looked upon his pension to be more valuable, as an earnest of favour and protection, than upon the other account. His following course of life was to be free from danger. He could not endure to be left in an empty house; whenever the Earl of Devonshire removed, he would go along with him, even to his last stage from Chatsworth to Hardwick, when in a weak condition he dared not be left behind, but made his way upon a feather-bed in a coach, though he survived the journey but a few days. He could not bear any discourse of death, and seemed to cast off all thoughts of it. He delighted to reckon upon longer life. The winter before he died he made a warm coat, which he said must last him three years, and then he would have such another. In his last sickness his frequent questions were, Whether his disease was curable? And when intimations were given that he might have ease, but no remedy, he used this expression, *I shall be glad then to find a hole to creep out of the world at*; which are reported to be his last sensible words; and his lying some days following in a silent stupefaction seemed to be owing to his mind more than to his body. The only thought of death, which he appeared to entertain in time of health, was to take care of some inscription on his grave. He would suffer some friends

(g) Kennet, *ubi supra*, pag. 113-117. *Philosopher's stone* (g).

"His Poetry, as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for criticism." He left likewise several MSS. among which was his *Defence* in the affair relating to Daniel Scargil, A. B. of C. C. College in Cambridge, written in one sheet; a copy of which Sir John Berkenhead had in his possession, upon whose decease it came into the hands of Henry Birkenhead (14). Mr. Francis Peck has published (15) two original letters of our Author. The first is dated at Paris October 3^d, 1634, wherein he resolves the following question; *Why a man remembers less his own face, which he sees often in a glass, than the face of a friend, that he has not seen of a great time?* "My opinion, says Mr. Hobbes, in general is, that a man remembers best those faces, whereof he has had the greatest impressions; and that the impressions are the greater for the oftener seeing them, and the longer staying upon the sight of them. Now you know, men look upon their own faces but for short fits, but upon their friends faces a long time together, whilft they discourse or converse together; so that a man may receive a greater impression from his friend's face in a day, than from his own in a

year. And according to their impression the image will be fresher in his mind. Besides, the sight of one's friends two hours together is of greater force to imprint the image of it than the same quantity of time by intermissions. For the intermissions do easily deface that, which is but lightly imprinted. In general, I think that that lasteth longer in the memory, which hath been stronglier received by the sense." The other Letter is dated at Florence, April 8th 1636, addressed to his worthy friend Mr. Glen. In this he writes thus: "I long infinitely to see those bookes of the Sabbath [Dr. Heylin's *History of the Sabbath*, in two books, London 1636, in 4to.] and am of your mind, they will put such thoughts into the heads of vulgar people, as will conferre little to their good life. For when they see one of the Ten Commandments to be *Jus humanum* merely, (as it must be if the Church can alter it,) they will hope also, that the other nine may be so too. For every man hitherto did believe, that the Ten Commandments were the moral, that is, an eternal law." T.

(14) See *Vita Hobbianae Auctarium*, pag. 108, 109.
(15) *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. 1. lib. 6. num. 10, 11. pag. 23, 24.

HOCHSTRAT (JAMES) in Latin *Hochstratus* or *Hochstratanus*, was thus called

from the village in which he was born (a). He studied Philosophy at Louvain, and took his degree of Master of Arts there in the year 1485. He entered amongst the Dominican Friars, and was Prior of their Monastery at Cologne, Doctor and Professor of Divinity, and Inquisitor in the three Ecclesiastical Electorates (b). There never was a man who deserved more than him to be honoured with this last employment; for he had all the bad qualities, that are necessary for inquisitors and informers. He was passionate; he would impeach any man with the least pretence, and be at once both the judge and the accuser [A]; he used to make very unfaithful extracts from the books of his adversaries,

(a) Hoogstraten in Brabant, between Antwerp and Bergen-op-zoom.

(b) Val. Andreæ, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 412.

DISPUTES between Reuchlin and Hochstrat.

[A] *He would be at once both the Judge and the accuser.* This appeared very plainly in Reuchlin's affair. A Jew (1) lately converted to the Christian Religion, had slandered him in a book intitled, *Manuale speculum*. Reuchlin vindicated himself in a book intitled, *Speculum oculare*, in which he shewed that his enemies had published above thirty four Calumnies against him (2). Hochstrat, the chief supporter of the converted Jew, engaged the divines of Cologne in this controversy, and persuaded them to make extracts from the *Speculum oculare*, which were published with artful and malicious remarks, designed to defame Reuchlin over all the world as a favourer of Judaism. *Has propositiones ubi vidit Reuchlinus pessime ac non sine crimine falsi ex Oculari Speculo excerptas rogat Theologos illos &c erupit tota*

Theologorum concio suppeticas Christi sacris recens initiato Judeo latura duce Tungro, qui articulos seu propositiones de Judaico favore nimis suspectas ex Speculo Oculari extruxit, adjectis annotationibus & animadversionibus: atque hoc omne non vernacula lingua, qua utrinque hactenus certatum fuit, adornat, sed Latina; eo haud dubie consilio, ut apud exteras gentes nationesque nomen Capionis invisum redderet, & cum multa ditorum citatione securius falleret (3). i. e. "When Reuchlin saw that these propositions were most un- fairly extracted from his *Speculum oculare*, and not without being falsified he desired those Divines, &c. The whole tribe of the Divines arose to support the newly converted Jew, having Hochstrat at their head, who extracted the propositions from the *Speculum Oculare*, which seemed to favour

(1) Named John Pfeffercorn.

(2) *Dilucide, & quod dicimus, ad oculum ibi offendit, adversarios pluribus quam triginta quatuor mendacis ad sui contumeliam ulos esse.* Jo. Henricus Majus, in *Oratione de Vita Reuchlini*, folio D 3 verso.

(3) Majus in *Oratione de Vita Reuchlini*, folio D 4.

(c) See the remark [A]. ries (c), and would never confess that he had been a slanderer; and he impudently asserted heresies in the very books, in which he pretended to refute the heretics [B]. They forced

“favour too much of Judaism, and added to them his own notes and observations, and published the whole, not in the German tongue, in which the controversy had till then been carried on, but in Latin, with a design no doubt to render Reuchlin odious to all nations, and the better to impose upon the world by a great number of quotations supposed to be from his own Book.” Reuchlin answered this work in a Latin apology directed to the Emperor, upon which he was prosecuted in form before the Elector of Mentz: as he could not appear himself on account of his old age, he sent an attorney thither, who in his name made very well grounded exceptions against our James Hochstrat, which yet were not admitted. *Cum propter senium & imbecillitatem corporis tantum iter tam brevi temporis spacio conficere non possent, mittebat eò curatorem Petrum Staffellium Nuringensem, qui auctorem Hochstratum tanquam inimicum sibi infensissimum & merito suspectum recusabat, ob eas causas, quas publice allegabat . . . Tametsi vero nil obtineret Reuchlinus* (4). i. e. “As Reuchlin could not undertake so great a journey in so short a time because of his old age and infirmities, he sent thither Peter Staffellius of Nuring to act for him as his attorney, who challenged the prosecutor Hochstrat as Reuchlin’s most bitter enemy, and a man justly suspected of partiality for such reasons as were then publickly alledged . . . Though Reuchlin could obtain nothing &c.” Hochstrat would not suffer himself to be accused (5); whereupon Reuchlin’s attorney appealed to the Court of Rome; notwithstanding which Hochstrat procured a sentence against Reuchlin, and without waiting till the fifteen days were past, before which it could not be lawfully proclaimed, as though he might already triumph, he ordered all the Curates of Mentz to give the people notice, that all they who had Reuchlin’s books should carry them immediately to the Commissaries upon pain of excommunication. *Interea Hochstratus quasi jam acturus triumphum omnibus per Moguntiacum sacerdotibus mandat, ut publice populum sub proscriptionis pena monerent, si qui Oculare Speculum haberent, illud quantocyus eam in rem delegatis traderent* (6). Reuchlin appeals to the Pope; Hochstrat does the same. George Elector Palatine and Bishop of Spire being appointed by Pope Leo X to try this cause (7), named judges who summoned the parties to appear before them. Hochstrat did not appear, and for his non-appearance was condemned to pay all the costs. He was also strictly forbidden to continue his proceedings, and the information of the Divines of Cologne was declared null and void. *Hochstratus licet more consueto per intervalla citatus, tamen non comparuit. Causa nibilo factius discutitur & secundum Reuchlinum pronunciat; nullum errorem ab Ecclesia damnatum in libro sapius commemorato reperiri, nec plus eum favere Judæis, quam religio & jura sinant; injuste ergo ac præter veritatem eum delatum à Colonienfibus esse. Hochstratus autem contumaciæ criminis reus &c* (8). i. e. “Though Hochstrat was summoned several times according to custom, he did not appear. However the cause was tried and determined in Reuchlin’s favour; the judges declared that they did not find in his Book any error condemned by the Church, and that he did not favour the Jews more than was consistent with religion and justice; that he was therefore unjustly and falsely accused by the Divines of Cologne. But Hochstrat being guilty of the crime of contumacy or non-appearance, &c.” However the Divines of Cologne ordered Reuchlin’s book to be burnt. *Dum hæc aguntur Spiræ, Colonienfes nefario ausu librum Reuchlini damnant, citra tamen contumeliam, ut aiebant, & Februarii deinde mense anno supra millesimum quingentesimum decimo quarto exarunt, approbantibus factum Lovaniensf, Erphordenf, Moguntina, & Parisiensf Universitatibus* (9). i. e. Whilst the cause was depending at Spire, the Divines of Cologne, by a most villainous attempt, condemned Reuchlin’s book, without pretending however to cast a brand upon him*, and burnt his book in February 1514, the Universities of Lovain, Erford, Mentz and Paris

“approving their conduct.” But I observe this only occasionally; the chief thing I am to prove is, that this Monk pretended to be at once both the Judge and the accuser. He is charged with this in a Poem intitled *Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini* (10). i. e. “Doctor Reuchlin’s Triumph.”

Accusat Capionem & judicat idem Acer Hogstratus (11).

Sed neque perditior neque flagitiosior alter In Capiona fuit, tunc, cum tu perdit judex Leus, & abjurdis in litibus arbiter esses Idem accusator. Dic quo vesane pudorem Fert omnem tibi livor edax (12).

“The fierce Hochstrat impeaches, and at the same time pretends to judge Reuchlin . . . Nor was there ever a more wicked and profligate man than you, when you was chosen a Judge in these absurd controversies, being at the same time the accuser of Reuchlin. Tell me, outrageous man, what gnawing envy made you throw off all shame?”

[B] He impudently asserted Heresies in the very books in which he pretended to refute the Heretics.] We should see a catalogue of them, had we the book, with which Agrippa threatened the Dominicans (13): for here follows what he represents to the Magistrates of Cologne. *Unum tamen illum excipio, Jacobum Hochstratum, tunc Prædicatorum ordinis hæreticorum Mogistrum, vulgo & veraciter dictum, qui taliter scripsit contra Lutheranas hæreses, ut ipse se proderit hæreticorum omnium pessilentissimum. Sed ne quis vestrum, illius olim amicus, aut illius hypocrisis excæcatus, vel aliter deceptus, me non favore veritatis, sed aut invidia, aut alia offensa ista dicere putet, rem ipsam digito monstrabo. Nam in libro suo contra Lutheranos, quem Reverendissimo Cardinali ac Illustri Principi & Episcopo Leodiensf dedicavit, in illius lib. 2. disp. 3. paulo ante finem. 1. cap. sic ait: Scimus enim consecratione super debitam materiam ritè facta, Christum esse in Sacramento, non autem quòd sub hæc vel illa determinata hostia Christus contineatur (*). Neque tamen putetis, hæc solum articulum apud illum reperiri hæreticum, sed alii multi: quos cum his nimis longum, vobisque tædiosum foret referre, enumerabo alibi, in eo scilicet libro, quem de Fratrum Prædicatorum sceleribus* (14). i. e. “I except however one, namely, James Hochstrat, then commonly and with reason called the Master of the Order of the Predicant Heretics, who wrote against the Lutheran heresies in such a manner, as to shew himself the most dangerous of all Heretics. But lest any of you, who were formerly his friends, or might have been imposed upon by his hypocrisy, or otherwise deceived, should think that I speak this out of envy or resentment, I shall prove it most evidently. For in his book against Luther, which he dedicated to the most reverend Cardinal and illustrious Prince and Bishop of Liege, book 11. disp. 3, a little before the end of the first chapter, he speaks thus: *We know that when a proper matter is duly consecrated, Christ is in the Sacrament: but yet we do not know that he is actually present in this or that particular Host.* Do not imagine that this is the only heretical article to be met with in his works; there are a great many more, which it would be here too tedious to mention. But I shall give a particular account of them in another book of mine, which I have intitled, *An History of the Crimes and Heresies of the Predicant Fryars.*” See the following part of this passage in the remark [S] of the article AGRIPPA.

§ (*) Monsieur BAYLE has not observed all that, in Agrippa’s works, related to the Heresies, with which he charged his adversaries, and particularly Hochstrat. The same Agrippa, in the second chapter of his Apology against the Divines of Lovain, speaks thus. *Jam vero etiam nostro seculo dogmatizarunt Colonienfes Theologi, Aristotelem sic esse præcursorem Christi in naturalibus, quemadmodum*

(10) Mr. Major has inserted it in his Notes on Reuchlin’s Life, pag. 480, &c. The author of that Poem calls himself Eleutherius Byzerus.

(11) Annot. in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 485.

(12) Ibid. pag. 493.

(13) See the article AGRIPPA remark [S].

(14) Agrippa, Epist. 26. lib. 7. pag. 10. 17. This Letter is dated Jan. 11, 1533.

(4) Idem, ibid. folio D 4 verso.

(5) Reuchlin. Epist. ad Wimpelingum, apud Majum, Not. in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 391.

(6) Majus, in Vita Reuchlini, folio D 5.

(7) *Causa ad Leonem X devotata, qui eam Spiritensf Episcopo, Georgio Palatino Duci penitus committit.* Idem, ibid. folio D 5 verso. The author of the Bibliothecæ Universelle, tom. 8. pag. 501. imagined, that two persons were meant here, viz. the Bishop of Spire, and the Elector Palatine, whereas there is but one person.

(8) Majus in Vita Reuchlini, folio D 5.

(9) Idem, ibid.

* See the critical remark § β.

forced him once to give satisfaction to an honest man, whom he had calumniated ; but they could not oblige him to it, without making use of a very remarkable method ; which was, to deprive his whole convent of the benefit of begging [C]. He did not reap all the advantage which he expected from the action he brought in against Reuchlin ; he was obliged to go to Rome on account of this action ; and notwithstanding the large sums of money

quemadmodum Joannes Baptista in gratuitis. Jacobus Hochstratus in suo de invocatione Sanctorum libello, hæreticum pronunciauit ad Scripturam confugere : & alius quidam Theologus palam concionari non erubuit, consuetudinem potius sequendam esse quam Scripturam Diuinam, adhuc prænominatus Hochstratus Hæreticorum (ut vocant) Magister in opere suo contra Lutheranos, inquit in hæc verba : " Scimus enim consecratione super debita materia facta Christum esse in Sacramento, non autem quod sub hac vel illa determinata hostia Christus contineatur, quia, ut subdit, hæreticum est fidem infallibilem & infusam ad talia particularia per certitudinem extendere ;" eademque ratione concludit, credendum esse remissionem peccatorum in generali, neminem autem in particulari sibi esse peccata dimissa. An non est hoc vere magistrum Hæreticorum esse ? i. e. " The Divines of Cologne have even in this age publickly taught, that Aristotle was Christ's forerunner in natural things, even as John the Baptist was in things relating to the Gospel. James Hochstrat asserts, in his little book of the *Worship of Saints*, that it is an heresy to have recourse to the Scripture ; and another Divine was not ashamed to preach publickly, that we ought to conform to what is established, rather than to the holy Scripture ; and the same Hochstrat, the Master of the Heretics as he is called, speaks thus in his book against Luther. *We know that when a proper matter is duly consecrated, Christ is in the Sacrament ; but yet we do not know that he is actually present in this or that particular Host ; because, adds he, it is an heresy, to extend that infallible and infused faith to such determinate objects* : By the same way of reasoning he asserts, that we ought to believe the remission of sins in general, but that no person ought to believe that his sins, in particular, are forgotten. Is not this, being the Master of Heretics with a witness ?" R E M. CRIT.

[C] *The whole Convent was deprived of the benefit of begging.* It is in Erasmus's Letters that we meet with this curious particular. Count Nevenar, a man of a distinguished character who was learned himself and a patron of the learned, resented very much the slanders which James Hochstrat had published against him ; he omitted nothing to oblige that Divine to give him satisfaction : he made use of the strongest arguments ; the had recourse to advices, to reproaches, to threatenings ; but all in vain. At last he and his relations forbade all their tenants, to give the Dominicans eggs and cheese. The Fryars imagined that these would be but idle threatenings, and continued to go and beg upon these Gentlemens estates ; but they were most terribly repulsed ; so that they were for a whole year deprived of the sustentance they used to receive from that quarter. At last they obliged Hochstrat to give the Count satisfaction, by a solemn retraction, several copies of which were dispersed abroad. Erasmus, who had one, found something very comical in that retraction : for the Monk repeating word for word the reproaches with which he had loaded the Count of Nevenar, did yet protest that he always had a very good opinion of the Count (3). The reader will not be displeased to meet here with the Latin passage from Erasmus (15). *Hermannus Comes à Nova Aquila indigne tulerat se notatum ab Jacobo Hochstrato Dominicano. Is erat Rabinus, Prior Monasterii quod Colonie sanè quàm magnificum est & opulentum. Non potuit hominem comperere, donec illius cognati denuntiarint Dominicanis, ne posthac colligerent caseos in ulla ditone vel Comitibus cognatorum illius. Illi rati minas esse inanes, clam tentarunt solito more venire ad ova & caseos. Factus est in illos impetus terribilis. Hoc damno totum annum multati sunt ; itaque factum est, ut Jacobus à suis coactus pacis leges acceperit. Habeo illius palinodiam, in qua cum recitet verba plena contumelie quæ scripserat in Comitibus, tamen affirmat ac propemodum dejerat, se semper de Comite præclare sensisse (16). Bella palinodia, scurrâ quam Theologo dignior. Such a recantation became a buffoon rather than a Divine. Erasmus observes in*

another place, that it is to no purpose to argue with those, who persecute the *Belles Lettres* ; he meant chiefly the Monks and their favourers. These people, added he, are unconquerable, through the help of their factions, clamours, and artifices ; nothing but a stick and hunger can conquer them (17), and he quotes for an instance Count Nevenar's conduct with regard to James Hochstrat. *Isti numero, phalangibus, syncretismo, improbitate, clamoribus, adde si libet fucis ac malis artibus, prorsus inuicti sunt : Nec alia re quàm fustibus ac fame domari queunt. Sic vir clarissimus Hermannus à Novaquila Comes adegit Jacobum Hogestratum ad abjectionem & scurrilem palinodiam, cujus exemplar apud me est. Quibus, inquires, præsidii ? Non argumentis, non æquis rationibus, non monitis, non minis, non conviciis ; nihil enim eorum non frustra tentatum fuit. Sed quibus præsidii ? Caseis & ovis, quorum in ditone Comitibus colligendorum jus illis ademptum fuerat (18). i. e. " These men (the Monks) are unconquerable by their number, squadrons, union, wickedness, clamours, and, if you will, by their craft and artifices. Nor can they be turned but by blows and hunger. Thus the most eminent Herman, Count of Nevenar, forced James Hochstrat to make a mean and disgraceful recantation, a copy of which I have got. By what means, you will ask ? Not by arguments, nor good reasons, nor advices, nor threatenings, nor reproaches, though all this was tried, but to no purpose. By what means then ? By depriving the Convent of the right of going to beg for eggs and cheese in the Count's territories." Erasmus was in the right to observe that Count Nevenar had made use of reproaches. For can there be any thing stronger than these words ? *Unica, crede mihi, pestis est in Germania Jacobus Hochstratus, quam si restrinxeris isus wála malós. Homo præter ingentem suam audaciam insigniter impudens atque temerarius. Omnes interroga, si libet, per Germaniam doctos viros. Omnes lasti, omnibus æque infestus est (19). i. e. " Believe me, the only plague in Germany is James Hochstrat ; if you do but restrain him, all will be quiet ; for besides his excessive audaciousness, he is extremely impudent and indilcreet. Ask all the learned men in Germany many. He has abused them all, and is equally hated by all." This is what Count Nevenar represents to Charles V in an oration, in which he congratulates him, in the name of the Students in Germany, upon his accession to the Roman Crown ; that is, upon his being elected King of the Romans. He had exhorted him a little before to command the Monks not to meddle with any thing but the rules and ceremonies of their order. *Fraterculos quosdam magnis titulis insanientes, jube suorum Cœnobiorum curam gerere, jube domi Fratribus suis regendis operam impendere, sacris faciendis invigilare (20). i. e. " Bid those Monks, who grow mad through ambition, to take care of their Convent, to govern their brethren at home, and to apply themselves to their religious rites and ceremonies."***

§ (3) We have seen above, in the quotation (9), that when the Divines of Cologne condemned a certain work of Reuchlin to the flames, they inserted the following clause in their sentence ; *Citra tamen Autoris contumeliam*. i. e. " Without pretending to cast a brand upon the Author." And here, one of these same Divines, giving satisfaction to Count Nevenar, whom he had slandered in several libels, declares that he is so much the readier to take this step, as he always infinitely honoured and esteemed the Count. According to the notions which the Divines of Cologne and Hochstrat had, the conduct of the latter is not more inconsistent than that of the former : For it is grounded on an ancient custom established in all the Courts of Judicature in Germany, in which when the clause *Salvo honore*, i. e. " without prejudice to his reputation ;" is inserted in the sentence by which a man is condemned to pay any fine whatsoever, such a fine is not in the least disgraceful. R E M. CRIT.]

(15) Erasmi. Epist. 29. lib. 19. pag. 841.

(16) There is a more complete account of this in the 31st Letter of the 22d book, pag. 1096.

(17) We ought not to say of this kind of devils, that they do not go out but by prayer and fasting : leave out the prayer and mention only fasting.

(18) Erasmi. Ep. 1. lib. 20. pag. 953.

(19) Hermannus Nevenarius d. ann. 1519. in Comitibus Francofurtensibus Carolo Austriaco electo Romanorum Regi, nomine studiorum Germaniæ adgratularetur, apud Valer. Andream, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 413.

(20) Apud eundem. Val. Andream, ibid.

money he had provided himself with, he had all the trouble imaginable to avoid being condemned [D]. He was even in danger of his life on his return [E]; for Reuchlin's friends began already to make use of violent means against him. He deserved perhaps that

[D] He was obliged to go to Rome on account of the action he brought in against Reuchlin; and notwithstanding large sums of money... he had all the trouble imaginable to avoid being condemned.] I have observed

(21) In the remark [A].

(22) July 20, 1516. Not. in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 474.

(23) Majus, Not. in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 474, 475.

(24) Ibid. pag. 478, & seq.

(25) Ibid. pag. 477.

(26) See the article FOULQUES, remark [L].

(27) Hermannus Buschius Paphilus, in Epist. ad Reuchlin, apud Majum, Not. in Vit. Reuchlini, pag. 404.

(28) In the Dialogue intitled, Hochstratus O-vans, he is introduced speaking thus; Necessè habui vulgatam incedere viam, egerè literis commendatitii, pecuniis niti & largitionibus immodicis, ut magnè sunt opes nobis mendacia struere contra insentem, quæ non insolens, neque imperite confixi, atque baud diffidenter credita sunt Romanensibus. Apud Majum, ibid. pag. 465.

(29) He was President or Chairman of the Commission.

se palam omnibus Ecclesiam esse diſtant, sine se in rebus fidei Papam nihil decernere nec posse, nec debere, conclamant. Nihil hercle fecius aut honorificentius de Summo Pontifice loquuntur, quam de puero sub ferula adhuc vivente, cui nihil nisi ad pædagogii sui nutum integrum sit aut liberum loqui (30). i. e. "Sometimes they except

against Cardinal Grimani, as though he was an ignorant man; and sometimes they traduce him as though he had always been suspected of heresy. Besides, these most wicked men dare to boast openly, that if the cause be not determined at Rome on their side, they will separate from the Church and from the Pope. and raise a new schism. Others say, that whatever the Pope shall determine against them, will be void, and that he, who differs from them and from their opinion, is not to be held a Pope. Their blind and inconsiderate arrogance goes so far, that they are not ashamed to challenge the Pope himself as their enemy; they declare before all the world that they are the Church, and pretend that the Pope neither ought nor can determine any thing in matters of faith without their consent. Nay they speak as disrespectfully of the Pope, as of a school-boy, who is still under the rod, and who is not permitted nor free to speak any thing, but according to his master's will and pleasure."

[E] He was even in danger of his life on his return.] If he had not had notice beforehand of the ambuscade which the Reuchlinists had prepared for him, on the road from Nuremberg to Cologne, he would certainly have fallen into it; and even after he had notice of it, it would not have been in his power to escape the snare, had he not been provided with a safe conduct, which he obtained from the Marquess of Brandenburg. Mr. Majus confesses all this. Non tantum bonorum odium, says he (31), sed ingens præterea periculum sibi accessit, quod vix ac ne vix quidem evasit. Nam cum Roma discedens Noribergam iter fecisset, Coloniæ inde perreçturus, insidiæ ipsi à Reuchlinistis parabantur, quas, si præmonitus non fuisset, certe baud effugisset. Ac ne sic quidem excessisset, evasisset, nisi Marchionis Brandenburgensis salvo conductu à persequentibus tutus fuisset.

[F] It is not true that he met with the fate which Paul Jovius mentions.] He pretends that the satires which Reuchlin published against the barbarous stile of the Monks, vexed James Hochstrat to such a degree, that he died with grief; and that those satires obliged that Inquisitor's friends to apply, in their distress, to the Court of Rome, for a prohibition to sell and print those satires. Paul Jovius means the Obscurorum virorum Epistolæ: i. e. "The Letters of obscure men:" he pretends that Reuchlin is the author of them, and he gives us such a notion of them as is not very honourable to the Monks in general, and particularly to Reuchlin's persecutors. Admirabili facetiarum lepore conditæ, quibus ad excitandum risum, cucullatorum Theologorum ineptissimè, atque ideo ridiculè Latina lingua scribentium, stylum exprimitur. Ulciscatur enim insistanti nomini suo turbam, jactantissimo satyræ illudentis genere, quam maligna cucullatorum conspiratione tanquam Judæis parum æquus hostis, ac ex animo planè recutitus impietatis accusaretur (32). i. e. "These letters are written in the

most humorous and pleasant manner; for in order to make the reader laugh, the author has imitated the stile of the Monkish Divines, who write most sillily, and ridiculously in Latin. Thus he revenged himself of that whole tribe, who hate him, by a most agreeable kind of satire; for he had been represented by a wicked conspiracy of the Monks, as a man who played booty when he pretended to write against the Jews, being himself a Jew in heart." The best method to prove that this Historian is mistaken is, by observing that James Hochstrat survived Leo X and Reuchlin. It is therefore false, 1. that the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum having made this Inquisitor die with grief, his friends and accomplices petitioned Leo X to condemn that work. 2. That Reuchlin, in order to evade Leo X's prohibition, composed a second volume of letters sharper than the former, and published them with another title. Here follow

(30) Idem Buschius, in Epist. ad Reuchlin, apud Majum, ibid.

(31) Annot. in Vit. Reuchlini, pag. 477.

(32) Jovius, in Elegiis, cap. 143, pag. m. 285.

that kind of death, which, according to Paul Jovius, carried him off; but it is not true that he met with that fate which this Historian mentions [F]. He did not die with grief for being ridiculed in the satyrs of his adversaries. He was one of the first that wrote against Luther [G], and one of Erasmus's persecutors [H]. In a word, if a man was but an enemy of the unintelligible jargon of the schools, this was sufficient to draw upon him Hochstrat's indignation and anger. He died at Cologne in the year 1527 (d). There are several works of his extant, most of which relate to his controversies with Reuchlin and Luther. There was a very severe epitaph made upon him [I].

He

follow these two falsities of Paul Jovius. *Hic liber avide coemptus & vulgatus adeo graviter calumniatores ejus ordinis percussit, ut conjurationis princeps Hochstratus letali dolore faucibus interierit; & reliqui astuantes à Leone suppliciter impetrarunt, ut edito divendi, atque imprimi ceteretur; sed editi majestatem Reuchlinus falso ingenio ludificatus, secundum Epistoliarum volumen, tanquam ex titulo minime vetitum, altero quidem aculeatius impressoribus tradidit, ita ut cucullati miserè cum Hydra lucentes, animos in ea lite desponderint* (33). It will perhaps be objected that notwithstanding these two chronological errors, it may still be true, that the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* were the occasion of James Hochstrat's death. I answer, that absolutely speaking it is false that they produced that effect; for they were published at least ten years before this Monk's death. He died in the year 1527, and I have read in a letter dated August the 16th 1517 that Erasmus did very much dislike those letters (34). One might carry these critical observations still further, for it is very probable that they were written by Hutten (v) (35)

(31) Valer. And. Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 411. See the passage quoted from Erasmus in the remark [H].

(33) Idem, ibid.

(34) Marespere m. li. d. p. 10. Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum. Erasmi. Epist. ad Joann. Casarium, inserta Lamentationibus Obscurorum virorum, citante Majus, Notis in Vitam Reuchlini, pag. 425.

(35) Jacob. Thomisius in Præfatione ad Pauli Manutii Epistolæ certâ fide explorata se habere asserit, Hutterum esse earum auctorem. i. e. James Thomisius asserts in his Preface to his Notes on Manutius's Epistles, that he knows certainly that these Letters were written by Hutten.

(36) Majus, in Vita Reuchlini.

(* This is inconsistent with what is asserted by Erasmus himself above, quotation (34).

(§) Bibliothecæ Germanicæ, tom. 3. pag. 302.

(37) Maimbourg, Hist. du Luthéran. liv. 1. pag. 30. under the year 1513. He quotes Luth. contra Jac. Hyst. tom. 1.

I am less surprized that Paul Jovius committed these blunders, than to see that Mr. Majus has inserted them as unquestionable facts in his life of Reuchlin, and that he did not perceive he contradicted himself. He supposes that when the *Speculum Oculare* had been burnt at Cologne, Reuchlin finding himself attacked in several satyres, published, in order to revenge himself, those *Letters of obscure Men*, which soon occasioned James Hochstrat's death. *Hic liber adeo graviter calumniatores Colonienfes percussit, ut conjurationis caput Hochstratus PAULO POST letali dolore confectus faucibusque intumescere habere asserit* (36). i. e. "The slanderers of Cologne were so vexed at this book, that James Hochstrat, the chief promoter of the conspiracy, died SOON AFTER with grief." Mr. Majus relates afterwards that Reuchlin appealed to the Pope, and that James Hochstrat went to Rome on that account, and was like to fall into his enemies ambush on his return to Cologne.

(v) *The Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum were written by Hutten.* We are persuaded that the reader will not be displeas'd to meet here with a passage, which will acquaint them with the chief and true author of those letters. "All the world is acquainted with the book intitled *Epist. obs. Vir.* but men are not agreed about the person or persons to whom we are indebted for that satyr. It is generally believed that Ulric Hutten is the author of it; and it is true that he had a considerable share in them. But nobody ever thought of JOHN CROTUS, who was contemporary with Luther and his friend, and who afterwards returned into the pale of the Church of Rome, being persuaded to it by the Cardinal and Archbishop Albert. Mr. John Christopher Olearius has met with and just published a letter to this John Crotus: it was written to him since his last changing his religion; which is objected to him in an ironical manner, by one of his intimate friends, whose name is unknown. He wonders that the author of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum virorum* should have turned a Courtier to Albert, and a Protector of the Monks; he puts him in mind of the love he always had for that work, and adds that Erasmus esteem'd it so much, that he learnt two letters of it by heart (*). Mr. Olearius promises to publish John Crotus's life with his letters (§)." ADD. REM.]

[G] *He was one of the first that wrote against Luther.* He followed a wrong method, if we may credit Father Maimbourg, who asserts, that "what rendered Luther's cause more plausible still was, that James Hochstraten, a Dominican Inquisitor, writing against him, exhorted the Pope not to make use any more against such a wicked man of any argument but fire and sword, to rid the world the sooner of him (37)." I

shall now transcribe a passage from Valerius Andreas, which affords me at once both a proof of the assertion in my text, and a matter of censure. *Primo inter in Lutherum calamum strinxit: ob id tum ab hæreticis quos in primis oderat, tum etiam ab aliis vitæ atque ingenii liberioris, ut tunc tempora ferebant, scriptis laceffit, & nominatim à Joan. Reuchlino sive Capnione Epistolis quas obscurorum virorum titulo vulgavit* (38). i. e. "He is one of the first who exerted his pen against Luther; for which not only the heretics, whom he hated above any other men, but also some, whose life and genius was too free, as times went then, attacked him in their writings, and especially Reuchlin, in his *Letters of Obscure Men.*" The war which the Monks carried on against Reuchlin began before Luther ever attacked the indulgences, and ended of itself, when Luther declared against Rome. Reuchlin continued united with the strongest party, and never meddled with the Lutheran controversy. It is therefore absolutely false, that he abused Hochstrat in several satirical pieces, to punish him for being one of the first that wrote against Luther. The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* were published before the Protestant Reformation began. Whence it appears that Valerius Andreas is fully convicted of an anachronism. Let us observe that Hochstrat's exhortation to the Pope against Luther are a very evident proof of his passionate temper. Erasmus wrote a letter to him (39) in the year 1519, which abounds with very good advices concerning the inexcusable bitterness he met with in Hochstrat's writings against Reuchlin. Concerning Hochstrat's proceedings with regard to Luther, see Erasmus's letters (40).

[H] *And one of Erasmus's persecutors.* This is what we find in the following words (41). *Aliquot ex hostium numero perierunt: Lovanii Egmondanus Carmelita vomitu profocatus... Colonia perit Jacobus Hochstratus coryphæus hujus tragædiæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidisse parum sinceram conscientiam.* i. e. "Some of my adversaries are dead. Egmondanus the Carmelite was choaked in vomiting... At Cologne died James Hochstrat, the ring-leader of this tragical plot, who yet is said to have discovered by some words which he spoke, when he was dying, that he was not very sincere in his religion." Erasmus complains in the letter, in which he gives this inquisitor such good advice, that he had been abused by him, on account of his opinion concerning the dissolving of marriages (42).

[I] *There was a very severe epitaph made upon him.* Paul Jovius transcribes it. *Hochstrati autem tumulo, says he (43), hoc nobile carmen Capnionis puer affixit* (v).

*Hic jacet Hochstratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni.
Crescite ab hoc taxi, crescant aconita sepulcro:
Ausus erat, sub eo qui jacet, omne nefas.*

i. e. "Capnion's footman put the following noble epitaph on Hochstrat's tomb. *Here lyeth Hochstrat; when he was alive the wicked could bear with and suffer him, good men could not. Let Yew and Monksbane grow over his tomb: for he, who lyeth here, dared any wicked attempt.*"

§ (v) Reuchlin, as all the world knows, died in the year 1523. Now if the author of these verses, as it is here asserted, was actually Reuchlin's servant, when Reuchlin died, these verses could not be made upon Hochstrat's real death, which did not happen till the year 1527. But the truth of the matter with regard to this pretended epitaph is as follows. About the year 1515 was published in 4to the first volume of these famous *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, containing only forty one letters. The second edition also in 4to does not contain any more. But the third edition,

(38) Val. And. Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 412.

(39) It is the last of the 16th book.

(40) The 18th of the 26th book, pag. 1249.

(41) Erasmi. Epistol. lib. 19. pag. 829. It is dated in May 1527.

(42) See the pag. 740. of Erasmus's Letters, of the London edition.

(43) Jovius, in Elogiis, pag. 236.

He did not do the Divines of Paris much honour, when he published at Cologne the judgment they gave against Luther in the year 1521, concerning the false Dionysius Areopagita [K].

edition, which was also in 4to, and which, if we may judge of it by the letter it is printed in, was published soon after the two former, contains an *Appendix* of eight letters, the last of which, which is under the name of Hochstrat, and dated from Rome, contains four pasquils in the form of epitaphs made for himself; the first of four lines, the second and third of one distich each, and the fourth of four lines like the first. Now the pretended epitaph transcribed by Paul Jovius is nothing else but the second of these pasquils, to which are prefixed the two first lines of the fourth.

Some unknown persons, who, as Hochstrat relates in this epistle, met him one day in the streets of Rome, dropt a paper at his feet. He took it up, and found in it several fatyrical epitaphs upon his pretended death, from which epitaphs that, which Paul Jovius gives us, has been made up. So that it is so far from being true, that this epitaph was composed upon and after Hochstrat's death, that on the contrary it is only an imitation of the following one, which Politianus made against his enemy Mabilus Marullus:

*Fleat viator iter, sciet * nam patre Mabil
Hac fovea corpus conditur atque animus.*

i. e. "Go another way, traveller, for the stinking

"and rotten corps of Mabilus lyeth here in this grave
"with his soul."

This epitaph of Mabilus, who yet survived Politianus, is to be found amongst the latter's poems; and the reason which Monsieur Bayle gives for it, is, that *one may abuse a man so outrageously in an epitaph, and meet with such a fruitful field that way, that several Poets have falsely supposed their adversary's death, that they might make an advantage of this common topic.* This reflexion, which Mr. Bayle makes in the remark [O] of the article POLITIANUS, gives us the key of this pretended epitaph, *Hic jacet Hochstratus, &c.* which as we have observed, was written ten years, more or less, before Hochstrat's death, and in the heat of his controversy with Reuchlin. CRIT. REM.]

[K] He published at Cologne the judgment of the Divines of Paris... concerning the false Dionysius Areopagita. It was in the year 1521. You will meet with this judgment in the second volume of Luther's works, of the Jena edition. You may also meet with other editions of it. Father Nourri was therefore in the wrong to imagine, that he published it for the first time, when he inserted it in his *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam veterum Patrum*, in the year 1624 (44).

(44) See the *Acta Eruditor.* of Leipzig; the 2d vol. of the *Suppl.* pag. 737.

HODGES (NATHANIEL), an eminent English Physician in the seventeenth Century, was son of Dr. Thomas Hodges Vicar of Kensington near London, and Dean of Hereford [A]. He was educated at Westminster school, and became a Student of Christ Church in Oxford in the year 1648 by the favour of the Visitors (a). February the 13th 1651 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b); May the 31st 1654 that of Master of Arts (c); and June the 4th 1659, accumulated the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Physic (d). Upon his settling in London he gained a very considerable practice; and continued there during the plague in 1665; an account of which he published in Latin in 1672 [B]. April the 2d the same year he was chosen Fellow of the College of Physicians at London (e). Besides the treatise abovementioned he published at London 1660 in 8vo another intitled, *Vindiciæ Medicinæ & Medicorum: An Apology for the Profession and Professors of Physick, &c.* In the latter part of his Life he fell into very unfortunate circumstances, and was confined for debt in Ludgate-prison, where

[A] Son of Dr. Thomas Hodges Vicar of Kensington near London, and Dean of Hereford. This Dr. Hodges was a Preacher some time before the Long-Parliament, and was afterwards a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and took the Covenant (1). After the Restoration he became Vicar of St. Peter's Cornhill, and in 1661 Dean of Hereford in the room of Dr. Herbert Crofts, made Bishop of that Sec. He held this Deanery to his death, and was succeeded in it by Dr. George Benson, in 1672. He hath extant, I. *A Glimpse of God's Glory*, a sermon preached before the House of Commons at a solemn Fast, September 28, 1642, on *Psal.* cxliii. 5, 6. London, 1642, in 4to. II. *The Growth and Spreading of Heresy*, a fast Sermon before the House of Commons, March 10, 1646, on *Pet.* ii. 1. London, 1647, in 4to. III. *Inaccessible Glory: or the Impossibility of seeing God's face whilst we are in the body*; a Sermon preached at the funeral of Sir Theodore de Mayerne, in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, on Friday the 30th of March 1655, on *Exod.* xxxiii. 20. London, 1655, in 4to.

[B] An account of which he published in Latin, in 1672. It was printed at London in 8vo, under the title of *ΔΟΙΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ; sive Pestis nuperæ apud Populum Londinensem grassantis Narratio Historica.* Authore Nathanelio Hodges, M. D. & Colleg. Londin. London; 1672, in 8vo. The Dedication to Sir George Ent, President, Dr. Baldwin Hamsey, Dr. Francis Gliffon, Dr. Alexander Fraiser, Dr. Timothy Clerke, Dr. John Micklewait, Sir Charles Scarborough, and Dr. G. Bevoir, Fellows of the College of Physicians, is dated from his house in the parish of St. Stephen's Walbrook, January 1, 1672. There are prefixed to it commendatory Poems in Latin by Henry Bagshaw, D. D. John Lawson, M. D. and Adam Littleton, D. D. A translation of it into English was printed at London

in 1720, in 8vo, under the following title: *Loimologia: or an Historical Account of the Plague in London in 1665, with precautionary Directions against the like Contagion.* By Nath. Hodges, M. D. and Fellow of the College of Physicians, who resided in the City all that time. To which is added an Essay on the different Causes of Pestilential Diseases, and how they become contagious. With Remarks on the Infection now in France, and the most probable Means to prevent its spreading here. By John Quincy, M. D. Dr. Quincy in the Preface observes, that this treatise of Dr. Hodges "contains the best account of the late visitation by the Plague here in England, of any hitherto extant; and though some readers may indeed observe, that the enthusiastic strain of the preceding times very much hurts his style and perspicuity; such an influence had the spirit of delusion, even over matters of science; however the affected peculiarities and luxuriations of that kind are here avoided. . . . As for what every person may do for his private safety, I have given several additional hints, either fuller or plainer than Dr. Hodges hath done. And because his antidotes and precautionary medicines are now obsolete, and not by much so elegant or easy to be procured, as the present practice and shops do supply, I have added some *Formulae* to be complied with or altered, as different exigencies and better judges may think fit." In a tract intitled, *A Collection of very valuable and scarce Pieces relating to the last Plague in the year 1665*, printed at London 1721, in 8vo, there is published *An Account of the first Rise, Progress, Symptoms, and Cure of the Plague: being the Substance of a Letter from Dr. Hodges to a person of Quality*: Dated from his house in Watlin-street, May 8, 1666.

H;

where he died in 1684. His body was interred in the Church of St. Stephen's Walbrook London, where a monument is erected to him. The Author of the *Preface to A Collection of very valuable and scarce pieces relating to the last plague in the year 1665*, printed at London 1721 in 8vo stiles our author a faithful Historian and diligent Physician, and tells us, that "he may be reckoned among the best observers in any age of Physic, and "has given us a true picture of the plague in his own time."

(a) Postea oribodoxa id sibi vindicavit Ecclesia, siquidem parentum cura frugis bonæ adolescens purioris aëris, hoc est fidei bauriendæ gratia, ad loca Evangelicæ ablegatus. Spizelius, in Templo Honoris referato, pag. 165.

HOE (MATTHIAS), a famous Lutheran Minister, was born at Vienna in the year 1580. He was sent so young to some Protestant College (a), that he found himself a Lutheran, before he had ever considered that he was born in the Church of Rome. He studied Divinity at Wittenberg, and as soon as the year 1602 he was called to the Court of Saxony to preach before the Elector. The next year they committed to his care the management of some churches in the Voigtländ; and after he had continued eight years in that post, he was sent to Prague in the year 1611, to be Superintendent of the German Churches there. Two years after he was again called to the Court of Saxony, and raised to the dignity of Ecclesiastical Counsellor and first Preacher to his Highness. He continued in these employments the remainder of his life, and died March the 4th 1645. He had taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Wittenberg in the year 1604. His marriage which lasted forty three years, and from which issued six sons and four daughters, made him full amends for all the vexations he might have from other quarters [A]. He was a Gentleman born (b); and his pen was so warlike, that it sufficiently shewed he did not degenerate. He published a great many books (c), some in Latin, the others in German. He would not in the least consent to a reunion of the Protestant Churches [B]. But it is laid to his charge, that for a sum of money he procured a reunion of some Princes of the Empire with the Emperor [C], to the great prejudice of the Protestants. What he published on the Revelation of St. John seems to be written by a man of a very turbulent spirit [D].

(b) Taken from Henning. Witte, Memor. Theol. renovat. pag. 1014, & seq.

(c) See the Catalogue of them apud eundem, pag. 1021.

I imagine that he was more sorry to see the Elector Palatine raised to the Throne of Bohemia,

[A] His marriage . . . made him full amends for all the vexations he might have from other quarters.] I have put the most favourable construction upon Witte's Latin words; for as they are a little dark, one might imagine his meaning was, that Matthias Hoe's marriage was so happy, that it afforded him more pleasures than vexations (1). This would be lessening the joys of that match. I choose therefore to follow the other interpretations, which is, that the advantages of it being put in the scale, with all the vexations to which the husband was otherwise exposed, the former would outweigh the latter: So that his dear spouse comforted him under all the vexations and all the troubles he had to encounter. He would therefore have deserved to be very much pitied, had he been a single man.

(1) Illius amore & convictu suavissimo totis visceribus nostris tribus & quadraginta annis, ut multo plura haberet de quibus gaudium quam dolorem conciperet. Henning, Witte, Memor. Theol. renovat. p. 1018.

[B] He would not in the least consent to a reunion of the Protestant churches.] Gustavus, a little before his death, had called together a number of Lutherans and Calvinists at Leipsic, in order to procure an agreement and reunion between them. The regard they paid to this Prince's authority made them separate in a friendly manner, and with great hopes of a peace; but his death made all their hopes vanish away. However Dury continued to use his best endeavours to procure the reunion, and went to Frankfort when the Protestants were met. But hereupon came a very passionate letter from Hoe against the Reformed, which did a great deal of harm. It is Grotius that acquaints us with this. *Rex Sueciæ magnus Gustavus . . . non multum ante mortem Lipsiæ conventum instituerat utriusque sententiæ Protestantium . . . Effecit sua auctoritate ut amice discederetur cum magna spe restituendæ unitatis. Sed tristis exitus tanti Regis sulubre hoc ceptum interfecit. Neque tamen defuit ejusdem negotii commendator ex Anglia Duræus, multorum Angliæ antistitum instructus literis, qui Francofurtum an Mænam venerat eo ipso tempore, cum ibi conventus Ordinum Protestantium haberetur. Sed rem per se difficilem implicatiorem etiam reddidit doctoris Hoi ex Aula Saxonica responsum immite in eos quos Calvinianor vocat (2). The Doctors of the Augsborg Confession infinitely extol the vigilance and care, with which he opposed the least innovation. They even assert that he exposed himself thereby to very great dangers. *In solis radiis pridem scriptum arbitror quos ille tuendæ fidei gratia pertulerit labores, quibus cum difficultatibus sit consuetatus, quæ subierit pericula, dum quidvis fatius censebat, quam ut quicquam in Germania de Evangelicæ Religionis integritate (quæ adversarum partium promachi contaminare sunt ausi) decederet ac minueretur (3). i. e. "I believe that all**

(2) Grotius, Ep. 414. Part 1. pag. 165.

(3) Spizelius, in Templo Honoris referato, pag. 165, 166. Henning, Witte, Memor. Theol. pag. 1016.

"the world has known this a great while, what pains he took to defend the faith, how many difficulties he had to struggle with, to what dangers he was exposed. for he would have done any thing rather than consent that the Evangelical Religion, which the ringleaders of the adversaries dared to defile, should suffer the least detriment in Germany."

[C] It is laid to his charge, that for a sum of money he procured a reunion of some Princes of the Empire with the Emperor.] In the year 1635 the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, made a treaty with the Emperor, and engaged in his party against the Crown of Sweden. This was the proper method to ruin all that Gustavus had done in Germany for the advantage of the Protestant Religion. It was thought, that the Emperor had sent a round sum of money to Dr. Hoe, to persuade him to remove all the difficulties and scruples, which such a peace might have raised in his mind. Puffendorf, whose words I quote, is my voucher. *Arguebatur quoque Saxonicus Theologus Matthias Hoë decem uncialium millia à Casare accepisse, eximendis Principis sui animo serupulis, quos alias facile ista pax generare poterat (4).*

(4) Puffendorf. Rer. Suecicar. lib. 7. pag. 123. See the Biblioth. Universelle, tom. 3. pag. 458.

[D] What he published on the Revelation of St. John seems to be written by a man of a very turbulent spirit.] We ought not in the least to doubt, considering what temper he was of, but his Commentaries on the Apocalyp were designed to raise a general war against the Church of Rome; that is to say, to lay all Europe under the most terrible distress that can befall it. However it be, the Bishop of Meaux (*) reckons him (*) Bossuet amongst those interpreters of the Apocalyp, who have no other design but to sound the trumpet of war. "The Lutherans, says he (5), were not more moderate than the Calvinists; and the chief Preacher at the Elector of Saxony's Court, named Matthias Hoe, published at Francfort (†) a book, the title of which was, *The Condemnation and final Destruction of the prostitute, the Roman Babylon, or the Fifth book of a Commentary on the Revelations.* The book itself does not betray less passion than the title; and "this is, what was dispersed through Germany, and "in the North." The Bishop of Meaux has extracted this from a letter written by an Arminian Minister, from which I shall transcribe a passage, because it contains several other particulars proper for this article. "I have the Catalogue of the books that were to be "sold at the last fair at Frankfort: it contains a great "many polemical books against Popery, and amongst "others one with this title: *Judicium & excidium Meretricis*

(5) In his Explication de l'Apocalypse, pag. 2. of the Advertisement, Dutch edition.

(†) It was printed at Leipsic.

Bohemia, than to see him a fugitive after the battle of Prague; for it appears from a letter he wrote to a Lord of that country, that he did not like the project of giving the Crown of Bohemia to that Elector, and that he looked upon Calvinism as a kind of Antichrist, not much better than the Popish Antichrist [E].

“ *Meretricis Babylonæ Romanæ, seu Commentariorum in Apocalypsin S. Johannis liber sextus, auctore Matthia Hobe Doctore Theologo. Lipsiæ in 4to.* This Hoe is the chief Preacher at the Elector of Saxony’s Court; he is of a noble family of Austria, and has been long ago suspected of being secretly a Papist. I wonder that at this time, and in the present situation of public affairs, he should think it proper to write against Popery in so smart and odious a stile, especially, since the Elector of Saxony always endeavoured to preserve the Emperor’s good will towards his house (6).” Hoe began his work on the Revelation in the year 1610 (7), and finished it in the year 1640. It contains eight books, which have been reprinted at Leipzig, in Folio, in the year 1671. One will never be able to prevent factions and turbulent men from making a wrong use of the dark and difficult passages in St. John’s Revelation, with a design to raise a war. They do not like peace; they long for war; in which they run not the least danger themselves, and find means to make themselves necessary. It is not improbable, but they, that are at the helm, find their account in such turbulent men; they look upon them as proper persons to rouse the people’s spirits and hopes, by putting sometimes one sense and then another upon the prophecies, according as the state of the public affairs requires it. Such turbulent men are indeed to be dreaded, and therefore their masters shew some regard for them.

[E] It appears from a letter he wrote . . . that he looked upon Calvinism as a kind of Antichrist, not much better than the Popish Antichrist.] This Letter has been printed. Read the following passage from the Memo-

rabilia Ecclesiastica, or Remarkable Events in the Church, during the XVIIth Century. Cum in eo essent occupati Bohemæ Proceres, Legatis Moraviæ, Silesiæ & Lusatiæ præsentibus, ut Fridericum quintum, Electorem Palatinum, sacris Calvinianis addictum, in Regem suum eligerent, Mathias Hœ, t. i. Concionator Aulicus Dresdenfis, Epistolam sub 23. Aug. scripsit ad Joachimum Andream Slikium, qua (postmodum typis excusa) vir celeberrimus fidelissimè monuit, ut quid, præsertim intuitu religionis, Ordines isti facerent, facere saltem deberent, probe perpendant. Inter alia spiritum Calvinisticum appellans Anti-Christum Orientalem, atque componens cum Occidentali, ut non multò meliorem, allegante Hoornbeekio in Summa Controversiarum religionis, libro nono de Luberanis p. m. 699. i. e. “When the States of Bohemia were deliberating, before the Embassadors of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, about raising to the throne the Elector Palatine Frederic V, who was a zealous Calvinist, Matthias Hœ, at that time Preacher to the Court at Dresden, wrote about the 23d of August, a Letter to Joakim Andrew Slikius, which has since been printed; in this Letter that most celebrated man advised the States duly to weigh and consider whatever they should do, or at least ought to do, especially with regard to religion. Amongst other things, he called the Calvinistical spirit the Eastern Antichrist, and compared it with the Western Antichrist, as not being much better, as Hoornbeek relates, in his Sum of Religious Controversies, book the IXth, of the Lutherans, p. 699.” It is probable that the Author I quote did not see that Letter, since he mentions it only upon Hoornbeek’s credit.

(6) Charles de Nielles, in his Letter to Uytendogaerd, dated from the Castle of Louvestein, June the 3d 1628. It is the DCXXXVII in the folio edition of the Epistola Ecclsi. & Theol.

(7) He published then the 1st book; the last was printed in the year 1640. See Spizelius, in Templo Honoris referato, pag. 171.

(a) He is always called Hoelzlin in his Funeral Oration.

HOELZLIN (a) (JEREMY) Greek Professor in the University of Leyden, was born at Nuremberg. He applied himself with so good a success to the Greek and Latin Tongues at Augsburg, that he excelled all his school-fellows in both these Languages. He afterwards studied Philosophy in the University of Altorf. His method of studying, differed very much from that of the other students; he did not much mind what was read in the public Lectures; but as he understood the Greek tongue very well, he would read the original authors themselves, and the ancient interpreters of Aristotle, as Themistius, Alexander of Aphrodisium, Symplicius, Ammonius, &c. He did not study Aristotle only, he applied himself also to understand Plato, and was a great admirer of the Stoics. After he had spent eight years in this kind of study, he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and applied himself to the study of Divinity, and of the Hebrew Tongue. He was afterwards Rector or Principal of a College at Amberg in the upper Palatinate. He was forced to leave that place, and to retire to Bremen, having been robbed of the best part of all he had in the world. Count Bentheim designed to make him Principal of his College at Rhede, but dying immediately, the City of Ham offered our Hoelzlin the like employment. But as the Emperor’s soldiers were committing very great disorders in that country, he would not expose himself to their outrages. He looked therefore for a more secure harbour, and found it in Holland. He retired to Leyden, where he published a Translation of the Psalms, which was judged to be accurate. The University did him the honour to retain him, when he was called to Middleburg and to the Brill [A]. They judged him worthy to appear on a greater stage, and raised him to the Professorship of the Greek Tongue, which Vossius had lately resigned. He undertook to translate Apollonius Rhodius [B], and notwithstanding his distempers he

[A] He was called . . . to the Brill.] He was actually Rector of the College of the Brill, if we may depend upon Vossius, whose words I am so much the more ready to transcribe, as they want to be corrected, since the surname of our author has been wretchedly corrupted, not without a very gross solecism. Vossius had just been observing, that Anthony Æmilius refused the Professorship of the Greek tongue, which the Curators of the University of Leiden had offered him; then he adds: Arbitror professionem eam deinceps offerendam Mag. Jeremia Hoelzlin quondam correctori Ambergensis Gymnasii Electoralis Collegæ Beckmani: nunc Brilana est Scholæ Rector. Vir est moribus simplex, sed trium linguarum & Philosophiæ admodum gnarus (1). i. e. “I believe that this Professorship ought next

to be offered to Jeremy Hoelz (Hoelzlin), formerly Sub-Principal in the Electoral College at Amberg, and Beckman’s colleague; and now Rector of the College at the Brill; he is a very plain man in his way of living, but very well skilled in three languages and in Philosophy.”

[B] He undertook to translate Apollonius Rhodius.] The edition of this Poet, with Hoelzlin’s Translation and Commentary, was published at Leiden in the year 1641 by Elsevir, ex Officina Elseviriana. Mons. Menage gave it in a very indifferent character (2) He transcribes first these words of Monsieur Baillet. There are ancient scholia extant upon Apollonius . . . the new edition, which Jeremy Hoelzlin published of this Poet is esteemed by some; but others do not value it much more than

* It should have been Hoelzlin.

(1) Vossius, Ep. 148. ad Joann. Musonium, pag. 181. edit. Lond. 1693. This Letter is dated the 30th of August 1631.

(2) Anti-Baillet, tom. 1. pag. 389.

he completed it, having put the finishing hand to it six days before he died. He was dropical, and so weak, that he was not able to write any more; and yet he took this work so much to heart, that he dictated to another what he thought necessary to complete it. He died January the 25th 1641. He had been married a long while (b), but never had any children: upon which account they congratulate him in his funeral oration, because of the troubles and difficulties he met with, when the rage of the war forced him to leave his country (c).

(b) He married a Minister of Nuremberg's daughter.

(c) Taken from his Funeral Oration, delivered by Anthony Thyseus.

than several of those which are called Variorum. Monsieur Menage answers afterwards what relates to the Scholia or notes; and then he continues thus. "As for Jeremy Hotzlin, he is a wretched writer. He abounds with Hebraisms; he affects to make use of obsolete words, and invents new ones. I shall observe here by the by, that he mentions Conrad Ritterhusius as his patron. *Conradus Ritterhusius, sanctissimus ille Juris interpret & vindex, idemque patronus olim meus, insigniter pius & constans animus* (3). i. e. Conrad Ritterhusius, that most honest interpreter and asserter of the Law, formerly my

(3) It should be amicus.

patron, and my most affectionate and constant friend." He speaks thus in page 115. There are "at the end of his Apollonius some notes of Mr. Holstenius, which are very judicious." It is observed in Hoelzlin's Funeral Oration, that when he was at Altorf he had a great share in the friendship of Scipio Gentilis, Michael Picard, Conrad Ritterhusius, and Daniel Swenferus; and that as they wrote some Greek and Latin verses in his praise, he did the same in theirs; and that some of these verses have been printed. *Cum quibus Græcis Latinisque carminibus certabat, quorum non pauca in lucem venerunt.*

HOESCHELIUS (DAVID) born at Augsburg April the 14th 1556, was a very learned man. The public is indebted to him for the editions of several ancient Greek authors [A]. He spent all his life-time in teaching the youth in the College of St. Ann, of which he was made Principal in the year 1593 by the Magistrates of Augsburg. They made him also their Library-keeper, and the care he took to enrich their Library cannot be sufficiently commended [B]. He was very well acquainted with the best manuscripts and with the best editions, and he took care that the manuscripts, which were bought for the ornament of that Library, should not lie buried there as a treasure hid under ground; he published the most scarce and curious of them, to which he added his own notes. He made very good scholars, and drew a great number of students to Augsburg (a) [C]. He died there in the year 1617. I shall relate what Scaliger said of him [D]. Monsieur Huet has commended our Hoeschelius, not only for the care he took

(a) Taken from Spizelius, in *Templo honoris referato*, pag. 328. and from Freher. *Theatr.* p. 1512, 1512.

[A] The public is indebted to him for the editions of several ancient Greek authors.] He published Origen's eight books against Celsus, in Greek and Latin, at Augsburg, in the year 1603 in 4to. The wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, or the Ecclesiasticus, in Greek and Latin, with notes, at Antwerp in the year 1604. Photius's Bibliotheca in Greek with notes, at Augsburg, in the year 1601, in folio. Procopius's History in Greek, with notes, in the same City, in the year 1607, in folio. These two last had never been printed before. *Geographica aliquot excellentissimorum Auctorum Marciani, Scylacis, Artemidori, Dicæarchi.* i. e. "The Geographical Works of some of the most eminent Authors, as Marcianus, Scylax, Artemidorus, Dicæarchus;" at Augsburg, in the year 1600, in 4to. Three or four treatises of Philo. *Eclogæ Legationum Dexippi Atheniensis, Eunapii, P. Patricii, Prisci Sophistæ, Malchi Philad. Menandri, cum excerptorum corollis à libris Diodori Siculi amissis.* i. e. "A choice Collection of the Embassies of Dexippus the Athenian, Eunapius, P. Patricius, Priscus the Sophist, Malchus Philad. Menander; with some extracts from Diodorus Siculus's books which are lost." At Augsburg, in the year 1603, in 8vo. Some treatises of the ancient Fathers, &c.

[B] The care he took to enrich their library cannot be sufficiently commended.] Spizelius acquaints us with this in the following Latin passage; in which the reader will see, that Anthony Eparchus Bishop of Corfu had made a collection of excellent manuscripts, which fell into Hoeschelius's hands. *Cum insuper celebratissimæ Bibliothecæ Augustanæ administratio ipsi esset demandata, omni virium nisu ejus procuravit incrementum, nec ulli parcens labori, libros excusos pariter ac manuscriptos, maxime Græcos, melioris item notæ auctores, ac librorum editiones acquisivit, sicque Bibliothecam Augustanam veluti publicum aliquod Ærarium instruxit ad omnium promiscue indigentiam sublevandam. Et cum rarissimorum Codicum MSS. Græcorum, magno ære ab Antonio Eparcho Episcopo Corcyrensi coemptorum copiam esset consecutus, maximam curam adhibuit, ne thesaurus iste librarius in arcanis Bibliothecæ hujus recessibus veluti in perpetuo quodam custodiretur carcere, sed in publicam etiam lucem magno cum totius Reipublicæ literariæ bono & comodo prodiret* (1). i. e. "When besides this the most famous library of Augsburg was committed to his care,

(1) Spizelius, in *Templo Honoris referato*, pag. 330.

"he did all that lay in his power to increase it; nor did he spare any labour to make a collection both of printed books and of manuscripts, especially in the Greek tongues, as also of the best authors and of the best editions; thus he made the library of Augsburg a kind of public treasury to assist all those that wanted to consult it. And when he had procured the collection of the most scarce Greek manuscripts, bought for a large sum of money by Anthony Eparchus Bishop of Corfu, he took a great deal of care that this treasure should not lie useless and buried in some corner of the library as in a perpetual prison, but be published for the good, benefit, and use of the learned." The catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in that library, composed by Hoeschelius, and published in the year 1595, is a masterpiece in its kind (2).

(2) See Colomies, *Bibliob. Cboisic*, pag. 194.

[C] He made very good scholars, and drew a great many students to Augsburg.] I shall again make use of Spizelius's expressions. *Quam præclare, says he (3), quamque feliciter demandatæ sibi functioni satisfecerit, plurimi testari possunt viri eruditi qui à variis Germaniæ, Italiæ, Belgicæ civitatibus Hoeschelii gratia Augustam se contulerunt, quibus viri hujus institutione uti, inque Lingua Græca proficere curæ & cordi fuit. Vere de illo dici potest, quod*

(3) Spizelius, in *Templo Honoris referato*, pag. 329, 330.

*Mille foro dedit juvenes, bis mille ministrum
Adjecit numero purpureaque togæ.*

i. e. "How nobly and successfully he acquitted himself of his functions, can be testified by those learned men, who for his sake came to Augsburg from several cities in Germany, Italy and the Low Countries, and who were willing and took care to improve by his lectures, and to learn the Greek tongue from him. So that we may truly say of him, that he provided the Bar with a thousand young men, and furnished the Church with two thousand."

The Sieur Colomies names some travellers, who were extremely well pleased with him (4).

(4) *Biblioth. Cboisic*, pag. 195.

[D] I shall relate what Scaliger said of him.] Hoeschelius, a Lutheran, but a learned man: if Velfer did not support him, they would by this time have deprived and banished him. He is a great pedant,

took to discover old manuscripts, but also for his skill and ability in translating them (b).

(b) Huetius, *de Claris Interpret.* pag. 229. See also Colomiés, *Bibliob. Cboisfe*, pag. 194. of the 1st edition, and pag. 202. of the second edition.

“ pedant, but a very good man. Scaliger sent him his copy of Procopius; but he got a more compleat one from the Library of Bavaria. Hoefchelius has printed in his Procopius some parts of my letters, and one of those of Casaubon. He is about publishing Orogen . . . Hoefchelius non est magnus Græcus, sed diligentissimus (5). i. e. “ Hoefchelius is no great Grecian, but a very studious man.”

(5) In Scaligeran secundis, pag. the 112.

(a) He succeeded to Tilemannus Heshufius in the year 1588. Melch. Adam, in *Vit. Theol.* pag. 622.

HOFFMAN (DANIEL) Superintendent and Professor at Helmstädt (a), was the head of a Theological party [A], which occasioned some troubles towards the end of the sixteenth Century. He raised difficulties against the formulary of union, which was to be subscribed by all the Divines, and instead of concurring with Doctor John Andreas to support that formulary, he had recourse to captious distinctions. He would not admit the doctrine of Ubiquity, but only of Christ's presence in several places. This controversy, which did not last long, left people's minds inclined to a division [B]. So that there was sometime after a controversy carried on with very much heat, Hoffman still being at the head of a party. Amongst other questions, they disputed concerning the use of Philosophical principles in Divinity; and it is remarkable that the Professors of Philosophy declared for the party which was the most favourable to the Orthodox [C], Daniel

[A] He was the head of a theological party.] This was the thirteenth schism that rose in the Lutheran Church. *Decimi tertii schismatis autores Helmstadienses, interque eos præcipui Heshufius & Hoffmannus, pessimo exemplo extiterunt. Formula enim concordie cum subscribendum, & Apologia conscribenda esset, illi, livore dicam an protervia, pium J. Andreæ conatum spernentes, cum Christum exaltatum omnibus rebus ob realem idioma-communicationem deberent dicere præsentem, multi-præsentiam ejus saltem defendebant* (1). i. e. “ The seventeenth schism was occasioned by the Divines of Helmstädt, and especially by these two ringleaders, Heshufius and Hoffman: which was of very dangerous consequence. For when the formulary of union and concord was to be subscribed, and an apology for it published, they, either out of spite, or out of arrogance, making no account of John Andreas's pious endeavours, maintained only that Christ is present in several places, whereas they should have acknowledged, that Christ since his exaltation is present every where, because of the communication of the attributes and properties of his two natures.” The Jesuit Adam Contzen observes under the year 1584, that Hoffman's adversary was Henry Julius Duke of Brunswick's preacher (2), and that this Prince being Administrator of the Bishopic of Halberstädt, commanded both parties to be quiet. See also what he observes in the year 1592.

(1) Micrælius, *Synagm. Histor. Eccles.* lib. 3. Sect. 2. pag. 871. edit. 1679.

(2) Hinc factum ut Daniel Hoffmannus Superintendens & Professor Helmstadiensis, & Basilii Staterus Henrici Julii Ducis Brunsvicensis concionator aulicus, graviter inter se de hoc dogmate contenderent. Adamus Contzen, in *Jubilæo Jubilarum*, pag. 234. See also pag. 236.

[B] . . . This controversy . . . left people's minds inclined to a division.] The first author I have quoted in the following remark proceeds thus: *Sed in cineribus suffocata est controversia, cui utinam fomes novus postea non esset questus! Sopita jaceat cum altera illa, qua de resurrectione impiorum quærebatur, an virtute meriti Christi futura sit, necne? ut & cum illa, qua quærebatur, an semper in forma syllogistica disputari debeat: & cum aliis questionibus vexatis, de philosophiæ usu & abusu* (3). i. e. “ But this controversy was soon suppressed; and would to God, that new disputes had not been raised afterwards! With this controversy let that also rest, which arose concerning the resurrection of the wicked, whether or not it will happen by vertue of Christ's merit? And that other question, whether or not we must always argue in form, and by syllogism? And those thread-bare disputes concerning the use and abuse of Philosophy.”

(3) Micrælius, *Synagm. Hist. Eccles.* pag. 871.

[C] The Professors of Philosophy declared for the party, which was the most favourable to the Orthodox.] This is the character, which James Thomafius gives them in one of his Prefaces. *Celebris est, says he (4), quæ parentum nostrorum memoria Juliam concussit Academiam, Hofmanniana controversia, finiente seculo proximè præterito cæpta, ineunte hoc nostro seculo non sine Philosophorum, qui tum ab ðððððius partibus stabant, laude sopita. De qua nihil addam, tum quod ob recentiorum memoriam nemini res est ignota . . . tum maxime, quod in persona Theologi unius alteriusve inconsiderati, sanctissime scientiæ parcendum esse omnino existimo.* i. e. “ The

(4) Thomafius, *Prefat.* 42. pag. 244.

University of Helmstädt has been troubled in our father's time by the famous Hoffmannian controversy, which began in the latter end of the last century, and was happily suppressed in the beginning of this; the Professors of Philosophy gaining a great reputation by declaring for the Orthodox. I shall not say any thing more of this controversy, both because it is so modern, that all the world is sufficiently acquainted with it . . . and because I am of opinion that we ought to have that regard for the most sacred science, as not to expose it, in the person of two or three inconsiderate Divines.” He examines in this discourse whether the same proposition can be true in Philosophy, and false in Divinity, as some persons pretended; and he observes, that amongst those, who dared to assert such a paradox, some were driven to it by an excessive respect for Aristotle, and others by an immoderate hatred for that Philosopher; these last were the Divines. *Ad Theologos venio, è diverso planè affectu idem dogma defensantes. Non enim amore, sed odio Aristotelis, non veneratione, sed dedignatione Philosophorum, in istam temeritatem, ne quid gravius dicam, præcipitanti junct* (5). i. e. “ I come now to the Divines, who asserted the same doctrine, namely, that the same proposition may be true in Philosophy, and false in Divinity, but from a quite different principle. For they came to this rashness and inconsiderateness, not to say any thing worse, not through their love but their hatred to Aristotle, not out of veneration but out of scorn for the Philosophers.” That the reader may the better know what was our Daniel Hoffman's opinion, I shall transcribe here another passage from Thomafius; it contains a particular which alone deserves to be mentioned. (6) *Nisi enim fallor, infelix ilud & scandalo plenum certamen, quod nostra memoria super Quæstione: sine DEUS peccati causa per accidens? certatum fuit, è sepultæ Hofmannianæ controversiæ cineribus aut propul- lularit, aut videri saltem voluit propullulasse. Non planè ablutere à vero quæ dixi, facile (opinor) perspiciet, gili: aperta equi C. L. Viri, Pauli Slevogti Pervigilium de diffidio nim ibi litis, Theologi & Philosophi in utriusque principiis fundato, (hoc enim libello nomen est,) per-volutaverit (*). Enimvero hic inter primos fuit, qui quæstionem modò dictam in isthoc scripto, quod vigesimus tertius hujus seculi an- nus produxit in scenam, excitaret, hujusque negativam in Scholis Theologorum, affirmativam inter Philosophos veram esse (†) defenderet. Cui anno statim sequente Vir non minoris eruditionis laude clarus Andreas Kestlerus discursuum Theologorum quadigram (§) opposuit. i. e. “ If manniana constat*

(5) Idem, *ibid.*

(6) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 245.

(*) Confirmant suspicionem, quæ leguntur in vestigi- bulo dicti Per-vigilii: aperta equi C. L. Viri, Pauli Slevogti Pervigilium de diffidio nim ibi litis, Theologi & Philosophi in utriusque principiis fundato, (hoc enim libello nomen est,) per-volutaverit (*). Enimvero hic inter primos fuit, qui quæstionem modò dictam in isthoc scripto, quod vigesimus tertius hujus seculi an- nus produxit in scenam, excitaret, hujusque negativam in Scholis Theologorum, affirmativam inter Philosophos veram esse (†) defenderet. Cui anno statim sequente Vir non minoris eruditionis laude clarus Andreas Kestlerus discursuum Theologorum quadigram (§) opposuit. i. e. “ If manniana constat

“ I am not mistaken, that unhappy and scandalous controversy, which has been carried on in our day, about this question; whether GOD be accidentally the cause of sin: that controversy, I say, blazed out, or at least, would seem to blaze out, from the dead ashes of the Hoffmannian controversy. This will appear to be true to whoever peruses the most celebrated Paul Slevogt's Lucubrations, intituled, *Dispute between the Divines and the Philosophers at Theologi* con- grounded cordia.

(†) Vide ibi *Discursum IV*, pag. 64, D seq.

(§) Pro defenden- da (quod ipsum quoque legitur in titulo) *Philosophi at Theologi con-*

Daniel Hoffman and Beza wrote against each other upon the controversy about the Lord's Supper. See the remark in which I give the titles of some of Hoffman's works [D].

It was not only about the doctrine of Ubiquity that our Doctor disputed with the other Ministers; he was also engaged in a controversy upon the subjects relating to Predestination; for he censured Hunnius who had explained them differently from the sense of the Book of Concord. He even charged him with preaching from Luther's pulpit a doctrine more pernicious than that of the Papists. The Book of Concord, said he, teaches that the cause of election is entirely without us; but Hunnius and Mylius teach, that election is grounded on God's fore-knowledge of men's faith. Hunnius and Mylius caused Hoffman to be condemned in an assembly of Divines held in the year 1593, and threatened him with excommunication, if he would not subscribe to their opinion. The next year he published an apology against them (b). Hofpinian gives us a more accurate account of this. He tells us (c), that some Divines of Leipzig, Jena, and Wittemberg, having been at Samuel Haber's second wedding in the year 1593, met at Polycarp Lyserus's house, and that some of them were of opinion that they should declare in a public and authentic manner, that Daniel Hoffman was a Calvinist, and one of those Heretics that are to be rejected: but the majority voted that they should write to him, to entreat him to conform to their doctrine, which if he refused to do, he should be excommunicated. Hunnius wrote him a long letter to that purpose in the name of them all. It was against this letter that Hoffman published the next year an apology (d), in which he explained the reasons why he could not follow the opinions of the Divines of Wittemberg: he declared that he had met in their books with above an hundred errors inconsistent with the articles of the Christian faith (e).

(b) Taken from Henry Alting, *Theolog. Histor.* pag. 302.

(c) Hofpinian, *de Origine & progressu Libri Concordiæ*, cap. 51. pag. 429.

(d) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 431, & seq.

(e) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 434.

"grounded on their respective principles. For he was one of the first, that started this question in a work which he published the 23d year of this century, wherein he asserted that the negative was true amongst the Divines, and the affirmative amongst the Philosophers. The next year Andrew Kessler, a man famous for his learning, answered him in four theological dissertations."

To assert that what is true in Philosophy is false in Divinity, is a most pernicious error.

Thomasius was in the right to observe, that it is a very scandalous thing to see it asserted, that it is true in Philosophy, that God is the cause of sin by accident, but that it is not true in Divinity. He was very much in the right to approve of Calman, who asserted, that such a parting and dividing of the truth was a proper method to maintain the most impious doctrines (7). And indeed this is very proper to introduce scepticism; since by arguing thus, truth is reduced to the same condition with the properties of bodies. For as the same body appears small or big according as we see it with or without a convex glass, we have a right to conclude from thence, that we do not know whether it be small or big absolutely speaking; and that the absolute smallness or bigness of the bodies is unknown to us. If therefore the same proposition were true and false according as we consider it either as Divines, or as Philosophers, it would follow from thence by a necessary consequence, that we do not know the truth in itself, and that it only consists in a mutable relation to the disposition of our minds, as the goodness of meat consists only in a certain relation to the disposition of our tongue, which coming to be altered, the same food which pleased our palates, does not please it any longer. I shall now quote an author who tells us, that Hoffman and his followers maintained, that Philosophy must be banished from all Universities, as a most pernicious science, according to which several theological truths were false. The Ministers who opposed this faction were deprived, but at last this controversy was ended by the Prince's authority, and Hoffman was obliged to submit. *Contendebant Hofmannus & ipse affectæ, Philosophiam pugnare cum Theologia: multa esse vera in Theologia quæ sint falsa in Philosophia & contra; exterminandam Christianis Academiis ut noxiam, ut toties etiam graviter ab antiqua Ecclesia damnatam. His se initio statim opposuerunt ejus Academiæ Philosophi, Duncanus Liddelius Scotus Med. D. Corn. Martini, Joh. Caselius & alii, rati ad se pertinere ejus defensionem cujus professores essent. Res contentione diu acta est, ita ut Hofmannus eos tandem à Ministerio excluderet qui contrarium sentirent. Habitæ sæpius disputationes & magni fluctus in illo simpulo excitati. Extant ejus tamen aliquamulta acta. Tandem his sopita est au-*

(7) Non erubescere dicere, duplicem illam veritatem esse pseudarithmeticum figmentum ad omnes errores & Atreismos excusandos & defendendos. Calman. *Cosmopoeia*, cap. 1. Quæst. 6. apud Thomasi. *Præfat.* 42. pag. 243.

toritate Principis: restitutus bonos suos Philosophiæ ejusque Doctoribus est. *Hoffmanniani cesserunt* (8).

Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick, ordered that Daniel Hoffman should acknowledge his error and retract it publicly. This order was executed March the 7th, 1601. See the *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica seculi à nato Christo decimi septimi*, p. 23, and 24 (9); and Græwerus in his book *De unica Veritate*. i. e. "That truth is single."

[D] I give the titles of some of Hoffman's works.] He published at Helmstad in the year 1583, *Quæstionum & Responsonum in gravissima Controversia de sacramenta Cæna pars prima*. i. e. "Part the first of Questions and answers relating to the most important Controversy about the Lord's Supper." in 8vo. Beza refuted it the next year; but soon after was published (10), *Danielis Hoffmanni Apologia missa ad Theodorum Bezam, qua rō p̄tor̄ in verbis Cænae dominicæ im-motum, Bezae autem Demonstrationes falsissimæ demonstrantur*. i. e. "An Apology for Daniel Hoffman sent to Beza, in which the literal sense of the Words of the Institution of the Sacrament is asserted, and Beza's Arguments proved to be false." In the year 1585 Beza published *Responsonis pars altera contra Daniellem Hoffmannum*. i. e. "The second Part of the Answer to Daniel Hoffman." And in the year 1586 Beza published *Conspicillum ad Danielis Hoffmanni Demonstrationes &c.* i. e. "A pair of Spectacles for Daniel Hoffman's Demonstrations &c." Here follow the titles of some other works of Hoffman. *Responso ad rationes & signa Christophori Pezelii &c. quibus docuit veros sacramentarios agnoscere*: i. e. "An Answer to Christopher Pezelius's means and signs, &c. by which he teaches to discover the true Sacramentarians." *De XVII Erroribus crassioribus Jacobi Andreae*. i. e. Of the seventeen most palpable Errors of James Andreas. These two books are in the German language. *De usu & applicatione notionum Logicarum ad res Theologicas, & de inusitatarum præcationum reductione, contra Goclenium*. i. e. "Of the use and application of Logical notions to Theological Subjects, and of abolishing obsolete prayers, against Goclenius." At Francfort, 1596. *Liber Apologeticus respondens chartis Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Bremensis*. i. e. "An Apology to answer the Papers of the Church of Bremen." At Helmstad, 1585. *Officina Locorum Theologicorum*. i. e. "Collection of Theological Common-Topics." *Explicatio Sententiæ in Epist. Canonica Job. Apostoli, Sanguis Jesu Christi Filii Dei mundat nos ab omni peccato*. i. e. "An Explication of this sentence in St. John's canonical Epistle, The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin." At Helmstad, 1581.

(8) Georgius Hornius, *Hist. Philoſoph.* lib. 6. cap. 12. pag. 321, 322. See the article NI-HUSIUS, remark [C].

(9) This book, written by Andrew Carolus, Abbot of St. George in the country of Wirtemberg was printed at Tubingen, in the year 1597.

(10) At Helmstad in 1585.

* He had been a Tanner.

HOFMAN (MELCHIOR) from a Tradesman * set up for a Preacher, and began to dogmatize in Livonia and other places, though he had not received from any person the

(a) *Ex pellione in Theologastrum transmutatus.* Mollerus, ubi infra, citat. (c).

the least power or authority to preach (a). He left Saxony, being very much discontented, and went into Holstein in the year 1527. He was appointed a Minister at Kiel by the King of Denmark, and supported himself in that post near two years, notwithstanding Luther's opposition [A]. He preached I know not what mixture of Zuinglianism and Fanaticism; and he seldom explained any thing to his audience but the construction of the Mosaical Tabernacle, the Visions of St. John's Revelation, and other subjects like these. He pretended that the last day would come in the year 1534. They who attempted to refute him either upon this article or upon any other, met with their match; for as he had a very ill tongue, he answered them in the most passionate manner [B]. He loaded Marquardus Schuldorpius with injuries, and cruelly charged him with the crime of incest [C]. The King of Denmark designing to prevent the ill consequences with which these controversies might be attended, ordered a conference to be held in the year 1529 (b), in which Hofman was confounded and silenced, and as he persisted in his opinions, was banished from the Duchy of Holstein. He went to Strasburg, where he published a false account of that conference [D]. He was imprisoned in the year 1532, after a public disputation with the Ministers. This made him lose his credit with some of his followers. He died in or about the year 1533 (c). He was not born in the Duchy of Holstein, as has been published by some [E].

(b) It was held at Flensburg.

(c) Taken from John Mollerus's *Magoge ad Historiam Cberjonesi Cimbricae*, Part 3. pag. 128, & seq.

(d) *Argentina inclarefcere cepit.* Freder. Spanhemius, *De Originibus & Progressu Anabaptist.* num. 22. pag. m. 211.

Several authors assert that Hofman began to be famous at Strasburg (d), and that he was followed by a crowd of disciples, and that going to Embden in the year 1528 [F], he published his Visions there with so wonderful a success, that he passed for

the

[A] He supported himself in that post notwithstanding Luther's opposition. Here follows what Luther wrote to a Minister of Keil (1). *A Melchiore pellifice velim cavere vos omnes, ac curare apud Magistratus ne ad conciones admittatur, etiamsi literas Regis ostendet. A nobis enim recessit indignabundus, dum non volumus ejus somnia probare. Ad docendum neque valet, neque vocatus est. Hæc dicite nomine meo omnibus vestris, ut ipsum vitent ac tacere cogant.* i. e. "I would have you all beware of Melchior the Tanner, and prevail with the Magistrates not to suffer him to preach, tho' he should shew the King's letters: for he went from us in a passion, because we would not approve his dreams. He is neither proper to teach, nor called to it. Tell this to your whole congregation, that they may avoid him, and force him to be silent." Luther would not have them hearken to this man, who set up for a Preacher without any capacity and calling. Francis Burchard Counsellor to the Dukes of Saxony did also advise to beware of that man (2).

(1) Luther. *Ep. ad Wib. Prae-vest.* anno 1528. See tom. 2. *Epist. Lutheri à Joh. Aurifabro Francosurti ad Viadrum*, anno 1597. edit. pag. 371. Mollerus, *Magoge ad Hist. Cberjonesi Cimbricae*, Part 3. pag. 129.

(2) In *Epist. ad Petrum Suavenim, Concil. Danicum*, A. 1528 scripta, quam exhibet J. Manlii *Parrago Epist. Melanchth.* Part 3. pag. 493, 494. Mollerus, *ibid.*

(3) Moller. *ibid.* pag. 130.

[B] He answered them in the most passionate manner. All his books were written in the vulgar tongue: His apology against Nicholas Ambisdorf, the first Minister at Magdeburg, was printed in the year 1528. This Minister had refuted his opinion concerning the end of the world. *Opposuit ei Hofmannus apologiam amarulentissimam . . . in ista convitorum plaustra in Adversarium evomit* (3). i. e. Hofman answered him in a most bitter apology . . . in which he loads his bitter adversary with injuries."

(4) *Idem, ibid.*

[C] He charged Schuldorpius with the crime of incest. The ground of this charge was that Schuldorpius had married his own niece. *Marg. Schuldorpio, Kiloniensi, Parocho Slesvici. qui suam de Sacra Cæna Sententiam impugnavat, itidem scriptis, Kilonii anno 1528 impressis. respondit, & hominem, cum alias ob causas, tum ob matrimonium cum filia sororis, ope eloquentiæ suæ caninæ, misere exagitavit* (4). i. e. "Marquardus Schuldorpius, of Kiel, and Minister of Sleswick, had refuted his opinion about the Lord's Supper; Hofman answered him in two writings published at Keil in the year 1528, and by means of his scurrilous eloquence, he abused him most wretchedly, amongst other reasons, because Schuldorpius had married his own sister's daughter." Schuldorpius in his defence urged amongst other arguments Luther's authority, from whom he produced a letter, in which Luther confessed that he had advised him to that match, and asserted that it was lawful, (since Abraham had married Sara, who was his sister or niece.) *Utrique Schuldorpius mox reposuit Epistolam ad fideles Civitatis Kiloniensi Saxoniam eique adjecit Lutheri ad se literas, in eandem Dialectum transfusas, in quibus ille conjugio huic, cujus se suaforem fuisse fatetur, ingenti cum wapponia patrocinari, Abrahami, Saram ducentis, exemplo defendere istud non dubitat* (5).

(5) *Idem, ibid.* pag. 131.

(6) His true name is John Bugenbagius. But they use to call him Pomeranus, because he was of Pomerania.

[D] He published a false account of this conference. He boasted that he had silenced Pomeranus (6), and asserted that the Secretaries of the conference were fal-

sifiers (7). Pomeranus, in order to refute those slanders, published the acts of the conference in the most authentic manner; and added to them a refutation of Hofman's work, and an account of Heggus's conversion (8). This conversion was the fruit of the conference. Heggus had been one of our Hofman's seconds, and he acquired such knowledge in that conference, that it obliged him to forsake Hofman's sect. *Parasitæ Hofmanni fuere Johan. à Campen, & Jac. Heggæ Dantiscanus ad saniozem mentem in colloquio hoc reducti* (9). i. e. "Hofman's assistants were John of Campen, and James Heggus, who were converted at this conference." Hofman's other Second had done the same. Let us observe, that Pomeranus was not at the conference as an actor to dispute, but as one of the moderators under the King of Denmark's eldest son (10). He put an end to this meeting by an oration in which he refuted Hofman's arguments. *Finem Colloquio oratione Bugenbagii adversus argumenta ipsius à Pomeranus imposuit* (11).

(7) Mollerus, *ibid.* pag. 133.

(8) *Idem, ibid.*

(9) *Idem, Mollerus, pag. 131, 132.*

(10) Moller. *ibid.* pag. 131.

(11) *Idem, ibid.*

[E] He was not of the Duchy of Holstein, as has been published by some. Here follow Mollerus's words (12): *Suevus ortu fuit, non autem Hofatus uti Conrad. Dietericus & Sebastianus Schmidius (1), falso sibi persuadent.* i. e. "He was a native of Germany, and not of Holstein, as Conrad. Dietericus, and Sebastian Schmidius falsely imagine."

(12) In *Analyti Periobæ Evangel. Dom. II. Adventus.*

(13) In *Diff. de Chiliasmo Apocalypico*, pag. 9.

[F] Several authors assert . . . that he went to Embden in the year 1528. The arguments which Mollerus offers us, leave us no room to doubt but Hofman went from Saxony very much discontented (13). We ought therefore to believe, that they, who suppose that he went from Strasburg to Embden in the year 1528, are mistaken. Ottius observes, that several authors assert this, and yet he does not answer them. *Embdam Argenterato obiisse Melchiorem Hoffmannum plures ajunt. Ergo non demum anno 1531 ed concessit nisi forte redierit, vel diutius ibi commoratus sit* (14). We learn from these words, that some persons pretend that Hofman went to Embden in the year 1531. This, I think, is the true time when he was Minister at Embden; for since he published an account of the conference of Flensburg (15) at Strasburg, in the year 1529, it is a proof that he went to Strasburg when he was banished from Holstein. It is very probable, that he went from Strasburg to Embden, and returned afterwards to Strasburg. He was there in the year 1532. Take notice, that Mollerus promises us an account of the troubles he raised both at Strasburg and at Embden, after he was gone from Holstein (16). Is not this telling us, that he went to Embden after he had preached his idle fancies at Strasburg in the year 1529? Hoornbeek was in the right to say, that he returned from Embden to Strasburg, but not that he went from Strasburg to Embden in the year 1528 (17). This author observes, that when Hofman went from Embden, he left there one Trypma-

(13) *An. 1527. Magdeburgo in Hofstatiâ delatus.* Mollerus, *Introd. ad Historiam Cberjonesi Cimbricae*, pag. 128. See *Kendorf, Hist. Lutheranae*, lib. 2. pag. 122. makes him set out from Wittemberg.

(14) Johan. Henricus Ottius, *Hist. Anabapt. ad ann. 1528*, num. 1. pag. 45.

(15) It was held a little after Easter in the year 1529. See Mollerus, ubi supra, pag. 131.

(16) *Tumultuum quos Hermannus post abitum ex Hofstatiâ, Argenterato, in Embden concitavit Anabaptistico-Embdenicorum.* *Idem, ibid.* pag. 133.

(17) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controv. baptist.* pag. m. 362.

the first Patriarch of the Anabaptists in the Low-Countries, and in Lower-Germany [G]. He infatuated his followers to such a degree, that they took him for that Elias whom God is to send upon earth before the day of judgment. He returned to Strasburg, being in hopes to see a prophecy fulfilled, which related to him [H]: this prophecy had been delivered by a good old man in Friesland. Being at Strasburg he preached Anabaptism openly; and the disturbances he raised there occasioned the meeting of a Synod in June 1532. He was suffered to dispute with the Ministers, who refuted him in the strongest manner; but yet he continued to dogmatize, so that it was thought necessary to shut him up in a prison [I]; for it was feared, that there would soon arise very great disorders, because Hofman's followers asserted, that the City of Strasburg was to be the new Jerusalem, in which Christ's Kingdom was to be established; and that as Hofman was the Elias who was to come, so Polterman was the Enoch who was to assist him. When Hofman was in prison, they asserted, that he was to come out of it with a hundred and forty four thousand men sealed, who would anathematize the earth, and bear down before them all the obstacles the world should pretend to put in their way. Our Elias, and our Enoch, said they, are the two olive-trees, and the candlesticks mentioned in St. John's Revelation (e); no man will be able to hurt them, and if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies. When they saw that Hofman did not come out of prison at the time appointed by some Prophets, they were amazed; but to amuse them, he sent them word, that they should rest for two years, after the example of Ezra and Haggai, who were obliged to interrupt for two years the building of the Temple. He died in prison, and thus he disappointed all his disciples in their expectations (f). I shall mention some of his heresies [K]. There are writers who assert, that he began to dogmatize near the Rhine, after the defeat of the peasants in the year 1525 (g).

(e) See the 11th chapter of St. John's Revelation, ver. 4, 5.

(f) Taken from Frederic Spanheim, de Orig. & Progr. Anabaptism, pag. 211.

(g) Joh. Henricus Ottius, Hist. Anabapt. ad ann. 1525, num. 21. pag. 36.

HOLINSHED,

baptists. Cassander has been mistaken concerning the time when this fanatic was minister at Embden. *Donec tandem*, says he, *sub ann. 1532 Melchior quidam Hofmannus, arte pellio, banc novam contagionem cum aliis quibusdam non minus perniciosis erroribus in Germania banc inferiorem & Belgicam invexit* (18). i. e. "Till at last, about the year 1532, a certain man named Melchior Adam, a Tanner by trade, introduced this new infection, with some other errors not less pernicious, into Lower Germany, and the Low-Countries."

[G] *He passed for the first Patriarch of the Anabaptists in the Low-Countries, and in Lower-Germany.* This appears from Cassander's words, which we have just now quoted. Here follow two other witnesses: *Huic Patriarchæ etiam eorum qui in inferiori Germania succreverunt, Anabaptistarum tradux adscribi solet.* Thus speaks Frederic Spanheim (19): *Qui huc Anabaptistica deliria attulit ex Germania superiori primus fuit Melchior Hofman.* This is what Hoornbeek observes (20).

[H] *He was in hopes of seeing a prophecy fulfilled which related to him.* Whilst he was planting his gospel at Embden with great zeal, and re-baptized as many persons as he could, there was a good old man, who made him long to return to Strasburg. This old man was of his cabal; he prophesied, that the Magistrates of Strasburg would put Hofman in prison, but that at the end of six months the prisoner would be delivered, and would go and preach the Gospel over all the world, like another Elias, being attended with a great number of Prophets, and with the hundred and forty four thousand men sealed, mentioned in St. John's Revelation (21). Hofman having disputed publicly with the Ministers, June the 12th 1532, and having continued to spread his enthusiastical notions, after he had been refuted, was put in prison. When he saw the first part of the prophecy fulfilled, he became more arrogant. He shook off the dust from his shoes, threw his hat on the ground, and protested before God, that he would live upon nothing but bread and water, till he should shew the person that sent him. He was disappointed in his expectations, for he died in prison (22). There are a thousand instances which shew, that in the most chimerical predictions there have been some particulars, which proved true in the event. This has been a strong delusion, and nothing contributed more than this to mislead the visionaries and their adherents. It is therefore with regard to these matters, that we ought to say, *the end crowns the work*, and we must take care not to judge of the whole by a part only, *ex ungue Leonem*; we must wait for the conclusion, and mistrust the first successes. They are but a snare, and a dangerous allurements.

[I] *It was thought necessary to shut him up in a prison.* Spanheim, Hoornbeek, and several others assert, that Hofman disputed in June 1532, and that he was not imprisoned till after he had obstinately continued to dogmatize, after this dispute. But we shall now quote an author, who places this conference in June 1533, and who asserts that this fanatic was taken from prison in order to dispute with the Ministers. *Anno 1533 Mensis Junio die 11, Hofmannus Argentorati è vinculis ad publicam disputationem productus & admittitur: à quo tempore instaurationem Regni DEI ortam esse sui affirmabant. Idem Hofmannus * autoritatem * I suppose it should be authentic.*

prædictionum cujusdam verè deliri Leonardi Joest civis Argentinenfis & aliorum similium fanaticorum hominum, multa vana de urbe Argent. prædixit, &c. quæ tamen ab urbe non recepta, sed aqua & igni interdicebatur omnibus, qui eam sectam publicè privatimque tuebantur (23). i. e. "On the 11th day of June, in the year 1553, Hofman was carried from the prison at Strasburg, and admitted to a public disputation: His followers asserted, that the restoration of God's Kingdom began from that time. The same Hofman, depending on the prophecies of a certain Citizen of Strasburg, named Leonard Joest, who was really crazy, and of some other fanatics like him, foretold a great many silly things concerning the City of Strasburg, &c. which however were not minded by the Magistrates; for all the inhabitants were forbidden, upon pain of banishment, to protest that sect either publicly or privately." Ottius (24) admits this Chronology; whence it appears that a great many errors have crept into the accounts of those who wrote the History of Anabaptism.

He quotes a passage from Henry Urfinus (25), in which we are told, that Hofman prophesied that same year, that Strasburg would be the new Jerusalem, as the City of Rome was Babylon; that Strasburg would be besieged that same year; and that there would be a great slaughter, and that this man preferred his own predictions to all those of Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and that Matthias and his party applied to the City of Munster all those fine prerogatives of Strasburg, at which Hofman was very much displeased, when he knew it.

[K] *I shall mention some of his heresies.* He asserts, I. That the WORD was not united with the flesh taken from the Virgin Mary; his reason was, that all human flesh is defiled with sin, and consequently cursed. II. That Jesus Christ has but one nature only. III. That it is in man's power to be saved, and that we are saved or damned according to the good or bad use we make of our free-will. IV. That Pædo-baptism, or the christning of infants comes from God's enemy, and from man rather than from God (26).

(18) Cassander, Epist. Dedicat. Tractatus de Baptismo.

(19) Spanheim, de Orig. & Progr. Anabaptism, num. 22. pag. m. 211.

(20) Hoornbeek, Summa Controv. pag. m. 361.

(21) Chap. 7, and 14.

(22) Taken from Hoornbeek, Summa Controv. pag. 362.

(23) Ottius, in Hist. Anabapt. ad ann. 1533, num. 6. pag. 61. He quotes Revis in Historia Germanii. He should have quoted Nicolaus Blesdikius; for it is he that wrote the History of David George: Revis only published it.

(24) Ottius, ibid.

(25) Henricus Urfinus, Præfat. in Apocalyp. 14. fin.

(26) Taken from Spanheim, de Orig. & Progr. Anabapt. pag. 211.

HOLINSHED, or HOLINGSHED (RAPHAEL), famous for the *Chronicles* published under his name [A], was descended of a family of that name at Boseley in Cheshire, and was a Minister of the Church of England. He died at Bramcote in Warwickshire towards the latter end of the year 1580. After his death all or most of his Notes, Collections, Books, and Manuscripts came into the hands of Thomas Burdet Esq; of Bramcote (a).

(a) Wood, *Ant. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 312. 2d edit. London 1721.

[A] Famous for the *Chronicle* published under his name.] The first edition of this work was printed at London 1577 in fol; and the second in 1587 in fol. In the first edition he was assisted by Mr. William Harrison, a native of London, educated at Westminster under Mr. Alexander Nowell in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII, or the beginning of Edward VI; and afterwards sent to Oxford and Cambridge, and at last domestic Chaplain to Sir William Brook Knight, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham in Kent. He wrote *An Historical Description of the Island of Britain; with a brief Rehearsal of the Nature and Qualities of the People of England; and such commodities as are to be found in the same*; in three books, printed in the first and second volume of Holinshed's *Chronicle*. In the second edition of this *Chronicle* in 1587, Mr. John Hooker, alias Vowell, Chamberlain of Exeter, made several additions and improvements to it, and continued it to the year 1586. One of the Continuators of this *Chronicle* was the Reverend Mr. Abraham Fleming, a great number of whose papers are in the hands of Mr. Francis Peck, M. A. who at the end of the first volume of his *Desiderata Curiosa* promised to publish the

following manuscripts written in Mr. Fleming's hand: 1. *De Castrationibus Chronicorum quae Raphaelia Holingshedi nuncupantur; & imprimis de eorundem Censuris, quando Roberti Comiti Leicestriae, D. Thomae Bromley, Cancellario, & D. Gul. Cecil Thesaurario oblata, prout ea omnia Camdenus Flemingo retulit.* 2. *Censurae aliae diversorum hominum malevolentium, seu nimium subtilium in eadem Chronica; cum responsionibus Abrahami Flemingi.* 3. *The Council's Letter to Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions of the new Edition of Hollingshed's Chronicle, Thursday 1 Feb. 1586.* 4. *Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to Thomas Randolph, Henry Killigrew Esq; and Mr. Hammond, touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions to the new Edition of Hollingshed's Chronicle, on Thursday 1 Feb. 1588.* 5. *Abrahami Flemingi (qui praerat Typis & Praelo) de modo castrandi reformandique Chronica praedicta brevis & vera Relatio.* In the curious Catalogue of the Library of Mr. Richard Smith (1) there is mentioned an Edition of *Hollingshed's Chronicle* in two Volumes in fol. 1587, with the addition of many sheets, that were castrated, being not thought fit, and so not allowed to be printed in the second Impression.

(1) *Bibliotheca Smithiana, seu Catalogus Librorum in quavis Facultate insignis animum; quos in usum & Bibliothecae ornamentum multo ante sibi comparavit Vir clariss. & doctiss. Ricardus Smith Londinensis, pag. 276. edit. London T. 1682, in 4to*

HOLYOKE, or HOLYOAKE (FRANCIS), who writes himself in Latin *de sacrâ Quercu*, was born at Nether Whitacre in Warwickshire about the year 1567, and studied in the University of Oxford about the year 1582 in Queen's College; but it does not appear, whether he ever took a degree. He taught school at Oxford, and in his own country; and became Rector of Southam in Warwickshire in February 1604. He was elected a Member of the Convocation of the Clergy in the first year of King Charles I's reign. Besides his *Dictionary* [A], he published a *Sermon of Obedience especially unto Authority Ecclesiastical &c. on Heb. xiii. 17. preached at a Visitation of Dr. William Hinton, Archdeacon of Coventry.* Oxford 1610 in 4to. He suffered extremely in the civil wars for

[A] His *Dictionary.*] It was printed at London, 1606 &c. in 4to. The 4th edition in 1633 at London in 4to is printed under the following title: *Dictionarium Etymologicum Latinum, antiquissimum & novissimum, nunc demum infinitis penè Laboribus & continuis vigiliis compositum & absolutum à Francisco de Sacra Quercu.* Or, *A Dictionary declaring the Originall and Derivation of all words used in any Latine Authors, with the reason of their Derivations and Appellations, never any in this Kinde extant before. Whereunto, besides the hard and most usefull words in Divinitie, Philosophie, Physicks, and Logicke, are added many thousand other words out of the Civill and Canon Lawes, Glossaries, Criticks, and other approved Authors, old and new; with their Greeke in more exactnesse than ever was in Calepine, Morelius, or any other; and also the Coines, Measures, Weights, and Greeke Roots, and many other usefull Additions, as will appear in the Epistle to the Reader, and better in the Work itselfe. Hereunto is also annexed the Proper Names, adorned with their Etymologies, illustrated and explained with Histories, Proverbes, Mythologies, &c. Together with the Chronologie of the Persons, and the beginning of noted Cities, and plantation of sundry Countries; the Geographie, and the Names both antient and new of the most remarkable places. Lastly, Rider's *Dictionary*, the English before the Latine, compiled by Rider, is augmented with many hundreds of words, both out of the Law, and out of the Latine, French, and other Languages, such as were and are with us in common use, but never printed until now, to the perfecting of the Worke. Now the fourth time newly corrected and very much augmented by the great Industrie and Paines of Francis Holy-Oke. This edition is dedicated to Dr. William Laud, then Bishop of London. There is likewise another Dedication to William Craven, Baron of Hamsted-Marshall dated from Southam. In the Preface to the Reader, which is dated from Queen's College in Oxford, our author observes that he had been charged*

with compiling his work from other *Dictionaries*, and especially that of *Thomasius*; but that he had done nothing but what other *Dictionary-Writers* before him had done. Cooper, says he, translated his *Dictionary* from the Latin-German *Dictionary* of *Tirifus* of Zurich; and *Thomasius* first compiled his from *Calepine* and *Cooper*, and afterwards enlarged it from *Junius's Nomenclatura* and several *Glossaries* and *Herbals*. At last Dr. *Philemon Holland*, a very learned Physician, greatly augmented *Thomasius's* work from the best authors. Mr. *Holyoke* then informs us, that he was obliged to Dr. *Thomas James* for communicating several words collected from the Fathers; and to Mr. Robert Burton, Mr. Sixsmith Fellow of Brazen-Nose College, Mr. Watson Fellow of Lincoln-College, and Mr. Wethereld Fellow of Queen's College, for their several communications. To this edition are prefixed Latin and Greek poems in honour of the author, written by Dr. *John Dove*, Dr. *John Budden*, Dr. *Thomas James*, Mr. *Robert Burton*, Mr. *William Fletcher*, Dr. *John Wall* of Christ Church, Dr. *John Assil* Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Dr. *Thomas Jackson* President of that College, Dr. *Thomas Clayton* Regius Professor of Physick at Oxford, Dr. *John Bambridge* Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Mr. *Ph. White*, and Mr. *Gerard Langbaine* of Queen's College. The Dedication to that part of the work, intitled *Dictionarium Etymologicum propriorum nominum*, to Sir *Clement Broockmorton*, is dated at Southam in February 1611. Mr. Wood observes (1), that "that part of *Rider's* (1) *Alben. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 577. 2d edit. London 1721. " *Dictionary*, which had the Latin before the English " was swallowed up by the greater attempts of " *Francis Holyoke*, who saith, that he designed and " contrived it so, before the *Vocabularies* or *Dictionary* of *Becman*, *Funger*, and *Martin* came out; " notwithstanding it appears, that he was beholden to " them, and made use of their materials in his *Dictionary*, that he published ann. 1606." H.

(a) Wood, *Atb.* for his attachment to the King; and died November the 13th 1653 in the eighty seventh year of his age, and was interred in St. Mary's Church at Warwick (a).
Oxon. vol. 2. col. 167. 2d edit. London 1721.

☉ **HOLYOKE** or **HOLYOAKE** (THOMAS) son of the preceding, was born in 1616 at Stony-Thorp near Southam in Warwickshire, and educated in Grammar Learning under Mr. White at Coventry; from whence he was sent in Michaelmas Term 1632 at the age of sixteen years to Queen's College in Oxford (a), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts July the 5th 1636 (b), and that of Master May the 16th 1639 (c), and became Chaplain of the said College. In the beginning of the civil wars,

(a) Wood, *Atb.* when Oxford became the Seat of King Charles and was garrisoned for his use, he was put into commission for a Captain of a Foot Company consisting mostly of Scholars. In this post he did great service, and had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by the favour of his Majesty, though no such matter occurs in the public Register of the University, which was then sometimes neglected (d). After the surrender of the gar-
Oxon. vol. 4. col. 544.

(b) *Idem*, *Fest.* rison of Oxford to the Parliament, he, by the name of Thomas Holyoke, without the addition of Master of Arts, Bachelor or Doctor of Divinity, obtained a licence from the University to practise Physic (e); whereupon settling in his own country, he exercised that Faculty with good success till the Restoration in 1660, in which year Thomas Lord Leigh, Baron of Stone-Leigh in Warwickshire, presented him to the Rectory of Whitnash near Warwick. He was soon after made Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire. In 1674 Robert Lord Brook conferred upon him the Donative of Breamour in Hampshire, (which he had by the marriage of his Lady,) worth about two hundred pounds *per ann.* but before he had enjoyed it a year, he died of a fever June the 10th 1675. His body was interred near that of his father in the Church of St. Mary in Warwick. His *Dictionary* was published after his death in 1677 in fol.

(c) *Ibid.* col. 279.

(d) *Idem*, *Atb.* *Oxon.* ubi *supra*.

(e) *Idem*, *ibid.* and *Fest.* *Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 60.

HONORIA, the sister of Valentinian III, drew upon her this Emperor's indignation by her dissoluteness, and she endeavoured to revenge herself by another crime: She sent a messenger to Attila to persuade him to conquer the Empire, and she promised to marry him. The authors differ a little in their accounts of this story. Some pretend that she did not abandon herself to lewdness, till she found that her design to marry that King of the Huns had miscarried [A]. Others assert, that she had led a dissolute life before ever she had any such thought [B].

[A] Some authors pretend, that she did not abandon herself to lewdness, till she found that her design to marry the King of the Huns had miscarried. A modern author, who quotes Sigonius and Marcellinus, relates, that Honoria being devoured by the flames of lust, sent an Eunuch to Attila, to offer herself in marriage to him, with the whole Empire: that Attila sent Embassadors to the Emperor Valentinian to demand Honoria even with threatenings; but that before they were returned to him, he fell in love with a young Lady of his own nation, that he married her, and killed himself on his wedding day with excessive drinking, and carefing his bride too much; that Honoria finding herself thus disappointed in her hopes, abandoned herself to her gallants, who got her with child, after which she was sent to Constantinople. *Hæc libidine inflammata eunuchum legatum ad Attilam Hunnorum regem misit, conjugium & regnum ei offerens. Misit igitur Attila legatos ad Valentinianum, qui suasionibus minas adjicientes Honoriam petebant, sed priusquam legati Roma reverterentur, Attila . . . puellæ cujusdam . . . amore captus . . . nuptias cum ea celebravit . . . Honoria igitur cum spe*

sua frustraretur aliis se subternit: inde gravida facta, Constantinopolim mittitur (1).
 [B] Others assert that she had led a dissolute life, before ever she had any such thoughts. "Honoria, the Emperor Valentinian's sister, having prostituted herself to the steward of her household, was shamefully banished from the palace by her brother, and obliged afterwards to retire into the East to the Court of Theodosius; this inspired her with so violent a resentment, that finding no other means to be revenged, she sent secretly to Attila, to persuade him to invade Italy, the conquest of which would be easy for him, considering Valentinian's weakness, and the great confusion in which the affairs of the whole Empire were (2)." According to Bonfinius's account (3), she was in a Convent when she sent to found Attila; who finding that business went on very slowly, imagined that he was imposed upon; which determined him to marry the King of the Bactrians's daughter. Since Honoria was in a Convent, it is a proof that she had not led a chaste life.

(1) Christian. Matth. Theatre Histor. pag. m. 733.

(2) Maimbourg, *Hist. de l'Asie* lib. 11. pag. 6, 7. of the 3d vol. Dutch edit.

(3) *Hist. Hungar.* Decad. 1. lib. 7.

HONORIUS the Roman Emperor, and son of Theodosius. That I may not repeat what is to be found in Moreri, I shall only mention his marriages. He married successively Stilico's two daughters [A], who, it is said, died both, without having been known by their husband. Zosimus relates hereupon some very remarkable particulars [B], which

[A] He married . . . Stilico's two daughters. The first was named Mary, and the other Thermantia. Their mother Serena, who was possessed with ambition, did not wait till Mary was fit for an husband, but made haste to marry her with the Emperor; and after Mary's death, she was as much in haste to give Thermantia to the same Prince. It appears from the words, which I shall now transcribe, that they both died virgins. *Stilico Comes, cujus filiae due Maria & Thermantia singulae uxores Honorii principis fuerant, utraque tamen virgo defuncta* (1). And yet the Poet Claudianus asserts, that Honorius and Mary lay together (2). We shall see in the following remark what Zosimus relates.

(1) Marcellin. Comes, in *Chron.* apud Barth. in *Claud.* pag. 766. edit. in 4to.

(2) *Tyrus* quæ factus Honorius ostro *Carpebat teneros Maria cum Coniuge somnos.* Claud. de *Bello Gildonico*, ver. 327.

markable particulars.] Serena, who could not resolve to delay her daughter Mary's marriage with the Emperor, nor consent that nature should suffer any violence by the consummation of Mary's marriage, who was not yet ripe, imagined a certain medium, which was to have Honorius debilitated. She found a woman who was very well skilled in that kind of fascination, and who put Honorius in such a condition, that when he lay with his young spouse he neither would nor could perform what is called the conjugal duty. Mary died in a short time, and with her maidenhead. Honorius courted sometime after Thermantia, Mary's sister. *Ὁ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὀνάρῳ ἀπὸ πωλλῶν Μαρίας ἀντὶ τῆς τελειότητος τῆς γαμειῆς τῆν εὐαίτης ἀδελφῆν Θερμαντίαν ἔτι οἱ δόθηαι πρὸς γάμον* (3). *Impera.* 5. pag. m. 333.

[B] . . . Zosimus relates hereupon some very re-

which are not to be met with in any other Historian; but he is justly charged with a very great contradiction [C], which is obvious to every reader of the meanest capacity.

tor autem Honorius, Maria conjugē jam pridem rebus humanis exempta, sororem ejus Thermanthiam sibi matrimonio junxi petebat. The father did not much like this match, but Serena desired it most passionately, in order to support her credit. The wedding was therefore concluded, but this marriage did not last long; for Thermanthia died soon after, having met with the same fate as her sister; that is to say, that she lay with a man who neither would nor could know her. The witch, whom Serena had before employed, repeated her enchantments. Zosimus does not relate this expressly; it is only a consequence which I infer from his words. Τὸ γάμου πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν Ὀνορίου ἐπισκευή, γάμου, ἄρα εἶπε τὴν κόρη εἶσεν ἢ μητρε ὀρεῖσα, καὶ εἶτε ἀνα- γαλιῶσαι τὸν γάμον ἀνεχομένη, καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡλικίαν εἰς μέ- ξην ἐκδύσαι, φύσει αἰδέειν καὶ εἰδὼν ἔτερον εἶναι νομίζουσα, γυναικὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα θρασύτητι ἐπισκευήν περιελχούσα, πράτ- τει δὲ ταύτης τὸ συνίηαι μὴ τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ ἀμόλετον εἶναι. Τὸν δὲ μήτε εἶδεν μήτε δύνασθαι, τὰ τῷ γάμῳ προσήκουσα πράττειν. Ἐν τούτῳ τῆς κόρης ἀπειρή γάμου ἀποθανέσης, κούρας ἢ Σερηνὰ βασιλεὺς γο- νικὸς ἐπιθυμῶσα εἶναι τὴν μητρί τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῇ δυνατείαν ἰλασθῆναι, τῇ θυγατρὶ θυγατρὶ συνίηαι τὸν Ὀνορίου Ἰ- κτινίου. ἢ δὲ γυναικὶ ταυτὶ μὴ ἢ κόρη μετ' εἰσελθὼν ταύτῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ παθεῖν (4). i. e. "When the mar- riage of Honorius and Mary was agreed upon, her mother Serena, who knew that her daughter was not yet of an age fit to be married, and who yet could not resolve to delay the wedding, though

" she was persuaded that it was forcing nature to ex- pose her so young to an husband; her mother, I say, met with a woman who knew how to remedy such things, and by her assistance she managed the business so, that her daughter lived indeed and lay with the Emperor, but he neither would nor could perform the functions of an husband. Soon after Mary dying a virgin, Serena, who very much desired that the Emperor should have children, left if he had none, she should lose her great power, found means to make him marry her other daughter, who also died soon after, meeting with the same fate as her sister had done."

[C] He is charged with a very great contradiction.] The reader has seen just now, that he asserts that Thermanthia died soon after her marriage; yet he tells us in the same book, that Honorius having put Stilico to death, sent Thermanthia back to her mother. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ὀνοριος τὴν μὴν γαμήλιον Θερμανθίαν παραδίδουσα τῇ βα- σιλεὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ μητρὶ προσέταται παραδίδουσα μηδὲν δὲ τῷ τοῦ ὑπορωμῆου (5): Imperator autem Honorius uxorem Thermanthiam augustali dejectam solio matri suae reddi jussit, nulla tamen idcirco suspitione gravatam. Stilico was killed the same year in which Honorius married Thermanthia, that is to say, under the Consulship of Bassus and Philip, in the year 408. As to Stilico's other daughter, she was married with the Emperor in the year 398, which was the year of the war against Gildo. See the passage quoted from Claudian (6).

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 346. and in pag. 350. he mentions the presents which the Eunuchs received, who had conducted Thermanthia to her mother. (6) In the remark [A].

(4) Zosim. lib. 5. pag. m. 333.

HOOKE (ROBERT) an eminent English Mathematician and Philosopher in the

seventeenth Century, was son of Mr. John Hooke (a), Minister (b) of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight. He was born there on Saturday July the 18th 1635, and baptized by his father on the 26th of that month (c). His father designing him for the Ministry, took some pains to instruct him; but his constitution being extremely infirm from his infancy, and he being subject to frequent pains of the head, his father laid aside all thoughts of making him a scholar. Being thus left to himself, he spent his time in making "little mechanical toys, in which, as he observes himself, he was very intent, and for the tools he had, successful; so that there was nothing he saw done by any mechanic, but he endeavoured to imitate, and in some particulars could exceed." His father observing by these indications his great inclination to mechanics, thought to put him apprentice to some easy trade, as that of a Watchmaker or Limner, he shewing most inclination to those or the like curious mechanical performances; for making use of such tools as he could procure, "and seeing an old brass clock taken to pieces, he attempted to imitate it, and made a wooden one that would go. Much about the same time he made a small ship about a yard long, fitly shaping it, adding its rigging of ropes, pullies, masts, &c. with a contrivance to make it fire off some small guns, as it was sailing cross a Haven of a pretty breadth. He had also a great fancy for drawing, having much about the same age copied several prints with a pen, that Mr. Hoskins (son of the famous Hoskins, Cowper's, master) much admired one not instructed could so well imitate them." These indications of a mechanic genius appeared in him when very young; for his father died in October 1648 (d). How he spent some of the following years of his life, we have no particular information; except that he was for some time with Sir Peter Lely the Painter, though probably not long, the smell of the oyl-colours increasing his head-ach (e). After this he was sent to Westminster-school, and lived with Dr. Busby, as a scholar in his house [A]. In 1653 (f) he went to Christ Church in the University of Oxford, and became Servitor to Mr. Goodman there (g). About the year 1655 he began to discover that admirable inventive genius, which afterwards appeared so conspicuous in his writings, which we shall give an account of in the note [B]. While he resided at Oxford, he assisted Dr. Thomas Willis, the Physician, in

(a) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1039. 2d edit. London 1721. (b) *Life of Dr. Robert Hooke*, pag. 2. prefixed to the *Posthumous Works of Dr. Hooke*, edit. London 1705 in fol. Mr. Wood, *ubi supra*, says that he was Curate of that parish. (c) *Life of Dr. Rob. Hooke*, *ubi supra*. Mr. Wood says, that he was baptized on the 19th of that month. (d) *Life of Dr. R. Hooke*, *ubi supra*. (e) *Ibid.* pag. 3. (f) *Ibid.* Wood, *ubi supra*, says in 1650.

[A] Lived with Dr. Busby, as a Scholar in his house.]

Mr. Richard Waller tells us (1), that while he continued there, "he applied himself to Latin and Greek, in which he made a sufficient proficiency for the time; and had a competent knowledge; and at the same time got some insight into the Hebrew and some other Oriental languages. While he lived with Dr. Busby, he fell seriously upon the study of the mathematics, the Doctor encouraging him therein, and allowing him particular hours for that purpose. In this he took the most regular method, and first made himself master of Euclid's Elements, and thence proceeded orderly from that sure basis to

"the other parts of the mathematics, and after to the application thereof to mechanics, his first and last mistress." Mr. Wood observes (2), that while he lived with Dr. Busby, he made himself master of the first six books of Euclid; and of his own accord learned to play 20 lessons on the organ; and invented thirty several ways of flying, as he and Dr. Wilkins of Wadham College have reported.

[B] Began to discover that admirable inventive genius, which afterwards appeared so conspicuous in his writings, which we shall give an account of in the note.] With regard to his philosophical writings at Oxford before the restoration and the establishment of the Royal Society,

(1) *Life of Dr. Robert Hooke*, pag. 3.

(2) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1039. 2d edit. 1721.

(b) Wood, *ubi supra*.

in his chymical operations; who recommended him to Mr. Boyle, whom he likewise served in the same affair, and explained to him Euclid's Elements and Des Cartes's Philosophy (b). November the 5th 1662 Sir Robert Moray proposed to the Royal Society a person,

Society, he writes thus in some manuscript notes of his. "At these meetings, which were about the year 1655, (before which time I knew little of them) divers experiments were suggested, discoursed, and tried with various successes, though no other account was taken of them but what particular persons perhaps did for the help of their own memories; so that many excellent things have been lost; some few only by the kindness of the authors have been since made public. Amongst these may be reckoned the Honourable Mr. Boyle's Pneumatic Engine and Experiments first printed in the year 1660; for in 1658 or 1659 I contrived and perfected the air-pump for Mr. Boyle, having first seen a contrivance for that purpose made for the same honourable person by Mr. Gratorix, which was too gross to perform any great matter." The Draught of this air-pump and all its parts, as it was afterwards published by Mr. Boyle, was in Mr. Waller's hands designed by Mr. Hooke, who informed Mr. Waller, that he was then sent to London by Mr. Boyle, to get the barrel and other parts of that engine, which could not be made at Oxford. "The same year, says Mr. Hooke, I contrived and made many tryals about the art of flying in the air, and moving very swift on the land and water, of which I shewed several designs to Dr. Wilkins, then Warden of Wadham College; and at the same time made a module, which by the help of springs and wings, raised and sustained itself in the air. But finding by my own tryals, and afterwards by calculation, that the muscles of a man's body were not sufficient to do any thing considerable of that kind, I applyed my mind to contrive a way to make artificial muscles; divers designs whereof I shewed also at the same time to Dr. Wilkins; but was in many of my tryals frustrated of my expectations." What is here mentioned of his attempts about flying, is confirmed by several draughts and schemes of his upon paper of the method, which might be attempted for that purpose, and of some contrivances for succedaneous wings, not unlike those of the bats, to the arms and legs of a man; as likewise of a contrivance to raise him up by means of horizontal vanes placed a little aslope to the wind, which being blown round, turned an endless screw in the center, which helped to move the wings, to be managed by the person by this means raised aloft. The schemes were in the hands of Mr. Richard Waller, with some few fragments relating thereto, but so imperfect, that he did not judge them fit for the public. But to return to Mr. Hooke's notes. "About this time having an opportunity of acquainting myself with astronomy by the kindness of Dr. Ward (3), I applied myself to the improving of the Pendulum for such observations; and in the year 1656 or 1657 I contrived a way to continue the motion of the Pendulum, so much commended by Ricciolus in his *Almagestum*, which Dr. Ward had recommended to me to peruse. I made some tryals for this end, which I found to succeed to my wish. The success of these made me further think of improving it for finding the longitude; and the method I had made for myself for mechanic inventions quickly led me to the use of springs instead of gravity for the making a body vibrate in any posture; whereupon I did first in great and afterwards in smaller modules satisfy myself of the practicableness of such an invention, and hoping to have made great advantage thereby, I acquainted divers of my friends, and particularly Mr. Boyle, that I was possessed of such an invention, and craved their assistance for improving the use of it to my advantage. Immediately after his Majesty's Restoration, Mr. Boyle was pleased to acquaint the Lord Brouncker and Sir Robert Moray with it, who advised me to get a patent for the invention, and propounded very probable ways of making considerable advantage by it. To induce them to a belief of my performance, I shewed a pocket-watch accommodated with a spring, applied to the arbor of the Ballance to regulate the motion thereof, concealing the way I had for find-

ing the longitude. This was so well approved of, that Sir Robert Moray drew me up the form of a patent, the principal part whereof, viz. the description of the watch, so regulated, in his own hand-writing, I have yet by me; but the discouragement I met with in the management of this affair made me desist for that time." In confirmation of what is here related, Mr. Waller tells us (4), (4) *Life of Dr. Robert Hooke*, page 5. that he had met with a draught of an agreement between the Lord Brouncker, Mr. Boyle, and Sir Robert Moray, with Robert Hooke, M. A. to this purpose, that Robert Hooke should discover to them the whole of his invention to measure the parts of time at sea as exactly as they are at land by the pendulum-clocks invented by Monsieur Huygens. That of the profits to be made thereby not exceeding 6000 pound, Robert Hooke was to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of whatever was made more of it, not exceeding 4000 pound, Robert Hooke was to have $\frac{2}{3}$ of the rest, if more could be made of it, he was to have the $\frac{1}{2}$; and to be publicly owned the author and inventor thereof. This is the substance of one draught. There are some others, which differ only in the division of the profits. In pursuance of this design there were several papers drawn up, viz. the draught of an Act of Parliament to oblige all masters of ships to pay so much *per tun* for the use of this invention; as also a warrant to be granted by the King to Robert Hooke M. A. for a patent for the sole use of the said invention for fourteen years, and signed by his Majesty's command, *William Morris*. Thus far the matter then proceeded: and how it came to stop here, may be justly wondered; but to give the reader the best satisfaction we can in this matter, we shall transcribe a paragraph out of the postscript to his treatise of *Helioscopes*, printed in 1676. "This treaty with me had been finally concluded for several thousand pounds, had not the inserting of one clause broke it off, which was, *That if after I had discovered my invention about the finding the longitude by watches (though in themselves sufficient) they or any other person should find a way of improving my principles, he or they should have the benefit thereof during the term of the patent, and not I.* To which clause I could no ways agree, knowing it was easy to vary my principles an hundred ways; and it was not improbable but there might be some addition of conveniency to what I should at first discover, it being *facile inventis addere*; and judging it unreasonable to be deprived of the benefit of my inventions, in themselves sufficient, because others might vary them, or any other ways improve them, of which it was very probable they would have no thought, if they had not the advantage of being instructed by my discovery, it having been hid some thousands of years already, as indeed the effect hath made evident and certain, there having been nothing done by any body else upon that matter ever since. Upon this point our treaty was broken off, and I concealed the farther discovery of any of the other more considerable parts of my inventions for the regulating of time-keepers, as hoping I might find some better opportunity of publishing them together with my way of finding the longitude of places, for which I hoped to have some benefit, to repay all the labour, study, and charge I had been at for the perfecting thereof. Upon this I was told, that *I had better have then discovered all, since there were others, that would find it out within six months.* To which I answered, that I would try them one seven years; and it is now above twice seven, and I do not find it yet found out. Indeed Mr. Huygens hath made use of that part I discovered, and somewhat Mr. Leibnitz hath hit upon; but both of them are imperfect. About two years after [the breaking off the abovementioned treaty] I was alarmed by one of those, that had been concerned in it, who told me, *he had news that the longitude was found out by a person of honour, by means of Mr. Huygen's pendulum clock, carried to sea, and bung to the under side of the deck of a ship by the help of a ball and socket.* But upon his description of the thing I presently told him, "that

(3) Dr. Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Sarum.

person, who was willing to be entertained as a Curator by the Society, offering to furnish them every day when they met with three or four considerable experiments. This proposition being unanimously received, Mr. Hooke was named to be the person, and accordingly on the next day of their meeting November the 12th he was unanimously admitted Curator, with the thanks of the Society ordered to Mr. Boyle for dispensing with him for their use; and they ordered that Mr. Hooke should come and sit among them, and both bring in every day three or four of his own experiments, and take care of such others as should be recommended to him by the Society (i). From this time the Society's Journals gave sufficient testimonies of his performances. In 1663 he was nominated, among others, by the Chancellor of Oxford, to have the degree of Master of Arts conferred on him (k). The year following Sir John Cutler having founded a mechanic Lecture, he settled an annual stipend on Mr. Hooke for life, intrusting the President

(i) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 9.

(k) *Wood, Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1039, 1040. and *Fall Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 156.

“ that *that invention would do mine no harm*; and indeed it was experimentally found useless to that effect “ not long after, upon a trial made of carrying one of “ the said clocks to sea in one of his Majesty's pleasure-boats in the year 1662. The invention indeed in “ itself was ingenious, and did much more than what “ Mr. *Huygens* did expect. But wanting a little addition (which I concealed, and Mr. *Huygens* hath “ not got yet that I hear of) it failed of the effect that “ was expected. Notwithstanding this, it was not long “ after published first in Low-Dutch, and immediately “ following in English, wherein what made for it “ was related, but what made against it was concealed, “ though they were both equally known. But on the “ other side all that I could obtain was a catalogue of “ difficulties, first in the doing of it; secondly, in the “ bringing it into public use; thirdly, in making advantage of it. Difficulties were propounded from the “ alteration of climates, airs, heats, and colds, temperature of springs, the nature of vibrations, the wearing of materials, the motion of the ship, and divers others. Next it would be difficult to bring it “ to use; for seamen know their way already to any “ part, and men would not be at the unnecessary charge “ of the *Apparatus*; and observations of the time could “ not well be made at sea, and they would no where “ be of use, but in the East and West India voyages, “ which were so perfectly understood, that every common seaman almost knew how to pilot a ship “ ther. And as for making any benefit, all people “ lost by such undertakings. Much had been talked “ about premiums for the longitude, but there never “ was any such thing; no King or State would ever “ give a farthing for it, and the like.” Our author suffering this invention to be undiscovered to the last “ gave some persons cause to question, whether he was ever possessor of it, and to doubt whether what in theory “ seemed very promising, would answer when put to the test of practice. Others indeed more severely judged that it was only a kind of boasting in him to assert that, which had not yet been performed, though attempted by many. However the matter is, it is certain that he persisted in the affirmation to the last, and not many weeks before his death told Mr. Richard Waller and other persons, that he knew a certain and infallible method to discover the true place of a vessel at sea, as to its East and West distance from the port departed from. Whether by watches, or other time-keepers, or by any other ways, it is known; though indeed by what is before mentioned, it should seem to be by watches, for the improvement of which he made many trials, and read several discourses. However, this matter produced the discovery of that most useful and practicable method of regulating pocket-watches by a spiral spring applied to the arbor of the balance, as they are now made without any considerable addition since; the account of which we shall transcribe from the postscript to his discourse of *Helioscopes* published in 1676. “ Finding, says he, in the *Trans-* “ *actions* (5), a passage inserted out of the French “ *Journal des Sçavans* about the invention of applying “ a spring to the balance of a watch for the regulating “ the motion thereof, without at all taking notice that “ this invention was first found out by an Englishman, “ and long since published to the world; I must beg “ the reader's patience, whilst I, in vindication of my “ own right against some unhandsome proceedings, do “ acquaint him with the state of the matter. About “ seventeen years since, being very inquisitive about

(5) Num. 112. pag. 272.

“ regulating the measure of time, in order to find the “ longitude, I did (from a *Mechanical Algebra*, which “ I was then master of) find out and perfect this “ contrivance, both as to the theory and experimental verification thereof, of which I then discoursed “ to several of my friends, but concealed the modus. “ About fifteen years since, viz. in the year 1660, I “ was in treaty with divers persons of honour for the “ discovery thereof upon proposed articles of encouragement. This I can prove by undeniable witnesses “ yet living, and I have still all the papers, articles, “ and transactions of this matter by me in their own “ hand-writing. In order to bring this treaty to “ pass, I was necessitated to discover something of my “ invention about measuring time, which was this “ way of applying springs to the arbor of the balance “ of a watch, for the regulating the vibrations thereof “ in all postures. And this I did to the end I might “ gain somewhat of belief to these noble persons, with “ whom I was to treat, that I had somewhat more “ than ordinary, and was not one of the heard-of pretenders to that invention, which effect it had. In the “ year 1664 I read several of my first *Cutlerian Lectures* “ upon this subject in the open hall at Gresham College, at which were present, besides a great number of the Royal Society, many strangers. I there “ shewed the ground and reason of that application of “ springs to a balance of a watch for regulating its “ motion, and explained briefly the true nature and “ principle of springs to shew the physical and geometrical ground of them. And I explained above “ twenty several ways, by which springs might be applied to do the same thing; and how the vibrations “ might be so regulated; as to make their durations “ either all equal, or the greater slower or quicker “ than the rest, and that in any proportion assigned. Some of these ways were applicable to lesser “ vibrations, others to greater, as of 2, 3, 4, 5, “ 6; or what number of revolutions were desired; the “ models of which I there produced, and I did at the “ same time shew wherein the aforesaid sea-clocks were “ defective. All these particulars were at several “ times discoursed of and tried before the Royal Society. I also, at the earnest desire of some friends; “ in the years 1664 and 1665, did cause some of “ the same watches to be made, though I was unwilling to add any of the better applications of the “ spring to them, as waiting a better opportunity for “ my advantage. Of all these things the Publisher of “ the *Transactions* was not ignorant, and Mr. *Huygens* “ might have heard of them, at least he might have “ read enough in the *History of the Royal Society* to have “ informed him in this matter. For in page 247 of “ that *History*, amongst other experimented inventions, “ there are recounted several new ways of *Pendulum* “ *Watches for the pocket, wherein the motion is regulated by Springs, &c.* Mr. *Huygens* might therefore, “ if he had pleased, have mentioned the first inventor; as he might also that of the *circular Pendulum*, which is mentioned in the same page of the “ aforesaid *History*. But though he would not own “ that he knew my published invention, yet I am sure, “ he hath manifested, that he knows no more than “ what I had formerly discovered, he having not in “ the least mentioned the other contrivance, without “ which the other part of the invention is but lame “ and imperfect. Wanting that, the said watches will “ not be exact, nor shew the longitude at sea or land; “ but on the contrary they will be subject to great “ qualities

fidant, Council and Fellows of the Royal Society to direct and appoint him with respect to the subject and number of his Lectures. January the 11th 1664 he was elected by that Society Curator of Experiments for life, with an additional Salary to Sir John Cutler's annuity (l). During the recess of the Royal Society on account of the plague in 1665, he attended Dr. Wilkins and some other ingenious Gentlemen into Surrey, near Banstead Downs, where they made several Experiments (m). September the 19th 1666 he produced to the Royal Society a model for rebuilding the City of London destroyed by fire, with which the Society were well pleased; and Sir John Laurence, the late Lord Mayor, addressed himself to the Society, expressing the present Lord Mayor's and Aldermen's approbation of it, they preferring it before the model of the City Surveyor. It is said, that by one part of this model of Mr. Hooke's it was designed to have all the chief streets, as from Leaden-Hall-Corner to Newgate, and the like, to lie in an exact

strait

(l) *List of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 10, 11.

(m) *Ibid.* pag. 11.

“ qualities of motion and carriage, and will be apt
 “ with many of these motions to be stopped. . . I for-
 “ bear now to mention any farther the carriage of
 “ the writer of the *Transactions* in this affair.” Mr.
 Hooke's resentment to Mr. Oldenburg, the publisher
 of the *Philosophical Transactions*, appears strongly from
 this passage; and the reason of it was, that when
 Mr. Oldenburg inserted an extract of the *Journal des
 Sçavans* concerning Mr. Huygens's new invention of
very exact and portable watches, he did not take notice,
 that this invention was first found out by Mr.
 Hooke, and long since published by him to the world.
 Mr. Oldenburg, on occasion of his advertising this very
 treatise of *Helioscopes* in the *Philosophical Transactions*
 for the year 1675, No. 118, undertakes to justify him-
 self from any blame on this account by saying, “ It is
 “ certain the describer of helioscopes some years ago
 “ caused to be actually made some watches of this
 “ kind, yet without publishing a description of them
 “ in print to the world. And it is as true, that none
 “ of these watches succeeded, nor was any thing since
 “ done to amend the invention, until Mr. Huygens, by
 “ a letter to the Royal Society, communicated to them
 “ a contrivance of his very exact pocket-watches; for
 “ which intelligence the said Society thought fit to
 “ return him thanks, yet so as to intimate to him,
 “ that Mr. Hooke had some years ago invented a
 “ watch of the like structure. Not long after this
 “ came over a description of Mr. Huygens's invention,
 “ together with a delineation of the figure of the
 “ fame, which I produced at the public meeting of
 “ the Royal Society, where Mr. Hooke not only saw
 “ it, but took a copy of the figure itself at the same
 “ time . . . Which done, both figure and description
 “ were at Mr. Huygen's desire printed in the *Trans-
 actions*, No. 112; Mr. Hooke well knowing, that
 “ they were designed to be published in one of those
 “ tracts, and who might therefore, if he had desired
 “ notice should be taken at the same time of his earlier
 “ invention, have given the author of them some inti-
 “ mation of it, which would certainly have been
 “ complied with, as hath been done upon other occa-
 “ sions; witness several of the same tracts, wherein
 “ divers discoveries of this accuser have been formerly
 “ both printed and vindicated from the usurpation of
 “ others.” Mr. Hooke was highly provoked at
 Mr. Oldenburg's asserting, that none of his watches suc-
 ceeded; and therefore in the postscript to his *Lampas*,
 printed at London 1677, he thus replies to it.
 “ The publisher of the *Transactions* in that of October
 “ 1675, endeavours to cover former injuries by accu-
 “ mulating new ones . . . Otherwise he would not
 “ have affirmed, that none of my watches succeeded.
 “ For how could he be sure of a negative, whom I
 “ have not acquainted with my inventions, since I
 “ looked on him as one, that made a trade of intelli-
 “ gence? Next, whereas he denies their being pub-
 “ lished to the world in print, he prevaricates, and
 “ would have it believed they were not published to
 “ the world, though they were publicly read of in
 “ Sir John Cutler's Lectures; . . . and though they
 “ were made and shewn to thousands both English
 “ and foreigners, and writ of to many; and lastly,
 “ in the year 1666 published to the world in print
 “ in the *History of the Royal Society*.” Mr. Hooke
 likewise answers to what Mr. Oldenburg alleged
 about his taking a copy of Mr. Huygen's draught
 and description, and to some other particulars of his
 defence. But as he had insinuated, that Mr. Olden-
 burg was not faithful in the management of the Royal

Society's intelligence, the latter obtained the follow-
 ing declaration from the Council of the Society, dated
 November 20, 1676. “ Whereas the publisher of the
 “ *Philosophical Transactions* hath made complaint to
 “ the Council of the Royal Society of some passages
 “ in a late book of Mr. Hooke, intitled, *Lampas*, &c.
 “ and printed by the Printer of the said Society, re-
 “ flecting on the integrity and faithfulness of the said
 “ publisher in his management of the intelligence of
 “ the said Society: this Council hath thought fit to
 “ declare in the behalf of the publisher aforesaid, that
 “ they knew nothing of the publication of the said
 “ book; and farther, that the said publisher hath car-
 “ ried himself faithfully and honestly in the manage-
 “ ment of the intelligence of the Royal Society, and
 “ given no just cause of such reflection.” Mr. Richard
 Waller observes (6), that Mr. Hooke informed him,
 that about the year 1660, he having shewn a move-
 ment regulated by a spiral spring to the Lord Broun-
 ker, &c, and “ Mr. Huygens having for some time ap-
 “ plied himself to invent several ways to regulate time-
 “ keepers by the correspondence he held with Mr.
 “ Oldenburg, among other matters had notice of
 “ this, for which there was afterwards an application
 “ made to procure a patent. This is indeed possible,
 “ continues Mr. Waller; but whether it were so or not,
 “ I cannot determine. That Mr. Hooke had, many
 “ years before Huygens mentioned it, discovered the
 “ invention, is certain by what is related in the *History
 of the Royal Society* among several new inventions,
 “ in these words; *There have been invented several
 kinds of pendulum watches for the pocket, wherein the
 motion is regulated by springs, &c.* Now though
 “ this does not mention the springs being spiral, or
 “ fastned to the arbor of the balance, yet it appears
 “ it was so by what is related above; and a passage
 “ I have seen in a letter from Sir Robert Moray to
 “ Mr. Oldenburg, dated Oxon Sept. 30, 1665, clears
 “ it, in which are these words: *You [meaning Olden-
 burg] will be the first that knows when his [that is
 Huygens's] watches will be ready; and I will there-
 fore expect from you an account of them, and, if he
 imparts to you what he does, let me know it. To that
 purpose you may ask him, if he doth not apply a
 spring to the arbor of the balance, and that will
 give him occasion to say somewhat to you. If it
 be that, you may tell him what Hooke has
 DONE IN THAT MATTER, AND WHAT HE
 INTENDS MORE.* Although I cannot be assur-
 ed what Oldenburg wrote to Monsieur Huy-
 gens; yet it is probable their intimacy procured
 “ what he knew; and it is evident, that Huygens's
 “ discovery of this was first published in the *Journal
 des Sçavans*, and from thence in the *Philosophical
 Transactions* for March 25th, 1675, about ten years
 “ after that letter of Sir Robert Moray's, and near
 “ fifteen after Hooke's first discovery of it. To this
 “ I shall add what Mr. Oldenburg has printed, *Philos.
 Transact.* No. 118. *It is certain the describer of
 Helioscopes [meaning Hooke] some years ago caused
 to be actually made some watches of this kind; which
 indeed (he there says) were unsuccessful.* Which
 “ whether so or not, I cannot learn so many years
 “ after, though I am inclined to think that expression
 “ proceeded from passion; the invention and principle
 “ of Hooke's and Huygens's being both the very same
 “ as are now used.” Mr. Waller then remarks (7), (7) *Ibid.* pag. 7.
 that in the declaration of the Council of the Royal So-
 ciety in behalf of Mr. Oldenburg, there is no contra-
 diction to Mr. Hooke's being the first in that inven-
 tion;

(6) *List of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 6.

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 7.

strait line, and all the other cross streets turning out of them at right angles, and all the churches, public buildings, market-places, &c. in proper and convenient places. The rebuilding of the city, according to the Act of Parliament, requiring an able person to set out the ground to the several proprietors, Mr. Hooke was pitched upon and appointed one of the City-Surveyors, Mr. John Oliver a glass-painter being the other (n). In this employment he got most part of that estate, which he died possessed of, as was evident by a large iron chest of money found after his death, which had been locked down with the key in it, with a date of the time, by which it appeared to have been so shut up for above thirty years. In this was contained the greatest part of what he left behind him, which was to the value of many thousand pounds in gold and silver. "That he might by this place justly acquire a considerable estate, says Mr. Waller (o), I think (o) Life of Dr. Hooke, pag. 13. "cannot be denied, every particular person after the fire being in haste to have his con-
cerns

(n) Ibid. pag. 13; and Wood, Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

tion; and that it cannot be denied but that Mr. Hooke was frequently desired to perfect his inventions about watches and time-keepers, which, when urged, he as often promised, and when any new contrivance was by any person produced, he then shewed something of his own, either the same, or excelling it, which was a proof that he had tried the same before. Particularly when on the 9th of August 1666, Mr. Mercator shewed to the Society a watch of his own invention, representing the æquation of time to the approbation of the company, Mr. Hooke at the same time produced a new piece of watch-work of his own contrivance to measure time exactly both at sea and land, of which he was desired to bring in the description, which, though promised, was, it seems, never done. But to proceed to our author's other performances; in 1655 and 1656, there were many curious experiments, observations, and enquiries made at Oxford, and instruments for those purposes contrived, as particularly the Barometer, of which Mr. Hooke says, the first occasion of the invention was a suggestion of Mr. Christopher Wren, in order to find whether the hypothesis of Des Cartes for giving the reason of the tides from the pressure of the moon upon the air in its passage by the Meridian were true or not. About 1658 or 1659, he observes that he "contrived several Astronomical instruments for making observations both at sea and land, which I afterwards, says he, produced before the Royal Society." Some of these seem to be the instruments mentioned in his Astronomical Lectures published in his *Posthumous Works* (8). About the same time he contrived the Circular Pendulum, and the use of it for continuing the motion of another Pendulum, which he afterwards shewed to the Royal Society in 1663; about which time and afterwards there are several particulars relating to the Circular Pendulum entered into the Journals of that Society as his. A movement to this purpose is described in his *Animadversions on the first part of the Machina Cœlestis*, p. 68, Edit. London, 1674. In 1661 he published at London in 8vo. *An Attempt for the explanation of the Phœnomena, observable in an experiment published by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; in the XXXVth Experiment of his Epistological Discourse touching the Air; and the same year at London in 4to, A Discourse of a new Instrument lately invented by him to make more accurate Observations in Astronomy than ever were yet made, &c.* May 14th or December 17th 1662, he read to the Society an *Account of the Diversity of the Parts of water.* November 26th, *A brief Account of the Experiments tried with Glass-Balls, and a conjecture of the cause.* December 10th, *An Account of the Rarefaction of the Air; and Observables in the six branched Figures frozen in Urine; Figures observed in Waters frozen; Figures observed in snow: And of the difference of Gravity by removing the body further from the Surface of the Earth upwards.* December the 24th he read a paper, of *driving Water out of a Glass by its own Vapours.* January 14th, 1663, he read an account of *some Tryals for finding how much the pressure of Water is increased by the Descent of heavier, or the Ascent of lighter bodies therein; and An Account of an Experiment touching the different Weight of cold and warm water.* January the 28th, he read an *Account of some Tryals for finding out the Pressure of the parts of Water upon one another, and the elastical power of the Air.* February the 11th he read a paper of *the Refraction of Ice.* February the 18th he read a *Description of the Instrument for finding the Force of falling Bodies.* May the

(8) See pag. 500, &c.

6th, 1663, he read *Queries concerning the Condensation of Air, to be resolved by Experiments in the Compressing Engine.* May the 13th he read a paper of *Experiments proposed to be made in the Compressing Engine.* And on the same day, or the 20th following, he read an *Account of what happened to a Carp included in a vessel of Water, out of which the Air was pretty well exhausted.* June the 3d he read a paper of *the exhausting Air out of Water, which returns into Water again.* July the 1st or 15th he shewed an *Experiment touching the uniting and mixing of Air and Water.* July the 22d he read a *Description of the Water-raising-Engine presented by his Highness Prince Rupert to the Society, after the way of Cavallerius's Hydrocantisterium novum.* September the 9th he read a *Description of an Instrument for tryal of Gun-powder.* February the 10th he read an *Account of Experiments concerning the Weight of the Air, and the Proportion of the Weight of the Air to that of Water.* April the 13th 1664, he read an *Account of an Experiment of the rising of Water in the Bolt-head upon Immersion in cold, and falling thereof upon the Immersion of it in hot.* April the 27th he shewed an *Experiment for the Condensation of Spirit of Wine; and another for the Condensation of Water.* June the 8th he read a *brief Relation of some Observations made, and of the best information that could be had concerning the Effects of a Clap of Thunder and Lightning, which happened June the 7th, 1664, about four in the Afternoon at the Sign of the Post's Head in Piccadilly, London.* In July he produced an experiment to shew the number of Vibrations of an extended string made in a determinate time, requisite to give a certain tone or note, by which it was found that a wire making two hundred seventy two vibrations in one second of time, sounded *G Sol Re Ut* in the scale of all Music (9). He made likewise other experiments of the division of a Monochord. November the 2d, he read an *Account of a Viper's Teeth; and November the 23d an Account of opening a Viper.* December the 14th he read *Some Considerations about the most likely Way of settling an universal measure by the help of Pendulums.* In 1665 he published his *Micrographia: or some philosophical Descriptions of minute Bodies made by magnifying Glasses, with Observations and Enquiries thereupon.* London &c. in folio. March the 21st 1664, he read a paper concerning *gravity.* About the same time he produced a very small quadrant for observing accurately to minutes and seconds. It had an area moving on it by means of a screw lying on the limb of the quadrant. Possibly this was the first ever made after that manner, though it is now sufficiently known and practised. A large one of this sort and of all its parts, with the rest of the Apparatus and manner of using it, is at large published by Mr. Hooke in 1674 in his *Animadversions on Hevelius's Machina Cœlestis*, p. 54. May the 23d 1666 he read a paper, "explicating (as is said in the Journals of the Royal Society) the inflexion of a direct motion into a curve by a supervening attractive principle, which was ordered to be registered. The discourse contained therein is an introduction to an experiment to shew that circular motion is compounded of an endeavour by a direct motion by the tangent, and of another endeavour tending to the center. To which purpose there was a Pendulum fastened to the roof of the room with a large wooden ball of *Lignum Vitæ* on the end of it: and it was found, that if the *Impetus* of the endeavour by the tangent at the first setting out was stronger than the endeavour to the center, there was generated such an elliptical

(o) Life of Dr. Hooke, pag. 13.

(9) Life of Dr. Hooke, pag. 100.

cerns expedited; so that, as I have been informed, he had no rest early and late from persons soliciting to have their grounds set out; which, without any fraud or injustice, deserved a due recompence in so fatiguing an employ." Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, dying during the Society's recess in 1677, Mr. Hooke was desired to take his place, and write down the minutes of what considerable matters pass, which he did on the 25th of October the same year (p). In the beginning of the year 1687 his brother's daughter Mrs. Grace Hooke died, who had lived with him several years, the concern for whose death he hardly ever wore off, being observed from that time to grow less active, and more melancholy and cynical (q). In December 1691 having received a warrant from Dr. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, for a degree of Doctor of Physic, he went on the 7th day of that month, and took the oaths before Sir Charles Hedges in Doctors Commons. About this time he was employed about the contriving

(p) Ibid. pag. 20.

(q) Ibid. pag. 24.

elliptical motion whose longest diameter was parallel to the direct endeavour of the body at the first impulse. But if that *Impetus* were weaker than that endeavour to the center, there was generated such an elliptical motion, whose shortest diameter was parallel to the endeavour of the body in the first point of the impulse. If both were equal, there was made a perfect circular motion. There was also made another experiment by fastening another pendulous body by a short string on the lower part of the wire, by which the greater weight was suspended, that it might freely make a circular or elliptical motion round the bigger, whilst the bigger moved circularly or elliptically about the center; the intention whereof was to explicate the manner of the moon's motion about the earth, it appearing evidently thereby, that neither the biggest ball, which represented the earth, nor the less, which represented the moon, were moved in so perfect a circle or ellipsis, as otherwise they would have been, if either of them had been suspended and moved singly; but that a certain point, which seemed to be the center of gravity of the two bodies (howsoever posited and considered as one) seemed to be regularly moved, in such a circle or ellipsis, the two balls having other peculiar motions in small epicycles about the said point." August the 1st 1666 he read his *Observations of the Comet* in 1664, afterwards printed in his Tracts, and intitled, *Cometa*. November the 21st he read an *Account of Inclining Pendulums*. September the 19th he produced a model for rebuilding the city of London destroyed by the great fire. January the 9th 1669 he was ordered by the Royal Society to prosecute his observations of the earth's parallax proposed by him formerly. A large account of the result of his observations therein was printed in his *Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth*, London 1674. in 4to; being the first of his *Cutlerian Lectures* published. February the 28th following he first produced his *reflecting Telescope*, which is described, with the reason of the principle, in his treatise of *Helioscopes* printed in 1676. In a letter of Mr. John Collins, F. R. S. to a friend concerning Mr. Newton's reflecting telescope, communicated to us by the very ingenious William Jones Esq; F. R. S. we have the following passage. "Mr. Hooke finding Mr. Newton's reflecting telescope to gain esteem, did soon after put in a proposal in writing to the Royal Society in words to this effect. The perfection of telescopes, microscopes, scotoscopes, and burning-glasses, by figures as easily made, as those that are plain or spherical, whereby the light and magnitude of objects is prodigiously encreased, and whatsoever hath hitherto been attempted, or almost desired in dioptrics, and accomplished with a cypher containing the mystery: the which he disclosed to Lord Brouncker and Dr. Wren, who report plausibly of it. And what is done in this way, is performed by glass refraction. Mr. Hooke moreover affirmed, *coram multis*, that in the year 1664, he made a little tube, of about an inch long, to put in his fob, which performs more than any telescope of fifty feet long, made after the common manner: but the plague happening, which caused his absence, and the fire, whence redounded profitable employments about the city, he neglected to prosecute the same, being unwilling the glass-grinders should know any thing of the secret." March the 14th following he read to the Society a paper about making a lamp that shall always keep the surface of the oyle at the same height till it is spent. March the 21st he read a De-

scription of a very easy and simple Instrument, but universal, for the Descriptions of all kinds of plain Deals, whether Horizontal, Mural, Inclined, Reclined, or Declined, together with a Declaration of the Principles and Reasons of it. June the 17th 1667 and afterwards he read several discourses of the causes, powers, and effects of Earth-quakes, affirming the great hills and mountains in the world to have been raised by them; of which subject he at several times afterwards made very many discourses and lectures, the greatest part of which are published in his *Posthumous works*. In July 1667 he tryed several experiments upon himself in an *Exhausted Receiver* large enough to contain a man. At this time he contrived a *Micrometer* of less charge and difficulty than that invented by Mr. Gascoigne with screws. This seems to be the same with that described in his *Posthumous works* p. 498. December 19 he exhibited to the Royal Society some Experiments concerning Respiration upon Fœtus's taken out of a mastiff bitch. December the 26th he brought in a farther description of a *Sea-Barometer*. The same year his *Method for making an History of the Weather* was printed in Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, p. 173. January the 2d 1673 he proposed to the Royal Society some ways of discovering the various pressures of the air. January the 16th he produced his new contrivance of promoting the vibrations of pendulums, so as to prevent all checks, which he affirmed had not been provided against by any contrivance to that time. March the 12th he exhibited the description of an instrument for collecting the wind, or for making the slower motions of the air sensible. April the 9th 1668 he produced two instruments to promote the sense of hearing. May the 14th he shewed an experiment of the penetration of liquors in oyl of vitriol and fair water. May the 21st he gave an account of an experiment of statics to examine the incorporating of liquors. May the 28th he read an account of an experiment to shew the dilatation of bodies. June the 11th he communicated an observation about the feed of moss. He afterwards proposed to the Royal Society several methods of measuring of a degree of the earth, and invented several instruments; and, as is entered in the *Journal* of that Society, October the 28th 1669, he was of opinion, "that one of the exactest ways of measuring was, by making accurate observations of the heavens to a second by a perpendicular tube, and then to take exact distances by angles to a second also." This seems to be the method observed by the French not long after, as may be seen by a particular treatise of it published by Monsieur Picart, as likewise by what Du Hamel says in his *History of the Academy of Sciences*, pag. 98. It appears also by some notices and loose papers of Mr. Hooke, that he invented a sort of travelling calash for this purpose, which should describe upon a paper, not only the mensuration of the way gone over, but the several ascents and descents, together with the turnings and windings of the calash, or the points of the compass, upon which the person travelled, with other contrivances. There were also other models for measuring a degree proposed to be made in St. James's Park on the Canal, which were never prosecuted. In January 1672 he first proposed a drop of Mercury for an universal standard, which is described more at large in his *Posthumous Works*, pag. 472. In April following he shewed an experiment with a solution of copper to represent the appearance of clouds and other aerial meteors, by dropping into it several salts, &c. At the

contriving and surveying the hospital near Hoxton, given by the will of Alderman Aske, and remarkable for the due proportion of its parts, and beauty of the whole. He was blamed for exceeding the sum at first proposed to be expended upon it; and he owned to Mr. Richard Waller, that it had far exceeded the first estimate, which he had given in of the charges, but not by his fault or mistake, but partly by new additions and alterations of the first design, and chiefly by his not procuring and agreeing with the workmen himself; which if he had done, as he said, he would have engaged that it should have come to little or no more than his first proposed sum. He also proposed, that there might be instituted in that place a mathematical school for boys to be instructed in the principles of Astronomy and Navigation; which at first was well approved of by the persons concerned in the management of that affair (r). On the 18th of July 1696 his Chancery-suit for Sir John Cutler's salary was determined in his favour to his great

(r) Ibid. pag.
25.

the same time he shewed the use of introducing the species into a dark room for painting, and contrived a box for that purpose. In March 1671 he shewed several experiments to explain the nature and cause of gravity. Particularly on the 9th of that month an experiment was made, in which some flower put into a void shallow glass with a large sloping brim and a pretty tall foot, was made to rise and ran over like a fluid, by the knocking on the edge of the glass, and also by the forcibly moving of one's finger round the edge of the same. Leaden bullets also being put into this glass did by knocking move it like a fluid. This was proposed to consider what might be the cause of gravity, and suggest an hypothesis to explicate the motion of gravity. The same year several discourses and papers past between him and Mr. Isaac Newton concerning a new theory of light and colours. About this time he made a proposition for perfecting all sorts of optic glasses, the secret of which was delivered in an anagram to the Lord Brouncker. Not long after this began a dispute between Monsieur Hevelius and Mr. Hooke concerning the preference of plain and telescopic sights for astronomical instruments, which was thus occasioned. Mr. Hooke by means of Mr. Oldenburg had recommended to Hevelius the application of telescopic sights to his exquisitely contrived and elaborated instruments, affirming that by them an angle might be taken to a much greater exactness than with plain sights, and gave him a short, but, as he thought, a sufficient information of the manner of applying them to the instrument; and intimated, that if any thing required a farther explanation, he was ready to give it. However Hevelius could not be prevailed with to make use of them; whether he thought himself too experienced to be informed by a young Astronomer, as he considered Mr. Hooke; or whether having made so many observations with plain sights, he was unwilling to alter his method, lest he might bring their exactness into question; or whether being by long practice accustomed to the use of them, and not thoroughly apprehending the use of the other, nor well understanding the difference, as Mr. Molyneux has observed in his *Dioptrics*, is indeed uncertain. Not long after came out the first Part of his *Machina Cœlestis*; and Mr. Hooke took occasion in his *Cutlerian Lectures* to read several discourses upon that book and the instruments therein described, which Lectures were printed in 1674 at London in 4to, under the title of *Animadversions on the first Part of the Machina Cœlestis of the learned and deservedly famous Astronomer Johan. Hevelius, Consul of Dantzick*. In this Treatise defending zealously the use of telescopic sights and their preference to plain sights, he happened to let fall some expressions, which gave offence to Hevelius; who several years after published his *Annus Climactericus*, which revived the dispute, and caused several learned men to interest themselves in the controversy. We shall here subjoin from Mr. Hooke's manuscripts what he wrote himself in answer to what some persons had written upon this subject. But for the better understanding of this, we shall observe, first, that Hevelius having sent his *Annus Climactericus* to the Royal Society, Dr. Wallis was desired to give an account of it, which was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* Num. 175. pag. 1162, in which the Doctor having used some expressions, which Mr. Hooke thought reflected too severely upon him; and Mr. Molyneux not long after sending

a letter to the same purpose, he wrote the following vindication of himself. "There having been lately read in a meeting of this honourable Society a letter from Mr. Molyneux, containing several reflections that concerned me, which, without some satisfactory answer, mult needs make me suffer in the opinion of those, who have not truly understood the matter of controversy; and the high esteem I have of the justice and judgment of this illustrious company, persuades me the rather to make my defence here. The objections in the letter were these. "That if it be true, which has been asserted, not only by some celebrated Astronomers, but chiefly by Mr. Hooke in his *Animadversions*, &c. the endeavours of Hevelius will be frustrated, and his vast charges to no more purpose than Tycho's, and all his splendid Apparatus but meer lumber. For upon this question as to plain sights, the price of his Astronomical labours of his whole life depends. But surely this were an event highly deplorable, not only to the party himself immediately concerned, but the whole *Respublica Literaria*. Secondly, mention is made of the slowness and smallness of what I had published, which was only a pamphlet, that asserted, that notwithstanding all this, yet merely for want of telescopic sights and some new kind of invented divisions on Mr. Hevelius's instruments, I went so far as to doubt, whether his observations could be true, and always the same to two or three minutes, and that the whole import of it besides this was nothing but the description of an instrument, which he never heard was put in practice. The third objection against me is, that though Monsieur Hevelius had earnestly requested from me or any one else, that I had telescopic instruments, to send him some distances of fixed stars observed by them; yet he could never be so happy as to obtain any from me, though afterwards he did from some others, &c. These and some other discourses spread abroad tacitly insinuate, that the publishing those *Animadversions* was a very ill action; and the learned in general have received a great prejudice thereby. It concerns me therefore to clear myself of this imputation. For answer then I say, First, If what I have published in those *Animadversions* be true and certain, then I desire to know whether it were better for the *Respublica Literaria* to be acquainted with it, or to remain possessed with the belief of some assertions of Monsieur Hevelius, which are really mistakes (not to say worse) though possibly till that time, wherein I published them, they were generally believed to be truths, as he has taken a great deal of pains to induce a belief of in the first Part of his *Machina Cœlestis* from pag. 293 to pag. 300. which I rather mention, because some persons have thought and asserted, that I was the first aggressor in print, the contrary to which those six pages assert. Secondly, Whether those deplorable events of lessening the price of Monsieur Hevelius's works, if that were true, when put into the balance, will outweigh the detesting a mistake, or discovery of a truth in a matter of so great moment in Natural Philosophy, as concerns the most considerable parts of knowledge in the theory of the Universe, especially of celestial bodies; for if truth be that, which is most prevalent with all philosophical spirits against any particular interest; then,

great satisfaction, after it had made him uneasy for several years. In his Diary he shews his sense of it in these terms DOMSH GLISSA, which may be read thus : *Deo opt. max. summus Honor, Gloria in secula seculorum Amen. I was born on this day of July 1635, and God has given me a new birth : may I never forget his mercies to me, whilst he gives me breath, may I praise him.* His health was extremely broken a considerable time before his death, and his sight failed him. He died March the 3d 1703, being sixty seven years, seven months and thirteen days old. His corps was decently interred in the church of St. Hellen at London, being attended by all the members of the Royal Society then in town. As to his person, he was but despicable, being very crooked, and always pale and meagre. He wore his own hair of a dark brown colour, very long, and hanging neglected over his face, uncut and lank ; which about three years before his

“ then, I hope, I shall prove I have not offended
 “ in that particular in my publication of those
 “ *Animadversions*. And Hevelius himself was of
 “ the same mind, when at the sixty first page
 “ of his *Preface* he writes, (speaking of his dis-
 “ paraging some things of Tycho Brahe) *in hoc*
 “ *negotio semper in cujusvis animo herere debet, a-*
 “ *micus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, sed magis tamen*
 “ *amica veritas*. Nor do I find him so shy in pro-
 “ claiming the mistakes of Tycho's observations, when
 “ it was made for his own reputation ; for in the
 “ thirty fourth page of his preface he says, that the
 “ greatest part of Tycho's observations differed from
 “ his own four, five, six, and even ten minutes. At
 “ the thirty ninth page he says, that of 780 in Tycho's
 “ catalogue there are but 260 which differ not less
 “ than two minutes ; but all the rest differ 3' 5' 10'
 “ 20' 30' 40' 45' 50', nay a whole degree from the
 “ truth, and that fifteen differ above a degree, and
 “ some many more, even to eight degrees in longi-
 “ tude, and in latitude to thirteen whole degrees,
 “ sometimes in defect, sometimes in excess ; yet for all
 “ this *Hevelius* would be thought highly to value Tycho
 “ Brahe, and not to have made any reflections upon
 “ him. Nor has the detecting mistakes even in per-
 “ sons of as great fame been looked upon so ill a
 “ thing, but rather a meritorious action, as might be
 “ instanced in Dr. Pell's short answer in a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a sheet
 “ of paper to Longomontanus's work, which had
 “ been the business of thirty years. Another instance
 “ may be of Phocildes upon Lansbergius, the learned
 “ Savilian Astronomic Professor against Bullialdus &c.
 “ all which authors were well esteemed for their detecting
 “ mistakes, and discovering truth. And as for any
 “ disrespectful or undervaluing sentiments I had of He-
 “ velius or his performances, I hope what I have
 “ printed in my *Animadversions* will prevail with the
 “ unprejudiced to believe the contrary, where I say,
 “ p. 43, and 44 ; *That I would not be understood by*
 “ *these Animadversions to undervalue the works and per-*
 “ *formances of a person so highly meriting the thanks of*
 “ *the learned world, for his great expence and vast pains,*
 “ *in performing a work so highly useful to astronomy and*
 “ *navigation, that I did not in the least doubt but that*
 “ *it would be a work of perpetual esteem, and much pre-*
 “ *ferable to any thing of the like kind yet done in the*
 “ *world ; and that he had gone as far as was possible*
 “ *for humane industry to go with instruments of that kind,*
 “ *which were as complete and exact as instruments with*
 “ *plain sights could be made ; and that he had calculated*
 “ *with all imaginable care and skill, and delivered*
 “ *them with the like candor and integrity. But yet*
 “ *that it was my opinion, that this ought not to discourage*
 “ *others from making use of telescope-sights, and to make*
 “ *better observations with instruments by that means*
 “ *more exact.* This I hope may apologize for my
 “ writing those *Animadversions*. But in the next place,
 “ I must make some defence for what is said in them.
 “ This Gentleman says, I went so far as to doubt
 “ whether Hevelius's observations could be made true
 “ and always the same to two or three minutes. I
 “ with the place had been quoted where I said so,
 “ since I only said p. 7. that I believed it impossible
 “ for any one to distinguish with common sights any
 “ distance in the heavens to less than half a minute,
 “ and very few to a minute. And I am apt to be-
 “ lieve there may be some instances even in Hevelius's
 “ catalogue, that will verify this assertion. And for
 “ any other assertion, which is really mine in that
 “ treatise, I do not doubt of satisfying any unpre-
 “ judiced person by experiment if desired, which I say

“ is really my assertion ; for by mistake or otherwise,
 “ some things have been fathered upon me I never
 “ said, viz. that I should assert, *that an instrument of*
 “ *a span radius might be made, that should perform*
 “ *observations sixty times more accurate than could be*
 “ *done with his best instruments.* Which assertion is
 “ none of mine, and whoever have spread these fal-
 “ sities, might have found better employment. I say
 “ indeed, that a very small instrument, curiously made,
 “ exactly divided and instructed with telescope-sights,
 “ will perform much better in all observations (except
 “ the sun) than the largest instruments without such
 “ sights, for the reason before alledged from the defect
 “ in our eyes, which cannot distinguish an angle less
 “ than half a minute ; nor is this a defect in my own
 “ eyes only (as Hevelius somewhere seems to hint)
 “ for the experiment may easily be tried with the best
 “ eyes. Nor is it any disparagement to Hevelius's
 “ observations to compare them with Tycho Brahe's,
 “ though I should have supposed them but of equal
 “ value ; since the mere repeating of his observations
 “ would be of great use in astronomy, these being al-
 “ most one hundred years after his. For we must by
 “ such comparisons judge of many considerable en-
 “ quiries concerning celestial bodies, which cannot by
 “ other means be so well detected, for which I refer
 “ to the 76th page of my *Animadversions*, viz. to know
 “ whether those celestial bodies, which are supposed to
 “ fixed, do not vary their positions to each other, and
 “ also their magnitudes, which I had good grounds to
 “ believe. As to the objection, that my pamphlet
 “ contained little besides the description of an instrument
 “ never put in practice. I conceive there may be se-
 “ veral mistakes ; for I am of opinion, upon perusal
 “ there will be somewhat else in that treatise worth
 “ consideration. Next that there have been instru-
 “ ments made, perfected, and used after that way by
 “ Sir Jonas Moore, by Mr. Gregory in Scotland, by
 “ Mr. Halley and many others ; I believe very few
 “ astronomical instruments since have been made with
 “ plain sights. And if the multitude of authorities
 “ were necessary, I could produce Auzout, Picart,
 “ Mariot, Romer, de la Hire, Montaneri, Gotignies,
 “ and others, not to name those of our own nation.
 “ As to my not returning the observations of certain
 “ distances of stars, which Hevelius desired, it is suffi-
 “ ciently known what inconveniences we lay under in
 “ this place after the fire of London ; and had I found
 “ conveniences, yet the unkind reception those things
 “ found, which I sent him, was enough to deter me
 “ from such a compliance ; though he was sensible how
 “ I had often been ready to gratify his curiosity in
 “ many other particulars. But when his *Machina*
 “ *Cælestis* was published, I was obliged to write those
 “ *Animadversions*, in which, I hope, all unprejudiced
 “ readers will justify my procedure ; at least I am
 “ ready to prove any thing I have therein asserted.”
 We shall insert here an original letter of Mr. Hooke re-
 lating to the dispute between him and Hevelius, com-
 municated by the learned William Jones Esq; F. R. S.

“ Sir,

“ I thank you very much for the opportunity you
 “ have given me of being any ways serviceable to a
 “ person, who has so highly obliged the learned world
 “ as the excellent Hevelius has both by the curious
 “ and learned pieces he has already published, and by
 “ those other great undertakings, which he has given
 “ them cause to hope for and expect from his indefa-
 “ tigable endeavours. And in truth, Sir, upon the
 “ consideration of the subject he has designed, being
 “ ignorant

his death he cut off, and wore a perriwig. He was of an active, restless, indefatigable genius even almost to the last, and always slept little to his death, seldom going to sleep till two, three, or four a clock in the morning, and seldom to bed, oftner continuing his studies all night, and taking a short nap in the day. His temper was melancholy, mistrustful and jealous, which more increased upon him with his years. He was in the beginning of his being made known to the Learned, very communicative of his philosophical discoveries and inventions, till some accidents made him, to a crime, close and reserved. He laid the cause upon some persons challenging his discoveries for their own, and taking occasion from his hints to perfect what he had not, which made him say, that he would suggest nothing till he had time to perfect it himself, which was the reason that many things are lost, which he affirmed that he knew. He had a piercing judgment into

“ ignorant of what instruments he makes use of, and
 “ of what help that northern climate affords for that
 “ purpose, I have often wished, that he was furnished
 “ with as good optic glasses as are now in use in other
 “ parts of the world, and with some good method of
 “ making use of them for determining the diameters
 “ and parallaxes of the planets, and for finding the
 “ positions and distances of the smaller fixed stars, &c.
 “ for then I could not doubt to receive from his judgment
 “ and diligence in the use of them better effects
 “ than have been hitherto produced by others. And
 “ in particular I have wished, that those sextants, at
 “ least, he makes use of for measuring the distances of
 “ stars, were furnished with telescopic sights, which is
 “ no small advantage for regulating and assisting the
 “ sight, which, if he desires it, I shall be most ready
 “ to gratify him with any information, that the small
 “ experience I have in those things, will furnish me
 “ with. The longest glass I have several times made
 “ use of, is a spherical lens convex on both sides of a
 “ sphere, whose radius is 60 foot, and the focus or
 “ length of the glass is near about the same length.
 “ It is made of a piece of glass of between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$
 “ an inch thick, and between 5 and 6 inches over.
 “ It bears an aperture of about three inches, sometimes
 “ 4 or more, according to the uses I design it for.
 “ It discovers many things not visible thro’ a very good
 “ 36 glass; such as the shadow of the Satellites, and
 “ the verticity of Jupiter and Mars on their axes.
 “ Some make use of two convex eye-glasses; but I
 “ for the most part make use of but one, and a very
 “ convex lens, convex on both sides of a sphere of
 “ . . . inches radius. Sometimes I use such as are more
 “ shallow, but seldom any deeper. The method by
 “ which that I have made, was by the ordinary
 “ way in a very large dish, and wrought on the tool
 “ by the hand without any kind of engine till such
 “ time as it be exceeding bright and well polished,
 “ and have received the perfect figure of the scutella,
 “ in which it was wrought; otherwise the glass will
 “ be worth nothing; in the doing of which there is
 “ great difficulty. The tube I make use of, is about
 “ 66 or 68 feet in length, and consists only of two
 “ long square boxes or tubes made of very thin and
 “ light slit deal here and there bound together with
 “ very thin plates of iron, under which within the tube
 “ there are placed several square portions or cells,
 “ which serve to keep off the adventitious rays, and
 “ to keep the sides of the tubes square and steady.
 “ Each of these boxes are about ten inches square,
 “ and about 33 foot long. These two are thrust into
 “ a small square box in the middle about two or three
 “ foot long, made of thicker boards bound about with
 “ iron, and having two long boards fixed to them of
 “ about six foot high, and joined at the top by a
 “ piece interjacent between them. Over the top of
 “ which there is afterwards stretched a rope, that serves
 “ to set the tube strait, and to keep it from warping.
 “ This being done, the whole machine is hung by a
 “ handle after the manner of a pair of scales, the two
 “ ends of the tube near equally counterpoising each
 “ other; and by that handle it is drawn by a tackle
 “ up to any height desirable, by the strength of one
 “ man only, the whole tube not weighing at most above
 “ 200 pound weight, and when up it is manageable
 “ with the greatest facility imaginable. I have
 “ enquired the lowest rate any such object glass will
 “ be sold for, and find it will not be afforded for less
 “ than 25 pounds sterling, and the eye-glasses will cost
 “ 40 or 50 shillings more. If Mr. Hevelius desire any,
 “ upon his signifying his mind to me, I shall endeavour

“ to get him the best that can be made here, and at the
 “ lowest rate.” In 1672 our author read before the Royal
 “ Society an Account of some Experiments about Refractions
 “ and Colours. May 7, 1673, he read a paper concerning
 “ Arithmetical Instruments. January the 15th 1674,
 “ he shewed to the Royal Society a way to determine how
 “ small an angle the unassisted eye is able to discern; by
 “ which it was found, that none of the persons eyes present
 “ could observe a much less angle than of a minute.
 “ The reader may see a more ample account of this in
 “ his *Animadversions upon Hevelius’s Machina Caelestis*,
 “ pag. 8. From this time many magnetical experiments
 “ were made by him; and on the 19th of March following
 “ he proposed a theory of the variation, the substance
 “ whereof was this, *That the magnet hath its peculiar
 “ poles distant ten degrees from the poles of the earth,
 “ about which they move, so as to make a revolution in
 “ three hundred and seventy years; whence the variation
 “ hath altered of late about ten or eleven minutes
 “ every year, and will probably continue to do so for some
 “ time, till it begins to grow slower and slower, and will
 “ at length be stationary and retrograde, and in probability
 “ may return.* At the same time he proposed the
 “ making of a very easy and nice instrument to observe
 “ the variation of the variations of the needle in different
 “ parts of the world. What this instrument was, is
 “ difficult to be determined now; but the figure of an
 “ instrument something to that purpose may be seen in
 “ his *Posthumous Works*, pag. 486. February the 4th,
 “ 1673, several observations and discourses having been
 “ made in the Royal Society about the structure of the
 “ muscles of animals, Mr. Hooke said, “ That his
 “ observation was, that the fleshy part of a muscle
 “ consisted of an infinite number of exceedingly small
 “ round pipes, extended between the two tendons of
 “ the muscles, and seemed to end in them: which
 “ tendons in the muscles of beef boiled would be easily
 “ stript off from these pipes, and so leave the round
 “ ends of those pipes very distinct and visible. That
 “ the reason of the moving of a muscle might be
 “ from the filling or emptying of those pipes, whose
 “ sides seemed to be flexible like those of a gut.”
 “ He intimated likewise, that he knew a way of making
 “ succedaneous muscles for a man to supply the defect of
 “ his muscles for flying, and give one man the strength
 “ of ten or twenty, if required. March the 18th he made
 “ an experiment of a new property of light, having before
 “ read some discourses upon that subject. This experiment
 “ is published in his *Posthumous Works*, p. 186. In 1676
 “ he published his *Description of Helioscopes, and some other
 “ Instruments*, London, in 4to. and in 1677 his
 “ *Lampas: Or a Description of some Mechanical Improvements
 “ of Lamps and Water-pipes*. London, 1677, in 4to. The
 “ same year being chosen Secretary of the Royal Society
 “ in the room of Mr. Oldenburg, he shewed several
 “ experiments and instruments in order to explain the
 “ gravitation and alterations in the air by vapours, &c.
 “ contriving an air-pan to shew the different specific
 “ gravity of the air by a large thin ball of glass
 “ counter-poised. In February 1673, upon account of
 “ Monsieur Gallet’s observation of the oval figure of
 “ Mercury in the Sun, he gave several reasons for the
 “ prolated oval figure of the planets, some of which
 “ are printed in his *Posthumous Works*, pag. 355, with
 “ a demonstration thereof. He remarked, “ that
 “ all fluids on the surface would run into that shape,
 “ and that it was not improbable but that the water
 “ here about the earth might do so by the influence of
 “ the diurnal motion of the earth, which compounded
 “ with that of the moon, he conceived to be the cause
 “ of tides.” From this time he made microscopical
 “ observations

into the dispositions of others, and would sometimes give shrewd guesses and smart characters. From his youth he had been used to a collegiate or rather monastic life, which might be some reason of his continuing to live so like an Hermit or Cynic too penuriously, when his circumstances, as to estate, were very considerable, scarcely affording himself necessaries. He declared sometimes that he had a great project in his head as to the disposal of the most part of his estate for the advancement of natural knowledge, and to promote the ends and designs, for which the Royal Society was instituted; to build an handsome fabrick for the Society's use, with a Library, Repository, Laboratory, and other conveniences for making experiments; and to found and endow a perpetual Physico-Mechanic-Lecture of the nature of what himself read. But though he was often sollicitated by his friends to put his designs down in writing, and make his will as to the disposal

observations on *Animalcula* in pepper-water and other feeds steeped in water, confirming Monsieur Liewenhoeck's assertions; and proposed some improvements of microscopes. Some proposals were made by him of instruments more accurate than those formerly invented for sounding the sea's depth, and bringing up any substances from the bottom, or any assigned depth; which were some years after more perfected. April the 25th, 1678, he shewed an experiment farther to explain the action of a muscle, "which was by a chain of small bladders fastened together, so as by blowing into one pipe, the whole might be successively filled, and by that means contracted, supposing the fibres of the muscles, which seemed like a necklace of pearl in the microscope, might be filled with a very agil matter, which he thought most likely to be air, which being included in so thin skins was easily wrought upon by heat, cold, or the acting properties of the liquors that pass between them, and so perform the lengthening and contracting of the muscles." The same year he published *Lectures and Collections, &c.* London, 1678, in 4to. The first lecture contains observations on the comet in April 1677. In August the same year he read several discourses, and shewed experiments in order to confirm his theory of springs and springing bodies, which are published in his book intitled *Lectures de Potentia restitutiva: Or, of Springs, explaining the Power of Springing Bodies.* London, 1678, in 4to. The sum of this hypothesis is comprized in a cypher at the end of his *Description of Helioscopes*, being the third of a decimate of inventions, which he there mentions, that he was master of; some of which he discovered himself, affirming that he had a century of the like useful inventions. Others of them Mr. Richard Waller had the good fortune to find out (10), who first transcribes what Mr. Hooke says of them, and then adds the decyphering of them. The second invention, which is the first cypher, is thus expressed: "The true Mathematical and Mechanical Form of all manner of arches for building, with the true butment necessary to each of them, a problem, which no architectonic writer hath ever yet attempted, much less performed: *ab, ccc, dd, eeeee, f, gg, iiiiii, ll, mmmm, nnnn, oo, p, rr, sss, ttttt, uuuuuuu, x*; which decyphered is these words; *ut pendet continuum flexile, sic stabit continuum rigidum inuersum*, which is the *Linea Catenaria*." The third is his Theory of Springiness in these letters, *ce, iii, no, sss, tt, uu*, which signifies *ut tensio sic vis*: this is the principle of his Theory of Springs. The ninth, which is the next cypher, is concerning a new sort of Philosophical Scales of great use in Experimental Philosophy, *cde, ii, nn, oo, p, sss, tt, uu, Ut pondus sic tensio*. The last is mentioned as a very extraordinary invention in Mechanics above the chimeras of perpetual motions for several uses; *aa, a, b, cc, dd, eeeee, g, iii, l, mmm, nn, oo, pp, q, rrr, s, ttt, uuuuu*; *Pondere premit aer vacuum quod ab igne relictum est*. This seems to be the same with the Marquis of Worcester's method of raising water by fire, and is the 68th of his century of inventions, published in the year 1663; and is the principle upon which Mr. Savery's engine for raising water is founded. In 1679 he printed this general title to his six Lectures before published, viz. *Lectiones Cutlerianæ: Or, a Collection of Lectures, Physical, Mechanical, Geographical, and Astronomical, &c. together with an Index*. He began likewise in October the same year to publish, in 4to, *Philosophical Collections, containing an account of such Physical, Anatomical, Chymical, &c. Observations, as*

have lately come to hand. The last number of which was published in April 1682. February the 5th, 1679, he exhibited to the Royal Society an Account of the weight of Lead and Tin singly, or when melted together. In the beginning of the same year, and afterwards, he repeated several experiments to examine the use of the air in respiration, by including animals in common rarified and condensed air; as likewise concerning the necessity of the air to maintain fire, in order to illustrate his theory of fire further, viz. "That air is a menstruum that dissolves all fulfurous bodies by burning, and that without air no such dissolution will follow, though the heat applied be ever so weak;" which was tried particularly by a charcoal enclosed in an iron case with a screw stopper, which though violently heated, yet the coal was not burnt nor wasted when taken out. He made some experiments to explain the different gravitation of the air, and to shew that vapours press only according to their own gravity, and not according to the space, which they take up in the atmosphere. He shewed some contrivances to be added to the weather-cock, as an hygroscope; a contrivance to measure the quantity of rain, snow, or hail, fallen in a certain time, which engine was soon after perfected in all its parts, and set up in the Repository of the Royal Society. In July the same year he read before that Society a discourse concerning a way to help short sighted persons, which he called *Myopibus Juuvenam*. This is printed in his third *Collection*, p. 59. At the same time he gave his thoughts concerning the reason of the different apparent magnitude of the sun and moon in the meridian, and near the horizon, which he supposed to be a deception of the eye, as judging them, when near the horizon, to be further off than when nearer the zenith, because, as he alleged, the diameters measured were really the same in both places, or rather something less in the horizon than in the zenith, being removed a semidiameter of the earth further off. He made experiments of the mixtures of metals, particularly of copper and tin, in which there was observed a real penetration, the *Compositum* being specifically heavier than either of the metals before mixture; for whereas copper is to water as 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and tin to water as 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, the *Compositum* was as 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. In December the same year an experiment being suggested to try whether the earth moved with a diurnal motion or not, by the fall of a body from a considerable height, and it being alleged that it would fall to the east of the true perpendicular, Mr. Hooke read a discourse on that subject, wherein he explained what the line described by a falling body must be, supposed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity; and shewed that it would not be a spiral line, but an eccentric-elliptoid, supposing no resistance in the medium; but supposing a resistance, it would be an excentric-ellipti-spiral, which after many revolutions would rest in the center at last; and that the fall of the body would not be directly east, but to the south-east, and more to the south than the east. This was tried, and the ball was still found to fall to the south-east. The remainder of this year was spent in making experiments of the mixture of several metals. Among the rest Mr. Hooke took notice of the mixture of copper and tin of several particulars; as, first, "That the colour of the copper was quite destroyed, it appearing much of the colour of iron polished. Secondly, that the composition, though made of two very malleable metals, was yet very brittle and friable. Thirdly, that it bore

(10) *Life of Dr. Hooke*, pag. 20, 21.

disposal of his estate to his own liking in the time of his health, and after when himself and all others thought his end drew near; yet he could never be prevailed with to perfect it, still procrastinating it, till at last this great design proved an airy phantom, and vanished into nothing. Thus he died at last without any will or testament that could be found. He always expressed a great veneration for the Deity, as may be seen in a great many passages of his writings, and seldom received any remarkable benefit from God without thankfully acknowledging the mercy; he never made any considerable discovery in nature, or invented any useful contrivance, or found out any difficult problem, without setting down his acknowledgment to God, as many places in his Diary testify, frequently in these and the like words, abbreviated thus, DOMGM. He was a frequent studier of the Scripture in the originals. "To conclude, says Mr. Waller (s), all his errors and "blemishes were more than made amends for by the greatness and extent of his natural
" and

(s) Ibid. pag.
28.

" bore a pretty good polish and reflexion. Fourthly, " that though copper is exceedingly hard to be melted, yet the mixture melted very easily. Fifthly, " that viewing the polished surface with a microscope, " it appeared very full of small holes in the metal." In April 1680 he produced a new invented level. In May he read a paper of observations upon an unusual sort of hail-stones, which fell on the 18th of that month. June the 27th, he read an account of the swimming of unmelted with melted lead. July the 8th, upon a debate in the Royal Society concerning the experiment of the Lord Bacon's of the internal motion of bodies, Mr. Hooke related, that he had observed, " that the motion of the glass filled with " water was observed to be vibrative, perpendicular " to the surface of the glass; and that the circular " figure changed into an oval one way; and that " the reciprocation presently changed it into an oval " the other way; which he discovered by the motion " of the undulation or rising of the water in the glass, " which was observed to be in four places of the surface in a square posture. The same glass being " struck on the edge with a viol-bow, this square " undulation was very plain; and there was also discovered another undulation, by which the water " was observed to rise in six places like an hexagon; " and upon further trials also in eight places like an octagon. Each of these gave their particular and " distinct sounds or notes, the 4 and 8 were octaves, " and the 6 and 4 were fifths." In November he read some observations which he had made of a comet then appearing; which, with other observations and discourses of other comets, are published under that title in his *Posthumous Works*, pag. 194. About this time he shewed a contrivance by a *Statera* to examine the attractive power of a magnet at several distances, and made many experiments with it. In April 1681, and afterwards, he read his lectures of *Light* and *Luminous Bodies*, which are published in his *Posthumous Works*, pag. 71, & seq. In July the same year, he shewed a way of making musical and other sounds by the striking of the teeth of several brass wheels, proportionally cut as to their numbers, and turned very fast round; in which it was observable, that the equal or proportional strokes of the teeth, that is 2 to 1, 4 to 3, &c. made the musical notes; but the unequal strokes of the teeth more answered the sound of the voice in speaking. In November he mentioned a new sea-quadrant for making observations more accurate than could be done by any instrument yet known. This is published at the end of his *Posthumous Works*. At the same time he first mentioned his new compasses for describing all sorts of spirals, as likewise of the rumb-lines. Soon after this he shewed and demonstrated a very expeditious way of drawing the rumb-lines exactly true upon a globe, by an instrument grounded upon the same principle with the other. He shewed also a very easy way of finding all the possible *Foci* of rays refracted by a *plano-spherical lens*; the convex side of which was turned towards the *Focus*; as also the quantity of rays that would pass through such a glass, whose convexity was of the full bigness of an hemisphere. In January 1681 he shewed an instrument to describe all sorts of *Helixes* upon a cone; by which he affirmed that he was able to divide any given length, though very short, into almost any assignable number of given parts, as suppose an inch into 100000 equal parts. This he conceived to be very useful for perfecting Astronomical and Geogra-

phical instruments. At the next meeting of the Royal Society he produced another instrument, by which he described a certain curve-line, which may be called an *Invented Parabola*, or *Parabolical-Hyperbola*, having these properties, that it is infinite both ways, and hath two asymptotes, as in an *Hyperbola*, &c. He shewed also a third instrument for exactly describing the spiral of Archimedes, by a new property thereof, and that as easily and truly as a circle, whereby not only any given arch might be divided into any number of equal parts, but a straight line given equal to the circumference of a circle. March the 1st he shewed a way, by the same instrument, of describing all varieties of eclipses. In the same year he read the remainder of his discourse of *Light*, and a lecture explaining the nature of memory, and how we came by the notion of time, printed in his *Posthumous Works*. From this time, or rather something before, he began to be more reserved than he had been formerly; so that though he often made experiments, and shewed new instruments and inventions, and read his *Cutlerian Lectures*, yet he seldom left any full account of them to be entered in the Journals and Registers of the Royal Society, designing, as he said, to fit them himself for the press, and then make them public, which he never performed. July the 4th, 1683, he read a paper to shew how high water will rise in any place; another concerning a rule to calculate the pressure of water in a pipe; and an account of an experiment shewing the way to find the time and comparative expansion of any metal when melted. July the 11th he shewed the Model of a new sort of Wind-Mill; and a Way to stay any great weight from falling down to the bottom, when the rope or chain, by which it is drawn, happens to break. July the 18th he shewed how to convert an horizontal circular Motion into a perpendicular, or any otherwise sloped circular Motion, and vice versa. October the 31st he shewed the Way of making of *Glew*, or transparent substance for taking the impression of Medals; and November the 7th another way with the same properties. November the 14th he shewed an Instrument to measure the Velocity of the Air or Wind, and to find the Strength thereof. November the 28th he exhibited Part of a *Way-Wiser*, for knowing the Way of a Ship at Sea. November the 5th he shewed an Instrument for the exact finding any desired part of any Weight given, being a proportional balance. December the 12th he shewed another Model of an Instrument for weighing. December the 19th he shewed Scales and Weights for triplicating any Weights small enough to be weighed by them. January the 9th, 1684, he shewed the Model of a Beam to find the aliquot or aliquant Parts of any ponderous part given. January the 16th he exhibited an Instrument for shewing the comparative weight of any two bodies, or any aliquot or aliquant parts of the ponderable bodies. January the 23d he shewed a stiliard of his invention. February the 6th he exhibited an Apparatus to try whether the magnetical Vertue in Steel might be excited and increased by any Body not accounted magnetical. February the 13th he shewed an Experiment to examine the Comparative Weight of Ice and Water. February the 20th he exhibited experiments to shew, 1. " That the bubbles " in ice are filled with air, which has the same property with common air. 2. That water, though it " is boiling hot, is yet ponderous enough to make a " piece of iron put into it swim and float upon it." February the 27th he exhibited experiments to examine the limits of heat and cold in water, as a liquid,
beyond

“ and acquired parts, and more than common, if not wonderful sagacity, in diving
 “ into the most hidden secrets of nature, and in contriving proper methods of forcing
 “ her to confess the truth, by driving and pursuing the Proteus through all her changes
 “ to her last and utmost recesses. . . . There needs no other proof for this than the great
 “ number of experiments he made, with the contrivances for them, amounting to some
 “ hundreds; his new and useful instruments and inventions, which were numerous; his
 “ admirable facility and clearness in explaining the Phænomena of Nature, and demon-
 “ strating his assertions; his happy talent in adapting theories to the Phænomena observ-
 “ ed, and contriving easy and plain, not pompous and amusing experiments to back and
 “ prove those theories; proceeding from observations to theories, and from theories to
 “ further trials, which he often asserted to be the most proper method to succeed in the
 “ interpretation of nature. For these his happy qualifications he was much respected by
 “ the most learned Philosophers both at home and abroad; and as with all his failures he
 “ may be reckoned among the great men of the last age, so had he been free from them,
 “ possibly he might have stood in the front.” He contrived the building of the new
 Bethlehem at London, Mountague House in the parish of St. Giles’s in the Fields, the
 College

beyond which it becomes a spirituous body of air, or a solid of ice. March the 19th he shewed magnetical experiments tried with several rods of steel, by touching them on the loadstone. May the 5th 1687 he read a lecture of the *Unequal Diurnal Motion of the Earth*, printed in his *Posthumous Works*. In July he shewed an experiment of the communication of motion by a packthread extended a very considerable length, and afterwards running over a pulley, brought back to the place, near to which the other end was fastened; and it was found, that any addition of weight or motion given to the one end would be immediately sensible at the other end of the string, though it must pass in going and returning so great a length. There were other ways shewn of communicating motion, as by a long cane suspended by strings, or by wires distended a great length; in which it was observable that the sound was propagated instantaneously, even as quick as the motion of light, the sound conveyed by the air coming a considerable time after that by water. June the 20th 1688 he read a farther description containing several ways of making a portable *Sea-Barometer*, with the great uses of it in foretelling changes of the weather and storms. From this time for some years we find little done by him, except his reading the lectures founded by Sir John Cutler, several of which are printed in his *Posthumous Works*. Of these he read in December 1691 several relating to improvements of sounding instruments, which he called *Nuntii inanimati ad fundum Abyssii emissarii*. Thursday September the 8th 1692 he lets down an earthquake observed by himself 55 minutes past one a clock *p. m.* He remarks, that there was no wind, but rain all day. This earthquake was felt at the same time not only in most parts of England, but also in several parts of Germany. The same year he read a curious discourse describing the tower of *Babel* or *Belus*. In 1693 he read several lectures about earthquakes, and an explication of *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, printed in his *Posthumous Works*. March the 5th 1693 he read a lecture about the prolated spheroidal figure of the skin, and other phænomena thereof, of the *Maculae* and *Faculae*, &c. of making an helioscope by four reflex planes in a twenty four foot tube, or a telescope for planets and fixed stars, by two reflexions in a tube of forty foot with Monsieur Huygens's 120 foot glass. June the 27th 1698 he read a lecture upon Huygens's *Cosmotheoros*, and shewed a model of Saturn and his Ring. Mr. Hooke has the following papers printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, viz. *A Spot in one of the Belts of Jupiter observed in May 1664*, Numb. I. p. 3. *An Answer to the Considerations made by Monsieur Auxout upon Mr. Hooke's new Instrument for grinding of Optic Glasses*, Numb. IV. p. 63. *A Method by which a Glass of a small Plane-convex Sphere may be made to refract the Rays of Light to a Focus of a far greater Distance than is usual*, Numb. XII. p. 202. *A new Contrivance of a Wheel-Barometer much more easy to be prepared than that, which is described in his Micrography*, Numb. XIII. p. 218. *The particular Observations of the Planet Mars formerly intimated to have been made by Mr. Hooke in February and March last 1665*, Numb. XIV. p. 239. *Some Observations lately made at London concerning the Planet Jupiter*, Numb. XIV. p. 145. *A late Observation about Saturn June 29, 1666*, Numb. XIV. p. 246. *Directions for Observa-*

tions and Experiments to be made by Masters of Ships, Pilots, and other fit Persons in their Sea-Voyages, suggested partly by Sir Robert Moray, partly by Mr. Hooke, &c. Numb. XXIV. p. 433. *More Ways for the same purpose of Mr. Townly touching the Invention of dividing a Foot into many thousand Parts*, Numb. XXV. p. 459. *An Experiment of preserving Animals alive by blowing through their Lungs*, Numb. XXVIII. p. 539. *A Description of an Instrument for dividing a Foot into many thousand Parts, and thereby measuring the Diameters of Planets to a great Exactness, &c. as it was promised*, Numb. XXV. *The Draught and Description of Mr. Hooke*, Numb. XXIX. p. 541. *Note to be observed*, Numb. XXIX. p. 556. *A Contrivance to make the Picture of any thing appear on a Wall, Cup-board, or within a Picture-Frame &c. in the midst of a light Room in the Day-time, or in the Night-time in any Room that is enlightened with a considerable number of Candles*, Numb. XXXVIII. p. 741. *Observations of some Spots in the Sun returned after they had passed over the Upper Hemisphere of the Sun, which is hid from us, according as was predicted* (Numb. LXXV. p. 2253.) Numb. LXXVII. p. 2295. *Observations of the Eclipse of the Moon September the 8th 1671*, Numb. LXXVII. p. 2296. *An Account of some Observations of the late Eclipse of the Moon January the 1st 1673*, Numb. CXI. p. 237. *Some Observations and Conjectures concerning the Chinese Characters*, Numb. CLXXX. p. 36. *A Description of an Invention whereby the Divisions of the Barometer may be enlarged many given proportions*, Numb. CLXXXV. p. 241. *Observationes nonnullæ Eclipsos nuperæ Solaris Maii 1. St. Vet. Obs. Hookio & Halleio*, Numb. CLXXXIX. p. 370. His *Posthumous Works* were published by Mr. Richard Waller, Secretary of the Royal Society, at London 1705 in fol. and contained, I. *A General Scheme or Idea of the present State of Natural Philosophy, and how its Defects may be remedied by a methodical Proceeding in making Experiments and collecting Observations, whereby to compile a Natural History, as the solid Basis for the Superstructure of true Philosophy*. II. *Lectures of Light, explicating its Nature, Properties, and Effects, &c.* Though Mr. Hooke has not in these lectures treated of the several alterations and affections of the rays of light from *Reflection, Inflection, and Refraction, &c.* as his intention appears from several passages in his writings to have been; yet we meet here with several no less difficult than curious points explained, particularly that great problem of *Memory*, and how we obtain the ideas of *Time* and *Duration*. III. *A Discourse of the Nature of Comets*. To this is added *A Discourse of Gravity*. IV. *Observations upon Dr. John Dee's Book of Spirits*. V. *Lectures and Discourses of Earthquakes and subterraneous Eruptions; explicating the Causes of the rugged and uneven Face of the Earth; and what Reasons may be given for the frequent finding of Shells and other Sea and Land Petrified Substances scattered over the whole Terrestrial Superficies*. VI. *Lectures concerning Navigation and Astronomy*. And in 1726 there was printed at London 8vo a book under the following title: *Philosophical Experiments and Observations of the late eminent Dr. Robert Hooke F. R. S. and Geom. Prof. Gresh. and other eminent Virtuoso's in his time. With Copper Cuts. Published by W. Derham F. R. S.*

T.

(*t*) Wood, *Ab. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1040. College of Physicians, and the Theatre joined to it, and the Monument upon Fish-street Hill; and was often used in designing other buildings (*t*).

HOOKER (RICHARD), a very learned and judicious English Divine in the latter end of the sixteenth Century, was born at Heavy-Tree near Exeter about the year 1553, according to Mr. Walton (*a*), or about Easter 1554, according to Mr. Wood (*b*). His parents were more remarkable for their virtue and industry, than extraction or riches (*c*); though his great grandfather John Hooker was Mayor of Exeter in 1490, and his grandfather in 1529 (*d*). His parents intended him for some trade; but his schoolmaster, who observed the pregnancy of his genius, persuaded them to continue him at school (*e*), till by the assistance of his uncle John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter (*f*), and Dr. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, he was sent to the University of Oxford, and became one of the Clerks of Corpus Christi College in 1567 (*g*), Scholar December the 24th 1573 (*b*), Fellow of the College and Master of Arts in 1577 (*i*); Deputy-Professor of the Hebrew Language July the 14th 1579 in the room of Mr. Thomas Kingmill, whose studies had disordered his senses (*k*). In October the same year he was with Dr. John Reynolds and others expelled his College by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-President of the College, and Chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick [*A*]; for what reason, is not known; but they were restored the same month. Not long after his taking Orders, he was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross in London [*B*] about the year 1581; and lodging at the house of Mr. John Churchman, was induced to marry his daughter Joan [*C*]; upon which he was obliged to quit his College; and on the 9th of December 1584 was presented by John Cheney Esq; to the Rectory of Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire [*D*]; and the year following,

(*a*) *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker.* By Isaac Walton, printed with the Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Walton, and Mr. George Herbert, pag. 1. 8. 4th edit. London 1675.
(*b*) *Ab. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 302. 2d edit. London 1721.
(*c*) Walton, *ubi supra*.
(*d*) *Isaac's Memoirs of Exeter,* pag. 96, 115.
(*e*) Walton, pag. 159.

(*f*) *Idem*, pag. 160. *Worthies of Devon.* By John Prince, pag. 393. edit. London 1701, in fol.
(*g*) Wood, *ubi supra*.
(*h*) Walton, pag. 161.
(*i*) *Idem*, *ibid*.
(*k*) Wood, col. 302. and 330.
(*l*) Walton, pag. 172, 173.

[*A*] In *OE.* the same year he was with Dr. John Reynolds and others expelled his college by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-President of the college, and Chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick.] We have some account of this affair in a letter written by Dr. Reynolds to Sir Francis Knolles, which was as follows (1). "I am sorry, Right Honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college, who hath taken upon him against all law and reason to expell out of our house both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows for doing that, which by oath we are bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt but we shall find equity. Howbeit, for as much as some of our adversaries have said, that the Bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we look for; therefore I am humbly to beseech your Honour, that you will desire the Bishop by your letters, to let us have justice; tho' it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good that I am sure we shall prevail in it. Thus much I am bold to request of your Honour for Corpus Christi College sake, or rather for Christ's sake, whom I beseech to bless you with daily increase of his manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of his holy Spirit.

"is understood by all Churches professing the Gospel, by them all, and therefore even by our own also amongst others."

[*C*] Lodging at the house of Mr. John Churchman, was induced to marry his daughter Joan.] The Preachers at St. Paul's cross, besides their stipend, were allowed lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after the sermon, at a house called the *Sunamite's House*, then kept by Mr. Churchman, formerly a substantial Draper in Watling Street, but now reduced to poverty. To this house Mr. Hooker came very weary; but by the care of Mrs. Churchman was recovered from his fatigue and cold. "This, says Mr. Walter (4), was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker; that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said; so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, that he was a man of a tender constitution; and that it was best for him to have a wife that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one as she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. . . He trusted her to choose a wife for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a *dropping house*; so that the good man had no reason to rejoice in the wife of his youth, but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, *Wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.*"

[*D*] Presented. . . to the Rectory of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire.] While he resided upon this living, his two Pupils, Mr. Edwin Sandys and Mr. George Cranmer, took a journey to see him, and found him with *Horace's Odes* in his hand, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was obliged to do then, his servant being gone to dine, and assist his wife in some necessary household business. When his servant came and released him, his two pupils attended him into the house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them, he being called to rock the cradle. The rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition; and they having, says Mr. Walton (5), in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and

London Octob. Your Honour's in Christ
" 9, 1579. to command,
" John Reynolds."

[*B*] Appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross in London.] In this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon; which was, that in God there were two wills, an antecedent, and a consequent will; his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but his second will, was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerably to that degree of grace, which he had offered or afforded them (2). This seemed to cross an opinion of Calvin, then taken for granted by many without examining it. Our author in his *Answer to Master Travers's Supplication* observes, that what he taught in this sermon "was not huddled in amongst other matters in such sort, that it could pass without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was some reasonable time stood upon. I see not which way my Lord of London (3), who was present and heard it, can excuse so great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controulment afterwards, to hear any man there teach otherwise than the word of God doth, not as it is understood by the private interpretation of some one or two men, or by a special construction received in some few books, but as it

(1) *Life of Mr. Richard Hooker.* By Isaac Walton, pag. 172.
(2) *Ibid.* pag. 174.
(3) Dr. John Aylmer, Bishop of London.

(4) Pag. 275.
(5) Pag. 177.

(m) Idem, pag.
178, 179.

by the recommendation of Dr. Edwin Sandys Archbishop of York was chosen Master of the Temple in the room of Mr. Richard Alvey, B. D. deceased (m). In this station he had a contest with Mr. Walter Travers, a Puritan Minister, and Lecturer of the Temple, who was silenced by order of Archbishop Whitgift; upon which he appealed to the Privy Council, but without success; and his petition was answered by Mr. Hooker [E]. He laid the foundation of his book concerning *the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, while he was at the Temple; but finding it no fit place to finish what he had there designed, he solicited the Archbishop for a remove from that station [F]; who in

1591

“and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, *Good Tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your parsonage, and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies.*” To whom the good man replied, *My dear George, if Saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none ought not to repine at what my wife Creator hath appointed for me; but labour (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace.*” At their return to London Mr. Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his Tutor's sad condition; and accordingly that Prelate recommended our author in 1585 to the place of Preacher to the Temple.

[E] Mr. Travers appealed to the Privy Council, but without success; and his petition was answered by Mr. Hooker.] Mr. Travers had charged Mr. Hooker very severely for his charitable opinion of Papists dying in their superstitions. He said, that it encouraged evil affected men to continue still in damnable ways, and others weak in faith to suffer themselves to be seduced to the destruction of their souls. To this Mr. Hooker answered, that they who were present at that speech of his could justify, that nothing passed his lips more than was contained in their writings, whom for soundness of doctrine, learning, and judgment Mr. Travers not only allowed, but honoured. That what he had said, was only this: *I doubt not but that God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers living heretofore in Popish Superstition, in as much as they sinned ignorantly.* And even this, he said, was spoken in a sermon, the greatest part of which was against Popery. Mr. Travers had disliked, that Mr. Hooker had termed God a *permissive* and no *positive* cause of the evil, which the schoolmen called *Malum Culpæ*. Secondly, that to the objections of those, who said, *If I be elected, do what I will, I shall be saved*; Mr. Hooker had answered, that the will of God in this point was not *absolute*, but *conditional*, i. e. to save the elect believing, fearing, and obediently serving him. Thirdly, that to stop the mouths of such as repined against God for rejecting castaways, he had taught, that they were not rejected, no not in the purpose and counsel of God, without a foreseen worthiness of rejection, going (though not in time, yet in order) before. “For if God's electing do in order (as needs it must) presuppose the foresight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be, not only the positive foresight of their being, but also the permission of being miserable, because election is through mercy, and mercy doth always presuppose misery; it followeth, that the very chosen of God acknowledge, to the prejudice of the riches of his exceeding free compassion, that when he in his great determination set it down, *those shall live and not die*, they lay as ugly spectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their father's loins, miserable, worthy to be held in detestation. . . And shall any forsaken creature be able to say unto God, thou didst plunge me into the depth, and assign me unto endless torments, only to satisfy thine own will, finding nothing in me, for which I could seem in thy sight so well worthy to feel everlasting flames?” When he saw, that Mr. Travers carped at these things, only because they lay not open, he promised at some convenient time to make them as clear as the light, both to him and all others. When he was asked, what his grounds were, he answered, that St. Paul's words concerning this case were his grounds. The next demand of Mr. Travers was, what author Mr. Hooker followed in expounding of St. Paul, and gathering that doctrine

out of his words against the judgment, as he said, of all churches and all good writers? Mr. Hooker answered, that he was well assured, that to controul this *over-reaching speech*, the sentences, which he might have cited out of church-confessions, together with the best learned monuments of former times, and not the meanest of our own, were more in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of. But that Mr. Travers had given him at that time great cause to think, that alledging of other men's words, to shew their agreement with our author's, would as much have displeased Mr. Travers, as the thing itself, for which it had been alledged. “For he knoweth, says Mr. Hooker, how often he hath in public places bitten me for this, although I did never in any sermon use many of the sentences of other writers, and do make most without any, having always thought it meetest, neither to affect nor to condemn the use of them.” And when Mr. Travers had disliked the using of human authority, in preaching, Mr. Hooker alledged that, which under no pretence in the world might be disallowed, namely *reason*, not meaning thereby my own reason, as now it is reported, but true found divine reason; reason whereby those conclusions might be out of St. Paul demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of only; reason proper to that science, whereby the things of God are known.” Mr. Travers excepted also against Mr. Hooker, because in one of his sermons, the latter had asserted, that *the assurance of things, which we believe by the word, is not so certain as of that we perceive by sense.* To this Mr. Hooker answers: “And is it certain? Yea, I taught, as he himself, I trust, will not deny, that the things, which God doth promise in his word, are surer unto us than any thing we touch, handle, or see. But are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises unto us, as he doth by arguments taken from our sensible experience. We must be surer of the proof than of the thing proved; otherwise it is no proof. How is it then if ten men do all look upon the moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the moon as another; but many believing one and the same promises, all have not one and the same fullness of persuasion? How falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; whereas the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath need to labour, and strive, and pray, that his assurance, concerning heavenly and spiritual things, may grow, increase, and be augmented?” With regard to Mr. Travers's reflection upon him for asserting in one of his sermons, that *he doubted not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers living heretofore in Popish superstitions, in as much as they sinned ignorantly*; Mr. Hooker in his answer professes this to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion, as follow. He first states the question about *Justification and Works*, and how the *foundation of faith without works is overthrown*; and then proceeds to discover that way, which natural men, and some others, have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness. And having discovered the mistaken, he directs to that true way, by which alone everlasting life is attainable, and these two ways he demonstrates thus: “That the way of nature; *this* the way of grace. The end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of men's works; their righteousness a natural ability to do them; that ability the goodness of God, which created them in such perfection. But the end of *this*, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift, presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, *justification*; their

(*) Idem, pag.
209, 210.

1591 presented him to the Rectory of Boscomb in Wiltshire (*). July the 17th the same year he was instituted into the Prebend of Nether-Haven in the Church of Salisbury (o). He continued at Boscomb till he had finished four books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* [G], which were entered into the Register Book in Stationer's Hall the 9th of March

(o) *Festi Eccles. Anglic.* By John La Noue Gant.

“ their justification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election a mediator, in whom to be elected; this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery, for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator.” He declares likewise, that “ there is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ; no effectual but his mercy; and that we deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it.” This belief he asserts to be destructive of the very essence of our justification; and he makes all opinions bordering upon this to be very dangerous. “ Yet nevertheless, says he, considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, among which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends by voluntary punishments, which they laid upon themselves; because of this or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall men be so bold as to write on their graves, *Such men are damned; there is for them no salvation?* St. Austin says, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them, that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his Gospel, whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, *Lord cleanse me from all my secret sins;* shall I think because of this or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If they do, wherefore should I doubt but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one: *You err in your opinion; but be of good comfort; you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the best of that little, which you hold well; and not with a captious sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing, in which you are mistaken.* But it will be said, continues our author, *the admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation.* To this he answers: “ What though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith; although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the spirit; although they have all other tokens of God's children in them; although they be far from having any proud opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds; altho' the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves; although they be not obstinate in this opinion; although they be willing and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it; although the only cause, why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means, by which it might be disproved; although the cause, why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able and are not to remove it: Let me die, if ever it be proved, that simply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in

such a case utterly from the hope of life. Surely I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men even when they err, my greatest comfort is my error. Were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live.”

[F] *Solicited the Archbishop for a removal from that station.* After the publication of his *Answer* to Mr. Travers's *Supplication*, he grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect with many persons in the Temple, who were zealous for Mr. Travers and his scheme of church-discipline; so that though Mr. Travers had left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society by all the excellent sense and mild conduct of Mr. Hooker. Upon this he requested of the Archbishop to be removed from thence, and spake to this purpose: “ When I lost the freedom of my Cell, which was my College, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country-parsonage. But I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising or praying to him, and our established ceremonies as often as his and others tender consciences shall require us. And in this examination I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our *Ecclesiastical Polity*; in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness, which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun.”

[G] *His Ecclesiastical Polity.* He sent the manuscript of it to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh with a letter dated at London March the 13th 1592, and published by Mr. Strype (6). The first four books of this work were printed at London 1594 in fol. and the fifth book was published by itself at London 1597 in folio; to which was prefixed an Epistle Dedicatory to Archbishop Whitgift, which in the later editions is put before the whole work. At the end of his edition of his first four books he subjoined this advertisement to the reader. “ I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books, that are to follow concerning particulars.” This work was read with admiration in this Kingdom, and their fame spread itself into foreign nations (7). Mr. Camden wished (8), that “ for (7) Walton, pag. 212. “ they were turned into the universal language.” Mr. Strype tells us (9), that “ it is a just Discourse of the Ecclesiastical state of this Church, built upon reason and judgment, managed with admirable clearness and conviction, and with a strain of great learning and modestly withal accompanying it; designed for a vindication of the Church of England, as it stood reformed.”

(6) Num. 17. Appendix to B. 4. of the Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

(8) *Annals of Elizabeth*, ad ann. 1599.

(9) *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, B. 4. c. 9. pag. 400.

(p) Walton, pag. 211. March 1592, but not published till 1594 (p). In 1595 he surrendered Boscomb to Dr. Caldwell Bishop of Salisbury, and was succeeded in it by Mr. Benjamin Ruffel, who was instituted into it on the 23d of June. July the 7th, the same year he was presented to the Rectory of Bishops-Bourne near Canterbury; in which living he continued till his death without any addition of dignity or profit (q). Mr. Walton observes (r), that his complection was sanguine with a mixture of choler; but that his motion was slow even in his youth, as well as his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. He was of mean stature, and stooping,

(q) Idem, ibid.
(r) Pag. 158.

“ reformed at first and established by Law, against those that so much and so intemperately cried out for another platform of government, which that most judicious Divine did happily refute.” In 1599 it was attacked by a pamphlet in 4to, intitled, *A Christian Letter of certain English Protestants, unfeigned Lovers of the present State of Religion, authorized and professed in England, unto that reverend and learned man Mr. Hooker, requiring resolution in certain Matters of Doctrine contained in his five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity*. This was answered in a piece intitled, *A just and temperate Defence of the five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, &c. against an uncharitable Letter of certain English Protestants*, London 1603 in 4to. written by William Covel D. D. Our author proposed to have published eight books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Mr. Walton observes (10), that he lived to finish the three last; but whether we have them as finished

(10) Pag. 233.

(11) Ibid.

by himself, is a question. Mr. Walton tells us (11), that he had been informed by one, who very well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs of his family, that about a month after his death, Archbishop Whitgift sent one of his Chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* written by her husband; of which she would not or could not give any account; and that about three months after that time the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, where she was examined by some of the Privy Council concerning the disposal of those books. But by way of preparation for the next day's examination the Bishop invited her to Lambeth, and after some friendly questions she confessed to him, “ that one Mr. Charke and another Minister, who lived near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they burnt and tore many of them, affuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen; and that she knew nothing more concerning them.” Her lodging was then in King-street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it, but declared innocent of her death. Dr. John Spencer, who was of the same college with Mr. Hooker, and betwixt whom there was so firm a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned those Books of Polity (12), had delivered into his hands (it is said, by Archbishop Whitgift) the rough draughts of the three last books, to be made as perfect as might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. “ And a fair testimony

(12) Idem, pag. 234.

(13) Ibid.

of this, says Mr. Walton (13), may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in the year 1662, in which the Publishers seem to impose the three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer.” In this epistle we find the following words. “ There is a purpose of setting forth the three last books also, their Father's *Posthumi*. For as in the great declining of his body spent without study, it was his ordinary petition to Almighty God, that if he might live to see the finishing of these books, then *Lord let thy servant depart in peace* (to use his own words) so it pleased God to grant him his desire; for he lived till he saw them perfected. And though like Rachel he died as it were in the travel of them, and hastened death upon himself by halting to give them life; yet he held out to behold with his eyes these *parvus ingenii*, these Benjamins, sons of his right hand, though to him they were Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is

“ uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies left unto us nothing but old unperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medea's Abfirtus; no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them. Had the father lived to see them brought forth thus defaced, he might rightfully have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow. But seeing the importunities of many great and worthy persons will not suffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they shall see them as they are. The learned and judicious eye will yet perhaps delight itself in beholding the goodly lineaments of their well-set bodies, and in finding out some shadows and resemblances of their father's face. God grant that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace; so in the strength of that little breath of life, that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and by satisfying the doubts of such that are willing to learn, may help to give an end to the calamities of those our civil wars.” Mr. Walton observes (14), that this epistle of Dr. Spencer was written and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies, and then allowed to be not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts. “ And I do profess, continues Mr. Walton, by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife, who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, told me forty years since in these or in words to this purpose; “ that her husband had made up or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, then Bishop of London; and that she did as he enjoined her.” Mr. Walter conceives, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, as particularly that in Sir Thomas Bodley's library, in that of Bishop Andrews, in the Lord Conway's, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, in Archbishop Usher's, and many others; and most of these, says Mr. Walton (15), pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs. For proof of part of this Mr. Walton produces the following testimonies. Dr. Barnard, sometime Chaplain to Archbishop Usher, in his *Clavi Trabales*, printed in 1661, declares, that in his search and examination of that Prelate's manuscripts, he found the three written books, which were supposed to be the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Mr. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*; and that in the said books, now printed as Mr. Hooker's, there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and cause many incoherencies. Dr. Barnard sets down the omissions at large. Mr. Fabian Philips attested under his own hand, that Dr. Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln, a little before his death, affirmed to him that he had seen a manuscript asserted to be the hand-writing of Mr. Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or Supreme Governor's being accountable to the people.” Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, in a letter to Mr. Izaak Walton dated at Chichester November the 17th 1664, and prefixed to Mr. Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker, observes, that “ Dr. John Spencer, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his unvaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and his other writings, that

(14) Pag. 235.

(15) Pag. 236.

ing, his face full of heat-pimples, occasioned by his inactivity and sedentary life; of so bashful a disposition, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance, so neither then, nor in his elder years did he ever willingly look any man in his face. He was short or weak sighted, and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended: His dress was very mean (s). But the reputation of his writings and sanctity of life was so eminent, that he was universally admired, and visited by a great many men of learning (t). His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with great zeal and an humble voice; and the design of them was to shew reasons for what he advanced, and with these reasons such a kind of Rhetoric, as rather convinced and persuaded, than frightened men into piety (u). Besides his *Ecclesiastical Polity* he wrote some other pieces [H]. He died at Bishops-Bourne November the 2d 1600 [I], in the forty sixth year of his age, and was interred in the Church there, where a monument has since been erected to his memory by Sir William Cowper. He left four daughters, Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret [K],

(s) Idem, pag. 217, 218.

(t) Idem, pag. 217.

(u) Idem, pag. 219, 220.

(16) Dr. John King Bishop of London.

“ that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker’s remaining written papers, many of which were imperfect, for his study had been rifled or worse used by Mr. Charke and another of principles too like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be compleated by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father (16), after whose death they rested in my hands, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Mr. John Barkeham to require and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put into the Bishop’s library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud; and were then by the brethren of the faction given with all the library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church’s confusion. And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted no other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was to subject the sovereign power to the people.” In 1648 there was published at London in 4to, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie; the sixth and eighth Books*. By Richard Hooker. *A Work long expected, and now published according to the most authentic Copies*. To this is prefixed the following advertisement to the reader. “ Here is presented unto thee two of the three so long expected and much desired books of learned Mr. Hooker’s *Ecclesiastical Polity*; viz. the sixth and the eighth, as they were preserved in the hands of those mirrors of learning, Dr. Andrews late Lord Bishop of Winchester, and the present Dr. Usher, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, with great hopes the seventh would have been recovered, that they might have been published to the world’s view at once; but endeavours used to that purpose have hitherto proved fruitless. And hearing that some erroneous, if not counterfeit copies are abroad, hath occasioned the publishing of these, to prevent as much as may be any addition of abuses to the abused author; and also that he, which so much desired the unity of the Church, might have the divided members of his labours united.” In this edition the several copies compared before the publication were that in Sir Thomas Bodley’s library at Oxford, that in the Archbishop of Canterbury’s library, that in Bishop Andrews’s library, two copies in Archbishop Usher’s possession, and one in the hands of the Lord Viscount Conway. These two books with an addition of a seventh was published by Dr. John Gauden, successively Bishop of Exeter and Worcester, at London 1662 in folio under this title: *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker, (that learned, godly, and eloquent Divine) vindicating the Church of England as truly Christian and duly reformed, in eight Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, now compleated, as with the sixth and eighth, so with the seventh, &c. out of his own MSS. never before published. With an Account of his holy Life and happy Death*. The eighth book is commonly supposed to have been first published, together with the sixth and seventh, by Dr. Gauden; but, as we observed before, the sixth and eighth books, were printed at London in 1648; nay, all the eight books, with certain tractates and sermons, and the author’s life, were published in two volumes in folio in 1617, as the title-page informs us.

[H] Besides his *Ecclesiastical Polity* he wrote some other pieces] I. *Answere to a Supplication preferred by Mr. Walter Travers to the Honourable Lords of the Privie Council*. Oxford 1612 in 4to. II. *Causes of Contention concerning Church-Government*. Oxford 1641 in 4to. III. *A Discourse of Justification, Works, and how the Foundation of Faith is overthrowen*; on Abak. i. 4. Oxford 1612 in 4to. IV. *A Sermon of the Nature of Pride*; on Abak. ii. 4. Oxford 1612 in 4to. V. *A Remediè against Sorrow and Feare, delivered in a Funeral Sermon*, on John xiv. 27. Oxford 1612 in 4to. VI. *Of the Certaintie and Perpetuitie of Faith in the Elea, especially of the Prophet Abakkuk’s Faith: A Sermon on Abak. i. 4.* VII. *Two Sermons upon Part of St. Jude’s Epistle, viz. vers. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.* Oxford 1614 in 4to. All these Sermons were published by Mr. Henry Jackson, Fellow of Corpus Christi College Oxford, with *Wickliff’s Wicket*; and reprinted without *Wickliff’s Wicket* at London 1632 in folio at the End of the *Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and again at the End of the *Eight Books*, London 1682 in fol. VIII. *A Sermon on Mat. h. vii. 7. found in the Study of Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester*. Published by Mr. Isaac Walton at the End of his *Life of Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln*. London 1678 in 8vo.

[I] He died at Bishops-Bourne November the 2d 1600.] His sickness was occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water between London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which he never recovered. During his illness he was employed in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, that “ he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of *Polity*.” It is thought, that he hastened his own death by his application to compleat that work. About a month before his death he began to lose his appetite, and then to have an averfeness to all food, so that he seemed for some weeks to live by the smell of meat only; and yet he still studied and wrote. A few days before his death, his house was robbed, of which being informed, he asked, *are my books and written papers safe?* and being answered, *that they were*, his reply was, *then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me* (17). There were different accounts concerning the time of his death. (17) Walton, pag. 225, 226. Camden (18) tells us, that he died in 1599. In the (18) *Annals of Elizabeth*, ad Cowper his death is placed in 1603. But both these accounts are undoubtedly erroneous; for it is attested under the hand of William Somner, Register to the Archbishop for the Province of Canterbury, that our author’s will was dated October the 26th 1600, and proved the 3d of December following. And Archbishop Laud has fixed his death on the 2d of November 1600 in the following words, which he wrote with his own hand in the title-page of Mr. Hooker’s *Ecclesiastical Polity; Richardus Hooker, vir summis doctrinæ doctibus ornatus, de Ecclesiâ præcipuè Anglicanâ optime meritus, obiit Novemb. 2. circiter horam secundam post-meridianam, anno 1600.*

[K] He left four daughters, Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret.] One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a Schoolmaster in Chichester. Margaret, his youngest daughter, was married to Ezekiel Clark, B. D. Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, and by him had a son, Ezekiel, Rector of Waldron in Suffex, and a daughter. His other daughters died before they were marriageable (19).

(19) Walton, T. pag. 231, 232.

to each of whom he gave one hundred pounds; and left his widow sole executrix. It appeared by his inventory, that his estate (a great part of which consisted of books) came to 1092 *l. 9 s. 2 d.* (w). He had a sister, Elizabeth Harvey, who lived to the age of 121 years, and died in September 1663 (x).

☞ **HOOPER (GEORGE)**, a very learned Writer [A], and Bishop of Bath and Wells, was born at Grimley in Worcestershire November 18 1640, and was son of George Hooper Gent. by Joan his wife, daughter of Edmund Giles of White Lady Aston Gent. (a). His father removed to Westminster for the better education of his son, who was educated in the school there, and in 1656 elected thence a Student of Christ Church in the University of Oxford. January the 16th 1662 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1664 that of Master of Arts. He applied himself with great vigour to the study of Philosophy, Mathematics, the Greek and Roman Antiquity, and Oriental Languages, in the last of which he was encouraged by Dr. Pocock, by whose

affluence

(w) Idem, pag. 231.

(x) Idem, pag. 232.

(a) The memoirs, from which this article is compiled, were communicated by our author's daughter Mrs. Prowle.

[A] *A very learned writer.*] This appears from his writings, of which we shall give the reader a catalogue. He published the following sermons, viz. 1. *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall Chapel, October 30, 1681, on Gal. v. 22, 23.* London, 1682, in 4to. 2. *A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall Novem. 5, 1681, on Mat. xxii. 21.* London, 1682, in 4to. 3. *A Sermon preached before the Queen at Whitehall, Sunday, January 25, 1690, on Luke xvi. last verse.* London, 1691, in 4to. 4. *A Sermon preached before the King and Queen at Whitehall, January 14, 1694, on Jobn vii. 17.* London, 1694, in 4to. 5. *A Sermon preached before the King, January 20, 1695, on Jobn iii. 20.* 6. *A Sermon preached before the House of Commons, April 4, 1701, on Phil. iii. 20.* 7. *A Sermon preached before the House of Lords, January 20, 1702, on the Martyrdom of King Charles I, on 2 Cor. x 3, 4.* 8. *A Sermon on the Day of Thanksgiving for the Peace, July 7, 1713, on Psal. cxxii. 7.* His other writings are as follow. I. *The Church of England free from the Imputation of Popery.* printed in 1682, and bound up with the *London Cases*. II. *A fair and methodical Discussion of the first and great Controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, concerning the Infallible Guide.* In three Discourses; whereof the first is introductory, and states the points, which are preliminary to this and all the other controversies between the two churches. The second considers at large the pretences to modern Infallibility, and shews them to be groundless. The third, by the help of the former, briefly examines the pretended rational account of the Roman Catholics concerning the Ecclesiastical Guide in Controversies of Religion, and detects its artifice. The two first parts were licenced by Dr. Maurice in 1687; but the third was never printed. III. *The Parson's Case under the present Land-Tax, recommended in a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons,* 1689. IV. *A Discourse concerning Lent. In two Parts. The first, an Historical Account of its Observation. The second, an Essay concerning its Original: This subdivided into two Repartitions, whereof the first is preparatory, and shews, that most of our Christian Ordinances are derived from the Jews. And the second conjectures, that Lent is of the same Original.* The *Imprimatur* is dated Feb. 5, 1694. In the Vth section of the Xth Chapter of the first part he recapitulates the substance of that part in the following manner. "And thus have we viewed the practice of Lent through the first 400 years. We have seen in the last of these centuries, when Christianity came to be more openly professed under the Christian Emperors, and abounded in writers, many express and undeniable testimonies of the general observation, though in a different manner, of the *forty season*, then commonly so called from forty days. In the next age above it, the third, and as high too as the middle of it, a time that affords us not many authors, and when there was little occasion to speak of this matter, we have however a very punctual account of their strict manner of keeping the *Passion Week*, from one of the greatest men of the church (1), who happened to be consulted about a nicety of ending this Lent. And that there was great strictness in the *Holy Week*, equal to any that was used after, may well induce us to imagine, that these men had not left the devotion of all the preceding weeks to be added by the very next generation; especially when we find the *forty season* expressly mentioned in Origen,

" a master of this Dionysius, as consecrated to fasting. " For that place of Origen, though we have it only " from the version of Ruffinus, and he none of the " most exact translators; yet certainly, if he was not " the worst that ever was, is much more likely to " be truly rendered than wrong, there being no rea- " son to fasten the falsity on this word more than on " any other of the sentence, nor any wonder to find " that spoke of now, which not long after was cele- " brated so much." But to proceed, we have seen " further from Tertullian, an author to be reckoned " to the second Century as well as to the third, that the " days, in which our Lord was taken away, Good Friday " and the Holy Saturday at least, if not the whole week, " were, in the opinion of the church of his time, to be " fasted by all from Apostolical Authority; and that no " other days were to be fasted necessarily, and as by di- " vine precept, but as discretion only, and as Christians " should think fit in godly prudence. Upon the account of " which discretionary uncertainty the argument he was en- " gaged in made it not proper for him to say any more con- " cerning them, nor to tell us the several customs of sever- " al Churches about that arbitrary part of Lent; though " it may otherwise be collected even from him, that there " was then such an additional time observed. But to go " yet higher and nearer to the Apostolical age, about the " year 190, and not 90 from the death of St. John, Irenæus " a venerable and now a very old Bishop, who had conversed " familiarly with the great Polycarp, as Polycarp had " with St. John and other Apostles, has happened to let us " know, though incidentally only, the various observation of " his time; that some thought they ought to fast one, some " two, and some more days, and some forty; as we have " learned too in the general both from him and the Bishops " of almost the whole Church currently with him, that some " such Ante-Paschal Fast had been all along observed in all " places, up to the time of the Apostles themselves. The " second Part is an Essay concerning the Original of Lent, " subdivided into two Repartitions; in the first of which " Repartitions our author endeavours to shew, that most " of the antient Christian Ordinances were derived from " the Jews. For this purpose he observes first, that it is " not dishonourable for Christian Ordinances to be borrowed " from the Jews. " Among the antient Heretics, says " he (2), some, it is known, read our Saviour and " his Gospel, but rejected the Mosaic Law, and " blasphemed its God. And there may be many now " (tho' more innocent) who, at this distance from the " rise of Christianity, may either have lost the remem- " brance of its Original, and forgot that the last cove- " nant has any dependence on the first; or else in pride " of our great privileges may scornfully overlook the " dispensation of Moses as a beggarly element, and in " the vanity of a neighbour-nation may think it a " disparagement to the Christian Religion to be thought " of Jewish extraction. And there may seem to have " been more cause given for this conceit from some " learned books of late, which have treated concern- " ing the Jewish and the Egyptian antiquities, and " which have been misunderstood so far by some to " the prejudice of the old Testament, that those, " who have not considered the matter well, may look " upon it as very dishonourable to Christianity, to bor- " row any thing from that nation, which is suspected to " have borrowed so much of all its neighbours, and " to have robbed even the Religion of the Egyptians. " But they need not fear, for truth can never suffer " from truth; and if it shall indeed appear, that the " Mosaic Religion was conformable to the worship of " their

(1) Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria.

(2) Part 2. Re- pat. 1. cap. 1. pag. 153. 6^o seq.

assistance he became a great master of the Arabic tongue, the knowledge of which he made great use to explain several obscure passages of the Old Testament. In 1669 he drew up a short Treatise in Mathematics, which Mercator desired to have from him, in order to publish it; but it still remains among his manuscripts. In 1672 he became Chaplain to Dr. Morley Bishop of Winchester, who soon after gave him the Rectory of Havant, which being an unhealthy place, he resigned it for that of Woodhey in Hampshire, where he succeeded Bishop Ken. July the 9th 1673 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Archbishop Sheldon being acquainted with Mr. Hooper's character, prevailed

“ their eastern neighbours, it may notwithstanding no
 “ less maintain its divine authority. Knowledge, we
 “ know, as well as Empire, began in that part of
 “ the world; and there the many traditions concern-
 “ ing God, descended from Noah and others of his
 “ inspired sons, were lodged and preserved; blended,
 “ we may think, and much corrupted with many
 “ falsities and superstitions; variously too by its va-
 “ rious depositaries, the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Pha-
 “ nicians, Arabians, &c. Now all these had some-
 “ thing of the same Religion, as they had of the
 “ same Language, but in a different dialect and man-
 “ ner; and what if God was pleased, by the mini-
 “ stry of Moses, to reform it from the many addi-
 “ tions, impious or immoral, with which it had been
 “ severally adulterated, retaining some indifferent
 “ customs innocently introduced, insinuating others in
 “ opposition to the more dangerous errors, and di-
 “ recting some eminent parts of the whole to a fur-
 “ ther prospect of another and more perfect revela-
 “ tion yet to come; and all these Laws, for the use
 “ of a peculiar people, to reduce into one code, and
 “ authorize by a new sanction.” *Such a Reformed
 Religion we may suppose that of the Jews to have been;
 and need not therefore be afraid, if our Religion be found
 to be a further Reformation of that Judaism; a sixth
 Mr. Selden frequently gives it, but to be understood, not
 as if it were a purgation of the old from any error,
 but as it is the completion and perfection of it according
 to the original design. And as certainly as our blessed
 Saviour and his Apostles were of Hebrew lineage, so cer-
 tain it is, that our Religion is grafted on the Jewish.
 Neither do the expressions only and allusions of the Gospel
 relate to the customs of the Law, not well otherwise
 to be understood; but some of its chief instruments are known
 to be derived thence. For as before many of the Mosaic
 Rites were unquestionably designed to prefigure our Sa-
 viour; so some of them were afterwards taken into his
 service, always to minister unto him; not admitted only
 for the present out of condescension to the natives or pro-
 felyte Jews, of whom then the greatest number of con-
 verts consisted; but some formally adapted, and others
 laudably continued, for perpetuity.* He instances then in
 such ordinances, as are mentioned in Scripture, as
 Baptism, which was a rite, by which, as well as by
 others, profelytes were admitted into Judaism; and
 tells us, that Christian Baptism, as expressed in the
 new Testament, is an imitation of it. In the third
 chapter he informs us of the nature of the Paschal Sa-
 crifice, and the description which the Jewish Traditions
 give of that supper, agreeably, says he, to the History
 in the Gospels of our Lord's Supper, and to the nature
 of it. In the fourth chapter he shews, that the Church
 of Christ succeeds to the Church of the Jews; that
 the Officers of the one were raised from the officers of
 the other. In the fifth chapter he describes the Ex-
 communicates of the Jews and their condition; and
 the condition of the Mourners among the Jews com-
 pared with that of the Excommunicate; and observes,
 that their Excommunicates were restrained from the
 liberty, not only of civil conversation, but of religious
 communion: and that excommunication is mentioned in
 the New Testament as practised by the Jews and
 Christians. In the sixth he mentions the circumstan-
 ces relating to baptism, under five heads, practised in
 the Church of Christ in the second Century; and
 shews, that all these were agreeable to Jewish custom:
 and first in general, as to the persons baptized and
 baptizing, and the solemn time of baptism; and in
 particular, secondly, as to the distinction and instructi-
 on of its Candidates; thirdly, as to the action of
 baptism; fourthly, its confirmation; and fifthly, the
 sequel and close of the whole ceremony. In the se-

venth chapter, he takes notice of several particulars
 practised in the Lord's Supper by the primitive Chris-
 tians, which varied from those of the Paschal Sup-
 per; and these particulars shew our Lord's Supper to
 have succeeded the Paschal in its general nature, as a
 memorial of thank. He describes a Jewish offering of
 praise and thanks, with the feasting upon it; and shews,
 that the Christian Eucharist answered to it, and in
 what manner; and takes notice of a tradition of the
 Jews, that in the days of the Messiah only the Eucha-
 ristical Sacrifice should remain. In the eighth chapter
 he shews, that the distinction of Clergy and Laity is
 specified by Tertullian; that of Bishops, Priests, and
 Deacons, by him, (Irenaeus also being his leader, for
 the Apostolical authority of Bishops,) and by Ignatius
 as the other, at least of the Laity and Clergy, by St.
 Clemens of Rome. He observes, that the first dis-
 tinction was derived from the language of the Old
 Testament; the offices of the second from those of the
 Jewish Sanhedrim, and likewise of the Temple; the
 Upper Parts of our Churches being also supposed to an-
 swer the Temple Courts, of the Priests and the Altar.
 In the ninth chapter he shews, that the sentence and
 effects of Excommunication were the same with Chris-
 tians as with Jews; and the relaxation of it alike;
 and observes their agreement in the estimate of the
 Guilt of Sins, and the appointments of penance. In
 the tenth chapter he takes notice of a parallel of Chris-
 tian rites mentioned by Tertullian, and of those usages
 mentioned by Origen, particularly about prayer,
 1. Disposition of mind. 2. Posture of body. 3. Di-
 rection of the face. 4. Times of daily prayer. 5.
 Matter and method. He represents the antient order
 of Christian prayer, and the order of the Jewish, and
 compares them; and gives a parallel of some few other
 usages. In the eleventh chapter he answers the se-
 cond prejudice against a Jewish Origination of Lent
 from want of authority in the Talmudical writings,
 by shewing, 1. That these traditional accounts were
 not without some antient foundations of their own.
 2. That they are confirmed in many points by colla-
 teral evidence. 3. That they were not borrowed by
 the Jews from foreign authors. In the same chapter
 he answers the third prejudice against such an origi-
 nation, from the novelty of it. In the first chapter of
 the second Repartition he observes, that our Easter was
 kept for some time with the Jewish Passover; that
 the notification of Easter by Paschal Letters agrees
 with the practice of the Jews; and that the Ante-
 Paschal Preparation of Christians answers to a like
 preparation of the Jews before their days of expiation.
 In the second chapter he compares the sacrificial per-
 formance on the Jewish expiation day, with that of our
 Saviour on his passion day. In the third chapter he
 observes, that the devotional duty of the Jews on their
 expiation day is practised by Christians on the passion
 day; and compares some circumstances of the eves of
 those days. In the fourth chapter he shews, that there
 was a penitential season with the Jews preparatory to
 their expiation day; and that some certain days next
 before it were kept uniformly by all; more also ge-
 nerally, though in various numbers; and forty by
 many; but the first of the forty universally observed;
 and that forty days were a solemn space of penitence
 in the Jewish discipline; and he compares the Chris-
 tian Lent with the Jewish. In the fifth chapter he
 remarks, that this origination of Lent is very prob-
 able, and its observation a testimony to our Lord's
 expiatory sacrifice. However, that the consideration of
 that expiatory sacrifice is a good reason for our observ-
 ing the passion day, and likewise some preparatory
 time before it. V. In the Philosophical Transactions
 for October 1699 there is a piece of our author's in-
 titled,

prevailed with Bishop Morley to permit his Chaplain to remove to Lambeth; but that Bishop still retained a sincere affection for him, and sent for him to attend him in his last sickness. In 1675 the Archbishop collated him to the Rectory of Lambeth, and not long after to the Præcentorship of Exeter, which was an option of the Archbishop. July the 3d 1677 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The same year he was sent into Holland to attend the Princess of Orange as her Almoner, there being another Chaplain for the family. In this station he was directed to regulate the performance of Divine Service in her Highness's Chapel according to the usage of the Church of England; which he did in so prudent and decent a manner as to give no offence. He continued there about one year, when he desired leave of the Princess to return to England on the account of his intended marriage, which she with much regret consented to upon a promise of his return; which he performing staid about eight months longer, when her Highness permitted him to return home. In 1680 upon the death of Dr. Allestree he was offered the place of Divinity Professor in Oxford, but declined it. About the same time he was made Chaplain to King Charles II. In 1685, the evening before the execution

titled, *A Calculation of the Credibility of human Testimony*, consisting of these four propositions. First, concerning the credibility of a report made by single successive reporters, who are equally credible. Secondly, concerning concurrent testifications. Thirdly, concerning the credit of a reporter for a particular article of that narrative, for the whole of which he is credible in a certain degree. Fourthly, concerning the truth of oral or written tradition in whole or in part successively transmitted, and also co-attested by several successions of transmitters. VI. *New danger of Presbytery*, 1703. VII. *Marks of a defenceless cause*, VIII. *The Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation vindicated*. IX. *De Valentianorum Heresi Conjectura, quibus illius Origo ex Ægyptiaca Theologia deducitur*. London 1711 in 4to, pagg. 27. In the beginning of this piece, our author observes, that the Christian doctrine was not delivered at first to all the heathens in its native purity and simplicity. It was corrupted by some men for some private ends, and adapted to the superstitions of the Gentiles. Thus we read in the Scriptures, that the new inhabitants of Samaria corrupted the doctrine of Moses. It is well known, that a Persian was the author of Manicheism. The heresy of Marcion proceeded from an opinion which generally prevailed among the Eastern Nations, that there were two eternal principles, one of good, and the other of evil; and that all the confusion observable in this world was occasioned by their perpetual struggling. According to this doctrine, Marcion acknowledged two Gods, authors of the old and new Testament. He believed, that the former, being an ill principle, gave laws to the Jews, a Nation, which was always hated, especially in the time of that heretic. But the latter, said he, being a good principle, and desiring to overthrow the Empire of his rival, sent Jesus Christ into the world, who gave better laws to mankind, and brought them into a state of happiness. After these observations our author proceeds to the doctrine of Valentinus. He believes, that though it appears to us monstrous and extravagant, the Egyptians had a different notion of it. That heretic is said to have been a native of Egypt; and it is not improbable, that he adapted the Christian Religion to the opinions of his countrymen. This conjecture our author endeavours to prove in the sequel of his discourse. In the first place, he gives a very exact account of the doctrine of Valentinus; and in order to render it more intelligible, he has added a genealogical table of the *Æones*, &c. mentioned by that heretic and his followers. He then enquires into the origin of the Valentinian System, and compares it with the Egyptian Theology. X. *An inquiry into the state of the ancient Measures, the Attick, the Roman, and especially the Jewish. With an Appendix concerning our old English money and measures of content*. London 1721 in 8vo. In the preface he tells us, that upon the perusal heretofore of two very curious tracts, which were published about the same time in the year 1684, the one by Dr. Cumberland, late Bishop of Peterborough, and the other by Dr. Edward Bernard, first printed with Dr. Pocock's *Commentary on Hosea*; and upon reading the *Roman Foot* and *Denarius* of Mr. John Greaves, by them most justly celebrated; he began to enquire more nearly into the state of the old *Hebrew Measures*, and going upon the sure foun-

dation of Mr. Greaves, and in the method of Bishop Cumberland, and assisted by the copious informations of Dr. Bernard, he cast his thoughts into the following scheme. First having the nature in general of the several measures of *Length*, *Content*, and *Weight*, and their convenient relation one towards another, he laid down the *English* measures, as those, to which he was to reduce the *Jewish*, for his clearer understanding of them. And then, because the knowledge of the *Jewish* measures was chiefly to be had from the accounts of them, that are given us by men of different ages and nations; and it was as necessary to have their several measures adjusted to the English; he was obliged to take into his notice some of the *modern*, but more especially those, which had been used in old time by the *Athenians* and *Romans*. And thus provided he was in the last place to produce and compare the most probable informations, which have been given us of those Jewish measures, and to form thence as clear and as certain account of them as he could. And accordingly his *Inquiry* consists of four parts. The *first* treats of *Measures* in general, and particularly of the *English*, and some other modern ones, as the present *Roman*, the *Spanish*, the *Holland*, and the *Egyptian*. The *second* takes a view of the *Attic* Measures, for the sake of those Greek authors who are to be consulted. The *third* inspects the *Roman*, which could not be so well understood without the *Attic*, for the sake of the Latin writers. The *fourth* considers the *Jewish* Measures themselves. To the whole is subjoined an *Appendix* concerning the denominations and computation of the *English* money and measures of content. In this *Appendix* he observes (3), that, (3) Pag. 468, in his opinion, "all the old English measures of content, which we received from the *Saxon*, were in all probability derived to them from the *Saracens*, as well as our money;" and he remarks (4), that (4) Pag. 473, "with regard to the names of vessels, which are known in Spain and Italy, such as *Pipe*, *Butt*, *Barrel*, &c. he should look for them in the Mediterranean, and there among those Eastern people, from whence the goods contained in them came. For considering that all mensuration of weight appears plainly to be Phœnician; and that measures of content, even of water, were highly necessary to them for their provision in their voyages by land as well as sea; and that of liquids, wine and oil were the original products of that coast; (not only the word *Wine*, but the fabulous names of *Bacchus*, *Semele*, and *Silenus* with his *Asi*, attesting to such an original :) one may be thence inclined to think, that the Phœnician names of vessels were carried to the Greek Islands along with their contents; and that the Saracens afterwards, when they were masters of that sea, readily took up the words they found of the Oriental Language, as well as imposed new from the same. This is what may be conjectured from many of the Levant vessels, not only those that hold water, but those that swim in it; for they sometimes borrow names one from the other. And it may not therefore be improper to enquire after them in the South-East, notwithstanding the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans* have been potent navigators in their time, and may be presumed to have brought in upon our island their Germanick appellations." Dr. John Arbuthnot in the *Preface* to his

tion of the Duke of Monmouth he received by the Earl of Rochester a message from the King, immediately to attend the Duke. When he came to the Tower, and acquainted the Duke with his Majesty's order, he received it with some confusion and surprize; but the Doctor assuring him, that he was charged with no particular commission, the Duke told him, that he was very welcome and acceptable to him; and after much free conversation with him, said, that he would see him in the morning as soon as he was up. The Doctor sat up all night, and in the morning the Duke told him, that he was sure he had made his peace with God. Much time was spent to desire his Grace to consider the nature and foundation of such a full persuasion, which the Doctor very faithfully laid before him with as great plainness and decency, as the Duke's firm adherence to this belief would admit of, in which he persisted to his last moment. In the morning the Duke was attended by the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, and Dr. Tenison, who with Dr. Hooper accompanied him to the scaffold, where the Bishop of Ely chiefly discoursed with the Duke, and pressed him to own the truth of the doctrine of Non-resistance, and confess himself guilty of rebellion. In 1691, upon the promotion of Dr. John Sharp to the Archbishopric of York, Queen Mary, during the King's absence in Holland, ordered the Earl of Nottingham to send for Dr. Hooper to come to her, when she offered him the Deanery of Canterbury, of which he had not the least expectation; for he never directly or indirectly made interest for any one preferment. He asked her Majesty, which of his two livings he should resign; who told him, that though the King and she never gave two livings to one man, yet they never took them away, and ordered him to keep both. But when the Queen would not name one, he resigned Woodhey. In 1698 the Prince and Princess of Denmark were very desirous to have had him Præceptor to the Duke of Gloucester; but the King appointed Bishop Burnet for that service. In 1701 he was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation; and the same year was offered the Primacy of Ireland by the Earl of Rochester, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1702 he was by the Queen's express command, though contrary to his inclination, made Bishop of St. Asaph, in which See he continued about half a year, and generously refused the usual mortuaries or pensions paid by the Clergy in Wales to their new Bishops, saying, that they should never pay so dear for the sight of him. In 1703 he had the like order to remove to the See of Bath and Wells, which he earnestly requested her Majesty to dispense with, not only on account of the great expence of such a sudden translation, and a reluctance to remove, but also out of regard to his old friend Dr. Ken, the deprived Bishop of that See, for whom he begged that Bishopric, which the Queen readily granted; but Bishop Ken desired to be excused, and never ceased to importune Bishop Hooper to accept it, and from that time stiled himself, *late of Bath and Wells*. But before Bishop Hooper could be prevailed with to accept this Bishopric, he requested the Queen to permit him to hold the Præcentorship of Exeter in *Commendam*, with a dispensation for non-residence, for the sole benefit of Bishop Ken; which her Majesty readily consented to, commending Bishop Hooper for making that proposal to her. But the then Bishop of Exeter objecting against it, the Queen, to satisfy him, desired Bishop Hooper to resign it, saying, that she would take care of the deprived Bishop, and then ordered him a pension of two hundred pounds *per ann.* which was punctually paid him out of the Treasury to the time of his death. By his steady, wise, and courteous conduct he gained the affections of the Gentry and Clergy of his Diocese, of which he was fully possessed; and in return no offers could make him think of a translation from them. For he often refused a seat in the Privy Council, and could not be persuaded to accept of the Bishopric of London on the death of Bishop Compton, nor of the Archbishopric of York on the death of Archbishop Sharp. He sat in the See of Bath and Wells twenty four years and six months, and died at Barkely in Somersetshire, whither he sometimes retired, on the 6th of September 1727, and was interred in the Cathedral of Wells under a marble monument erected to his memory [B].
Dr.

(5) Printed at London 1727 in 4to.
his *Tables of ancient coins, weights, and measures, explained and exemplified in several Dissertations* (5), gives a great character of the author's *Inquiry*, and tells us, that "if one considers the uniformity of the whole design, accuracy of the calculations, sagacity of the conjectures, skill in restoring and comparing passages of antient authors, and the incomparable learning that shines through the whole, it excels very far all that ever was published upon the subject."

(6) Page 19, and 40.
And he stiles this work an *ingenious Inquiry* (6). XI. *De Patriarchæ Jacobi Benedictione, Gen. XLIX. Conjecturæ*: Published by the Reverend Mr. Hunt of Hart-Hall in Oxford, with a preface and notes collected out of the Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. The Bishop had kept this piece by him above forty years, and shewn it to Dr. Pocock, as appears from a letter of the Bishop written to the Doctor on that occasion. He put it into Mr. Hunt's hands just before his death, with directions to print it in the manner Mr. Hunt has done; and it was printed soon

after at the expence of Mrs. Prowse, the Bishop's daughter. The impression consisted only of a hundred copies, which were chiefly designed for presents to friends. Among the manuscripts which he left behind him, he gave leave to have published a Latin Sermon preached in 1672, when he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and a Latin Tract on Divorce.

[B] *A marble monument erected to his memory.*] The epitaph inscribed on it is as follows.

" In hoc sacrario cineres suos requiescere voluit
" Reverendus admodum Præsul
" GEORGIUS HOOPERUS, S. T. P.
" Magnum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Decus.
" Scientias quippe maximè reconditas,
" Mathesin universam,
" Antiquitates patrias exterasq;
" Linguas pœne omnes, quotquot aut oriens protulit aut
occidens,

" Jus

Dr. Thomas Coney published a character of him (b) soon after his death [C].

(b) In *Mist's Journal* of October 21, 1727, and at the end of the Doctor's *Twenty five Sermons*, London 1730 in 8vo.

- “ Jus Civile, Municipale, Canonicum,
 “ Elegantiorum Literarum venustate temperaverat :
 “ Theologiam vero
 “ A fiduâ facti Codicis & primævorum patrum lectione,
 “ Quæsi alias omnes scientias ignorare maluisset,
 “ Totam penitus hauserat,
 “ Sanio rem haud dubiè amplexus.
 “ Summo tamen Eruditionis Amore semper incensus,
 “ Non in studiis se totum tradidit,
 “ Ut arduis negotiis impar,
 “ Aut hominum ignarus,
 “ Aut difficilis, inconcinnus, asper evaderet.
 “ Inerat enim illi
 “ Comitæ Aulis Principum dignâ
 “ Christiana Simplicitas condita ;
 “ Ingenium non ad Literas magis
 “ Quam ad res agendas habile & versatile ;
 “ Mira in conciliandis sibi hominibus solertia,
 “ Sed Animarum saluti unice intenta.
 “ Ita cum artes doctrinasq; longè distitas conjungerat,
 “ Semisq; honoribus par
 “ Nullum unquam ambiret
 “ Aditum sibi ad famam eximiam,
 “ Ad primarios tum in Republicâ quam Ecclesiâ viros,
 “ Ad Regiarum denique pientissimarum
 “ Mariæ & Annæ patrocinium,
 “ Virtute solâ patefecit.
 “ Itaq; ab illâ Decanatu Cantuariensi,
 “ Ab hac Insulâ primo Sancti Asaphensi,
 “ Deinde Bathone-Wellensi ornatus est.
 “ Quo in munere amplissimo
 “ Cum Gregi suo fideliter invigilaret,
 “ Inopes occulto plerumq; munificentia fonte,
 “ Sed perenni, ubere, latè fluenti reficeret,
 “ Presbyteros suos indulgentiâ paternâ sveret,
 “ Impugnatos quosq; etiam ruri latentes,
 “ In lucem & splendorem nec opinantes evocaret,
 “ Bonorum omnium Amorem & Observantiam meruit,
 “ Posteris morum exemplar pulcherrimum reliquit.
 “ Obiit VI Septembris A. D. M.DCC.XXVII.
 “ Etatis LXXXVII.”

[C] Dr. Thomas Coney published a character of him soon after his death.] The Doctor tells us, that his learning was not shattering and superficial but solid and universal; and his talents so great in every distinct part of knowledge, that the masters of each faculty have thought their profession to be the Bishop's peculiar study. The Lawyer might suppose him bred to the Bar, and conversant in nothing but Statutes and Reports. The Casuist might think his whole time spent in Canons and Schools; and the Divine, in Fathers and Councils. The Antiquary might tie him down to Medals and Charters; and the Linguist fancy him always poring upon Lexicons, or else the several Eastern Languages could not be so familiar to him as Latin and Greek. The Philosopher found no sciences out of the reach of his comprehensive genius; nor the Masters of polite Literature, any graces in the Classics,

which had escaped his observance. Yet in all these several attainments, his surprising excellency was, that the variety of learning did not distract his thoughts, nor the intenseness of study four the facetiousness of his humour. He so tempered the crabbedness of the Mathematics with the politeness of the Orator, the legends of the Rabins with the fidelity of the Fathers, and the occurrences of Modern History with the transactions of Antiquity, that he was as delightful in his conversation, and as entertaining in his friendships, as he was profound in his knowledge, and ornamental in his life. With regard to the character of a gentleman, his accomplishments were so great, as not only to excel those of his own profession, but to be a match for such as had made conversation and ceremony their sole and ultimate study. It is observable, that much study makes men pettish and morose; that a recluselife is an impediment to conversation; and that learning itself is imperious and dogmatical. But in our Prelate all these acquisitions had the quite contrary effects. His study was to promote good manners; his retirement, to make a more glorious appearance; and his learning, to propagate affability and condescension. The private course of his life would force any one to confess, that he was far from affecting popularity, or doing any thing for noise and ostentation. But his appearance was so venerable, his conversation so endearing, and his demeanor so uncommon, as to render him the most popular and noted Prelate of his order. But in the midst of these civilities and accomplishments, it is still remarkable, that the gravity of the Bishop kept the ascendant of the Gentleman; and that his principles were too stiff to bend to any company. His zeal and integrity were inviolable; and truth was never lost in a crowd of words. His sincerity was no sufferer by his complaisance; nor was the Courtier too hard for the Christian. He looked upon himself as married to his Diocese; and notwithstanding his numerous acquaintance and extended friendships in other parts of the Kingdom, he confined his preferments to his own children, the residing Presbyters of his proper Diocese. Nepotism had no share in his favours, and relations were kept at a distance. The laborious Clergyman would find himself surprized into a preferment, whilst he was sweating at his duty. The modest and humble man would be dignified in his obscurity, without the fatigue of attendance, or the formality of a petition. The care of his Parish was the best recommendation of a Pastor to this vigilant Prelate; and the continuance in his duty the most obliging requital that could be made him. Where the service was great and the congregation numerous, some marks of distinction were certainly placed, and the Minister was seasonably advanced, to secure an higher reverence to his person and a kinder acceptance of his labours. Every one of his Clergy had the favour of a son, the access of an equal, and the reception of a friend. No angry looks did intimidate the petitioner, no tedious formalities protract business, nor any imperious Officers insult the Clergy. T.

HOORNBECK (JOHN), Professor of Divinity in the Universities of Utrecht and Leyden, was one of the most illustrious Divines in Holland in the seventeenth Century. He was born at Harlem (a) in the year 1617, and studied there till he was fifteen or sixteen years old, when he was sent to Leyden, where he made a considerable progress in the Sciences, under the learned Professors, that University was provided with. Having spent two years in that City, he went to study at Utrecht in the year 1635, whence he returned to Leyden the next year. He was admitted a Minister in the year 1639, and went to perform the functions of his office secretly at Cologne. He acquitted himself of all the duties of his post with a great deal of piety and prudence, and was never discouraged by the dangers to which he was exposed in a City, where most of the inhabitants were zealous Papists. He returned into Holland in the year 1643, and was the same year promoted (b) to the degree of Doctor of Divinity with great applause the 21st of December. The proofs he gave of his great learning were such, that he was chosen to fill the Chair of Divinity Professor, which had been vacant at Utrecht since Schotanus's death. He chose to accept that post rather than any of the employments, that were offered him in other Cities [A]. In July 1644 he was installed Professor of Divinity

(a) John Hoornbeek, his grandfather, retired thither with his wife, in the year 1584, leaving Flanders, his native country, for the sake of his Religion.

[A] Several employments were offered him in other cities.] In February 1644 the Church of Maestricht would have him for her Minister. That of Graft in North-Holland called him in March that same year, and

(b) In the University of Utrecht.

Divinity at Utrecht, and the next year he was chosen also Minister in ordinary of the Church of that city. How difficult soever the functions of these two employments were, yet he acquitted himself of them with great diligence and care [B], which rendered his noble talents so useful to the public, that it made him universally beloved and esteemed. But lest he should sink under so many labours, the Magistrates discharged him of part of his pastoral functions. He was chosen to exercise the same employments at Leyden, which he had at Utrecht, and accepted them in the year 1654. He was a great ornament to that celebrated University till he died September the 1st 1666. He deserved to live much longer; but we ought rather to wonder that so laborious a man as he was [C] lived about forty nine years, than that he did not live longer. The great number of books which he published [D] are a most evident proof of his great application and extensive learning.

and the Chair of Divinity Professor in the illustrious school of Harderwyck (1) was offered him in the month of May following (2). It is very glorious for a man thus to be wished for in several places at the age of twenty seven.

[B] He acquitted himself of his new employment with great diligence and care. I kept the particular account of it for this remark, in which I shall make use of the author's words, who wrote our Hoornbeck's life. *In utraque autem statione* (3) *per decennium fere perseveravit, tanta eruditionis, eloquentiæ, pietatis, & diligentiae fama; omnibusque ordinibus adeo gratus, ut nullus in majori fuerit existimatione, non Ultrajecti solum, sed in toto Belgio. Nempe assiduus erat in docendo, predicando, concionando, legendo, disputando, regendo, præfiscendo, catechisationibus habendis, membris Ecclesiæ, imprimis ægris visitandis. Quibus artibus optimis certe, Magistratus Trajectini gratiam adeo meruit, & inivit, ut Magistratus optimus suo proprio motu, non petentem, nec forte cogitantem, liberaverit dimidia parte oneris Pastoralis, servato tamen integro honore & honorario. i. e. "He continued almost ten years in these two*

employments, with such a reputation of learning, eloquence, piety, and diligence, and so much beloved by persons of all ranks, that no person was so much esteemed as he, not only at Utrecht, but through all the United Provinces. For he made it his constant care to teach, to pray, to preach, to read, to hold disputations, to visit his flock, and especially the sick, and catechize the youth. These commendable arts gained him the favour of the Magistrates of Utrecht, so that they exempted him from one half of his pastoral functions, though they suffered him to enjoy all the honours and prerogatives of them, and continued to pay him his whole salary." If you will see the character of a good pastor, read what follows. *Membra Ecclesiæ frequenter invisebat, pios animabat, ignaros docebat, malos corripiebat, hereticos confutabat, afflictos solabatur, ægros recreabat, infirmos roborabat, ægestos erigebat, pauperibus subveniebat, omnes denique juvabat pro eorum statu & conditione, omnibus aderat in omnibus, omnibus se omnia faciebat, gravibus gravem, hilaribus hilarem, afflictis condolentem, doctis doctum & Doctorem, plebi Pastorem, errantibus ducem ut in viam reduceret veritatis. i. e. "He often visited the members of his Church; he encouraged the pious, instructed the ignorant, reproved the wicked, refuted the heretics, comforted the afflicted, refreshed the sick, strengthened the weak, cheered up the drooping, assisted the poor; in a word he was useful to all, in whatsoever state or condition they were; he was ready to help all that wanted his assistance; he made himself all things to all; he was grave with the grave, cheerful with the cheerful, mournful with the afflicted, learned and a Doctor; with the learned, a pastor to his flock, and a guide to lead those that erred into the paths of truth." Here follows the character that is given of him with regard to his diligence in his functions as a Professor. *Studiofos vero Theologia velut filios omni cura complectebatur, laboresque suos præcipuos iis impendebat; non lectiones solum in eorum gratiam habebat, sed frequentia Collegia omnis generis, atque Disputationes ordinarias & extraordinarias, ex quibus resultarunt tot vasta & egregia volumina ad institutionem juvenutis, imo ad usum omnium, sed imprimis ad conversionem hereticorum* (4). i. e.*

"He took as much care of the Students in Divinity as if they had all been his own children; his chief labours were spent for them; he used to read not

only public lectures for them, but even private Lectures upon several subjects, and to hold ordinary and extraordinary disputations, which have produced so many large and excellent volumes, useful not only for the instruction of youth, but also for the use of all men, and especially for the conversion of heretics."

[C] So laborious a man as he was. This the reader may know already, by the particulars related in the foregoing remark, but it will still better appear from the following passage: it relates to the time when he was Divinity Professor and Minister at Leiden. *Curam Ecclesiæ suo jure poterat in Collegas derivare, quia primario Pastori* (5) *ab ea immuni adjunctus, cum eo labores, honores, præmia, & privilegia omnia ex decreto sapientissimi Magistratus æqualiter distribuerebat. Sed ab Ecclesiæ cura, membrorumque & ægrorum visitatione dispensari noluit, contra vero, cum dimidias tantum Pastoris vires demandatas haberet, integras voluit implere, zelo & diligentia stupenda in homine alias occupatissimo, imo non tam onerato quam oppresso, & tantum non fatigante sub multiplici onere, cui plures simul juncti vix essent pares. Concionabatur in Templo, legebat in Academia, præsedebat in Consistorio, Catechisationes instituebat in Choro, Collegia habebat in domo, scribebat in musæo, sepe in lecto, membra Ecclesiæ visitabat in ædibus, ægros etiam & pestiferos, curam ad omnes & ad omnia extendebat* (6). i. e. "He had a right to leave the care of

the Church to his colleagues; for being an assistant to the first pastor, who was discharged from that care, he might share with him all the labours, honours, profits and privileges, by a decree of the most prudent Magistrates. But he would not be discouraged from the care of the Church, and of visiting his flock and the sick. On the contrary, though he was intrusted but with one half of the pastoral functions, yet he would perform them all. Which shewed a wonderful zeal and diligence in a man who was otherwise extremely busy, and rather oppressed than loaded, and almost sinking under the variety of his labours, to which several other persons joined together had hardly been equal. He preached in the Church, read lectures in the University, was Moderator in the Consistory, explained the Catechism in the Choir, had private lectures at home, wrote in his study, and often in bed, visited the members of his Church at their houses, even the sick, and them that had got the plague; he extended his care to all men and all things."

[D] The great number of books which he published. They may be reduced to these five classes; Didactical, Polemical, Practical, Historical, and Oratorical. Those of the first class are, *Institutiones Theologicae*, i. e. "An Introduction to Divinity, in 8vo." *Irenicum de studio Pacis & Concordiæ*, i. e. "A Treatise of Peace and Concord," in 4to. *De Consociatione Evangelica inter Reformatos & Evangelicos*, i. e. "Of an Evangelical Union between the Reformed and the Lutherans," in 4to. Those of the second class are as follows. *Socinianismi confutati Tomi tres*, i. e. "A Refutation of Socinianism," in three volumes in 4to. *Pro convincendis & convertendis Judæis Lib. VIII* (7). i. e. "Of convincing and converting the Jews, in eight books," in 4to. *De Conversione Gentilium, Judæique*. But *Libri duo*, i. e. "Of the Conversion of the Heathens, in two books," in 4to. *Examen Bullæ Urbani VIII Jesuitissis, Imaginibus & Festis*, i. e. "An Examination of Pope Urban VIII's Bull concerning Jesuits, Images and Holy-days," in 4to. *Examen Bullæ Innocentii X de Pace Germaniæ*, i. e. "An Examination

(5) It was Professor Heidanus.

(6) Ex Vita Joas. Hoornbecki.

(7) This is certainly the book which Mr. Baillet, tom. 2. of the *Anti*, pag. 38. in calls *Disp. Anti*. it is not thus intitled. Some author, who for shortness sake, quoted it thus, may have misled Mr. Baillet.

(1) A city of Guelderland.

(2) Taken from John Hoornbeck's Life prefixed to his book *De Conversione Isidorum*.

(3) That is to say, his post of Professor, and that of Pastor in ordinary.

(4) Ex Vita Joas. Hoornbecki.

(c) See a list of them in his *Life*.

learning. He understood many languages [E], and had a share in the friendship of the most excellent Divines of his time (c). He never departed one inch from the most strict orthodoxy; and he was not less commendable for those qualities of the heart which make up the character of an honest man, than for his wit and his learnings. You may see a particular account of all this in his life (d). He left children worthy of him [F], which is passing a great encomium upon them.

"mination of Pope Innocent X's Bull concerning the Peace of Germany." *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentissimo*, i. e. "Letters to John Dury concerning the Opinions of the Independents," in 8vo. *Commentarius de Paradoxo Weigeliano*, i. e. "Remarks upon Weigel's Paradoxes," in 12mo. *Apologia pro Ecclesia Christiana bodierna, contra Libellum, ad Legem & Testimonium, &c.* i. e. "A Vindication of the present Christian Church, against the Book intitled, 'To the Law and to the Testimony, &c.'" in 8vo. *De observando à Christianis Præcepto Decalogi quarto*, i. e. "Of the Obligation under which the Christians are to keep the fourth Commandment," in 12mo. *De Episcopatu*, i. e. "Of Episcopacy." The books of the third class are, *Theologia præctica Tomi duo*, i. e. "Two Volumes of Practical Divinity," in 4to. *De Peste*, i. e. "Of the Plague," in 12mo. Those of the fourth are, *Summa Controversiarum*, i. e. "A Sum of Controversies," in 8vo. *Miscella vetera & nova*, i. e. "Ancient and Modern Miscellanies." I refer to the fifth class the *Orationes variae Inaugurales, Valedictoriae, Rehorales, & Funebres*, i. e. "Various orations delivered upon his installation, when he took his leave, when he resigned the Rectorship, and funeral orations." I do not give the titles of his Dutch works, which consist of several treatises.

[E] He understood many languages.] The Author of

his Life has the following expressions: *Linguis si spectes, novis plurimas doctarum & vulgariarum, Latinam, Græcam, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam, Rabinicam, Belgicam, Germanicam, Anglicam, Gallicam, Italicam, Arabicam & Hispanicam Rudimenta attigit* (8). i. e. "As for the languages, he understood a great many, both of the learned and vulgar tongues, as the Latin, Greek, Hebrew; Chaldaic, Syriac, Rabinical, Dutch, German, English, French, and Italian tongues; he understood also the principles of Arabic and Spanish languages."

[F] He left children worthy of him.] He married at Utrecht in the year 1650 Ann Bernard. By this marriage he became related to several illustrious men, as, for instance, to Constantine l'Empereur (9), Divinity Professor (10), and to Jodocus Hondius (11) a very famous Geographer, grand-father to Henry Hondius, who was killed when he was fighting very bravely for the service of his own country in Admiral Tromp's ship, which he commanded. Our John Hoornbeek left two sons. ISAAC HOORNBECK, formerly a famous Counsellor at the Hague, and at present Pensionary to the city of Rotterdam (*); and HENRY EMILIUS HOORNBECK, one of the Commissioners for receiving the Taxes in the province of Holland.

(d) It is prefixed to his treatise, *De Conversione Indorum, & Gentilium*, and has been written by David Stuart. I have extracted this article from it.

(8) In *Vita Hoornbecki*.
(9) Ann Bernard's grand-mother by her father's side was called Joan l'Empereur, and was aunt to Constantine l'Empereur, and to John l'Empereur Minister at the Hague.
(10) First at Harderwyk, and then at Leyden.
(11) He was Ann Bernard's grand-father by her mother's side.
(*) In 1720 he was made Counsellor-Pensionary, Keeper of the Scales, and Stadtholder of the Fiefs belonging to Holland and West-Friesland, &c. He died at the Hague June 17, 1727, in the 71st year of his age. *Addit. to the 2nd. edition.*

HORATIUS (PUBLIUS) surnamed Cocles, did a very noble action, whilst the city of Rome his native place was besieged by King Porfenna. As his article is very good and pretty full in Moreri's Dictionary (a), I shall give but a very short article of him, and I shall dwell only upon the difference there is in the several accounts of the ancient Historians with regard to a particular circumstance, which ought to have been related without any variety [A].

(a) Of the Paris edition.

[A] I shall only dwell upon the difference there is . . . with regard to a particular circumstance, which ought to have been related without any variety.] There are some Historians, who assert, that Horatius, having cast himself into the Tiber, after he had opposed the enemies, till the bridge was broken down behind him, swam to the opposite shore, notwithstanding the weight of his arms, without receiving the least wound. But others relate, that he received such a blow on his thigh, that he continued lame ever after. Livy supposes evidently that he was not wounded. *Cunctati aliquandiu sunt (Hetrusci) dum alius alium, ut prælium incipiant, circumspiciant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, & clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela conjiciant, quæ cum in objecto CUNCTA scuto hæssissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, jam impetu detrudere conabantur virum, cum simul fragor rupti ponderis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles, Tiberine pater, inquit, te sancte precor, hæc arma & hunc militem propitio flumine accipias. Ita sic armatus in Tyberim desiluit: multisque SUPERINCIDENTIBUS TELIS INCOLUMIS ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad posteros quam fidei (1).* i. e. "The Hetrusci stood still for a while, considering who should first begin the battle. But shame put at last the army in motion; and with a great outcry they all shot their arrows against one single enemy, which he received on his shield, continuing unmoved to defend the bridge with the utmost courage; upon which they endeavoured to rush upon him all together, with a design to fling him down; but the cracking of the bridge, which that moment was broken down, together with the shoutings of the Romans, when they perceived the work completed, struck the enemy with terror, and stopped the enemy's fury. Whereupon Cocles addressing himself to the God of the Tiber, prayed him thus; O Tiberine father, let thy propitious streams kindly receive these weapons and this soldier;

(1) Titus Livius, lib. 2. Decad. 1. cap. 10.

having said this, he flung himself thus armed into the river, and notwithstanding the arrows which on all sides were shot at him, he swam ashore without being wounded; thus he dared to attempt an action, which will gain more reputation than credit with posterity." We may be certain that all they, who do not expressly assert that he was wounded, suppose the same thing with Livy; for their design was to raise our admiration for this Roman's great courage. Now this action is more wonderful still, and more glorious if he had been wounded, than if he had not. Whence it follows, that since neither Florus (2) nor (3) Seneca mention any wound, it is a proof that they were persuaded he received none. Valerius Maximus asserts so positively that Cocles was not wounded, that we ought to believe the negative was grounded on some tradition. *Ut patriam periculo imminenti liberatam vidit, armatus se in Tiberim misit: cujus fortitudinem Dii immortales admirati, INCOLUMITATEM SINCERAM ei præstiterunt. Nam neque altitudine dejectus, quassatusve, neque pondere armorum pressus, nec ullo vortice circuitu æsus: nec telis quidem, quæ undique congeriebantur, LESUS, TUTUM natandi eventum habuit (4).* i. e. "As soon as he saw that his country was free from the imminent danger to which it had been exposed, he flung himself, armed as he was, into the Tiber. The immortal Gods admiring his courage, preserved him entirely from all wounds; for he was neither hurt nor bruised, though he fell from a very great height. Nor was he oppressed by the weight of his arms, nor whirled about by the swiftness of the stream, nor even wounded by the arrows which on every side were shot at him: thus he swam safe to shore." But there are three famous Historians, who followed another tradition. Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a very particular account of that battle, and he asserts expressly, that Horatius was wounded through the thigh with a spear, and that this wound pained him so much, that he could hardly stand upon his legs, when he

(2) Florus, lib. 1. (and not, as Moreri has it, lib. 5; this author's work contains but 4 chapters) cap. 10.

(3) Seneca, Epistolæ, p. m. 464.

(4) Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 2. num. 1. pag. m. 241, 242.

☞ HORNECK (Dr. ANTHONY), a learned and pious Divine of the seventeenth Century, was born at Baccharach in the Lower Palatinate in 1641. His father was Recorder or Secretary of that place. Our author was sent to Heidelberg, where he applied himself to the study of Divinity under Dr. Spanheim, afterwards Professor at Leyden. At nineteen years of age he came over to England, and was entered into Queen's College in Oxford December the 24th 1663; and by the interest of Dr. Barlow, Provost of that College, he was made Chaplain of it soon after his entrance (a). December the 21st 1663 (b) he was incorporated Master of Arts from the University of Wittemberg. Soon after this he became Vicar of Allhallows in Oxford, where he continued two years. In 1665 he removed into the family of the Duke of Albemarle, and was Tutor to his Grace's son, then Lord Torrington. The Duke presented him to the Rectory of Doulton in Devonshire, and procured for him a Prebend in Exeter. In 1669, before he married, he went over into Germany to see his friends; and after his return was chosen Preacher of the Savoy [A], where he continued about twenty six years till he died (c). In 1693 he was collated to a Prebend in Westminster; and the year following resigned his Prebend of Exeter; and on the 28th of September the same year he was admitted to a Prebend in the Cathedral of Wells (d). He was likewise Chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. He published several works [B]. He died January the

(a) Life of Anthony Horneck, D. D. By Richard [Kidder] Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, pag. 3. 4. edit. London 1698.

(b) Wood, Fasti Oxon. vol. 2. col. 154. says it was March the 15th.

(c) Life of Dr. Horneck, pag. 4, 5, 6.

(d) Ibid. pag. 21, 22, 23.

(5) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 5. cap. 23, 24.

(6) Plutarch. in Valerio, pag. 106.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 105.

(8) Οὐ μὲν τὸ σκίλον τῶ Ὁρατίου καὶ τῶν ἑλλήνων τῶ Μάκκ. Non perennis Horatii, & manuum Mutii, Dio, lib. 45. pag. m. 325.

(9) See above the remark [F] of the article FULVIA, in the 2d a-linea.

(10) Servius, in Æneid. lib. 8. ver. 646.

(11) Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexand. Orat. 2. pag. 331, B.

(12) Polyb. lib. 6. cap. 53.

heard the bridge was broken down (5). This Historian adds, 1, that it was thought he would soon die of his wounds; 2, that as soon as it was known he would recover, they bestowed noble rewards upon him, but that he could never obtain the Consulship, nor any military employment, because he had continued lame ever since that battle. Plutarch relates that they raised a brazen monument to him in the temple of Vulcan, to comfort him under his misfortune of being lamed by that wound (6). Plutarch had observed a little before, that Horatius swam to the city, being wounded in his thigh, Δόρατι θυρήνῃ βεβλήμενον τὸν ἰχθυίῳ (7). i. e. "Wounded in his thigh by an Hetruscan dart." Dion Cassius asserts, that Tully, in an oration delivered before the Senate against Mark Anthony, swore by Horatius's thigh, and Mucius's hand (8). I know that this direct oration, which Dion gives us, is not like any of Tully's Philippic Orations (9); but Dion who composed it, would not have made use of such an oath, if there had not been a tradition, that Horatius had been wounded in his thigh, whilst he defended his country against Tarquin's friends. Let us mention a fourth witness, and quote Servius's words. *Solus Cocles postilem impetum sustinuit, donec à tergo pons solveretur à sociis, qua soluto se cum armis precipitavit in Tiberim, & licet læsus esset in coxa, tamen ejus fluentia superavit. Unde est illud ab eo dictum, cum ei in comitiis coxæ vitium objiceretur, per singulos gradus admovent triumphi mei* (10). i. e. "Cocles alone resisted the enemy's attack, till the bridge was broken down behind him, and then he flung himself headlong into the Tiber with his arms on, and though he was wounded in his hip, yet he swam to shore. This occasioned a witty saying of his, for as they objected his lameness to him in an assembly of the people, he answered, every step I make calls my triumph to my mind." You see that the tradition of Horatius's wound was supported by this circumstance of a witty saying of his, when they objected his lameness to him. It is pretended that Alexander made use of this thought, in order to comfort the King his father, who grieved at his being lame through a wound he had received in a battle (11).

If we have reason to wonder, that with regard to Horatius's story, two inconsistent traditions, namely, that he had been, and had not been wounded, should have been followed even by the most celebrated writers, what shall we say of Polybius (12), who supposes, that this brave and intrepid Roman lost his life in the Tiber? Shall we say, that this also was grounded upon a tradition? and shall we infer from thence, that ancient history is so dark and uncertain, that for the most part we do not know which side of a question to chuse between those that assert, and those that deny the same facts; and that both the affirmative and the negative appearing to be equally supported by credible authority, even with regard to such particulars, the truth or falshood of which could be most easily determined, we can have no certainty with regard to the less remarkable events recorded in history? Shall we, I say, draw such inferences? I would rather advise the reader to make use of these observations in

order to strengthen his mind against the custom, which prevails, of reading without attention, and believing without examining. Observe that the different opinions there are concerning Horatius's face, are not so surprizing, but yet it is a proof of the uncertainty of History. Some assert that Horatius was perfectly beautiful (13); others say that he was surnamed Cocles, . . . because his nose was extremely flat, and so deeply sunk in his head, that there was nothing between his eyes, and that his eye-brows joined: so that the people intending to call him cyclops, mistook the name, and called him Cocles (14).

[A] After his return was chosen Preacher of the Savoy.] The maintenance of this place is small, and precarious; and whatever it was to him at his first taking it, when there were persons of considerable quality inhabiting there, who were very kind to him, yet afterwards when his family increased, and his necessities were greater, it could not be called a complete maintenance. But whatever it was first or last, he could not be persuaded to keep his living in Devonshire; nor could he ever be prevailed with afterwards, whatever offers were made him, to accept of any living to hold in conjunction with it. He was irconcilable to pluralities and to non-residence, and would upon occasion declare his abhorrence of them with some considerable warmth (1).

[B] He published several works.] I. The great Law of Consideration: Or, a Discourse, wherein the Nature, Usefulness, and absolute Necessity of Consideration in order to a truly serious and religious Life, are laid open. London, 1676, in 8vo. It has been several times reprinted with Additions and Corrections. II. A Letter to a Lady revolved to the Romish Church. London, 1678, in 12mo. III. The happy Ascetick: or the best Exercise. London, 1681, in 8vo. To this is subjoined A Letter to a Person of Quality concerning the holy Lives of the primitive Christians. The third edition of The happy Ascetick, and of this letter is corrected and enlarged, with Prayers at the end of each Exercise. IV. Delight and Judgment: Or a Prospect of the great Day of Judgment, and its Power to damp and imbitter sensual Delights, Sports, and Recreations. London, 1683, in 12mo. V. The Fire of the Altar: or certain Directions how to raise the Soul into Holy Flames, before, at, and after the receiving of the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; with suitable Prayers and Devotions. London, 1683, in 12mo. To this is prefixed A Dialogue between a Christian and his own Conscience, touching the true Nature of the Christian Religion. VI. The Exercise of Prayer: or a Help to Devotion; being a Supplement to the Happy Ascetick, or Best Exercise, containing Prayers and Devotions suitable to the respective Exercises, with additional Prayers for several Occasions. London, 1685, in 8vo. VII. The first Fruits of Reason: or, a Discourse shewing the Necessity of applying ourselves betimes to the serious Practice of Religion. London, 1685, in 8vo. VIII. The Crucified Jesus: or a full Account of the Nature, End, Design, and Benefit of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with necessary Directions, Prayers, Praises,

(13) Dion. Hal. cap. 22.

(14) Plutarch. in Valerio, pag. 105.

(1) Life of Anthony Horneck, D. D. By Richard Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, pag. 6.

the 31st 1696, and was interred in Westminster-Abbey, where a monument was erected by his friends to his memory. He was a man of exemplary character, and great learning. He had applied himself to the Arabic from his younger years, and retained it in a good measure to the last. He had very good skill in Ecclesiastical History, in Controversial Divinity, and Casuistry (e).

(e) Ibid. pag. 40, 41.

Praefix, and Meditations, to be used by Persons, who come to the holy Communion. London, 1686, in 8vo. IX. *Questions and Answers concerning the two Religions; viz. that of the Church of England, and of the Church of Rome.* X. *An Answer to the Soldier's Question, What shall we do?* XI. Several single Sermons. XII. *Fifteen Sermons upon the fifth Chapter of St. Matthew.* London, 1698, in 8vo. XIII. He translated out of High Dutch into English *A wonderful Story or Narration of certain Swedish Writers*, printed in Mr. Joseph Glanvil's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*; in the second edition of which book is a Preface to *The wonderful Story of the Swedish Witches* more correct and full; where also is an addition of a new relation from Sweden translated by Dr. Horneck out of High Dutch: XIV. He translated likewise from French into English, *An Antidote against a careless Indifferency in Masters of Religion; being a Treatise in opposition to those, that believe that all Religions are indifferent, and that it imports not what men profess. Wherein the vulgar Objections of Atheists, Sceptics, Libertines, Latitudinarians, &c. are succinctly answered.* London, 1693, in 8vo.

with an *Introduction*, by Dr. Horneck. He collected and published likewise, *Some Discourses, Sermons, and Remains of Mr. Joseph Glanvil*, London, 1681, in 4to, to which he added a short Preface, as also another larger before a book intitled, *The true Interest of Families: or Directions how Parents may be happy in their Children, and Children in their Parents, &c.* London, 1690, in 12mo, written by James Kirkwood, Rector of Astwick in Bedfordshire. XVI. He wrote in conjunction with Dr. Gilbert Burnet, *The last Confession, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant John Stern, delivered by him on the Cart immediately before his Execution, to Dr. Burnet. Together with the last Confession of George Borolky, signed by him in the Prison, and sealed up in the Lieutenant's Packet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment, both in the Prison, and at the place of their Execution, which was in the Pall-Mall, on the 10th of March, in the same place, in which they had murdered Thomas Thynn, Esq; on the 12th of February before, in the year 1681.* London, 1682, in Folio. H.

HORROX (JEREMIAH), an eminent English Astronomer in the seventeenth Century, was born at Texteth near Liverpoole in Lancashire about the year 1619 [A]. From a school in the country, where he had made himself master of Grammar Learning, he was sent to Emanuel College in Cambridge, and spent some time there in academical studies. About the year 1633 he began to apply himself to the study of Astronomy; but living at that time with his father at Toxteth, in very moderate circumstances, and being destitute of proper books and other assistances for the prosecution of this study, he could not make any very considerable progress in it. He spent some of his first years to no purpose in the writings of Lansbergius, neglecting the works of Tycho, Kepler, and other excellent writers. But in 1636 he contracted an acquaintance and friendship with Mr. William Crabtree, who was engaged in the same studies, and who lived at Broughton near Manchester; and they carried on a correspondence by letters with each other, and sometimes wrote to Mr. Samuel Foster, Professor of Geometry at Gresham College in London. Mr. Horrox having now obtained a companion in his studies, assumed new vigour, and procuring Astronomical instruments and books, applied himself to the making of observations; and by Mr. Crabtree's advice laid aside Lansbergius, whose tables he found to be very erroneous, and his hypotheses inconsistent. He was pursuing his studies with great vigour and success, when he was cut off by sudden death January the 3d 1640, in the twenty second or in the entrance of the twenty third year of his age (a). What we have extant of his writings shew how great a loss the world had of him [B].

(a) Dr. John Wallis's *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, prefixed to Horrox's *Opera posthuma*, edit. London 1673 in 4to.

HORSTIUS

[A] Born... about the year 1619.] Dr. Wallis tells us (1), that at his death on January the 3d 1640 he was but in the twenty second or in the beginning of the twenty third year of his age.

[B] What we have extant of his writings shew how great a loss the world had of him.] He had just finished his *Venus in Sole visa* a little before his death; for it appears from a letter of his to Mr. Crabtree dated October the 3d 1640, that this book was not then finished, and he intimates that he was resolved to put the last hand to it before he took his journey to see him. And in another letter to Mr. Crabtree dated December the 19th following, he fixes upon the 4th of January to set out upon this journey; but died the day before, as appears from what Mr. Crabtree wrote on the backside of Mr. Horrox's last letter. Our author made his observations of *Venus in Sole* at Hool near Liverpool, as is evident from his letters, which from June 1639 to July 1640 are dated at Hool, though the preceding and subsequent letters are dated at Toxteth; but this circumstance is omitted in Hevelius's edition of that book, who published it at Dantzick 1662 in fol. with some works of his own under the following title: *Johannis Hevelii Mercurius in Sole visus Gedani Anno Christiano MDCLXI. d. III. Maii St. N. cum aliis quibusdam rerum Caelestium observationibus variisque Phaenomenis. Cui annexa est Venus in Sole pariter visa anno 1639 d. 24 Novemb. St. V. Liverpooliae a Jeremia Horroxio, nunc*

primum edita notisque illustrata &c. Besides this work he had begun another, in which he proposed these two things; first, to refute Lansbergius's Hypotheses, and to shew how inconsistent they were with each other and the Heavens; and secondly to draw up a new system of Astronomy agreeable to the Heavens from his own observations and those of others, retaining for the most part the Keplerian Hypotheses, but changing the numbers, as the observations required. He seems to have finished the first part, as far as was necessary, except reducing his papers into order. But the second part is wanting; though it appears from his letters to have been almost finished; for he had proceeded so far in the correction of all the Tables, as to begin Ephemerides for several years to come. His papers came into the hands of Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus College in Cambridge, who was contemporary with Mr. Horrox at Emanuel College, and found them, together with his *Venus in Sole visa*, among Mr. Crabtree's papers. Dr. Wallis published them with some other pieces at London 1673 in 4to under the following title: *Jeremiae Horroccii Liverpooliensis Angli, ex Palatinatu Lancastriae, Opera Posthuma; viz. Astronomia Kepleriana defensa & promota. Excerpta ex Epistolis ad Crabtraeum suum. Observationum Caelestium Catalogus. Lunae Theoria nova. Accedunt Gulielmi Crabtraei, Manchesteriensis, Observationes Caelestes. In calce adjuvantur Johannis Flamstedii, Derbiiensis, de Temporis Aequatione*

HORSTIUS (JAMES) Professor of Physic in the University of Helmstadt, was born at Torgaw May the 1st 1537 (a). He took his degree of Master of Arts in the University of Frankfort on the Oder, in the year 1556 (b), and of Doctor of Physic in the year 1562 (c). They offered him in several places the office of public Physician, and he exercised it successively at Sagan and at Suidnitz in Silesia, and at Iglaw in Moravia, till the year 1580, when he was made Physician in ordinary to the Archduke of Austria (d). He continued in that post during four years, after which he was promoted to the Chair of Physic Professor in the University of Helmstadt. The oration he delivered at his installation is very good, it is intitled, *De remoris discentium Medicinam & earum remediis* (e). i. e. "Of the Difficulties which attend the study of Physic, and of the means to remove them." He acquitted himself worthily of his functions, and published some books [A], which kept up the reputation he had already gained. I have not been able to discover in what year he died; I only know that he was still living in the year 1595, and that he was then *Decanus* (or the eldest Professor) of the Faculty of Physic at Helmstadt, and *Vice-Rector-Magnificus* of the University. This I learn from some verses that were written on his Anagram, and which are to be found at the end of a book intitled, *Jacobi Horstii Epistolæ Philosophicæ & Medicinæ*; i. e. "James Horstius's Philosophical and Physical Letters." It was printed at Leipzig in 8vo in the year 1596. We ought, in his commendation, to take notice of a particular, which will appear very surprizing, though perhaps unjustly; it is, that he joined devotion with the knowledge and practice of Physic. He carefully prayed God to bless his prescriptions, and he published a form of prayers upon this subject [B]. He married his first wife in the year 1562, and lost her in the year 1585 (f), having got ten children by her (g). He married again in the year 1587 (h). He was brother to GREGORY HORSTIUS, who died May the 10th 1592, and who had been seven times Burgomaster of the City of Torgaw,

(a) Jacob. Horstii, Epist. Philosophicæ & Medicinæ. pag. 41.
(b) Ibid. pag. 48.
(c) Ibid. pag. 77.
(d) Ibid. pag. 199.

(e) You will find it in pag. 530, &c. of the book I have quoted.

(f) Ibid. pag. 77.
(g) Ibid. pag. 330.
(h) Ibid. pag. 363.

sione Diatriba, Numeri ad Lunæ Theoriam Horroccianam. A great many of our author's papers were carried to Ireland by his brother Jonas Horrox, who had prosecuted the same studies, and died there, by which means they are supposed to be lost; and others of his writings were burnt by the soldiers during the civil wars. Others likewise came into the hands of Mr. Jeremiah Shakerly, who by the assistance of them formed his *British Tables*, published at London in 1653; and these papers, after Mr. Shakerley's voyage to the East Indies, where he died, remained for some time in the possession of Mr. Nathaniel Brooks, a Bookseller at London, but were destroyed in the great fire at London in September 1666.

Let us observe that he suffered himself to be grossly imposed upon with regard to that pretended golden tooth. It was only an imposture, and if you have a mind to know how the cheat was found out, you may consult Van Dale in the last chapter of his first book *De Oraculis* (12). He observes, that our James Horstius took this golden tooth for a great prodigy, which ought to be a comfort to those Christians, who were oppressed by the Turks; that is to say, that it was a good omen of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. I have seen a letter which this Physician wrote to David Chytræus February the 7th 1595, in which he speaks of the presages of meteors. He asserts that the comet which was seen in the year 1556, and which appeared at Constantinople, when it was no longer visible in Germany, might very well produce its dangerous effects in the year 1596, and that the new star in the constellation of Cassiopea would not then be idle (13), and that the golden tooth would also be sure to act its part. *Dens aureus, dens pueri* &c. (14). He does not conclude without censuring the security of mankind, nor without earnest wishes.

(12) Pag. 423. edit. 1700.
(13) *Stella prope Cassiopeam nec tunc scribitur.* Jac. Horstius, Epist. Philosophicæ & Medicinæ. pag. 521.

[A] He published some books.] The first, if I am not mistaken, was a commentary *In Librum Hippocratis de corde*. i. e. "On Hippocrates's Book upon the Heart," which was printed in the year 1563 (1). In the year 1576 he published a treatise *Qualem virum Pharmacopolam esse conveniat*. i. e. "Of the Qualities which make up the Character of a good Apothecary (2)." He had already published in the German tongue a treatise of the Qualities of a good Physician; and in the year 1580 he published a book upon the same subject in Latin, and dedicated it to the Bishop of Olmutz (4). He published a German translation of Lemnius's book *De occultis Naturæ miraculis*, i. e. "Of the hidden miracles of Nature," in the year 1579, and added a great many observations to it (5). In 1580 was printed his book *De morbo epidemico febrili Catharrali per totam Europam grassante* (6). i. e. "Of the epidemical Catharrick fever, which raged through all Europe." And in the year 1583 he printed a treatise of the Plague in the German tongue, and in 1587 a book *De Vite vinifera* (8), i. e. "Of the Wine-bearing Vine," and in 1593 a book *De Noctambulis*, i. e. "Of Persons who walk in their Sleep (9)." In 1595 was published his dissertation upon the golden tooth of a child in Silesia (10). You will find in *Lindenius renovatus* (11), that his *Disputationes Catholicæ de rebus secundum & præter naturam*, i. e. "Catholic Disputations of things according to and against nature," were printed at Wittemberg, in the year 1630, with Gregory Horstius's *Compendium medicarum Institutionum*, i. e. "An Abridgment of Physic Institutions," and that the abridgment of his *Herbarium, sive de selectis plantis & radicibus Libri duo*; i. e. "Two Books concerning choice Plants and Roots," made by the same Gregory, was printed at Marpurgh in the year 1630.

[B] He prayed God to bless his prescriptions, and he published a form of prayers upon this subject.] Thus it was that he signalized himself at his first entering upon his post of Professor of Physic in the University of Helmstadt. This book was the present the University received from him. *Helmstadium ubi venisset, Librum dicitum*, &c. (15). It must be observed in honour to the Physicians, that several of them gave him thanks for publishing those prayers, and confessed that their art stood very much in need of God's assistance (16). See what a Physician of the city of Ratibon wrote to him. *Mittis ad me libellum medicorum*, &c. (17). Amongst the letters that were written to him upon this subject, there is one in which he is told, that very few Physicians in Bohemia followed the advice he gave, to call upon the name of God, but that a great many old women made use of charms and enchantments. *Cum paucis optime Horsti, habes*, &c. (18). Matthew Drefserus, Professor of Eloquence at Leipzig, did very much commend him for his piety and prayers, and told him, that he had known a Physician, who never undertook any cure, nor prescribed any thing without saying the Lord's prayer. *De precum medicarum formulis* &c. (19).

(14) Idem, ibid.
(15) Ibid. pag. 282.
(16) *Vide Jac. Horstii, Epist. Philosophicæ & Medicinæ. pag. 283, & seq.*
(17) *Vide eund. ibid. pag. 284.*
(18) Ibid. pag. 290.
(19) Ibid. pag. 293.

Compare this work with the remark [C] of the article KIRSTENIUS, and read (20) the pious letter which James Horstius wrote to a Minister at Berlin. He seems to be determined to compose a treatise of Christian Physic (21). I must add, that the bill or advertisement.

(20) Ibid. pag. 294 & seq.
(21) *Binis literis tuis, quibus me* &c.

(1) Epist. Philosophicæ & Medicinæ. Jacobi Horstii, pag. 79.
(2) Ibid. P. 153.
(3) In the year 1570, ibid. pag. 127.
(4) It is amongst his Philosophical and Physical Letters, pag. 209, & seq.
(5) Ibid. pag. 189.
(6) Ibid. pag. 203.
(7) Ibid. pag. 257.
(8) Ibid. pag. 354.
(9) Ibid. pag. 435.
(10) Ibid. pag. 323.
(11) In pag. 485, of the edition published in the year 1686.

(i) It is prefixed to the book intitled, *Jacobi Horstii Epistole Pbilosophicæ & Medicinæ*. Torgaw, and was a man of great merit, as we learn from his Elogy, written by Reineccius (i). The book which I have quoted, contains a particular, which deserves, I think, to be related [C].

(22) Ibid. pag. 493, & seq. vertisement, in which he exhorted the students duly to celebrate St. Michael's Day in the Angel's honour (22), is a very devout piece.

To conclude, I do not believe there ever was a Book of Devotion but what sold better than these Prayers, which Horstius wrote for the Physician's use.

(23) Ibid. pag. 11.

[C] His letters contain a particular which deserves to be related.] Jerom Nymnam, a Minister, and Horstius's brother-in-law (13), wrote him a letter dated from Torgaw March the 10th 1556, in which he desired him (24) to let him know whether a certain story, which Sabinus had lately told at Wittemberg, were true or not. The story was, that a certain Gentleman of the Marquisate of Brandenburg, near Standel, having repulsed a poor woman who desired him, for God's sake, to abate something of the price of the corn she intended to buy of him, the piece of money she gave him for it was changed into

a snake, by an unknown person, whom that Gentleman met with in his way, and that the snake had twisted itself round the Gentleman's neck, and would not leave it. Horstius, who was then at Francfort upon the Oder, answered (25) his brother-in-law, that he knew nothing of this story, and that if he heard any thing of it, he would write it to him. We have here an instance of the uncertainty of common reports. Prodigies often make much more noise in distant countries, than in that where it is pretended they happened. This is a mark of falsity; for true facts are known with more certainty in the places where they happen, than any where else. They, who design to tell false stories, must take care not to tell them too near the place where they suppose the stories happened; they do not always take such a precaution, and yet they find credit, but then they run a greater risk of being found out.

(25) Ibid. pag. 54.

(a) He was the son of George Horstius, one of the Magistrates of the City of Torgaw.

HORSTIUS (GREGORY) nephew (a) of the preceding, gained such a reputation in the practice of Physic, that he was usually called the Æsculapius of Germany (b). He was born at Torgaw in the year 1571, and was admitted Master of Arts at Wittemberg in the year 1601 (c), and commenced Doctor of Physic at Basil in the year 1606.

(c) Lindenius renovat. pag. 359.

(b) Konig. Biblioth. pag. 413.

He was that same year made Professor of Physic in the University of Wittemberg; he left that City at a year's end, and went to Soltwedel in the Electorate of Brandenburg, to be the City-Physician there. He did not continue long in that City, for he accepted the Physic-Professor's Chair, which the Landgrave of Hesse offered him in the University of Giessen, in the year 1608, and the next year he was made first Physician to that Prince. Being tired at last with leading a single life (d) he married in the year 1615. The great reputation he had gained made the Magistrates of Ulm offer him the post of first Physician to that City, which he accepted, and he performed the functions of it with great applause from the year 1622 till the year 1636, in which he died. He left four sons [A] and two daughters by his first wife. He lost her in November 1634; and finding too much trouble in the care of a family, he married again in June 1635. He met with very great comfort in this second match [B]; but the gout, which he had

(d) Solitaria vita per se sibi privato quoque invigilare curatio fuit. i. e.

"Being tired with leading a single life, he imagined he might also take care of his own particular affairs."

Joh. Daniel Dietericus, in Oratione funebri Gr. Horstii, apud Witte, Memor. Medicor. pag. 67, & seq.

(1) Paulus Freher. in Teatro, pag. 1366.

[A] He left four sons by his first wife] Three of them were Physicians, and the other an Apothecary (1). JOHN DANIEL HORSTIUS, the eldest of them all, was born at Giessen, and was Professor of Physic in the University of Marburg, and afterwards in that of his native place, and Physician to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstad, and lastly to the city of Francfort. He was admitted under the name of *Pbænix*, a Fellow of the Society of Inquirers into Nature. He published a great many books, and died January the 27th, 1685, at the age of threescore and eight years (2). Here follow the titles of some of his works. *Physica Hippocratea, Takenii, Helmontii, Cartesii, Espagnet, Boylei, aliorumque recentiorum Commentis illustrata*. i. e. "The Natural Philology of Hippocrates, illustrated with a Commentary from Takenius, Van Helmont, Des Cartes, Espagnetus, Boyle, and other moderns." At Francfort 1682, 8°. *Decas Observationum & Epistolarum Anatomicarum, quibus singularia scitu digna, lacteorum nempe thoracicarum, & vasorum lymphaticorum natura, embryonisque per os nutritio, atque alia rariora exponuntur*. i. e. "A Decad (or ten books) of Anatomical Observations and Letters, in which some particulars worthy to be known are explained; namely, the nature of Lacteal veins in the Thorax, and of the lymphatic vessels; and the manner how the fetus takes its nourishment by its mouth in the womb, with other more curious particulars." At Francfort 1636, in 4to. *Pharmacopœa Galeno-Chemica Catholica*. i. e. "An Universal Pharmacopœy or Dispensary, Galeno-Chemical." At Francfort 1651, in folio. He gave a new edition with corrections and additions, of *Pauli Zachie Questiones Medico-Legales*. i. e. "Paul Zachias's medical questions with regard to the Law." At Francfort 1666, in folio; and of *Lazarus Riverii Opera Medica Universa*; i. e. "All Lazarus Riverius's Physical Works;" at Francfort, 1674, in folio (3). GREGORY HORSTIUS, the youngest of his brothers, was born at Ulm, September the 20th 1626. He commenced Doctor of Physic at

(2) Witte, in Diario Biographico, ad ann. 1615.

(3) Taken from Lindenius renovatus, pag. 564, 565.

Padua, Fortunius Licetus presiding at his Disputation, May the 11th, 1650. He was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians at Ulm, and declared public Professor of Physic in the year 1653. He died May the 31st, 1661, and left some children behind him (4). He is the author of a treatise *De Mania*, i. e. "Of Madness," and he promised *Historiam Zibethi* (5). i. e. "The History of Civet."

(4) Paulus Freherus in Teatro, pag. 1389.

(5) Witte, in Diario Biographico, ad ann. 1661.

[B] Finding too much trouble in the care of a family, he married again. . . He met with very great comfort in this second match.] He had lived less comfortably with his first wife, if we may credit the author of his funeral oration. *Huic optima consorti suæ, dum fata Deusque sinebant, ex veteri formula felicissimè convixit, & optimè cohabitavit. Quid autem hic Archibater noster gloriosus, concessit ne illorum in numerum, qui blanda veners detenti, omnem Musis remittunt nuntium? Nullatenus, sed potius domesticis, privatisque omnibus scitè adornatis, famæ suæ gloriam & calamo, & ore, & praxi expandere, & diffundere satagit* (6). We see in the latter part of this passage, that Horstius did not follow the example of a great many other men, who indulge themselves so much in the pleasures of the nuptial bed, that they bid the Muses farewell for ever. Horstius took care to spread his reputation more and more, by his writings, by his discourses, and by his practice. As to his happiness with his second wife, here follows what the same author tells us of it. *Is . . . posteaquam secunda, quæ vocant, expleisset vota, . . . jamque conjugalem lineam ex animi sententia duceret, amantissimè ab amantissima marito habitus, domique ac foris felix, optata iuvare gauderet: ecce! malo arbitrio, quod multo antè non semel fortiter sustinendo repulerat, irruadit* (7). (7) Idem, ibid. i. e. "When he had married his second wife, living most lovingly with the most loving spouse, being happy both at home and abroad, and having a considerable portion with her, he fell sick of the gout, which he had long before more than once suffered with patience, and courageously overcome." What I shall now quote relates both to his first and

(6) Joh. Daniel Dietericus, apud Witte, Memor. Medicor. folio (e)

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 67, 68.

(e) Taken from his Funeral Oration, delivered by Joh. Daniel Diettericus, *apud Witte, Memor. Medicor.* pag. 67. & seq.

more than once vigorously resisted, coming again upon him, and being attended with several dangerous symptoms, carried him to the grave August the 9th 1636. He was eminently possessed of three chief qualities of a good Physician; namely, honesty, learning, and successfulness (e) [C], as it is related at length in his funeral Oration. He published

(8) *Idem*, *Ibid.* pag. 5. before the end. I quote it thus, because but few pages of this funeral Oration are numbered.

to his second marriage (8). *Quando autem factum ut Anno 1634: suavisimam hanc ipsius tori sociam maligna febris deestuarer, in hoc infelix fuit, quod se-vam illam declinare nesciens, mense Novembri miseram viduitatem colere fuerit coactus: qua in cum sex Liberos Pater & occupatissimo functionis muneri & molestissima rei familiaris curæ vix non succumberet, divina adlucente gratia, ad vota secunda accedens, Præclarissimi Medici Fingerlini p. m. relictae viduæ (9), matrimoniale addixit fidem, hoc ipso iterum titulo felicitatis privatae redonatus, quod hæc castissimis illius amoribus mira morum amabilitate respondebat: ita ut charitate Conjugem, sedulitate Ministram præstaret. i. e. "It happened in the year 1634 that the most dear partner of his bed was taken ill of a malignant fever, which he not being able to cure, he became a widower in November that same year; and being a father of six children, and having a great deal of business, he almost sunk under the care of his domestic affairs. So that he determined to marry again, and took for his second wife the widow of a most eminent Physician, named Fingerlinus; because he found that her most agreeable behaviour answered the modest love he had for her: she was a tender spouse by her affection for him, and a servant by her care and diligence."*

(9) The author had observed that Horstius had married a maiden to his first wife, who was Hedwig Stammiæ. *Interca, says he, pag. 69. & maritalem conditionem exsolatus, HEDWIGEM STAMMIAM Virginem leetissimam consarrati-one sibi sacrosanc-ta cupulat.*

[C] *He was eminently possessed of the three chief qualities of a good Physician; namely, honesty, learning, and successfulness.* I omit what relates to the two first of these qualities, and I shall only observe, that with regard to the third, his Panegyrist asserts, that the good success of our Horstius's prescriptions was not an effect of chance, but of the attention with which he examined the nature of the distempers, &c. On this occasion that author casts a very severe reflection upon those Quacks, who boast that they have cured thousands and thousands, and who by their impudent bragging extort a great deal of money from unwary persons. He applies to them what a certain Poet replied to a man who was at once a Chirurgion and a Physician. I do not wonder at it, said the Poet, for you kill a great many persons both with your own hand, and with poison. *Ea est Empiricorum, Thalmudicorum, & Bullatorum Medicorum indoles & natura, ut mucosam suam praxin pro admiranda felicitate venditantes, sapissime animos Magnatum & Divitum (utpote hoc censu facile se defraudari patientium) à verò Medicorum vultu & cultu abalienent, egregiam spem & verè prodigiöse suæ curæ (quippe illa ipsa excidium denunciant) expectationem concitando: qua supersticiosa, splendidisque straphis suffulta infelicissima felicitate Microcosmum argento simul, & sanguine emungere sceleratissime norunt: quibus Plagiariis interim Poëtæ apprimè adaptari convenit,*

Es Medicus, simul Chirurgus,
Cur? mittis stygiam viros ad Orcum,
Et manu simul, & simul veneno:

Nequaquam autem hujusmodi felicitatis excessum in Defuncto nostro, velut absoluto Practici Exemplo, quæremus: quin potius fortunam illius in Praxi integram & illibatam, cumulatissimo rationis & experientie instructu partem demirabimur, &c. (10).

I shall take this opportunity to observe, that there are some persons who believe, that the successfulness of a Physician is something, which does not depend from his learning and knowledge. This is Joubert's opinion. "If a person recovers, says he (11), the Physician is judged to be a very able man, though his prescriptions were nothing to the purpose: on the contrary, the Physician is thought to be an ignorant man, if the patient dies, or lingers a great while under a distemper, which the vulgar imagines could be easily cured. Moderate persons will not think that Physician the more or the less learned for it; if they know that he has the reputation of learning amongst the men of letters, but they will say, that he has no success with his patients, and consequently, that he is not a good Physician; for they always judge from the event. It is certain

that there is good and bad luck in every thing, or, as the Italians express it *la buona è la mala sorte*; and it is a Physician's happiness never to be called to a Patient that is to die of his distemper; for he gets neither fame nor friends by prescribing for such patients; and yet he is not to be blamed; and if he has done his duty, he ought to be as much esteemed, as if the patient had recovered. . . It is indeed a great advantage to be successful in one's undertakings, but such a happiness does not depend on learning and ability; it is a particular favour from God, to be called only to such patients as are to recover, and with regard to whom God blesses the remedies and renders them successful; as also not to be called by them, who are to die, and with whom nothing succeeds well. It is therefore a very wrong way to judge of Physicians by their success, which is owing to a particular luck and to God's blessing, rather than to a man's learning (12)." A Flemish Physician, who has translated Joubert's first book of popular errors into Latin, and added a commentary to it, was not of that opinion, and asserted, that the Physicians happiness consists only in their learning and skill, and that their unhappiness is owing only to their ignorance. *Huic equidem Jouberti sententiæ non subscribam; quin potius ad Cratonis &c. [(13)].* He has also quoted a passage from Paracelsus, in which the same thing is asserted. I believe, that he goes a little too far, and that there are Physicians, who sometimes cure or kill their patients, though they cannot be justly commended or blamed for it. How learned and experienced soever they may be, they do not always know the true cause of a distemper, and they prescribe according to the rules of their art, a remedy, which becomes pernicious, because there is something in the patient's constitution, which it is not in their power to discover. Such a particular disposition of the body, the patient's fancy affected after a certain manner, some secret passions, &c. are capable to produce some effects, which the most learned and most experienced Physicians would never expect. The efficacy of those unknown causes may be such, that a remedy, prescribed rashly, ignorantly, foolishly, will cure the distemper, and that a remedy prescribed according to all the rules of art, will kill the patient. There is therefore good and bad luck here, which does not depend upon the learning or ignorance of the Physician; and a man cannot be charged with ignorance, for not knowing the hidden passions of the heart, or the strange qualities of a certain constitution, and for not foreseeing how they will prevent the effects of the remedies he prescribed. A Physician is reckoned to commit blunders through ignorance, only when he does not know those things, which study and practice ought to have acquainted him with. The question is, whether there be some Physicians, who, through a prerogative peculiar to themselves, do by chance and yet often hit upon the very remedy that will cure, and whether the contrary happens to others by an ill-luck peculiar to them? Or else, the question is this; are there Physicians who are called just when the patient is predestinated to be cured? And are there others, who are called just when the patient is predestinated to die? Joubert seems to have been of that opinion, and to have called this a particular favour or blessing from heaven, or the want of a divine favour. Crato ridicules such an opinion. This controversy is much of the same nature with that which I have mentioned in another place (14); whether there be an happiness and a misfortune annexed to certain persons, or whether the one be always the effect of a man's prudence, and the other of his imprudence? The ancients were not of this last opinion; for when they reckoned up the qualities of a good General, they gave fortune a place by itself, and distinguished it from the knowledge in the art of war. *Ego sic existimo, says Tully, in summo Imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei Militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem (15).* i. e. "I am of opinion that these four things are requisite in a General; the knowledge of the military art, courage, authority, and happiness." He shews af-

terwards,

(12) *Ibid.* pag. 35.
(13) Joannes Bourgeois, in *Scholii*, ad cap. 7. Jouberti, de *Erroribus Vulgi*, pag. 105, 106.
(14) In the remark [K] of the article TIMOLEON.

(10) Dieterici, *Orat. fun. Gr. Horstii, apud Witte, Memor. Medicor.* in the page after the leaf marked (e) 5.

(11) Joubert, *Errours Populaires*, liv. 1. chap. 7. pag. m. 33. 34.

(15) Cicero pro *Legge Manilia*, cap. 10. pag. m. 35. tom. 3.

(f) See the remark [E].

lished a great many books [D], which have been very much esteemed. Two of his sons have also published some books (f).

terwards, that these four qualities met most eminently in Pompey. *Reliquum est ut de felicitate quam præstare DE SE IPSO nemo potest, meminisse, & commemorare de altero possumus: sicut æquum est homini de potestate deorum, timide & pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & ceteris magnis imperatoribus, NON SOLUM propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quedam ad amplitudinem, & gloriam, & ad res*

(16) Cicero, *pro lege Manilia*, cap. 16. pag. 53. tom. 3.

magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna (16). i. e. "We come now to speak of the other's (Pompey's) happiness, which a man can never have OF HIMSELF; but it is proper we should speak modestly and sparingly of the power of the Gods. I am of opinion, that Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, Marius, and others, were so often placed at the head of our armies, not only because of their courage, but also on account of their happiness. For some great men were certainly assisted by fortune, when they gained so much glory and reputation, and performed such noble actions."

(17) Dieterici, *Oratio Fun. Gr. Hortii*, apud Witte, *Memor. Medicor.* folio (e) 2.

[D] He published a great many books.] I believe that he begun with his *Institutiones Logicæ*, which he published, when he read private lectures on Philosophy at Wittemberg, about the year 1601 (17). He pub-

lished in the same city in the year 1607 his treatise *De Natura Humana* (18). His *Dissertatio de natura Amoris*, additis *Resolutionibus de cura Furoris amoris, de Philtris, atque de pulsu Amantium*; i. e. "A Dissertation of the nature of Love, on Philtris, and on the "Lover's pulse:" this book, I say, was printed at Gießen in 4to, in the year 1611. He published in the same city his work *De tuenda Sanitate Studioforum & Literatorum*; i. e. "Of preserving the health of Students and men of Letters;" in 4to. and in 1619, the treatise *De causis similitudinis & dissimilitudinis in sexu, respectu parentum &c. cui annexa est Resolutio Quæstionis de diverso partus tempore, imprimique quid de septimestri & octimestri partu sentiendum*; i. e. "Of the causes why children are not like their parents &c. to which is added a solution of the question concerning the time of the women's delivery, and what we ought to think of their being delivered at the seventh, or eighth month;" in 4to. I refer the reader to *Lindemius renovatus* (19), where he shall meet with a particular account of the titles and editions of all this Physician's writings. I shall only observe, that there was a new edition of it published after his death, in one volume in folio, at Nuremberg in the year 1660, at Gauda (Tergou) in three volumes in 4to, in the year 1661.

(18) Idem, *ibid.* folio (e) 3.

(19) Pag. 359, etc.

HORTENSIA, sister to Hortensius the Orator. Thus a modern author names her (a): but, as he himself owns in another place (b), Valeria is the name which Plutarch gives to Hortensius's sister. See therefore VALERIA, for there is no reason why we should ascribe to Hortensius, two sisters of different names.

(a) Glandorp, pag. 465.

(b) Idem, pag. 865.

HORTENSIA daughter of Hortensius the Orator, shewed her self worthy of such a father by the eloquence she displayed, when she pleaded the cause of the Roman Ladies before the Triumviri, who had sentenced fourteen hundred of them to declare the estates they possessed; intending afterwards to tax them at pleasure, towards defraying the expenses of the war. The Triumviri were Mark Anthony, Octavius and Lepidus. These had declared at first, that all such women as did not give in a faithful and exact inventory of their estates should be fined; and that all persons impeaching others, who made such concealments, should be rewarded for their discoveries. The Ladies had recourse to the intercession of such among them as might have some interest with the Triumviri, and met with a gracious reception from Octavius's sister, and Mark Anthony's mother; but Fulvia, wife to the latter, shut her door against them, whereupon they resolved to address the Triumviri. Hortensia spoke in the name of all the rest, and made

(a) *Quinti Hortensii filie oratio apud Triumviros habita legitur non tantum in sexus bonorem. Quintil. Instit. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

a very fine speech, which Quintilian has mentioned with applause (a). The Triumviri were so brutal as to be displeased with the Ladies, for the rigour they shewed in addressing them, and thereupon ordered their officers to turn them out of Court [A]. Upon this order the whole assembly murmured, which prevented the officers from putting it in execution, whereupon the Triumviri suspended the affair till the next day. The result was, that only four hundred women should be obliged to discover all their possessions (b). By this we are enabled to form a much more just idea of that incident than from Moreri's account, even from Valerius Maximus, whose words are quoted below [B].

(b) *Ex Appiano, lib. 4. Bell. Civil.*

HORTENSIUS

[A] *The Triumviri . . . ordered their officers to turn them out of Court.*] Instead of this, Jacobus Philippus Bergamensis, whom Prosp. Mandosius (1) copies, relates, that Hortensia's eloquence was so much admired by the auditors, that they imagined it was her father who spoke, and that it forced the Triumviri, not only to grant whatever they desired, but to bestow the highest applauses on them. He has committed two other errors, first in asserting that Hortensia wrote many things; and secondly, in saying that the Roman Ladies were taxed, because the necessity of the times required it; whereas it was owing rather to the tyrannical avarice of the Triumviri. How many errors do authors fall into, from their desire of applauding those on whom they write!

(1) *In Biblioth. Roman. Cent. 2. num. 88.*

[B] *From Moreri's account, or . . . from Valerius Maximus, whose words are quoted hereunder.*] He says that the Senate had laid a severe tax on the Roman women, . . . and that Hortensia alone undertook the cause of all the women. I. It was the Triumviri, and not the Senate, who laid this heavy tax, in case a tax was laid. II. It was not to affect all the women of Rome, but only the most wealthy; it was a tax on persons who were in flourishing circumstances. III. Hortensia was

indeed the only woman who spoke, but she was not the only one who acted for the women, or undertook their cause; for all who were concerned in that affair, went in a body to solicit the mothers, sisters, and wives of the Triumviri; after which they went to the Court where they were assembled, on which occasion, as in deputations of every kind, one spoke in the name of all the rest. I take no notice of Moreri's omissions, nor of the false citation from Appian of Alexandria, which was taken into the Dutch edition, with a small alteration that may impose upon the reader. That error is owing to the Printers. Moreri had certainly writ, *li. 4. belli civil.* instead of which the Printers of Lyons put *li. 4. b. li. civil.*; and those of Holland *li. 4. b. li. civil.* So small a mistake has been sufficient, on many occasions, to make people imagine, that an author had wrote several books which he had never so much as dreamt of. Who would not believe, seeing Ovid cited in *elog.* at the close of the article Hortensius the Orator, both in the Dutch edition and the preceding one, but that Ovid had wrote a Poem entitled *Elogia*? Every reader does not guess that instead of *in elog.* it should be *in elog.* a citation a little too general, with submission to Vol-

HORTENSIUS, the name of a Plebeian family in Rome, taken, in all probability, from their devoting themselves to gardening, as that of *Fabius, Lentulus, &c.* sprung from a like original. Antonius Augustinus had no reason to rank this family among the Patricians [A], since we find, in the *Fasti*, one **LUCIUS HORTENSIUS**, Tribune of the People, the year of Rome 331. He charged Sempronius Atratinus, Consul the preceding year, with having attacked the Volsci rashly; but his four colleagues, who were present at the battle in question, desired Hortensius so very earnestly to drop the impeachment, that after having done all that was possible, on his side, to oblige them to allow him to proceed in it; he at last complied with their desires, when he found they were firmly determined to lay aside the ensigns of their dignity, all the time the trial should last. He would not let the people see their Tribunes in that condition, nor quite ruin a Consul, who at least had gained the love of his soldiers. *Non videbit plebs Romana sordidatos Tribunos suos.* C. Sempronium nihil moror quando hoc est in imperio consecutus ut iam carus esset militibus (a). We find, above an hundred years after, one **QUINTUS HORTENSIUS** who was Dictator [B]. He brought back the people who had retired to the *Janiculum*; and enacted a Law, viz. that thenceforward all the Romans should be obliged to obey the ordinances of the people [C]. He died in his office (b), which no one had done before (c). Moreri has committed strange mistakes with regard to this Dictator [D]. He

(a) Liv. lib. 4. cap. 42. See also Valer. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(b) Livius, in Epit. lib. 11.

(c) August. de Civ. Dei, lib. 3. cap. 17.

(2) De Hist. Lat. pag. 48. de Poet. Lat. pag. 15.

sius who made use of it (2); but yet true in the main. There are many other wrong citations in this article of Moreri's Dictionary: Pliny is cited there twice, and the first time falsely. The 5th chapter of book 3d of *de re rustica* of Varro, and the 13th of book 3d of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, are not just quotations; and shew that Moreri did not take care to verify, whether the Printers of Vossius had put one figure for another.

Here follow the words of Valerius Maximus, which I promised to cite. *Hortensia Q. Hortensii filia cum ordo Matronarum gravi tributo à Triumviris esset onerata, nec quisquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet, causam fœminarum apud Triumviros constanter & feliciter egit. Representata enim patris facundia impetravit, ut major pars imperatæ pecuniæ his remitteretur* (3). i. e. "Hortensia, the daughter of Q. Hortensius, upon the Triumviri's laying a very heavy tax on the Ladies of Rome, and no man's daring to appear in their favour, pleaded their cause with great resolution and success before the Triumviri; for by her eloquence, which was equal to that of her father's, she prevailed so far as to get the greater part of that tax remitted."

(3) Valer. Max. lib. 8. cap. 3. Moreri has cited lib. 3. Hofman lib. 2.

[A] Antonius Augustinus had no reason to rank this family among the Patricians.] The tract written by Antonius Augustinus *de Romanorum Gentibus & Familiis*, which I make use of, was printed at Lyons in 1592, in 4to. We there find word for word, on the family *Hortensia*, what Richard Streinnius relates concerning it, in the book written by him on the same subject in 1559. Both proceed on a false foundation, in order to make this family Patrician, viz. that Cicero, say they, bestows the epithet noble on Hortensius, in his speeches against Verres. Who does not know that the epithets *nobilis* and *plebeius* were consistent in old Rome?

[B] Above an hundred years after . . . **QUINTUS HORTENSIUS** the Dictator.] It would be very difficult to find exactly the year when our **QUINTUS HORTENSIUS** was Dictator. I fancy Sigonius was right in fixing it to the year 467. Father Hardouin (1) doubtless approved this opinion; but the printers of his work, by omitting a letter, make him say that the sedition of the people, which was quieted by Hortensius the Dictator, happened in the year *cclclxvii*. St. Austin is of opinion, that Hortensius was created Dictator, on account of the peoples retiring at that time to the *Janiculum*, which is very probable. *Post graves & longas Rom. seditiones quibus ad ultimum plebs in Janiculum hostili diremptione secesserat, cujus mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut ejus rei causa, quod in extremis periculis fieri solebat, & Dictator crearetur Hortensius, qui plebe revocata in eodem magistratu expiravit, quod nulli Dictatori ante contigerat* (2). i. e. "The Plebeians in Rome, after several grievous and long seditions, withdrew at last in an hostile manner to the *Janiculum*, which occasioned so dire a calamity, that on this account, as when the State was in imminent danger, Hortensius was created Dictator, who having brought back the people, died in his

(1) In Plin. lib. 16. cap. 10. pag. 239. tom. 3.

(2) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 3. cap. 17.

"office, which no other Dictator had ever done before."

[C] . . . and enacted a law, viz. that thenceforward all the Romans should be obliged to obey the ordinances of the people.] An author cited by Aulus Gellius informs us, that the ordinances made by the report, or at the desire of the Tribunes of the people, were not properly called laws, but *plebiscita*; and that the Patricians, till the Dictatorship of Hortensius, were not subject to such kind of Ordinances. *Ne leges quidem proprie sed plebiscita appellantur, quæ tribunis plebis ferentibus accepta sunt, quibus rogationibus ante Patricii non tenebantur, donec Q. Hortensius Dictator eam legem tulit, ut eo jure quod plebs statuisset, omnes Quirites tenerentur* (3): now Livy tells us the very contrary of this; for he says that Lucius Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, who were appointed Consuls in the year of Rome 305, began to shew their complacency for the people, by enacting a law, which left it no longer in doubt, whether the laws established by the people, were binding to the Senate. That law decided this affair to the advantage of the people. *Omni primum cum veluti in controverso jure esset tenerenturque Patres plebiscitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, ut quod tributum plebes jussisset populum teneret, qua lege tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est* (4). i. e. "First of all, it having been controverted in some measure, whether the ordinances of the people were binding with respect to the Senators; they enacted a law in the *Comitia Centuriata*, that whatsoever the Plebeians or Commons might decree in their tribes, should bind the whole Roman people; which Law enforced prodigiously all the motions the Tribunes might make." The Magistrates called *Decemviri* had been just before put down; and the seditious populace, who had retired to mount *Aventine*, recalled. The new Consuls did all that lay in their power to make themselves popular. **Quintus Capitolinus** acknowledged the same of this new law three years after; when representing to the people all the advantages which the Senate had granted them, he brings into the account *scita plebis injuncta patribus* (5). This law was renewed in the year of Rome 415, **Publius Philo** the Dictator having ordained that the *Plebiscita* should oblige all the Romans (6). The author quoted by Aulus Gellius was therefore not justly informed. Had he said that the Senators were so very artful as to elude the decision; and therefore that it was found necessary to renew it in an authentic manner, under the Dictatorship of **Quintus Hortensius**, he would not be the just object of our criticism; but this he has not done. Pliny (7) speaks of what was enacted by this Dictator in favour of the people, without saying whether ever such a law had, or had not, been enacted before. Sigonius did not know what had been transacted under **Valerius** and **Horatius** the Consuls; he saying (8), that **Hortensius's** law had been already enacted by **Publius Philo** the Dictator, in the year of Rome 414.

[D] Moreri has committed strange mistakes with regard to this Dictator.] Two gross blunders in a few words; one is, in saying that he was a famous *Civilian*

(3) Lælius Felix, apud A. Gellium, lib. 15. cap. 27.

(4) Livius, lib. 3. cap. 45.

(5) Idem, cap. 47.

(6) Ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent. Livius, Dec. 1. lib. 8. cap. 12.

(7) Lib. 16. cap. 10.

(8) In Fast. ad ann. 467.

He who made himself the most famous, is HORTENSIVS the Orator of the following article.

lius and Legislator; the other, the affirming that Hortensius the Orator was his grandson. Were ever such Magistrates, in the Commonwealth of Rome, who had procured the enacting of some laws, called Legislators? Had this been, the number of the Roman Legislators would be exceedingly great; neither are they the set of people called *Jurisperiti* or Civilians. Now it is very plain, that Moreri knew no circumstance relating to Q. Hortensius the Dictator, but that

he had enacted a law, whereby the Senate was subjected to the *Plebiscita*. Farther, since Moreri observes that the Dictatorship of this Hortensius falls under the year of Rome 468, how could he take him for the grandfather of Hortensius the Orator, who, according to him, was a military Tribune, in the year of Rome 664? How shamefully inattentive and negligent must he have been on this occasion!

HORTENSIVS (QUINTUS) contemporary with Cicero, and almost as great an Orator, was born the year of Rome 639 (a). He pleaded his first cause at nineteen years of age, and with such success, that he not only gained the applause of his hearers, but also that of the two Consuls, who were the greatest judges of eloquence in that age [A]. This was the cause which he pleaded for Africa, before the Senate, under these two Consuls. He pleaded, some time after, for the King of Bithynia, and with still greater success than before. The social war breaking out the year of Rome 663, so entire a stop was put in the city to all judicial proceedings, that Hortensius embraced a military life (b). He was a military Tribune so early as his second campaign; but I believe he rose no higher; and that those who declare him to have been Lieutenant General under Sylla, in the Mithridatic War, mistake him for another [B]. He filled, successively, all the exalted employments of the Commonwealth, such as those of Quaestorship, Ædileship, Prætorship, and even that of Consulate, which he obtained in conjunction with Q. Cæcilius Metellus the year of Rome 684. The lot fell upon him to go into Crete, to reduce the inhabitants of that island; but as his eloquence made him triumphant in Rome (c), he chose to display his talent at the bar, rather than to march into the field. Accordingly he gave up that employment to his colleague, who there gained the honour of a triumph, and the surname of *Creticus*. Hortensius had a most wonderful memory [C]. He used a great deal of action when he

(a) See the remark [B].

(b) Cicero in *Bruto*.

(c) Xiphilinus ex *Dione*, lib. 35. *initio*.

[A] He gained the applause . . . of the two Consuls, who were the greatest judges of eloquence in that age.] These were Lucius Crassus and Quintus Scævola, the former of whom was one of the greatest Orators, and the latter one of the greatest Civilians, that had ever appeared in Rome. *Eloquentium jurisperitissimus Crassus, jurisperitorum eloquentissimus Scævola putaretur* (1). This Consulship falls under the year 658; so that as Hortensius was then but nineteen years of age, he consequently was born in 639; which we may likewise gather from Cicero's being eight years younger than he; Cicero, I say, who was born in 647. *Me adolescentem (Hortensius) nactus octo annis minorem quam erat ipse* (2). Here follows the proof of what I said with regard to the first cause which Hortensius pleaded (3): *Q. Hortensii admodum adolescentis ingenium, ut Phidias signum simul aspectum et probatum est. Is L. Crasso, Q. Scævola Coss. primum in foro dixit, et apud eos ipsos quidem Consules, et cum eorum qui assuerunt, tum ipsorum Consulium qui omnes intelligentia antebant, judicio discessit probatus; undeviginti annos natus erat eo tempore. i. e.* "The genius of Quintus Hortensius, whilst he was young, like the statue of Phidias, was no sooner beheld but it was immediately admired. The first made his appearance at the bar, under the Consulship of L. Crassus and Q. Scævola; though but eighteen years old at that time, he pleaded in presence of the Consuls with the applause, not only of the whole auditory, but of the Consuls themselves, who were the most consummate judges of that time." Cicero (4) makes this L. Crassus speak thus: *Ego esse jam judico (omnibus istis laudibus, quas oratione complexus sum, excellentem Hortensium) et tum judicavi cum me Consule in Senatu causam defendit Africa, nuperque etiam magis cum pro Bithyniæ rege dixit. i. e.* "I am now of opinion, that Hortensius merited all the applauses which I bestowed upon him; and I thought this, when, during my Consulship, he pleaded in favour of Africa in the Senate; and still more so, when he lately undertook the cause of the King of Bithynia."

(1) Cicero in *Bruto*, cap. 39.

(2) Idem, in *Bruto*.

(3) Idem, *ibid.* cap. 64.

(4) *De Orat.* lib. 3. *sub fin.*

Lieutenant. Plutarch represents him as a man who was perfectly well skilled in the arts of war, and who never yielded (5); and relates some actions achieved by him, which suit only an old experienced Officer, and that refer to the year of Rome 667. But where should Hortensius the Orator have gained this experience, since he did not embrace a military life till the year 663? And had he gained it, and had signalized himself under Sylla, how comes it that these circumstances were not spoke of, in those places where he is applauded, and said to have been a military Tribune, even in his second campaign? *Judicia intermissa bello . . . Erat Hortensius in bello primo anno miles, altero Tribunus militum* (6). Glandorpius was doubtless mistaken (7), in supposing him to be Sylla's Lieutenant-General. But what need is there to take advantage of Cicero's silence? What he says is much more favourable to me. Do not the three years during which Hortensius made the greatest figure at the bar, because of either the death or absence of the most renowned Orators, correspond with the time that Sylla had the other Hortensius in his army? *Triennium fore fuit urbs sine armis, sed oratorum aut interitu aut discessu, aut fuga . . . Primis in causis agebat Hortensius, magisque quotidie probabatur.*

(5) *Strabonius* *de Asia* *lib. 12.* *Vir rei bellicæ parvitas.* Plutarchus in *Sylla* *pag. 461.*

(6) Cicero in *Bruto*.

(7) *Onomasticon* *pag. 404.*

(8) Cicero, in *Bruto*.

[C] Hortensius had a most wonderful memory.] He delivered his pleadings directly as he had meditated them, without writing down so much as a single word, and did not forget one particular which had been advanced by his adversaries. *Primum memoria tanta, quantam in viro cognovisse me arbitror, ut quæ secum commentatus esset, ea sine scripto verbis ipsæ redderet quibus cogitavisset. Hoc adjumento illo tanto sic utebatur, ut sua et commentata et scripta, ut nullo referent omnia adversariorum dicta meminisset* (9). What Seneca says of him, is still much more remarkable. Upon a challenge that was made to Hortensius, he staid a whole day at a public sale, and repeated in order, the several things which had been sold, to whom, and at what price. His recital being compared with the account taken by the Clerk, it appeared that his memory had not made him mistake in one particular. *Hortensius à Sisenna provocatus in auctione perdidit diem totum, et omnes res, et pretia, et emptores ordine suo, argentarius recognoscitibus, ita ut in nullo falleretur, re. Præfat. lib. 2. *Controvers.**

(9) Cicero in *Bruto*. See also *Tuscul. 1. et Academic. 2. init.*

(10) Seneca, *Præfat. lib. 2. Controvers.*

he pleaded [D], which once drew upon him a very severe stroke of rallery in presence of the Judges; L. Torquatus giving him the name of *Dionysia*, who was a famous female dancer. The answer which Hortensius made to him is seen in Aulus Gellius. It cannot be denied but that he was vastly affected; or at least, that he was excessively nice and finical in his dress [E]. He used to consult his glass very earnestly, all the time he was dressing; and it is said that he commenced a suit against his collegue, for discomposing or ruffling the order and symmetry of his gown, as he was passing through a narrow place (d). He had amassed great riches, of which he was no ways sparing, to procure himself conveniences and pleasures both in town and country. He had several country-houses [F]; and being a great lover of sumptuousness, he opposed the sumptuary laws which the Consuls would have enacted the year of Rome 699. He applauded them so very artfully for the splendor and magnificence in which they lived, that they did not dare to insist farther on preferring of a law, which agreed so little with their own conduct. He was the first who eat peacocks (f), of which he had a course, in an entertainment he gave to the college of Augurs. He was very curious and splendid in his parks and fish-ponds (g), and was as solicitous for the health of his fish [G], as for that

(d) Macrobius Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 9. Moresi, after Vossius, cites lib. 3. cap. 13. Now there are but twelve chapters in the 3d book.

(e) Dion. lib. 39.
(f) Varro, de Re rustica, lib. 3. cap. 6. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 20.
(g) Elian, lib. 5. Histor. Anim. cap. 21. Tertullian. de Pallio, sub fin.

(g) Varro, de Re rustica, lib. 3. cap. 13 & 17.
of

[D] He used a great deal of action when he pleaded.] *Nescitis utrum cupiditas ad audiendam eum, an ad spectandum concurreretur, sic verbis oratoris aspectus, & rursus aspectus verba serviebant. Itaque constat Aescopum & Roscium ludicra artis peritissimos viros illo casus agente in corona frequenter assistisse, ut foro petitos gestus in scenam referrent* (11). Though his action was so fine, as to make the two finest Actors of that time (Aescopus and Roscius) ambitious of imitating it on the stage, it is yet certain that it exceeded the just bounds of the Oratorical Art: *Vox canora & suavis*, says Cicero in his Brutus, *motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat Oratori satis*. Moresi does not relate Torquatus's jest or rallery faithfully. He used to move about so much in making his speeches, that the name of Grasshopper, *Dionysia Saltatricula*, was given him. What person would not suppose from these words, but that Hortensius had been plagued with this nickname in every part of the city? and yet there was but one man, who, on a single occasion, gave him the name, not of Grasshopper, but of *Dionysia*, who was a famous female dancer. It is a very false translation to render the words *Saltatricula*, *Grasshopper*. Here follows the passage from Aulus Gellius, Chap. V. Book I: *Cum L. Torquatus, subagrasti homo ingenio & infestivo, gravius acerbisque apud consilium judicum, cum de causa Sulla quereretur, non jam bistrionem eum esse diceret, sed gesticularium Dionysiamque eum notissimam Saltatricula nomine appellaret; tum voce molli atque demissa Hortensius, Dionysia, inquit, Dionysia malo equidem esse quam quod tu Torquate, ἀγροκόττα, ἀγροκόττα, ἀγροκόττα. i. e. "Lucius Torquatus, a rude, morose sort of a man, having declared, in Sylla's cause, after a harsh and severe manner, before the Judges, that Hortensius did not then behave as an Actor, but like Dionysia the famous female dancer; Hortensius replied as follows, in a soft low tone of voice, "I had rather be Dionysia, than, like you Torquatus, void of all taste for learning, inelegant, and without understanding."*

(11) Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 10.

[E] He was excessively nice and finical in his dress.] The following passage from Aulus Gellius, which precedes the words above cited, serve both to prove Hortensius's fondness for action, and his too great niceness with respect to dress. *Hortensius omnibus ferme Oratoribus vetatis suae nisi M. Tullio clarior, quod multa mendacia & circumspicit compositaeque indatus & amictus esset, manusque ejus inter agendum forent argute admodum & gestuose, maledictis compellationibusque probroque jactatus est, multaque in eum quasi in bistrionem in istis causis inquit judiciis dicta sunt. i. e. "Hortensius who was almost the greatest orator of his time next to Cicero, being extremely nice and finical in his dress, and studied in his pleadings, employing a great deal of action, was rallied and abused, and was often reproached, in open court, with being a player rather than an orator." With regard to the action he took out for the ruffling the folds of his robe, here follows the proof or testimony of it: *Hortensius vit alloquin ex professo mollis & in praecinctu ponens ornem decorem; fuit enim vestitus ad munditiam curioso, & ut bene amictus iret, factem in speculo ponebat: ubi se intuens togam corpori sic applicabat, ut rugas non forte sed industria locatas artifex nodus constringeret, & finas ex compositio defluens nodum**

lateris ambiret. Is quondam cum incederet elaboratus ad speciem collega de injuriis diem dixit; quod sibi in angustis obvius offensu fortuito structuram toga destruxerat, & capitale putavit quod in humero suo locum ruga mutasset (12). i. e. "Hortensius was professedly soft and effeminate, and made all decency to consist in outward shew. He was vastly finical in his dress; and to adjust it the better, he employed a looking-glass, by whose assistance he so disposed of his gown, that the plaits did not fall at random, but were disposed very carefully by means of a knot; and the fold or lappet flowing or falling down with art, went round the knot at his side. As Hortensius was one day walking in his elaborate dress, he took out an action against his collegue; because that, meeting him in a narrow passage, he had accidentally ruffled the order and oecconomy of his gown: looking upon it as a capital crime, because his collegue had changed one plait on his shoulder."

[F] He had several country-houses.] Pliny (13) mentions Hortensius's *Tusculanum*, where he placed the Argonauts of the painter Cydias, which cost him fourteen thousand four hundred French livres, according to Father Hardouin's computation. He had a house at Bauli (14), one near Laurentium (15), and another near Porta Flumentana (16). The reader may judge of his expences, by the great number of hogsheads of wine, above ten thousand, which he left to his heir. *Hortensius super decem millia cadum heredi reliquit* (17). Here follows the proof of what I said with regard to the care which he himself took to pour wine, with his own hands, on his plane-trees. *Is Hortensius platanos suas vino irrigare consuevit, adeo ut in actione quadam, quam habuit cum Cicerone susceptam, precario à Tullio postulasset ut locum dicendi permutteret, abire enim in villam necessario se velle, ut vinum Plantano quam in Tusculano posuerat ipse suffunderet* (18). i. e. "It was Hortensius's custom to refresh his plane-trees with wine, in which he was so exact and punctual, that being engaged in a cause with Cicero, he begged him to change the place of pleading, being, as he declared, under an absolute necessity of going into the country, to pour wine on a plane-tree which he himself had planted at Tusculanum."

(12) Macrobius Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(13) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 11.

(14) Cicero, ad Acad. Quaes. Varro, de Re rustica, lib. 3. cap. 17.

(16) Cicero, ad Atticum, lib. 7. Epist. 3.

(17) Varro, apud Plin. lib. 14. cap. 14.

(18) In the body of this article, citation (b).

(19) Macrobius Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 9.

[G] He was solicitous for the health of his fish.] Varro (20) relates some very singular particulars on this subject. Hortensius acted with regard to his fish, just as misers do with respect to their money; I mean he did not dare to make use of it, but chose rather to buy fish in any of the neighbouring towns, than take any out of his own fish-pond. Not satisfied with sparing his fishes, and not suffering them to be killed for his repasts, he used to have them fed very plentifully and delicately. *Neque satis erat eum non pasti piscinis, nisi eis ipse pasceret ultro... Celerius voluntatis Hortensii ex equili educeres rbedarias ut tibi haberes mulas, quam è piscina barbati nullam... Non minor cura ejus erat de aegrotis piscibus, quam de minus valentibus servis: itaque minus laborabat ne servus aeger, quam aquam frigidam biberent sui pisces. i. e. "Nor was it enough for him that he did not eat of the fish out of his own ponds, he himself feeding them very carefully... Such was Hortensius's turn of mind, that he would sooner have given the mules out of his*

(20) De Re Rustica, lib. 3. cap. 17.

of his footmen. Hortensius must have had a strong passion for plane-trees, since he used to refresh them with wine instead of water; and so far was he from making a secret of this, that he one day desired Cicero to change with him the hour in which he was to plead; for I myself, says he, must go and pour wine on a plane-tree, which stands in one of my country-houses (b). Those who are ever so little acquainted with human nature, will wonder much more that these two great Orators should have given each other such strong testimonies of friendship on several occasions [H], than to hear that they were not always true friends; for, after all, Cicero was the cause why Hortensius did not preserve the glory which he had enjoyed a considerable time, viz. of being the first Orator in Rome; and Hortensius was the cause that Cicero was not without a dangerous rival, who trod close upon his heels. Hortensius had published, not only orations and annals, but also lascivious poems [I]; but none of these compositions have been trans-

mitted

“ his stable, than a mullet out of his fish pond. He was equally solicitous of the health of his fish as of that of his servants; and, when any one of these was sick, he was less anxious about his having fresh water, than about the ordering it for his fish.” We are told he was so passionately fond of a lamprey, that he bewailed the death of it with tears. *Apud Baalos in parte Baiana Piscinam habuit Hortensius Orator, in qua Murenam adeo dilexit ut exanimatam fesse creditur* (21). Which circumstance Porphyry (22), Macrobius (23), and Tzetzes (24) have related of Crassus the Orator.

[H] People will wonder . . . that these two great Orators should have given each other strong testimonies of friendship.] Perhaps there is nothing in which jealousy is more apt to occasion hatred between people than eloquence. I cannot say whether beauty or poetry are not to be excepted. We seldom find that two celebrated Preachers love one another; and a trifling matter shall make them quarrel with one another. It is much if they can conceal their jealousy and save appearances; so that we may justly admire what Hortensius did in Cicero's behalf; but we are not to be surpris'd to hear of any ill offices he might have done him privately. He got him admitted into the college of Augurs (23); he gave him the noblest applauses at a time when encomiums might be of service to him. *At Hercule alter tuus familiaris Hortensius quam plena manu, quam ingenue, quam ornate nostras laudes in astra sustulit, quam de Flacci Prætura & de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret. Sic habeto nec amantius, nec honorificentius, nec copiosius potuisse dici* (26): he ran the hazard of losing his life for Cicero's sake: *Vidi, vidi hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium lumen & ornamentum Reipub. penè interfici servorum manu cum mihi adesset* (26); and Cicero himself owns, that they always indulged good offices one to the other. *Cum præsertim non modo nunquam sit aut illius à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contra semper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & moriendo, & favendo* (28). i. e. “Particu-

larly as neither of us opposed the interest of the other; but on the contrary, gave mutual assistance of counsel and favour.” We are not to wonder so much at Cicero's good offices with regard to Hortensius, as those of Hortensius towards him; because though Cicero's heart, naturally speaking, for many years, must have harboured the rancour of jealousy, we must suppose that he threw out half of it when he found himself the superior. There was a time when he did not equal Hortensius; another time when he equalled him, and a third when he excelled him. This last period is an excellent medicament against jealousy. But, on the contrary, how violent a heart-burning must it be to Hortensius, to see the man who did but follow him in the beginning, overtake him some time after, and at last get beyond him? *Hortensius . . . qui diu Princeps Oratorum, aliquando æmulus Ciceronis existimatus est, novissime quoad vixit, secundus*. These are Quintilian's words in Chapter III, Book XI. I am sensible that it was not disadvantageous to Hortensius to have such a rival as Cicero. The honours of the Consulship had so much slackened the ardent and indefatigable application with which he had cultivated his mind from his younger years, that people took notice daily, that he flagged (29). However, he roused his spirits, when he perceived the great progress which Cicero's glory made; but he certainly would have dispensed with such an incentive or spur, since it cost him the first place. There were few great causes but these two famous Orators were employed in them; sometimes

for the same, and at other times for contrary parties (30). Verres that renowned plunderer, was to have Hortensius for his Lawyer: which was one of the strongest reasons Cicero alledged, in order to exclude Cæcilius from being the accuser. The reader may see by that pleading (31), how capable Hortensius was of managing such causes as he undertook. Cicero had all kinds of advantage on this occasion. He was the accuser; and it is said that he made Hortensius resolve not to plead in favour of Verres (32), so numerous were the charges and proofs brought against him. *Multis diebus prima actio celebrata est, dum testes Verris producuntur criminum diversorum, dum recitantur publicæ privatæque literæ. Quidus rebus adeo stupescens Hortensius dicitur, ut rationum defensionis omitteret* (33). We have seen how Cicero has declared that Hortensius would never do him an ill office; and we may see, in the same place, that he refutes those who thought that Hortensius was not favourable to him. *Dolebam quod, non ut ple-*

rique putabant, adversarium aut obsecratorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius & consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram (34). i. e. “I was afflicted, not as most people imagined, because I had lost an adversary and an envious rival, but rather a companion and sharer in my glorious labours.” Nevertheless it was in a different strain he wrote to his brother Quintus, when he expressed himself as follows. *Quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio: me summa simulatione amoris, summaque assiduitate quotidiana sceleratissime infidiosissimeque tractavit, adjuncto quoque Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, præceptis destitutus in banc calamitatem incidi* (35). i. e. “How far Hortensius may be

trusted, I cannot say; he and Arrius have treated me, on the specious pretences of affection and friendship, in the most wicked and most insidious manner. I am involved in this calamity, by my being deprived of their advice, their promises and directions.” How few, even of those who pass for honest men, but have two sorts of language, the one for printed books, the other for those letters they write their friends? See the remark [M] of the article GROTIUS. So long as they are kept in manuscript, the insincerity or amphibious language does not appear; but I surely expect to find these at the publication of their letters. It would very much vex certain authors, should they be obliged to repeat or to hear repeated in conversation, the same encomiums which they gave in a book. Prefaces, citations, the pleasing necessity of composing a funeral panegyric, what multitudes do you impose upon! Be this as it will, it has been justly considered as the marks of a wonderful address in Pomponius Atticus, that he was able to preserve the intimate friendship both of Cicero and Hortensius, and to have kept them from falling out. *Utebatur intimè Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset, uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius; & id quod erat difficilimum efficiebat ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obsecratio, essetque talium virorum copula* (36). i. e. “He had contracted an intimate friendship with Hortensius, who was the greatest Orator of the age, inasmuch that one could not tell, whether he was best beloved by Cicero or Hortensius: and he so ordered matters, a most difficult circumstance, that no jealousy broke out between these two mighty rivals; he being as the band, which held these two friends together.”

[I] Hortensius published . . . lascivious poems.] This Ovid informs us, in his second book *De Tristibus*, where he gives us the list of those men, who had written Love Poems or Books with impunity.

(b) See the remark [F].

(21) Plin. lib. 9. cap. 55.

(22) De Abst. lib. 3.

(23) Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 11.

(24) Chil. 8. Hist. 174.

(25) Cicero in Bruto, initio.

(26) Idem, ad Attic. Epist. ult. lib. 2.

(27) Idem, pro Milone.

(28) Idem, in Bruto.

(29) Cicero in Bruto, sub fin.

(30) *Sepe in iisdem, sepe in contrariis causis versati sumus. Cicero, Divinat. in Q. Cæcil.*

(31) *Divinatio in Q. Cæcilium.*

(32) It is to be observed that Hortensius did not abandon Verres so far but that Quintilian, Book 10. chap. 1. speaks of his Pleadings for him.

(33) *Afcon. Perdian. in Proœmio Act. in Verrem.*

(34) Cicero in Bruto, initio.

(35) Idem, Epist. lib. 1. ad Quintum fratrem. See also Epist. 9. ad Attic. lib. 3.

(36) Cornel. Nepos, in Vita Pomponii Attici.

mitted to posterity; and it must be confessed that he was a much better speaker than a writer [K]. Though he won the cause of Messala, his sister's son, in whose favour he had employed the utmost efforts of his eloquence [L], finding him accused of engaging in a faction, he yet did himself great injury by it; and occasioned his being laughed at and hissed in his old age, which ridicule he was the only man who had escaped before (i). He died the year of Rome 703, aged three score and four years, forty four or forty five whereof he had spent with great glory and reputation at the bar (k). Some author says, that he wore out his voice to such a degree, that he quite lost it before he died. Others have

(11) Epist. 2. Ciceron. ad Famil. lib. 8.

(k) Est autem L. Paub, C. Marcellus Cof. mortuus, ex quo videmus eum in Patronorum numero annos quatuor & quadraginta fuisse. Cicero, in Brutus

*Is quoque Phasiacas Argo qui duxit in undas
Non potuit Veneris furta tacere sua.
Nec minus HORTENSI, nec sunt minus improba Servi
Carmina. Quis dubitet nomina tanta sequi?*

“ He, whom fam'd Argo set on Phasis' shores,
“ Could not conceal his private love-intrigues.
“ Hortensius, Servius, both obscenely write:
“ Who could refuse such mighty names to follow ?

(37) Lib. 19. cap. 9.

(38) Lib. 1. de Annal. apud Corradum in Cic. Brutum, pag. 428.

(39) Ibid.

Aulus Gellius doubtless hints at the same verses of Hortensius, when he says (37) that they were ungraceful, *invenusta*. I know not whether the Poem which Varro (38) ascribes to him be another work. As to the Annals, they have been cited by Velleius Paterculus. I believe Hortensius was a man of learning, for Cicero has bestowed that elogium on him; but I do not see that his Poem, his Annals, and the proffer of Lucullus, are such good proofs of his erudition, as Corradus would persuade us. *Sanè, says he (39), videtur bene doctus fuisse, siquidem Poema scripsit, ut Autor est Varro libro primo de Analogia, & Annales, ut Paterculus affirmat: Et certè cum Sisenna & Lucullo de Græco Latineque scribendo venit in eam contentionem, quam Plutarchus in Lucullo refert.* i. e. “ He seems indeed to have been a man of learning, for he wrote a poem, as Varro tells us, Book I of his Analogy; he also drew up Annals, as we are assured by Paterculus; and he certainly contended with Sisenna and Lucullus, with regard to the superiority of writing, in Greek as well as in Latin, as Plutarch relates in the Life of Lucullus.” I do not see that Corradus understood Plutarch's meaning; for he does not there speak of a challenge between Hortensius, Sisenna and Lucullus, but of a small presumption of the last mentioned, who boasted, in presence of the other two, that he would write the social war, either in Latin or in Greek, in prose or verse, as chance should decide it. Plutarch conjectures, that the Greek prose fell to him by lot, since the History of that War, composed in Greek prose by Lucullus, was extant in his time: but once again, this does not signify in any manner that Hortensius and Sisenna would have engaged in the same work, had the lot fell to them. Catanzus who relates it thus (40) is mistaken.

(40) In Plin. Epist. lib. 5. pag. m. 283.

[K] He was a much better speaker than writer.] This we are told by Quintilian, Chap. III, Book XI, where he observes that action has a very peculiar force or strength in an orator; and the great talent of Hortensius lay here: when his pleadings or speeches came to be read, they were not found worthy of the author's reputation. *M. Cicero, says he, unam in dicendo actionem dominari putat, hac . . . Antonium & Crassum multum valuisse, plurimum verò Hortensium, cujus rei fides est quod ejus scripta tantum infra famam sunt . . . ut appareat placuisse aliquid eo orante, quod legentes non invenimus.* i. e. “ Action, according to Tully, is the chief talent of an Orator . . . Anthony and Crassus were eminent for it; but above all Hortensius, a proof of which is, his writings falling so much below his reputation; so that one would conclude, that they had certain charms whilst he was repeating them, which are quite lost to us in the reading.” How many Preachers have we, to whom this may be applied? Mr. Morus is an instance of this.

[L] He had employed the efforts of his eloquence.] This cause he pleaded the year of Rome 702. Hortensius was then sixty three years of age, notwithstanding which he made an excellent plea. Brutus, who always thought him a great orator, had never admired him so much as he did on that day. The rest of the auditors formed the same judgment; and Cicero having read the plea, published word for word as it had been spoke, formed

the same judgment as the rest. *Hortensium magnum Oratorem semper putavi maximeque probavi pro Messala dicentem, cum tu absuisti. Sic ferunt, inquam, idque declarat totidem quot dixit, ut ajunt, scripta verbis oratio (41).* If Hortensius was hissed next day, it was not because he pleaded with less eloquence than usual, but because people were vexed that he had brought his client off. The people had already shewn their resentment against the Judges in this cause. *Clamoribus scilicet maximis iudices corripuerunt, & ostenderunt planè esse quod ferri non posset . . . Accessit huc quod postredie ejus absolutionem in Theatrum Curionis Hortensius introiit, puto ut suum gaudium gauderemus. Hic tibi strepitus, fremitus, clamor, tonitruum & rudens tum fibilus. Hoc magis animadvertendum est, quod intactus ab sibilo pervenerat Hortensius ad senectutem. Sed tum ita bene ut in totam vitam civis satis esset, & pariter eum jam vicisse (42).* i. e. “ They made a great outcry against the Judges, and shewed that it was not to be born with . . . Farther, Hortensius, the day after he was cleared, went into Curio's theatre, probably, in expectation of being congratulated: but so far from it, he was received with clamours and hisses. The more notice was taken of this, because Hortensius had, till then, attained old age without ever being hissed; but he then got so much of it as was sufficient for a person's whole life, and which made him sorry that he had gained his cause.” He pleaded a few days before his death, as Cicero informs us. He certainly was one of those great men, who long preserve their genius and fire. It is true indeed, that he shone more in his youth than in his more advanced age, which he ascribed to two causes; the one, because he had made choice of the Asiatic eloquence, which was more becoming in young people than in those advanced in years; the other, that his application was greater in his younger years. *Si quaerimus, cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo, quàm senior Hortensius, causas reperiemus verissimas duas: primum, quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiæ magis concessum, quàm senectuti. Genera autem Asiaticæ dictionis duo sunt . . . Hæc . . . genera dicendi aptiora adolescentibus, in senibus gravitatem non habent. Itaque Hortensius utroque genere florens, clamores faciebat adolescens . . . Sed cum jam honores, & illa senior autoritas gravius quiddam requireret, remanebat idem, nec decebat idem: quodque exercitationem studiumque dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritasque sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitu illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non erat (43).* i. e. “ If we should enquire, how Hortensius came to be more famed for eloquence in his youth than when he came to advanced years, two substantial reasons will be found for it: first, because he made choice of the Asiatic style, which is more allowable in young, than in old men. The Asiatic eloquence is of two kinds . . . These . . . are better adapted to young people, but have not gravity enough for old age. As Hortensius, therefore, excelled in both, he could not fail of gaining the highest applauses. But when the honours he had obtained, and the authority which age gives, required a graver species of eloquence, he yet retained the same, though it had no longer its former grace. Farther, having abated very much of his application and study, which had once been very great; the former neatness and frequency of his sentences remained, but the elegant dress in which he used to clothe them was now gone.” He was fortunate even in the time of his death; he dying just before the breaking out of the dreadful confusions into which the commonwealth was plunged. *Perpetua quadam felicitate usus ille cessit à vita suo magis quam suorum civium tempore, & tum occidit cum lugere facilius Rempub. posset si viveret, quam juvare (44).*

(41) Cicero in Brut.

(42) Cælius ad Ciceron. Epist. 24 lib. 8. ad Famil.

(43) Cicero, in Bruto, sub fin. pag. m. 451.

(44) Idem, ibid. in.

have mistaken this thought so far, as to suppose it had been told of Hortensius, that he died as he was pleading, the efforts of his voice having killed him. But this may be looked upon as a fiction, since he pleaded, a few days before his death, an important cause [M]; and since Cicero, so far from saying that Hortensius died in the above-mentioned manner, as he doubtless would have done had the Orator in question met with such an end, gives us reason to conclude otherwise. Consult, with regard to all this affair, the remark [M]. Hortensius married a daughter of C. Catulus in his younger days (l). I am not very sure whether she was likewise the daughter of Ser-
 villa (m) a Lady of as high quality as any in Rome. He was his son-in-law during Verres's trial. But nothing perhaps is more singular than his marriage with Marcia [N] wife

(1) Cicero, de Orat. lib. 3. sub fin.

(m) Ex sacra tua, femina primaria Servilia. Idem. Ver. 4.

[M] Some writers say . . . that he quite lost . . . his voice, others have mistaken this thought. . . But this may be looked upon as a fiction, since he pleaded, a few days before his death, an important cause.] The proof of the first of these particulars is found in the following passage of Quintus Serenus Samonicus.

Sic est Hortensius olim
 Absumptus, causis etenim confectus agendis,
 Obtulit, cum vox domino vivente periret,
 Et nondum extincti moreretur lingua disertii.

The sense is,
 "Hortensius, worn with pleading, still survived
 "His voice, which quite forsook him—"

Glandorpius did not understand the meaning of these verses. *Decessit à vita*, says he (45), *sub bellum civile Cæs. & Pompeii . . . clamore in actione causæ disruptus, ut indicat Q. Serenus.* i. e. "He died in the time of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey . . . having burst himself as Serenus relates, whilst he was pleading a cause with too great vehemency." The following words of Cicero do not agree with the passage above cited of Samonicus. *Perpaucis ante mortem diebus una tecum socerum tuum defendis Appium. . . Q. Hortensii vox extincta fato suo est, nostra publico* (46). i. e. "Not many days before his death, he and you defended Appius your father-in-law. . . Hortensius's voice was silenced or lost by his own fate, but ours by that of the public."

(45) Glandorp. Ommest. pag. 405, 406.

(46) Cicero in Bruto.

[N] But nothing can be more singular than his marriage with Marcia.] Plutarch relates it in the manner following (47). Hortensius desired Cato to give him his daughter Porcia in marriage, she being wife to Bibulus, and having had two children by him. Give her also to me (said he to Cato) like a fruitful field wherein I may sow children. I am sensible, says he, that, according to the common way of thinking of the world, there is some absurdity in this; but, in reality, can any thing be more excellent or more beneficial to society, than not to suffer the fruitful field of a young woman to lie uncultivated; and, on the other side, not to permit such a one to bring too many children into a family, which is already burdened with them? Not to mention that the reciprocal lending of wives, among men of honour, diffuses virtue among a greater number of families, and forms a greater number of alliances in the State. But in case Bibulus shall not be willing to quite give up his pretensions to Portia, I promise to restore her to him, after she shall have brought me some children, which may prove a sincere bond between you, him, and myself. Cato did not think proper to treat about this affair. But when Hortensius told him he had a mind to Marcia, Cato's wife, considering that she was still very young, and that Cato had children enough; the latter promised to acquiesce with his desires, provided Martius, his wife's father, would agree to it. Martius gave his consent, upon which Marcia was immediately transferred to Hortensius. When she became afterwards, both his widow, and the heiress to his estate, she was wife, a second time, to her first husband, a circumstance which Cæsar did not omit in his *Anti-Cato*. "If he had need of a wife, says he (41), why did he give her up to another? And if he had no occasion for a wife, why did he take her back? Does not this shew that he employed this by way of lucre, in order that, by lending a young wife to Hortensius, he might get her back very rich?" Strabo (49), having related that the Tapyres (50), had a law among them, by which their husbands gave up their wives to others, when they had had two or three

(47) Plutarch. in Catone Utic. pag. m. 770.

(48) Idem, lib. pag. 784.

(49) Strabo, lib. II. pag. 355.

(50) A people living near the Parthians.

children by them; adds, that Cato had done the same thing, in order to gratify Hortensius, who requested his wife Marcia; and he observes that Cato did but follow an ancient custom of the Romans. There is room to doubt whether this was their ancient custom; for we not only find so few examples of it, that Tertullian cites only that of Cato (51); but we see also that Hortensius owned there was something very singular or very new, in his design, according to the common opinion of mankind. Δόξη μὲν γὰρ αἰθρῶπιος Ἰσοκράτης ἴδου τὸ τοιοῦτον, φήσει δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ σοφιστῶν. Nam mani Catois, qui esse hominum quidem illud opinionis novum (in this manner Xylander translates) *natura pulchrum tamen & civile* (52). i. e. "This, in the opinion of the world, seems strange and odd; however, it is naturally decent and politic." He does not oppose to this opinion the ancient laws, or the ancient custom or practice of the Romans, which so great a Civilian would not have failed to alledge on this occasion; he, I say, opposes only nature. Bodinus (53) answers Plutarch without reason, as though the latter had said, in the life of Cato Uticensis, that the Romans were allowed to lend their wives; for this historian does not speak of it, as of a custom founded on the laws, or as a thing that was usually practised; on the contrary, he introduces Hortensius, who owns that his proposal seemed odd or new. The abovementioned Bodinus is very rash, in not believing that Cato lent his wife; for this is a story which Thraseas had taken from the writings of Munatius, Cato's friend. Cæsar would not have dared to reproach Cato for it, had it not been pretty well known (54). The reason on which Bodinus grounds his not believing that story is a new fault: It is, says he, because by a law enacted by Romulus, and according to the ancient practice revived by Tiberius, relations used to chastise at pleasure such wives as committed adultery. But what does this make against Cato's wife, who was given up, by her father and husband, to another man? I shall not animadvert on the following words, *Plutarchus & Strabo Parthos æque ac Lacedæmonios mutuas uxores amicis dare consuevisse ajunt* (55), though they may very easily mislead the reader; for who, in reading these words, would not conclude, but that Plutarch ascribes this conduct to the Parthians, and that Strabo imputes it to the Lacedæmonians? Nevertheless Bodinus's meaning is, that Strabo ascribes it to the Parthians (56), and Plutarch imputes it to the Lacedæmonians. This way of quoting is but too common, and it misleads people; it seeming to give many testimonies or vouchers of the the same thing, when there really is but one. Bodinus seems to say, that both Plutarch and Strabo declare, that the Parthians, as well as the Lacedæmonians, used to lend their wives. I have read in Menage, that Casaubon affirms that Plutarch speaks of the marriage of Hortensius and Marcia, as a thing he doubted of. *Ad quem Strabonis locum notat Casaubonus, Plutarchum de Catone rem ita narrare ut de ea dubitasse significet* (57). Menage had reason to declare that this is false: Plutarch does not express his doubt with respect to the fact itself, but says only that this part of Cato's life is like that part of a play, where the plot is not opened; that is, in my opinion, people formed a very different judgment of it.

(51) Ex illa, credo, majorum & sapientissimorum disciplina, Græci Socratis & Romanorum Catois, qui esse hominum quidem illud opinionis novum (in this manner Xylander translates) natura pulchrum tamen & civile (52). i. e. "This, in the opinion of the world, seems strange and odd; however, it is naturally decent and politic." He does not oppose to this opinion the ancient laws, or the ancient custom or practice of the Romans, which so great a Civilian would not have failed to alledge on this occasion; he, I say, opposes only nature. Bodinus (53) answers Plutarch without reason, as though the latter had said, in the life of Cato Uticensis, that the Romans were allowed to lend their wives; for this historian does not speak of it, as of a custom founded on the laws, or as a thing that was usually practised; on the contrary, he introduces Hortensius, who owns that his proposal seemed odd or new. The abovementioned Bodinus is very rash, in not believing that Cato lent his wife; for this is a story which Thraseas had taken from the writings of Munatius, Cato's friend. Cæsar would not have dared to reproach Cato for it, had it not been pretty well known (54). The reason on which Bodinus grounds his not believing that story is a new fault: It is, says he, because by a law enacted by Romulus, and according to the ancient practice revived by Tiberius, relations used to chastise at pleasure such wives as committed adultery. But what does this make against Cato's wife, who was given up, by her father and husband, to another man? I shall not animadvert on the following words, *Plutarchus & Strabo Parthos æque ac Lacedæmonios mutuas uxores amicis dare consuevisse ajunt* (55), though they may very easily mislead the reader; for who, in reading these words, would not conclude, but that Plutarch ascribes this conduct to the Parthians, and that Strabo imputes it to the Lacedæmonians? Nevertheless Bodinus's meaning is, that Strabo ascribes it to the Parthians (56), and Plutarch imputes it to the Lacedæmonians. This way of quoting is but too common, and it misleads people; it seeming to give many testimonies or vouchers of the the same thing, when there really is but one. Bodinus seems to say, that both Plutarch and Strabo declare, that the Parthians, as well as the Lacedæmonians, used to lend their wives. I have read in Menage, that Casaubon affirms that Plutarch speaks of the marriage of Hortensius and Marcia, as a thing he doubted of. *Ad quem Strabonis locum notat Casaubonus, Plutarchum de Catone rem ita narrare ut de ea dubitasse significet* (57). Menage had reason to declare that this is false: Plutarch does not express his doubt with respect to the fact itself, but says only that this part of Cato's life is like that part of a play, where the plot is not opened; that is, in my opinion, people formed a very different judgment of it.

(52) Plutarch. pag. 771.

(53) Bodin. Method. lib. cap. 4. pag. m. 78.

(54) Plutarch. in Catone, pag. 770.

(55) Bodin. Method. lib. pag. 78.

(56) He should have said to the Tapyri, not to the Parthians.

(57) Menag. Anan. Juris, cap. 10. I do not find this in Casaubon's Notes on Strabo.

wife to Cato Uticensis, and daughter to Marcius Philippus. He begged her of Cato by way of loan, and obtained her without much difficulty, though the child she was at that time going with, shewed that there was no very great misunderstanding between Marcia and her husband. He had a son, who proved the occasion of great sorrow to him; so that when Hortensius pleaded for his nephew, he declared that he had made choice of him for his heir, in prejudice of his son; and yet, if Valerius Maximus may be credited, he left his estate to this unworthy son. See the following article.

ing this. Mr. Dacier thinks so too. "This is true, says he (58), of Lycurgus; but it does not appear to me in any manner that Numa ever had such a design. It might even be easily proved, that this community of wives did not begin at Rome under Numa, but much later, and that it was not general."

Lucian supposes that Marcia, being left a widow by Hortensius, went to Cato, and besought him most humbly to take her again. She declared to him, that being of years so as to be past child bearing, she only desired to be his wife nominally: She said, that she would lead a life of continence with him; and only wished to divide with him the troubles and fatigues, which the unhappy situation of the affairs of the government had brought upon him. Lucian adds, that these words of Marcia struck Cato; and although that was not a time proper for marriage, he yet granted her request. It is true indeed that all the nuptial ceremonies were omitted, without even excepting that which is considered as the principal, and the completion of the work. Marcia did not lay aside her widow's weeds, but embraced her husband as a mother does her child.

*Sic ut erat, mæsti servans lugubria cultus,
Quoque modo natos, hoc est amplexa maritum* (59).

Cato grieved so much at the calamities of his country, that, ever since the civil war, he deprived himself of diversions of every kind: He let his beard grow, and spent his days like a man who was in a state of mourning. Marcia's offers were accepted in a literal sense. Lucian puts the following words into her mouth.

*Dum sanguis inerat, dum vis materna, peregi
Jussa Cato, & geminos excepi sæta maritos.
Visceribus lassis, partique exhausta reverter
Jam nulli tradenda viro: da sædera prisca
Illibata tori: da tantum nomen inane
Connubii: liceat tumulo scripsisse, Catonis
Marta: nec dubium longo queratur in ævo,
Mutarim primas expulsa, an tradita, tædas.
Non me lætorum sociam, rebusque secundis
Accipis, in curas venio, partemque laborum.
Da mihi castra sequi* (60).

"Whilst nature yet with vigour fed my veins,
And made me equal to a mother's pains,
To thee obedient I thy house forsook,
And to my arms another husband took;

HORTENSIUS (QUINTUS) son of the preceding, behaved so unworthily of such a father, that he had like to have been disinherited by him [A]: but if he is the same who was Proconsul of Macedonia after the death of Julius Cæsar, we may presume that he

[A] He had like to have been disinherited.] Cicero hints pretty plainly, in his epistles (1), that Hortensius's son was a worthless creature; and that his depraved disposition (2), and a freedman called Salvius, had quite corrupted him. *Illa Hortensiana omnia fuere infantia: ita fiet homo nequissimus: à Salvio liberto depravatus est* (3). He seems to say that his father did not love him (4); but let us hear Valerius Maximus, who is more than ordinary clear on this occasion. *Quæ Hortensii, qui suis temporibus ornamentum Romæ eloquentiæ fuit, admirabilis in filio patientia extitit. Cum enim eo usque impietatem ejus suspectam & nequitiam invidiam haberet, ut Messallam suæ sororis filium heredem habiturus ambitus reum defendens judicibus diceret, si illum damnasset nihil sibi præter osculum nepotum in quibus acquiscerat superfluum: Hac scilicet sententia, quam etiam editæ orationi inseruit, filium potius in tormento animi quam in voluptatibus reponens: tamen ne naturæ ordinem confunderet, non nepotes sed filium heredem*

"My powers at length with genial labours worn,
Weary to thee and wasted I return;
At length a barren wedlock let me prove,
Give me the name without the joys of love:
No more to be abandon'd let me come,
That Cato's wife may live upon my tomb,
So shall my truth to latest times be read,
And none shall ask if guiltily I fled,
Or thy commands estrang'd me from thy bed.
Nor ask I now thy happiness to share,
I seek thy days of toil, thy nights of care.

Rowe.

It is my opinion, that had Lucian been as fond of fiction throughout his work, as in the above cited passage, he would not have been accused of adhering too closely to history, and of not throwing his work into a form that was sufficiently poetical. But be this as it will, here follows what he says concerning the extreme rigidity of Cato.

*Ille nec horrificam sancto dimovit ab ore
Cæsariem, duroque admisti gaudia vultu.
(Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
Intonsus rigidam in frontem descendere canis
Passus erat, mæstamque genis increfcere barbam,
Uni quippe vacat studiisque odii que carenti,
Humanum lugere genus) nec sædera prisca
Sunt tentata tori: justo quoque robur amori
Restitit: hi mores* (61).

(61) Idem, ibid. ver. 372.

"Nor he, the chief, his sacred visage chear'd,
Nor smooth'd his matted locks or horrid beard,
Nor deigns his heart one thought of joy to know,
But met his Martia with the same stern brow.
For when he saw the fatal faction's arm,
The coming war, and Rome's impending harm,
Regardless quite of every other care,
Unhorn he left his loose neglected hair;
Rude hung the hoary honours of his head,
And a foul growth his mournful cheeks o'erspread.
No stings of private hate his peace infest,
Nor partial favour grew up in his breast,
But safe from prejudice he kept his mind,
Free, and at leisure, to lament mankind.
Nor would his former Love's returning fire
The warmth of one connubial wish inspire,
But strongly he withstood the just desire.

Rowe.

reliquit (5). i. e. "The patience, which Hortensius, (5) Val. Max. who was the glory of the Roman eloquence in the lib. 5. cap. 9. num. 2. age he lived in, discovered with regard to his son, is wonderful. For notwithstanding that he was so highly exasperated against him, on account of his ungracious and shameful behaviour, that he declared to the Judges, in a speech he made in defence of Messala, his sister's son, whom he then intended to appoint his heir, that, should they condemn him, the only comfort left him would be in the fondling of grand-children: He shewed by this sentence, which he also inserted in his speech, when he published it, that he looked upon his son as a torment, rather than a pleasure to him. However, that he might not act contrary to the order of nature, he appointed his son, and not his grand-children, his heir." It is something odd that Hortensius should have discovered, that he had appointed his nephew for his heir; for in case he thought that his son de-

(58) Dacier, in a marginal note of his translation of Plutarch, in the parallel between Lycurgus and Numa, pag. 362, 363. Dutch edit. [pag. 399. Not. 10. tom. 1. Amsterd. edit. 1724.]

(59) Lucan. lib. 2. ver. 365.

(60) Lucan. ibid. ver. 338.

(1) Epist. 3. lib. 6. ad Attic.

(2) Natura mutanda est; hæc Curionem, hæc Hortensii filium, non patrum culpa corruptit. Ibid. lib. 10. Epist. 4.

(3) Ibid. Epist. 12.

(4) Ibid. Epist. 3. lib. 6.

he changed his conduct. He sided very warmly with the fautors of liberty; and joined strenuously with Brutus, in order to raise such armies as might be powerful enough to maintain the cause for which they had drawn the sword (a). He was taken at the battle of Philippi; and put to death by way of reprisal, by Mark Anthony's command, upon the grave of Caius Antonius. Some are of opinion that our Hortensius is the same with him who had sided with Julius Cæsar against Pompey [C]. Now as those who mention him intimate plainly enough that he was Hortensius's only son, we may consider him as the father of Q. HORTENSIUS CORBIO, and of MARCUS HORTENSIUS HORTALUS, the former whereof was a monster of impurity and debauchery [D], and the latter fell into poverty; but was so wise as not to marry, till Augustus had given him money sufficient to support a family (b); but as the sums bestowed by the beneficence of that Emperor, were not sufficient to supply the necessities of all the children who sprung from this marriage, Hortalus implored the assistance of the Senate [E]. Tiberius rejected, at first, this petition with great severity; but observing afterwards that the Senate disap-

(a) Cicero, Philippi, 10.

(b) Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 37.

served to be disinherited, could not he bequeath or transfer his estate to his grand-children, as he said he should be forced to do, in case they should condemn his nephew? A strange grandfather sure, not to think of his grandsons, but after the failure of his sister's son! Valerius Maximus has perhaps maimed this incident, by suppressing some essential clauses. Perhaps too we are to consider Hortensius's declaration no other wise than as a rhetorical figure. There are some stratagems in this profession, which our author knew how to make an advantage of. He wanted to excite the pity of the Judges, in discovering a strong desire to have his client discharged, as one who should be as son to him. Others say that Hortensius's wife inherited his estate (6); the wife, I say, which Cato had lent him, whom he took back after the death of Hortensius.

(6) Plutarch. in Catoe min. pag. 784.

[B] He was put to death by way of reprisal . . . upon the grave of Caius Antonius.] To know what was meant by these reprisals, the reader must call to mind that Caius Antonius, brother to Mark Anthony, fell into Hortensius's hands, during the disorders and confusions which followed Julius Cæsar's death, and that Brutus having heard that the Triumviri, in their fury, had put to death, among other illustrious personages, D. Brutus and Cicero, he therefore commanded Hortensius to sacrifice his prisoner to their manes (7), which was accordingly done. Such was the end of Caius Antonius, and in this manner was his death revenged.

(7) Plutarchus in Bruto. See also Velleius Paternulus, lib. 2. cap. 71. who declares that Hortensius's son lost his life in that war.

[C] Some are of opinion, that our Hortensius is the same with him who had sided with Julius Cæsar against Pompey.] A circumstance which causes some difficulty here is, that Hortensius's son was in Laodicea, in the year of Rome 702, and led a most scandalous life in that city (8). How is it probable then, will some say, that, two years after, he should have ingratiated himself so well with Cæsar, that this conqueror should entrust him with the command of his troops, the day that he designed to cross the Rubicon, and seize upon Ariminum, which was the first push to be made in the grand affair that was to determine the fate of the Empire? Yet this is what Cæsar did to Hortensius, who was in his party (9). He, some time after, gave him the command of a fleet on the coast of Italy (10). We ought not to determine simply on appearances.

(8) Cicero, Epist. ad Attic. 3. lib. 6.

(9) Plutarch. in Cæsar. pag. 723.

(10) Appian. lib. 2. Brutus. Bell. Civil.

(11) Orosiast. pag. 406.

(12) Lib. 6. cap. 35.

(13) Epist. ad Attic. 4. 16, 17; 18. lib. 10.

(14) Philip. 10.

(15) In Plin. Epist. lib. 5.

(16) Lib. 3. cap. 5.

I do not find in Eutropius what Glandorpius (11) pretends to have taken from Book VI, viz. that Octavius and Libo, Pompey's Lieutenants, defeated this fleet of Hortensius. It is Orosius who informs us of this particular (12). However this be, Glandorpius insults that the Admiral of this fleet is the same son of Hortensius the Orator, of whom Valerius Maximus says so many ill things. He goes on a pretty good foundation here; for Cicero (13) does not leave us room to doubt, that Hortensius's son in question went over to Cæsar's party. I have not been able to find the time when he left it, nor in what manner he obtained the Pro-consulate of Macedonia, an employment wherein he merited the applauses of Cicero (14). Catanzæus (15) confounding the father and son, falsely charges the Orator with joining in Pompey's party; with putting to death Caius Antonius, and being put to death by Mark Anthony.

[D] Q. HORTENSIUS CORBIO, . . . was a monster of impiety and debauchery.] Valerius Maximus (16),

giving a list of those children who have verified the proverb *Heroum filii noxa*, forgets the son (17), but not the grandson of Hortensius. Q. Hortensius . . . nepos Hortensius Corbio omnibus scortis abjectiorem & obscenorem vitam exegit, ad ultimumque lingua ejus tam libidini cunctorum inter lupanaria profusus, quam avi pro salute civium in foro excubuerat. i. e. "Hortensius Corbio, grandson to Q. Hortensius, led a life still more miserable and beastly than the most abandoned whores; and at last his tongue was no less prostituted to the lust of every one in the stews, than his grandfathers had been active for the safety of the citizens in the forum." Had Lipsius remembered, that this author mentions the grandsons of Hortensius in the plural number, in Chap. IX of Book V, he would not have supposed (18) Hortensius Hortalus, and Hortensius Corbio, to be the same person. The character, which Tacitus gives the former, distinguishes him visibly from the latter. Moreri and Hoffman commit the same error as Lipsius, since they cite Valerius Maximus, Chap. V. Book III; Tacitus in Book II of his Annals; and Suetonius in the life of Tiberius, with respect to Hortensius's grandson who was prodigiously dissolute. Vossius occasioned their error, by his referring these quotations to a grandson of Hortensius, as tho' they had related to the same person (19).

(17) He speaks of him on another occasion, as has been seen in the note [A].

(18) Comment. in Tacit. Ann. lib. 2.

[E] M. HORTENSIUS HORTALUS implored the assistance of the Senate.] This speech is found in Tacitus (20). He had brought with him his four little sons (20) and shewing them to the Senate, he besought them to shew some regard to the descendants of so many Consuls and Dictators, *en stirps & progenies tot Consulium, tot Dictatorum*. In Lipsius's (21) opinion this hyperbole is something strong, since the family of Hortensius has given but one Consul and one Dictator. He endeavours to excuse Hortensius, by saying that he perhaps had his mother's ancestors in view. Ryckius (22) speaks in a more confident manner; and lays it down as a thing undeniable, and thinks that Hortensius had chiefly in view the *Marcii Philippi*, from whose family, according to him, Marcia, Hortalus's grandmother, descended. But this last circumstance has not the least shadow of probability; for, on one side, it does not appear that Hortensius the Orator had above one son, who was grown up to man's estate when Cicero passed through Laodicea, in the year 702. On the other side, Cato could not be very young, when he resigned Marcia to Hortensius, since his daughter Porcia had, at that time, born two children (23). Now Cato died at forty eight years of age, the year of Rome 407 (24). If therefore we suppose, as it is very probable, that he was at least five and thirty years old, when he gave up Marcia to Hortensius; we must conclude that this marriage was solemnized in the year of Rome 694. It is not therefore possible, that the son of Hortensius, whom Cicero saw in the city of Laodicea, in the year of Rome 702, should be Marcia's son. But why should we have recourse to conjecture, there being a particular in Plutarch which decides the question? Marcia was still Cato's wife, during the expedition of Cyprus (25), that is, in the year of Rome 696. We must not omit that Hortalus is called a young man by Tacitus, under the year of Rome 769; which could not coincide very well with the supposition, that Hortensius's only son is the debauchee hinted at by Cicero

(19) Vossius, de Hist. Latin. pag. 48.

and

(20) Annal. lib. 2. cap. 37.

(21) Comment. in Tacit.

(22) In Tacit. pag. 41.

(23) Plutarch. in Catoe min. pag. 770, 771.

(24) Ibid. pag. 794.

(25) Ibid. pag. 794.

(26) Ibid. pag. 794.

(27) Ibid. pag. 794.

(28) Ibid. pag. 794.

(29) Ibid. pag. 794.

(30) Ibid. pag. 794.

(31) Ibid. pag. 794.

(32) Ibid. pag. 794.

(33) Ibid. pag. 794.

(34) Ibid. pag. 794.

(35) Ibid. pag. 794.

proved of it, he said that in case they desired it, he would give a certain sum to each of Hortalus's sons (c) [F]. They thanked him for it; but Hortalus, either out of fear, or from a greatness of soul, which he roused on that occasion, said not a word; and from that time, as Tiberius did not assist him in any manner, Hortalus fell by degrees into the extremes of misery. *Egere alii grates; siluit Hortalus, pavore an avita nobilitatis etiam inter angustias fortunæ retinens. Neque miseratus est posthac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam dilaberetur* (d).

(c) *Ducens septuaginta singulis qui summo virilis essent.* Tacitus, *ibid.* Rijkcius makes this amount to 5000 Ducatoons.

(d) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 2. cap. 38.

and Valerius Maximus, who lost his life a little after the battle of Philippi, in the year 712. But it is much more natural to conclude, that Tacitus was not so accurate as he ought to have been with respect to Hortalus's age, than to cavil about the speech which Valerius Maximus had read, and which Hortensius spoke a little before his death. Now it is manifestly supposed in this speech, that he had but one son; for if Hortensius, besides the profligate youth who waited upon Cicero in the city of Laodicea, had had one son or more by Marcia, he would not have been obliged to appoint his grandsons for heirs, in default of a debauched son, and of Messala his nephew.

[F] *Tiberius . . . said . . . that he would give a certain sum to each of Hortensius's sons.*] This would incline one to suppose, that Hortalus had brought only his four sons with him, and had left some daughters at home; so that, to speak with accuracy, we must not say with Suetonius (26), that his wife had brought him four children; for had she brought him no more, Tacitus would ascribe an absurdity to Tiberius. Neither do I think that, strictly speaking, it can be affirmed that Tiberius gave nothing to Hortalus (27). Did not he offer to give him a sum of money, in case the Senate should approve of his so doing? Was he not thanked for it? Could he suppose that the assembly would not be inclined to favour this poor Senator? It is therefore highly probable that this sum was given, but as that Prince did not indulge him any further liberality, it did not prevent Hortalus from falling into want. Let not Suetonius be urged (28), who pretends that the benefactions which Tiberius bestowed on the poor Senators, were made on certain conditions that excluded the person in question. These conditions, says he, were, that those who desired the benefactions, should discover their indigence to the Senate (29); *quo pacto plerisque modestia & pudore deterruit, in qui-*

bus Hortalum & Hortensii Oratoris nepotem. i. e. "The greatest part, through shame and modesty, were hindered by those conditions; and, among the rest, Hortalus, Hortensius the Orator's grandson." But it is a great falsity to assert, that either shame or modesty prevented the grandson of Hortensius from fulfilling the condition. Did he not confess the miserable state to which he was reduced? Did not he bring his four sons, in order to beseech the Senate to indulge them their compassion? Did he not implore the Emperor to keep them from starving? *Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandæ misericordiæ refero: adsequuntur florente te, Cæsar, quos dederis, honores; interim & Hortensii prænepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende* (30). i. e. "Nor is this petition offered up invidiously, but in order to excite compassion. O Cæsar, these children, in the course of your auspicious reign, may attain those honours which you will please to bestow on them; in the mean time preserve them from want, for they are the great grandsons of Hortensius, and the foster sons of Augustus." Achilles Statius (31), who said that our Hortalus is perhaps the person mentioned in the sixty seventh epigram of Catullus, did not consider that what he relates out of Tacitus, and which the reader has just now seen, relates to the year of Rome 769. I know very well that Catullus did not die in 697. Scaliger refutes, in a solid manner, this falsity of St. Jerom, but it is no ways probable that he lived till the year 763. I have refused Joseph Scaliger on this head in the article CATULLUS. It is certain that the Hortalus of this antient Poet was Hortensius rather than his grandson; and I cannot forbear being surprized that Isaac Vossius, in the same book (32) where he asserts against Scaliger, that Catullus died in the year 704 or 705 of Rome, should pretend (33) that the Hortalus of this Poet is the same with him mentioned by Tacitus.

(26) *In Tiber.* cap. 47.

(27) This is affirmed in the Dutch edit. of Moreri, under the word *Hortalus*.

(28) *In Tiber.* cap. 47.

(29) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 1. cap. 75. says the same.

(30) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 2. cap. 37.

(31) *Nait, in Catull. Epigr. 67.*

(32) *Observat. ad Catull. pag. 83.*

(33) *Pag. 252.*

HORTENSIUS (JOHN) in French DES JARDINS, Physician to Francis I, was born in the neighbourhood of Laon in Picardy, and son to John Des-Jardins Captain of de Hamelle Castle, in the Diocese of Laon. He taught Classical Learning at Paris in Cardinal le Moine's College; and afterwards applying himself to the study of Physic, took his Bachelor's degree therein in the year 1514; that of Licentiate in 1517, and his Doctor's degree in 1519. It appears by the Registers of the University of Paris, that he was Regent-Doctor there in 1521, and Dean of the Faculty in the year 1524. Being perfectly well skilled in the Greek, he strongly exhorted his pupils to study that language; and, in order that every one might have an opportunity to consult Galen in the original, he made a present of the Greek edition of that antient Physician to the Library of the Faculty; for the Physicians of Paris at that time had a public Library in their schools (a). He acquired so great a reputation, that he was thought able to cure diseases of every kind, provided the fatal hour was not come (b). That only was excepted [A]; so that the following proverb was commonly applied to him, *Contra vim Mortis non est medicamen in Hortis* (c). He is applauded in several books [B]; but he himself never printed any thing; and no composition of his was published after his death.

(a) *Hemerius, Differt. de Academ. Parisiens.*

(b) *Balzus, Hist. Academ. Parisiens.*

(c) He was called, in Latin, *Hortus*, or *de Hortis*.

[A] *That only was excepted.*] Vulgarly speaking that is saying a great deal; but, in reality, it was excepting a great deal, for provided death does not interfere, there is no disease but is within the reach of the Physician's skill. Nature only, on this occasion, may work a perfect cure. Nevertheless, according to our usual way of judging things, figuring to our selves a numberless multitude of very possible Conditions, which would change the chain and the course of events, it is giving a very high idea of a Physician, to say that he will restore a patient to his health, provided a superiour force does not interpose. This recalls to my mind the too blunt expression ascribed to certain Admirals, who, being ready to engage the enemy under favourable circumstances, and after having

taken the best measures, declared that they were sure of gaining the victory, provided God would stand neuter, and leave the combatants to themselves.

[B] *He is applauded in several books.*] Ménage (1) (1) *Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Myrault,* pag. 150. cites Arnaud d'Ossat, in his exposition against James Charpentier; Renatus Moreau, in the Life of James Sylvius; du Boulay, in the History of the University of Paris; Louis d'Orleans, in the *Plante humaine*; Peter Myrault, in his books *de Ordine judiciario*; John Vassé, in an Epistle Dedicatory. *Ei præterea & Martino Acacia & Michaëli Dumontio, Medicis Parisiensibus doctissimis interpretationem librorum Hippocratis & Galeni de vitæ ratione in morbis acutis nuncupavit Johannes Vassæus Medicus & ipse Parisiensis doctissimus* (2). (2) *Ménage, in eodem Volumine,* pag. 512.

(d) It is in Latin, in the volume he published at Paris in the year 1675 in 4to, containing the *Life of Ayrault, of William Menage, &c.* with a great number of remarks.

(3) Ibid. pag. 514.

(4) Menage, *Revolutions sur la Vie de P. Ayrault*, pag. 517.

(5) All this is found *ibid.* pag. 514. The French Sonnet is in pag. 510.

(a) *Occiso in oculis filio suo naturali.* Valer. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 613. But it is to be observed, that Brandt in his *Flemish History of the Reformation, under the year 1584*, pag. 702, 703, speaks of Jesom Hortensius Minister of the Hague, and afterwards at Wafsenae, who, he says, was son to Lambert.

(b) His name was Weldam.

(1) Athen. Belg. pag. 508.

(2) *Admodum doctissimus*, pag. 615.

(3) Pag. 806.

death. He married Jane Bourdin in 1520, and Mary le Tellier in 1541, leaving seven children by the former, and four by the latter. The settlements they had [C], and the real estate he left, are a proof that he had amassed great sums. He was seized with an apoplexy of which he died, whilst he was at an entertainment which he gave his relations and friends, on his birth-day, in the year 1547; a circumstance which gave occasion to a fine sonnet of Des-Portes [D], which is taken, entire, into the remarks. Menage, who sprung from John Des-Jardins by the mother's side [E], has given us his life (d), whence we have extracted this article.

[C] *The settlements . . . which his children . . . had.* Menage speaks as follows (3), *Prædixit fuisse, ut tum erant tempora, testantur & ejus ædes plurimæ, & prædia multa & liberi undecim, qui nido majores pennas, ut Flacci verbis utar, extenderunt.* By the particular account we have of the eleven children mentioned in this Latin passage, it appears that the daughters were married to persons of figure; the first to William Verforis, Counsellor in the Chatelet, son of John Verforis, a famous Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris; the second to John Metayer, Counsellor of the Exchequer; the third to Peter Ayrault, Lieutenant-Criminal of Angers. One of the sons was Counsellor at the Chatelet, another was Canon of Senlis, and a third was Counsellor in the Exchequer. This Counsellor in the Chatelet left a son who exercised the same employment; was *Echevin* of Paris in 1600; and left a son, to whom was brought, among other children, the wife of Denys Godefroi, Historiographer of France. There survived, among all the descendents of John Des-Jardins, only one person who bore his name, at the time that Menage was writing this book. *Petrum Hortensium militem strenuum, qui Margaretam de Gra-*

[D] *His death . . . gave occasion to a fine sonnet of Des-Portes.* The reader will not be displeas'd to meet with it here. It was translated into Latin by father Vavasseur, and Menage compos'd an epigram on the same thought (5).

*Après avoir sauvé par mon art secourable
Tant de corps languissans que la mort menaçoit,
Et chassé la rigueur du mal qui les pressoit,
Gagnant comme Esculape un nom toujours durable.*

*Cette fatale sœur, cruelle, inexorable,
Voyant que mon pouvoir le sien amoindrissoit;
Un jour que son courroux contre moi la pouvoit,
Finit quant & mes jours mon labeur profitable.*
PASSANT, moi qui pouvois les autres secourir,
Ne dis point qu'au besoin je ne me pus guerir,
Car la mort qui doutoit l'effort de ma science,
Ainsi que je prenois sobrement mon repas,
Me prit en trahison, sain & sans des fiance,
Ne me donnant loisir de penser au trespas.

The sense is,

"After having saved by my friendly art such a number of languishing bodies which were threaten'd with death, and expelled the fury of the disease that attacked them; gaining, like Esculapius, an ever-memorable name: That fatal, cruel, inexorable being, observing that my power lessened his; one day, that he was highly exasperated against me, at once put an end to my conquests which were so advantageous to human nature. Passenger, say not that I, who was so good a friend to the rest of the world, could not, when sick, perform a cure upon myself; for Death, who dreaded the efforts of my skill, as I was taking a meal calm and undisturbed, seized me treacherously at a time when I did not harbour the least suspicion; not allowing me leisure to think of the other world."

[E] *Menage . . . sprung from John Des-Jardins by the mother's side.* Peter Ayrault, grandfather by the mother's side to Menage, married Anne Des-Jardins, daughter to our Hortensius, and of Mary le Tellier his second wife, who was of the same family from which Chancellor le Tellier descended (6).

(6) Menage, *Revolutions sur la Vie de P. Ayrault*, pag. 515, 517.

HORTENSIVS (LAMBERT) born at Montfort in the Province of Utrecht, the first of April 1518 [A], has been ranked among the learned men of the age in which he flourished. He studied with extreme application the learned languages at Louvain, under very excellent masters, and also heard Ludovicus Vives on Logic. He published a translation in Latin verse, of Aristophanes's *Plutus*, with notes, and thereby shewed what advances he had made in the Greek tongue. He wrote several other books [B]. He taught school a great number of years at Naerden in Holland; and very narrowly escaped being taken, when that town was plundered by the Spaniards in 1572, under the conduct of Frederic of Toledo, son to the Duke of Alva. This house had been plundered; a bastard son of his had been killed before his face (a); and he himself, though a Priest, was going to be murdered; but by good luck a Gentleman (b), who had been his scholar, and carried arms under the Spaniards, happened to be there very seasonably to save his life. It was observed that he was solicitous of saving nothing from the common wreck but his Notes on Lucan's *Pharsalia*. He wrote a Description of the plundering and slaughter of Naerden, the manuscript whereof is at Utrecht. Hortensius did not long survive that catastrophe, he dying in 1573 (c) in a country seat near Naerden (e).

[A] *He was born at Montfort . . . the 1st of April 1518.* I differ, on this occasion, from Valerius Andreas, my author, who declares that he was born in 1500. He doubtless was misled by the following words of Swertius (1) *Nascitur anno cdo. Id. xviii. Kal. Aprilis.* He doubtless imagined that these numerical letters xviii referred to the word *Kalends*, for want of calling to mind, that there is not, in the Roman Calendar, any eighteenth day before the *Kalends* of April. This is not the only reason which determined me to joyn xviii with the preceding letters; I having been also prompted to it from the following consideration. Valerius Andreas says that he was very young (2) when he came to study at Louvain, under Rutgerus Rescius, Professor of the Greek tongue; now he says in another place (3), that Rescius died in 1545, at which time he had sat near seventeen years

in the Professor's chair, and consequently he did not begin to fill it till the year 1528. How therefore was it possible for Hortensius to come and study very young under this Professor, if he was born in 1500? But if he was born in 1518, all is easily reconciled. Paul Freherus (4) is mistaken, both in the year of his birth and in that of his death, since he says that Lambert Hortensius was born in 1501, and died in 1577.

[B] *He wrote several other books.* Here follow the titles of them: *Enarrationes in Virgilio Aeneida*, in fol. *Explanationes in Lucani Pharsaliam*, printed at Basil in 1578, folio. *Satyram in ævi sui vitia & mores libri II.* *Epithalamiorum liber I.* *Secessionum cæsarum Ultrajectinarum libri VII.* *De bello Germano à Carolo V. Cesare gesto libri VII.* *Tumultuum Anabaptistarum liber I* (5).

HORTENSIVS

(4) In *Theatra*, pag. 1473. König says likewise that he was born in 1501.

(5) I have quoted the remark [B] of the article PLE-CARDS. I add here, that it was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1636, with the *Historia Anabaptistica de factione Monasteriensis* of Conrad Heresbachius, under the direction of Thodore Strackius, Minister of Burik, in Cleves.

HORTENSIVS (MARTIN) a native of Delft in Holland, and Professor of Mathematics in Amsterdam, might have made a very great progress in the Sciences he professed, had he not been snatched away in the flower of his age (a) in the year 1639 [A]. The preface he wrote to a work of Philippus Lansbergius, translated by him into Latin, and wherein he raises very strong objections to Tycho Brahe's system, shews in what manner he cultivated the study of Astronomy; wherein he was assisted by the conversations of Lansbergius, to whom he was recommended by Beekman, Rector of the school of Dort, a man very much spoken of in Des Cartes's history. That book of Lansbergius is intitled, *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annum, & in verum aspectabilis cæli typum*, and was printed at Middleburg in the year 1630, in 4to. Hortensius also translated the astronomical institution of William Blaeuw; and wrote a Dissertation *de Mercurio sub Sole viso & Venere invisâ*, inscribed to Gassendi; and an answer to what Kepler had prefixed to his almanack in 1624 (b). The letters which Gassendi wrote to Hortensius, shew that he had a singular esteem for him. Hortensius's letters to that famous Philosopher are printed among those of the latter. I thereby found that he was born in 1605 (c), and had been admitted Professor in Amsterdam in the year 1634 (d). He did not appear satisfied with his condition; and he speaks (e) of the spirit that prevailed in that renowned city, as a man who was highly offended because people did not come to his Lectures, nor encourage the making of those machines he had projected, and from which he expected such a success as would be superior to any thing Tycho Brahe had done (f). He has left some Orations, one *De utilitate & dignitate Mathematicos*, and another *De Oculo ejusque præstantia*. He says in one of his letters to Gassendi (g), that the only reason why the publication of his answer to the book which Peter Bartholinus had published against him in defence of Tycho Brahe, was deferred, was for want of paper. In all probability that work kept company with the *Pleiadographia* (b), which our author left in manuscript at his death. Des Cartes has not spoken advantageously of his abilities: *As to the School-professors*, says he (i), *not one of them understands my Geometry; no not Golius, much less Hortensius, who has not made a sufficient progress for that purpose.*

(a) Val. And. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 652.

(b) See Vossius, de Scient. Math. pag. 201, 202.

(c) Oper. Gassendi, pag. 418. tom. 6.

(d) Ibid. pag. 422. tom. 6.

(e) Ibid. pag. 429.

(f) Ibid. p. 423. See also pag. 429, and 432.

(b) Val. And. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 652.

(i) Lettres, tom. 3. pag. 191.

[A] He might have made a very great progress in the sciences he professed, had he not been snatched away in the flower of his age in the year 1639. I have not here followed Valerius Andreas, who says that he died in 1640. The circumstance, which prompted me to depart from him is, a passage of Des Cartes that deserves to be copied. I extract it from one of his letters to Father Merfenne (1); which, though it be not dated, yet fixes in a solid manner the date I want; since the author informs us in the very opening of his letter, that he wrote it in answer to a letter of the last day of December 1639. Here follows what I judged proper to transcribe from it. "Hortensius being in Italy some years since, set about calculating the scheme of his own nativity; and told two young men of this country who were with him, that he should die in 1639, and that they should not live

long after him. Now he dying this summer as you know, the two young men abovementioned were seized with such a pannaic, that one of them is already dead; and the other, who is Heinsius's son (2), is so melancholy, and in so languishing a condition, that he seems to do whatever lies in his power, to verify the Astrologer's prediction. This indeed is a fine science, which kills people, who perhaps would not otherwise have been sick." It would be wrong in any person to object to me, that Des Cartes might have writ this letter, after the summer of the year 1640, and consequently that he does not contradict Valerius Andreas; for he had so frequent a correspondence with Father Merfenne, that such an objection cannot but be false. But farther, I find in a letter of Boxhornius (3), dated the 13th of September 1639, that he bewailed the loss of Hortensius, who was lately dead.

(2) It is doubtless Nichol. Hortensius, who died but in 1681. Baillet says the contrary, he declaring that Heinsius had two sons; and that he of whom Des Cartes speaks actually died, and that his name was Daniel.

(3) See Epist. Boxhornii, pag. 144. edit. Francof. 1679.

(1) It is the 35th of volume 2. in the edit. of 1659.

HOSIVS (STANISLAUS) Cardinal and Bishop of Warmia, was one of the greatest men that Poland ever gave birth to. He was born at Cracow in 1504. The reader will find in Moreri (a) an account of his actions, and the honours to which he was raised. It was not thought, whilst he was one of the Presidents of the Council, that he was master of all the address requisite for such a station [A]. His controversial writings are very

(a) And still better in the Sieur Bullart, Academie des Sciences, tom. 1. pag. 64, & seq.

[A] It was not thought, whilst he was one of the Presidents of the Council, that he was master of all the address requisite for such a station. The Cardinal of Mantua dying the 2d of March 1563, those who had presided with him in the Council, sent immediate notice of it to the Pope. He who was the first President (1), required to have a Legate sent that should be above him. Hosius desired that leave might be given him to go into Poland; but Simonetta advised the Pope not to send a new Legate to Trent, hoping thereby to get possession of the direction, not only because Cardinal Seripando was grown weary of this Council, and did not care to have the direction of it any longer, but because Cardinal Hosius was a weak man, who was easily governed. Simonetta desideroso che la somma di guidare il Concilio restasse à lui, & havendo speranza di condurlo bene, con sodisfazione del Pontefice, & honor proprio; considerando che Seripando era satiato di quel negotio, & poco inclinato a volerlo guidare, & che Varmiensis era semplice persona, disposta a lasciarsi reggere; mise in consideratione ael Pontefice, che, ritrovandosi le cose del Concilio, &c (2). Any one will easily perceive that Amelot has not translated these words faithfully. Here follows his version. "Simonetta earnestly de-

siring to have the direction, and hoping to acquit himself of it with honour, and to the Pope's satisfaction, represented to him; that as affairs were not in a very happy posture, the least novelty or innovation would only make them go worse; so that he did not see, there was occasion of lending another Legate; that since Seripando who hated trouble, had not a mind to have the direction of the Council; and that the Bishop of Warmia was a weak man, and entirely governed by other people, he offered to go in their stead, boasting that he would steer the ship happily (3)." 1. The original does not say, that Hosius was entirely governed by other people. 2. It is not true, that Simonetta told the Pope by letter, that Hosius was a weak man. He thought so indeed, and built upon it; but then he did not inform the Pope of this circumstance. Father Paul distinguishes very clearly what was thought, from what was written by him, which distinction ought to have been observed by the translator.

(3) Hist. du Concile de Trente, pag. 6. 7. 658. edit. d'Amsterdam. 1686.

It is to be observed that Cardinal Palavicino (4) pretends to prove, by authentic pieces, that whatever Father Paul advances with regard to the ambitious artifices of Simonetta is a falsehood.

(4) Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 20. cap. 6. num. 6.

(1) It was Cardinal Sepizando.

(2) Fra-Paolo, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, lib. 7. pag. m. 693. Compare with this the passage of book 6. pag. 548. It is page 517. in Amelot's translation.

very little inferior to the best of that age. Casaubon is not in the wrong, for charging him [B] with apologizing for what a controversial writer had advanced, viz. that the holy Scriptures, were it not for the authority of the church, would have no more weight than Esop's fables. The Jesuit who criticized Casaubon on that occasion, did but betray his ignorance (b). Hofius died near to Rome the 5th of August 1579. Moreri has committed some errors [C].

(b) See the remark [B].

This

[B] Casaubon is not in the wrong for charging him [C]. Let us go on with the progress of that dispute, and begin with the words of that great critic (5).

(5) Casaubon, in *Verbo Dei viventis scripto minus etiam tribuit* (Scioppius in Ecclesiastico, cap. 135.) *quam sive Pighius, sive alius qui dixit Patrum memoria: Scripturam, si auctoritate Ecclesie destitueretur, non plus per se valere quam fabulas Esopi. Quod blasphemum dictum postea defendere ausus est Cardinalis Hofius.* i. e. "Scioppius in Ecclesiastico, Chap. 135, ascribes not so much authority to the written word of the living God, as Pighius, or another person, who said in the memory of our Fathers, that were the Scriptures divested of the authority of the Church, they would be of no more authority than Esop's fables; which blasphemous expression Cardinal Hofius dared to defend." Eudæmon-Joannes the Jesuit asserted, that this was a calumny invented by Brentius, and he pretends to prove it in the following manner. *Jam vero quando non memorat, neque quis Esopice hujus fabulæ auctor sit; neque quo loco eam Hofius defenderit, vel ne convinci imposturæ possit, vel quod in aliquo alio rem eam legerat, et auctorem, et calumniam ex Hofio detegam: videant deinde lectores, quam bona fide infideles isti fidei patroni disputent. Is igitur lib. 3. in prolegomena Brentii, ipso fere initio: Magna pars, inquit, libelli prolegomenorum Brentii non aliunde constant, quam è fannis, dictionibus, conviciis; in quo sic etiam ludit Scripturis, sic eas tractat joculariter; ut verè de ipso dici possit, quod venerabili viro Petro à Soto falso impingit, eum haud aliter Scripturis, quam Esopi fabulis uti. Non est igitur ea Catholicorum injuriam Scriptoris vox, sed calumnia Brentii: quam vir illustrissimus falso in virum doctissimum excogitavit, in auctorem ipsum vere convenire defendit* (6). i. e. "Now since he does not mention who was the author of this Esopic fable, nor in what place Hofius defended it, and this either to prevent his being found guilty of an imposture, or because he had read this incident of some other person; I will point out both the author and the calumny from Hofius himself; and after this let the reader judge, in how ingenuous a manner these faithless defenders of the faith dispute. Hofius therefore, in Book III, in opposition to the Prolegomena of Brentius, almost at the beginning says; *the greatest part of the Prolegomena of Brentius, are made up merely of sneers, taunts and reproaches, wherein he is so ludicrous with the Scriptures, and treats them in so burlesque a manner, that we may justly say of this writer, what he falsely ascribes to the venerable Peter à Soto; that he used the Scriptures just as one would use Esop's fables.* This therefore is not the assertion of any Catholic writer, but a calumny of Brentius, which our most illustrious author shews to be a false invention with regard to that very learned man, and to belong properly to the inventor himself." We here have four things. I. A complaint that Casaubon did not specify the place in Hofius's work where this is to be found. II. That Brentius accuses Soto of making the same use of the Scriptures as of Esop's Fables. III. That Hofius asserts that such an accusation is a slander with respect to Soto, and very true with regard to Brentius. IV. That these words of Hofius gave occasion to the reflection or reproach mentioned by Casaubon. The first of these four particulars is just. We cannot complain too much against the negligence of those writers who do not quote the particular chapter, in accusations of importance. Great authors are most subject to this fault; they imagine that the public will believe them on their bare words, and so they will not give themselves the trouble to quote: it is enough for them to say, *Plutarch, Cicero, St. Austin, say this.* Numberless readers had rather give credit to what they say, or continue in doubt, than be at the trouble of verifying such an assertion. Although Casaubon did not really intend to hinder any person from discovering whether his accusation was true or

(6) Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, *Cassigat. Exercit. Isaac Casauboni*, lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. 147.

false, he yet has given occasion to such a suspicion. Why did he quote after so random a manner? The second and third of these four things form two indisputable facts (7), but then they are absolutely nothing to the dispute itself. But the fourth is a notorious blunder of the Jesuit, as the reader will see below. The confidence with which he accuses Casaubon of slandering Cardinal Hofius, raises I know not what prejudices to the disadvantage of that Critic; but when we see the apologist for Casaubon stop short, and flatly own that he has no book of Hofius, we are prompted to conclude that the accusation of Eudæmon-Joannes is well grounded. *Si nihil gravius dixit Hofius, erit hæc in Brentium calumnia, non in Spiritum S. blasphemia. Ego Pighii, Hofii, nihil habeo, nec Hermanni, cui blasphemam hanc Scripturæ cum Esopi fabulis comparationem tribuentes viros magnos audivi* (8). Can one easily believe that a Minister who undertakes to refute the censurer of Casaubon should not search for Hofius's works till he finds them? Are they so hard to be met with? One is apt therefore to suspect, that this confession of his want of them is a subterfuge, invented on purpose that we may not be forced to own this Cardinal's ignorance. However, the reader need not be in pain about Casaubon, he charging Hofius with nothing but what is perfectly true. *Fingamus autem nunc verum esse, hæc sunt Hofius's words* (9), in the same book (9) Hofius, lib. 3. in Prolegomena Brentii, pag. 230. *quem narras, nam nomen non exprimis, ac fieri potest ut sit commentum tuum, Scripturas valere quantum fabulas Esopi, si destituantur auctoritate Ecclesie. Cedo, Brentii, num hic minus reverenter de Scripturis loquutus est, quam qui vocat eam librum Hæreticorum* (10), cum tamen nullorum sit minus quam Hæreticorum: est enim Catholicorum propria, qui tot seculis in ejus possessione præscripserunt. Et potuit illud tamen pio sensu dici, quem homo pius, qui charitatem habeo, quæ non cogitat malum, ex iis verbis eliceret. Nam revera, nisi nos Ecclesie doceret auctoritas hanc scripturam esse canonicam, perexiguum apud nos pondus haberet. i. e. "Let us take it for granted that it is true, which you declare to have been written by some one or other, for you name no person, and it may perhaps be a fiction of your own, viz. that the Scriptures, were it not for the authority of the Church, would be of no more value than Esop's fables. But Brentius, did this man speak less reverently of the Scriptures, than he who calls them the Book of Heretics, when indeed they belong to none less than to the Heretics; these being certainly the property of the Catholics, who, by a possession during so many ages have a right to them? Nevertheless these words might have been said in a pious sense, which a pious man, who has a spirit of charity and harbours no evil thought, may draw out of them. For indeed, did not the authority of the Church teach us, that these Scriptures are canonical, they would have very little weight with us."

[C] Moreri has committed some errors.] I. It was not to Pavia, but to Padua, that Hofius's relations sent him to study. Moreri might have found his error, had he known that Lazarus Bonamici, whom he declares to have been Hofius's master, was Professor in Padua. Du Saussai (11) supposes that Hofius having been sent into Italy, by the advice of Peter Thomicki Bishop of Cracow, stopt at Bologna. Now this is not distinguishing particulars justly. He should have said that Hofius having studied some time at Padua, went to Bologna, and there took his degrees of Doctor of Laws. *Pataxii, dein Bononiæ... Jurisprudentiæ industriam primo addixerat, et lauream sub ipso Hugone Boncompagno qui S. S. Gregorii XIII. nomine dein præfuit, postremo adeptus est* (12). i. e. "He first applied himself to the study of the Law in Padua, and afterwards in Bologna; and at last took his degree under Hugh Boncompagnus, who afterwards sat in the Pontifical chair, and was called Gregory XIII."

(7) Hofius's words quoted by Eudæmon-Joannes, are found in book 3. of Brentius's *Prolegomena*, pag. 196. Colen. edit. of 1558, folio.

(8) Jacobus Caspellus, *Vindic. Is. Casaub. lib. 3. cap. 5. pag. 78.*

(9) Hofius had said just before that Luther called the holy Scriptures the Book of Heretics. Greiser remarks this also in *Proleg. Exam. Mysteriorum Plessigum*, pag. 90. and cites Luther's words in *Postil. Eccl. Domin. 8. post Trinitat.*

(11) *Continuat. de Script. Eccl. cap. 32. pag. 23.*

(12) Thuan. lib. 68. sub fin. pag. 297.

This Cardinal was thought to be the author of an anonymous piece that was highly injurious to the Swifs, which was refuted by Bullinger, in the preface to Josias Simler's

(c) See Hottinger in Pentate Dif- fert. Miscell. pag. 214.

(d) Crenius, Part 12. Anim. pag. 65. says only, that it is reported.

treatise *de æterno Dei filio* (c). He certainly (d) wrote the anonymous piece just mentioned. He composed it in 1564; and intitled it, *Judicium & Censura de Judicio & Censura Ministrorum Tigurinorum & Heidelbergensium de dogmate contra adorandam Trinitatem in Polonia nuper sparso*. It has been inserted in the collection of his works (e), and I don't doubt but that it is taken into the editions which the author himself published. I believe that the most complete edition of his works, is that of 1584 [D]. It contains a volume of posthumous works, among which are a great number of letters, where Cardinal Hosius repeats often the same particulars, viz. that the heretics must be extirpated, and their divisions discovered sufficiently the injustice of their pretended reformation. He had studied with great application the writings which the Zuinglians and Lutherans had published against one another, and those concerning the violent disputes which had broke out among the Lutherans. He was for ever drawing odious conclusions from them; and he artfully took advantage of this circumstance, viz. that these new Doctors wrote books in defence of penal Laws against those who erred; and that such as were most powerful among the Schismatics which divided the Lutherans, banished, imprisoned, &c. those Lutherans who differed from them.

(e) From pag. 669. to pag. 707. tom. 1. of the Colen edit. My copy is dated, in the title 1639.

HOSPINIAN

This shews the second falsity of Moreri. He says that Hosius took his Doctor's degree at Pavia. III. He was made Bishop of Culm, at the request of King Sigismund I: but this is another error, Sigismund Augustus having procured him that Bishopric. IV. How could it have been possible for Sigismund I to send him to Rome, to Pope Julius III? for he died in 1548, and this Pope was not raised to the Papal throne till 1550. V. He should not have said, that retiring to Poland, after the conclusion of the Council, he wrote those admirable works which are extant of his; for he is declaring, that he had not wrote any books before that time, and yet it is certain, that his answer to Brentius was printed at Colen in 1558; it is a folio volume, and consists of four hundred pages. His book intitled *Confessio Catholicae fidei Christiana* (13), had been published already in Mentz. His work *De Communione sub utraque specie, that De Sacerdotum conjugio, and that De Missa vulgari lingua celebranda*, had been published at Paris in 1561 (14). Du Sauffai (15) ought to be censured a little here; he inserting moit of these works in the catalogue of books which Hosius caused to be printed after the holding of the Council. VI. He should not have said in general, that there were thirty two editions of Hosius's works during his life-time; but ought to have made some exception to this, as Bullart has done. Several of his works, says he (16), have been printed thirty two times, during his life, in the chief cities of the Christian world; and translated into French, Italian, German, Flemish, Polish, English, Scotch, and the Armenian language. De la Rochepezai (17) is wrong in making no exception. Read the following remark.

(13) See the preface to his Answer to Brentius's Prolegomena.

(14) Oldoinus, in Aiben. Romano, pag. 615.

(15) In Continuat. de Scriptor. Eccles. pag. 23.

(16) Bullart, Academie des Sciences, tom. 1. pag. 70.

(17) In Nomenclatore Cardinalium, pag. 151.

I take no notice of what Moreri says, concerning the reasons which obliged Cardinal Hosius not to be present at the twenty fourth session. He declares that it was because Hosius did not approve those decisions which had been made with respect to clandestine marriages. It is very certain that he disapproved of this decision, and endeavoured three or four times to get it repealed, a circumstance which made him be looked upon as an obstinate man (18); but it is no ways certain that his absence is grounded on the reason given by Moreri; for he was present in the precedent session, notwithstanding he disapproved part of the particulars which had been decreed therein, with respect to the sacrifice of the mass. He did not scruple to oppose them. Why therefore did he not dare to do as much with respect to clandestine marriages? Would he not have been seconded by Cardinal Simonetta his colleague, and by some others? Did he not send his opinion, in writing, which was contrary to the decree? Did he not declare, in writing, that he referred with regard to all those things, to the Pope's judgment? In a word, his sickness was very real, and of very long continuance. These are most of the reasons which

(18) Palavic. Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 22. cap. 9. num. 6.

(19) Ibid. lib. 23. cap. 7. num. 17.

was to pass into a law. Sometimes writers have reason to say, that the sicknesses of persons in high station are either counterfeit, or mere political grimace; but then Historians who are over speculative, are also sometimes mistaken in making such assertions.

[D] I believe that the most complete edition of his works, is that of 1584.] It was printed at Cologne by Maternus Cholin, and consists of two volumes in folio. The first volume containing the works which had been already published, but then they were printed, as last revised by the author. The second volume consists of pieces that had never been printed; and which were collected by Stanislaus Rescius, who dedicated them to Stephen Battori, King of Poland. His Dedication is dated from Rome the 1st of September, 1582. From the manner in which Crenius delivers himself (20), I conclude that the Treatise entitled *Judicium & Censura, &c.* is not inserted in the Antwerp edition of 1566 in folio; but I think it is in the Venice edition which the author himself dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII, the 15th of August 1573. He had revised and enlarged his works, for that edition. He dedicated the first treatise of it to Henry de Valois, King of Poland; and dates the Epistle Dedicatory, the same day with that of the whole volume. This first treatise is entitled *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christianae*. The author had wrote part of it three and twenty years before; and that part being sent to Rome by the Archbishop of Geneva, was approved in that City; so that Cardinal Otho Truchses, Bishop of Ausburg, had it printed in his own City of Dillingen. The things that were wanting having been added, the whole work was printed at Mentz, under the direction of the Archbishop of Gnesna. This edition was soon followed by others. Hosius's name was not yet prefixed to the work; and was not printed till Ruard Tapper intreated the author to put his name to it, because it was usual in Germany to discourage the sale of anonymous books (21). This met with the best

(20) Crenius, Animadv. Part. 12. pag. 65.

reception of any of Hosius's works. Pope Pius IV made Paulus Manutius print it in Rome (22). If there be no hyperbole in the thirty two editions spoken of (23), it must relate chiefly to this piece. Rescius extends it to all the works published by Cardinal Hosius: *Ipsa etiam Authore vivente bis & trigesies in praecipuis Christiani Orbis urbibus, Latina, Germanica, Gallica, Flandrica Lingua omnes Hosii Libri typis expressi, in Polonicam etiam & Italicam translati videbantur, & fortasse etiam in Armenicam, sicut ex sermone viri cujusdam in hac urbe illustrissimi accepimus* (24). "All Hosius's works were printed thirty two times in his life-time, in the chief cities of Christendom, in the Latin, German, French and Flemish tongues; they were translated into Polish and Italian, and perhaps into the Armenian language, as I have been told by a most illustrious man in this city." But as his posthumous writings, which make a pretty large volume in folio, ought to be excepted; I had just reason for answering Moreri's too general expression on this occasion.

(21) Extracted from Hosius's Dedication, to Henry de Valois King of Poland.

(22) See the same Epist. Dedicat.

(23) See the preceding remark citation (16).

(24) Stan. Rescius, Epist. Dedicat. tom. 2. Operum Hosii, fol. 3 verso. edit. Coloniae apud Cholinum 1584.

HOSPINIAN (RODOLPHUS) in Latin *Hospinianus*, was one of the greatest writers that Switzerland has given birth to. He was born at Altorf, a village of the county of Kiburg in the canton of Zurich, the 7th of November 1547; and was sent, at seven years of age, to Zurich, there to begin his studies. He made a great progress in them, under the direction of John Wolphius (a) his uncle on the mother's side; and having lost his father (b) in 1563, he found a most affectionate Patron in Rodolphus Gualterus (c) his godfather. He left Zurich in order to visit the other Universities in March 1565, and staid two years in Marpurgh, where he distinguished himself by the assiduity with which he applied himself to his studies, and by his good behaviour. He did the same at Heidelberg during the six months he spent in that city; after which he was recalled by his Superiors, and received into the ministry in the year 1568, and this was to go and preach twice a week in a country church, four or five leagues from Zurich. He discharged these several duties very exactly for eight years together, though he had a great deal of other business in the city; for he was appointed master of the third class or school in 1569, and was made Provisor of the Abbey-school in 1571. He was Provisor of Caroline-school five years after; and it was a kind of Sisyphæan stone, which he rolled with prodigious patience during nineteen years [A]. He obtained the freedom of the city (d) in 1569, and was happily married the same year [B]. His pastoral labours were somewhat lessened in 1576, he being appointed Minister of a Church that stood but a league from Zurich. Though his school engrossed so much of his time, he yet had courage enough to undertake a noble work of a vast extent [C]. As he devoted all his leisure moments to the study of Ecclesiastical History, he laid down the plan

(a) He was a Minister, and has published several books.

(b) He was a Minister in Altorf.

(c) He was a famous Minister, and wrote several Homilies in Latin.

(d) *Jus Civitatis Tigurinae rara felicitate ipsi collatum est.* Heidegger ubi infra Citat. (e).

[A] *It was a kind of Sisyphæan stone, which he rolled with prodigious patience during nineteen years.* I borrow this thought from the author of his Life. *Hanc quoque Spartam ornavit, says he (1), quantum potuit, saxumque hoc vere Sisyphium voluit revolvitque, & novemdecim annorum orbe circumegit indefessus athleta pari & industria & successu. i. e.* "He also adorned this profession exceedingly, and rolled this truly Sisyphæan stone with incredible labour during nineteen years, with equal industry and success." What he says a little afterwards is very judicious. He is surprized that Hospinian's genius was not debased by these painful employments. *Ferream certe adamantinumque dixeris qui tot labores exantlare, & simul ingenium à situ & squalore vindicare possit.*

(1) Jo. Henr. Heidegger, in *Vita Hospiniani*, pag. 8.

[B] *He was happily married in 1569.* His wife was Anne Lavater, daughter of Lewis Lavater, at that time Archdeacon of Caroline church, and afterwards principal Minister. He was son to Rodolphus Lavater, Burgomaster of Zurich. The mother of Anne Lavater was daughter to Henry Bullinger, one of the chief Reformers. Our Hospinian lived in great unity for upwards of thirty years with his wife; *Annoque plurquam triginta concorde in matrimonio tenuit (2);* and had fourteen children by her, the youngest of whom, Elizabeth, was living in 1681. She was the widow of Rodolph Stuckius, fourscore and eight years of age; and as she had preserved her judgment and memory, she furnished materials to the author of her father's life. *Quæ annum agens 88, sic satis vegeta etiamnum integro judicio & memoria, ex qua non pauca mihi suggestit historiam hanc locupletantia, pollet (3).* JOHN HENRY HOSPINIAN, her brother, was Minister of Bulac church, and Dean of the Chapter of Reinburg. RODOLPHUS HOSPINIAN, his brother, Professor of Hebrew in Zurich, and Deacon of the Caroline Church, left two sons, RODOLPHUS HOSPINIAN, who was Provost of the Chapter of the same city, when Heidegger was writing the Life of our Rodolphus, and JOHN HENRY HOSPINIAN, Minister of the Church of Glattfeld. Heidegger gives an account of several other persons descended from our Rodolphus, who losing his wife in 1612, made such reflections as became a good Christian, and it was not long before he sought for consolation in a second wife. *Patienter tamen domesticam illam calamitatem, utcumque acerbam, tulit, memor utique, & mortalem se duxisse, & ad æternam beatitudinem præmississe. Consolabantur etiam mox orbitatem ejus secundæ nuptiæ cum matrona honestissima Magdalena Wirzia, nobilis & eximii viri Conradi Wirzii, Præfeti quondam Vadivillani, filia, bonis omnibus contractæ, & d. XIII. Maji An. M. DC. XII. solemniter celebratæ (4).* i. e. "He yet submitted with patience to this domestic and bitter calamity, calling to mind that he had married a mortal woman, and that she was gone before him to everlasting bliss. He consoled himself for his widowhood some time after,

(2) *Idem in Vita Hospiniani*, pag. 9.

(3) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(4) *Idem*, pag. 23.

"by his marrying for his second wife a most virtuous matron named Magdalen Wirz, daughter to that renowned and good man Conrad Wirz, formerly Governor of Wedischewyl; which nuptials were solemnized the 13th of May, 1612." He had found by experience, that a wife did not interrupt his studies in any manner. *Cujus consortium tantum abest ut, quod Romanenses nostris objiciunt, impedimentum aliquod studiis ejus piis objecerit, ut magno illi contra & dulci ad omne opus bonum incitamento adjumentoque fuerit (5).* i. e. "Whose company and fellowship was so far from being an hindrance to his pious studies, as the Romans object to us, that it was a sweet excitement and help to every good work."

[C] *He . . . had courage enough to undertake a noble work of a vast extent.* This was the History of the Errors of Popery. The circumstance which first suggested this thought was, upon his engaging in conversation, in a country alehouse, with the landlord, who was so silly as to imagine, that the monastic life came immediately from Paradise. *Fassum aliquando ferunt, cum illa excursionem necessum haberet in hospitio pernoctare, hospitem rusticum non incuriosum crebra secum colloquia miscentem, & de Origine Papatu, vitæ in primis Monastica, quam ille pro simplicitate sua ex Paradiso arcessendam ridiculè sustinuerit, anxie inquirentem, ansam sibi libros de Origine errorum scribendi præbuisse (6).* He considered that the Papists, when defeated by the holy Scriptures, had recourse to tradition; and were for ever vaunting their antiquity, and despised the Protestants for their being so modern. Now Hospinian, to deprive the Papists of this sanctuary, searched into the rise and progress of the Romish doctrines and ceremonies; and by what gradations the truth, which had been taught by Christ and his Apostles, had given way to innovations. *Impetum concepit animo suo plane heroicum, & laude nunquam intermoritura dignissimum fidei illius vetustatis spectrum debellandi, Gibonitasque artes & fraudes, monstratis genuinis errorum, qui paulatim Ecclesiam inundaverant, originibus detegendi, convellendique. Et magnæ quidem molis, immensæque laboris opus aggrediebatur, cum de cælesti doctrina, & ceremoniis veræ primitivæ Ecclesiæ, tum de inclinatione & depravatione ejusdem doctrinæ, deque ceremoniarum mutatione, autione, & progressu iis seculis, quæ Christum & Apostolos primum, deinde verò Constantinum Imperatorem, imprimis autem Gregorium M. secutæ sunt (7).* i. e. "He meditated a design that was truly heroic, and worthy of immortal honour, viz. of subduing that spectre of fictitious antiquity; and of discovering and rooting out all their gibberish arts and frauds, by exhibiting the real and genuine origin of those errors, which overspread the church by insensible degrees. And indeed the work in question was of vast importance and of immense labour, it being to treat, not only of the celestial doctrine, and the ceremonies of the truly primitive church;

(5) Heidegger, *ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 2.

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 11.

plan of a work, which might shew the Roman Catholics, that it is idle in them to boast of the conformity of their doctrines to antiquity. He could not complete his work, but then he published considerable parts of it [D], which gained him great reputation; and obliged his Superiors to take him out of the dust of the schools, in order to fix him in a higher station. He was appointed Arch-deacon of Caroline Church the 25th of September 1588; six years after which he was appointed Minister of the Abbey Church; a function, which was so much the more commodious, as it did not prevent much his continuing the great work he had in view. The work he published on the Eucharist, and that which he intitled, *Concordia discors*, exasperated the Lutherans in a high degree. They exasperated him by their answers [E], to which he did not finish his reply, be-

cause

“ church; but likewise of the decay and corruption of that doctrine, as well as of the change, increase and progress of these ceremonies; first in those ages which followed our Saviour and his Apostles, and then in those which followed the Emperor Constantine, but particularly in those ages which came after Gregory the Great.” He intended to write chiefly concerning Baptism, the Eucharist, Churches, Feasts, Fasts, Orders, Monks, the Pope’s Primacy, and Burials (8). He also began to write the Lives of the Popes, and some animadversions on Gratian. *Anti-Gratianum insuper moliebatur, quo demonstrare instituerat, Gratianum in suo Decreto multa falsa, pugnancia, commentitia & nota recitare, tum vero impudenter, fallaciter, malitiose & impie corrumpere* (9). He was above forty one years of age when he meditated this vast design.

(8) Heidegger, *ibid.*(9) *Idem, ibid.*

[D] . . . he published considerable parts of it.] Here follows a catalogue of the books he published. The first was an Oration of *origine & progressu Rituum & Ceremoniarum Ecclesiasticarum*. He spoke it in an academical assembly, and printed it in 1585. Two years after he published his Treatise *de Tempis, hoc est de origine, progressu, usu, & abusu Templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad Tempia pertinentium*. In 1603 he published a second edition of it, not only corrected, but also greatly augmented; he adding to it a confutation of the arguments which Bellarmine and Baronius had alledged, in behalf of those of their party on that subject, since the first edition. In 1588 he published a Treatise *de Monachis, seu de origine & progressu Monachatus ac Ordinum Monasticorum, Equitum militarium tam sacrorum quam secularium omnium*. He published a second edition of it in 1609, in which he confuted Bellarmine’s book *de Monachis*, published since the first edition of his work. In 1589 he was just going to publish a Treatise *de origine & progressu Fejuniorum*, when he found by a work of Bellarmine just printed, that this Jesuit promised to write a book on that subject; for which reason he suspended the publication of his work, till he might annex to it a confutation of what Bellarmine should alledge. However, having applied himself to other matters in the mean time, he never completed that treatise. These other matters were the Feasts or Holy Days, on which he published two volumes, the first in 1592, and the second in 1593. The first Treatise, *de Festis Judæorum & Ethnicorum, hoc est de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, & ritibus festorum dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Turcarum, & Indianorum*. He printed it in 1611, with several corrections and additions. The second volume treats *de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, & ritibus festorum dierum Christianorum*. He printed it in 1612, with considerable supplements, which were of use to refute Bellarmine upon the idolatry of the church of Rome, and James Gretser on Corpus Christi day. In 1598 he published the first volume of his *Historia Sacramentaria: Hoc est libri quinque de Cæna Dominiæ prima institutione, ejusque vero usu & abusu in primitiva Ecclesia, nec non de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, & ritibus Missæ, Transsubstantiationis, & aliorum pæne insinuatorum Errorum, quibus Cæna prima institutio horribiliter in Papatu polluta & profanata est*. i. e. “ Five books relating to the institution of the Lord’s Supper, and of its true use and abuse in the primitive church; also concerning the origin, progress, ceremonies and rites of the Mass, of Transubstantiation, and almost numberless multitude of errors, whereby the primitive institution of the Lord’s Supper has been horribly polluted and profaned in the Romish church.” Four years after he published the second volume of this History, con-

taining the contests that have been carried on between those of the Aufburg Confession, and other Protestants, with regard to the Lord’s Supper. This work is intitled, *de origine & progressu Controversiæ Sacramentariæ de Cæna Domini inter Lutheranos & Orthodoxos quos Zwinglianos & Calvinistas vocant exortæ, ab anno Christi Salvatoris 1517 usque ad annum 1602. i. e.* “ Concerning the origin and progress of the Sacramentarian Controversy, with regard to the Lord’s Supper, between the Lutherans and those of the orthodox faith called Zwinglians and Calvinists, from the year of our Lord 1517, till 1602.” In 1607 he published a work intitled, *Concordia discors, seu de origine & progressu Formulæ Concordiæ Bergenfis. i. e.* “ The discording Concord, or of the rise and progress of the Formulary of the Concord of Berg.” In 1619 he published a work against the Jesuits: *Historia Jesuitica, hoc est de origine, regulis, constitutionibus, privilegiis, incrementis, progressu, & propagatione Ordinis Jesuitarum, item de eorum dolis, fraudibus, imposturis, nefariis facinoribus, cruentis consiliis, falsa quoque seditiosa & sanguinolenta doctrina* (10). i. e. “ A History of the Jesuits, that is, of the origin, rules, constitution, privileges, increase, progress and propagation of the Order of Jesuits; also of their treacheries, frauds, impostures, wicked crimes, and bloody counsels; their false, seditious, and bloody doctrine.” Here he put an end to his compositions, being resolved to spend his life hereafter in nothing but prayer, in the perusal of good books, and in pious meditations.

[E] Two of his works . . . exasperated the Lutherans in a high degree. They exasperated him by their answers.] The History of the Sacramentarian War between the Lutherans and Calvinists, and the History of the Formulary of Concord, shew so much confusion, so much passion, shuffling, and cavilling on the Lutheran side, that it would have been a miracle had not these two books exasperated the Saxon Divines in a furious manner. In Saxony they choose to refute Hospinian, a man who was fit to dazzle and impose on the public; a man, I say, who treated his adversaries in the most contemptuous manner, and assumed a magisterial air. Nothing is so well adapted as this, to conceal the bad or weak sides of a cause. *Historiæ Sacramentariæ pars posterior & concordia illa discors vehementer eos, qui Lutheranorum partium asseclas se professi sunt, urebant; qui eorum operum vim Chrysippeis sophismatis, & tortuosis argutiis, acribusque diceriis convellere maximopere laborabant. Constat autem, utriusque operis refutandi in Saxonici oris negotium Leonardo Huttero, Wittebergenfi Professori, homini arroganti & prave facundo, datum esse. Et primum quidem Ann. M. DC. XI. personatus ille, uti prudenter conjectabam, prodiit, larva scilicet assumpta cujusdam Christophori à Vallo, S. Theologiæ Candidati, sub qua adversus ea, quæ Hospinianus in Annalibus Sacramentariis ad annum M. DC. XI. (11) gesta prodidit, vernacula scriptione ingenii sui libidinem procaciter satis exercuit* (12). i. e. “ The second part of the Sacramentarian History, and the discording Concord, greatly exasperated the Lutherans, who employed their utmost endeavours to defeat the effect they might have, by sophistry, cavilling, and scoffing. It is certain that the task of refuting them both was given to Leonard Hutterus, Professor at Wittenberg, a man whose wit was of an arrogant and peevish cast. He first appeared in public in the year 1611, disguised, as was well conjectured, under the name of Christopher à Vallo, student in Divinity. In this fictitious dress he haughtily exercised the licentiousness of his wit, in his native tongue, against those particulars which are con-

(10) Extracted from his Life wrote by Heidegger.

(11) This is an error of the press, it should be M. D. XXIX.

(12) Heidegger in Vita Hospiniani, pag. 22.

cause he was sensible that the common enemies of the Protestant Faith were too much diverted with such a scene; but he turned his arms against the Jesuits. I don't doubt but that some Princes were pleased that he had suppressed his reply [F]. He was deprived of his sight for near a year, by a cataract, notwithstanding which he preached as usual; but he was happily couched the 18th of September 1613. At threecore and sixteen years

"tained in Hospinian's Sacramentarian History, till "the year 1529." The instant David Pareus had seen this first work of Hutterus (13), he gave Hospinian notice of it, and advised him to draw up an Answer in the German language, without waiting till his adversary should finish his confutation. *Adversus Commentarium tuum alterum de re sacramentaria, nec non Concordiam discordem comperimus, mandatum ex aula Saxonica D. Huttero datum, historiam tuam ut refutaret. Laborasse etiam illum ea in re ex domesticis meis studiosis cognovi. His nudinis Lipsensibus prodiit Germanica hæc Historia Sacramentariae consignatio, usque ad annum 29 deducta. Credo vobis non esse visam. Auctor magna pollicetur, & triumphus est, ut audio, nostris vicinis, &c. Percurri librum. Præter magnifica mendacia nihil video novi. Suaferim ut vestigia hujus scriptoris, qui haud dubiè est ille Hutterus, premas illico, neque expectes, dum tota moles te opprimat. Feceris magnum operæ pretium Germanicè respondendo* (14). i. e. "I am

(13) It is to be observed that some say, that Christophorus Wilhelmus à Vallo, was Chr. Wilh. Walpurgus, a Divine of Leisfic. See Mollerus, Isagoge Hist. Oberjonesi Cimbricæ, Part 3. pag. 133.

(14) Heidegg. in Vita Hospiniani, pag. 22.

"of Saxony, to answer the second part of your Sacramentarian History, and your discording Concord; and some students who lodge with me, say, that he has been employed for some time in it. The German refutation of this Sacramentarian History, continued to the year 1529, was published last Leipzig fair. I believe you have not seen that piece. The author promises mighty things; and it is said that our neighbours triumph upon it, &c. I have perused the book, and find nothing new in it, but notorious falsehoods. I would advise you to tread close upon the heels of this writer, who doubtless is the abovementioned Hutterus; and not wait till you are oppressed with the whole load. It would be of great use to answer him in the German language." Hospinian immediately drew up a reply, but did not publish it. *Non defuit bonæ causæ Hospinianus, utpote qui . . . personato larvam egregiè detraxit, adornata scriptione vernacula, quo & historia à se consignatæ veritatem in arce collocavit, & adversantis vanitatem solidè detexit. Neque tamen responsio ihibet, omnibus numeris absoluta, lucem vidit* (15). In 1614 a new work of Hutterus was published, entitled *Concordia concors, seu de origine & progressu formulæ Concordiæ Ecclesiarum Confessoris Augustanæ*. i. e. "Concording Concord; or, concerning the origin and progress of the Formula of Concord of the Churches of the Aufburg confession." In this work Hutterus undertook to deprive Hospinian of all the reputation he might have gained, either with respect to learning or candor. *Quo quantum de libro ipso, tantundem de eruditionis, candoris & judicis Hospiniani fama, suæque Ecclesiæ infamia se detrabere posse speravit. Opus ipsum haud exiguè molis, & multa πολλὰς Φαρλασίας prodiit, ast si inanem verborum strepitum, & rerum, convitiatorum, splendida-rumque calumniarum tumorem ei demeres, tantum non ad incitas redigi, atque in nihilum recidere liquebat* (16). i. e. "Wherein he hoped to take as much from the

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) Idem, ibid.

(17) Idem, pag. 24.

"fame of Hospinian's erudition, candor and judgment, and from the infamy of his own Church, as he could detract from the book in question. This work, which was of no inconsiderable size, made its appearance with mighty pomp; but should we substract or take from it the empty sound of high-flown words, and the idle reproaches, and slanders, it would be reduced to a very narrow compass." Hospinian's friends advised him to draw up an answer immediately, and to humble his adversary's pride. *Sine mora reprimendam exultantem hominis audaciam* (17). He immediately took up the pen, and set about an answer, but never finished it. Heidegger assures us that this is an excellent work. In all probability the author was disheartened, because he had to do with so abusive an enemy. He also was afraid of affording the Jesuits too great a farce, in case he should still carry on the civil war; but however this be, his work was never published. *Neque tamen opus isthoc ad metam perduxit, seu tædio victus est male-dicentiæ adversarii, qui nescio quibus agitatus furis ubi-*

que insultare, quàm cum ratione quadam disputare maluit; seu fastidium subitit ducendi junem molestæ ad eam contentionis, qua non tantum animos veritatis suæ copîa sauciatos ægroque magis exulceratum iri, sed etiam capitales religionis hostes, Jesuitas cumprimis, inaususti certaminis illius futuros spectatores avidissimos, delicias jucundo ejusmodi spectaculo sibi facturos . . . metuit (18). (18) Idem, ibid.

[F] I do not doubt but that some Princes were pleased that he had suppressed his reply.] About the time that Hospinian printed his *Concordia discors*, Frederic IV, Elector Palatine, wrote to the magistrates of Zurich, concerning a conference that was negotiating between the Lutherans and Calvinists, to search out expedients for an accommodation which might serve as a league among the Protestant Princes, against the bloody designs of the Jesuits. For this reason Hospinian was thought to have published his book very unseasonably. He justified himself as to that affair in the best manner he could, in a letter which he wrote to Maurice Landgrave of Hesse. He says, that though these conferences are

only apt to inflame the wound, as has been often found by experience, he yet would have suspended the impression of his work, or even kept it in manuscript in his closet, had he known the intention of the Princes. *Libri intempestivi editi culpam, . . . sic studiose amolitur, ut simul de institutis ejusmodi Colloquiis sententiam graviter proferat hunc ferè in modum: Etsi ego de hujusmodi colloquio nihil boni polliceri possim, & majores animorum distractiones & conturbationes, odia item, contentiones, ac dissidia post illud nocentissima vehementer metuum, præsertim si mecum reputem, quæ Marpurgensè, Maulbrunnensè, Mompeigardensè, & Ratisbonensè colloquia secuta sint; & adversarii palam protestentur, se non dicere, sed docere, & ne in minimo quidem articulo sententiam mutare, sed in semel concepta opinione firmiter permanere velle: nihilominus editionem hujus libri vel in aliud tempus rejecissem, ac reservâssem; vel, si ex usu ecclesiæ fuisset, prorsus suppressissem, si hoc consilium & institutum Illustriss. Principum vel ante semestrem mihi cognitum fuisset, ne illud impedivisse accusari meritò possem* (20). i. e. "He apologizes (20) *Vita Hospiniani, pag. 21.* for his having published his book so unseasonably; and at the same time gravely delivers his opinion, with regard to such sort of conferences, as follows. Though I myself cannot hope for any good from such a conference, but am prodigiously afraid that it will be followed by still greater distractions of men's minds, stronger hatred, contentions, and most dangerous divisions; particularly when I reflect on what were the consequences of the conferences at Marpurg, Maulbrun, Montbeliard, and Ratisbon; and that the adversaries protest publicly, that they will teach but not learn; that they will not alter their opinion in the least article, but adhere stedfastly to the principles they first imbibed: nevertheless I would have suspended the publication of this book for some time; or, had it been of advantage to the Church, would have suppressed it intirely, had I but known the intention of these illustrious Princes six months ago, in order that I might not be justly accused of hindering it." The fear he was under lest he should displease some Princes, and expose great numbers to very grievous dangers, obliged him not to insert in his work all he knew. (21) *Fassus est in-* (21) *In Literis ad genue, operi illi de Concordia discorde, deesse plurima: Wolfbangum Amlingum, Ecclesiæ Servianæ manus suas plura non pervenerint; tum quod nonnulla de-Pastorem & Sum-dita opera, omitti consultius visum sit, propter ad-perintendentem, monitionem ex aula potente insinuatam, ut in scribenda die 22 Aug. ea historia caute circumspicteque agat, si quid secretorum ex cameris Principum, præsertim vero exori Saxonicis habeat. Fore alioquin, ut res hæc ingenti periculo* 1607.

(e) Extracted from his *Life* wrote by John Henry Heidegger, and prefixed to the edition of his works printed in 1681.

years of age he grew childish; and continued in that wretched condition till his death, which happened the 11th of March 1626, he being then in his threescore and nineteenth year. The public had entertained so high an idea of his learning from his writings; that he was exhorted from all quarters to refute Baronius's Annals; and no one was thought to have greater abilities for such a task (e). A new edition of his works was published at Geneva in the year 1681, in seven volumes in folio [G].

(22) I fancy it is an error of the press for *Peuceri-ani*.

non careat, propter orthodoxos iis in locis suspectos, ne cum iis ludus Crellianus vel Procerianus (22) ludatur. i. e. He frankly owned, that many things were wanting in the *Discordant Concord*; however, that this was no way his fault, but was partly occasioned, because many particulars never came to his knowledge; and because he had thought it more advisable to omit certain things on account of an admonition which had been sent him from a very powerful Court, viz. that it would be proper for him to act very cautiously in composing that History, in case he had got any secrets from the cabinets of Princes, particularly those who sided with Saxony. That otherwise, this might be of very dangerous tendency with respect to the welfare of such of the orthodox as might be suspected in those places, and the Crellian and Procerian game might be played a second time." It is therefore probable enough, that he laid aside his answer, because, among other reasons, he should be considered as the cause of an Ecclesiastical War, which might prevent the several Protestant powers from pursuing, in concert, their common interest (23). We may be very well assured, that both the Lutheran and Calvinist Princes of the Empire were highly pleased at his continuing silent; for we are told by the history of that period, that the quarrels between Divines perplexed Princes very much; and they every now and then, even to this day, cause the greatest uneasiness to magistrates in several Imperial cities. Was not Hamburg lately (24) involved in great troubles, occasioned by the contests and disputes of the Clergy, which divided the people, and occasioned seditious assemblies? An end is very seldom put to these contests, except by the exile of him whose faction is weakest; so that, if one might dare to employ comparisons, it might be said that the quarrels in question are like those of two bulls who fight for a heifer; the weaker bull runs away and hides himself.

(23) Heidegger, in *Vita Hospiniani*, pag. 21.

(24) About two or three years ago, the *Flemish Newspapers* spoke of nothing else. I write this in Sept. 1695.

Nec mos bellantes una stabulare: sed alter Vitus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris, Multa gemens ignominiam, plagasque superbi Victoris, tum quos amisti inultus amores: Et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis (25).

(25) Virgil. *Georg. lib. 3. vers. 224.*

"Nor when the war is over, is it peace;
"Nor will the vanquished bull his claim release:
"But finding in his breast his antient fires,
"And cursing fate, from his proud foe retires.
"Driven from his native land, to foreign grounds,
"He with a generous rage reforms his wounds;
"His ignominious flight, the victor's boast,
"And more than both, the lives, which unreveng'd
"he lost.
"Often he turns his eyes, and, with a groan,
"Surveys the pleasing kingdoms once his own.
Dryden.

Perhaps the reason I took notice of, might oblige Hospinian not to complete his History of the Reformation, projected in Saxony under the Elector Christian. Some

HOSPITAL (MICHAEL DE L'), Chancellor of France in the seventeenth Century, was one of the greatest men of his age. He was of Auvergne; and of a family not very considerable. He raised himself by degrees [A], and was Counsellor in the Parliament

[A] He was of Auvergne, and of a family not very considerable. He raised himself by degrees.] His father was a Physician, and in that quality served the Constable Charles de Bourbon. He never abandoned him, attending him in disguise, sharing in all his misfortunes, seconding him in all his designs against the King, against the Emperor, and against Rome, the Cardinals, and the Pope himself (1). When he followed him in his re-

(1) Nouvé, *Coqs d'Etat*, cap. 5. pag. 287.

Memoirs had been communicated to him, which might have exasperated his successors. The title of this History was to have been as follows. *Christianus redivivus, hoc est, de ortu & progressu susceptæ a Christiano-Electore Saxonie Ecclesiarum & Scholarum in Saxonia superiore Reformationis Historia, ex actis & originalibus, ut sint optimi Principis defuncti vindiciæ perennes, fideliter congesta, & tribus libris comprehensa (26).* i. e. "Christianus redivivus, that is, a History of the rise and progress of the Reformation of the Churches and Schools in upper Saxony, begun by Christian Elector of Saxony. Faithfully taken from originals and authentic papers, that they may serve for ever as a lasting apology for that best of Princes. In three books." Heidegger says as follows, concerning the memoirs which had been furnished. *Grande scilicet volumen ex Saxonia submissum in hæredum manibus versatur, quo Christiani Electoris illius Principis & pietissimi & fortissimi, dicere crebrò soliti: Ego nec Calvinianus sum, nec Flaccianus, sed Christianus. Habent Flacciani suum Cœium, in quo etiam ipsum orcum collocant; Ephemerides accuratissime texuntur, & instituta ab ipso Ecclesiarum Saxonicarum Reformatio, subita & improvisa ejus morte interrupta, plenissime exponitur, ex quibus, aliisque etiam irrefragabilibus monumentis Christianum illum redivivum orbi Christiano, non parum arte pia Principis illius meditata admiratur, representare statuerat (27).* i. e. "His heirs are possessed of a large volume, sent him from Saxony, wherein are very accurately drawn up the annals of Christian, that most pious and most courageous Prince, who used often to say; *I am neither a Calvinist, nor a Flaccian, but a Christian. The Flaccians have their heaven, wherein they place even hell itself.* This work contains likewise a complete History of the Reformation of the Saxon Churches, begun by our author, but interrupted by this sudden and unexpected death, from which, and several other indisputable authorities, he intended to exhibit his *Christianus redivivus* to the Christian world, which could not have failed greatly to admire the pious designs of that Prince."

(26) Heidegger, in *Vita Hospiniani*, pag. 22.

(27) Idem, *ibid.*

[G] A new edition of his works was published at Geneva, in the year 1681, in seven volumes in folio.] The editors did not insert any tract of the author, but what had been completed by him. His heirs have followed very religiously his intentions, they not being willing to communicate them to the public, but only furnished a few remarks, which the author had added to his works after they were in print. *Neque contemnenda etiam illa quæ inchoata & affecta, quod nondum justus ordo, lima & colophon iis adhibita, ultimaque manu necdum perpolita essent, neque ipse superstes prodire passus est, ceu imparia sustinendæ famæ nominis sui; neque præter ejus voluntatem & consilium hæredes, cimetiorum istorum custodes, edere voluerunt (28).* We are told in his life, what pieces he had advanced very far in, as well as those that were but just sketched by him; circumstances which represent him as a very learned and very laborious writer.

(28) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 11.

He left "in France all his children, both sons and daughters, who being very young could not bear the fatigues of such a journey. Our Michael was at Toulouse, and aged eighteen years; and though he lived there on no other account than that of his studies, he was seized upon suspicion, and committed to the public prison till there was an express command from the King to release

Parliament of Paris, when the Princess Margaret, sister to King Henry II, having had the Duchy of Berri settled on her, chose him for her Chancellor (a). He continued in the same post under her in Italy after she had married the Duke of Savoy, and he was at Nice, when he was raised to the dignity of Chancellor of France under King Francis II in the year 1560 (b). It was thought that the Guises had procured him this post, and that they did it with no other view, but that they imagined, as he had an obligation to them [B], he would do whatever they should desire. They were mistaken; for he proposed as his maxim the good of the Kingdom and the true interests of the King his master. It is true, he was obliged to use address [C]; for if he should have openly opposed the designs of the Guises, he would not have been in a situation to remedy the confusions of France. It was necessary for him therefore to swim between two streams, and by

(a) Pasquier, *Lettres*, lib. 22. pag. 758. of the second tome.

(b) La Planche, *Hist. de François II*, pag. m. 228.

(2) Thevet, *Elog.* tom. 7. pag. 363. edit. in 12mos. He has taken this, as he owns, from the will of the Chancellor l'Hospital. See the *Bibliothèque Colbertine* of Colomiés, pag. 53.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 369.

(4) *Ibid.* What he says is to be found in the Chancellor's will. See the *Bibliothèque Colbertine* of Colomiés, pag. 53.

(5) Observe that there is a mistake with regard to the time in Moreri, where we are told, that he was Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris in 1524, and that his post of Chancellor to the Princess Margaret was posterior to all the rest except that of Chancellor of France.

(6) Thevet, *Elog.* tom. 7. pag. 371.

(7) *Testam. de l'Hospital*, cited by Colomiés, *Biblioth. Colbertine*, pag. 55.

(8) Belcarius, lib. 28. num. 57.

(9) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Hérésie*, lib. 22. pag. m. 170. Dutch edit. He has taken this from Beaucaire, lib. 28. num. 57.

(10) *Hist. de François II*, pag. m. 194.

(11) Teissier, *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. 396. edit. 1690.

(12) *Ibid.* tom. 2. pag. 413. edit. 1683.

“ release him, that he might pursue his studies, since he was not found engaged in any design, that could render him criminal (2).” He went to see his father at the time, when the Constable being returned found affairs much embarrassed there (3); for Francis I had laid siege to Milan (4): and “ because this siege would probably last long, that Physician fearing left his son, by too great a discontinuance, should make a dangerous breach in his studies, ordered some Couriers to take him away with them from Milan disguised like a Muletier; and he passed, not without great danger of his life, the river Abdua, and afterwards went to Padua, where from all antiquity the study of law had flourished. In this University his father left him for the space of six years, and then sent him to Bologna and Rome, where he was honoured with the place of Judge, under the title of Auditor of the Rota. But resigning this by the advice of his father on account of the promises made to him by the Cardinal de Grandmont of advancing him to the highest posts in his country, he was disappointed of his expectations both ways; for the post of Auditor was given to another person; and the sudden death of the Cardinal de Grandmont frustrated the hopes, which had engaged him to return to France. Being in this situation he applied himself to the Bar, where he had not continued three years before he married Mary Morin, daughter of the Lieutenant Criminal Morin, who brought for a portion the place of Counsellor in the Parliament (5), which he held about nine years, and afterwards was sent Ambassador to Bologna for King Henry, where the general Council of all the Bishops had been appointed in order for some reformation.” Thevet adds, that he was afterwards Chancellor to the Duches of Berri, and then “ Head and Superintendent of the Finances of his Majesty in his Chamber of Accounts, and after the death of King Henry was chosen of the Privy Council (6).” Observe, that his father, after the Constable's death, followed some time the Court of the Emperor Charles V (7), and afterwards entering into the service of the sister of his first Patron René de Bourbon, wife of Anthony Duke of Lorraine, spent there the rest of his life (8). He has been represented as the son of a man, who was born, and always lived, and died a Jew in the city of Avignon (9). Mr. Varillas, from whom I borrow these words, remarks in another place (10), that Michael de l'Hospital's father was a Jew. He is very subject to this kind of confusion. Monsieur Teissier assures us, that Mr. de Mezerai relates, that the Chancellor's father was son of a Physician to a Queen of Navarre, wife of Anthony de Bourbon (11). He cites (12) page 1156 of the second Tome of Mezerai's History of France. I find nothing relating to the Chancellor l'Hospital in the second Tome to that author. I only see in page 22 of the third Tome, that he was the son of the Physician to Renée de Bourbon, wife of Anthony de Lorraine.

[B] It was thought, that the Guises had procured him this post, and that they did it with no other view but that they imagined, as he had an obligation to them, &c.] Lewis Regnier Sieur de la Planche relates, that after the death of the Chancellor Olivier they offered his post to Morvilliers Counsellor in the Privy Council, and Bishop of Orleans. . . a servant very zealously attached to their family, and that they artfully served themselves by his refusal. “ For imagining that they could make better use of Michael de l'Hospital, brought up, advanced, and formed by their hand, they took Morvilliers at his word, and sent for the other from Nice, where he was Chancellor to the Duches of

Savoy, who was given to understand that the King “ out of regard to her would take her Chancellor for his own (13).” But other Historians say that the Queen-Mother was the real cause of this choice, being urged to it by the Duches of Montpensier, who designed to lay an obstacle in the way of the ambition of the Guises. See the article of LONGVIC (14). Thuanus (15) adds, that when they agreed to this choice the affair was already concluded, and that Catherine de Medicis informed Monsieur de l'Hospital, that it was not at their recommendation, but at hers, that the King had honoured him with that dignity; and that therefore she hoped to see him more attached to the interests of his Prince and those of the Queen-Mother, than to those of that family, whose ambition was detested by the whole world. The same Historian observes, that it was the more easy for the Queen-Mother to succeed, because Monsieur de l'Hospital was very much in favour with the Cardinal of Lorraine. Remark, that Mr. Teissier is mistaken in saying under the quotation of the twenty fourth book of Thuanus, that Catherine de Medicis obliged Henry II to make Michael de l'Hospital Chancellor of France (16). He should have said Francis II.

(13) La Planche, *Hist. de François II*, pag. m. 228.

(14) Remark [1].

(15) Thuanus, lib. 25. sub fin.

(16) Teissier, *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. m. 396.

[C] He was obliged to use address.] Let us again make use of the Sieur de la Planche for a Commentator upon this text. “ As to the Chancellor de l'Hospital, few persons were pleased at first to see him raised to that dignity, who had been so familiar with the Cardinal (17); so that it was supposed, that he would not venture to contradict him in any thing, having received so many favours and preferments from him. But as he knew the disposition of the Guises, having had long experience of it, he was dextrous enough to prevent their stratagems, if not as he ought, at least as he could, considering the iniquity of the time, warding off their most furious blows with a peculiar industry. For having resolved as soon as he was settled in his post to proceed in a right course like a prudent man, and not to favour either one party or the other, and by this means to serve his King and country, he was obliged to make use of wonderful address in order to restrain the house of Lorraine within their proper bounds. This he was desirous to perform in such a manner, that they might not perceive, that he designed in any point to oppose or displease them, knowing, that if they once conceived such an opinion of him, he should be able to do nothing of consequence. Thus with a great deal of dissimulation many things passed through his hands, which were thought to be of a very dangerous nature. Notwithstanding this he kept a medium, giving hopes to those who loved the public interest, that every thing at last would turn to its advantage, provided he was suffered to bring it about. Few people understood his intention; but time shewed, that he had pursued the service of the King and the safety of the people in a way quite different from what had been imagined. And to speak the truth, his prudent management cannot be sufficiently display'd. For certainly, though if he had taken a shorter way in opposing resolutely what was wrong, he would have been more to be commended, and God perhaps would have blessed his constancy; yet as far as we may judge, he alone, by his moderate conduct, was the instrument made use of by God to stop those impetuous waves, which would have drowned all France; and yet the outward appearances were against this. In short, when he was put in mind of any approaching misfortune, he had always this expression in his mouth; *patience, patience, all will go well* (18).”

(17) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(18) La Planche, *Hist. de François II*, pag. m. 228.

(19) Remark [1].

(20) Thuanus, lib. 25. sub fin.

(21) Teissier, *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. m. 396.

(22) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(23) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(24) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(25) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(26) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(27) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(28) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(29) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(30) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(31) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(32) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(33) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(34) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(35) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(36) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(37) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(38) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(39) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(40) Thuanus, lib. 13. sub fin.

(c) Dated in
May 1560.

(d) These re-
strictions dis-
pleased the zeal-
ous Roman Ca-
tholics. See the
remark [E] to-
wards the end.

(19) Ibid. pag.
361.

(20) Hist. de
l'Herésie, lib. 22.
pag. 170.

(21) This edict
gave the Bishops
alone the cogni-
zance of the
crime of heresy,
and took it away
from the King's
Judges.

(22) Eloge du
Carnet de Mont-
morency, tom. 2.
of his Mémoires,
pag. 89.

REFLECTION
upon moderate
measures gene-
rally displeasing
two opposite par-
ties.

by this management he diverted several storms which threatened the Kingdom, he retarded some others, and found means to do good service to his country as far as the unhappy condition of the time would permit him. He prevented among other things the introduction of the inquisition, by agreeing to an edict (c) much severer against the Protestants than he could have wished [D]. It was that of Romorantin. There is no doubt but that if he had had the whole management of these affairs, he would have procured a full toleration for those of the reformed Religion. His good offices and his address were undoubtedly one of the causes, which changed the disposition of people in their favour; this change was so remarkable, that in the second year of his administration there were almost as many voices for them as against them in the council, which examined the petition, which they presented to the King [E] to desire the free exercise of their religion. His influence was no less effectual in the restrictions of the edict of July 1561 (d), and in the liberty which they had of not observing it (e). The edict of January

(e) See the re-
mark [F] cita-
tion (33).

which

[D] He prevented the ... introduction of the inquisition, by agreeing to an edict much severer against the Protestants than he could have wished.] Here is the sequel of the Sieur de la Planche's account (19). "To make short, when the question was about expediting the edict for the Spanish inquisition, he knowing that the members of the Privy Council and the Parliament had agreed to this, moderated the affair by an express edict, and gave such cogent reasons, that the Guises themselves, who had procured the former edict, were of his opinion, and obliged the Spaniards to approve of it, who had been desirous, that France should be regulated after their model. This happened in May in the city of Romorantin, and that edict was ever after called the edict of Romorantin." Mr. Varillas observes (20), that "this moderate conduct displeased the Calvinists, and did not satisfy the Catholics. The Calvinists complained, that those of the opposite party and their irreconcilable enemies were made their Judges (21); and the Catholics suspected from that time that the Chancellor was of the new religion. They reproached him with going to mass merely for form-sake, and used the Chancellor's mass as a proverb to express a mass, which people went to only out of obedience to the King. The House of Guise had not a better opinion of that magistrate, and repented of having contributed with the Dukes of Savoy to the making him what he was. They imagined that this able Politician would endeavour to throw off his dependence on them, by forming at Court a third party with the Queen-Mother, which might balance the other two in such a manner that the one might not supplant the other." This puts me in mind of the following passage in Brantome (22). *He was taken for an Huguenot, though he went to Mass; but it was said at Court, God keep us from the Mass of Mons. l'Hospital.*

This is the common fate of those, who seek a medium between the pretensions of two opposite parties; they satisfy neither of them. But this inconvenience is sometimes a less evil than accommodating one's self to the passion of one of the parties; and there are many conjunctures, in which the greatest good, which can be done, is to divide the disadvantages, that each may have his share. Our Chancellor would have ruined all, if he had undertaken at first to give full satisfaction to the Guises. This would have been running upon a rock. Prudence required, that he should not attack that faction but by a side-wind; they had the wind in their stern, and it was not proper to steer against that wind. I believe that many Calvinists, who had more zeal than knowledge of the world, always condemned this conduct of the Chancellor. They would have had him declare himself openly and resolutely the protector of their cause: but could he have maintained his post three months together, if he had not used some management? He knew well enough, that the best way of opposing a storm, was that mentioned by Plutarch, when he speaks of the government of commonwealths. "As Mathematicians tell us, that the sun does not absolutely follow the course of the firmament, and yet his motion is not quite opposite or contrary, but declining a little, and taking an oblique course, by this means preserves all things, maintaining the world in proper temperature. So in affairs of government, to oppose upon all occasions, and in all points the inclination of the people is too harsh and severe a method of acting; as on the other hand an

easiness to be led away by the disposition of the people is a very dangerous precipice. But the middle way, in submitting sometimes to the humour of the people in order to make them obey in other points, and granting them a thing which is agreeable, in order to demand a thing which is useful, is a safe method of governing men, who are prevailed upon by gentle means to perform a great many things, which they would refuse to do, if they were required in a violent and magisterial way (23)." Our Chancellor was not ignorant of what Cicero observes, that politicians ought to imitate sailors. *An, cum videam navem secundis ventis cursum tenentem suum, si non ea eum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, sed alium non minus tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempestate pugnam periculose potius, quam illi salute præsertim proposita obtenturam? et paream? neque enim inconstantis puto sententiam tanquam aliquod navigium, atque cursum ex Reipub. tempestate moderari* (24). i. e. "Shall I, when I see a ship carried on by the winds, though it does not go towards the port, which I before desired, but another no less safe and calm, expose myself to danger by contending with the storm, rather than give way to it for my safety? For I do not think it to be the sign of inconstancy to govern one's resolution like a ship, and to steer one's course as the storms which agitate the commonwealth direct." Though he had not the good fortune of that Lepidus, who maintained the esteem of Tiberius by a just medium between low flattery and too great stiffness; yet he deserved the commendation which Tacitus has expressed in this manner. *Hunc ego Lepidum, temporibus illis, gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperio. Nam pleraque ab sævis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquali auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium vigeret. Unde dubitare cogor, sat et forte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos: an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, et deforme obsequium, pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum* (25). i. e. "This Lepidus I find to have been a man of gravity and prudence in those times. For he softened and diverted the cruel measures proposed by the flatterers, and yet did not want address enough to preserve still an equal share in Tiberius's favour. This leads me to doubt whether there is not a certain fatality in this, as well as other things, that Princes are inclined toward some persons, and averse to others; or whether this does not depend upon our own management, and we have it not in our power to pursue a course free from ambition and danger by steering between harsh stiffness and mean flattery."

[E] There were as many voices for them as against them in the Council, which examined the petition which they presented to the King.] This particular seems to me curious, and I imagine that the reader will not be displeased to see the circumstances of it here. I make use of the commentary, which a Catholic writer furnishes me with (25). "The Huguenots presented a petition to the King, in order that they might be allowed to have a separate Church from ours. The King referred this petition to the Parliament, to consult about it with the Lords of his Council. They have declared their opinions there on both sides with great freedom; some for the Catholic party, and others for those of the new religion. The Catholics carried it by three voices, it being resolved by them, that

(23) Plutarch,
in Pbocone, init.

(24) Cicero, *Orat. pro Plancio*, cap. 39. pag. m. 619. See also *Epist. 9. lib. 2. ad Famil. pag. m.*

(25) Tacit. *Ann. lib. 4. cap. 20.*

(26) Pasquier, *Lett. lib. 4. pag. 196. of the 12th tome.*

which they obtained some time after, was undoubtedly his work; now this edict allowed them public assemblies and many other privileges. This was the only remedy for the evils of the Nation; all the shocking misfortunes, which afflicted the Kingdom for thirty years, sprung from the infraction of that edict; and after these dreadful calamities it was necessary to make use of the same remedy in a stronger dose. It was necessary to grant the edict of Nantes, which was much more advantageous to the reformed Church, than that which the Chancellor Hospital had procured for it. But I own likewise, that the Romish Religion did not run so great a risque, when the edict of Nantes was granted, as when he procured the edict of January [F]. The obstacles to be surmounted by him were not removed after he had sealed it; new ones arose upon its being registred

“ that people shall be obliged either to follow the
 “ Church of Rome like our ancestors, or to leave the
 “ Kingdom with permission to sell their estates.
 “ When the voices came to be cast up, there was no
 “ small murmur; because those of the other party
 “ asserted, that in a point of such importance it was
 “ not reasonable, that on account of three voices all
 “ France should be reduced to a flame; as this meth-
 “ od of banishment was impossible to be executed,
 “ and as besides this, to oblige those, who continued in
 “ France, to submit to the Romish Religion against
 “ their conscience, was an absurd attempt, which
 “ was equal to an impossibility. The Admiral and
 “ some other Lords cannot be silent. Monsieur de
 “ Guise on the other hand, though the time
 “ seemed to oppose his intention, declared openly and
 “ plainly, that since it had been resolved so, it was
 “ necessary to stand to that determination, and that
 “ his sword should never rest in his scabbard, when
 “ it should be questioned whether that decree was to
 “ take effect. Things in this contest passed without
 “ conclusion . . . (27). Afterwards to satisfy both parties
 “ by a kind of neutrality, there was published an
 “ edict in July last (28). The zealous Catholics com-
 “ plain of this edict, and say, that those of the new
 “ or pretended reformed religion being not to be
 “ searched for in their houses, it is in plain terms
 “ making the first article of the edict a mere illusion,
 “ and yet releasing them from the power of a magistrate;
 “ which will afterwards occasion an opportunity to
 “ shake off the yoke entirely from their neck (29).”

[F] *The Romish religion did not run so great a risque, when the edict of Nantes was granted, as when he procured the edict of January.* Those of the reformed religion were very near gaining the ascendant in the beginning of the reign of Charles IX; and if they had gained it, God knows what would have become of the religion, which had persecuted them under the three preceding reigns. If the King of Navarre, who had declared resolutely for them, had been able to perceive the snare, which the other party had laid for him, he would have continued firm in their communion. Nothing more was wanting to procure them the superiority; for he possessed the post of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and it would not have been difficult then to oblige Catherine de Medicis to profess the reformed religion (30). But he suffered himself to be deceived by chimerical hopes; he had not sagacity enough to discover the grossness of the snare: he took the island of Sardinia, a country of banishment, a country miserable and disgraced (31); he took it, I say, so well he knew the map, for one of the fortunate islands mentioned in the fables. Being so grossly imposed upon by these artifices of the Spaniards and the Cardinal Legate, he abandoned the reformed (32). See here how very little was wanting to render them masters. I am going to cite a passage, which will inform us of the interests which they had by his favour among the States of Orleans, and the liberty, which they enjoyed under his protection. They assembled publicly, even in the capital of the Kingdom before there were edicts, which permitted them to do so. But we are to observe, that the Queen Regent, Catherine de Medicis, agreed with the King of Navarre in this point (33). (34) The Huguenots . . . reposed all their confidence in this King (35), as one whom they had supported upon their shoulders, and for whom they had procured the government of France by their intrigues and practices in the assembly of the three States. And indeed as an acknowledgment of this he had by connivance allowed them to preach with the doors open, not only

“ at Paris, but even at the Court of St. German en
 “ Laye. In truth, it was very difficult for him to
 “ support himself in his grandeur, except by the means
 “ of those, who on the other hand received their as-
 “ sistance and support from him. However he chang-
 “ ing his mind, was the first instrument by which the
 “ Catholics armed themselves against the others. But
 “ because this is a secret to many persons, and per-
 “ haps you have not heard in what manner these prac-
 “ tices were carried on, you must know, that the
 “ Pope seeing the measures taken by us, sent the
 “ Cardinal of Ferrara, uncle to Madam de Guise,
 “ Legate into France, with very ample powers . . .
 “ (36) We have likewise there the Lord of Charenton-
 “ neuau, son of the late Chancellor Granvelle. This
 “ Ambassador of King Philip is said to be gained by
 “ some of our great Princes, who did not approve
 “ of this diversity of religions. He, according to
 “ the agreement between them, went disguised to the
 “ King of Navarre, assuring him, on the part of his
 “ master, that as soon as he would undertake the pro-
 “ tection of the Church of Rome, he would restore to
 “ him the Kingdom of Navarre, or at least an equi-
 “ valent, in as rich and fruitful a country. This
 “ scheme beginning to work, the Legate applied himself
 “ on the other hand, and promised on the part of the
 “ holy see the county of Venaisin, and to obtain for
 “ him from the Catholic King the island of Sardinia,
 “ which the Pope would erect into a Kingdom, in case
 “ that King would not restore to him the Kingdom of
 “ Navarre. It is said, that the Constable and Mar-
 “ shal de St. André used their endeavours to make
 “ him relish these promises. That this is as true as
 “ the Gospel, I would not venture to assure you;
 “ but the common report was so (37). This I can
 “ affirm, that in an instant his countenance and dif-
 “ position were seen to be changed with regard to the
 “ Huguenots. For he forbid the Ministers to preach
 “ at the Castle, as they had taken the liberty to do
 “ five or six months before. Even in the assembly
 “ of St. German, where the cause of the two churches
 “ was debated, he opposed the reformed to the utmost
 “ of his power; but the Prince of Condé, the Ad-
 “ miral, and others, who then enjoyed not the least
 “ share of the King's favour, opposed him, and car-
 “ ried the point with regard to the publication of the
 “ edict (38).” The same author proceeds to inform
 “ us of the prosperity, which the reformed enjoyed, even
 “ before the edict of January, and while Anthony King
 “ of Navarre favoured them. “ The same day, that is,
 “ the 29th of September 1561, the Queen of Navarre,
 “ in the sight of all the people, caused the marriage
 “ between young Rohan and the Lady Brabançon,
 “ niece to Mademoiselle d'Estampes, to be solemnized
 “ by Beza, after the manner of Geneva, at the Bo-
 “ rough of Argenteuil. There were present the
 “ Prince of Condé and the Admiral. This being
 “ done without any controul near the gates of Paris,
 “ and St. German en Laye, where the King resided,
 “ greatly raised the spirits of the Ministers. And in
 “ fact in October following they preached without the
 “ walls of Paris, near the Monastery of St. Anthony
 “ des Champs, between eight and nine thousand per-
 “ sons being present. Upon their return a popular
 “ sedition was raised, which was easily suppressed by
 “ the authority of the King of Navarre. They after-
 “ wards proceeded still further. For on the eve of
 “ All Saints day there was held a public assembly in
 “ the house of the Countess de Senignan, which was
 “ guarded by the Provosts of the Marechals and their
 “ Archers, to prevent any commotion of the people.
 “ A few days after, without confining themselves to
 “ the

(36) Pasquier,
 Lett. tom. 1.
 pag. 219.

(37) This com-
 mon report was
 true: the most
 faithful Histori-
 ans own it.

(38) That is to
 say, the edict of
 January 1562.

(27) Ibid. pag.
 197.

(28) In 1561.

(29) Pasquier,
 pag. 198.

(30) See the re-
 mark [B] of the
 article SOUBISE
 (John &c.)

(31) See above
 the remark [C]
 of the article
 CHATEL
 (Tannequi du)
 and Tacitus,
 Annal. lib. 2.
 cap. 85.

(32) See the re-
 mark [L] of the
 article HENRY
 IV.

(33) Beze, *Hist.
 des Eglises*, liv.
 4. pag. 670. and
 Beaucaire, lib.
 29. num. 34.
 pag. 966.

(34) Pasquier,
 Lett. liv. 4. pag.
 218. of the 1st
 tome.

(35) That is, the
 King of France.

registred in Parliament; and he was obliged to make use of the utmost efforts of his genius

(39) Pasquier, *lett. tom. 1. lib. 4. pag. 200, 201.*

(40) *Ibid. pag. 202, 203, & seq.*

(41) *Lib. 2. pag. 145, 150, 155. edit. Hal. 1698.*

(42) *Ibid. pag. 155.*

(43) In a letter written Jan. 27, 1562, the edict was then made, but not registred) he affirms, that there were present in the assemblies between 30 and 40000 people, and that two or three Ministers were obliged to preach at the same place and time. *Ibid. pag. 196.*

WHETHER it can be said, that the Reformed behaved in too ostentatious a manner.

“ the edicts of the King, but breaking through that of July, they undertook to preach two sermons alternately, one in the suburbs of St. Marcellus, in the place called the Patriarch, the other without the gate of St. Anthony, in the place called Popincourt. It would be incredible to relate what a multitude of people flocked to those new devotions. Gabaston, Captain of the watch, and his Archers, guarded them. L'Aulnay and l'Estang preached at Popincourt, Malo and Viret at the Patriarch. The Catholic Lords seeing that it was necessary to give way to the storm, Monsieur de Guise in a rage retired to his house at Nanteuil, the Cardinal of Lorraine to his Bishoprick of Reims, Monsieur de Nemoux to Savoy, the Constable to Chantilly, &c. (39).” See in others of Pasquier's Letters (40) the prodigious multitudes which flocked to these assemblies, and the support afforded them by the secular arm. The reader may also consult the Letters of Hubert Languetus (41), where he will find among other things (42), that the assemblies held near Paris consisted sometimes of fifteen thousand persons (43), the women in the midst being surrounded with men on foot, and the latter surrounded by others on horseback; and during the sermon the Governor of Paris caused the avenues to be guarded by soldiers, who beat, or imprisoned, or repressed in any other manner all those, who attempted to disturb the devotions of the assembly.

Many persons, who judge of things only by the event, will be very apt to say, that those of the reformed religion would have acted more prudently, if they had affected less haughtiness at that time, for this ostentation of their numbers was reckoned a bravado, which exasperated their enemies, and induced them to have recourse to the most pressing remedies. We see from a letter of the Cardinal Legate, that he hoped for a fortunate issue of these haughty proceedings. His letter is dated at St. Germain's, February 27, 1562. Here is a passage of it. “ There happened lately a contest between those of the two religions, in which some were left dead upon the place; and yet the danger proved greater than the loss. The Catholics are immediately come hither, to complain of the insolencies of the Huguenots. They have remonstrated, that for their part they had, according to his Majesty's express order, laid down their arms, but that their enemies had done quite the contrary. For this reason they earnestly requested, that they might be permitted to resume them, in order to secure themselves from their ambuscades, which had made them apprehensive, upon good grounds, that being encouraged by these soldiers, they might hereafter do violence to their goods and persons. But the others on their side did not fail to excuse themselves, or to alledge, that the jealousies raised in them every day by the Catholics on account of their great number, were the reasons why they did not lay down their arms. The answer of the King and of Navarre was greatly favourable to those of our party; for they invited them to take courage, and even promised them, that they would take great care to provide for their particular safety, and the common repose of the city. So that after such obliging words from the mouths of their Majesties, by which they declared more affection than was before imagined, they returned fully satisfied. On the contrary the Huguenots were astonished, when they were told in very rough terms, that if they would not be more quiet, and refrain from such violencies, they should be taught how to behave. The King of Navarre went much farther, for he said to the Queen in their presence, that her Majesty needed only to command, and that when she thought proper, she would find means to stop the course of their insolence. I shall add this particular, which is no inconsiderable one, that not only their Majesties, but all other people in general, are greatly scandalized, that Beza goes about Paris, attended constantly by Monsieur d'Andelot, and a great number of Gentlemen. After all, notwithstanding disorders and scandals are almost always prejudicial, they sometimes produce

“ this advantage, that by raising the resentments of the great men, they engage them in generous enterprises. This leads me to think, that we ought so much the less to be uneasy at this, since it is probable, that in the temper in which the minds of the most powerful men now are, these disorders will immediately fall on the heads of those, who occasion them (44).” However let us observe to these Critics, that it was very natural for those, who had groaned near forty years under so severe and cruel an oppression, to make a full use of their liberty, and to spread like waters upon the opening of the sluices. There were even reasons of prudence, which might urge them to this conduct. They might reasonably imagine, that it would be thought necessary to treat well a party, whose power would appear formidable. Lastly, I observe, that neither the Ministers nor private persons could prevent Monsieur d'Andelot, and other brave men of quality, from mixing with their zeal for religion the airs of Soldiers and Gentlemen, which courage and habit made them assume. However that be, the other church escaped narrowly; for if notwithstanding the desertion of the King of Navarre, the Protestants supported very well the first war, what would not they have done under the protection of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, which would undoubtedly have procured that of the Queen-Mother? Languetus informs us of the good opinion one might have of their forces. *Re patefacta plerique nostrorum venerunt armati ad Concionem, & jam idem quotidie faciunt, & inter reliquos studiosi magno numero. Iis præbent se Duces Dandelotus Frater Admirali, Princeps de Roban, & Frater nobis Reginae Scotiae, ac alii illustribus familiis nati, quod, meo judicio, non faciunt sine consensu Reginae: aliter enim graviter peccarent in lege regni. Monmorantio causis præsertim mandatum est, ut huc inducat, præsidii causa, duas alas equitum, & certum numerum peditum, quibus præerit Dandelotus. Interea autem dum isti milites præsidarii expectantur, nobilitas & studiosi funguntur eorum officio, & tota urbs armis perstrepsit. Pontificii desperant fere de reliquis urbibus Galliae, sed existimant summam rerum in hoc consistere, ut hanc sibi addictam retineant. Verum ita crescunt hic studia factionum, ut verear, ne eam omnium primam amittant. Quamvis enim à partibus eorum sint plures Cardinales, Episcopi, Abbates, Præsides, Assessores, & alii, qui opibus & auctoritate valeant; nostri tamen viribus & ferocia videntur esse potiores, & si ad vim deveniat, totius ipsorum sapientiae nullus erit usus. Mihi venit in mentem factum dictum Ludovici 12 Regis Galliae, cui suscepturo bellum adversus Venetos, cum quidam dicerent fore periculosum illud bellum propter eximiam Venetorum sapientiam obruam: ego, inquit, multitudine studentum ipsorum sapientiam obruam. . . . Hæri hic celebrarunt Jubileum, ex mandato Legati Pontificii: nostri vero convenerunt (ut existimo) ad quadraginta milia, & præcipuas plateas urbis armatis compleverunt. Tres concionatores tantæ multitudini vix sufficiebant (45).* i. e.

“ The thing being discovered, and most of our party came armed to the sermon, they now do the same every day, and among the rest a great number of students. They are headed by Monsieur d'Andelot, brother of the Admiral, the Prince of Rohan, and the bastard-brother of the Queen of Scotland, and others of noble families; and this they do, in my opinion, not without the consent of the Queen; for otherwise they would greatly offend against the laws of the Kingdom. Montmorency, Governor of the City, has been ordered to bring hither, as a guard, two squadrons of horse and a certain number of foot, which will be commanded by d'Andelot. But while these guards are expected, the Gentlemen and Students supply their place, and the whole City resounds with arms. The Papists despair almost of the rest of the Cities of France; but think the whole affair turns upon retaining this City in obedience to them. But the other party gains so much ground here, that I am apprehensive, the Papists will lose it first of all. For though the Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, Presidents, Assessors, and others eminent for their riches and authority adhere to them; yet our party seems superiour in strength and resolution,

(44) *Negotiation, ou Lettres d'Affaires ecrites au Pape Pie IV, & au Cardinal Borromée, par Hippolyte d'Est, Cardinal de Ferrare, Legat en France, pag. 93.*

(45) *Hub Languet. Epist. 70. lib. 2. pag. 207, 208. It is dated at Paris in March 1562. See also the 67th Letter of that book.*

genius and the resolution of his mind, to surmount the scruples and ill humour of the Parliament of Paris [G]. The speeches which he made in order to inspire a spirit of toleration rendered him very much suspected to the Roman Catholics, and extremely odious to the Court of Rome [H]; and because he was perpetually declaring against a civil war, he was prevented from being present at the councils of war (f). He appeared

(f) See the remark [H] citation (*).

“and if the affair comes to force, all their wisdom will be of no use. There comes into my mind a witty saying of Lewis XII, King of France, who undertaking a war against the Venetians, and being told by some, that it would be dangerous on account of the admirable wisdom of the Venetians, answered; *I will overwhelm their wisdom by a multitude of fools*. . . . Yesterday the Jubilee was solemnized at the command of the Pope's Legate: but our party met, to the number, I think, of forty thousand, and filled the chief streets of the City with armed men. Three Preachers were scarce sufficient for so great a multitude.”

[G] *He was obliged to make use of the utmost efforts of his genius, and the resolution of his mind, to surmount the scruples and ill humour of the Parliament of Paris.* This Parliament refused to register the edict of January, and deputed to the King a President and Counsellor to make their remonstrances. These two Deputies having laid before the King all that induced the Parliament not to receive the edict, the Chancellor, on account of the dignity of his office, and the minority of the King, undertook to speak, and told them, that he did not doubt, but that all the reasons represented by them were of great weight; but yet he desired them to consider, that they had not been forgot in the Grand Assembly at St. German; that the question before them was one of those, which had its difficulties, on whatever side it was viewed; and to speak the truth, in the resolution of it, the Magistrate was to be excused, whatever side he might take. He owned, that the foundation of a State required, that there should be but one religion; but when things were come to such a pass, as they were then in France, whoever rejected the edict, must choose one of these two things; either to put all the adherents of the new religion to the sword, or to banish them intirely, allowing them to dispose of their effects. The first point could not be executed, since that party was too strong both in leaders and partizans; and though it could be done, yet as it was staining the King's youth with the blood of so many of his subjects, perhaps when he came to age, he would demand it at the hands of his governors. And with regard to the second point, it was as little feasible; and though it could be effected as we intend, it would be raising by this means as many desperate enemies as exiles. With respect to the edict of July, though there was a plausible pretext for it, yet it would lead men to Atheism, by allowing them not to frequent the Catholic Churches, and yet prohibiting the exercise of their religion. To obviate therefore all these inconveniencies it had been thought proper to establish in France two Churches, till God should please to reunite them; and this had been formerly practised by the Emperors Galerius, Maximian, and Constantius, in order to compose the divisions between the Christians and Pagans; remonstrating to them and desiring them to give way to the present necessity; in short, to tolerate this scandal to avoid a greater; and that if they committed a fault in this, it was in imitation of the neighbouring nations, which in such an exigence had been obliged to do the same. This answer being reported to the Parliament, and the Chambers again assembled, they did not change their opinion (46). This opposition of the Parliament troubled the Court, and a new consultation was held there with some of the Deputies of Paris, what was to be done (47). The plurality of voices carried it for maintaining the edict, and “it was committed to the Prince de la Roche-sur-yon to procure it to be published in Parliament, with express orders, that if they refused or delayed to do it, he should cause it to be published without the judicial forms, being assisted only by some private Counsellors, whom he should choose. This commission was violent; but the prudent Prince executed it in a very gentle manner, remonstrating that

(46) Pasquier, Lett. lib. 4. tom. 1. pag. 212, & seq.

(47) Ibid. pag. 214.

“the King's intention was founded upon the necessity of the times; that the Court of Parliament might know well enough what passed in their fight in Paris, but was not acquainted with the complaints which came daily from all parts of the Kingdom to the ears of the King and his Council; desiring them to resolve immediately, and without any long discourse, whether to answer yes or no. Upon this it was agreed unanimously, that all who had been present at the Council of St. Germans should have a deliberative voice in that affair as well as others; so that at last it was resolved that the edict should pass.” Indeed in the execution they “shewed plainly, that it was by a forced consent; for on Friday the 26th of March, an extraordinary day of pleading, it was confirmed with all the marks of constraint, since with the edict were published all the orders of the King, which was not customary in such publications. Besides, the Attorney-General required nothing publicly, but declared that he had given his conclusions in writing. It was ordered therefore by the Court, that upon the back of the letters it should be written, that they had been read, published, and registered, after the King's Attorney-General had been heard, but without any approbation of the new religion; the whole by way of provision, and till the King should otherwise order. Thus passed this edict at Paris (48).” This (48) Ibid. has some connexion with the History of Monsieur l'Hospital, and contains such particular circumstances, which are not to be found so minutely in a general History, that the reader will have some reason to be pleased with my mentioning of them.

[H] *The speeches, which he made, in order to inspire a spirit of toleration, rendered him very much suspected by the Roman Catholics, and extremely odious to the Court of Rome.* We have seen above (49) in a passage (49) In the from Varillas, what was said in France by way of mark [D] citation (20). raillery of the Chancellor's maifs. Beaucaire de Poignillon, speaking of the assembly of St. German (50), (50) Held in and reporting the substance of the speech, which the 1561. Chancellor l'Hospital made there, observes, that this first magistrate served as an example to Judges, who favoured the sectaries, and that he loved only the Calvinists. *Deinde Regios ministros, qui juri dicundo præsumunt & Regia edicta non satis accurate exequuti sunt, excusat: inter quos ille merito accusatus est, qui illis exemplo erat, & nullos, nisi Calvinianos in oculis habebat: quique præclara hac oratione, & multis aliis perverfis machinis ad condendum satis celebratum postea summi Jamarii sequentis edictum viam præparavit* (51). i. e. (51) Belcar. lib. 29. num. 30. He then excuses the King's Judges, who had not been careful in executing the King's edicts; among whom he was justly accused, who had been an example to them, and regarded none but Calvinists, and by this excellent speech and many other perverse arts prepared the way for forming his famous edict of January following.” This Historian has the assurance to call that great man atheist: here is what he says, when he remarks that the Cardinal of Lorraine procured him the dignity of Chancellor. *Interim Olivario Cancellario vita functo Cardinalis Lothariæ præter domesticorum suorum omnium ac familiarium sententiam, ut Michael Hospitalis homo quidem doctus, sed nullius Religionis, aut ut vere dicam &c. in ejus locum surrogaretur, effecit* (52). i. e. “In the mean while (52) Idem, lib. 28. num. 57. upon the death of Olivier the Chancollor, the Cardinal of Lorraine, contrary to the opinion of all his servants and friends, procured, that Michael l'Hospital, a man of learning indeed, but of no religion, or, to speak truly, an atheist, should be advanced to his post.” Something has been said elsewhere (53) concerning this accusation. Odoric Raynaldus has revived this cruel reproach, and made use of the very expressions of Beaucaire. It is in that passage where he speaks of a certain attempt of the President du Ferrier, which I have mentioned above (54). Monsieur Cousin is justly angry at this injustice and outrage of Raynaldus, and quotes a fine passage from the letter, which the RIER (Arnaud), the

peared to be greatly afflicted, when he saw that both parties were preparing to take arms after the affair at Vassi. He declared his sentiments plainly upon that point; and returned a good answer to the Constable, who had said to him, that it did not belong to men of the long robe to give their judgment with relation to war: though such men, answered he, do not know how to bear arms, yet they know when they ought to be used (g). Cardinal Hippolyto

(g) Paquier, Lettres, tom. 11 lib. 4. pag. 226. See also Baptiste Grain, lib. 1. of the History of Henry IV. p. m. 129, 130. where he commends him as much as he blames those who excluded him from the council of war.

(63) Mezerai, Hist. de France, tom. 3. pag. 85.

(64) Ibid. pag. 296.

(65) See Spooner, ad ann. 1573, num. 15. pag. m. 74-5.

(66) Ad ann. 1561, num. 18. pag. 609.

(67) Beza in Iconibus, folio V. iii.

(68) See the Biblioth. Cloisse de Colomes, pag. 70.

(69) Ad ann. 1573, num. 15. pag. 74-5.

(70) Hist. du Calvin, pag. 105. See what has been answered to him in the Critique Generale of his book, Letter 16. num. 3.

(71) D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, tom. 1. lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. m. 129.

(72) Mezerai, Hist. de France, tom. 3. pag. 22.

gated with the most beautiful colours, was concealed " a most deadly poison, which by flattering would " prove fatal (63)." She had no reason to say, that Monsieur de l'Hospital was a dangerous enemy; for if he favoured the Protestants, it was not by disloyal artifices, but by maxims the most conformable to the interest of the Kingdom and the service of his Majesty. The integrity of his manners, his experience, and prudence in the management of affairs, were allowed by all the world; as his unbiassed affection to the interest of the Kingdom, the preservation of the Laws, and the ease of the people, and his constant resolution in opposing the injustice of great men, were highly applauded by good men (64). Catherine de Medicis spoke the truth, when she affirmed that the Chancellor's family was of the reformed religion (65). Now this is a good proof that he disapproved of the doctrines of the Church of Rome. He has been pictured with a lighted candle behind him in the Icones of Theodore Beza, to signify, says Mr. Spondanus (66), that he carried a torch to light others, but not to light himself. The discourse, which attends this Icon, informs us, that two reasons restrained him from publicly professing the truth. He was apprehensive of losing the means of serving the cause, and he hoped, that the time would come, when he should not any longer be obliged to dissemble. He in vain expected this conjuncture, and afterwards being desirous of declaring himself he could not execute his resolution. He sacrificed himself, for others. Beza's Latin expresses this very well. Haec... ad justum laudis cumulum id videtur desuisse, quod partim ne sibi ad pias juvenas aditum praestruere, si veram religionem aperte professetur, partim vana quadam expectatione delusus, eo tuto ex quo erutos omnes optabat, penitus extricare sese quam diu neglexisset, postea volens id praestare non potuit. Sed equis illius memoriam non celebravit, qui, ut a iis consuleret, seipsum tamdiu pene neglexit (67)? i. e. " This seems to have been wanting to complete his character, that partly lest he should disqualify himself from assisting the faithful, if he should openly profess the true religion, and partly being deluded by a vain expectation, after he had long neglected wholly to extricate himself from that mire, out of which he desired all might be rescued, when he afterwards desired to do it, he had not the power. But who would not celebrate his praise, who so long almost disregarded himself, that he might serve others?" His will is a proof, that in his heart he was not a Papist: there is no mention in it of the Mass, or Purgatory, or Priest, or any thing of that kind; and he observes there, that Christians have no great esteem for funeral ceremonies or burials (68). Spondanus pretends, that this is the language of a profane person (69); and Monsieur Maimbourg says these terms are unworthy of a Christian (70). Genebrard had already shewn his repentment against these expressions in the funeral oration of Peter Danes. Observe, that it is said, that Monsieur de l'Hospital had been engaged in the enterprise of Amboise. Consider well these words of the Sieur d'Aubigné. " The Chancellor Olivier dying at that time in the manner which we have represented, l'Hospital, a man highly esteemed, succeeded him, though he had been one of the Conspirators in the affair of Amboise. This I affirm in opposition to every thing which has been written, since the original of the enterprise was consigned into the hands of my father, in which was his name at length between that of Andelot, and one Spifame; a thing, which I have shewn to many persons of distinction (71)." Mezerai endeavours to refute all this by a very weak reason: it is, says he (72), that l'Hospital departed from France in the month of November. But did not he know how many journeys la Rezaude caused to be made? Was it so difficult to dispatch one of the accomplices to Monsieur de l'Hospital in Piedmont? However this be, I imagine, that if he signed this conspiracy, he was shewn only the fair side of it, and that he never expected, that it should

(95) See Journal des Savans of Feb. 28, 1689, pag. 118, 119. of the Dutch edit.

(96) History of the Council of Trent, lib. 5. pag. 438. of Amelot's version.

(57) Ibid. lib. 6. pag. 437. ad ann. 1562.

(*) He accommodated himself in the Council to the designs of the Queen, who had secretly instructed him; but because he voted for peace contrary to the sentiments of the Duke of Guise and the Constable he was ill treated by both parties, and under pretence that he was a man of the gown, he was excluded from the councils of war, where the Queen afterwards found that she wanted one of her chief Ministers. Davila, Hist. lib. 2.

(58) Negotiations ou Lettres d'Affaires ecrites par le Cardinal de Ferrare Legat en France, pag. 224, 225.

(59) Ibid. pag. 240, 241.

(60) Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX, of tom. 1. pag. m. 151.

(61) Ibid. pag. 353.

(62) See Negotiations du Cardinal de Ferrare, pag. 308.

the Chancellor l'Hospital wrote to Pius IV, September the 29th 1562 (55). Father Paul (56) informs us, that this Pope found the speech the Chancellor had made at the conference of Poissy to be heretical in many points. He adds, that the same Pope threatened even to summon him before the inquisition, and that the Court of Rome, where copies of that speech had been dispersed, spoke very ill of him, and supposed, that all the Ministers of the Kingdom, had the same sentiments of the Court; and the French Ambassador had much ado to defend himself. Observe, that Pius IV having resolved to give the King of France an hundred thousand crowns by way of present, and to lend as many more, stipulated among other things, that the Chancellor, the Bishop of Valence, and some others whom he named, should be imprisoned (57). We shall quote here a passage from a letter, which the Cardinal Legate Hippolytus d'Este wrote to that Pope June 14, 1562. It is dated at Bois de Vincennes. " It is not one of the least difficulties to remove from Court the Chancellor and many other persons of rank, as your Holiness desires. For you place in this number both heretics, and those who are suspected of heresy. But if it be necessary to remove from Court all the latter, it would undoubtedly be empty, these new opinions having already made such an impression upon the minds of the Courtiers, that these are but few, who have not at least some small tincture of them... But to return to the most turbulent of the Court, your Holiness is not ignorant, how difficult it was to remove the Chastillons... But as for the removal of the Chancellor, which is desired, it is quite another thing; for besides that his post does not permit him to absent himself from Court except on very important reasons, he cannot yet be deprived of his place without express orders from the King, or for some considerable fault, if he has committed any; nor can it be justly said, that he has deserved death, unless it be shewn by indubitable proofs. Now to bring him to a trial upon such an accusation cannot be done without employing a great deal of time in the affair. Besides, such an accusation would undoubtedly be ill grounded, since he is commonly seen to go to mass, to confess, and to communicate, so that he cannot be openly convicted of not being a Catholic (58)." The letter, which he wrote the day following to Cardinal Borromeo shews, that Catherine de Medicis was not pleased with his proposal of removing certain persons, and that she was still more angry than before, when he named particularly the Chancellor according to express orders, which he had from Pius IV (59). Hence it appears, that Mr. Varillas is greatly mistaken, when he lays, that the Triumviri obliged Monsieur de l'Hospital to retire, and that the Queen made a sacrifice of him (60). He asserts, that this pretended retreat preceded the declaration of April the 7th 1562, and that it continued during all the first war (61). This is contradicted both by the silence of the other Historians, and the letters of the Legate dated June the 15th and July the 8th 1562 (62).

It was not a mistake to believe that Monsieur de l'Hospital approved in his heart the doctrine of the reformed. Catherine de Medicis did not advance any falsity in all the discourse, which is related by Monsieur de Mezerai. " She used all her arts to sap the credit, which he had gained with the young King, whom she assured by her confidants, that he certainly was a favourer of heretics; that his wife, daughter, son-in-law, and all his family, being of that religion, there was no doubt but he was so in his heart, and that he was only restrained by the apprehension of losing his post from publicly professing Calvinism. Therefore as concealed enemies are much more dangerous than open ones, it was necessary to be more cautious of him than of the Admiral; and that his Majesty ought not any longer to suffer him to poison his whole Council by these fine maxims of peace, under which, as under the skin of a serpent varie-

Hippolyto d'Este, Legate à latere in France, received orders to endeavour to remove him from Court, but he returned answer to the Pope, that he saw no probability of succeeding in that affair (b). He proposed it however to the Queen-Regent, who was extremely angry at it. If Mr. Varillas had known this, he would not have committed the mistake, which we shall see below (i). The pacific counsels of the Chancellor contributed more to his disgrace than any thing else; I have given good proofs of this (k). He retired voluntarily, when he saw that his enemies had exasperated the King against him; and he spent the remainder of his life in a country seat (l), which he had in Beauce. He retired in June 1568. The seals were demanded of him some days after. He resigned them very readily, saying that indeed he was not any longer fit for the affairs of the world, which he saw to be too much corrupted (m). We ought not to think it more strange, that he could support himself seven or eight years in so corrupt a Court, than to find that he fell at last into disgrace. There would have been something wanting to the lustre of his virtue and glory, if he had continued in the post of Chancellor till his death; for under such a reign it was a kind of blemish and an ill sign to be thought very proper for that great office. A man of integrity was not what those, who had the direction of affairs then, wanted. We may remark, that Monsieur de l'Hospital took care however to procure excellent laws [I], and flattered neither the subjects nor the Prince. He had a great zeal for maintaining and confirming the Royal Majesty and Authority, and by the gravity

(b) See the citation (58) about the middle.

(i) Citation (60).

(k) In the remark [H] towards the end.

(l) Named Vignai and not Vignan, as Mezerai calls it, pag. 186. of the 3d tome of his larger History. He is not exact in proper names.

(m) Brantome, au Discours du Connétable de Montmorency, pag. 17. of tome 2.

should be executed in the manner in which it was concerted.

Father Garasse, transported with a blind desire of censuring the Protestants, has charged them with calumny in endeavouring to persuade all France, that the Chancellor de l'Hospital was of their faith. He compares them to the Novatians, who published in lying writings, that St. Cyprian died in their communion; and he says, that this has been from all antiquity an ingenious piece of malice of wicked men (73). He only discovers his ignorance.

(73) See Doctrina Curieuse de Garasse, pag. 918, 919.

I cannot avoid inserting here two observations, which I find in an anonymous piece, which is an excellent one. They inform us of the causes of the Chancellor's disgrace. I do not think, says this unknown author (74), "that a great Minister, who is employed in the important affairs of a Prince, ought to be silent, whatever may happen; otherwise he would be the cause of his master's ruin by his silence, as well as others by their attempts and conspiracies. For this reason I cannot be of their opinion, who think that the Chancellor de l'Hospital had no occasion to insist so strongly against the resolution which had been taken *** contrary to the prudent advice of the late Constable, of engaging the King to depart *** at the beginning of the second troubles. For since that wife and prudent Minister judged, and judged very rightly, as the event shewed, that this suddain departure being put in execution... would undoubtedly prevent a reconciliation, and reduce matters to extremities; there is no manner of doubt, but that if he had concealed his opinion, and not insisted upon it, as he did, he would have been guilty of a baseness unworthy of a man, who had been raised by his virtue only to so high a dignity. For though afterwards he was sinking, and his enemies, that is, the enemies of his virtue, integrity, and sincerity begun from that time to conspire to remove him; yet this was not any reason for him to fail in his duty, since the aim of those, who have the honour to be employed in such posts, ought not to be to keep them by injuring their honour and conscience, but to serve well and faithfully. Besides, matters taking the turn, which they did afterwards, a man of great probity and courage, as this worthy Chancellor was, ought to be very well satisfied with retiring... (75). A good Minister, who is really a man of virtue... will never give his advice contrary to his opinion, and being commanded to speak, and declare his sentiments, will acquit himself faithfully and courageously. This is what the same Chancellor did, when the question was about the bulls, which allowed the sale of the Church-Lands to the value of an hundred and fifty thousand livres, for the extirpation of heretics; for this clause being contrary to the edicts of the pacification, the maintenance of which the Chancellor thought necessary to the good of the Kingdom; besides that as they had been granted solemnly, he thought they could not be contravened, and that this was one of the effects of the

(75) Ibid. pag. 97. & seq.

league, which was then concerting; and therefore he declared openly his opinion, which was followed, that they should procure new bulls without that clause, which was the last stumbling-block and occasion of involving that great man under the suspicion of heresy, and depriving him of the seals, in order to give them to a man, who was thought more proper for the time; and soon after every thing was disposed for war."

[I] He took care however to procure excellent Laws.] Stephen Pasquier has furnished me with this reflection. I shall quote his words (76). "We have seen in our time a young King Charles IX in France, whose minority at first, and afterwards the extraordinary violence of his temper gave him no leisure to make Laws; yet never any King before him made so many excellent edicts as he did; witness that in 1560 in the States held at Orleans; the other, which he made at Rouffillon in 1563; and the third at Moulins in 1566. These three edicts contain a prodigious number of articles in point of policy, and excellent regulations, which vastly surpass our ancient ordinances. To whom do we owe this advantage? To no other than Michael de l'Hospital, his great and wise Chancellor, who, under the authority of the young King his master, was the principal mediator of the first, and instigator, promoter, and author of the two others. And I should be extremely glad that they were observed with the same zeal as they were introduced." I am surprized that Pasquier does not mention the excellent edicts, which Monsieur de l'Hospital procured under Francis II. An Historian of that time (77)

(76) Pasquier, Lett. lib. 19. tom. 2. pag. 520, 521.

speaks of three, which were very good and of great use. I shall shew what the first consisted of; it was that which regulated wills or donations of widows, who quickly married again. I shall make use of the words of an author of that age (78). "It was at the solicitation of the Chancellor de l'Hospital, that several ordinances, edicts, and statutes were made and published by our Kings of France for the relief of the people, and the maintenance of justice. Among others we have the edict of King Francis II, which restrains second marriages by taking away the liberty, which those women who married again, had to give more to their second husbands, than to one of the children of their first. The occasion of this edict was, that it happened, that a woman of this Nation, who was very rich, fell in love with a young Nobleman, who, because she seemed too old, had no inclination to marry her. She was so transported by her passion after him, that knowing he loved money, she gave him all her estate, reserving only what belonged to her children by her first husband as their lawful portion. So that her children for a morsel of bread were in a manner deprived of their mother's inheritance, which was transferred to a second husband. To prevent such frauds the Chancellor introduced into France the ordinance of the Emperor Leo, mentioned in the Law hac Edictali 6, tit. de secund. nupt. in the

(77) Lewis Reig-nier, Sieur de la Planche, Hist. de François II, pag. 515, & seq.

(78) Thevet, Elég. tom. 7. pag. 375.

gravity of his censures knew how to make Parliaments sensible of their ill conduct in disobeying their King [K] ; but on the other hand he took care, that the Prince should obey

“ fifth book of the Justinian Code, which prohibits “ the giving or leaving to a second husband more “ than to one of the children of the first.” It was very just and very necessary to renew this Law for the interest of the children of the first husband ; for there were too many women, who being desirous to marry again, would deprive them of their rights, in order to make themselves the more agreeable to their new husbands. They would supply by their liberality the charms which time had deprived them of ; and besides, the liberty of disposing of their estates would expose them to lovers, who otherwise would not come to disturb the resolution, which they might have taken of edifying their neighbours by a virtuous widowhood.

[K] *Knew how to make Parliaments sensible of their ill conduct in disobeying their King.* An Attorney could not reprimand a Clerk who has committed a gross blunder, more severely than the Chancellor de l’Hospital did the Parliament of Bourdeaux, when Charles IX held his bed of justice there April the 12th 1564 before Easter. “ The King, says he (79), has found a “ great many faults in this Parliament, which having “ been the latest erected, since it is but of an hundred “ and twelve years standing, you have the less excuse “ for departing from and neglecting so soon the an- “ tient ordinances, which would be excusable in other “ Parliaments, that are old ; and yet you are as much “ or more corrupted than the old ones . . . I have “ received a great many complaints of your diffen- “ sions . . . See here an house ill governed ; and you “ are accountable for it. The first fault is your diso- “ bedience to your King ; for though his ordinances “ are presented to you, you observe them as you “ please. If you have any remonstrances to make to “ him, bring them immediately, and he will hear “ them. You rob him of his royal power, when you “ refuse to obey his royal ordinances, which is worse “ than to rob him of his demesnes. I am informed “ that the ordinance made at the request of the States, “ is not yet published here. And addressing himself “ to the President and King’s Council, he said, I shall “ now speak to you, President and King’s Council, “ who ought to require and sollicit the publication of “ the edicts and ordinances of the King ; and you “ President, ought to propose, for you are the King’s “ President in the Court. I am also informed, said “ he, that the ordinance of justice has not been pub- “ lished. I have likewise an account of some others, “ which I shall not insist upon to avoid prolixity. I “ think, that you imagine yourselves wiser than the “ King, but your wisdom is limited to judge of pro- “ cesses ; do you not think your selves wiser than the “ King, Queen, and his Council ? He has procured “ peace, and at present there is war between him “ and his Court of Parliament . . . (80). You despise “ the Queen and King’s Council. I see that you “ value your own decrees so highly, that you prefer “ them to ordinances, which, after you receive them, “ you interpret as you please. It is not your business, “ but the King’s, to interpret ordinances, even those “ which concern the public good.” I omit the con- “ clusion of his discourse, which is still more severe than what I have cited. Observe, that this is a Com- “ mentary on what the King had said in a few words in “ this Parliament, “ that he would for the future be “ not suffer any of his subjects to take arms without his “ leave ; and that he would likewise have his edicts “ observed (81).” It is undoubted, that Monsieur “ de l’Hospital suggested to him this discourse, as also “ the vigorous declaration, which had been made by “ the same Prince sometime before to the Deputies of “ the Parliament of Paris. He had made remonstrances “ to him concerning the edict of his majority, which “ they had not registered. “ The King, whose vece- “ verity, answered them, that they must obey ; that “ they should not interpose any more in public affairs ; “ and that they should divest themselves of this old “ error, that they were tutors of the King, defenders of

“ the Kingdom, and guardians of the City of Paris. “ The Deputies having made their report to the “ Court, it was divided (82),” and they sent a new “ deputation to the King, “ who ordered that the “ edict should be published and registered without de- “ lay, and that all the Presidents and Counsellors “ should be present upon pain of interdiction (83).” It is easy to conceive, considering the King’s age, that in this case he only repeated the lesson of Monsieur de l’Hospital. “ He made once a speech to the “ Parliament with the doors open, upon their refusing “ to pass some of his edicts . . . and complaining of “ the administration of justice and corruption there, “ and the rejecting of his edicts, said with a noble, “ and at it were menacing resolution, It is your “ business to obey my ordinances, without disputing “ what they are, for I know better than you what is “ proper for the good of my Kingdom. Though “ he had not yet any beard, he spoke thus before “ these old and wise persons, who were all surprised “ at this resolute and grave speech, which favoured “ more of his own generous courage, than the lessons “ of Monsieur Amiot his Preceptor (84).” Brantome “ should have added that this speech was dictated “ to him by Michael de l’Hospital. The Prince, who had “ already disgraced him (85), well remembered the in- “ structions which he had received from his Chancellor, “ that it was of importance to him to humble the pre- “ sumption of the Parliament of Paris, which was so “ pernicious at that time to the whole Kingdom.

Here I ought to examine in a few words the discourse which we hear every day, and which represents as a principle of misery the suppression of the right, which Parliaments had formerly of rejecting those edicts, which appeared to them unjust. This, it is said, was a bank, which prevented the people from being drowned under the arbitrary power of the Monarch. The breaking down of this bank ought to be compared to the blow, by which Æolus shook the mountain, which served as a prison to the winds.

*Cavum conversa cuspide montem
Impulit in latus : ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Quâ data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perfiant.
Incubere mari, totumque à sedibus imis
Unâ Eurûsque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus ; & vastos volvunt ad littora fluctus.
Insequitur clamorque virum, stridorque rudentum* (86).

“ He said, and hurl’d against the mountain’s side “ His quiv’ring spear, and all the God apply’d : “ The dancing winds rush thro’ the hollow wound, “ And range aloft in air, and skim along the ground : “ Then settling on the sea the surges sweep, “ Raise liquid mountains, and disclose the deep, “ South, east, and west, with mix’d confusion roar, “ And roll the foaming billows to the shore ; “ The cables crack, the Sailors frightful cries “ Ascend, and fable night involves the skies “ And Heav’n itself is ravish’d from their eyes.

DRYDEN. They illustrate this with a great many maxims, which have a great appearance of solidity ; but they go no further ; they never turn the tables ; they never consult experience ; they never examine whether a person may not answer, I appeal to experience. Now this is the weak side, for it is easy to prove, that France never was so distressed and unhappy, as when the Parliament most enjoyed the authority of rejecting the edicts and ordinances of the Prince under Charles IX and Henry III. It is easy to prove also, that the exercise of this authority was the principal source of the calamities of the Kingdom from the year 1562 to 1594. The Chancellor de l’Hospital had laid the foundation of the public peace by the edict of January. The Church of Rome had no longer any reason to fear the danger, which I have mentioned above (87) : the King of Navarre had abandoned the Huguenots ; Catherine de Medicis no longer thought of taking off the mask. They would have been satisfied with having their fill of preaching ; and thus the Kingdom might have

(79) See *Recueil de divers Mémoires*, printed at Paris by Peter Chevalier 1623 in 4to, pag. 424.

(80) *Ibid.* pag. 426.

(81) *Ibid.* pag. 421.

(82) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronolog.* tom. 5. pag. 80. *ad ann.* 1563.

(83) *Ibid.*

(84) Brantome, *Eloge de Charles IX.* pag. 33, 34. of the 4th tome of his *Mémoires.*

(85) Without doubt Brantome speaks of the same speech of Charles IX, which Mezerai mentions under the year 1571, pag. 239. of the 3d tome of his *Great History.*

REFLEXION on what is said by many people, that it is for the interest of the Kingdom of France, that Parliaments should have much more authority than they have.

(86) Virgil, *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 85.

(87) In the same mark [F].

obey justice and reason. He opposed to the utmost unjust edicts, and if notwithstanding he was obliged to seal them, he shewed that it was against his will [L]. One of the occasions, in which he displayed his great presence of mind, was when the demands of the Embassadors of England concerning the restitution of Calais were considered in the King's Council. He answered with so much force their first reasons and replies, that he manifestly

have continued in peace, if the edict of January had been observed. But the Catholics infringed it, and this occasioned the first religious war, the root of all the evils, which afflicted the Kingdom till the extinction of the league; for all these evils were grafted upon or sprung from one another, by a well connected train of causes and effects (88). Now to what must we principally ascribe the infraction of this edict of January? Is it not to be imputed to the Parliament of Paris? Did not they encourage all the world not to observe it? They did not register it without defaming it (89), that is, after three commands, and with such restrictions and clauses, as shewed, that they only registered it by compulsion, and as a transient and very pernicious regulation. Who after this would scruple to break such an edict? Might not one be assured, that a Parliament, which judged in this manner, would not trouble themselves with punishing those, who should infringe it? Now at that time it was absolutely the same thing to be accessory to the infraction of the edict, and to sound an alarm for a civil war. Observe Monsieur Varillas's words, when he begins to relate the measures taken against those of the reformed religion a little before the massacre of Vassy. *The house of Guise, says he (90), judged from the opposition, which the edict of January had met with in the Parliament, that it would not subsist long, and did not doubt but that civil wars would soon break out.* Let us say in general, that the Parliaments of France, by refusing to register the edicts of pacification, or by registering them with an ill grace, and afterwards by a natural consequence not taking care to see them observed, were one of the principal causes of the long calamities, which distressed the Kingdom, and were very near destroying absolutely the Monarchy. If Charles V had reigned at that time, it would infallibly have become a province to his dominions, and been divided into a thousand pieces.

But some body will say, you alledge only the abuse which the Parliament then made of the right, which they had to reject the edicts of the Prince. To this I answer, are tyranny and most other disorders any thing else than the abuse of good things? It is sufficient to refute your reflections, that it may be said, that this bank or barrier, which you speak of, and which properly speaking includes this contradiction, that a State is and is not monarchical, cannot be reckoned a good remedy, since it has done much more harm than good. What comparison is there between the advantages, which result from the rejecting of some pecuniary edicts (91), and the deplorable ruin, which the Kingdom suffered for above thirty years? These horrible calamities are much less to be imputed to the Court, than to the Parliaments. The Court was become wise through the instructions of a very able and very virtuous Chancellor. Monsieur de l'Hospital had induced it to prevent, by the edict of January, all misfortunes, and to destroy the root of civil wars. The Parliaments instead of seconding this, opposed and rendered ineffectual the remedy which he had found; a remedy which could not but be good, since there was no other (92). The Court would have followed the steps which the Chancellor had directed it to; and left it only on account of the confusions, into which the Kingdom fell, through the fault of those, who disobeyed the edict; and these were the Parliaments, which opened a wide path to this disobedience. They are answerable therefore for the profanation, plundering, and demolishing so many Churches, of which some are pleased to give catalogues, in order to render the Huguenots odious. It was not owing to them, that the miseries of the Kingdom were not perpetual, even after the League was subdued. They opposed the edict of Nantes, the only remedy for the intestine disorders; the Parliament of Paris would never have registered it, if Henry IV had not made use of intreaties, but with a tone, which shewed, that he knew how to make himself obeyed (93). Observe, that the

speech of Monsieur de l'Hospital to the Parliament of Bourdeaux (94), shews, that at that time, when little regard was paid to the King's ordinances, the administration of justice was full of corruption and shocking disorders. Let us conclude with remarking, that a popular government is something so perplexed, that the remedies, which seem to be the best, are sometimes worse than the disease, and the source of the greatest disorders. I have just given an eminent instance of this.

[L] *If he was obliged to seal unjust edicts, he shewed, that it was against his will.* A Minister of State, and especially a Chancellor to a King, ought to do two things, if he would discharge his duty. One is to recommend very strongly to subjects submission and obedience; he ought not to speak to them of any thing else; let him not amuse himself with disputing with them, whether they have a right sometimes of taking up arms, and refusing to obey the ordinances, which they think unjust and burthenome. He must lay it down as a thing incontestible that they have no such right. The other thing, which he ought to do, is to represent in a lively manner, and incessantly to the Prince, that the royal authority does not dispense him from an absolute submission to justice, and that he has no right, nor privilege, to violate justice, equity, his word, &c. Monsieur de l'Hospital acquitted himself exactly of both these duties. He took the part of the King before his subjects, and the part of the subjects before the King. He repressed with great vigour those, who made any attempt upon the royal authority. See (95) the censures, which he made, or which the King made to the Parliament, by his advice. See also (96) what he answered to the Deputy of the Parliament of Dijon. But you will now see with what integrity, with what firmness, he resisted the unjust propositions, which were suggested to the King. He opposed them by his reasons as far as was in his power; and if his remonstrances did not prevent the conclusion of the affair, he washed his hands of it, he shewed, that he did not give his consent to it. "Ah, Sir, what a foul and venomous tail it is in an edict, when the registering of it is stopped by these words, by the express command of the King often repeated, which produce only a condemnation among wise and good men, against the injustice of it, supported only by the commands, which the Chancellors are frequently obliged to seal contrary to their opinion, in which are seen these odious and reproachful words: *Notwithstanding all the remonstrances made and to be made, which we hold as heard and understood, and for which we will not have it deferred*: That is to say, in despite of reason, by a malignant counsel, by an unjust will, by a precipitate deliberation, by the rebuke of virtue, by the toleration of evil, by the hatred of honour, and by an affected ignorance, and the contempt of right. It was therefore to avoid partaking in this disgrace, that the good and very worthy Chancellor de l'Hospital wrote generally these words with his own hand upon the back of such letters, *Me non sentiente*, that is to say, I have been obliged to seal them against my will; as he did in the letters about the reception of the powers of the Cardinal of Ferrara, sent as Legate into France by Pope Pius IV (*), to which resolute conduct of the Chancellor, the Court of Parliament having seen these words upon the back of the letters, joined themselves, and would never register these powers (97). The President de la Place will inform us more particularly of what relates to this last fact. "Now for as much as among other articles decreed in the States, it was ordered, that the benefices of this Kingdom should be collated by the Ordinaries, each in his diocese, and no longer by the Pope, and that no dispensations should be admitted; there was a great difficulty to admit the powers of the said Legate, the Chancellor remonstrating, that he could not do any

(88) Compare this with the remark made by d'Aubigné chap. 2. lib. 5. of the 3d tome of his History, pag. m. 628.

(89) See remark [C].

(90) Varill. Hist. de Charles IX. tom. 1. pag. m. 121. ad ann. 1562.

(91) The 9th of September 1578, the Parliament registered but two pecuniary edicts of 22 which were presented. See Faucher du Londe's Fastes, pag. 88.

(92) Optimum remedium quia unicum.

(93) See Matherieu, Histoire de la Paix, liv. 2. Narrat. 1. num. 7. pag. 210. & seq.

(94) I have cited it above quotation (79).

(95) In the preceding remark.

(96) In the article BEGAT.

(*) La Popeliniere, lib. 7.

(97) Le Grain, Décade d'Henri le Grand, lib. 8. pag. m. 898.

(n) See Thuanus, lib. 41. pag. 840, 841. ad ann. 1567. and Villars, Histoire de Charles IX. pag. m. 39, & seqq. of the 2d tome. See also pag. 256. of the 1st tome.

manifestly had the advantage (n), and gave the King his master occasion to flatter himself, that by keeping that place he should not contravene the treaty of peace of Cateau. His vigilance, great as it was, could not secure him from the artifices of a Secretary, who was a dishonest man [M]; and this gave him great uneasiness. It was observed, that he resembled Aristotle in the face [N]. Some ascribe to him the comparison of the apes; and probably

“ any thing contrary to what had been so readily resolved and concluded by the said States. But notwithstanding this, the said Legate giving them to understand, that as he was allied to the house of France, it would be a great reproach and dishonour to him to be the first Legate refused there, offering not to make use of his said powers, but to return immediately after the registering of them; the Chancellor was ordered to seal the letters, which he did after many altercations between the said Legate and him; and after he had written under the seal of these letters with his own hand these words, *me non consentiente*, that is to say, *against my consent*: Which being seen by the said Court, they were refused, and it was declared, that they could not and ought not to receive them (98).” There are some Historians, who say that at last the Legate, notwithstanding the Chancellor’s opinion, procured that his powers should be admitted in the Council of State, in which he was allowed a seat (99).” Every one knows the vast authority of the Guisies under Francis II; yet it was not capable of biasing the Chancellor: he was the only person, who refused to sign the sentence of death against the Prince of Condé (100).

(98) La Place, Commentaires de l’Etat de la Religion & République, lib. 6. fol. m. 214. verso, ad ann. 1561. See concerning this Legate the book de l’origine des Cardinaux, pag. 265, & seq. Dutch edit. 1670.

(99) Le Grain, Décade de Henri le Grand, lib. 1. pag. 118.

(100) Idem, ibid. lib. 1. pag. 109.

Languetus has preserved a lively repartee, which the Chancellor made to the Legate. The latter had presumed to charge him with not knowing what his post required of him. At least, replied the Chancellor, I have endeavoured to learn it; but you, who hold several Bishoprics, have never had any thoughts of instructing yourself in the duties of the Episcopal function. *Solus cancellarius pertinacissime resistit, & dixit in ea re fieri summam injuriam Regi puero, ac regni Gallici jura, & Majestatem profuturi, nec se passurum, ut Regio sigillo sibi concedito ad eam rem abuteretur. Ad quæ incandescens Ferrarivensis, dixit eum ignorare, quæ essent sui muneris & officii. Ego vero, inquit Cancellarius, hoc saltem egi, ut id intelligerem, sed tu ne quidem cogitasti unquam quod sit officium Episcopi, cum tamen aliquot Episcopatus possideas. Tandem vicus aliorum importunitate tradidit eis Regium Sigillum, sed tamen voluit instrumento permissionis inseri, se contradicente hoc esse permissum (101).* i. e. “ The Chancellor alone resolutely opposed it, and urged that by this affair a great injury would be done to the King in his minority, and that the Privileges and Majesty of the Kingdom of France would be prostituted; and that he would not suffer them to abuse to such a purpose the King’s seal intrusted with them. The Cardinal of Ferrara being provoked at this, said, that he did not know what belonged to his office. But I, returned the Chancellor, at least have done thus much, that I have endeavoured to understand it; but you have never thought of what is the duty of a Bishop, though you are possessed of several Bishoprics. At last being overcome by the importunity of others he delivered up the King’s seal to them, but would have it inserted in the instrument of permission, that this was done against his will.”

(101) Languet. Epist. 62. lib. 2. pag. 157.

Here follows a passage of Bodin. “ It is very certain, that the Laws, Ordinances, Letters Patents, Privileges, and Grants of Princes have no force but during their life, if they are not ratified by the express consent or at least the permission of the Prince, who has the cognizance of them . . . This was the reason that Monsieur de l’Hospital Chancellor of France, refused to seal the confirmation of the Privileges and exemption from taxes for St. Maur des Fossés, whatever orders he had to do it, because they contained a perpetual exemption, which is against the nature of personal privileges, and lessens the power of successors, and cannot be given to any bodies of men or colleges, except during the life of the Prince, who grants them, although the word perpetual be inserted (102).”

(102) Bodin, De la République, lib. 1. cap. 8. pag. m. 131, 132.

[M] His vigilance . . . could not secure him from the artifices of a Secretary, who was a dishonest man.] I

shall cite upon this subject what I have read in a book intitled, *La Fortune de la Cour*. The Chancellor de l’Hospital, who was blamed because being naturally very severe in expediting justice, and still those who came to solicit him, yet was not so with regard to his domestics, and especially his Secretary Bouvaut, who surprized him as often as he thought proper; which he continued to do till complaint was made to the Council upon occasion of a very rude letter. The Chancellor was ashamed to be surprized in this manner, and was obliged to turn away, with a thousand reproaches, a servant whom he had a great affection for before (103).” The author mentions another thing, which has no relation to my text; but I shall quote it, as it is a remarkable fact. “ He was likewise severely reprimanded by the late Monsieur de Montpensier in a full Council, because having shewn himself almost inexorable to pass the Grants, which the King had made him of no large sum, yet some days before he had received from the Treasurer fifty thousand livres in ready money; and he was greatly reproached for it, though it was certain, that the King, even of his own accord, had pressed him to take it (104).”

(103) Fortune de la Cour, pag. 349. This book was printed at Paris in 1642 in 8vo. See Bibliothèque Francoise de Sorel, pag. 414. edit. 1667.

[N] It was observed, that he resembled Aristotle in the face.] Theodore Beza assures us of this in very strong terms. *Ut ex antiquissimo numismate apparuit, summum illum omnium Philosopherum principem Aristotelem sic ore toto restulit, ut alterius ex altero imago expressa videri posset (105).* i. e. “ It appears from a very old coin, that he so much resembled Aristotle, the Prince of Philosophers, in the face, that the picture of one might seem to be taken from the other.” Thevet refuses this. And with regard to the resemblance, says he (106), *which Beza feigns between Aristotle and our Chancellor, if he means the traces and lineaments of the face, there is no man, who compares the true picture of Aristotle, which I have given above, with that of the Chancellor, which had been drawn to the life, but will perceive at first sight, that there is a difference.* But Stephen Forcadel informs us of the circumstances, which favour Beza. He tells us, that while Charles IX visited the cities of his Kingdom, there was dug up a statue, which bore the name of Aristotle, and perfectly resembled Michael de l’Hospital. He adds, that verses were written upon it, which pleased the Chancellor. I shall cite at large his words, because they contain the praises of this great man, and because my Dictionary ought, at least sometimes, to resemble those compilations in which are collected the judgments of learned men upon eminent persons. Here then is what Stephen Forcadel writes (107). *Legis pervigil & excellens custos Cancellarius: qualem re ipsa se præbuit, dum viveret, ideo que à fato maxime laudabilis vir Michael Hospitalis, cui Musæ statuatim libentissime poverent, nisi Jurisprudencia, simulque Philosphia hoc decus præripuisset. Idque non ambigue significatum est superioribus annis, Carolo IX Rege suam Galliam oppidatim lustrante, cum forte eruta fuit, & è sinu terræ alius effossæ statua inciso Aristotelis titulo, quæ apprimè M. Hospitalium lineamentis ac figuram referebat, ut nec sibi ipsi magis sit ille similis, sicut nec animi dotibus ab insigni Philospho multum differat. Unde bene ominare cæpi de componendo turbulentiæ Reipublicæ statu, quia Gallorum Cancellarius Regi maximo intitus Magni illius Alexandri doctorem effigie exaquasset. Nos itaque Hospitali humanissimo viro, honoris gratia, tunc versatulos dedicavimus comiter supra expectationem accipiendos:*

(104) Ibid. pag. 350.

(105) Beza, in Iconibus, fol. vij.

(106) Thevet, Etage, tom. 7. pag. 367.

(107) Stephanus Forcadelus, de Gallor. Imperio & Philosphia, lib. 7. pag. m. simulque Philosphia hoc decus præripuisset. Idque non ambigue significatum est superioribus annis, Carolo IX Rege suam Galliam oppidatim lustrante, cum forte eruta fuit, & è sinu terræ alius effossæ statua inciso Aristotelis titulo, quæ apprimè M. Hospitalium lineamentis ac figuram referebat, ut nec sibi ipsi magis sit ille similis, sicut nec animi dotibus ab insigni Philospho multum differat. Unde bene ominare cæpi de componendo turbulentiæ Reipublicæ statu, quia Gallorum Cancellarius Regi maximo intitus Magni illius Alexandri doctorem effigie exaquasset. Nos itaque Hospitali humanissimo viro, honoris gratia, tunc versatulos dedicavimus comiter supra expectationem accipiendos:

Quisquis Aristoteli doctam te contulit, idem Blanditus docto fertur Aristoteli.

i. e. “ A Chancellor, a vigilant and excellent Guardian of the Law, as Michael l’Hospital really shewed himself to be, while he lived, and therefore deserved the highest commendations after his death. “ The Muses would gladly raise a statue to him, if “ Civil

probably they do in this point what is very common, not only with those who talk at random, but even with writers; I mean, that they ascribe to one what belongs to another [O].

(o) See remark He made an excellent will, which has been printed, and he expressed in it among other things his inclination to peace [P], and his indifference for funeral solemnities (o). He died

" Civil Law and Philosophy had not beforehand taken away this honour. And this was plainly signified some years ago, when during the time that Charles IX made a progress through the cities of France, a statue with Aristotle's name upon it was dug up, which so much resembled Monsieur de l'Hospital, that he was not more like himself, as he was not much unlike that famous Philosopher in the endowments of his mind. Hence I began to presage that the turbulent state of affairs in the Kingdom would be composed, because the Chancellor of France, who was intimate with our great King, resembled the Tutor of Alexander the Great . . . I therefore wrote verses in honour of de l'Hospital, a man of the utmost humanity, which were received beyond my expectation.

" *Who'er compared you to learn'd Aristotle,
Paid him the greatest compliment in nature.*"

(108) *Qui non vultu tantum Aristotelis os, quod ex utriusque imaginum ubique profertur comparatione constat, sed Solonis . . . referretur . . . referretur.* Thuan. lib. 56, pag. 43.

Thuanus confirms what Theodore Beza has asserted (108). Observe that Brantome mentions another resemblance. The Chancellor de l'Hospital, says he (109), had all the appearance of Cato, a great white beard, a pale countenance and grave air, so that to see him, one would have said, that he was the true picture of St. Jerom; and several persons at Court said the same.

[O] Some ascribe to him the comparison of the apes, and probably . . . they ascribe to one what belongs to another.] They transfer to the Chancellor de l'Hospital a thought of his predecessor. Read the following words of Montagne (110): "I have found the shortest and easiest way . . . to rid myself of this desire, and to fit still . . . judging rightly of my powers, that they are not capable of great things; and remembering the saying of the late Chancellor Olivier, that the French are the apes, which leap up a tree from branch to branch, and do not stop till they reach the highest branch, to shew their breach when they are there (§2)." Mr. Menage (111) cites these words of Montagne, after having quoted some Greek verses (112); in which Scaliger made use of the same thought against Lydiat, and the Latin verses, which Salmastius wrote against Father Petavius; and which turn upon the same comparison. Coltar intimates that the Chancellor spoke thus in a speech. This is what I am not easily led to believe. The Chancellor Olivier, says he (113), made no scruple publicly to compare the French to apes, which leap from branch to branch, and shew their breach when they are at the top of the tree. We shall see presently, that an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris ascribes this comparison to the Chancellor de l'Hospital. This Advocate is little known but by the name of Gubertius (114), which may be translated five or six different ways, without receding from the analogy, according to which the French latinize their names. Let this be said by the bye. Here is the fact. *Sæpe ego audiivi à fori nostri principibus viris, Michaëlem Hospitalium Franciæ Cancellarium, cui nulla ætas habuit parem, solitum dicere, multos, qui ad honores à fortuna pelluntur, simiarum esse simillimos, quæ altiorem arborem nactæ, eousque conscendunt, ut cum ad summum arboris fastigium evaserint, foliis vento stridentibus operientur totæ posteriora tantum prætereuntibus ridiculè ostentant* (115). i. e. "I have often heard of the principal men of our Court of Judicature, that Michael de l'Hospital, Chancellor of France, whose equal has been in no age, used to say, that many persons, who have been raised to honours by fortune, are very like apes, who meeting with an high tree, mount to the top of it, but the wind moving the leaves they expose themselves to laughter by shewing only their breach." There are a thousand instances which prove, that the same thought is ascribed to several persons. I shall mention but one, which relates to the reign under which our Monsieur de l'Hospital held the office of Chancellor. "It was said one day to Monsieur de Villeroy, that

(109) Brantome, *Mémoires*, tom. 2, pag. m. 73, in the *Elogium* of the Constable Montmorenci.

(110) Montagne, *Essais*, lib. 2, cap. 17, pag. m. 576, 577.

(111) Menage, *Modi di dire Italiani*, at the end of his *Etymologies of the Italian Tongue*.

(112) You will find them translated into Latin in Vossius de *Scient. Mathem.* pag. 237.

(113) Costar, *Suite de la Défense de Voiture*, pag. 189.

(114) His French name was Gubertius, as I learn from the Sieur Guichenon, pag. 36, of the *Hist. de Bresse*.

(115) Jacobus Gutherius, de *Jure Manium*, lib. 2, cap. 26, pag. 351, edit. Lips. 1671.

" he was the fittest man in the world to write the History of Charles IX, since he had a share in the whole of it; and that upon this account he ought to write it. I have too many obligations to that Prince, said he, and I love his memory too much to write his history (§2); meaning, that the truths which he should be obliged to relate, would be a disgrace to the King (116)." This is what the author of the book, intitled, *La Fatalité de Saint Clou*, says; but Mr. le Laboureur (117) tells us, that Morvillier made that answer. I should choose to follow this latter tradition.

(§2) The edition of Montagne's *Essays* in 16mo printed at Lyons by Francis le Fevre 1595 has suppressed this as injurious to the French Nation. However it is no more than that of Livy, lib. 10. *Galorum prima prælia plus quam virorum*, &c. a saying, which Rabelais has not scrupled to put into the mouth of one of Garagantua's Generals, in a speech which he makes in a full council, and before his master. CRIT. REM.]

(§3) It is probable that this repartee, which in Matthieu's *History of Louis XI*, pag. 571, edit. 1610, is related of a certain Lord to one Monsieur de Tinteville, who had said to him, that none could write the Life of his late master better than he, was originally made by Chancellor Morvillier, whom Lewis XI had affronted by disowning some severe words which he had charged him to deliver in his name to the Count of Charolois. CRIT. REM.]

[P] He expressed in his will his inclination to peace.]

He was desirous, in this last act of his life, to do himself honour on account of the same thing, which Cicero boasted in a full Senate. *Quo quidem in bello, said that great Roman Orator, semper de pace agendum, audiendumque putavi; semperque dolui, non modo pacem, sed orationem etiam civium pacem efflagitantium repudiari; neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam secutus sum arma civilia: semperque mea consilia pacis, & togæ sociæ, non belli, atque armorum fuerunt. . . . Quod quidem meum consilium minimè obscurum fuit, nam & in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace dixi; & in ipso bello eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi* (118). (118) Cicero, i. e. "In which war, I always thought it was proper to treat of peace, and was always sorry, that not only peace, but likewise the petitions of the citizens for it, were rejected; for I never followed those nor any other civil wars, and my advices have been constantly on the side of peace, and not of arms . . . This opinion of mine was far from being concealed; for in this assembly, while affairs were yet entire, I spoke amply in favour of peace, and during the war itself I declared my sentiments to the same purpose even to the danger of my life." There is scarce any thing in this but what Monsieur de l'Hospital might have said; but here is what he wrote in his will (119). "I can affirm, that tho' arms have been taken up four times, and four or five battles have been fought, I always advised peace, esteeming nothing so injurious to a country as a civil war, or more advantageous to it than peace upon any terms whatsoever (120)." Having afterwards spoken of the enemies whom that maxim had raised against him, and the misfortunes in which France was plunged, &c. he adds (121): "I gave way to arms, which were the strongest, and retired into the country with my wife, family, and little children, requesting but this one thing of the King and Queen at my departure, that since they had resolved to break the peace, and pursue by war those, with whom a little before they had concluded a peace, and since they had removed me from Court, because they understood, that I was averse to and had a bad opinion of their design; I requested the King and Queen, I say, if they would not acquiesce in my advice, yet at least, soon after they had satiated and glutted their heart and thirst with the blood of their subjects, that they would embrace the first opportunity of peace, which should offer, before things

(116) *Fatalité de Saint Clou*. I have mentioned that book in the article of HENRY III, quotation (89), and at the end of the remark [R].

(117) Le Laboureur, *Audit. aux Mémoires de Castelnaud*, tom. 1, pag. 522.

(118) Cicero, *pro Marcello*, pag. m. 581.

(119) *Testament de Michel de l'Hospital*, quoted by Colomies, *Biblioth. Choise*, pag. 60.

(120) See Pasquier's *Letters*, lib. 10, pag. 626, & seq. tom. 1, in which he represents the misery of civil wars.

(121) *Testament, &c. Biblioth. Choise*, pag. 62.

died March the 13th 1573, aged about sixty eight years [Q]. He made his only daughter, whom he had married to Robert Hurault, his heirs, and left his library to Michael Hurault, his second grandson, who has been well known by the name of Monsieur du Fay [R]. I could have mentioned a great many other particulars, but I have omitted them because they may be met with in Moreri, and in Monsieur Teiffier's Additions to the Elogies of Thuanus, or in the Elogies of Thevet, or in Brantome's Memoirs. This last, who was a man of the sword, has succeeded better in the elogium of this Chancellor (p), than all the professed writers, whom I have read, though I own, that Thuanus, and Scevola Sammarthanus have written very fine elogies on him. Ronfard's

(p) It is inserted in that of the Comtable de Montmorenci.

(q) It is the 10th of the 1st book. Richelet, who has commented on it, says, it is a master piece in Poetry. See also Paquier, lib. 22. of his Letters, p. 758.

(r) Brantome, Memoires, tom. 2. pag. m. 85. See in Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX. lib. 6. pag. m. 5. & seq. a particular account of this dispute.

(s) Brant. Mem. tom. 2. pag. 87, 88.

(t) Naudé, Coups d'Etat, cap. 5. pag. m. 784.

(u) Fortempesce animam, mortis terrore vacentem, &c.

Ode (q), designed as a compliment on this great officer of justice, has been esteemed an excellent one ; but in short, in some respects, I think nothing equal to Brantome's description. It shews us, that Monsieur de l'Hospital was a person, who might be opposed to all great and generous men of the gown among the antient Greeks and Romans. I shall quote in my remarks so many other passages, that to avoid prolixity, I shall wave citing what Brantome has written. I only desire my readers to consider two things. The first is, what he remarks concerning the dispute which the Chancellor maintained with the utmost resolution against the Cardinal of Lorraine, who demanded, that the Council of Trent should be received (r); the other relates to the intrepidity which Monsieur de l'Hospital shewed after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when he had reason to believe, that the assassins had received orders to do execution in his house (s). I will add this one

particular more. A famous author (t) having defined the force of the soul to be a " certain temper and disposition of mind always equal in itself, firm, stable, heroic, capable of seeing every thing, hearing every thing, and doing every thing without trouble, confusion, or amazement," adds, that this is very near the same with what Juvenal has described in six fine verses of his tenth satyr (u). " The Chancellor de l'Hospital, continues he (x), who was endowed with this strength of mind as much as any who went before him or followed him, described it still more briefly, though in terms much bolder, which he had taken for his device, *Si fractus illabatur Orbis, impavidum se- rient ruinae* (y)." See the margin (z). Shall I forget the services which he did even after his death? Is it not just to observe, that the maxims of State, upon which he regulated himself, were of great advantage to France, since he formed some disciples, who opposed in proper time the pernicious attempts of the Leaguers, and rendered them abortive [S].

(x) Naudé, Coups d'Etat, pag. 785, 786.

(y) These words are Horace's, Ode 3. lib. 3. and signify, that if the world should fall in ruins about him, it would not strike him with the least terror.

(z) The vigour which the Court of France shewed in 1565 against the Pope, who had cited the Queen of Navarre, &c. and who had been obliged to revoke his monitory, was the work of Mons. d'Hospital and the Comtable Montmorenci. See Thuanus, lib. 80. pag. m. 32, 33.

I shall

" things were reduced to extreme destruction ; for whatever would be the issue of that war, it could not but be very pernicious to the King and Kingdom."

[Q] He died . . . aged about sixty eight years.] He begins his will in this manner (122): " I have always been uncertain about my age, because my friends said that they have had various accounts from my father (*), who sometimes said that I was born before the war against the Genoese, sometimes said, that I was born at the time when that war was concluded by the late K. Lewis XII, in which my father served as Physician to Charles Duke of Bourbon." It would be strange, that an ignorant stupid peasant should not know the age of his son, and yet even this happens but seldom : but it is very strange, that a man of parts and learning, as Michael de l'Hospital's father was, should vary in that point not a day or a week, but several months. His son determines (123), that he was eighteen years old when the Comtable of Bourbon left France (124); he thought therefore, that he was born in 1505. Observe, that the war of Lewis XII against the Genoese was concluded in April 1507. Brantome, who has inserted in his memoirs (125) the Chancellor's will, does not omit the preface (126), which declares that the testator was sixty eight years old. The will is dated the third (127) day of March 1573. This is still placing his birth in 1505. If Thuanus (128) and Scevola Sammarthanus (129) had attended to these particulars, they would not have said, that Michael de l'Hospital lived about seventy years.

[R] His second grandson . . . has been well known by the name of Monsieur du Fay.] We see in his elogium written by Sammarthanus, that he was a man of considerable parts and learning, and Chancellor to the King of Navarre, and that he might have been advanced to the dignity of Chancellor of France, if instead of engaging unseasonably in the profession of a soldier, he had continued to apply himself to the functions and business of the gown. We find there that he died of regret in 1592, on account of his having been obliged to resign the government of Quillebeuf (130); but we do not find there, that he was actually of the reformed religion. Some have charged

him with being ready to change his religion. See the Confession Catholique de Sanci (131), and the notes, which accompany it in the edition of 1699. He wrote in 1588 a piece intitled, *Le franc & libre Discours* (132), which was reckoned an excellent one. See the Perroniana in the word Fay, and Thuanus L. XCII.

[S] He formed some disciples, who opposed . . . the pernicious attempts of the leaguers, and rendered them abortive.] An anonymous author, whom I have already cited, furnishes me with a commentary, which I have occasion for. He says (133), that " if the devotion of a Minister or Counsellor of a Prince is not well grounded, and his zeal well regulated, it is impossible to imagine the evils which he may do. First, he suffers himself to be deceived, and afterwards deceives his master. For in the affair of devotion the ablest men are imposed upon. Many persons think themselves extremely pious and devout, if they are greatly ignorant of what concerns religion, for which they refer themselves to those whose business it is; some of whom, being practised upon, lead them a fine dance. We have spoken of the great misfortunes, into which several great Princes, who were otherwise men of prudence, have been involved for want of understanding this cabal. We shall speak one word of some of their Ministers . . . There were two sorts of them; for those, who had been educated under the discipline of the Chancellor de l'Hospital, held maxims, that were not only agreeable to Christian piety and moderation, but likewise useful for the preservation of the peace, and the maintenance of the King's authority. The rest, on the contrary, whether through conscience, without much knowledge, or in order to make a separate party, applied themselves in such a manner to the externals of religion, that they thought it better to suffer the Kingdom to fall into a combustion, than to allow the least accommodation in points of religion. Now the consequence of this diversity of opinions was, that this latter greatly assisted in forming, raising, and strengthening the league; and the other in destroying it and restoring the Kingdom, which the contrary faction had brought very near to ruin."

(131) Chap. 5. lib. 1. and cap. 9. lib. 2.

(132) It is inserted in the 3d tome of the Mémoires de la Ligue, pag. 1, & seq. under the title of Excellent & libre Discours sur l'estat présent de la France.

(133) Fragment de l'Examen du Prince de Machiavel, pag. 83, & seq.

(122) Ibid. pag. 52.

(*) John de l'Hospital.

(123) Ibid. pag. 53.

(124) He departed in 1523.

(125) Tom. 2 in the Eloge de Comtable de Montmorenci.

(126) It is not in the edition of Colomes.

(127) The 12th in Colomes's edition.

(128) Thuan. Hist. lib. 56. in fin. pag. 43.

(129) Sammarth. in Elog. lib. 1. pag. m. 60.

(130) See the Elogia of Sammarthanus, lib. 2. pag. m. 177, & seq.

(aa) In the remark [R].

I shall add something to the remark, which relates to Mr. du Fay, his grandson (aa) [T].

[T] I shall add something to the remark which relates to Monsieur du Fay, his grandson.] He wrote several treatises upon the affairs of those times. There are ascribed to him the *Anti-Sixte*, *Anti-Espagnol*, and the *Francophile contre les Conspirations du Roi d'Espagne*, *du Pape*, & *des Rebelles de France* (134). Mr. Baillet, from whom I take this, doth not give us any character of the first of these three tracts, and I know not whether he means a book which I have seen an edition of printed at Cologne by Herman Jolin (135) in 1586 in 8vo. The title of it is, *Moyens d'abus, entrepries & nullitez du rescrit & bulle du Pape Sixte V du nom en date da mois de Septembre 1585, contre le Serenissime Prince, HENRY DE BOURBON, Roy de Navarre . . . & HENRY DE BOURBON . . . Prince de Condé, par un Catholique, Apostolique, Romain: mais bon François, & très-fidèle Sujet de la Couronne de France.* i. e. "A Proof of the Abuses, Incroachments, and Nullities of the Rescript and Bull of Pope Sixtus V, dated September 1585 against the most serene Prince, Henry of Bourbon King of Navarre, and Henry of Bourbon . . . Prince of Condé . . . by a Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, but a true Frenchman and faithful Subject of the Crown of France." As for the second edition of these three tracts, Mr. Baillet writes as follows. The *Anti-Espagnol* "has been printed at different times with some alterations. That which was published in 1594 in 12mo, is intitled. *L'Anti Espagnol, & Exhortation de ceux de Paris qui ne se veulent faire Espagnols, à tous les François de leur parti, de se remettre en l'obéissance du Roi Henry quatrième, & de se delivrer de la Tyrannie de Castille.* i. e. *The Anti-Espagnol, and Exhortation of such Parisians as are unwilling to become Spaniards, to all the Frenchmen of their party, to return to their obedience to King Henry IV, and to de-*

liver themselves from the tyranny of Castille. It is the fourth and last of these excellent discourses concerning the state of France, published in 1695. But that which was afterwards revised, was published with the title of *L'Anti-Espagnol, ou Brief Discours du but où tend Philippe Roi d'Espagne se meslant des affaires de France.* i. e. *The Anti-Espagnol, or a brief Discourse concerning the Designs of Philip King of Spain in meddling in the affairs of France.* It is inserted in the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the League*, published in 1604 by Samuel du Lis (136). There is an edition antecedent to both these, printed in 1590 in 8vo, and intitled only, *Coppie de l'Anti-Espagnol fait à Paris.* i. e. "A Copy of the *Anti-Espagnol* composed at Paris." My edition of the fourth volume of the *Memoirs of the League* is printed in the year 1595; the *Anti-Espagnol* is inserted in it at page 230. If Mr. Baillet saw an edition in 1604, it is not the first. What I shall now quote may serve as a supplement to a remark in the article of Gregory VII (137). It is that in which I observe, that it is not a certain method to judge of Princes by the pieces, which are published against them during the violence of factions. "It is usual for all factions to produce libels. He who wrote the *Anti-Sixte*, would not have stopped there, if he had not had express orders from the King to do so, long before he had the happiness of being reconciled to the Church. His Majesty, who never had any esteem for these turbulent and violent spirits, ordered that satyrical piece to be suppressed. But it was impossible to do so; and if it be preserved to another age, it will be made use of as a sword and shield by the enemies of the Church, who will rise out of the ashes of these people, to attack the head of the Church, according to their custom (138)." (136) Baillet, *Recueil des Anti*, Art. 122. (137) It is in remark [O]. (138) Florimond de Remond, *l'Anti-Pape*, cap. 16. num. 3. fol. 406.

HOSPITAL (FRANCIS DE L'), created Marechal of France April the 23d 1643 (a), was stiled before that time Monsieur du Hallier. Moreri copying Father Anselme speaks amply of his genealogy, and mentions his exploits and dignities; but he says nothing of a thing which I have read in an account of the State of France [A]. I shall relate it. I shall give likewise a supplement to an observation which I have made above concerning the first wife of the Marechal de l'Hospital [B].

I have

[A] Moreri says nothing of a thing, which I have read in an account of the state of France.] It is, that Marechal de l'Hospital "was originally of Calabria, of a very noble family, having had a great many alliances with the Kings and Queens of Naples. But the affection, which his predecessors had for Charles of Anjou second King of Naples, engaging them in his interests in opposition to the King of Arragon and Castile, they were obliged to retire into France, when these Spanish Princes refused the sceptre of that Kingdom (1)." Since Father Anselme has omitted this, he must either have been ignorant of it, or thought it not certain. He begins the genealogy of that family with one Francis de l'Hospital, who lived in 1314 and 1338 (2), and in another work (3) he goes no higher than Francis de l'Hospital, Chamberlain, &c. to Charles VI in 1404, and fifth grandfather to the person who is the subject of this article (4). Observe, that the author of the notes upon the *Coups d'Etat* of Gabriel Naudé is extremely mistaken in asserting that our Marechal de l'Hospital was descended from the Chancellor of that name.

[B] I shall give a supplement concerning the first wife of the Marechal de l'Hospital.] We have seen elsewhere (5), that he had no little delicacy, that he made no scruple to marry Charlotte des Essars, mother of several illegitimate children, some of whom she had by King Henry IV, and others by the Cardinal de Guise. I forgot, when I wrote that remark, what I had read in the notes upon the amours of Henry the Great. But since I recollect it now, it is necessary to inform the reader of a new circumstance concerning the victory which Mr. du Hallier had gained over matrimonial scruples. You will see, that Charlotte des Essars was a bastard herself, and that after the death of the Cardinal de Guise, she was mistress to another Prelate.

Henry IV "was still fond of Charlotte des Essars, the natural daughter of the Baron de Sautour in Champagne, and the Lady de Dheny, by whom he had two daughters. She had attended the Countess de Beaumont Harlay in her embassy to England. Then she was mistress to the Cardinal de Guise, who had several children by her, the Count de Romorantin, the Abbe de Chailly, the Chevalier, Madam de Rhodes, &c. Then she was mistress to Monsieur de Vic, Archbishop of Auch, three years. Then she married Francis de l'Hospital, Count de Rofnay, Baron de Beine, Marechal of France (6)." Father Anselme informs us, that she married about the year 1629, and that her husband "married for his second wife, August the 28th 1633, Frances Mignot, by whom he had a son, who died a few days after he was born (7)." Moreri observes, that the adventures of this Francis Mignot are very singular. This has been suppressed in the Paris Edition of 1699. The Marechal de l'Hospital's stars were not fortunate in that point.

Father Anselme (8) remarks, that Charlotte des Essars died in the year 1651. It must be concluded from this, that our Francis de l'Hospital procured his marriage to be dissolved, for he married another wife in 1633 (9). I know nothing how this affair came about, nor whether there are any books, which give us the particulars of it. I believe that many of my readers will imagine, that he discovered his mistake after he had committed it, and that in hopes to repair it, he carried on a suit against his wife. He did not perhaps find her so rich as he had thought. He probably imagined, that a woman, who had been successively mistress of the King of France and two Archbishops, had amassed a vast fortune; and that if a man of quality is allowed to marry a maid of mean birth,

(a) Anselme, *Hist. des grands Offic.* pag. 266.

(1) *Etat de la France*, printed in 1657, pag. 92, 93.

(2) Anselme, *Palais de l'Honneur*, pag. 414.

(3) Idem, *Hist. des grands Offic.* pag. 232.

(4) Pag. 905.

(5) Above remark [B] of the article GUISE (Lewis de &c.)

I have said in the second edition of this Dictionary, that Father Anselme has not observed, that the family of this Marechal was originally from the Kingdom of Naples, as another writer, whose words I cited, had remarked. I shall confirm this by the testimony of another author, and shew that the Marquis de l'Hospital, one of the most profound Mathematicians of the seventeenth Century, was of the same family with this Marechal of France [C].

birth, but who brings him the treasures of a financier, he ought not to be blamed for putting his own affairs into a good condition by marrying a woman, whose gallantries had raised her a great fortune. If he reasoned in this manner, and found afterwards that the Lady's fortune would not repair either her want of youth or reputation, what remained for him to do but to annul the contract? However that be, the Lady gained the great end of those of her sex: she had an husband; she entered the port in spite of so many storms and shipwrecks. It is very probable, that the notion of her being rich procured her an husband. Let us conclude this remark with some verses of Regnier:

*Je ne suis point adroit, je n'ay point d'éloquence
Pour colorer un fait, ou destourner la foy,
Prouver qu'un grand amour n'est sujet à la loy,*

*Debaucher une fille, & par vives raisons
Luy monstret comme Amour fait les bonnes maisons,
Les maintient, les esleve, & propice aux plus belles
En bonneur les avance, & les fait Damoiselles.*

*Et pour le faire court
Dire qu'il n'est rien tel qu'aymer les gens de court
Allegant maint exemple en ce siecle ou nous sommes
Qu'il n'est rien si facile à prendre que les hommes,
Et qu'on ne s'enquiert plus s'elle a fait le pourquoy,
Pourveu qu'elle soit riche, & qu'elle ait bien dequoy.
Quand elle auroit suivy le camp à la Rochelle,
S'elle a force ducats elle est toute pucelle.
L'honneur estropié, languissant, & perclus,
N'est plus rien qu'un idole en qui l'on ne croit plus (10).*

" I have no art nor eloquence to colour
" A faulty action, or to overthrow
" Justice and right, or prove that powerful love
" Is subject to no law.

" Debauch a girl, or shew her by sly reasons,
" That love's the cause of raising families,
" Exalts the fair, propitious to their fortune,
" And gives to them the rank of Gentlewomen.

" And in short, to say,
" 'Tis honourable to intrigue with Courtiers,
" Urging examples of the present age;
" That men are easy to be gain'd upon,
" And that the only question now in vogue,
" Is what a woman has, not how she got it;
" And tho' to Rochelle she the camp has follow'd,
" If she be wealthy, she is still a maid.
" Honour's an idol now no longer worshipp'd."

(10) Regnier, Sat. 3. fol. m. 12. He says in Sat. 13. fol. 66 verso, que lors qu'on a du bien, il n'est si decrepité, Qui ne trouve (en aimant) couverte à sa marmite.

(a) Thus he writes his name at the beginning of his books. Many persons write it *Hottomanus*, or *Hottomanus*.

(1) Born at Emmerick in the county of Cleves, according to Mr. Baillet, tom. 2. of the *Anti*, p. 131. (2) Thus I correct the mistake *Ludovic VI*, in the *Life of Hotman* in the edition

HOTMAN (FRANCIS), in Latin *Hotomanus* (a), was one of the most learned Civilians of the sixteenth Century. He was born August the 23d 1524 at Paris, where his family, originally of Silesia [A], had flourished for some time. At fifteen years of age he was sent to Orleans to study the Civil Law, and he became capable of a Doctor's degree in three years. His father, a Counsellor in the Parliament, who had already designed his employment for him, sent for him home, and placed him at the bar. But the young man was soon displeas'd with the chicane of the Court, and applied himself vigorously to the study of the Roman Law and of Polite Learning. He relished the new opinions, on account of which a great many persons were put to death in the Kingdom; and finding that he could not profess them at Paris, went to Lyons in the year 1547, where he published a book. This was the second work which he had com-

[A] His family was originally of Silesia.] There are several families of the name of Hotman at Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, and from these are descended several others settled in Lusatia, in Misnia, in the country of Cleves, &c. LAMBERT HOTMAN (1) went into France to bear arms in the service of Lewis XI (2), and married advantageously at Paris. JOHN HOTMAN,

There are truths as well as hyperboles in the expressions of this Satyrift. See the margin (11).

[C] I shall confirm this by the testimony of another author, and shew that the Marquis de l'HOSPITAL, one of the most profound Mathematicians of the XVIIth century, was of the same family with this Marechal of France.] The Count de Sainte-Mefme, who died December the 4th, 1701, " was of the family de l'Hospital, a family much more illustrious of itself (since the origin of it is lost in royal and consular families) than celebrated for the great posts and high dignities, which it held in France for above four hundred years, that it was settled there. It was originally of Naples, and bore the name of Gallucy; which it quitted to assume a French name, which was that of the Estate of L'Hospital, which one Gallucy, the head of that house in France, bought upon his arrival there (12)." You will observe, that this Count de Sainte-Mefme was descended (13) of ALOLF DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Choisy, Captain of the Forest of Orleans, elder brother of CHARLES DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Vitry, from whom the Marechal of France sprung. These two brothers were sons of HADRIAN DE L'HOSPITAL and Anne Rouhault, daughter of Joachim Rouhault, Marechal of France. He paid homage to the King at Paris, November the 27th, 1498. The Count de Sainte-Mefme was Lieutenant-General of the King's armies, Governor, Bailif, and particular Judge of the Waters and Forests of the County of Dourdan, first Master of the Horse to Gaston of France, Duke of Orleans, Gentleman of Honour, and first Master of the Horse to the Duchess Dowager of Orleans (14), and afterwards to the Great Duchess of Tuscany (15). You will find his elogium in the book, which I quote (16). He was married to Elizabeth Gobelin, daughter of Monsieur Gobelin, Counsellor of State and Intendant of the Ar-mies, and left two sons. The elder is the Marquis DE L'HOSPITAL, Author of the *Analyse des infinites petits*. The younger is the Count DE L'HOSPITAL, who enjoys the same place under the Duchefs of Tuscany, which his father held (17). The Marquis de l'Hospital, Author of the *Analyse des infinites petits*, and one of the greatest Mathematicians of our age, died at Paris the 2d of February 1704, aged forty three years. See his elogium in the *Memoirs de Trevoux* (18), and in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (19). " He married Mademoiselle Romille de la Chenelaie, with whom he lived always in so perfect an union, that he communicated to her his genius for the Mathematics. He left four children, a son and three daughters (20)."

(11) See the remark of the article ESSARS (Charlotte des) you will find there that the second marriage of our Marechal was posterior to the death of his first wife.

(12) *Mercur Galant*, for Jan. 1702, pag. 170, that this Count de Sainte-Mefme was descended (13) of ALOLF DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Choisy, Cap-tain of the Forest of Orleans, elder brother of CHARLES DE L'HOSPITAL, Sieur de Vitry, from whom the Marechal of France sprung. These two brothers were sons of HADRIAN DE L'HOSPITAL and Anne Rouhault, daughter of Joachim Rouhault, Marechal of France. He paid homage to the King at Paris, November the 27th, 1498. The Count de Sainte-Mefme was Lieutenant-General of the King's armies, Governor, Bailif, and particular Judge of the Waters and Forests of the County of Dourdan, first Master of the Horse to Gaston of France, Duke of Orleans, Gentleman of Honour, and first Master of the Horse to the Duchess Dowager of Orleans (14), and afterwards to the Great Duchess of Tuscany (15). You will find his elogium in the book, which I quote (16). He was married to Elizabeth Gobelin, daughter of Monsieur Gobelin, Counsellor of State and Intendant of the Ar-mies, and left two sons. The elder is the Marquis DE L'HOSPITAL, Author of the *Analyse des infinites petits*. The younger is the Count DE L'HOSPITAL, who enjoys the same place under the Duchefs of Tuscany, which his father held (17).

(14) Wife of Gaston of France. (15) *Mercur Galant*, January 1702, pag. 169-170. (16) Ibid. pag. 172, & seq. (17) Taken from the *Mercur Galant*, ibid. pag. 179, 180.

(18) In the *Addition to the month of Feb. 1704*, pag. 24, & seq. of the edit. of France. See also June 1704, pag. 1014, & seq.

(19) June 1704, Art. 2.

(20) *Journal de Trevoux*, June 1704, pag. 1016.

his eldest son, was so rich, that he disbursed very great sums for the ransom of Francis I (3). PETER HOTMAN, the youngest of the eighteen children of Lambert, was Chief-Justice in Eyre, and afterwards Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris. FRANCIS HOTMAN was his eldest son (4). The Supplement to Moreri asserts, that HENRY HOTMAN, born at Cleves in the year

(3) *Redimendo Franc. Regi ad Titulum capto, ingentem pecuniam solus fide sua curaverit summo Gallie bono, summa sua cum laude Petrus Neveletus Dofchius, in Vita Fr. Hotmanni*, pag. m. 208. 1466, (4) *Idem*, ibid.

of Leipzig 1686, and that of Amsterdam 1700.

mitted to the prefs [B]. Seeing that he had nothing to hope for from his father for his subsistence, he went to Lausanne [C], where the Magistrates of Berne gave him the place of Professor of Polite Literature. He published there some books, and married a French Gentlewoman (b), who had retired thither on account of Religion. His merit was so well known in all parts, that the Magistrates of Strasburg offered him a Professorship of Civil Law; and while he was discharging the functions of it, he received invitations from the Duke of Prussia and the Landgrave of Hesse. He did not accept of those invitations; but he did not refuse to go to the Court of the King of Navarre at the beginning of the troubles. He went twice into Germany, to desire assistance of Ferdinand in the name of the Princes of the blood, and even in the name of the Queen-mother (c). The speech which he made at the Diet of Francfort is published. Upon his return to Strasburg he was prevailed upon by John de Monluc to go and teach Civil Law at Valence [D]; which he did with such success, that he raised the reputation of that Univerfity. Three years after he went to be Professor at Bourges, at the invitation of Margaret of France, sister of Henry II; but he left that city in about five months, and retired to Orleans to the heads of the party, who made great use of his advice. The peace made a month after did not prevent him from apprehending the return of the storm; upon which account he retired to Sancerre, and waited there for better times. It was there that he wrote an excellent book *de Consolatione* (d). He returned afterwards to his Professorship at Bourges, where he was very near being killed in the massacre in 1572. But having the good fortune to escape he left France, fully resolved never to return thither, and went to Geneva. He read there Lectures upon Civil Law, and published books against the persecutors with such strength, that great promises were made

(b) She was of Orleans and her name was Claudine Aubelin. Petrus Niveletus, ubi infra, citation (e).

(c) See below the citation (23).

(d) His son published it after his father's death.

1466, was the first of that name, who came into France, and that he came thither with Engilbert, Duke of Cleves, who was the first Duke of Nevers.

[B] This was the second work which he had committed to the Press. For he had already published a little Tract *de gradibus cognationis*, which was greatly esteemed. *Pene puer libellum de gradibus cognationis adjuncto diagrammato publicavit à doctissimis viris in precia habitum, & mox à quodam haud ignobili Jurisconsulto probatum, ita ut eum suis in institutiones commentariis vehementer commendatum insereret* (5). i. e.

(5) Idem, Neveletus in *Vita Hotmanni*, p. 210.

“ While he was very young he published a small tract of the Degrees of Affinity, to which he added a table, and this tract was highly esteemed by men of the greatest learning, and approved of so much by a considerable Civilian, that he inserted it with great commendations in his Commentaries on the Institutions.” The second work was a Commentary *ad titulum Institutionum de actionibus*. The beauty of the style, and the knowledge of the Roman antiquities, which were very conspicuous in this piece, made it prodigiously esteemed (6). Mons. Teiffier (7) ought not to have applied this fine encomium to the little tract upon the Degrees of Affinity. If he had consulted with a little more attention the work, which he quotes (8), he would not have taken one for the other.

(6) *Juriconsultis etiam magnis gratum ob Latini sermonis elegantiam, & Rom. antiquitatis exquisitam scientiam*. Idem, *ibid.*

(7) *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 115.

(8) Nevelet, *Vita Hotmanni*.

(9) *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 115.

La Croix du Maine will inform you, that the French translation, which Hotman made of the Apology for Socrates, written by Plato, was printed in 1549 at Lyons, by Sebastian Gryphus, in 8vo.

[C] He went to Lausanne. Mr. Teiffier says, that Francis Hotman, when he left France, retired to Geneva, and lived some time in Calvin's house (9). I believe that he is in the right, though the Life of Hotman, which he quotes, mentions nothing of it. It seems that Nevelet has suppressed a particular, which he ought not to have omitted. Is it not very probable, that the Magistrates of Bern should offer a Professorship in Polite Literature in the University of Lausanne to a youth of three and twenty years old, who lived at Lyons. But it is probable that they offered it to him, if we suppose that he lived at Geneva, and that he had gained the affection of Calvin. Here we see the want of exactness, which is to be found in the best books, because good Authors generally are those, who value themselves upon making their Narration concise. They do not always consider, that by contracting it in this manner they sometimes strangle it.

(10) Horat. de *Arte Poet.* ver. 25, 26.

Brevi esse lubero, obscurus sibi (10). This may have been the case of Nevelet here: or we may say, that not having seen in the memoirs given him the journey from Lyons to Geneva, he thought, that Francis Hotman did not leave Lyons till he went to be Professor of Polite Learning at Lausanne. *In urbem Equestrum . . . ad humaniorum quæ dicuntur literarum professionem honorifice à*

Senatu Bernensi Reipub. evocatus, cujus in ditione urbs illa se consulit (11). But let us not determine in

(11) Neveletus, in *Vita Hotmanni*, pag. 211.

favour of what is most probable, for as there was then at Lausanne several eminent Refugees, who knew and had a great esteem for the merit and piety of Francis Hotman (12), they might easily obtain of the Magistrates of Bern to send an invitation to him, while he lived at Lyons. Mr. Teiffier observes, that it was by mediation of Theodore Beza, that the city of Lausanne offered to Hotman the post of Professor of Polite Learning. I believe, that he is mistaken, and that he should rather have said, that it was by Calvin's mediation; for Hotman was Professor at Lausanne, before Theodore Beza went to be Professor of Greek there: *Erant Lausannæ tunc temporis doctrina & pietate viri insignes Petrus Viretus Ecclesie Pastor . . . Franciscus Hotmannus eloquentiæ Professor* (13): And it is certain Theodore Beza had occasion for the interest of Calvin to obtain that Professorship. Is it possible, that a man should procure for another a Professorship in a city, where he is not, and in which he cannot settle himself but by the interest of another? Mr. Teiffier undoubtedly thought, that Beza was Professor of Greek at Lausanne before Hotman was sent for thither. Judge how important it is in a narration of this sort of little particulars, to consult well the dates and niceties of Chronology.

(12) Idem, *ibid.*

(13) In *Vita Theodori Bezae*, apud Melchior Adam, pag. 205.

[D] Upon his return to Strasburg, he was prevailed upon by John de Monluc to go and teach Civil Law at Valence. If Thuanus had consulted dates, he would not have said, that John de Monluc took Hotman from Lausanne, to settle him at Valence. *Lausannæ primum docuit, inde à Joanne Monlucio Valentis Episcopo, & postea à Margarita Biturigum Duce evocatus repetitis vicibus Valentis & Avarici Biturigum, ubi cum aliquando audiivi, evocatus, &c.* (14). i. e. “ He first taught at Lausanne, and thence was sent for by John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and afterwards by Margeret Duchefs of Berry, two several times, to Valence and Bourges, where I heard him.” These words *repetitis vicibus*, were not understood by the French translator: he thought that they meant, that Hotman taught Civil Law by turns, sometimes at Valence, and sometimes at Bourges (15). It is not so: he did not teach again at Valence after he had once left it. It should therefore have been said, that the Duchefs of Berry sent for him twice to Bourges, as may be seen in the body of this article. Those who see in the life of Francis Hotman the series of his removals from one City to another, will pay no regard to the Memoirs given to Thuanus, since he says, that after the massacre in 1572, Hotman went to Montbelliard, and thence to Basil. He should have said, that he went to Geneva, thence to Basil, thence to Montbelliard, afterwards to Geneva, and at last to Basil.

(14) Thuan. lib. 99. pag. 373, ad ann. 1590.

(15) See the *Eloges tirez de Mr. de Thou par Mr. de Teiffier*, tom. 2. pag. 136. edit. 1696.

to him, to engage him not to write any more in that manner; but he did not regard those offers [E]. Some time after he went to Basil, and taught Civil Law there. The plague obliging him to leave that city he retired to Montbelliard, where he lost his wife. He went afterwards to Geneva, and wrote a book there upon the rights of the King of Navarre [F]; after which he returned to Basil, and died there February the 12th 1590. He

(16) Menard was mistaken in saying in his *Great History*, tom. 3. pag. 293. that Francis Hotman was a refugee in the Palatinate, when he published his *Franco-Gallia*.

(17) Pag. 227.

JUDGMENT concerning the book intitled, *Franco-Gallia*.

(18) This is only a translation of the Latin of Thuanus, lib. 57. pag. 49. ad ann. 1573.

(19) Teiffier, *Ad-ditions aux Elo-ges de Mr. de Thou*, tom. 2. pag. 139.

(20) It was written from Strasburg in 1595 upon the subject of the *Life of Francis Hotman* written by Nevelet.

(21) It is in the original *la doute*; but I think it ought to be *la douleur*.

(22) *Lettres de Bongars*, pag. 651. edit. de la Haye, 1695.

[E] He published at Geneva (16) books against the persecutors with such strength, that great promises were made to him... but he did not regard those offers.] Here is what the author of his life says (17). "Ad Allobroges igitur iterum tanquam in portum se refert, scriptisque aliquot eruditissimis contra fidem immo per fidem ipsam cælorum innocentiam constanter tuetur: Et quidem adeo efficaciter, ut qui mollem putabant futurum ejus in tanta calamitate animum, prolixis sollicitationibus hortarentur ab istiusmodi scriptis genere abstinere; quibus ille hoc tantum reposuit, Nunquam sibi pro pugnatam causam quæ iniqua esset: nunquam quæ jure & legibus niteretur, desertam præmiorum spe vel metu periculi; opprimi enim in bona causa melius, quam male cedere. Non modò non excusandum parricidium, ultro etiam defendendam causam innocentium." i. e. "He retires therefore again to Geneva, as to a secure haven; and in several learned treatises boldly defends the innocence of those, who were killed contrary to all faith, nay on account of their faith; and this he did with such force, that those, who thought his mind would be broken in that great calamity, urged him with large promises to refrain from that way of writing; to whom he made only this answer; that he never defended an unjust cause, and never deserted a good one through hope of reward or fear of danger, since it was better to fall in a righteous cause than to retreat with dishonour. That the massacre was so far from deserving to be defended, that the cause of the innocent ought voluntarily to be undertaken." A little after he mentions the book *de Regni Gallie statu*, which Hotman published about this time under the title of *Franco-Gallia*. It is a work valuable on account of its learning, but very unworthy a French Civilian, even in the opinion of many Protestants. Here is what Mr. Teiffier says. "His book intitled *Franco-Gallia* drew upon him WITH REASON the censure of true Frenchmen. For in this work he endeavours to prove (18), that this Kingdom, the most flourishing one in Christendom, is not successive, as the inheritances of private men are; and that antiently persons were advanced to the Crown only by the suffrages of the nobility and people; so that as antiently the power and authority of electing Kings belonged to the States of the Kingdom, and to the whole nation assembled in a body, so it was the States who deposed them from the government. And to this purpose he produces the examples of Philip de Valois, John, Charles V, Charles VI, and Lewis XI. But what he principally insists upon is to shew, that as it has always been judged, that women were incapable of the crown, so they ought always to be excluded from all public posts and administration (19)." Let us join to this passage of Mr. Teiffier the following judicious words of Bongars, extracted from a letter to Thuanus (20). "I will frankly own to you, *de Franco-Gallia*, vellem parcius, both because the book is unseasonable, and it seems to me, that the good man is grossly mistaken in this dispute. Grief (21) gave some colour to this work, when it was printed at first; and we suffer a great many words to escape us in extreme sorrow, which we should be ashamed to have represented to us, after our passion is over. I write you what I think, not knowing your judgment about it. I am sorry, that I did not do it sooner. I know well enough that the good man was pleased with this piece; he shewed it by the repeated editions of it. It is a disease, which many, too many of our nation are seized with, who would gladly reduce our monarchy to an anarchy. If there be any evil in a thing, we must not say therefore, that it ought to be destroyed (22)." Bongars, it will be said, put his finger upon the wound; Hotman was in a passion against his country, when he wrote that book; and not content with having revenged himself upon those, who governed at that

time, endeavoured to discharge his resentment upon the monarchy itself, and the whole body of the nation; and this with so little judgment, that he furnished very strong arms to the league for the exclusion of Henry IV; for according to his principles, the Catholics of France had a full right to elect the Duke of Guise King, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. A passionate writer (will it be farther said) is not capable of considering what may happen: he thinks only of the present: he does not reflect that times may change, and that the doctrine, which agrees at present with the interest of our cause, will be one day favourable to our enemies. This is what happened in France under Charles IX and under Henry III: each party was obliged to confute itself, as Montagne has finely observed. See the remark [7]. It is certain that if Catherine de Medicis had espoused the reformed religion, and established it in France, Hotman would have wrote an excellent book to prove that the regency of women is a very good thing, and agreeable to the design of our fundamental laws. With what force would he have confuted the Papists, who should have written against that Queen? The strongest reason, which the Protestants of France urged to justify their first taking of arms, is what Catherine de Medicis wrote to the Prince of Condé. They owned therefore the authority of that woman. Did not Hotman desire assistance in Germany in the name of that Queen? *Ab his paulo post, immo & ab ea, quæ tum minore annis regem regnumque administrabat, in Germaniam bis missus est de Regis regni rebus legatus, & auxilium à Caf. Ferdinando ordinibusque Germaniæ rebus ruentibus petere jussus. Exstat dicta tum ab eo in comitiis Imperii Francofordiensibus oratio* (23). i. e. "He was soon after (23) Nevel. in sent Ambassador into Germany on account of the affairs of the King and Kingdom by these, and also by the Queen who was Regent during the King's minority, and was ordered to desire assistance from the Emperor Ferdinand and the States of Germany to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom. His Speech made in the Diet at Francfort is still extant." We shall see elsewhere (24), that he was accused of want of sincerity in his *Franco-Gallia*, and we shall endeavour to say something in favour of this learned man.

[F] . . . and wrote a book there upon the rights of the King of Navarre.] It was that concerning the right of the Nephew against the uncle. *Vexatam illam rebus ita postulantibus & magnis viris hortantibus tractavit controversiam, de successione inter patruum & fratris filium, atque in universum de jure successionis regni in regno Gallie* (25). The league had put it into the head of Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, to set up for the lawful successor, and they employed an Italian Civilian, who wrote a treatise *Of the Right of the Uncle against the Nephew*. Francis Hotman refuted it learnedly. Let us cite Father Maimbourg: "Anthony Hotman, says he (26), Advocate General of the league in the Parliament of Paris, wrote the treatise *Of the Right of the Uncle against the Nephew to succeed to the Crown*. But it happened by a lucky and pleasant co-incidence, that Francis Hotman the Civilian, brother to the Advocate, seeing this book, which was sold in Germany, where he was at that time, maintained with great strength and learning the right of the nephew against the uncle, and shewed plainly in a learned treatise, which he published upon that subject, the weakness and all the false reasonings of his adversary's book, without knowing that it was his brother who had not put his name to it." There are several mistakes in this passage. I. It is not true that Francis Hotman wrote against an unknown author. He wrote against one Matthew Zampini, of Recanati, an Italian Civilian. *Id Mattheus Zampinus Rucanatenensis de trivio J. C. & federatis pecunia subornatus, edita consultatione probare conatus fuerat, quam Fr. Hotomannus magni nominis nostra ætate J. C. contraria consultatione itidem edita confutavit.*

(e) Taken from his *Life* written by Petrus Neveletus Dofchius, whom we shall speak of below in the remark [O]. It is one of the ten *Lives of Civilians*, reprinted by Leickherus at Leipzig 1686. I make use of that edition.

(27) Thuan. lib. 81. init. ad ann. 1585.

(28) Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 999.

(29) Thuan. lib. 91. sub finem. See also Mezerai, *Hist. de France*, tom. 3. pag. 708.

(30) *Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri*, pag. m. 239.

(31) Placcius, de *Pseudon.* p. 233.

(32) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 153.

(23) Baillet, tom. 2 des *Anti.* pag. 156.

(34) Lib. 82. pag. 33. ad ann. 1585.

(35) *De Scriptis adelpotis*, pag. 84. edit. 1686.

He had refused to go to Leyden, where there had been offered him a Professorship. He had time to put his works in order for a new edition (e), which was not published till a long time after his death in three volumes in folio (f). It does not contain all that he had published [G]. His *Franco-Gallia*, which he greatly valued (g), is that of his writings which is least approved of, and has persuaded some persons that he was the author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* [H], which is a book entirely conformable to Republican

notions. *fatavit* (27). i. e. "Matthew Zampini of Recanati, a mean Civilian, being hired by the Leaguers, endeavoured to prove this in a dissertation, which he published, and which was confuted in another treatise, published by Francis Hotman an eminent Civilian of our age." II. Consequently it is not true, that he wrote against his brother. III. It is not true, that he wrote this book in 1589 (*): he wrote it about the year 1585, as Thuanus observes; which agrees with Nevelet, who represents him as sixty years old at that time. IV. He was then at Geneva, and not in Germany. V. Anthony Hotman was not one of the Advocates General of the League in 1589: he was not so till two years after (28), when John le Maître, who performed that office with Lewis d'Orleans, was advanced to the Post of President au Mortier. The President Brisson was then dead. VI. It was Anthony Hotman, who wrote against his brother Francis Hotman, and not Francis who wrote against Anthony. *Postea & peculiari libro quem consulationi à Francisco fratre pro Navarro edita... opposuisse videtur voluit.* (Antonius Hotmannus) *rationes amplificata* (29). i. e. "Afterwards the arguments were proposed more amply in a particular book, which he (Anthony Hotman) seemed to oppose to a discourse published by his brother Francis in favour of the King of Navarre."

§ (a) I have a treatise intitled, *Ad Tractatum Matthæi Zampini J. C. Recanatenfis, de successione prærogatiuæ primi Principis Franciæ; Ornatissimi viri P. C. A. F. Civis Parisiensis & Regii Consularii Responso*. It is in 8vo, and consists of 80 pages, printed by the heirs of Wechelius 1589. Francis Hotman was a Parisian, and also Counsellor of State to the King of Navarre, who came to the Throne of France by the name of Henry IV during the life of Hotman. So that this may be his book. CRIT. REM.]

[G] *It does not contain all that he had published.* There are not inserted the burlesque pieces, which he wrote against Matharel and against Papyrius Masso, nor the book which he published at Geneva in 1553 under the name of Francis de Villiers, *Ad Remundum Rufum defensorum Rom. Pontificis contra Carolum Molinæum de statu primitivæ Ecclesiæ &c* (30), nor the *Nullitatis protestatio adversus formulam Concordiæ* (31), which he published under the name of Johannes Palmerius; nor the apology for this last book, in which he disguises himself under the name of Johannes Franciscus Apostolis Salassi V. D. M. (32). There is omitted his *Anti-Tribonianus*, which was published in French in 1603, and a Latin translation of which was printed at Hamburg in 1647. See concerning this book the curious Mr. Baillet (33). Lastly they have left out his *Brutum Fulmen*, which is not a burlesque piece, as Thuanus affirms. It is a work intirely serious, in which Francis Hotman refutes the bull, which Sixtus V published in 1585 against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. *Postea*, says Thuanus (34), *& in censuram illam scripsit Franciscus Hotmannus J. C. joculari isto stilo, libroque Brutum Fulmen titulum fecit, quo & de B. Francisci & B. Dominici vita ac moribus veteres historiæ, ab obsolete devotis viris scriptæ ridicule discutuntur.* i. e. "And Francis Hotman, a Civilian, wrote against that bull in a burlesque style, and intitled his book *Brutum Fulmen*, in which the old accounts of the lives and actions of St. Francis and St. Dominic, written by superstitious men, are exposed to ridicule." Francis Hotman treats of nothing less than of this subject.

Deckher (35) was misled in this point by Thuanus, but he has committed an error of his own: he asserts, that this learned Civilian was banished France on account of this piece. This is a mistake. Hotman left France in the year 1572, fully resolved never to return thither. *Neque unquam postea induci potuit, ut in patria consistendum sibi judicaret: non Lindegawensis ipsius Ducis literis inflexus, non promissis, non denique cum ab eo Magister supplicum apud se libellorum dicitur esse:*

(f) They were printed at Geneva by the care of James Lectius in 1599. (g) See the remark [E].

boc sæpe usurpans: Frustra Neptunum accusat, Jtesum qui naufragium facit (36). The *Brutum Fulmen* was published in 1585, as Deckher observes against Goldait, who has placed the edition under 1586. I have said nothing of the treatise *de regno Vulvarum*, which d'Aubigné ascribes to our Hotman in the second chapter of the first book of the *Confession of Sancti*: I know not what it is (3).

§ (3) The following epigram was in every body's hands about the year 1561 (*), occasioned by the greatest part of the Kingdoms of Europe being then governed by women, or at least under their administration.

Vulva regit Scotos (a), hæret (b) tenet illa Britannos, Flandros & Batavos nunc nostra vulva (c) regit. Vulva regit populos quos signat Gallia partu (d) Et fortes Gallos Italia vulva regit (e). His furiam furis, vulvam conjungite vulvis, Sic natura capax omnia Regna capit. Ad Medicem (†) artem incertam Gallia faucia tendit (†) Non uti Medicis est medicina tibi. Non credas Medicis, vena qui sanguinis hauria Conantur vires debilitare tuas. Ut Regi, matrique suæ sis fida Deoque, Utere concilio Gallia docta meo. Et pacem tu inter proceres non ponito bellum, Hospita (f) lis Artus rodit agitque tuos.

This possibly is the pretended treatise *de Regno Vulvarum*, ascribed to Francis Hotman by d'Aubigné. This Civilian was a Latin Poet, and his *Franco-Gallia*, which he published about twelve or thirteen years after, shews, that he did not approve of the administration of women. REM. CRIT.]

[H] *Persuaded some persons that he was the author of the Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*] When I spoke of this work in the plan of this Dictionary, I said (37), that the mistake of those, who ascribed to Francis Hotman the book of Junius Brutus, is a small one. Hotman, continued I, "left France on account of religion, and though he was not like those, who fly from persecution, breathing out threatenings and slaughter (38) as vehemently as the persecutors themselves, yet he complained and murmured in his retreat. He wrote a book intitled *Franco-Gallia*, to shew, that the French Monarchy is not what it is supposed to be, and that in right; the people are the true Sovereigns in it. Here is what made it believed, that he also wrote the book of Junius Brutus, besides that we see a great many maxims of the *Franco-Gallia* dispersed in it. Barclay shews only this last reason, which seems to him plausible enough, and pretends to overthrow it by something still more plausible: It is, says he (39), that Brutus makes use of divers arguments, which Hotman had ridiculed and confuted, and that he falls into such childish errors with regard to the Civil-Law, as such a man as Hotman could not be capable of. This is more obliging towards this learned Civilian, than what Boeclerus says. I wish, says he, that Hotman had not affected so obstinately to appear among those writers, who sound an alarm against Kings, and who by their private authority convert them into tyrants, by means of chicaneries, which corrupt not only true Philosophy, but also the holy Scriptures. I wish that he had not shewn this bad example to others in his *Franco-Gallia*, and had not falsified History more than once, in order to indulge his prejudices with too servile a complaisance. Boeclerus's Greek phrase has much more force than this, *Εἰς τὸ δαδῆσαι τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, etiam historiam non semel corruptit* (40). . . . (41) I cannot forbear saying, that Boeclerus extremely ill treats Hotman, who, once more, was not one of those men, who after the example of some English Catholics of the last age, left their country for religion with threaten-

(*) Le Laboureur, *Addit. au Mémoires de Castelneau*, tom. 1. pag. 773. (a) Mary Stuart. (b) Queen Elizabeth. (c) Margaret, Duchesse of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. (d) Catherine of Austria sister to Charles V, widow of John III King of Portugal, and Regent during the minority of Sebastian her son. (e) Catherine de Medicis. (†) Medicam. (‡) Tendis. (36) An allusion to the name of the Chancellor de l'Hospital, to whom Catherine de Medicis chiefly owed the Regency. (37) Pag. 90. (38) *Ἐμύριον ἀπειλιὰς καὶ ἐόντου*, says the Scripture in the Acts of the Apostles, cap. ver. 1. concerning Saul. (39) Barclay, *contra Monarchomacos*, lib. 3. cap. 2. pag. 316. (40) In Grot. de *Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. m. 275. (41) In the *Plan*, pag. 92.

notions. His own maxims were retorted upon him some time after [I]. It is difficult to avoid this inconvenience when a person writes upon certain subjects. He was well rewarded

ning air, casting out fire and flame, vomiting a thousand imprecations, thundring out *Maranatha*, seeking to return thither sword in hand, or by the assistance of the most exterminating armies; in short, desiring a return, preceded, like the departure from Egypt, by all the plagues of Pharaoh, not excluding the passage of the destroying angel. Hotman was contented with the severity of his pen, and touching upon certain things, which were not agreeable. It is true, that without thinking of it, he laboured for the League (42), and forged arms for Bellarmine. It is true likewise, that his blows were like those of the Parthians (43); I mean, that in the condition of a fugitive he fought better than he could have done, if he had not retired; but his writings by no means deserve the blame, which ought to fall on others, which have been published in the same circumstances. For instance, the English Catholics in vain wrote satires and violent invectives against Queen Elizabeth (44): these writings are all lost, and the least use is not made of them by any party. However that be, the appearances were a little against Hotman with regard to the book of Junius Brutus; and as I have already observed, it was a very slight error to make him the author of the *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*.

[I] His own notions were retorted upon him some time after.] It was by accident, and by a very common fatality, which changes the interests of parties, that Hotman's book was subject to the inconvenience, which I speak of. The revolutions in France changed the scene in such a manner, that the maxims of the two parties passed reciprocally to the direct contraries. It is pleasant to see how finely Montagne ridicules the Catholics. "See, says he (45), the horrible impudence, with which we throw about divine reasons, and how irreligiously we have rejected them and taken them up again, according as fortune has altered our situation in these public storms. This so important a proposition, whether it is lawful for a subject to rebel and take up arms against his Prince in defence of religion, you may remember to have been last year zealously affirmed by a certain party, and denied by the other party. But observe now in what quarter the affirmative is maintained, and whether arms rattle less for this cause than that. We burn those persons, who say, that truth should submit to the yoke of necessity; and yet how much worse does France than say so? &c." While the world continues as it is, there will always be every where ambulatory doctrines, dependent upon times and places; true birds of passage, which are in one country in summer, and in another in winter; and wandering lights, which like the comets of the Cartesians, inlighten by turns different vortices. Whoever should endeavour to act the Censor upon this occasion, would only be considered as an ill-natured Critic, a native of Plato's Republic. So that Hotman is not answerable for what the famous Advocate of the holy League found means to take advantage of from the *Franco-Gallia*. "They cannot complain, (it is Lewis d'Orleans who speaks in the name of the English Catholics), that the same measure is meted out to them as they have meted out to others. Follow their counsels, tread in the paths which they have taken to establish themselves, you will establish yourselves, and cover them with shame and confusion. In their *Franco-Gallia*, which is one of the most detestable books ever published, and written on purpose to throw all France into a combustion, they affirm, that it is lawful to choose a King to one's taste. Say therefore to the Heretics, that the King of Navarre is not to your taste, and therefore let him stay in his own country of Bearn, till you have an inclination for him. Thus should they be whipped with the rods which they have made, that they may know, that the powerful hand of God chastises them by their own evil counsels and pernicious writings (46)." This book of Hotman is at the bottom an excellent one, well written, and full of learning, and so much the more troublesome to the contrary party, as the author contents himself with al-

ludging facts, as he represents himself to his censurers.

Cur vel Massonus, says he (47), vel Matharellus Franco-gallia scriptori & simplici historiarum narratori ita terribiliter irascitur? Nam ut dicit Sylva nup. lib. 1. num. 10. quomodo potest aliquis ei succensere qui est tantum relator & narrator facti? Franco-gallia enim tantum narrationi & relationi simplici vacat, quod si Antonii Matharelli. It is a piece of the Macaronic style. Why is Masson or Matharellus so terribly angry at the author of the *Franco-Gallia*, who is a mere relator of facts? For as the *Sylva Nuptialis* says, how can any person be displeased at one, who only gives an account of the fact? The writer of the *Franco-Gallia* does nothing but lay down a plain narrative: and if his quotations were removed, there would be nothing left but blank paper." He was reproached, that his book appeared to be the production of a man drunk, furious, and mad: he answers, that this reproach is a piece of impudence, which deserved punishment, since he had always kept up in this book the character of a moderate and cool relator. *Quod dicit Franco-Galliam compositam ab auctore bene poto in aliqua anopolo, & eum evomuisse scriptum plenum furoris & insanie, video multos auctoris amicos, dictum istud appellare meretriciam impudentiam flagris & carcere dignam. . . . Ubi ullum iracundi animi signum? Ubi vox ulla perturbati animi in toto libro, ac non potius sedata & moderata narrationis (48)?* This is a vast advantage in such kind of books. For the rest, though his answer is written in a burlesque style, it contains a thousand things, which must be seriously understood. *Ridentum dicere verum quid vetat (49)?* Such, for instance, is what he says there to his antagonist, that it is not sufficient that he had brought in his accusation, and given security *de Lite prosequenda*; but that he ought likewise to engage expressly to suffer the *Lex Talionis*, in case he should be convicted of calumny. *Sed adhuc requiritur tertius ut se expresse obliget ad penam talionis, in casu quo probatur calumniator; quod probatur per L. ult. C. de calumniat. & omnes Canonistas; sed maxime per Hieronym. de Zanetinis in repetit. cap. 1. Extr. de accusat. De quo fit sumus concordet, & Matharellus se subiciat talioni in casu quod calumnia convincatur, totum negotium nostrum bene vadit, nisi forte, &c. (50).*

If we believe an Historian, who had been a Minister, this book of Hotman did not please all who were of the Reformed Religion, and did not displease all the Catholics of France, and was not written without some relation to the cabal of the Marechal d'Amville. "A little after, says he (51), the Duke of Alençon, brother to his Majesty, retired from the Court with several Lords, being practised upon by the said Marechal d'Amville, and taking the name of malecontents joined themselves to the Huguenots, some of whom began then to write differently from what they had done before; and Hotman the Civilian in his *Franco-Gallia* undertook to shew, That the French people had a sovereign authority, not only to elect Kings, but also to reject the sons of their Kings, and elect strangers: and he says upon this subject many things, commending those people, who restrain the licentiousness of their Kings, and reduce them to reason. He proceeds, after discoursing upon other points, to except against the regency of Queens, the mothers of Kings; which he did, because the Queen-Mother had been declared Regent, till the return of the King of Poland her son. In short, he cited our antient Histories, right or wrong, according to his passion. This book was agreeable to some of the Reformed, and to some united Catholics, who wanted innovations, but not to all." D'Aubigné (52) gives the same plan of this book; but he represents it as being published in 1573, during the life of Charles IX. Thuanus (53) and Mezeris (54), who give the same plan, place it, the former simply in the reign of Charles IX, the latter before the departure of the King of Poland. This overthrows the hypothesis of Cayet, viz. that the Regency's being conferred on Queen Catherine at the time of the death of Charles IX, was one of the grievances of Francis Hotman. It is certain, that his book was printed before the Queen was declared

(42) See the following remark.

(43) *Navita Bosphorum Parnus perborrescit. . . Miles sagittas & celerem fugam Parthi. Horat. Od. 13. lib. 2.*

(44) See the remark [K] of the article ELIZABETH.

(45) *Essai, lib. 2. cap. 12. pag. m. 193. Mezeris makes the same remark, pag. 792. of the 3d tome of the History of France.*

(46) *Advertissement des Catholiques Anglois, pag. 74. 75. edit. 1587 in 8vo.*

(48) *Idem, ibid.*

(49) *Horat. Sat. 1. lib. 1.*

(50) *Matagonis Monitoriale, &c.*

(51) *Peter Victor Cayet, Avant-propos de la Chronologie Novenaire.*

(52) *Hist. Univers. tom. 2. pag. 670. Simler, Epit. Bibliob.*

Gesneri fixes the impression of the Franco-Gallia in 1573, and he is in the right.

This book was printed at Geneva by Jacobus Stoecrius in 1573.

The epistle dedicatory to the Elector Palatine dated Aug. 21, 1573.

(53) *Thuan. Hist. lib. 57.*

(54) *Hist. de France, tom. 3. in fol. pag. 293.*

(b) Nevelet in *Vita Hotmanni*, pag. 229.

warded for his *Brutum Fulmen* [K] by the King of Navarre. He was one of those who would never consent to be painted (b), but his picture was taken while he was in his last agony. He left two sons and four daughters. JOHN HOTMAN Sieur de Villiers, his eldest son, passes for the author of the *Anti-Chopinus*, a burlesque piece, and of the *Anti-Colazon*, which is an apology for his treatise of the *Embassador*, in which it was said, he had been a plagiarist from Charles Paschal. See Mr. Baillet (i). Moreri has not com-

(i) In the first tome of the *Anti*, pag. 120, & seq.

mitted many mistakes [L]. I am surprized that there has been omitted in the Life of Francis Hotman a particular, which is very much to his honour: it is, that at the age of twenty three years he read public Lectures in the schools of Paris [M]. There is likewise no mention (and I do not wonder at it) of certain things which Baudouin had published against him, and which would blacken his memory horribly, if they were true [N]. One could not credit them,

without

declared Regent by the edict of the 30th of May, 1574; but he forefaw perhaps that she would be so; and it is very probable, that he had her in his view, in what he wrote against the Regency of women. He remembered the evils, which that Princess had caused during her first Regency. This able Civilian, who had quitted the place of Counsellor of Paris for his religion, would have done better to answer his adversaries (55) in a serious and modest manner, than to make use of the Macaronic stile. See what Mr. Baillet says in pag. 336 of the second Tome of the *Anti*.

(55) Anthony Matharel, and Papyrius Masso.

[K] He was well rewarded for his *Brutum Fulmen*.] Let us begin our Commentary by these words of the Author of his Life. *His meritis præmium deberi cum intelligeret Henricus tum Navarrae Rex, ultro codicillos ad eum misit Senatoriæ in Consistorio suo dignitatis: cujus tamen eum fructum non tulit, quem beneficis Princeps voluerat: ac opinor in tantis rerum omnium angustiis factum, ut ex annuo quod debebatur salario, vix ad eum quidquam, sicut audio, pervenerit* (56).

(56) Nevel. in *Vita Hotmanni*, pag. 225.

i. e. "Henry then King of Navarre finding, that a reward was due to him on account of these merits of his, he sent him of his own accord a patent to be one of his Counsellors of State; but he did not enjoy that advantage of the place, which the generous King intended; and I believe it happened through the distres of the affairs, that of his annual salary scarce any thing came to him, as I am informed." Bongars, to whom Nevelet addresses the Life of Hotman, has made a reflection upon this passage. (57) There is another passage. After having said, that the King had, on account of his *Brutum Fulmen*, given him the place of Counsellor of State, *cujus tamen eum fructum non tulit quem beneficis princeps voluerat* (58: I assure you, Sir, that the King never bought a book so dear as that: it was paid for much above the value of it. It will be said to me, that I ought to have delivered my opinion upon these passages sooner; but it often happens, and to me too often, that we never consider till after the thing is done. I wrote to Mr. Hotman what I thought about the first (59); I do not touch upon the second; he might be offended, not knowing how the affair passed." Observe, that Nevelet does not speak there of the *Brutum Fulmen*, as Bongars supposes, but of the book against Zampini *de Successione inter patrum & fratris filium*.

(57) *Lettres de Bongars*, p. 651. printed at the Hague 1695.

(58) These words are full of mistakes in the edition of the *Lettres de Bongars*, which I quote; I cite them as they ought to be.

(59) That is, of what relates to the *Franco-Gallia*. See above the words of Bongars, remark [E] citation (22).

[L] Moreri has not committed many mistakes.] I. He fallacily supposes, that Hotman was saved by his scholars at Bourges, at a different time from that of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day; that is, of one event he makes two. II. The year of his death is not rightly expressed: it should be 1590, and not 1591. And III, this mistake should not be imputed to Spondanus in citing him under the year 1591, n. 22. for it is under that numero in the preceding year that he speaks of Hotman's death.

[M] At the age of three and twenty years he read public lectures in the schools of Paris.] I prove this by the following words of Stephen Pasquier (60). "I can tell you, that one of the most lucky things which happened to me in my youth, was, that the day after the Assumption of our Lady in 1546, Hotman and Baudouin began their lectures of Law in the schools du *Decret* of this city of Paris; the former at seven in the morning, reading upon this title, *De notionibus*; the latter at two in the afternoon, reading this title, *De publicis Judiciis*, in a great assembly of Auditors. And the same day,

(60) Pasquier, *Lettre a Mr. Loyfel*. It is in the 19th book of his *Lettres*. The words, which I quote, are in page 501. of the 2d tome.

"under these two learned men, I began to study the Law."

[N] Certain things which Baudouin had published against him: . . . would blacken his memory horribly, if they were true.] Baudouin affirms; that Hotman was excommunicated at Strafburg for the crime of adultery.

Argentinae propter adulterium excommunicatæ sodalium tuum Hotmannum (Petrus Alexander) (61). i. e. "Peter Alexander excommunicated your companion Hotman at Strafburg for adultery." These words are addressed to Theodore Beza. The author had already mentioned this fact with more circumstances,

(61) *Respons. ad Calvin. & Bezaam pro Franco-ciso Balduino*, folio 77.

and added, that the same Hotman lost likewise his canonry and office in the university. *Recitata tunc quoque nostris fuit causa tui Hotmanni, nempe propter quod facinus illic aliquando primum fuisset excommunicatus ab suo Gallo Concionatore Petro Alexandro, te quidem propter antiquam societatem submurmurante, sed assentiente tamen tuo si minus parente, ac certe avo Gulielmo Farello, sæpius illum jurisperditum appellante. Addebant & complura ejusdem generis quæ per vulgata erant per Joannem Infantium, testem valde idoneum, & cujus non solum opera, sed & opibus quamdiu opus habuisti, tam liberalliter es abusus, ut fidem ei detrabere vix audeas. Altera causa fuit exposta cur tuus ille Hotmannus (cujus causa non est abs te sejuncta) ut antea Ecclesia, sic deinde schola & suo Canonatu pulsus esset: tandemque quid in eo Sturmianus ipse gravissimus accusaret narratum est, & perlecta Sturmiana adversus eum terribilis expostulatio, quæ profecto non modo de istius flagitiis, sed de vestrae conjugationis mysteriis narrabat nimis multa* (62). i. e. "Then

"the case of your friend Hotman was related to us, viz. for what crime he was excommunicated there formerly by his own French Preacher Peter Alexander, while you complained on account of your old friendship with him, though at the same time William Farel, who is, if not your father, at least your grandfather, consented to it, and frequently styled him *Jurisperditus*. They added also a great many other things of the same kind, which were told about by John L'Enfant, a competent witness, whose assistance and wealth you made use of so freely, as long as you had occasion, that you will scarce presume to detract from his credit. There was another story related, why your friend Hotman, whose cause is connected with yours, was deprived of his school and canonry, as he was before expelled the Church; and at last the grievous charge laid against him by Sturmianus was told, and Sturmianus's terrible expostulation against him was read, which gave an account of too many things relating not only to his crimes, but likewise to the mysteries of your cabal." All these things were before the year 1562.

(62) *Ibid.* fol. 70 verso.

Baudouin a little after (63) mentions, that having known Hotman at Paris to be a man, who loved learning, he advised him to go and visit Geneva; that he entertained him in his house at Strafburg, with all possible civility, as an old friend, when Hotman retired thither, after having desired his interest for a professorship of Civil Law, and declared a great deal of dislike to teaching at Laufanne; *Alterum Balduini ex non dissimili errore peccatum quod fuit Hotmanni tui Laufannæ languentis & in cædendis quos in tuo ludo Grammaticam docebat, pueris defatigati, & ex eo carcere liberari misere cupientis, & commendatione Balduini ad aliquam juris professionem redire literis temere crediderit* (64); that he soon perceived, that he kept a viper in his bosom, since Hotman used all his endeavours to supplant him by secret artifices. Here follows one of his tricks: having by fraudulent inventions engaged Duanus

(63) *Ibid.* fol. 86.

(64) *Ibid.*

without believing, that it is much easier to be a perfect scholar and a great enemy to the persecuting religion, than to be a tolerably honest man. I shall speak one word concern-

renus to address to him an invective against Baudouin, he dispersed it all over the city, taking care at the same time to conceal it from Baudouin. At last he was obliged by Sturmius to go to him, and bear his reproaches, and expressed great regret for his conduct. There is cited (65) a fragment of the letter, which Sturmius wrote to him, in which he accuses him of having employed a great many artifices to supplant Baudouin. They succeeded; for he made Baudouin weary of Strasburg, and induced him to seek another post (66), and Hotman succeeded him. All these particulars are found in the third reply of Baudouin to Calvin. He had before cited in the second Reply this letter of Sturmius, and had drawn from it a great many things disadvantageous to Hotman. He had mentioned a passage, which contained a reproach of an execrable perjury. Hotman, the same day that he received the communion, protested to Sturmius, that he prayed to God that the sacrament, which he received, might change him to a Devil, if he falsely denied what he denied (67). And yet adds Sturmius, he denied a thing which was very true. Baudouin mentions this as a proof, that his antagonist, who undertook to dispute about the Lord's Supper, paid no great regard to it; and he takes that opportunity to reproach him with being excluded from the sacrament in Germany on account of adultery. *Etiā de mysterio Cæcæ Dominicæ disputat, & me cum sua Gallica (ut vocat) Ecclesia non idem sentire narrat, qui ab ea propter Cladianum facinus in Germania incommunicatus aliam quæcunque illi forte patuit mensam occupavit. Vis scire quanti facinus totum istud mysterium tuus Mystagogus? Audi Sturmium* (68). i. e. "He also disputes concerning the

(65) Ibid. pag. 87.

(66) He went to Heidelberg.

(67) Balduin. *Responsio altera ad Joann. Calvin.* pag. m. 176.

(68) Idem, ibid.

(69) Idem, ibid. pag. 181, 182.

(70) These words are addressed to Calvin.

(71) It is a Libel, which I speak of in the article of GUISE (Francis) remark [I].

(72) That is to say, in these times one ought to seek the shades.

" whose tongue he proves to be as dangerous as poison
" itself? Is it not he, who some years ago described
" his or your tumult at Amboise, and brought forth
" the *Tiger*, and is daily composing libels of the same
" kind? Lastly, is it not that knave, who wrote to me
" formerly, that *in these times one ought to seek the
" shades?*"

Here is the reason why I made a distinction between what we read in the third reply of Baudouin, and what is in the second. Theodore Beza has refuted the second, but said nothing in answer to the third; so that the third is not of such great consequence against our Civilian Hotman; for we may presume, that if Beza had answered it, he would have justified that Civilian. We ought therefore to attend more to the reproaches contained in the second, since they may be compared with a piece, in which Theodore Beza refuted it. We must judge by that refutation, what might be the foundation upon which Baudouin proceeded. I have found, that his antagonist advances nothing, which may clear Hotman: he only says, that the reproach of ignorance in Latin, and being an atheist would not at all trouble Hotman, who would not condescend to open his mouth with regard to the latter charge. *Magnum tibi certamen superesse video. Nam quæ tibi objecit magnam inscitiam arguunt, quæ tamen (ut ajunt) refellere non possit. Illa verò quæ regeris, cujusmodi sunt quæso? Latine scilicet nescit, ut cum oportuerit ad Latinam epistolam scribendam alterius operam requirere. Crimen autem atheismi, est omnium est gravissimum, ille tamen, ut opinor, ne responso quidem dignam putabit. Quid enim hoc aliud est quam latrare* (73). i. e. "I see, that you have a hard

" task to undertake. For what he objects to you,
" are marks of great ignorance, which, they say, you
" cannot confute. But what is it, that you say in re-
" turn? He does not understand Latin; so that he
" was obliged to make use of the assistance of another
" person in writing a Latin letter. With regard to the
" charge of atheism, though it is the most grievous of
" all, yet he, I believe, will not think it worthy
" of an answer. For what else is this but mere bark-
" ing?" There is nothing in this relating to the ac-
" cusations, which I have transcribed, and which are
" to be found in page 176, 180, 181, 182 of Baudouin's
" second reply. All that Beza has answered in defence
" of Hotman relates to page 175, where we find I, that
" Francis Hotman took to himself an Epistle Dedicatory,
" which Sturmius had composed. II. That he then com-
" mended the same works of Duarenus, which he had
" despised before when he wrote against Rufus of Du
" Moulin. III. That an elegant master of Cicero's
" atheism is not a fit person to catechise others. *Noster
" magister Latinitatis prius quam de meis scripturibus gar-
" riat, suarum oblitus respondeat Sturmio & aliis à quibus
" accusatus est quod suo nomine ediderit epistolam abs Sturmio
" scriptam, eamque institutionibus præfixam tamquam
" suam vendiderit Duci Saxonie. . . Oportet istius tui pa-
" troni incredibilem esse, non jam dicam, impudentiam quia
" latitat, sed nequitia cum quidem posteaquam edito libello
" de sacerdotiis adversus Ruffum pro Molino, proscidit il-
" los Beneficiarios commentarios (Duareni) nunc eos se ad-
" rare fingat. . . scilicet religionem nos docebit elegans ma-
" gister Ciceronianæ* (74).

(73) Beza, *Re-
" spons. ad Balduin.*
" *sub finem*, pag.
" 223. tom. 2.
" *Operum.*

(74) Balduin.
" *Respons. altera ad
" J. Calvinum,*
" pag. 175.

I am certain, that all my readers will agree, in comparing these passages of Baudouin with that of Beza, that nothing could be more disadvantageous to Hotman than to answer as Beza has done. Silence would have done him infinitely less harm. To complete the misfortune, Beza published (75) a letter of Sturmius, which disowns all that could be alledged from him to the disadvantage of Calvin and Beza; but there is nothing of this kind with regard to Hotman.

(75) Beza, *Re-
" spons. ad Balduin.*
" *Oper.* tom. 2.
" pag. 234.

Languet, a true Refugee, and a perfectly honest man, having seen Sturmius's accusations against Hotman, made several very sensible reflections, and worthy of a pious man; but it was with a severe regret, that his countrymen should behave so scandalously in Germany, and that persons, who under pretence of religion sought only to gratify their vanity, did more injury to the Protestant Religion, than the King of Spain and the Pope. He could not believe that Hotman could

forget

(k) In 1700 in ing the author of the Life of Francis Hotman [O]. The work printed at Amsterdam (k) under the title of *Francisci & Joannis Hotomanorum Patris ac Filii & clarorum Virorum ad eos Epistolæ* would furnish me with a great many additions to this article, with regard to our Civilian's application to the search after the Philosopher's stone, which was very injurious to his circumstances (l), and to many other particulars of his life; but it is better to refer the reader to Monsieur Bernard's *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (m). The extract which he gives of that work leaves nothing wanting. The reader may also consult the first volume *Observationum selectarum ad Rem Litterariam spectantium* printed at Hall in 1700.

(l) See the Funeral Oration of Scipio Gentilis apud Witte, Memor. Juriscons. pag. 33.

(m) March 1701, pag. 268, & seq.

forget himself so much as to be guilty of such crimes. Let us quote his own words. *Hæc sunt levia si considerantur cum turpibus factis nostrorum hominum in Germania, & quidem eorum qui ornati sunt eruditione, & religionis specie, infirmarunt se in amicitiam bonorum virorum, qui ipsi summa beneficia exhibuerunt. Ut alios omittam, nuper vidi accusationem Sturmii adversus Hotmannum, quæ, si vera est, miseret me Sturmii; & pudet alterius, sed talia sunt, ut mihi videantur vix posse venire in mentem erudito viro. Quidam mecum egerunt, ut ipsius accusationis capita, ad te prescriberem, sed a talibus ministeriis ego plane abhorreo, cum præsertim sciam, te nec voluptatem nec utilitatem ex iis percipere posse, & ad me nihil pertineant, nisi forte infamiae pars in me redundet, eo quod a nostris hominibus talia perpetrentur in ipsa Germania. Hæc sane tanto dolore me afficiunt, ut nesciam an ex ulla re majorem unquam senserim. Video ubique eorum ambitionem, qui prætextu religionis sua querunt, magis odesse ipsius religionis progressui, quam Pontificem Ro. Regem Hispaniæ, & omnes ipsorum ministros. Sed de re odiosa nimis multa scribo* (76). i. e. "These

(76) Languet. Epist. 64. lib. 2. pag. 186, 187.

are light things, if compared with the scandalous behaviour of our countrymen in Germany, and indeed of those who are eminent for their learning, and under pretence of religion have insinuated themselves into the friendship of worthy persons, who have done them the highest services. To omit others, I lately saw Sturmii's accusation against Hotman, which, if true, I pity Sturmii, and am ashamed of Hotman; but the facts are of such a kind, that I scarce think that a man of learning could be guilty of them. Some persons have desired me to write the heads of the accusation to you; but I am greatly averse to such an employment, especially as I know, that you can find neither pleasure nor advantage from it, and

as they have no relation to me, unless perhaps part of the disgrace is reflected upon me, because such things are done by our countrymen in Germany. This gives me so much regret, that I know not whether I ever felt greater upon any occasion. I see every where, that the ambition of those, who under pretence of religion seek their own interest, is more injurious to the progress of religion itself, than the Pope, the King of Spain, and all their adherents. But I insist too long upon a disagreeable subject." The letter from which I extract these words, is dated at Paris December the 11th 1561. Another of his letters dated at the same city January the 23d 1562 informs us, that the Duke of Guise, who was gone to meet the Bishop of Strasbourg at Saverne (77), had begun a prosecution against Francis Hotman for defamatory libels; and that many persons affirmed, that in consequence of this he had undertaken that journey. Languet could not think, that so slight a motive would have engaged the Duke of Guise to go to Saverne: but I do not doubt but that he judged it to be a disgrace to Hotman to be prosecuted as a libeller.

(77) Idem, Ibid. Epist. 67. pag. 197.

[O] I shall speak one word concerning the author of the life of Francis Hotman.] His Latin name *Petrus Neveletus Dofebius*, signifies Peter Nevelet, Lord of Osche. The title of this Lordship is given him in Pasquier's letters, as also that of *Advocate in the Court of Parliament at Paris* (78). He was son of a sister of Peter Pithou, as appears from a letter, which that uncle wrote to him, and which was printed at the end of Quintilian's declamations in some editions. Isaac Nicholas Nevelet his son published *Æsop* and the other ancient *Fabulists*, with notes in 1610. It was the first fruits of his studies, and he dedicated it to his father.

(78) See the 8th book of Pasquier's Letters, pag. 467. of tome 1.

HOTTINGER (JOHN HENRY) one of the most famous authors of the seventeenth Century, was born in Zurich the 10th of March 1620. The progress he made in his first studies gave such promising hopes, that the trustees of the schools resolved to send him to study in foreign countries, at the expence of the public. He began his travels the 26th of March 1638; and went to Geneva, whence, after two months stay, he went to France. He afterwards visited Flanders and Holland, and made choice of Groningen for the seat of his studies; but being very desirous of improving himself in the Oriental tongues, he went, a year afterwards, to Leyden (a), to be tutor there to the children of Professor Golius, who was the best skilled in those languages of any man in the world. He improved greatly, by the instructions which Golius gave him and the assistance of a Turk, in the study of the Arabic. He would have followed the Embassador (b) of the States General in 1641, in quality of Chaplain, to Constantinople, had the Magistrates of Zurich consented to it; but they chose rather to recall him, in order to employ him for the glory and advantage of their public schools. They permitted him to visit England before he returned to Switzerland; and the instant he was returned from that country, they appointed him (c) Professor of Ecclesiastical History; and a year after they gave him two Professorships, that of Catechetical Divinity, and that of the Oriental Tongues. He married at twenty two (d), and set up for an author at twenty four years of age [A]; and was so well pleased with

(a) In 1639.

(b) William Botwell.

(c) In 1642.

(d) See the remark [F].

[A] He set up for an author at twenty four years of age.] And this was not for a small enterprize, but to attack, on a very delicate and knotty subject, one of the most learned men of Europe at that time; Hottinger undertaking to refute father Morin's dissertations on the Samaritan Pentateuch (1). We may therefore apply to him the following words of the *Chaplain de-coiffé*.

(1) Printed in 1631, and not in 1651, as is said in Father Morin's Life, pag. 22. edic. Francof.

Mes pareils avec toi sont dignes de se battre, Et pour des coups d'essai veulent des Henriis quatre.

"My equals, sure, are worthy of engaging
"With thee; and, for their first essay, would write
"An Epic Poem."

This work, which he intitled *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ*, was greatly approved by the Protestants, either on account of the author's erudition, or from the matter and subject, which could not be more favourable, since Hottinger defended the Hebrew text of the Bible, whose authority father Morin did all that lay in his power to enervate. In Mr. Simon's opinion this is one of the

with that character, that he afterwards was for ever publishing books [B]. This was not very difficult for him to do, he being extremely laborious, and was blessed with a very happy memory. It is nevertheless surprizing, that a man who had possessed so many academical employments, and was so often interrupted by visits, and by the very extensive literary correspondence in which he was engaged [C], should have found time to write

the best works that Hottinger ever published; so that we may say that his first attempt was his master-piece. I will quote the whole passage of Mr. Simon, which is far from being advantageous to the memory of the Swiss doctor. "Had Hottinger observed some moderation in his works, and not dwelt so long upon trifles, we might find some useful things in them, with respect to the understanding the literal sense of the Scriptures. But as he generally writes for a party, and used to compose his works with too much precipitation, he is liable to frequent mistakes. One of his best works on this subject, is that written by him against father Morin's *Exercitationes Samaritanæ*; but neither is he quite accurate in this work (2)."

(2) Simon, *Histoire Critique de vieux Testament*, liv. 3. chap. 19. pag. m. 474.

[Father Morin had asserted, in the strongest manner, that this Samaritan Pentateuch was authentic, and preferred it to the Hebrew text, upon pretence that the latter had been corrupted by the Jews; and it was to combat this opinion that Hottinger wrote the work in question. *Addition by the Translator.*]

Mr. Simon criticized, in another book, this work of Hottinger; but then he does this in the most gentle manner, and without really designing to prejudice him.

(3) In *Vita Job. Morini*, pag. 36. 37.

His words are as follow (3): *Joannes Henricus Hottingerus, qui statim à Libri sui limine cujus hæc est inscriptio, Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ de Pentateucho Samaritano ejusque ıdentica authentica; Morinum appellat Monachum qui communem Monachorum sortem superet. Ille de Samaritanis & eorum codicibus differit, putatque Samaritanos à Judæis Pentateuchi sui exemplar hausisse; sed conjecturis tantum, non autem firmissimis rationibus, ut ita sentiret, adduci potuit; istud minus accuratum esse probat exemplis aliquot pleonasmorum, vocum vel mutatarum in alias vel omisarum, similibusque erroribus quos profert, & ex quibus confici posse arbitrat, non magis credendum esse Samaritanis Pentateuchum suum jactantibus, quam Ebionitis verum & solum Matthei Evangelium Hebræum venditantibus, qua in re profecto gravissime hallucinatus est Hottingerus, qui tam venerandæ antiquitatis Pentateuchum Samaritanum cum adulterato Ebionitarum Evangelio comparare audeat. Morinum etiam imperitiæ arguit Hottingerus, quasi Rabbiorum quorundam quos laudaverat mentem baud affectus fuisse. i. e. "John Henry Hottinger, at the very opening of his work intitled, *Exercitationes against Morin, with regard to the authenticity of the Samaritan Pentateuch*, calls Morin a Monk, more learned than his brethren are generally found to be. In the work in question he treats concerning the Samaritans and their copies, and is of opinion that the Samaritans had their copy of the Pentateuch from the Jews; but he must have been prompted to think so, merely from conjectures, and not from any very solid reasons; he proves this to be less accurate, from some examples of pleonasm, omissions or changes of words, and such kind of errors; whence he thinks it may be proved, that we ought not to give greater credit to the Samaritans when they boast their Pentateuch, than to the Ebionites, when they pretend their being possessed of the only true Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew.*

(4) Jo. Henr. Heideggerus, in *Vita Hottingeri*, ad ann. 1644.

(5) The following words of Hottinger bear a relation to this; *Non displicuerant hæc primitiæ viris eruditiss, qui hinc inde novo Morini conatus sine impostum publicis testatur scriptis. Hottinger in Biblioth. Tigurina. pag. 122.*

"On this occasion Hottinger has been grossly mistaken, in daring to compare the Samaritan Pentateuch, so venerable for its antiquity, with the spurious Gospel of the Ebionites. He also charges Morin with ignorance, as not understanding some Rabbins he had praised." Heidegger had reason to observe, that father Morin's silence was a glorious circumstance with respect to our Hottinger; but I question whether he understood father Merfenne's thought (4). *Liber totius erudito orbi charus, acceptusque fuit. Constat Morinum diu ad huc superflitem librum accepisse & legisse, neque contra mutire ausum (5). Et Merfennus, cui Hottingerus librum adjunctis literis misit, id solum respondit, nec sibi Hottingeri juvenilem ardorem satis probari, nec Hottingerum Morinum penitus nosse. Quasi videlicet juveni integrum non fuerit senum deliria taxare, & ipse Mori-*

*nus interiorem animi sui notam in vulgus edito libro non patefecerit. i. e. "This work met with a gracious reception from all the learned world. It is certain that Morin, who lived a long time after, received and read the book in question, but did not dare to speak or write against it. And father Merfenne, to whom Hottinger sent a copy of his work and a letter, answered only this, that he did not approve of Hottinger's juvenile fire, and that he (Hottinger) did not know Morin thoroughly. As tho' it were not just for a young man, to answer the dreams and chimera's of old men; and as though Morinus had not discovered sufficiently to the public, his design in publishing the book in question." In my opinion, father Merfenne meant only this, viz. that Hottinger did not know father Morin very well: and I do not doubt but the sense of his answer was this: *The fire of youth has carried you too far; and were you but fully acquainted with father Morin's merit, you would not treat him after this manner. Do you pretend to confute this, by saying that father Morin has laid open, by this work, the most hidden recesses of his heart? I will grant that he showed his intention was to raise the credit of the Latin translation of the Bible, and to weaken the authority of the original text; but is not this the interest, and general design of the controversial writers of the Romish communion? Hottinger knew but little of father Morin, since he took him for a Friar.**

[B] He afterwards was for ever publishing books.] If the reader is desirous of seeing an exact catalogue of all the works he published from the year 1644, till the year 1664, let him peruse his *Bibliotheca Tigurina* (6); where he will find the History and Chronological Catalogue of his compositions; and another catalogue where they are ranked and digested according to the order of the subjects. The Author of his Life has also drawn up, in a Chronological order, all the works published by him. The number of them is astonishing.

[C] He was . . . so often interrupted by visits, and by the very extensive literary correspondence in which he was engaged.] The particulars of this will be seen in the following quotation. *Non publicis tantum Eis, quibus districtus fuit, curationibus vigilantissimè vacavit, & quotidie calamum in exarandis, quos in publicum mitteret, libris exercuit: verum etiam amicorum, peregrinorum & hospitum, qui ipsius videndi & audiendi gratiâ huc commearunt, desideriis satisfacit. Erat enim ipsius domus plena semper & frequens concursu splendidissimorum hominum. Quoties aliquid abditum quærebatur, ille thesaurus, ille delubrum adibat. Ex omnibus, quæ ei obvenerunt, negotiis miro vigore & industria se explicavit. Neque etiam deficiebat ad subita extemporali facultate. Veniebant omnium Ordinum, omnium ætatum viri: percontabantur de arduis, de dubiis questionibus, quarum ille pondus præsentis semper animo exceperit. Quid molestiam epistolarum & scribendi ad amicos hic recenseam; quo nonnunquam solo perire sibi diem sæpe quærebatur? Quotidie aut Galli, aut Germani, aut Belgæ, aut Angli, aut Dani, aut Itali ad ipsum Epistolas misistavere de literis, de casibus Ecclesiæ, de Civilium rerum momentis, de aliis, quibus ille graviter & promptissimè respondit (7). i. e. "He not only performed very diligently the duties of his public profession, and was daily employed in preparing books for the press; but also gratified the desires of such friends and strangers, as came hither from all parts to see and hear him; for his house was ever full of the noblest company. Whenever any difficulty occurred, people consulted him as though he had been an oracle. He acquitted himself of all business with a surprizing vigour and application of mind; and was very quick and ready on all occasions. He was visited by persons of all ranks and ages; and consulted upon the hardest and most doubtful questions; all which he answered in the most satisfactory manner. I might mention the great pains he used to take in writing to his friends, which alone, as he frequently*

(e) *Artium Rhetoricarum ordinarius, & Theologiae Vetus Test. atque Controversiarum extra ordinem Professor designatus.* Heidegger, ubi infra, Citation (g).

write so many books. New Professorships were bestowed upon him in 1653 (e), and he was admitted into the College of the Canons. Two years after he was sent, for three years, to the Elector Palatine, who was desirous to employ Hottinger, in order that he might restore the fame and reputation of the University of Heidelberg; but before he set out for that city he went to Basil, and there took his degree of Doctor of Divinity (f). He arrived at Heidelberg in August 1655, and was very graciously received in that city. Besides the Professorship of Divinity of the old Testament and the Oriental tongues, he was appointed Principal of the *Collegium Sapientiae*, and raised to the dignity of Ecclesiastical Counsellor. He was Rector of the University the year following, and wrote a book concerning the re-union of the Lutherans and Calvinists, which he did to please the Elector who was pretty zealous on this occasion; but he met with the same obstacles as had so often put a stop to the like design [D]. Hottinger accompanied this Prince to the Electoral Diet of Frankfort in 1658, and there had a conference with Ludolf on important matters [E]. He was not recalled to Zürich till 1661, his superiors being so complaisant as to prolong the term of years for which they had lent him to the Elector Palatine. He was immediately elected President of the Commissioners who were to revise the German translation of the Bible. A civil war breaking out in Switzerland in the year 1664, Hottinger was sent into Holland on state-affairs. The University of Leyden offered him a Professorship of Divinity in 1667; but not obtaining leave of his Superiors, he refused it. The Dutch were not disheartened at this refusal, but insisted that

(f) He took it the 26th of July 1655.

“ frequently complained, would often employ whole days; for he was perpetually receiving letters from the Literati of France, Germany, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Italy, with regard to learned matters, and affairs relating both to church and state, to all which he gave the most exact and speedy answers.” Some pages after a list is given of all those persons who corresponded by letter with Hottinger, and their names take up above two pages. Among the foreigners who came to visit him, we must not forget the Deputies of the Janseuists; he having several conferences with them, when they passed by Zürich in 1653, in their return from Rome to Paris. An account of these conferences was found

(8) At the end of among his papers, and lately published (8). *Historia Janseuismi*, published by Leydecker at Utrecht, in 1695.

[D] He met with the same obstacles to that reunion which had so often put a stop to the like design.] These obstacles, according to Heidegger, are party animosities, and a certain itch for disputation, which subsists upon contests, in the same manner as the Cameleon does on air. *Conciliis de pace Reformatos inter & Lutheranos faciendis, à Serenissimo Principe, tum temporis saxum illud magna contentione volvente, implicitus, aliquot disputationes Irenicas ad ventilandum proposuit, non eo tamen eventu, quem calidis votis boni omnes præceperunt. Obstabant eadem, quæ antebac, impedimenta, odia parum pia partium, & ingeniorum, quæ rixis haud secus quàm Chamæleon vento pascuntur, scabies* (9). i. e. “ He aided the most serene Elector with

(9) Heidegger, in *Vita Hottingeri*, folio D 2.

“ his counsels, in order to bring about an union between the Calvinists and Lutherans, which that Prince greatly desired; and proposed some Irenical disputations in order for the promoting of this; but they were not crowned with the success which all good men wished. The same obstacles that had formerly been so hurtful, now rendered these endeavours fruitless; I mean, the strong animosity of the parties one against the other; and a sort of itch of some people’s minds, which is fed with contest as the Cameleon is with air.” Spanheim observes, that the pacific design of the Elector Palatine, was defeated by a too passionately-zealous Treatise, written by

(10) Frid. Spanheim, *Elencho Controversiarum*, pag. 335, edit. 1694.

Danhawerus, a Lutheran Professor in Strasburg. *Qualiter etiam hoc sæculo in Colloquio Lipsiaco, anno 1631 ubi ad tria capita dissensus omnis rediit; tum sub Carolo Ludovico, Electore Palatino, Heidelbergæ quum profiterer, cujus pacificum institutum intervertit præcipue J. Conr. Danhawerus, A. 1658 scripto virulento Teutonico, Reformatorum salve, ad lapidem Lydium exactum, &c.* (10). It is certain that a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists would have been brought about long since, had it depended on Princes; but as that affair depends on the Divines, it could never take effect, and in all probability never will. It is not I who form this judgment in general (11) of these

(11) In this manner all these phrases ought to be understood: they do not relate to any person in particular, and leave room for exceptions.

Gentlemen; it is one of their own body, and he who can best speak of this, from experience. He says that the secular Magistrates, not the Clergy (12), ought to be chiefly employed in order for bringing about the union in question; for the Divines, says he, are extremely tenacious of their own opinions, and

not very just with respect to those who think in a different manner from them They should not dispute concerning the truth of the doctrines; for disputes rather create new wars, than put an end to the old ones. Disputants do not seek for concord, but for victory; and those who find themselves defeated, grow haughtier and more passionate. Were an assembly to meet, in order for treating of an union, the Divines in it should be allowed no more than barely to plead as Council; they should be heard but not be received as Judges; only the secular Magistrates should be allowed to act in that character; and it would even be proper to make the Divines promise, upon oath, to obey the sentence which the political Judges shall pronounce. *Theologi sint advocati, loquantur; Politici audiant, & sint judices sub auctoritate principum. At ante omnem disputationem Theologi ambarum partium fidem suam juramento obstringant se judicio delegatorum obtemperaturos, nec quidquam adversus pacem molituros* (13). *Hoc opus per manus præsertim Virorum Politicorum, non autem Ecclesiasticorum est tractandum & inchoandum. Theologi sunt suorum placitorum tenacissimi, parum placitis alienis æqui* (14) In colloquiis quæ de pace inveniendâ *habebuntur, de veritate dogmatum nullo modo erit disputandum. Pugnae non dirimunt bella, sed faciunt. In illis disputationibus non queritur pax, sed victoria. Nullus se victum unquam fatebitur, & si sentiat se dejectum aut prostratum, tantum abest ut ad concordiam fiat prior; contra ferocior evadet iratus & indignans, quod res ipsi male cedat* (15). This author was not capable of succeeding better in any description than in this.

(13) Petrus Jurinus, de Pace in secunda, pag. 263.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 262.

(15) Idem, ibid. pag. 263.

I must not omit that in 1666 Tobias Wagnerus, Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, attacked Hottinger’s book concerning the re-union, in his *Inquisitio Theologica in Acta henotica nostro potissimum tempore inter Theologos Augustanæ Confessionis & Reformatæ Ecclesiæ à Reformatis resuscitata* (16). Hottinger wrote a defence of himself, not in a work written expressly for that purpose, but transiently, and occasionally: It was in a synodal dispute, where he proved that the Reformed or Calvinist Church is not schismatical (17).

[E] He had a conference in Frankfort with Ludolf, on important matters.] It is known universally that Job Ludolf has acquired a vast knowledge of Ethiopia; and he, in conjunction with Hottinger, concerted measures for sending into Africa some persons skilled in the Oriental tongues, and who might make exact enquiries with regard to the state of the Christian religion in that part of the world. *Agitata præterea inter eos sunt secretiora consilia de mittendis Principum auctoritate & impensis in Africam juvenibus uno vel duobus, in Orientalium idiomatibus & rebus paulo jam provectoribus, qui Africanarum, imprimis Ethiopicarum Ecclesiarum arcana paulo penitus indagarent, & novis monumentis ibi collectis copias nostras auferent* (18). I believe this was the chief subject of the letters which they wrote to one another after the Diet of Frankfort; but I make no doubt that they began to speak of it in that city.

(18) Idem, ibid. folio D.

that Hottinger should be lent to them; upon which the Magistrates of Zurich having consented to this, in complaisance to the States of Holland who had interested themselves in this affair, he accepted the offer. As he was preparing all things for his journey, he unfortunately lost his life the 5th of June 1667, in the river which passes through Zurich (g) [F]. He had often refused the Professorships which were offered him [G]. The most violent adversaries who wrote against him were, Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellenfis and father Labbe [H]. Arnauld had a fling at Hottinger, but

(g) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Joh. Henr. Heidegger, and prefixed to tom. 9. of *Hottinger's Ecclesiastical History*.

[F] He unfortunately lost his life . . . in the river which passes through Zurich. He went into a boat with his wife, three of his children, his brother-in-law, a good friend, and a maid-servant, in order to go and let out, upon lease, an estate he had two leagues from Zurich. The boat striking a peer, which the swelling of the water hid, overset. Hottinger, his brother-in-law, and his friend escaped by swimming; but when they saw the danger the rest of the company were still in, they jumped back into the water. It was then Hottinger, his friend, and his three children (19) lost their lives; but his wife, his brother-in-law, and servant-maid were saved (20). His wife was the only daughter of John Henry Huldric, Minister of Zurich, a man of very great learning (21). She brought him several children; for besides the three who were drowned with him, and those who died before, he left four sons and two daughters.

(19) A son and two daughters; his eldest and youngest daughter.

(20) Heidegger, in *Vita Hotting.* folio F 4. See also the *Letter* which he wrote to the Curators of the University of Leyden, the 9th of June 1667. Crenius has published it in Part 1. of his *Animadversiones Philologicae & Historicae*, Rotterdam, 1695.

[G] He had often refused the Professorships which were offered him. The magistrates of Deventer earnestly solicited him in 1661, to accept of the professorship of Divinity, in the room of Henry Dieft, who on account of his old age, was declared *emeritus* (22). The Landgrave of Hesse would have got him to Marburg, to be a Divinity Professor there, and ordered Felix Platerus, a Physician of Basil, to negotiate that affair. He also had invitations from the magistrates of Amsterdam, and those of Bremen (23).

[H] The most violent adversaries who wrote against him were Leo Allatius, Abraham Ecchellenfis, and Father L'Abbe. Here follows the account, which Heidegger gives, in Hottinger's life, of the fury of the first (24). *Quorum in numerum refero imprimis Labbeum Lojoltam miserum & rancidum, nec non morosum illum & tristem Senecionem Cbium, Allatium, qui vel solum illo libro contra Hottingerum furis inspirantibus & mentem ac calamum stentibus scripto, apud bonos omnes cognomen Leonis conturbavit ac decoxit, & Canis plusquam Epirotici jure meritoque obtinuit. Quae enim, malum, haec feralis insania est, quis furor, quae canina rabies, leviter sibi contradicentem, & contradictionem argumentis talibus, quibus si error insuisset, hominis tamen non pecoris eum fuisse apparuerat, munientem, non aequo animo tolerare, non somentis, malagmatis & lenibus remediis curare, sed probris veluti de playstro congestis non cumulare sed obruere, & eidem convitia ac maledicta atrocissima non medio nec trimodio, sed toto horreo admittiri? Quae obscenitas ad nomen ita alludere, ut castae aures & purus animus abhorreat? Canem haec, non Leonem generosum, non hominem, nudum Christianum obolent. Fuerit Allatius, ille Gigantum frater, paulo in Graecorum, imprimis eorum, quae baenus inedita nobis fortuna invidet, monumentis versatior. Habuerit senex ingenium (25) ad corrumpendum & detorquendum, ad dolos ac fallacias instruendum, ad parasitandum denique subactius. Haec enim sola laus ipsi propria & eximia esse potest. Quamquam hominum in Graecia natum, Graecum idioma caluisse paulo exactius, mediocri in laude ponendum mihi videtur. Sed fuerint haec, quae dixi, in eo summa. Quo pacto ille assurgat ad gloriam Hottingeri, qui, praeterquam quod veritatis & Orthodoxiae studio ductus sub signis Christi militavit, etiam excelluit non in vernaculo sibi idiomate, sed in Hebraico, Chaldaico, Syriaco, Arabico, Coptico, Persico, in quibus singulis Allatius non tantum nihil vidit, sed Talpa Tiresia caecior fuit? Olim Cbii in senatu Attico data est licentia vomendi. Credidi igitur lecto Allatii Cbii libro, quod tot convitia in Hottingerum nostrum non jactavit, sed vomuit, gentis suae antiqua licentia eum uti voluisse. i. e. "Among whom I first*

(25) See Claude's words in the following remark.

reckon Labbe, that churlish and wretched disciple of Ignatius Loyola; and that old Chian Allatius, who, were it only for the book, which he, his mind and pen being inspired by the furies, wrote against Hottinger, has forfeited and lost, in the opinion of all good men, the surname of Lion; and deserv'dly

got, instead of this generous one, that of more than Epirotic cur. For what fury, what deadly horrid rage could prompt a man to fall foul on a person who had only contradicted his notions in the most gentle manner; and had enforced his objections or criticisms by such reasons, as proved that he was an opponent who was far from being contemptible; what deadly rage, I say, could prompt him, instead of bearing this with patience, or endeavouring to heal it with gentle remedies, to almost overwhelm him with loads of injurious words or scurrilities? Then, how could he pun on his name in so obscure a manner as could not but raise an abhorrence in pure and chaste ears? This is acting more like the dog than the lion; not like a man, much less a Christian. If we should take it for granted that this mighty Allatius was a little better skilled in the Greek authors, particularly in such as still continue in manuscript; though we should suppose that he had a genius more fit for artifice, for cunning, and for playing the parasite; for in these things only he is particularly eminent and excellent; though I cannot look upon it as a very great merit, for a Greek to be well skilled in the idiom of his native language: but taking it for granted, I say, that he possessed all these advantages, with what justice can he be compared with Hottinger, who, besides his fighting for the truth and orthodoxy under Christ's banners, excelled, not only in his mother tongue, but also in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic and Persian languages, in every one of which Allatius is blinder than Tiresias? The natives of Chios were antiently allowed by the Athenians, the liberty of vomiting; and therefore I, on reading this book of Allatius the Chian, imagined that he, laying hold of the antient privilege of his countrymen, rather vomited than threw out these reproaches on Hottinger." Hottinger defended himself in few words (26); and as for Ecchellenfis, he put him a little in mind (27) of the blunders he had been convicted of, and pointed out some others. *Praefatus est illi libro de gradibus studii Philologiae, inserta 1662. simul Apologia brevi adversus Abrahamum Ecchellensem, qui Praefatione in Catalogum librorum Chaldaeorum Hebed Jesu Metropolitanæ Sobensis, traduxit Seldenum, Hottingerum nostrum, Calixtum, Ludovicum de Dieu, Constantinum L'Empereur, Salmasium, eo potissimum nomine, Pentagetti, quod Orientalibus studiis intenti, germanam tamen verborum, significationem, ut plurimum non deprehendant, ambigua & obscura pro certis & luculentissimis statuant, atque interim ea, quae in clarissima luce versantur, quod ipsum commenta radicibus extirpent, omnino praeterant. Verum non aliam defensionem tum sui, tum virorum bonorum doctissimorum, quos eadem accusationis involverat adversarius, Hottingerum paravit, quam in memoriam revocatis Ecchellenfis errorum playstis, quae ipsi à contribulibus Flavignio, Gabriele Siomita, Johanne Morino objecta sunt; nec non ex proprio ingenio demonstratis notioris sphaematis, quae ille in tractatu Arabico-Latino, Synopsis propositorum sapientiae Arabum Philosopherum inscripto, adversus genium Arabicæ linguae admisit (28). i. e. "He drew up a preface to the work (28) concerning the degrees of the study of Philosophy; and introduced therein a short apology for himself in opposition to Abraham Ecchellenfis, who, in a preface to a catalogue of the Chaldee books of Hebed Jesu, Metropolitan of Seba, traduced Selden, our Hottinger, Calixtus, Lewis de Dieu, Constantine l'Empereur, and Salmasius; charging them, that notwithstanding their application to Oriental Learning, they nevertheless had commonly mistook in the true and genuine signification of words, and given doubtful and obscure matters as certain and manifest truths; though they quite passed over many particulars that were clear as noon day, only because*

but was taken up for it by Claude [J]. [We shall add a few particulars to this article [K], especially with regard to the pieces he wrote on the Oriental affairs or literature [L].]

“ they quite invalidated their forgeries. Now Hottinger did not make any other defence either of himself, or of those learned men whom his adversary had involved in the same accusation, but to remind Ecchellenfis of the great number of errors with which he had been charged by those of his own tribe, viz. by Flavigny, Gabriel Sionita, and John Marin; taking notice also of some egregious mistakes which Ecchellenfis had fallen into, in opposition to the genius of the Arabic Tongue, in his work written in Latin and Arabic, intitled *Synopsis professorum sapientia Arabum Philosophorum*.”

[J] *Arnauld had a sting at Hottinger, but was taken up for it by Claude.* [29] Viz. that of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople. “ I relate this whole history chiefly on the credit of Allatius, who took a particular care in informing himself of this; and who, being a native of Greece, ought to be believed sooner than Dutch or Swiss Ministers; and, among others, than Hottinger, who is one of the fiercest and most insincere writers I ever read.” These are Arnauld’s words (30), and here follows Claude’s answer (31). “ For what reason would Arnauld have us give credit to Allatius sooner than to Hottinger? The former has the characteristic of a headstrong writer who is ever misrepresenting things; the latter, on the contrary, in spite of all Arnauld may say, has all the marks of a sincere man, who relates things as he heard them. I own that the former is more polite and elegant, but the other is the more ingenious and sincere. Allatius says whatever he pleases out of his own head, whereas Hottinger produces his vouchers.”

[K] *We shall add a few particulars to this article.* [As Hottinger was born with a great genius for languages, he soon learnt the Latin, Greek and Hebrew. When he was at Geneva, he studied two months under Frederic Spanheim. At Groningen he studied Divinity under F. Gomarus and H. Alting, and Arabic under Matthias Pasor. As Grotius had a considerable number of Arabic manuscripts, Hottinger copied a great many of them for his own use, during the fourteen months that he resided in Leyden. Whilst he was in England, he contracted a great intimacy with several learned men of that country. When Hottinger was invited by the Elector Palatine in 1655, it was with difficulty that the Senate of Zurich, so great was their regard for him, were prevailed upon to let him go. And when that body desired him back again of the Elector, at whose Court he had resided six years, that Prince dismissed him with great regret; and, before he went away, honoured him with the title of Ecclesiastical Counsellor (32).]

[L] *Particularly with regard to the works he wrote on the Oriental affairs or literature.* [We may first mention his *Theaurus Philologicus, seu clavis Scripturæ, quæ quicquid serè Orientalium, Hebræorum maxime & Arabum habent monumenta de Religione ejusque variis speciebus, Judaismo, Samaritanismo, Muhammedismo, Gentilismo, de Theologia & Theologis, Verbo Dei &c. breviter & apboristicè ita referatur & operitur, ut multiplex inde ad Philologiam, Theologiam studiosos fructus redundare possit. Tiguri 1649, 4to. Secunda Editio in qua Samaritica, Arabica, Syriaca, suis quæque nativis characteribus exprimentur. Tiguri 1659, 4to. The next is *Historia Orientalis, quæ ex variis Orientalium monumentis collecta agit. 1. De Muhammedismo ejusque causis tum procreantibus, tum conservantibus. 2. De Sarracenis, seu Religione veterum Arabum. 3. De Chaldaismo Superstitione Nabateorum, Chaldeorum, Chæranæorum. 4. De Statu Christianorum & Judæorum tempore orti & nati Muhammedismi. 5. De variis inter ipsos Muhammedanos circa Religionis dogmata & administrationem, sententiis, schismatis, & hæresibus excitatis. 6. Accessit, ex occasione Genealogiæ Muhammedis, plenior illustratio Taarich Beni Adam, quæ, ex ipsis Arabum Scriptis, vita & res gestæ Prophetarum Patriarcharum, quorundam etiam Apostolorum, Regum Persiæ, aliorumque ab Adamo ad Muhammedis usque natales in orbe de gentium, explicantur. Tiguri 1651, 4to. Secunda Editio auctior. Tiguri 1660, 4to. No man was better qualified to write on Oriental affairs than Hottinger, as he was skilled in most of the languages, which were anciently, as well as at present, spoke in the East, viz. the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldeæ, Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Coptic languages. Hottinger wrote also eight dissertations on the use and advantage of the Oriental Tongues. He wrote also the following work, *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis, exhibens catalogum sive Centurias aliquot tam Auctorum, quam Librorum Hebræicorum, Syriacorum, Arabicorum, Ægyptiacorum; addita Mentissa Bibliothecarum aliquot Europæarum. Heidelbergæ 1658, 4to. Mr. Baillet does not speak advantageously of this work of Hottinger, whom he accuses of not being very accurate in any of his compositions. Hottinger published in 1661, *Etymologicum Orientale, sive Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton; cum præfatione de gradibus studii Philologici, & Apologetico brevi contra Abrahamum Ecchellensem Maronitam. Francofurti, in 4to. The seven languages contained in this Lexicon are, the Hebrew, Chaldeæ, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Ethiopic and Rabbinical. We omit several other pieces of our author, written on Oriental matters (33); and shall conclude with ob-*]***

(32) Heidegger, in *Vita Hottingeri, & Homines illustres du Pere Nicéron*, tom. 8.

(33) *Idem, ibidem*, serving, that Hottinger though a very great man, is thought by most to have writ in too great a hurry.

HOWE (JOHN), a learned Non-conformist Divine in the seventeenth Century, was a Minister’s son, and nephew to Mr. Obadiah Howe, Vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire. He was born May the 17th 1630, at Loughborough in Leicestershire, of which town his father was Minister (a), being settled there by Archbishop Laud, though afterwards ejected by that Prelate, on account of his adherence to the Puritans; upon which he went with his son, our author, to Ireland, where they continued till the Irish Rebellion broke out, when they returned to England, and settled in Lancashire, where our Author was educated in the first rudiments of learning and the knowledge of the tongues (b). He was sent pretty early to Christ College in Cambridge, where he continued till he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then removed to Oxford (c), and became Bible-Clerk of Brazen-Nose College in Michaelmas Term 1648 (d), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts Jan. the 18th 1649 (e). He was made a Demy of Magdalen College by the Parliament Visitors, and afterwards Fellow (f); and July the 9th 1652 took the degree of Master of Arts (g). Soon after this he became a Preacher, and was ordained by Mr. Charles Herle at his Church of Winwick in Lancashire, and not long after became Minister of Great Torrington in Devonshire (h) [A], and on the 1st of

[A] *Became Minister of great Torrington in Devonshire.* [His labour in the discharge of his duty here was very great, especially on the public fasts, which in those times returned pretty frequently, and were generally kept with great solemnity. He informed Dr. Calamy (i), that upon these occasions it was his common way to begin about nine in the morning with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he

begged a blessing on the work of the day; and afterwards read and expounded a chapter or psalm, in which he spent about three quarters; then prayed for about an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for about half an hour. After this he retired, and took some little refreshment for about a quarter of an hour or more (the people singing all the while), and then came again into the pulpit, and prayed for another

(1) See *Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Mr. John Howe*, collected by Edmund Calamy, D. D. pag. 14.

(29) Viz. that of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople.

(30) *Perpétuité defendue*, liv. 4. chap. 6. pag. 561. Brussels edit. in 1700.

(31) *Réponse à la Perpétuité de la Foi*, liv. 3. chap. 12. pag. m. 467.

(32) Heidegger, in *Vita Hottingeri, & Homines illustres du Pere Nicéron*, tom. 8.

(33) *Idem, ibidem*.

(a) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1014. 2d edit.

(b) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 69.

(c) *Idem, Atb. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(d) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 99.

(e) *Idem, Atb. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(f) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 99.

(g) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 99.

(h) *Memoirs*, pag. 12, 13.

- (i) Ibid. pag. 25. March 1654 married the daughter of Mr. George Hughes, Minister of Plymouth (i). He was afterwards appointed Household Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell the Protector [B], and became Lecturer of St. Margaret's Westminster (k). Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard succeeding him as Protector, Mr. Howe stood in the same relation to him of Chaplain, as he had done to the father; and though he meddled not with State-affairs either then or afterwards, yet he was in his judgment very much averse to Richard's parting with his Parliament, which he foresaw would prove his ruin (l) [C].
- (j) *Memoirs*, pag. 25. When the army had set Richard aside, Mr. Howe returned to his people at Great Torrington, among whom he continued till the Act of Uniformity took place August the 24th 1662 (m), after which he preached for some time in private houses in Devonshire (n). In April 1671 he went to Ireland, where he lived as Chaplain to the Lord Massarene in the parish of Antrim (o), and had leave from the Bishop of the Diocese and the Metropolitan to preach in the public Church of that town every Sunday in the afternoon, without submitting to any terms of conformity (p). In 1675, upon the death of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, he was chosen Minister of his congregation, upon which he returned to England, and settled at London (q), where he was highly respected not only by his brethren in the Ministry among the Dissenters, but also by several eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Dr. Whitcote, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Lucas, and others (r). In August 1685 he travelled beyond sea with the Lord Wharton (s), and the year following settled at Utrecht, and took his turn in preaching at the English Church in that city (t). In 1687, upon King James's publishing his *Declaration for liberty of Conscience*, Mr. Howe returned to London (u). He published a considerable number of works [D]. He died at London April the 2d 1705, and was interred in the Parish Church
- (k) Ibid. pag. 27-30.
 (l) Ibid. pag. 37.
 (m) Ibid. pag. 51, 53.
 (n) Ibid. pag. 54.
 (o) Ibid. pag. 58, 67.
 (p) Ibid. pag. 67.
 (q) Ibid. pag. 113.
 (r) Ibid. pag. 126.
 (s) Ibid. pag. 131, 132.

ther hour, and gave them another sermon of about an hour's length, and so concluded the service of the day, at about four of the clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer.

[B] He was afterwards appointed Household Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell the Protector.] Dr. Calamy tells us (2), that while he was in this station, he behaved in such a manner, that he was never charged, even by those, who have been most forward to inveigh against a number of his contemporaries, with improving his interest in those, who then had the management of affairs in their hands, either to the enriching himself, or the doing ill offices to others, though of known differing sentiments. He readily embraced every occasion, that offered, of serving the interest of religion and learning, and opposing the errors and designs, which at that time threatened both. The notion of a *particular Faith* prevailed much at Cromwell's court; and it was a common opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favoured of God, when they offered up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made upon their minds and spirits by a divine hand, as signified to them, not only in the general that their prayers would be heard and answered, but that the particular mercies, which were sought for, would be certainly bestowed; nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded, and pointed out to them future events beforehand, which in reality is the same with inspiration. Mr. Howe told Dr. Calamy, that not a little pains was taken to cultivate and support this notion at Whitehall; and that he once heard a sermon there from a person of note, the avowed design of which was to defend it. He said, that he was so fully convinced of the ill tendency of such a principle, that after hearing this sermon, he thought himself bound in conscience, when it came next to his turn to preach before Cromwell, to set himself industriously to oppose it, and to beat down that spiritual pride and confidence, which such fancied impulses and impressions were apt to produce and cherish. He observed, while he was in the pulpit, that Cromwell heard him with great attention, but would sometimes knit his brows, and discover great uneasiness. When the sermon was over, a person of distinction came to him, and asked him, if he knew what he had done? and signified it to him as his apprehension, that Cromwell would be so incensed at that discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future. Mr. How replied, that he had but discharged his conscience, and could leave the event with God. He afterwards observed, that Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before; and sometimes he thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but never did (3).

[C] Was in his judgment very much averse to Ri-

chard's parting with his Parliament, which he foresaw would prove his ruin.] Dr. Calamy tells us (4), that he had been informed by a friend, that discoursing once freely with Mr. Howe about the setting Richard aside, he intimated to him, that it was but a parenthesis in a public paper, which was the occasion of the great ill will of the Officers to him, which rose at length to that height, that nothing would satisfy but the pulling him down. And when the same person signified to Mr. Howe, that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man, he with some warmth made this return: "How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother Fleetwood, he stood it out all night against his whole Council, and continued the debate till four of the clock in the morning, having none but Thurloe to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that Parliament would be both his ruin and theirs?" Upon some further discourse upon the same subject, Mr. Howe said, that Fleetwood undertook with great solemnity, that if Richard would but comply with the proposal which was made him, the army should not do him the least damage. And when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the answer he returned was, that he thought he had had more interest in the army than he found he had. Mr. Howe added, that accidentally meeting with Major-General Berry, who was in those times so active and busy, some time after the Restoration, when he was but in very mean circumstances, he very freely told him, with tears running down his cheeks, that if Richard had but at that time hanged up him and nine or ten more, the Nation might have been happy.

[D] He published a considerable number of works.] they are as follow: I. A Sermon from *Eccles. vii. 29.* preached at St. Giles's in the Fields in May 1659, and intitled, *Man created in an holy but mutable State*, published in *The Morning Exercise* methodiz'd, printed in 1660, in 4to. II. *The Blessedness of the Righteous laid open and further recommended from the Consideration of the Vanity of this mortal Life*, on *Psal. xvii. 25.* London 1668 and 1673, in 8vo. III. *The Vanity of this mortal Life, or of Man considered only in this present mortal State*, from *Psal. lxxxix. 47, 48.* London, 1671, in 12mo. The Dedication to John Upton, of Lupton in Devonshire, Esq; his kinsman, is dated at Antrim April 12, 1671. IV. *Treatise of delighting in God*, in two parts, from *Psal. xxxvii. 4.* London, 1674, in 8vo. V. *The Living Temple: or a designed Improvement of that Notion, that a good Man is the Temple of God.* London, 1674, in 8vo. VI. *The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels and Exhortations, and whatsoever other Means he uses to prevent them.* London, 1677, in 8vo. written by way of Letter to Robert Boyle, Esq; Mr. Theophilus Gale, his old fellow-

(3) Ibid. pag. 22, 23.

(4) Ibid. pag. 25.

(w) *Atb. Omm.*
ubi supra.

Church of Allhallows Breadstreet; and his funeral Sermon was preached April the 8th by Mr. John Spademan from 2 Tim. iii. 14. Mr. Wood tells us (w), that he was a person of neat and polite parts, and moderate and calm in those smaller matters under debate between the Church and his party; and that his books are written in a fine, smooth, and natural style. But this last observation is undoubtedly a mistake, since Mr. Howe's style is generally allowed to be very harsh, embarrassed and obscure. Dr. Calamy, who has given his character at large, observes (x), that he was a man of great prudence, affability, moderation, and charity, pleasant and facetious in conversation, and of extensive learning, and strong judgment. (x) *Memoirs*, pag. 237, & 399.

(5) See the 4th part of *The Court of the Gentiles*, pag. 522. edit. London 1677.

fellow collegiate, publishing about this time the fourth part of *The Court of the Gentiles*, made some animadversions upon this treatise of Mr. Howe (5), upon which our author added to his book a *Postscript* containing a defence of it, printed the same year, and added to those copies of it, which were not then sold. Mr. Thomas Danfon wrote likewise against our author's book a tract, intitled, *De Causa Dei: A Vindication of the common Doctrine of Protestant Divines concerning Predestination [i. e. the Interest of God as the first Cause in all Actions as such, of all rational Creatures] from the invidious Consequences, with which it is burdened by Mr. John Howe in a late Letter and Postscript of God's Prence.* London, 1678, in 8vo. In answer to this was published *Remarks upon a late disingenuous Discourse writ by one T. D. under pretence De Causa Dei, and of answering Mr. John Howe's Letter and Postscript of God's Prence, &c. affirming in the Protestant Doctrine, that God doth by efficacious Influences universally move and determine Men to all their Actions, even to those that are most wicked.* London, 1678, in 8vo. This was written by Andrew Marvel, Esq; VII. *A View of Antiquity presented in a short but sufficient Account of some Fathers, &c.* London, 1677, in 8vo (6). Some animadversions were made on this, and interspersed in a book intitled, *Remarks relating to the State of the Church of the three first Centuries*, written by Abedn. Seller, and printed in 8vo. VIII. *A Letter written out of the Country to a Person of Quality in the City, who took offence at the late Sermon of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, before the Lord Mayor.* This was occasioned by the Doctor's Sermon, preached on the first day of Easter-Term 1680, on *Phil. iii. 16.* and intitled, *The Mischiefs of Separation.* IX. *Of Thoughtfulness for To-morrow.* London, 1681, in 8vo. To this are added an *Appendix concerning the immoderate Desire of fore-knowing things to come; and A Discourse of Charity, in reference to other Men's Sins*, from 1 Cor. xiii. 6. X. *A Funeral Sermon on the Decease of Mrs. Margaret Baxter, who died Jan. 28, 1687, on 2 Cor. v. 8.* London, 1681, in 4to. XI. *The right Use of that Argument in Prayer, from the Name of God, on behalf of a People that profess it*, from *Jer. xiv. 21.* London, 1682, in 8vo. XII. *Self-Dedication, discoursed in the Anniversary Thanksgiving of a Person of Honour* (7) *for a great Deliverance.* London, 1682, in 12mo. XIII. *A Sermon at the Funeral of that faithful and laborious Servant of Christ Mr. Richard Fairclough late of Bristol, who deceased July 4, 1682, aged 61 Years*, from *Matth. xxv. 21.* London, 1683, in 4to. XIV. About the same time he drew up those *Annotations on the three Epistles of St. John*, which are published in the second volume or continuation of Mr. Matthew Poole. XV. *A Sermon from Col. ii. 2. upon this question, What may most hopefully be attempted to allay Animosities among Protestants, that our Divisions may not be our ruin?* printed in the *Continuation of the Morning Exercise.* London, 1683, in 4to. XVI. *The Redeemer's Tears wept over lost Souls, a Treatise on Luke xix. 41, 42.* London, 1684, in 8vo. With an *Appendix, where somewhat is occasionally discoursed concerning the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and how God is said to will the Salvation of them that perish.* XVII. *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters represented and argued.* Printed at London 1689, in a single sheet of paper. XVIII. *Humble Requests both to Conformists and Dissenters touching their Temper and Behaviour towards each other upon the lately passed Indulgence.* Printed in another sheet of paper. XIX. *A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Esther Sampson, late Wife of Henry Sampson Doctor of Physick, who died November 24, 1689, on*

Luke xiii. 16. London, 1690, in 4to. XX. *The Carnality of Christian Contention*, in two Sermons preached at the Merchants Lecture in Breadstreet 1693. XXI. *A calm and sober Inquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead, in a Letter to a Person of worth.* To which are added some *Letters* written formerly to Dr. Wallis on the same subject. London, 1694. In this *Inquiry* Mr. Howe asserts, that "the persons in the Trinity are distinct essences (8); distinct numerical natures, beings, and substances (9). That there is a variety of individual natures in the Deity (10). That there are in the Godhead three distinct intelligent hypostases, having each his own distinct singular intelligent nature (11). That these three divine persons maintain a delicious society, no enjoyment being pleasant without consociation therein; and we must needs think this is a more blessed state, or a more perfect idea of blessedness, than can be conceived in an eternal solitude (12)." (8) *Page 110.* (9) *Page 112.* (10) *Page 140.* (11) *Page 126.* (12) *Page 55.* As to the question, If each of these persons and beings is God, how can it be said, that all three are but one God? he answers (13), that each of the three persons conceived by itself is an individual essence; but conceived together they are the intire essence of God. This *Inquiry* was animadverted upon in a *Treatise* intitled, *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, printed in 1694 in 4to, and a *Postscript to the Defence of Dr. Sherlock's Notions of a Trinity in Unity.* Upon which Mr. Howe published a *Letter to a Friend* concerning that *Postscript.* He published also in 1695 a *View of the Considerations on the Explications* above-mentioned, in a *Letter to a Friend.* XXII. *A Discourse relating to the much lamented Death and solemn Funeral of Queen Mary, on Heb. xii. 23, latter part.* London, 1695, in 4to. XXIII. *A Sermon on the much lamented Death of that reverend and worthy Servant of Christ Mr. Richard Adams, M. A. sometime Fellow of Brasen-Nose College in Oxon, afterwards Minister of St. Mildred's Breadstreet, London; more lately Pastor of a Congregation in Southwark, who deceased February 7, 1695.* XXIV. *A Sermon preached on the Day of Thanksgiving December 2, 1697.* XXV. *A Sermon preached before the Society for Reformation of Manners, from Rom. xiii. 4.* London, 1697. XXVI. *A Sermon on the Death of that reverend and most laborious Servant of Christ in the Work of the Ministry, Mr. Mathew Mead, who deceased October 16, 1699.* XXVII. *The Redeemer's Dominion over the visible World, and the Entrance therinto by Death: A Discourse preached on the occasion of the Death of John Hoghton, Esq; eldest Son of Sir Charles Hoghton of Hoghton-Tower, in the County of Lancaster, Bart.* London, 1699. XXVIII. *Funeral Sermon for that excellent Minister of Christ, the truly Reverend William Bates, D. D.* London, 1699. XXIX. *A Twofold Discourse of Man's Enmity against God; and Reconciliation between God and Man, from Col. i. 21.* London, 1701. XXX. *Some Considerations of a Preface to an Inquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters.* XXXI. *The Second Part of The Living Temple*, containing Animadversions on *Spinoza*, and a French writer pretending to refute him; with a recapitulation of the former part, and an account of the distinction and restitution of God's temple amongst men. London, 1702. XXXII. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mr. Peter Vink, B. D.* London, 1702. XXXIII. *A Sermon on Coloss. i. 13. preached Nov. 5, 1703.* XXXIV. *A Discourse of Patience, relating to the Expectation of future Blessedness.* London, 1705. His Works have been reprinted together in one volume in folio, at London. H.

(6) Wood, *Atb. Omm.* vol. 2. col. 3015.

(7) The Earl of Kildare.

(a) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq Univ. Ox.* l. 2. p. 321.

HOWELL (JAMES), a voluminous writer of the seventeenth Century, was born (b) at Abernant in Caermarthenshire (a), of which place his father was Minister (b). He

(b) *Id. Atb. Omm.* vol. 2. col. 382. ed. 2. Lon. 1722. was

was born about the year 1594 [A], and educated in grammar learning in the free-school of Hereford, from whence he was sent to Jesus College in the University of Oxford in the beginning of the year 1610 (c) where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts December the 17th 1613 (d). He afterwards left the University, and in 1619 went to France, Spain, and Italy, as Agent for Sir Robert Mansell, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, to procure workmen and materials for making of glafs [B]. In 1622 he was sent into Spain, in order to recover a rich English ship, seized on by the Viceroy of Sardinia for his master's use, on pretence of its having prohibited goods on board [C]. In 1623, during his absence abroad, he was chosen Fellow of Jesus College (e); and two years after his return to England, he was made Secretary to Emanuel Lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord President of the North [D]; in which post residing at York, he was by the Mayor and Aldermen of Richmond chosen a Burgess for their Corporation in the Parliament which began at Westminster in 1627 [E]. In 1632 he went Secretary to Robert Earl of Leicester, Ambassador Extraordinary from King Charles I to the Court of Denmark, where he made divers speeches in Latin (f), shewing the cause of their Embassy, which was to condole the death of Sophia Queen Dowager of Denmark, grandmother to King Charles I. Afterwards passing through several beneficial employments, particularly the assisting of the Clerks of the Council, he was at length in the beginning of the civil wars, appointed one of those Clerks; but in 1642 he was seized by order of a certain Committee, and committed to the Fleet [F], where he supported himself for many years by writing and translating of books [G]. Though he had been a zealous Loyalist, he afterwards flattered Cromwell, and joined with

(c) Idem, *ibid.* and *Atben. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(d) Idem, *Fassi Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 194.

(e) Idem, *Atben. Oxon.* col. 382. See Howell's *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 2. Letter 6. edit. 5. London 1678 in 8vo.

(f) *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 6. Letter 2.

(1) Lib. 2. pag. 321.

(2) Vol. 2. col. 381.

(3) *Familiar Letters, domestic and foreign. Divided into four Books.* vol. 1. Sect. 6. Letter 60. 5th edition London 1678 in 8vo.

(4) *Ibid.* vol. 1. Sect. 1. Letter 2.

(5) *Ibid.* Letter 5.

(6) *Ibid.* Letter 22.

(7) *Ibid.* Letter 27.

(8) *Ibid.* Letter 39.

(9) *Ibid.* Letter 44.

(10) Sect. 2. Letter 1.

(11) Sect. 2. Letter 6.

(12) Sect. 3. Letter 1.

[A] He was born about the year 1594. Mr. Wood tells us in his *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1), that he was entered in Jesus College in Oxford in 1610, in the 16th year of his age; *ad Collegium istud literas sublimiores hauriendi avidus accessit Ann. Dom. 1610cx, ætatis xvi*; and in his *Atbenæ Oxoniensis* (2) he observes the same, assuring us, that he was sent to that College in the beginning of 1610, aged 16 years. And yet the same Historian just before remarks, that in what year Mr. Howell was born, he cannot precisely tell. Mr. Howell observes himself (3), that "at his nativity his ascendant was that hot constellation of Cancer about the midst of the dog-days." [B] In 1619 went to France, Spain, and Italy, as Agent for Sir Robert Mansell, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, to procure workmen and materials for making of glafs. In a letter to his father dated in Broadstreet in London, March 1, 1618 (4), he observes, that he had been Steward of the Glais-House in Broadstreet; and that he was then upon the point of going beyond sea. "The main of my employment, says he, is from that gallant Knight Sir Robert Mansell, who, with my Lord of Pembroke, and divers other prime Lords of the Court, have got the sole patent of making all sorts of glafs with pit-cole, only to save those huge proportions of wood, which were consumed formerly in the glafs furnaces. And this business being of that nature that the workmen are to be had from Italy, and the chief materials from Spain, France, and other foreign countries, there is need of an Agent abroad for this use; and better than I have offered their service in this kind, so that I believe I shall have employment in all these countries before I return." His first letter from Amsterdam is dated April 1, 1619 (5). We have another letter of his dated at Barcelona Novem. 10, 1620 (6); another dated from on board the ship before Venice May 5, 1621 (7); another dated at Naples October 1, 1621 (8); another at Lyons December 5, 1621 (9). It appears from a letter of his dated at London February 2, 1622 (10), that he was then just returned to England. [C] In 1622 he was sent into Spain, in order to recover a rich English ship seized on by the Vice-Roy of Sardinia for his master's use, on pretence of its having prohibited goods on board. In a letter of his to his father, dated at London September 8, 1622 (11), he gives us an account of his being engaged in this affair. His first letter from Madrid is dated December 28, 1622. Another letter of his to his father dated at London December 10, 1624 (12), shews, that he was newly returned from Spain. [D] Made Secretary to Emanuel Lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord President of the North. In a letter of his to his brother, dated at London March 15,

1626 (13), he takes notice of that place being lately conferred on him. [E] Chosen a Burgess for the Corporation of Richmond in the Parliament, which began at Westminster in 1627. In a letter of his dated March 2, 1627 (14), he observes that he had been just chosen; and on the 24th of that month he wrote a letter (15) to that Corporation to thank them for his election. [F] In 1642 he was seized by order of a certain Committee, and committed to the Fleet. Mr. Wood tells us, that being prodigally inclined, and therefore running much into debt, he was seized on by order of a certain Committee, after the King was forced from his Parliament, and committed prisoner to the fleet. But let us hear Mr. Howell's own account of the affair in a Letter to the Earl of B—, dated November 20, 1642 (17). "I was come lately to London upon some occasions of my own, and I had been divers times in Westminster-Hall, where I conferred with many Parliament-men of my acquaintance; but one morning betimes there rushed into my chamber five armed men with swords, pistols, and bills, and told me that they had a warrant from the Parliament for me. I desired to see their warrant; they denied it. I desired to see the date of it; they denied it. I desired to see my name in the warrant; they denied it. At last one of them pulled out a greasy paper out of his pocket, and shewed me only three or four names subscribed, and no more. So they rushed presently into my closet, and seized on all my papers and letters, and any thing that was manuscript; and many printed books they took also, and hurled all into a great hair-trunk, which they carried away with them. I had taken a little physic that morning, and with very much ado they suffered me to stay in my chamber with two guards upon me till evening; at which time they brought me before the Committee for examination, where I confess I found good respect, and being brought up to the close Committee, I was ordered to be forth-coming till some papers of mine were perused, and Mr. Corbet was appointed to do it. Some days after I came to Mr. Corbet, and he told me he had perused them, and could find nothing, that might give offence. Hereupon I desired him to make a report to the house; according to which, as I was told, he did very fairly; yet such was my hard hap, that I was committed to the Fleet, where I am now under close restraint. As far as I see, I must lie at dead Anchor in this Fleet a long time, unless some gentle gale blow thence to make me launch out." It appears from some of his letters, that he was in the Fleet in 1648. [G] Supported himself for many years by writing and translating of books. We shall give a catalogue of his writings. *I. Dodona's Grove: or the Vocal Forest.* London,

(13) Sect. 4. Letter 26.

(14) Sect. 5. Letter 3.

(15) *Ibid.* Letter 4.

(16) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 381.

(17) *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1. Sect. 6. Letter 47. The date in this Letter is 1643; but it appears to be a mistake for 1642.

with the prevailing party; so that upon the Restoration he was not restored to his place of Clerk of the Council, but only made Historiographer to the King, being the first in England who enjoyed that title. He died in the beginning of November 1666 (g), and

was

don, 1640 and 1644, in 4to. The third edition, more exact and perfect than the former, was printed at Cambridge 1645, in 12mo. To this edition are subjoined two other tracts; viz. 1. *England's Tears for the present wars, which for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of the Strength, the diversity of Battles, Skirmishes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in so short a Compass of Time, cannot be paralleled in any preceding Age.* This piece had been published at London, 1644, in two sheets and an half in 4to. and was reprinted at London 1650 in 12mo. It was translated into Latin under the title of *Anglie Suspiria & Lacrymae, &c.* and printed at London 1646 in 4to. 2. *The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament. Whereunto is added a Vindication of some Passages reflecting upon the Author in a Book called The Popish Royal Favorite, penned and published by Mr. Prynne, wherein he styles him, No Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant, pag. 42. With a clearing of some Occurrences in Spain at his Majesty's being there, cited by the said Master Prynne out of the Vocal Forest.* By J. H. Esq; one of the Clerks of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council. Published by special Order. London, 1645. The Dedication to his worthy honored Friend Sir W. S. Kn. is written from the Fleet-prison. In this piece he asserts (18), that "the principal fountain, whence the "King derives his happiness and safety, is his Parli- "ment." With regard to the imputation, thrown upon him by Mr. Prynne, that he was *no Friend to the present Parliament*; "therein, says he (19), I am "traded, and I am confident it will be never proved "against me from any action, words, or letters, tho' "divers of mine have been intercepted, or any other "misdemeanour, though some things are fathered up- "on me, which never dropped from my quill. Alas, "how unworthy and uncapable am I to censure the "proceedings of that great Senate, that high Syne- "drium, wherein the wisdom of the whole Senate is "epitomized!" II. *The Vote; or a Poem-Royal, pre- sented to his Majesty for a New-Year's-Gift, by way of Discourse 'twixt the Poet and his Muse.* Calendis Januarii, 1641. London, 1641, in two sheets in 4to, and reprinted before his *Familiar Letters*. III. *Instruc- tions for sorraine Travell; shewing by what Cours, and in what Compass of Time, one may take an exact Sur- vey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arrive to the practicall Knowledge of the Languages to good purpose.* London, 1642, in 12mo. Dedicated to Prince Charles. It was reprinted in 1650 in 12mo, with additions. IV. *Casual Discourses and Interlocu- tions between Patricius and Peregrin, touching the Dis- tractions of the Times.* It was written by the Author in the Fleet-prison, soon after the battle of Edge-Hill, and was the first book, which came out in vindication of the King (20). V. *Mercurius Hibernicus: Or a Discourse of that horrid Insurrection and Massacre, which happened lately in Ireland.* Written in the Fleet 1643. It was printed at Bristol, 1644, in two sheets and an half in 4to. VI. *Parables reflecting upon the times.* London, 1644, two sheets in 4to. at the latter end of the second edition of *Dodona's Grove*. VII. *Epistolæ Hæc-Elianzæ. Familiar Letters Domestic and Foreign, di- vided into sundry Sections, partly Historical, partly Po- litical, partly Philosophical.* London, 1645, 1647, in 4to. 1650, 1655, 1678, in 8vo. Mr. Wood tells us (21), that "many of the said letters were never "written before the Author of them was in the Fleet, "as he pretends they were; only feigned, no time "being kept with their dates, and purposely published "to gain money to relieve his necessities; yet give a "tolerable History of these times." VIII. *A Nocturnal Progress: or a Perambulation of most Countries in Christendom, performed in one Night by Strength of Imagination.* Written in the Fleet in 1645. IX. *Lultra Ludovici: Or the Life of Lewis XIII, King of France, of his Cardinal de Richelieu.* London, 1646, in Fol. It is divided into seven Lustræ, and dedicated to Prince Charles, at his Court in the Isle of Jersey. X. *An Account of the deplorable, and desperate Condition, that England stands in, Anno 1647, in a Letter to Francis Cardinal Barberini.* Written from the Fleet 1647.

XI. *A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke concerning the Times, and the sad condition both of Prince and People.* Printed 1647 in two sheets in 4to. XII. *Bella Scot- Anglica. A Brief of all the Battles and Martial En- counters, which have happened 'twixt England and Scot- land from all Times to this present.* Printed in 1648. XIII. *Corollary declaring the Causes whereby the Scot is come of late Years to be so beighned in his Spirits.* These two last are in three sheets in 4to. XIV. *The Instruments of a King; or, a short Discourse of the Sword, Sepire, and Crown, &c.* London, 1648, in two sheets in 4to. XV. *Winter-Dream, 1649, in three sheets in 4to.* XVI. *A Trance, or News from Hell, brought first to Town by Mercurius Acheronticus.* London, 1649, in two sheets and an half in 4to. XVII. *Inquisition after blood, to the Parliament in itatu quo nunc, and the Army Regnant, &c.* Printed in 1649, in two sheets in 4to. XVIII. *Vision or Dia- logue between the Soul and the Body.* London, 1651, in 8vo, &c. IX. *Survey of the Signory of Venice, of her admired Polity, and Method of Government.* Lon- don, 1651, in a thin Folio. To this is added, *A Discourse of the Interests of the Republic of Venice, with the rest of the States of Italy.* Printed with the Survey. XX. *Some sober Inspections made into the Carriage and Consults of the late Long-Parliament, where- by occasion is taken to speak of Parliaments in former Times, and of Magna Charta; with some Reflections up- on Government in general.* London, 1653, in 12mo. Dedicated to his Highness the Lord Protector. In the Dedication he writes as follows: "Among the multi- "tude of mighty achievements, which your Highness "hath performed so much to the astonishment of man- "kind, the dissolving of the late Long-Parliament may "well deserve to be ranked in the number. For "thereby your Highness, Hercules-like, may be said "to have quelled a monster with many heads; such "a monster, that was like to gormandize and devour "the whole nation, as will appear in the whole dis- "course, which though small in bulk, yet the subject- "matter is of the greatest concernment (otherwise I "had not ventured on so high a Dedication) for it "was of the power and practice of English Parlia- "ments in former times, with the first rise of the "House of Commons, and of the Magna Charta, " &c. which will be found to have had but hard "births." He observes, that the quotations here pro- "duced, (whereof there are many) are all true, and ex- "tracted out of antient records. "But what consequen- "ces foever, says he, are drawn from them, the judg- "ment is still reserved for your Highness, on dernier "ressort. There is a memorable saying of Charles "Martell in that mighty revolution in France, when "he introduced the second race of Kings, that in the "pursuit of all his actions, he used to say, that he fol- "lowed not the ambition of his heart as much as the in- "spiration of his soul, and the designs of providence. "This may be applied to your Highness in the con- "duct of your great affairs and admirable successes." This Tract is written by way of dialogue between *Pbi- langlus* and *Polyander*; the first, as our author observes in his Preface, a good Patriot, and a great lover of the English; the other a person, who had seen much of the world abroad, and studied men. In the close of it (22) *Polyander* is introduced recommending "the "modesty and practice of Parliaments in former "times, who declined high affairs of State, especially "foreign, much more to arrogate to themselves the "supreme power; for sovereignty may be said to be "an indivisible ray, derived and darted from the "Divine Majesty itself. It cannot be divided among "a multitude. We never read, that the people were "called God's, or the Lord's anointed, or Nursing Fa- "thers; nor do we read of any Aristocracies or Demo- "cracies at all in the holy Scriptures. Therefore I "subscribe to his judgment, who holds, that the firmest "and most compendious way of government is when "the supremacy resides in one person, whom the peo- "ple ought to trust by an indispensable necessity for "their own advantage in steering the great vessel of "the Commonwealth, with the advice of a select Council.

(b) Col. 381,
382.

was interred in the North-side of the Temple-Church in London, where a monument was erected to his memory [H]. Mr. Wood tells us (b), that " he had a singular command of his pen whether in prose or verse, and was well read in modern histories, especially in those of the countries wherein he had travelled; and had a parabolical and allusive fancy, according to his motto, *Senesco non segnesco*;" but that " his writings having been only to gain a livelihood, and by their dedications to flatter great and noble persons, are very trite and empty, stolen from other authors without acknowledgment, and fitted only to please the humours of novices."

HUARTE

" Council. And herein a State may be compared to a gally, wherein some are to observe the compass, others to furl the sails, others to handle the ropes, others to tug at the bar, others to be ready in arms; but there is but one Pilot to sit at the Helm. It is requisite also, that this single person should be attended with a visible standing veteran army, to be paid well, and punish'd well, if there be cause, to awe as well as to secure the people; it being the greatest solecism that can be in Government, to depend merely upon the affections of the people; for there is not such a wavering windy thing, not such an humourfome and cross-grain'd animal in the world, as the Common People; and what authors soever, either Greek or Latin, have pretended to poe, liey, affirm so much." The fourth edition of this book was published in 1660, with several additions, containing Reflections upon Government in general. XXI. *History of the Wars of Jerusalem epitomiz'd*. Printed in 8vo. XXII. *Ah, Ha; Tumulus, Thalamus: Two Counter-Poems; the first an Elegy upon Edward late Earl of Dorset; the second an Epithalamium to the Lord Marquess of Dorchester; with an Hymenaeum or Bridal Sonnet of four Stanzas, according to a choice Air set thereunto by Mr. Will. Webb*. London, 1653, in two sheets in 4to. XXIII. *The German Diet: or the Ballance of Europe, wherein the Power and Weakness, Glory and Reproach, Virtues and Vices, &c. of all the Kingdoms and States of Christendom are impartially poised*. London, 1653, Folio. The Author's Picture at whole length, is set before the title. XXIV. *Parthenopoeia: or the History of the most renowned Kingdom of Naples, with a List of their Kings, &c.* London 1654 in fol. The first part of it was written by Scipio Mazzella, and translated into English from the Italian by Sampson Lennard, Herald of Arms. The second part was compiled by Mr. Howell. XXV. *Londinopolis: An Historical Discourse or Perustration of the City of London and Westminster, with the Courts of Justice, Antiquities, and new Buildings*. London 1657 in folio. XXVI. *Discourse of the Empire and of the Election of the King of the Romans, &c.* London 1658 in 8vo. XXVII. *Lexicon Tetraglotton: An English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary*. London 1660 in fol. To this is added *A particular Vocabulary or Nomenclature in English, Italian, French, and Spanish, of the proper Terms belonging to several Arts and Sciences, to common Professions and Callings, both liberal and mechanic, &c. and also Proverbs; or, old sayed Sawes and Adages in English (or the Saxon Tongue) Italian, French and Spanish; whereunto the British, for their great Antiquity and Weight, are added*. XXVIII. *A Cordial for the Cavaliers: London 1661*. This was answered immediately after its publication by Mr. Roger L'Estrange in a book intitled, *A Caveat for the Cavaliers*; which having given offence to divers persons, he published a second edition of it with his name, and a preface to it. Soon after Mr. Howell published a vindication of his Cordial under this title, XXIX. *Some sabel Inspections made into those Irregularities, that want to the Composition of a late Cordial for the Cavaliers*. London 1661. Upon which Mr. L'Estrange animadverts briefly in the close of a piece of his intitled, *A modest Plea both for the Caveat and Author of it*. XXX. *A French Grammar, and a Dialogue consisting of all Gallicisms, with additions of the most useful and significant Proverbs &c.* Printed at London twice, the last time in 1673 in folio. XXXI. *The Parley of Beasts: or Morpbandra Queen of the enchanted Island, &c.* Tom. I. London 1660 in folio. XXXII. *The Second Part of casual Discourses and Interlocutions between Patricius and Peregrin, &c.* London 1661. Printed in a book intitled, *Divers Historical Discourses of the late popular Insurrections in Great Britain and Ireland*. To this is added *An Apology for Fables mytho-*

logized. XXXIII. *Twelve Treatises of the late Revolutions*. London 1661 in 8vo. XXXIV. *New English Grammar for Foreigners to learn English; with a Grammar for the Spanish or Castilian Tongue; with special Remarks on the Portuguese Dialect, for the service of her Majesty*. London 1662 in 8vo. XXXV. *Discourse concerning the Precedency of Kings*. London 1663 in folio. Translated into Latin by B. Harris, and printed at London 1664 in 8vo. XXXVI. *Poems on several choice and various subjects, occasionally compos'd by an eminent Author. Collected and published by Serjeant-Major P. F. [Payne Fisher]*. London 1663 in 8vo. Dedicated by the editor to Dr. Henry King Bishop of Chichester. In the preface the editor tells us, that our author " may be called the prodigy of the age for the variety of his volumes; for from his *Απολογία* or *Parly of Trees* to his *Θυρολογία* or *Parly of Beasts* (not inferior to the other) there hath passed the press above forty of his works on various subjects, useful not only to the present times, but to all posterity. And it is to be observed, that in all his writings there is something still new, either in the matter, method, or fancy, and in an untrodden tract." XXXVII. *Treatise concerning Ambassadors*. Translated into Latin by John Harman of Magdalen College Oxford. London 1664 in 8vo. XXXVIII. *Concerning the surrender of Dunkirk, that it was done upon good Grounds*. London 1664 in 8vo. He likewise translated from Italian into English, 1. *St. Paul's late Progress upon Earth about a Divorce 'twixt Christ and the Church of Rome by reason of her dissoluteness and excesses, &c.* London 1644 in 8vo. The author of this book published it about the year 1642, and being obliged to fly from Rome on that account in the company and under the conduct of one, who pretended friendship to him, was betrayed at Avignon, and there hanged, and then burnt. 2. *A Venetian Looking-glass: Or, a Letter written very lately from London to Cardinal Barberini at Rome by a Venetian Clarissimo, touching the present distempers in England*. Printed in 1648 in three sheets in 4to. 3. *An exact History of the late Revolutions in Naples, and of their monstrous Successes not to be paralleled by any antient or modern History*. London 1650 in 8vo. This book was written in Italian by Alexander Giraffi. 4. *A Letter of Advice sent from the prime Statesmen of Florence how England may come to herself again*. Dated at Florence the 12th of March 1659. Printed at the end of *The second Part of casual Discourses &c.* abovementioned. He translated from French into English, *The Nuptials of Pelens and Thetis; consisting of a Mask and Comedy, or the great Royal Ball acted lately in Paris six times, &c.* London 1654 in 4to; and from Spanish into English, *The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the death of Anthony Ascham, Resident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva, his Interpreter, &c.* London 1651 in folio. He published *A French-English Dictionary compiled by Mr. Randal Cotgrave: with another in English and French. Whereunto are newly added the Animadversions and Supplements &c. of James Howell Esq;* London 1650 in folio. He published also *Cotivini Posthuma: divers choice pieces of that renowned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, Knights and Baronet. Preserved from the injury of Time, and exposed to the public light for the benefit of Posterity*. By J. H. Esq; London 1651 in 8vo. He published also *The late King's Declaration in Latin, French, and English*, ann. 1649.

[H] *Where a monument was erected to his memory.* The following inscription is upon it: JACOBUS HOWELL, Cambra-Britannus, Regius Historiographus, (in Angliâ primus) qui post varias peregrinationes tandem naturæ cursum peregit, satur ævorum et fama, domi forisque huc usque erraticus, hic fixus 1666. This monument was taken down in 1683, when the Temple-Church was repaired. T.

HUARTE (JOHN) lived in the sixteenth Century, and gained great fame by a work he published in the Spanish tongue; which has been translated into several languages, and borne several impressions [A]. He therein treats of the examination of such genius's as are fit for the study of the Sciences, and lays down many things which may make one believe, that he did not follow the common road of Physicians; but was able to make a great many new discoveries, by his profound meditations, and a very close application to the study of the Antients. However, it would not be prudent for any person to trust, either his maxims or all the authorities he alledges; for he is not to be trusted on either of these heads (a); and his hypotheses are frequently chimerical, especially when he pretends to teach the formalities which must be observed by those who would get children of a virtuous turn of mind. There are, in this part of the book, a great many particulars repugnant to modesty, and which Gabriel Chappuis has translated in too gross a manner. He deserves censure for publishing, as a genuine and authentic piece, a pretended letter of Lentulus the Proconsul, from Jerusalem to the Roman Senate; wherein a portrait is given of CHRIST JESUS, a description of his shape and stature, the colour of his hair, the qualities of his beard &c. A criticism has been made of Huarte's work [B]. He was thought to be a Spaniard, which

(a) See *Apologie de Costar*, pag. 213, 214.

(1) He had been Professor at Padua.

(2) See Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Française*, pag. 432. The title is a little altered in the edition I make use of, which is that of Roan, printed in 1583, 12mo.

(3) Sorel, de la *Perfection de l'Homme*, pag. 327.

(4) Anthony Zara, who wrote a work of the *Anatomy of Genius's and Sciences*, Peter Charon, and others, revive the doctrine of this Spaniard, almost without the least restriction, *Ibid.*, pag. 335.

[A] He gained great fame by a work he published in the Spanish tongue; which has been translated into several languages, and borne several impressions.] It was translated into Italian by Camillo Camilli, and this version was dedicated by Nicolo Manassi, to Frederic Pendafius, Professor of Philosophy in Bologna (1). The Dedication is dated from Venice, the first of March 1582. The edition I make use of is of Venice, *presso Aldo* 1590 in 8vo. The book in question was translated into French by Gabriel Chappuis anno 1580. The title of this version is as follows, *Anacrase ou parfait Jugement &c. i. e. Anacrisis or perfect Judgment and Examination of such Genius's as are fit for acquiring the sciences, and were born such: wherein by marvellous and useful secrets, drawn from true Philosophy both natural and divine, is shewn the difference between the gifts and abilities found in men, and for what kind of study the genius of every man is adapted; in such a manner that whoever shall read this book attentively, will discover the properties of his own genius, and be able to make choice of that science, in which he will make the greatest improvement* (2). There is a better French version than this, I mean that printed at Amsterdam, for John Ravelein, in 1672, and the translator's name is Francis Savinien d'Alquie. He has taken in the additions which John Huarte had inserted in the last edition of his book. These are considerable both as to quality and quantity: but the translators in question could not intert them in their respective places, and so were forced to throw part of them at the beginning, and the rest at the end of the work. I know only by the Bodleian catalogue the Latin version of this book, by *Æsch. Major*, printed anno 1622 in 8vo. [I have the following edition of this work, the title of which runs thus, *EXAMEN DE INGENIOS PARA LAS SCIENCIAS. Donde se muestra la diferencia de habilidades que ay en los hombres, y el genere de letras que a cada uno responde en particular.* Es obra donde el que leyere con atencion hallara la manera de su ingenio, y sabra escoyer la sciencia en que mas ha de aprouechar: y si por ventura la vuere ya profesado, entendera si atinó a la que pedia su habilidad natural. *Compuesta por el Doctor Juan Huarte, natural de sant Juan del pie del Puerto.* EN LEYDA Con Licencia, por Juan Pats. MDCXCI. It is in 12mo, a handsome letter, and dedicated *A la muy magnifica y illustre senhora Donna Penelope Riche.* The writer of it subscribes D. C. I likewise have Gabriel Chappuis's French version of the *Examen de ingenios*, but printed at Paris, in 1619. There are two prefaces to my Spanish edition of the *Examen &c.* abovementioned; but only the second is translated by Gabriel Chappuis, and prefixed to his French version. We also have an English translation of it.] *Addit. by the Transl.*

[B] A criticism has been made of Huarte's work.] It is intitled *L'Examen de l'Examen des Esprits. i. e. The Examination of Genius's examined.* The author of this criticism was Jourdain Guibelet. Here follows a passage from Sorel (3). "The Spanish author of the *Trial or Examination of Genius's* (4) has been followed by some authors (4), and condemned by others. I shall pass over those things which he was accused of, *viz.* of ascribing so much power or

" efficacy to corporeal qualities, that the soul seems to be dependent on them; and that this would prevent one from believing it to be immaterial and immortal, as it really is. But he has defended himself sufficiently on this head, by shewing, that the soul acts only on man according to the disposition of the organs; nevertheless it is thought, that he has still subjected too much this spiritual substance to gross and corporeal parts; and that the comparisons which he has drawn from brutes, and even the most imperfect of them, such as insects, reflect a dishonour on so excellent an animal as man; that it is also ridiculous to ascribe aridity or dryness to ants and such insects, because they are prudent or wise, and to draw a consequence from thence, *viz.* that prudence or wisdom must necessarily be found in dry constitutions; for by what art has he been able to discover, that there is less moistness than dryness in the brain of flies which seem to be very moist? Farther, how has he observed the difference between the brain of the bees, from that of common flies, the former of which are looked upon as wise, and the latter as foolish? No great difference, in case of a dissection, will be found in their brain; and when he affirms that the brain of the one is moist and those of the other dry, it is because he saw that the one were prudent and the other imprudent, and did not judge of their prudence or imprudence from their dryness or humidity. . . . Some object likewise to the author of the *Examination of Genius's*, that he has not justly settled the constitutions or temperatures for each faculty of the soul; and that he should not have ascribed to dryness or aridity the judgment or understanding only, but likewise memory; and that these two faculties are not incompatible. Thus several of his propositions are found fault with, which prompted a French Physician to draw up a criticism of his *Examination*, wherein he strongly refutes the greatest part of his doctrine, which he treats as he pleases, in a book of the same size with the other (5)." (5) Sorel, de la *Perfection de l'Homme*, pag. 327, 328.

Sorel afterwards makes some remarks against the doctrine of the author of the *Examination of Genius's*, among which is the following. "Some writers have sought out methods in order for putting the natural faculties in a good state or condition. To form the better judgment of them, they are not contented with observing men in themselves, by their external marks; but have even carried their enquiries so far as the causes, *viz.* to the time and place of their birth, and above all to the parents who begat them, who are the true sources of constitution, and have a very great influence with regard to the forming of their humour. This being allowed, in order to make their doctrine the more acceptable, they have pretended at the same time to prescribe remedies for the bad qualities which they discovered, or to administer help towards the attaining of good. And in order to enquire out the perfection of man in his most distant origin, they have endeavoured to make their birth as propitious as possible; and direct their parents to employ all the precautions imaginable, in order that they may come into the world with such qualities as may be desired. Some naturalists have enquired

which was a mistake, he being a native of the French Navarre (b).

(b) At St. John de Pied de Port. See du Verdier, Bibliob: Française, pag. 432.

"enquired what constitution and age a man and woman ought to be of, in order for marriage; and in what manner they ought to conduct themselves, as what aliments it will be proper for them to take, in order for their procreating sound and healthy children. The author of the Examination of Genius's has added to this, the manner of begetting them of such a constitution, as shall give them a disposition for acquiring arts and sciences. Both the one and the other declare, that in marrying persons, great care ought to be taken, viz. to joyn a man of a hot complexion to a woman who is cooler, and who has the moistness he wants, in order for the forming a perfect constitution. But it would be difficult to make such enquiries, because a great many other things are required in order for the making an agreeable match, which are principally regarded. It is generally thought, that with regard to corporeal qualities it is enough that those who marry are free from any bodily infirmity or deformity. With regard to the manner in which married persons ought to live, and of the times fit for procreation, and other observations prescribed in order for the getting of boys or girls; and even for causing them to be brought into the world with a complexion or disposition fit for certain professions, though these do not always succeed so exactly as one could desire, they yet cannot but be attended with happy consequences. Some men, though less circumspect than others, do yet enjoy all these advantages without all this care; but that was owing to the great vigour of their constitutions (6)."

mind of man is so short and limited, that it is scarce sufficient to one thing; I was ever of opinion that it is impossible for any person to attain a perfect skill in two arts, and that he must necessarily be ignorant of one of them; which made Plato say in his book concerning Laws, Nemo ærarius simul & lignarius faber fit; duas enim artes, aut studia duo, diligenter exercere humana natura non potest. i. e. "No man can be a good Copper-smith and Carpenter at one and the same time; it being impossible for human nature to excell in two arts or studies." It is therefore my opinion, that wise and learned men ought to be appointed to judge of the genius and capacity of children from their infancy; and in order to oblige them to apply themselves to that science for which they are best qualified, without leaving it to their own fancy; for fear lest they should make such a choice, as might be not so advantageous, or even prejudicial to them. Were this done, your Majesty would have the ablest artists, and the finest works in the world in your own Kingdom; and persons who unite most happily art with nature. I could also wish that the like method might be taken in your Universities; and that as they do not permit the students to pass from one faculty to another, till they are well skilled in the Latin tongue; so they also would appoint persons to examine, if a student who would apply himself to Logic, to Philosophy, Physic, Divinity and the Laws, has the genius requisite for succeeding in those several sciences; for besides that it is doing great prejudice to the public, for a man to exercise an art of which he is ignorant; so it is a great presumption for a man to labour and rack his brain about a thing, which it will be impossible for him ever to effect or complete with honour. What our author says in another place, would be still more perplexed and dubious in practice. "In a well regulated commonwealth or government there ought to be match-makers, who should know by rules of art, the qualities requisite in two persons who would marry for their reciprocal advantage. Hippocrates and Galen made some attempts in the affair; and have given rules to distinguish a fruitful from a barren woman; and betwixt a man who has abilities for procreation and another who is otherwise. But they have writ little on this subject, and not so distinctly as they ought, at least as is necessary for the present occasion (8)."

(6) Ibid. pag. 335. 336.

(7) Huarte, E- p. 8. Dedicat.

It cannot be doubted but that John Huarte has laid down some general maxims which are very just and true, as for instance, that it is of advantage to devote every individual to the employments for which nature has formed him; that some persons would have made a figure in the Law had they not been made Physicians; and that great inconveniences flow from the little regard that is had to the natural disposition in the choice of employments; but it would be extremely difficult to prevent this disorder. The expedient which our author proposed to Philip II of Spain, would not be attended, in practice, with all the advantages which might be expected from it. As I observe, says he (7), that the

(8) Huarte, Ex- amen des Esprits, chap. 15. folio 207, verso. I make use of Chappuis's version.

HUDIBRAS, a celebrated English Poem, the author of which, Mr. SAMUEL BUTLER, was born in the parish of Strensham, in the county of Worcester, and baptized there the 13th of February 1612 (a). His father, named Samuel Butler, was a person of a competent estate near three hundred pounds per annum; but most of it in lease-lands [A] held of Sir Thomas Ruffel, grandfather to Sir Francis Ruffel, Baronet, Lord of the manor of Strensham beforementioned (b). Finding that his son had an early inclination to learning, he made shift to have him educated (c) [B] in the College-school at Worcester, under Mr. Henry Bright (d); where, having past through the several classes, and becoming an excellent school-scholar (e), he went for some little time to Cambridge [C]; (or, according to others, to Oxford) (f), but was never matriculated,

(a) I am assured by Charles Longueville Esq; that Butler was born about the year 1600.

(b) Wood. Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 452. 2d edit.

(c) Butler's Life prefixed to his Hudibras, pag. v. London 1710, 16°.

(d) Wood, ut supra.

(e) Butler's Life, ut supra.

(f) I am assured by Mr. Longueville that Butler never resided in Oxford.

[A] His father was a person of a competent estate . . . but most of it in Lease-lands.] Thus speaks our Oxford Antiquary; and the author of the Life of Samuel Butler, prefixed to his Hudibras, says "that Butler's father, who had the same Christian name, was an honest country farmer, who had some small estate of his own, but rented a much greater of the Lord of the Manor where he lived (1)." The last mentioned Life-writer says; since most men have a curiosity to have some account of such (2) anonymous authors, whose compositions have been eminent for wit or learning; I have been desired to oblige them with such observations as I could receive from those who had the happiness to be acquainted with him, (Butler); and on this occasion, also to redress the MISTAKES of the Oxford Antiquary, in his Athenæ Oxoniensibus concerning him (3). This Biographer wrote this about the year 1710, which was but thirty years after Butler's death; consequently many of that Poet's friends might be still living, whereby he very possibly was enabled to get the most exact

informations concerning him; but whether we have most reason to give credit to Mr. Wood, or the Life-writer in question, shall be considered in the course of this article.

[B] His father . . . made shift to have him educated.] Thus says the anonymous Life-writer, who, by the expression made shift, seems to hint as though Butler's father was in narrow circumstances, which does not appear from Mr. Wood (4).

[C] He went for some little time to Cambridge.] I should rather give credit to the Oxford Antiquary on this occasion, who informs us that he continued some years in Cambridge (5). It will be best to transcribe the whole passage. From (the School at Worcester) he went, as his brother NOW LIVING affirms, to the University of Cambridge; yet others of the neighbourhood say to Oxon (6), but whether true I cannot tell. It is certain that one Samuel Butler was elected from Westminster School, a student of Christ Church, ann. 1623, but making little stay there he was not matriculated, and

(4) Mr. Longueville tells me that his father was in narrow circumstances.

(5) This is confirmed by Mr. Longueville who believes he was not matriculated.

(6) This has been proved a falsity.

(1) Butler's Life prefixed to Hudibras, pag. v. London 1710, 16°.

(2) I don't know why he uses the epithet anonymous; since Butler was well known to be the author of Hudibras.

(3) Idem, pag. iv.

culated, his father not being able to defray the expence of an academical education (b). As he continued some years in Cambridge, though he was not matriculated, I don't see why the anonymous Life-writer should express himself as if it was a misfortune to Butler, not to have been instructed in a regular, academical way [D]. Our Poet returned soon to his native country, and was clerk to one Mr. (i) Jefferys of Earls-Croom [E], an eminent Justice of the Peace in that county, with whom he lived some years in an easy and no ways contemptible station. Here, by the indulgence of a kind master, he had sufficient leisure to apply himself to whatsoever learning his inclinations led him, which was chiefly History and Poetry; joining to these, for his diversion, Music and Painting (k), in the last of which arts we find, by our Oxford Antiquary, that he had made a great progress. Some Paintings by Mr. Butler remained in Mr. Jefferys's family [F]. The affinity between the arts of Poetry and Painting is so great [G], that those who excell in one of them, frequently apply themselves to, or at least, have a great inclination for the other. Mr. Butler was afterwards recommended to that great encourager of learning, Elizabeth Countess of Kent [H], where he had not only the opportunity to consult all kinds of learned books, but also to converse with that living library of learning Mr. Selden (l) [I]. Our author lived likewise some time with

(b) See the note [B].

(i) Mr. Longueville Esq; never heard of Butler's living with this Mr. Jefferys, but believes he might.

(k) Butler's Life, ut supra, pag. v.

(l) Idem, pag. vii.

so consequently the place of his nativity and age are not remaining on record; otherwise had he been made a member of the University, it would have been known whether he was the same, who was afterwards the famed author of Hudibras. After Samuel Butler had continued in Cambridge six or seven years, but in what college or hall his BROTHER knows not &c. (7). As Wood tells us, that Butler's brother, then living, affirmed that he went to Cambridge, I believe we may prefer his authority to that of the other persons in the neighbourhood, who declared that he was sent to Oxon; or at least if he did go thither, it is highly probable he made but a very short stay, and went soon after to Cambridge (*).

(7) Wood's *Art. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 452. 2d edit.

(*) This matter is fully settled by Mr. Longueville as the reader may have observed in citation (f) of the text.

(8) *Life of Butler*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. ii.

[D] Why the anonymous Life-writer should express himself as though it were a misfortune to Butler not to have been instructed in a regular academical way.] The Life-writer in question, after expatiating on the great poetical merit of Butler, and applauding his works says, "the author of this celebrated poem (Butler) was of this last composition; for although he had not the happiness of an academical education, as some affirm; it may be perceived, throughout his whole poem, that he had read much, and was very well accomplished in the most useful parts of human learning (8)." As our Oxford Antiquary declares expressly, that Butler resided some years at Cambridge, the anonymous Life-writer in question need not have discovered a sort of regret at our Poet's being deprived of the necessary helps to improve his genius, though he were not entered in any of the colleges. For as he had a good foundation of classical learning, and was master of a great deal of wit, his company must necessarily have been agreeable to many of the brightest men of the University, who no doubt took a pleasure in directing him in the course of his studies. It is indeed certain, that the regular and periodical instructions of a learned and ingenious man may be of great service to a young student; but then, on the other side, it is well known that a youth of good sense and genius, who has got a tolerable foundation of learning, is able to make a vast progress in his studies, with no other assistance than that of books; and especially if he has an opportunity of conversing sometimes with learned and ingenious men. But such as are born great Poets, have least occasion to be taught the mechanical part of their art. "With regard to Poets, says an ingenious French writer, the principles of the practice of their art may so easily be understood and put in execution, that they do not even want the assistance of a master to direct them in the study of those principles. A man, born with a genius, may, in two months, teach himself all the rules relating to French Poetry. He even is soon able to go back to the source of those rules, and to judge of the importance of each, from the importance of the principles on which it is founded. And the world never thought it a glory to that man who had taught the elements of Poetry to one who afterwards became a very great Poet. No mention has been made of those who instructed Virgil and Horace in the mechanical rules of their art. We our selves do not know who taught Moliere and Corneille (though alive not many years since) the *causa* and measure of our verses. It was not be-

lieved that those instructors had so much share in the reputation of their pupils, as to deserve to have their names enquired after or remembered (9)."

[E] Was made Clerk to one Mr. Jefferys of Earls-Croom.] This circumstance is not related by Mr. Wood, who, on the contrary, seems to hint, as though he had been taken into the service of Eliz. Countess of Kent (10), immediately after his coming from Cambridge (11). However, as the anonymous Life-writer mentions the person and the place, this incident may probably be true.

[F] Some Paintings of Mr. Butler remained in Mr. Jefferys's family.] This we are told by the anonymous author of his Life. "I have seen, says he, some pictures, said to be of his drawing, which remained in that family. This I mention, not for the excellency of them, but to satisfy the reader of his early inclinations to that noble art; for which also he was afterwards entirely beloved by Mr. Samuel Cooper, one of the most eminent Painters of his time (12)." Though this Life-writer says, he does not mention Mr. Butler's paintings for the excellency of them, yet, if Mr. Wood is to be credited, he had made a very great progress in that delightful art. Mr. Butler, says he, at length became so noted for the former (painting), that he was entirely beloved by Samuel Cooper, the Prince of Limners of his age (13). It is very probable, that the great progress Butler had made in Painting, very much contributed to strengthen the affection, which so great an artist as Mr. Cooper had for him.

[G] The affinity between the arts of Poetry and Painting is so great.] This has been observed by the most ingenious writers, both ancient and modern. The author of a late agreeable Essay, makes the following reflections on this subject. "Almost all the parts of Poetry are found in Painting. . . The nearer the Poet approaches to the Painter, the more perfect he is; and the more perfect the Painter, the more he imitates the Poet, in drawing the manners and passions with life and spirit. The Painter is to animate a form, and the Poet to lend a form to sentiment and discretion: One is to give life to beautiful proportion, and the other strength and figure to sublime thought. The Painter, like Prometheus, lights up a spirit in the body, while the Poet seeks a body, to maintain and support that spirit; which is one of Homer's greatest praises; for, by the fire of his great genius, he has given form to almost all things, and made them appear, as it were, alive (14)."

[H] Mr. Butler was . . . recommended . . . to Elizabeth Countess of Kent.] This the Life writer declares, in which he agrees with Wood; except that the latter tells us, that he was taken into the Countess's service (15). (16) We find by the Oxford Antiquary, that our Poet made great improvements during his abode with the Countess. In this family, says he, living several years, he did, for his diversion, exercise his parts in Painting and Music (17).

[I] To converse also with . . . Mr. Selden.] This is confirmed by Mr. Wood. "Great Selden, says he, who was much conversant in the family of that Countess, (of Kent) had an esteem for, and would often employ him to write Letters (18) beyond sea, and translate for him (19)."

(9) *Reflexions Critique sur la Poësie & la Peinture*, vol. 2. pag. 23, 24. Paris, 1733. 12mo.

(10) *Art. Oxon.* ut supra.

(11) Mr. Longueville, as I before observed, does not remember to have heard of our Poet's living with this Mr. Jefferys.

(12) Butler's *Life*, ut supra, pag. vi. edit. London 1710.

(13) *Art. Oxon.* ibid. ut supra.

(14) *Of the Superior Arts; an Essay*. By Hildebrand Jacob Esq; pag. 4. London 1734, 8vo.

(15) Wood, *idem* ibid. ut supra.

(16) Mr. Longueville believes he lived with that Countess, but in what quality he knows not.

(17) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(18) I am told by Charles Longueville Esq; that our Poet was Selden's amanuensis.

(19) *Idem*, *ibid.*

Sir Samuel Luke, who was of an ancient family in Bedfordshire, but, to his dishonour, an eminent Commander under Oliver Cromwell; and, it is said, Butler then composed his Loyal Poem (m). It is very reasonably supposed that fate, more than choice, threw him into this family [K]. As Sir Samuel Luke is generally supposed to be shadowed under the character of Hudibras, it is very probable Mr. Butler might have received some disgust in that Knight's family. At riper years he studied the Common Law, but did not practise it. After the Restoration of King Charles II, the persons at the helm minding money more than merit, our Poet found a famous maxim of Juvenal verified but too exactly in himself (x) [L]. Being endued with that innate modesty which rarely finds promotion in Courts, he was made Secretary to Richard Earl of Carbury, Lord President of the Principality of Wales, and the Marches thereof, who appointed him Steward of Ludlow-Castle, upon the revival of the Court there (o). About this time he married one Mrs. Herbert, a Gentlewoman of a very good family, but not a (p) widow, as our Oxford Antiquary relates. She had a competent fortune, but the greatest part of it was lost, by being put out on ill securities, whereby it was of little advantage to him (q) [M]. Mr. Butler is said to have been Secretary to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, when he was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge (r), but whether that be true or not, it is certain, says the author whom I quote, that the Duke had a great kindness for, and was afterwards a benefactor to him (s). This assertion of the anonymous Life-writer, viz. that the Duke assisted Mr. Butler, is absolutely denied by a late ingenious (t) writer [N]. He had promises of places and employments, of great value and credit, from Edmund Earl of Clarendon, when he was Lord High Chancellor of England, especially for this cause, that his Majesty had a respect for him, and the more for his Poem called *Hudibras* (u). No man was a more generous (w) friend to him, than that Mæcænas of all learned and witty men, Charles Lord Buckhurst, the late Earl of Dorset and Middlesex [O], who being himself an excellent Poet, knew how to set a just value upon the ingenious

(m) Mem. ibid.

(n) *Atb. Oxon. Ibid. ut supra.*

(o) *Ibid.*

(p) Mr. Longueville is of opinion that she was not a widow.

(q) Butler's *Life*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. viii.

(r) Wood, *Atb. Oxon. ut supra.*

(s) Butler's *Life*, pag. vii, viii.

(t) I am informed by Charles Longueville Esq; that Butler never received any favours from Villiers Duke of Buckingham.

(u) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 452, 453. edit. ut supra.*

(w) I believe we are to except Mr. William Longueville of the Temple, father to Charles Longueville Esq; so often mentioned in this article; several persons having assured me, that that Gentleman was infinitely the best friend Butler ever had.

[K] *Fate, more than choice.* Though fate, more than choice, says the anonymous Life-writer, seems to have placed him in the service of a Knight so notorious, both in his person and politics; yet by the rule of contraries, we may observe throughout his whole Poem, that he was most orthodox, both in his religion and loyalty. And I am the more induced to believe he wrote it about that time, because he had then the opportunity to converse with those living characters of rebellion, nonsense and hypocrisy, which he so lively and pathetically exposes throughout the whole work (20). This conjecture, that our Poet wrote his *Hudibras* during his abode with Sir Samuel Luke, is not altogether improbable; for as Sir Samuel was so great a stickler in the Oliverian cause, and doubtless had a large portion of the then modish cant and enthusiasm; himself, as well as his whole family, must appear in a very drole light to a man of Butler's burlesque temper and principles; they all must have seemed as so many anticks in his eye, and this, consequently, must raise his poetic fire. One reason why Butler is supposed to have ridiculed Sir Samuel Luke, under the character of *Hudibras*, is from an imperfect verse, at the latter end of Canto I, Part I, of *Hudibras*.

*'Tis sung, there is a valiant Mamaluke
In foreign land, jely'd — —
To whom we have been oft compar'd
For person, parts, address, and beard, &c.*

Now it is supposed that this chafm is to be filled with the words *Sir Samuel Luke*. What, I think, strengthens this conjecture, is, that the line before it is of ten syllables, and the measure of the verse generally used in this Poem, is of eight; at the same time that the words *Sir (21) Samuel Luke*, make the corresponding verse full ten syllables.

[L] *Our Poet found a famous maxim of Juvenal verified but too exactly in himself.* It is this:

*Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi:*

That is,
" Rarely they rise by virtue's aid, who lie
" Plung'd in the depth of helpless poverty.

DRYDEN.

But some will perhaps not think his fate so very hard, he having the not altogether uncommon; felicity of being almost worshipped after his death, though so greatly neglected whilst living.

[M] *His wife's fortune . . . was of little advantage to him.* The Oxford Antiquary says the very reverse

of this (22). *He did not practice the Law, but lived on the jointure of a widow that he had married* (23).

[N] *This last assertion that the Duke assisted Mr. Butler, is absolutely denied by a late ingenious writer.* It is Major Richardson Pack, who gives us the following relation. *Mr. Wycberley had always laid bold of any opportunity which offered, to represent to his Grace how well Mr. Butler had deserved of the Royal Family, by writing his inimitable Hudibras; and that it was a reproach to the Court, that a person of his loyalty and wit should suffer in obscurity, and under the whims he did. The Duke seemed always to hearken to him with attention enough: and, after some time, undertook to recommend his pretensions to his Majesty. Mr. Wycberley, in hopes to keep him steady to his word, obtained of his Grace to name a day, when he might introduce that modest and unfortunate Poet to his new patron. At last an appointment was made, and the place of meeting was agreed to be the Rot-Buck. Mr. Butler and his friend attended accordingly; the Duke too joined them. But as the Duke would have it, the door of the room where they sat was open; and his Grace, who had seated himself near it, observing a pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a Knight) trip by with a brace of Ladies, immediately quitted his engagement to follow another kind of business, at which he was more ready than in doing good offices to men of desert; though no one was better qualified, than he, both in regard to his fortune and understanding, to protect them; and from that hour to the day of his death, poor Butler never found the least effect of his promise* (24). If this story may be depended upon, it seems quite to invalidate what is asserted by Mr. Wood and the anonymous Life-writer on his authority, viz. that Butler was Secretary to the above-mentioned Duke of Buckingham. It also seems to contradict the report which prevailed, viz. that the Duke of Buckingham, author of the Rehearsal, had therein, as it was then said, the assistance of Dr. Thomas Sprat, his Chaplain, Martin Clifford and Samuel Butler, alias Hudibras, in the composing thereof (25). Though our Poet does not stand in need of any reputation but that which arises from his famous Poem, it yet would be some addition to it, could this circumstance be proved. But however it be, the bare report shews the high opinion the public entertained of Butler's genius (26).

[O] *But none was a more generous friend to him . . . than Charles . . . the late Earl of Dorset* [An eminent English Poet, in a Dedication to the present Duke of Dorset, where he gives a character of his noble father, says, *Butler owed it to him* (the late Earl) *that the Court tasted his Hudibras* (27).

(22) Mr. Longueville believes he did not reap much benefit by his wife's fortune.

(23) *Atb. Oxon. ibid. ut supra.*

(24) *Atb. Oxon. ibid. ut supra.*

(25) *Atb. Oxon. ibid. ut supra.*

(26) Mr. Longueville is of opinion that Butler was not personally known to the Duke of Buckingham in question.

(27) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(28) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(29) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(30) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(31) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(32) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(33) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(34) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(35) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(36) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(37) *Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 804. edit. ut supra.*

(20) Butler's *Life*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. vii.

(21) Whilst this sheet was at press, I was assured by Mr. Longueville that Sir Samuel Luke is not the person ridiculed under the name of HUDIBRAS.

ingenious performances of others, and has taken care to relieve and supply the necessities of those whose modesty would prompt them to conceal themselves; of which Mr. Butler was a signal instance. In fine, the integrity of our Poet's life, the acuteness of his wit, and easiness of his conversation, had rendered him vastly acceptable to all men; and yet he prudently avoided a multiplicity of acquaintance, and wisely chose such only, whom his discerning judgment prompted him to converse with (x). According to our Oxford Antiquary, Mr. Butler was a boon and witty companion, especially among those with whom he was very well acquainted. Having lived to the age of threescore and eight, he died of a consumption in the year (y) 1680, and was interred, at the charge of his good friend Mr. L——vil (z) of the Temple in the Churchyard of St. Paul's Covent-Garden at the West-end of the said yard, on the North-side under the Church wall (aa). He was buried, at his own request, six foot deep in the ground. It is universally said, that he had struggled with numberless difficulties. The ingratitude of the court and age towards him has been set in a very strong light by a famous English Satyrift [P]. For many years he had no funeral monument, till at last Alderman Barber, late Lord Mayor of the City of London, generously paid the tribute due to Mr. Butler's memory, by erecting, at his own expence, a monument to him, among the Poets in Westminster-Abbey. As his bust was at first placed very low, it was smeared and defaced by boys and idle people; upon which the Gentleman abovementioned had it beautified, and fixed out of reach, in the place where it now stands. I shall give the inscription on his monument [Q]. Many pieces are ascribed to him besides his *Hudibras* [R], some of which being very obscene and trifling, would not do honour either to his genius or his morals. Our author's *Hudibras* gave him the great fame he has acquired [S], and was frequently read by King Charles II, whom, says a writer, the judicious part of mankind will readily acknowledge to be a sovereign judge; and who was so great an admirer of it,

(x) Butler's *Life*, pag. viii, ix.

(y) I am assured by Mr. Longueville that here is a double error, Butler dying of old age, and not of a consumption; and not at sixty eight years of age, but at fourscore, or thereabouts.

(z) The person here meant is Mr. William Longueville. I can't conceive why the writer in question did not put his name at length.

(aa) Butler's *Life*, pag. x. and *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 453.

[P] *The ingratitude of the Court . . . towards him, has been set in a very strong light, by a famous English Satyrift.* It is Oldham. A reader of taste and humanity cannot but be pleased with the noble indignation which fired him on this occasion.

On BUTLER who can think without just rage,
The glory, and the scandal of the age?
Fair stood his hopes, when first he came to town,
Met every where with welcomes of renown;
Court'd, and lov'd by all; with wonder read,
And promises of Princely favour fed:
But what reward for all had he at last,
After a life in dull expectation past?
The wretch at summing up his mispent days,
Found nothing left, but poverty, and praise;
Of all his gains by verse he could not save,
Enough to purchase flannel, and a grave:
Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell sick,
Was fain to die, and he interr'd on tick (28):
And well might bless the fever that was sent,
To rid him hence, and his worse fate prevent (29).

(28) As Butler was buried at the expence of Mr. W. Longueville, we must suppose that Oldham employ'd the expression, upon tick, as being strong and poetical; and to set the ingratitude our Poet met with in a still more odious light.

Let a young Poet of genius, in unhappy circumstances, but listen (if possible) attentively to these lines, in the height of his poetic fever, and there is no doubt but they will contribute to cool it, and restore him to his senses again. If not, it is a thousand to one but misery and rags will be his portion.

[Q] *I shall give the Inscription, hereunder.* It is copied exactly from the monument itself.

(29) *Poems and Translations*, by J. Oldham, pag. 173, 174. London 1683, 8vo. We find that this Miscellany was printed out three years after Butler's death.

(30) This must be an error, as I observed, Butler being born about the year 1600. See the beginning of the text in the margin.

M. S.
Samuelis Butleri qui Strenhamiæ in agro Vigornienfi natus (30) 1612 obiit Londini 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer:
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis felix; Satyrici apud nos carminis artifex egregius:
Quo simulatae religioni Larvam detraxit, & perduellium scelera liberrime exagitavit:
Scriptorum in suo genere primus & postremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
Joannes Barber civis Londinensis. 1721.

[R] *Some pieces are ascribed to him besides his Hudibras.* These, according to Wood, are, Two Letters, one from J. Audland, a Quaker, to William Prynne; the other William Prynne's Answer . . . The Assembly-Man, said to be writ by Abraham Cowley, . . . and *Hudibras* alias Butler. Mola Afunaria, or the unreasonable and insupportable burden now pressed upon the shoulders of this groaning Nation. *Ascribed to W.*

Prynne. But these, says Wood, were written by Samuel Butler, author of the much-celebrated *Hudibras* (31). (31) *Atb. Oxon.* Not long since, these and several other pieces were published in one volume in 12mo, 1730. But few of them, I believe, were written by our Poet (32). A late writer says, "In justice to the public, it is thought proper . . . to declare, that all the manuscripts of Mr. Butler left behind him, are now in the custody of Mr. Longueville (33), (among which, the most considerable is one intitled, *the History of Learning*, written after the manner of *Hudibras*), and that not one line of those poems lately published under his name is genuine (34)." The following lines which are ascribed to Butler, and are said to have been given by him to Mr. Aubrey, have all the characteristics of our Poet's wit and genius.

No Jesuit e'er took in hand,
To plant a church in barren land:
Nor ever thought it worth the while,
A Sweed or Rus to reconcile.
For where there is no store of wealth,
Souls are not worth the charge of healib;
Spain in America had two designs,
To sell their Gospel for their mines.
For had the Mexicans been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their shore.
Twas gold the Catholic religion planted,
Which, had they wanted gold, they still had wanted (35).

(32) I have been since told by Mr. Longueville that part of those remains are spurious. This Gentleman is possessed of all our Poet's genuine remains, which are very numerous, both in prose and verse, and among the rest, of a Poem intitled, *The History of Learning*.

(33) This Gentleman's true name is Longueville, as I always write it.

(34) *Poetical Register*, vol. 2. pag. 21. London 1723 in 8vo.

(35) Butler's *Life*, prefixed to *Hudibras*, pag. xiv.

The author from whom I borrow these verses, had said a little before, "the golden remains of Mr. Butler are in the custody of Mr. L——vil (Longueville); but I have not the happiness to be very well acquainted with him, nor interest to procure them." It may be observed of works published after the decease of an author, that many of them, so far from adding to his reputation, are often a draw-back upon it.

[S] *But . . . Hudibras . . . gave him the great fame he has acquired.* We find that the whole was not published together. *The first part*, says Wood, *came out in 1663, and was not only taken into his Majesty's hands, and read by him with great delight, but also by all courtiers, loyal scholars, and gentlemen, to the great profit of the Author and Bookseller. Afterwards came out a second part, and both printed together with several additions and annotations. And at length, a third and last part, but without annotations, as by the copy printed in 1678 appears (36).* In the latter editions there are annotations to this part also. *In 1682 was published, in 8vo, Butler's Ghost, or Hudibras, the fourth part; with reflections on these times (37).* This last is a spurious piece.

(36) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 453.

(37) *Idem, ibid.*

(bb) Preface to Hudibras, pag. iii. edit. ut supra.

(cc) Butler's Life prefixed to Hudibras, pag. xiii.

(dd) Butler's Life prefixed to Hudibras, pag. xii.

it, that he would often pleasantly quote it in conversation (bb). We are told that some verses, for reasons of State, were omitted in the first impression (cc). There have been many editions of it, but none I believe equal to the merits of the work. Mr. Hogarth, whose genius seems very much allied to that of Butler, has etched a series of copper plates, containing the adventures of Hudibras and Ralph his Squire, with all the pleasantries and humour requisite to the subject. There have been many imitations of this delightful Poem [T], such as the second part of *Hudibras*: afterwards came out the Dutch [U], Scotch, and Irish *Hudibras*; *Butler's Ghost* [W]; *Mercurius Menippeus*; the *Loyal Satyrist, or, Hudibras in Prose*; the *Occasional Hypocrite*, and some others of the same nature, all which, *Virgil Travesty* excepted [X], deserve to be condemned to the most servile offices. Some vain attempts have been made to translate *Hudibras* into Latin, but with little success (dd) [T]; and indeed, as the subject, and the several parts of it are humorous, and relate entirely to England and English customs, I presume it will be scarce possible for *Hudibras* to appear to very great advantage in a translation [Z]. It is pity we have not a complete commentary on that Poem (ee), it being certain that many passages in it lose considerably of their beauty, force and vivacity, from our not being well enough acquainted with them; not to mention, that a writer of genius might make such observations on the contrivance, the conduct, the machinery, the similes &c. of it, as would give the generality of readers a better idea of the beauties of that Poem. Our

(ee) An attempt has been made this way, in the *Grubstreet Journal*, by an ingenious writer who signs himself M. J. from whom I have borrowed several particulars. See Num. 39, 41, 45 and 63 of that paper.

author

[T] *There have been many imitations of this delightful Poem.* No sooner does some original beauty appear in the world, but she is immediately ap'd by the inferior fry. The moment after the famous Captain Lemuel Gulliver came abroad, many claimed kindred to him; started up like so many mushrooms; and fatigued the public with their stupid adventures. The celebrated Macheath was attended by a long train of insipid Ballad-Operas; nor could even honest Robinfon Crusoe escape the mimicks. We may consider these as so many ill-favour'd, awkward creatures, who are appointed by Apollo as foils to these original beauties, and to give the world a stronger idea of their perfections. I would call such imitations *echos*, were not the resemblance too remote; an echo giving, at least, an imperfect idea of the original sound; whereas these pieces are generally the very counter-part of those they pretend to imitate. And therefore I am afraid they can hardly come under the denomination of even Ghosts or Shadows. . . . Several reasons, I believe, might be given, why imitations, or sequels of fine original pieces, seldom or never reach the beauties of the latter. In the first place, writers of great genius think it beneath them to be copists. As these have a fund of invention of their own, they consequently do not care to borrow from others. Again, the writer who strikes out some pieces of a new kind, is generally so filled with the idea, that he considers it in all the lights in which it can appear to any advantage. "How often, says a writer, the imitation of *Hudibras* has been attempted, and with how little success, I leave the reader to judge: In the year 1663, there came out a spurious book, called, *the second part of Hudibras*; which is reflected upon by our author, under the character of Whachum, towards "the latter end of his second part (38)." I suppose the lines hinted at here, are these.

*Quoth he, where am I,
Alive, or dead; or which way came I
Through so immense a space so soon?
But now I thought myself i'the moon;
And that a monster with huge whiskers,
More formidable than a Switzer's,
My body through and through had drill'd,
And Whachum by my side had kill'd:
Had cross-examin'd both our hose,
And plunder'd all we had to lose;
Look, there he is, I see him now,
And feel the place I am run through (39).*

(38) Butler's Life prefixed to Hudibras, pag. xi, xii.

(39) Hudibras, Part 2. Canto 3. ver. 1129 to 1147, inclusive.

(40) Very possibly Edward Howard Esq; the dramatic Poet, is hinted at on this occasion. He being, at that time, his the butt of most of the wits.

(41) Poems and Translations, by J. Oldham, pag. 233. edit. ut supra.

[U] *Afterwards came out the Dutch Hudibras.* This is sneered at by Oldham, in his slashing verses against a Printer, who had grossly maimed a piece of

*May'st thou print H—— (40) or some duller ass,
Jordan, or him that wrote Dutch Hudibras (41).*

[W] *Butler's Ghost.* The complete title of this piece

is, *Butler's Ghost, or Hudibras. The Fourth Part. With Reflections upon these Times.*

[X] *All which, Virgil Travesty excepted.* Methinks the Life-writer should not have reckoned that piece among the imitations of *Hudibras*; the original of Scarron naturally suggesting to a witty English translator the expressions in which Mr. Cotton has clothed his *Travesty*.

[Y] *Some attempts have been made to translate it into Latin, but with little success.* These, as they necessarily must, fall short of the sprightliness and vivacity of the original. It is said that some similes were translated by the learned Dr. Harmer, once Greek Professor at Oxford, one of which is the following.

*So learned Talicotius, from
The brawny part of porter's b --, &c. (42).*

(42) Hudibras, Part 1. Canto 10. Line 281, &c.

*Sic adscititios nasos de clune torosi
Vectoris, doctâ secuit, Talicotius arte;
Qui potuere parem durando æquare parentem
At postquam fato clunis computruit, ipsum
Una sympathicum coëpit tabescere rostrum (43).*

(43) Butler's Life prefixed to Hudibras, pag. xii.

I am told that a Gentleman of Southampton has translated a great part of *Hudibras* into Latin, with great wit and sprightliness.

[Z] *It will be scarce possible for Hudibras to appear to very great advantage in a translation.* An ingenious foreigner makes some reflections on this subject, in a letter to a friend. "There is one English poem, especially, which I should despair of ever making you understand, the title whereof is *Hudibras*. The subject of it is the civil-war in the time of the grand rebellion; and the principles and practice of the Puritans are therein ridiculed. It is *Don Quixot*, it is our *Satyre Merippie* blended together. I never met with so much wit in one single book, as in this, which at the same time is the most difficult to be translated. Who would believe that a work which paints in such lively and natural colours the several foibles and follies of mankind, and where we meet with more sentiments than words, should baffle the endeavours of the ablest translator? But the reason of this is, almost every part of it alludes to particular incidents. The clergy are there made the principal object of ridicule, which is understood but by few among the laity. To explain this, a commentary would be requisite, and *humour*, when explained, is no longer humour (44)." Some of these reflections seem very just, but others, I believe, are not so. He says, that the subject of *Hudibras* is, the civil-war in the time of the grand rebellion. It is certainly not the civil-war itself, but the ridicule of it; none of the transactions thereof being mentioned, except, occasionally; and a series of low incidents, of a quite different nature, are told, which banter the *Roundheads*, who engaged in that war. His enquiry concerning the difficulty of translating that poem, will, possibly, be found

(44) Voltaire's Letters concerning the English Nation, pag. 212, 213. London 1733, 8vo.

author just borrowed the hint of his *Hudibras* from the admirable *Don Quixot* of Cervantes, but in all other respects he is perfectly an original; the sentiments and diction being entirely new. The Poem of *Hudibras* seems to be of the same kind with the *Margites* of Homer, which, according to Aristotle, bore the same relation to comedy, as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Tragedy. In Homer's time, the various States of Greece were in danger of being enslaved by an Asiatic Monarch. Now nothing could be of greater advantage, at this juncture, than to shew the dangers that would ensue to the Grecians from their being at variance; and, on the contrary, the great advantages which would result from their union. The former is proved by the calamities which arose from the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles, the latter from their reconciliation. Such was the design of the *Iliad*. In Virgil's time, the form of government being quite changed, his aim was, to reconcile the minds of the Romans to a very amiable Prince, against whom nothing could be objected, but the manner by which he had raised himself to Empire. For this purpose, the Poet exhibits the entire subversion of a great people, and their voluntary submission to a new Prince, from whom Augustus was proud of being thought to descend. He therefore represents him as possessed of all the virtues that adorn a Monarch; makes him the darling of his subjects; and, after struggling with many difficulties, brings him off victorious over all his enemies. This was the design of the *Aeneid*. With regard to *Hudibras*, the design of it is as follows. As the time in which the author of it lived was famous, as is generally thought, for hypocrisy, and a pretended zeal for religion and liberty, which had subverted the laws and religion of England, and thrown all things into anarchy and confusion; at such a juncture, nothing could be of greater service to our Poet's views and those of all the Cavaliers, than to pull off the vizor, and paint the persons who had concealed themselves behind it in the most ridiculous colours, in order to render them as contemptible as possible; and therefore he did not censure them in a serious way, but with humour and pleasantry, which is well known to be a much more successful method. For this purpose, our Poet supposes, that the almost impracticable maxims of the Puritans with regard to the very strict distribution of justice, had turned the brain of his Knight, in the same manner as the poring over books of Chivalry had quite distracted *Don Quixot*. *Sir Hudibras* therefore sets out upon his rambles, in order to restore to every man his rights and privileges; and even bears themselves, who were carrying to a fair, not for their own profit but for that of the persons who were dragging them to it; he also supposing, that these animals had been arbitrarily deprived of the liberty they were born to, without being first duly tried, according to Law, and by their Peers. As the entire cast of the Poem is perfectly humorous, consequently the several adventures of the doughty Knight and his ridiculous Squire, must proceed, and end in the same strain. The construction and cast of the whole is so new, that it is distinguished by the title of the *Hudibrastic* way of writing. Some have called it a *burlesque Poem*, others a *mock-Heroic*, and others again a *mock-Epic* (ff), which name I should rather choose, were the measure of the verse the same with that of an epic Poem; for in most other respects it agrees with that species. An ingenious writer whom I have already cited, observes, that "the *Hudibrastic* (gg) is to differ from the Epic, as comedy does from tragedy. It must be narrative like the epic; it must, like that species of Poem, have its fable, its variety of characters, and its proper style; but all these in such a manner, as to move, not terror or compassion, as in tragedy; but laughter, as in comedy. The *Fable* must be formed by the narration of one, entire, ridiculous action: the *characters* must be such as either occur in low life, or are in their own nature odd and ridiculous; and these in as great a variety as possible; and the *style* or language must be contrived so as to heighten the ridiculousness of the representation (bb)." This writer is afterwards more particular with regard to the action, the characters and language [AA]. Perhaps *Hudibras* cannot be looked upon as a perfect

(f) The *Dunciad*, I believe, may be considered, in all respects, as a perfect mock-epic Poem.

(gg) Perhaps he had better expressed himself thus: *A Poem written in the manner of Hudibras.*

(bb) *Grubstreet Journal*, Num. 39.

fect

found not very just. He should have said that a translation of this Poem would be difficult, because it paints in such lively and natural colours the several foibles and follies of mankind, and has . . . more sentiments than words: and not, merely, because almost every part of it alludes to particular incidents. He afterwards tells his friends, that the Clergy are there made the principal object of ridicule. I believe he should have said, the Puritanical Preachers, otherwise a reader who should be unacquainted with *Hudibras*, and the history of the times it alludes to, might suppose this spoken of the Episcopal Clergy, or that of all religions. Though I have taken these liberties with the author of the *Letters concerning the English Nation*, it is with pleasure I acknowledge, that I have received infinite satisfaction from his writings, which have all the fire and enthusiasm of the great Poet.

[Ad] The author is afterwards more particular, &c.] He begins with observing, that the action of *Hudibras*, is the Knight's setting out on a series of ridiculous attempts, to gain the heart of a perverse widow with

whom he is in love. It begins with a revival of his passion, which had slept for some time; and concludes with his utter disappointment. The whole is carried on in such a manner, as renders the principal actions of it sufficiently ridiculous (45). I believe this ingenious writer is mistaken in his account of the action of this poem: *Hudibras* (methinks) not falling forth, to gain the heart of a widow, but upon martial feats of a new kind, as we are told in the beginning of the poem:

And out he rode a colonelling (46).

As to his adventure with the widow, it is only brought in by way of episode. The author proceeds to the Characters. There is, says he, the greatest variety imaginable of odd and low characters. The Knight and Squire are exceedingly odd; and at the same time entirely different. The several persons who compose the bear-baiting mob are admirably well drawn, and keep up their own low characters whenever they are introduced. The Widow, the Astrologer, his Man, the Lawyer, are

(46) *Hudibras*, Part 1. Canto 1. Line 15.

fect mock-epic Poem, because of its ending abruptly (methinks) with the two epistles of the Knight and the Widow. I fancy the ingenious writer just cited must be mistaken, when he says, "Although perhaps he (Butler) never read Aristotle, or any other critical writer, yet nature and good sense taught him to write in such a manner, that I shall not fear to enter upon his examination, by such rules as we find in that Prince of criticism (ii). As our Poet was so extensive in his reading (which is manifest from his admirable *Hudibras*), I don't doubt but he had studied the famous critics of antiquity, though he very probably had too much sense and taste, to lose his time in some of the insipid ones among the moderns. Our author's Poem has been frequently cited and applauded by the greatest writers his contemporaries, and others who have wrote since. Mr. Addison calls his Poem the *incomparable Hudibras* (kk), and the famous Earl of Rochester [BB] pays the greatest deference to his taste and judgment. Mr. Prior speaks also very advantageously of our Poet [CC], giving him the title of *consummate Master* in Poetry, in the humorous lines quoted below; and, at the same time, writes with the ut-

(ii) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(kk) *Spectator*, vol. 1. Num. 60.

(47) *Grubstreet Journal*, *ibid.* at *supra*.

(48) *Ibid.*

(49) *Spectator*, vol. 1. Num. 66. *ad finem*.

(50) *Idem*, vol. 1. Num. 63.

are all excellent in their kind, and consistent (47). He afterwards observes in the 53d paper, that *Hudibras* has that variety of distinct characters, which is essential to a poem of the epic kind. And . . . that there is a great, if not a greater, variety, than in any other poem extant. They are all low and ridiculous, whereby this kind of poem is distinguished from the epic." He then speaks of the diction. "The language, in *Hudibras*, contributes very much to the ridiculousness of the representation, by the odd, and often new words the author makes use of; by the measure of his verse, and by the very rhymes. . . . As to the double rhymes in *Hudibras*, though some have looked upon them as a blemish, it is generally the reverse; "they heightning the ridicule that was otherwise in the representation, of which many instances might be produced (48). A very great English writer (Mr. Addison) is of a different opinion, he considering the double rhymes as one species of false wit. "I must subjoin, says he, the double rhymes, which are used in doggerel Poetry, and generally applauded by ignorant persons. If the thought of the couplet in such compositions is good, the rhymes add little to it; and if bad, it will not be in the power of the rhyme to recommend it. I am afraid that great numbers of those who admire the incomparable *Hudibras*, do it more on account of these doggerel rhymes than of the parts that really deserve admiration. I am sure I have heard the

"Pulpit drum ecclesiastic,
"Was beat with fist instead of a stick.
"And
"There was an ancient sage Philosopher
"Who had read Alexander Ross over.

more frequently quoted, than the finest pieces of wit in the whole poem (49). This excellent author is certain in the right when he says, that double rhymes cannot recommend a bad thought; however, I believe it sometimes very much heightens the ridicule of an humorous one. The same admirable author explodes double rhymes in the vision where he fancies himself in the region of false wit. Speaking of a quarter of the Temple of the Goddess of Dulness, called the great magazine of *Rebus's*; and of a cluster of people who were laughing very heartily, and diverting themselves with *crambo*, there, says he, I heard several double rhymes as I passed by them, which raised a great deal of mirth (50). Mr. Dryden has also given his opinion of the versification of *Hudibras*, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the late Earl of Dorset. "The sort of verse which is called *burlesque* consisting of eight syllables, or four feet, is that which our excellent *Hudibras* has chosen. I ought to have mentioned him before, when I spoke of *Donne*; but by a slip of an old man's memory he was forgotten. . . . His satyr is of the *Varronian* kind, though unmix'd with prose. The choice of his numbers is suitable enough to his design, as he has managed it: but in any other hand the shortness of his verse, and the quick returns of rhyme had debas'd the dignity of style. And besides, the double rhyme, (a necessary companion of burlesque writing) is not so proper for manly satyr, for it

"turns earnest too much to jest, and gives us a boyish kind of pleasure. It tickles awkwardly with a kind of pain to the best sort of readers; we are pleas'd ungratefully, and if I may say so, against our liking. We thank him not for giving us that unseasonable delight, when we know he could have given us a better, and more solid. He might have left that task to others, who not being able to put in thought, can only make us grin with the excrecence of a word of two or three syllables in the close. It is indeed below so great a matter to make use of such a little instrument. But his good sense is perpetually shining through all he writes: it affords us not the time of finding faults. We pass through the levity of his rhyme, and are immediately carried into some admirable useful thought. After all, he has chosen this kind of verse; and has written the best in it: and had he taken another, he would always have excelled. As we say of a Court favourite, that whatever his office be, he still makes it uppermost and most beneficial to himself (51). The author of *Hudibras* seems to have endeavoured, on a great many occasions, to employ the most trite expressions possible, in order to heighten the ridicule of the objects he represents. The same motive, I presume, which made him employ the lowest images possible, made him use the lowest expressions, which after all, he perhaps has done too often. An ingenious English writer has made some good remarks on this subject. *When a pleasant thought plays in the features, before it discovers itself in words, it raises too great an expectation, and loses the advantage of giving surprize. Wit and humour are no less poorly recommended by a levity of phrase, and that kind of language which may be distinguished by the name of Cant. Ridicule is never more strong than when it is concealed in gravity. True humour lies in the thought, and arises from the representation of images in odd circumstances and uncommon lights. A pleasant thought strikes us by the force of its natural beauty, and the mirth of it is generally rather pallid, than heightned by that ridiculous phraseology, which is so much in fashion among the pretenders to humour and pleasantry. This tribe of men are like our mountebanks; they make a man a wit, by putting him in a fantastical habit. . . . Our little burlesque authors, who are the delight of ordinary readers, generally abound in these petty phrases which have more vivacity than wit (52). He, in another place, censures (53) some of our Poets, for their indiscretion in imitating *Hudibras's* doggerel expressions in their serious compositions, by throwing out the signs of our substantives, which are essential to the English language (53).*

[BB] Has been applauded . . . by the famous Earl of Rochester.] It is in here he concludes a satyr (in which he ridicules several eminent Poets) and names those persons whose approbation he values.

I loath the rabble, 'tis enough for me,
If - - -
Godolphin, BUTLER, Buckhurst, Buckingham,
And some few more, whom I omit to name,
Approve my sense, I count their censure same (54).

[CC] Mr. Prior also speaks very advantageously of our Poet.] It is in his humorous Poem entitled *Alma, or the Progress of the Mind*, at the opening of the second Canto.

(51) Dryden's *Juvenal*, in Dedication to Lord Dorset, London 1726, 12mo.

(52) *Spectator*, vol. 8. num. 616.

(53) *Spectator*, vol. 2. Num. 136.

(54) *The Odes and Satyrs of H. Pope*, translated by the most eminent Hands, pag. 164 London 1715, 12mo.

But

most modesty of himself. Mr. Dryden calls it the excellent *Hudibras*, and says farther, *The worth of this (Butler's) Poem is too well known to need any commendation, and he is above my censure (ll)*; he also has four lines concerning him [DD]. The reflections he afterwards makes on the versification of that Poem I have inserted elsewhere (mm). I shall give below the character of *Hudibras* from an ingenious French writer [EE]. Among other particulars for which *Hudibras* has been very much admired, are the parodies of the poetical machinery [FF]. Some are of opinion, that the parody of noble compositions is injurious to them, and shews a contempt that is highly indecent. But, as an ingenious writer observes very justly, "Parody and burlesque allusion may move laughter in those who have the highest veneration for the writings alluded to, and who at the same time admire the wit of the person who makes the allusion (nn) [GG]. This Poem is admired by all persons of wit and taste; and indeed, the whole cast of it

(ll) Dryden's *Journal*, Dedication, pag. c. London 1726, 12mo.

(mm) In the note [AA] after the referring figures (50).

(nn) *Hibernicus's Letters*, vol. 1. pag. 79. London 1729, 8vo.

*But shall we take the Muse abroad,
To drop her idly on the road?
And leave our subject in the middle,
As Butler did his bear and fiddle?
Yet he, CONSUMMATE MASTER, knew
When to recede, and where pursue:
His noble negligencies teach,
What others toils despair to reach.
He, perfect dancer, climbs the rope,
And balances your fear and hope:
If after some distinguish'd leap,
He drops his pole, and seems to slip;
Strait gathering all his active strength,
He rises higher half his length.
With wonder you approve his flight,
And owe your pleasure to your fright.
But like poor ANDREW, I advance,
False mimic of my master's dance;
Around the cord avabile I sprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earnest fall (55).*

(55) Prior's *Poems*, vol. 2. pag. 46. edit. 2^a supra.

By the way, Prior seems to have borrowed part of this thought from Dryden, where speaking of Virgil, he says. That Poet "pretends sometimes to trip, but it is only to make you think him in danger of a fall, when he is most secure. Like a skilful dancer on the ropes (if you will pardon the meanness of the similitude) who slips willingly, and makes a seeming stumble, that you may think him in great hazard of breaking his neck, while at the same time he is only giving you a proof of his dexterity (56)." [DD] Dryden . . . also has four lines concerning him.]

(56) Preface to Dryden's *Translation of Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting*, pag. liii, liv. London 1716, 8vo.

Unpity'd *Hudibras*, your champion friend,
Has shewn how far your charities extend,
This lasting verse shall on his tomb be read,
He sham'd you living, and upbraids you dead (57).

(57) *Hind and Panther*, in Dryden's *Miscellanies*, vol. 4. pag. 213. 5th edit. London 1727, 12mo. The *Hind* (or Church of Rome) is supposed to object the above lines to the *Panther* (the Church of England) as a proof of her hardness of heart, even to her greatest friends and benefactors.

[EE] I shall give the character of *Hudibras* from an ingenious French writer.] With regard to burlesque the English have a Poet whose reputation is equal to that of Scarron among the French; I mean the author of *Hudibras*, a comical history, in verse, written in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It is said to be a delicate satyr on that kind of interregnum; and that it is levelled particularly at the conduct of the Presbyterians, whom the author represents as a senseless set of people, promoters of anarchy, and compleat hypocrites. *Hudibras*, the hero of this Poem, is a holy Don Quixot of that sect, and the redresser of all the imaginary wrongs that are done to his *Dulcinea*. The Knight has his *Rosinante*, his burlesque adventures and his *Sancho*; but the Squire of the English Poet is of an opposite character to that of the Spanish *Sancho*; for whereas the latter is a plain unaffected peasant, the English Squire is a taylor by trade, a tartuff or finished hypocrite by birth; and so great a dogmatic Divine, that

*He could deep mysteries unriddle,
As easily as thread a needle,*

(58) *Dissertation sur la Poësie Angloise*, in the *Journal Littéraire*, tom. 9. pag. 165, 166. a la Haye, 1717, 12mo.

As it is said in the Poem. The author of *Hudibras* is preferable to Scarron, because he has one fixed mark or object; and that, by a surprizing effort of imagination, he has found the art of leading his readers to it, by diverting them (58).

[FF] His parodies of the poetical machinery.] I shall mention but one, and that is the description of *Fame*, from Virgil. And that the reader may be more sensi-

ble of the humour in the parody, it may not be improper for him to contrast it with the serious description of *Fame*, as translated by Dryden. Nothing can be more whimsical than the figure and dress of *Fame* in *Hudibras*; and the advices she is said to bring are equally pleasant. The giving her two trumpets makes a pretty distinction. . . Mr. Addison has also taken notice of the beauty with which Butler ridicules one species of false wit used formerly, viz. of making an echo talk sensibly, and give rational answers. It is where Bruin is described bewailing the loss of his bear to a solitary echo, who, as the abovementioned author observes, "is of great use to the Poet in several distichs, as she does not only repeat after him, but helps out his verse, and furnishes him with rhymes (59)." No-

(59) *Spectator*, vol. 2. num. 59.

*Quoth he, O wretched, wicked Bruin,
Art thou fled to me — Echo, Ruin?
I thought th' hadst scorn'd to budge a step
For Fear. (Quoth Echo) Marry Guelp.*

*Have these bones rattled, and this head
So often in thy quarrel bled?
Nor did I ever winch, or grudge it
For thy dear sake — (Quoth she, Mum Budget).
Think'st thou 'twill not be laid i' th' dish
Thou turn'd'st back? — Quoth Echo — Pish.
To run from those th' hadst overcome
Thou cowardly? — Quoth Echo — Mum (60).*

(60) *Hudibras*, Part 1. Canto 3. beginning at line 199.

One of these Echo's is introduced in the famous Pastor Fido of Guarini.

[GG] Parody . . . may move laughter, in those who have the highest veneration for the writings alluded to, and for the allusion.] This passage is extracted from a piece, of which laughter is the subject; wherein the author combats the opinion of Mr. Hobbes, viz. that laughter is nothing else but sudden glory, arising from some sudden conception of some eminency in our selves, by comparison with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly. One of the arguments he employs, to prove that laughter often arises without any imagined superiority of our selves, is from the parody and burlesque allusion. . . "Many a profound admirer, says he, of the machinery in Homer and Virgil, has laughed heartily at the interposition of Pallas in *Hudibras*, to save the bold Talgol from the Knight's pistol, presented to his skull:

*"But Pallas came in shape of rust,
"And 'twixt the spring and hammer thrust
"Her Gorgon shield, which made the cock
"Stand stiff, as 'twere transform'd to flock.*

"And few who read this, imagine themselves superior to Homer or Butler; we indeed generally imagine ourselves superior in sense to the valorous Knight, but not in this point of firing rusty pistols. And pray, would any mortal have laughed, had the Poet told, in a simple, unadorned manner, that his Knight attempted to shoot Talgol, but his pistol was so rusty that it would not give fire? And yet this would have given us the same ground of sudden glory from our superiority over the doughty Knight. . . Again, to what do we compare ourselves, or imagine ourselves superior, when we laugh at the fantastical imitation of the poetical imagery, and similitudes of the morning?

is so very whimsical, and the several parts of it are drawn with so much pleasantry, that it must necessarily delight all such; the author of it having hit upon that point, which is ever sure of diverting multitudes. [HH]; and this point is humour; but as his verification is often not very musical, it consequently must distaste many readers of a delicate ear, who are pleased with such numbers only as are harmonious and flowing. If we consider the pleasure which arises from the perusal of a serious epic Poem, such as Homer and Milton; and that which the perusal of a mock Poem, such as *Hudibras*, gives to a reader who has a taste both for serious and humorous compositions, those pleasures must be found very different. The perusal of the former inspires the soul with solemn transports; raises it to such an extasy, that it seems to quit its terrestrial part, and wing its way to the skies; whilst the reading of the latter fills us with a joy that only wantons round the heart, and plays upon the face. These different pleasures seem to resemble such as would arise from a sprightly song, sung by a delightful voice, and accompanied by a fine violin; and the *Te Deum* of Mr. Handel, himself touching the organ, and accompanied by the finest voices and instruments. *Hudibras* is the idol of the high-church party (if party may be mentioned on this occasion) as a late writer has observed [II]. And we may all remember, in the late reign (oo), how frequently and with what emphasis four lines of *Hudibras* used to be repeated by the disaffected, at the time when people were required to take an oath to the Government [KK]. The generality of Dissenters consider, as it is natural for them to do, this Poem in a very odious light. Mr. Fenton, in his beautiful Epistle to Mr. Southerne, where he alludes to the times which are the subject of *Hudibras*, supposes very pleasantly, that when the Theatres were shut up, comedy appeared under another dress, and in another place, the Conventicle

(oo) I write this in 1737.

"The sun, long since, had in the lap,
Of *Thetis* taken out his nap;
And like a lobster boil'd, the morn
From black to red began to turn (61)."

(61) *Hibernicus's Letters*, pag. 79, 80. London 1729, 8vo.

He afterwards observes, "that there are innumerable instances of laughter, where no person is ridiculed, and where he who laughs does not compare himself to any thing whatsoever. What relation, says he, to our selves or to our affairs has that simile in *Hudibras*,

"Instead of trumpet and of drum,
Which makes the warrior's stomach come,
And whets men's valour, sharp like beer
By thunder turn'd to winegar?"

(62) *Idem*, pag. 84, 85.

"The laughter is not here raised against either valour or martial music, but merely by the wild resemblance of a mean event (62)." To shew that a reader may have the highest veneration for a noble, serious author, and at the same time admire the wit of one who had parodied finely upon his images, I may add the famous simile in Mr. Addison's *Campaign*, in which the Duke of Marlborough's calmness and presence of mind, in the midst of all the horror of battle, are compared to an angels who

Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm;

and the parody made on it by our great Poet, where he represents Mr. LUN, in the *Dunciad*, in one of his theatrical flights. On this occasion, I believe, there are very few but admire the nobleness of the original simile, and the wit of the Poet who has so finely burlesqued it. It is very possible that a fine writer, so far from being chagrined at a witty parody that should be made on any part of his compositions, would himself be very much delighted with it. As Mr. de Scudery, in his commendatory verses prefixed to Scarron's famous *Travesty*, says of Virgil, that he would split his sides with laughing, were he to see his *Æneid* in so comical a disguise.

*Quel est ce déguisement ?
O quelle métamorphose,
O Dieu, la plaisante chose !
Le rire m'a suffoqué :
Et dans ce plaisir extrême,
Virgile viroit lui même,
De se voir si bien masqué (63).*

(63) From the commendatory verses prefixed to, *Les Oeuvres de Monsieur Scarron*, tom. 1. Amsterdam 1699.

[HH] Hit upon that point which is always sure to divert multitudes. This is humour, as the writer who is the boast of Ireland observes, in a paper where he makes some reflections on the celebrated *Beggar's Opera*.

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"Although, says he, an evil taste be apt to prevail both here (Dublin) and in London, yet there is a point, which whosoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the dislikers, out of dulness or affectation will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean, is what we call humour, which in its perfection is allowed to be much preferable to wit, if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it (64)." After justly observing, that it is not peculiar to the English nation, and that very few have a taste for, or can judge of the excellencies of Poetry and Eloquence, he says, that a taste for humour is in some manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon subjects too refined, and superior to their understanding. And as this taste of humour is purely natural, so is humour itself; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we observe it sometimes among common servants, and the meanest of the people, while the very owners are ignorant of the gift they possess (65). Speaking afterwards of critics, (the heavy part of them he must mean) "I know very well, says he, that this happy talent is contemptibly treated by critics, under the name of low humour or low Comedy; but I know likewise, that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the most wit of any nation in Europe, do most excell in it, and do most esteem it (66).

(64) *The Intelligencer*, Num. 3. pag. 15, 16. London 1729, 8vo.

(65) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(66) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[II] This Poem... is the idol of the High-Church party, as a late writer has observed. "Hudibras, says he, which is a daily High-Church entertainment, and a pocket and travelling High-church companion, must necessarily have a very considerable effect, and cannot fail forming in men that humour and vein of ridicule upon Dissenters, which runs through that work (67)."
[KK] Four lines of *Hudibras* used to be repeated by the disaffected.]

(67) *A Discourse concerning Ridicule and Irony in Writing*, pag. 42. London 1729, 8vo.

*He that imposes an oath, makes it ;
Not he that for convenience takes it ;
Then how can any man be said
To break an oath he never made (68) ?*

(68) *Hudibras*, Canto 2. Part 2 ver. 377, to 380, inclusive.

I believe these are the lines hinted at by Mr. Addison, in a famous political paper of his writing, where he speaks of some who did not scruple to ridicule and make a jest of an oath. "A poor conceit, says he, of their own, or a quotation out of *Hudibras*, shall make them treat with levity an obligation wherein their safety and welfare are concerned both as to this world and the next. Raillery of this nature is enough to make the hearer tremble (69). We may observe, that Mr. Butler puts the four lines abovementioned in the mouth of his *Hudibras*, whom, it is well known, he every where represents as a wrongheaded knave.

(69) *Freeholder*, num. 6. pag. 30. London 1716, 12mo.

F f f

ticle being her stage. As the Reformation which succeeded the death of King Charles I, was so very precise and severe, it was natural for a Poet of Mr. Fenton's airy genius to sneer at it [LL]. Some Roman Catholics have introduced *Hudibras*, in the idle jokes they levelled against the Church of England writers; and one among the rest rallies very impertinently a famous English Divine as follows: *Sure the Doctor erred in his vocation: had he quitted all serious matters, and dedicated himself wholly to drollery and romance, with two or three years under Hudibras, he might have been a master in the faculty; the Stage might have been a gainer by it, and the Church of England would have been no loser* (pp). A noble author of our country has endeavoured to fix the rule and measure of ridicule [MM].

(pp) Preface to *Stillingfleet against Stillingfleet*.

Whilst I was compiling this life, I made all the enquiries possible concerning our Poet; and was told many particulars which were injurious to him. However, I afterwards had the great satisfaction to find they were only flying false reports; and indeed it was scarce possible but such must be raised against a man, who had gained the greatest reputation possible by satyrizing a party, and exhibiting it in the most ridiculous, and at the same time, most odious light. I was told that King Charles II gave Butler a handsome employment in the Custom-house, but have since found that this was not true [NN]. I also was falsely informed that the abovementioned Monarch had bestowed three thousand pounds on our Poet, as a reward for his *Hudibras*; but that Butler soon spent it, and afterwards satyrized the royal benefactor [OO]. I was favoured with some particulars from a venerable Gentleman, whose dramatic pieces afford the most agreeable entertainment [PP]. It was some time before I could get an opportunity

[LL] *It was natural for a Poet of Mr. Fenton's airy genius to sneer at it.* The verses are these.

*An age most odious and accurs'd ensued,
Discoloured with a pious Monarch's blood:
Whose fall when first the Tragic Virgin saw,
She fled, and left her province to the Law.
Her merry sister still pursued the game,
Her garb was altered, but her gifts the same.
She first reformed the muscles of her face,
And learnt the solemn screw for signs of grace;
Then circumcis'd her locks, and formed her tone.
By humming to a Taber and a Drone;
Her eyes she disciplin'd precisely right,
Both when to wink, and how to turn the white;
Thus banish'd from the stage, she gravely next
Assumed a cloak, and quibbled o'er a text. . . .
But when by miracles of mercy shewn,
Much suffering Charles regained his father's throne,
When peace and plenty overflowed the land,
She strait pull'd off her fatten cap and band:
Bade Wycherly be bold in her defence,
With pointed wit and energy of sense:
Etheridge and Sidley joined him in her cause,
And all deserved, and all received applause (70).*

(70) Fenton's *Poems*, pag. 71, 72. London 1717, 8vo.

[MM] *A noble author . . . has endeavoured to fix the rule and measure of ridicule.* "How comes it to pass, that we appear such cowards in reasoning, and are so afraid to stand the test of ridicule?—O! say we, the subjects are too grave—Perhaps so; but let us see first whether they are really grave or no: for in the manner we may conceive them, they may peradventure be very grave and weighty in our imagination; but very ridiculous and impertinent in their own nature. Gravity is of the very essence of imposture. It does not only make us mistake other things, but is apt perpetually almost to mistake itself. For even in common behaviour, how hard is it for the grave character to keep long out of the limits of the formal one? We can never be too grave, if we can be assured we are really what we suppose. And we can never too much honour or revere any thing for grave, if we are assured the thing is grave, as we apprehend it. The main point is to know always true gravity from the false: and this can only be, by carrying the rule constantly with us, and freely applying it not only to the things about us, but to ourselves. For if unhappily we lose the measure in ourselves, we shall soon lose it in every thing else besides. Now what rule or measure is there in the world, except in the considering of the real temper of things, to find which are truly serious, and which ridiculous? And how can this be done, unless by applying the *ridicule* to see whether it will bear? But if we fear to apply this rule in any thing, what security can we have against the imposture of formality in all things? We have

allowed ourselves to be formalists in one point; and the same formality may rule us as it pleases in all others (71)."

[NN] *King Charles II . . . did not give Butler . . . an employment in the Custom-house.* I first applied myself to a worthy Gentleman, my friend (72), who, in the conclusion of his letter dated 14 July 1735, says, "I have asked several Gentlemen if they ever heard that the author of *Hudibras* was an Officer of the Customs, but none remember any such particular." [OO] *That the Monarch bestowed . . . three thousand pounds on our Poet, as a reward for his Hudibras.* The person who informed me of this, declared, that the late Reverend Mr. Gosling, Sub-Dean of St. Paul's, had assured him, that the circumstances relating to the recompence bestowed by the King, and the ingratitude of our Poet, were fact. But being resolved not to take things upon trust, I wrote to the son, a Clergyman also, of the abovementioned reverend Gentleman, and he was pleased to favour me with the following answer.

(71) Lord Shaftsbury's *Characteristics*, vol. 1. pag. 11, 12. London 1727, 8vo, 4th edit.

(72) Mr. Sc. Lazenby, Land-Writer in the Port of London.

"Sir,
"Your letter needed no apology, for I should be proud to give any assistance to a Gentleman, who is so desirous to do justice to perhaps the best natured Prince and the most humorous Poet, England has to boast of.

"With regard to the story you mention, as related by my father, I can hardly believe he told it; I am sure I never heard it from him.

"I have heard him say, that King Charles ordered Butler a sum of money (I believe it might be three thousand pounds) but the order being written in figures, somebody through whose hands it passed, by cutting off a cypher reduced it to three hundred, which the Poet disdain'd to accept of, and from that time chose to live in obscurity.

"This I have heard him often tell, for he was fond of talking of King Charles's days, and as fond of quoting *Hudibras*, which occasioned his frequent repeating of this story.

"As to the place in the Custom-house, I cannot say that I remember any thing about it.

"I heartily wish success to your design, and am
Canterbury July
21, 1735,
Yours, &c.
William Gosling.

"P. S. I ought to tell you, that my father was not acquainted personally with Butler, but told his story as what was the report at Court."

[PP] *A . . . Gentleman . . . whose dramatic pieces &c.* This is the ingenious T. Southerne Esq; author of *Oroonoko* &c. who, on my desiring a Gentleman (73), (73) *The Lett- to write to him, he being then in Cheshire, in order to get some particulars relating to Butler cleared up, if of the Naval History, &c.* possible, was so kind as to write the following answer.

"Sir,

of seeing the so often mentioned Charles Longueville Esq; who, at his coming to town, was so kind as to solve all my difficulties; and, as I read over this Life of our Poet, was pleased to make the corrections which the reader has seen in the course of it; and to favour me with the particulars mentioned below [22], which will be a sufficient answer to the many aspersions that have been cast on Butler's memory, and transmit it to posterity in the fairest light. I never met, in the course of my reading, but with one person who presumed to censure Butler as a writer [RR]. I must take notice of some mistakes of the learned Father Nicéron [SS].

" Sir,

" I should be glad to give you any certain information relating to Hudibras Butler, but cannot any from my self, but can direct you to a Gentleman, whose father was Mr. Butler's greatest friend, supported him in his age, and buried him at his own charge in Covent-Garden Church-yard, the North side of the Church. The Gentleman I speak of is Charles Longueville Esq; a Member of Parliament, who lives in Norfolk Street in the Strand, and knows more of him than any person else. He has Butler's picture, a half length, which he values much. As for my self, I never heard of Butler's extravagance in confounding so large a bounty of the King's as three thousand pounds, nor that the King's bounty was in any comparison of that sum; I never heard that he had a handsome place in the Custom-house, nor of his profuseness that obliged him to sell it and spend the money arising from the sale, nor that he wrote a severe Poem against the King and his Mistresses (74). I hope the persons concerned to write the character of so great a man, in his way, will not defame him to posterity, by giving any account in print like what you have heard without the fullest proof, which you are most likely to have from the abovementioned Charles Longueville Esq; in Norfolk Street . . . I am

(74) This, among other particulars, I had been told, but it proves a falsity. The circumstance I suppose which gave rise to such a report was, there is inserted in the remains ascribed to Butler, an obscene Poem, which is wrote with great virulence against King Charles II, his mistresses &c.

How great the service I how trifling the recompence!

(75) This Gentleman was father to Mr. Longueville, to whom I am obliged for so many particulars.

" July 23, 1735, from Woodcote.

" Sir
Yours, &c.
Thomas Southerne.

" P. S. Butler did not die in a garret."

[22] Charles Longueville Esq; . . . was pleased to favour me with the particulars mentioned below.] King Charles II, who was a prodigious admirer of Hudibras, and sometimes saw the author of it, never ordered him but one gratuity, and that was three hundred pounds, which had this compliment paid to it, that it past all the offices without any fee, at the solicitation of Mr. William Longueville of the Temple (75); Lord Danby being at that time High-Treasurer. Mr. Butler never had any employment in the Custom-house, or elsewhere. He was a very modest man, and did not shine in conversation till he had taken a chearful glass, but was no drinker. He saw but little company, except what he was in some measure forced into; his Hudibras having gained him such reputation, that most persons of distinction at that time were extremely desirous of his company, and yet not one of them contributed to the advancement of his fortune. The greatest part of the remains ascribed to Butler are spurious, and among the rest the Poem against King Charles II, his Mistresses, &c. Our Poet was not profuse in his disposition; his circumstances indeed having always been so narrow, that he never had an opportunity of being so. He lived for some years in Rose Street Covent-Garden, and probably died there. Mr. W. Longueville would fain have buried Butler in

Westminster Abbey; and spoke in that view to some of those wealthy persons, who had admired him so much in his life-time; offering to pay his part, but none of them would contribute; upon which Mr. Longueville buried him with the greatest privacy, (but at the same time very decently) in Covent-Garden Church-yard, at his own expence; himself and seven or eight persons more following the corps to the grave. Charles Longueville Esq; has a half length of our Poet, which was given his father by the late Earl of Rochester (76), for whom Butler sat to Sir Peter Leij. He is drawn in a night-gown and peruke; and his countenance, which is pale, seems thoughtful, and no way expressive of the gaiety that appears in all his compositions. A proof of the great honour and honesty of our Poet is this; that upon his being ordered the three hundred pounds abovementioned by the King, he called to mind that he owed more than that sum to different persons from whom he had borrowed monies, or otherwise contracted debts; for which reason he intreated Mr. Longueville to pay away the whole gratuity, who accordingly did so, and Butler did not receive a shilling of it. But notwithstanding the many disappointments our Poet met with, Mr. Longueville is firmly persuaded that he never was reduced to any thing like want and beggary, and that he did not die in any person's debt. [RR] . . . but one person who presumed to censure Butler as a writer.] This is the anonymous author of a Session of the Poets, who does not express himself either wittily or genteely on this occasion. His lines are these.

(76) Dr. Mead has also a picture of Butler, drawn by Mr. Z. . . The ingenious Mr. Wood, Painter in Bloomsbury Square, a very great admirer of Hudibras; has several sketches, representing some of the principal incidents in that Poem, drawn with the utmost nature, vivacity and humour, by that great Historiographer, Painter Mr. Co. k. an Englishman, who seems to have been as well acquainted with the Poem as the author himself.

Then Hudibras boldly demanded the Bays,
But Apollo bade him not be so fierce;
And advised him to lay aside making his Plays,
Since he already began to write worse and worse

(77) Dryden's Miscellanies, vol. 2. pag. 57. 5th edit. London 1727, 12mo.

As this author insinuates that Butler attempted to write Dramatic Pieces, I consulted Mr. Longueville upon that subject, who told me that he believed our Poet never had any such design.

[SS] Some mistakes of Father Nicéron.] Besides two or three errors he was led into by Wood, and the anonymous author of Butler's life, Father Nicéron should not have barely said that Butler was buried in London, in the Church-yard of St. Paul's (78), but ought to have added Covent-Garden, otherwise his readers may suppose it to be the cathedral of St. Paul's. He says afterwards, that to the Poem of Hudibras is annexed two epistles in verse; the one from Hudibras to his wife, and the other from Hudibras's wife to her husband (79). Now this is an error; the woman in question not being Hudibras's wife, but his mistress. What misled Father Nicéron, or the person he copied, I suppose, was the titles of those epistles, viz. An heroic Epistle of Hudibras to his Lady &c. which a translator who had not read the epistles in question, might naturally suppose to mean wife. I.

(78) Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes illustres &c. tom. 9. pag. 270. Paris 1729, 12mo.
(79) Idem, ibid.

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 940. 2d edit. London 1721.
(b) Idem, ibid.
(c) Antonii Hall Prefat. ad Joann. Hudsoni Editionem Flavii Josephi, Oxon. 1720, fol. 2 vol.
(d) Ibid.
(e) Ibid.

HUDSON (Dr. JOHN), was son of Mr. James Hudson (a), and born at Widehope (b) or Wedehop (c) near Cocker-mouth in Cumberland in the year 1662 [A]. He was educated in Grammar-learning by Mr. Jerom Hechstetter (d), and in 1676 he came a poor serving child in Queen's College in Oxford, and applied himself, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Crothwait, to the study of Philosophy, in which he made a vast progress, as well as in polite Literature (e). July the 4th 1681 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (f), and on the 12th of February 1684 that of Master of Arts (g), and afterwards that of Doctor of Divinity. In the beginning of 1684 he was elected a Fellow

(f) Wood, Fossi Oxon. vol. 2. col. 217.
(g) Idem, ibid. col. 225.

(1) Athen. Oxon. [A] Born . . . in 1662.] Mr. Wood informs us (1), that he was fourteen years of age, when he was entered into Queen's College in the beginning of the year 1676. Dr. Hall observes (2), that he was born soon after the

Restoration, paulo post instauratam apud Britannos Monarchiam; and that he was about fifty seven years old, when he died on the 27th of November 1719.

(b) Idem, *Atb.*
Oxon. ubi supra.

Fellow of University College, where he became an eminent tutor (b), and celebrated for his extensive learning, which from evident in his works [B]. In July 1701, upon the death of Dr. Thomas Hyde, he succeeded him in the place of Keeper of the Bodleian Library

(3) Wood, *Atb.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
941.

[B] *His works.*] They are as follow. I. *M. Vellei Paterculi quæ supersunt, cum variis Lectionibus optimarum Editionum, doctorum virorum conjecturis & castigationibus, & Indice locupletissimo.* Oxon, 1693, in 8vo. This book was published at the charge of Arthur Charlet, D. D. Master of University College, to be given to his scholars and friends, at New-Year's-Day 1692 (3). To this edition are prefixed Mr. Henry Dodwell's *Annales Velleiani*; but Mr. Hudson thought proper to omit them in the second edition of Paterculus at Oxford 1711 in 8vo, because those *Annales* had been printed separately in 1698; and he has substituted in the room of them two Chronological Tables, one by Mr. Dodwell, and the other by Cellarius. The notes likewise in the first edition are enlarged in the second. II. *Thucydidi de Bello Peloponnesiaco Libri VIII.* Oxon, 1696, in Folio. This edition is a very beautiful one, and well disposed. The Latin version of Æmilius Portus is printed in two columns at the bottom of the page, with some short notes. There is one great advantage in this edition, that we find the years of the Peloponnesian war, of the Olympiads, and the foundation of Rome, marked at the top of every page. Mr. Dodwell was the author of this, who published in 1702 at Oxford, the reasons of that Chronology in his *Annales Thucydidei*. III. *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores Græcè & Latine, cum dissertationibus & annotationibus Henrici Dodwelli: accedunt Geographica Arabica cum Notis.* Oxon, 1698, in 8vo. This volume begins with the *Periplus* of Hanno the Carthaginian, which Isaac Vossius considered as the most ancient remain, that has escaped the injury of time. But Mr. Dodwell has proposed very strong reasons why it cannot justly pretend to so great antiquity; and shewn, that Hanno did not write the *Periplus* mentioned by the ancients, but some Greek, who was a friend to the Carthaginians; and that the *Periplus*, which we have extant, is very different from that cited by Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, &c. Next follows the *Periplus* of Scylax, which has likewise been esteemed very ancient, and vindicated in point of antiquity from the exceptions of the two Vossius's by Gronovius. But Mr. Dodwell has shewn, that this *Scylax* is not the ancient one quoted by Herodotus, but another, who was contemporary with Polybius; and that what he borrowed from other writers, might make a shew of antiquity, by which means the learned may have been led into mistakes about his age. After this follows an *Epitome* of *Agatharchides* concerning the Red-Sea, which piece Mr. Dodwell shews to have been written in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Alexander, King of Egypt, to whom this author was Tutor and Library-Keeper. The next piece is a *Periplus* of the Red-Sea, commonly ascribed to Arrian, though falsely, as was suspected by Salmasius, Vossius, and Hardouin; who imagined, that the author of it lived in the time of Augustus. Mr. Dodwell agrees with them, that Arrian could not be the author of this piece, but differs from them in all other respects; first demonstrating that it was written after Trajan and Hadrian, and consequently not by Arrian; and then offering very probable reasons, that the writer lived under the Emperors Marcus and Verus. Then follows a *Periplus* of the *Euxine-Sea*, which bears the name of Arrian, and was undoubtedly written by him in the time of Adrian, as the inscription shews. But it appearing that Arrian was Prefect of Cappadocia, when he drew up this account of the people bordering on the *Euxine-Sea* for the Emperor Hadrian, Mr. Dodwell concludes, that it was written about the year of Christ 137. In the next place we have another piece of Arrian taken out of his *Indica*, which contains the voyage of *Nearchus* by the command of Alexander the Great. This Mr. Dodwell supposes to have been finished by Arrian after his *Expedition of Alexander*, and before the Geography of Ptolemy was known to the world. Dr. Hudson having a manuscript of Arrian in the Bodleian-Library, has given us from thence several emendations of the text; and tells us, that the rest of Arrian's works might receive much light and improvement from that ancient copy. Next fol-

lows the *Periplus* of *Marcianus Heracleota*, first published by Hæschelius, with several other pieces of the same kind. But this had not the good fortune to be reprinted or translated, till Dr. Hudson bestowed his pains upon it; who has by conjecture corrected a great number of passages, and annexed to it the fragments of *Artemidorus* and *Menippus*. In the last he gives us a *Periplus* of the *Euxine-Sea*, which we owe to Isaac Vossius; but neither he, nor any one else, has yet been able to recover the author's name. His age likewise, as well as that of *Marcianus Heracleota*, is very uncertain. The second volume of Dr. Hudson's edition of the *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores* was published at Oxford 1703 in 8vo, with a Latin version and notes; to which are prefixed six dissertations by Mr. Dodwell. The first Geographer in this volume is *Dicæarchus*, who has partly in verse, and partly in prose, given us the state of Greece in his time, with a description of mount *Pelion*. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that *Dicæarchus* wrote the Poetical part towards the latter end of the CXVIth Olympiad, and the Prose about the end of the CXVIIth Olympiad. With regard to the fragment concerning mount *Pelion*, he supposes it to be written by *Dicæarchus* after the second year of the CXXIst Olympiad. The next Geographical writer, whose fragments Dr. Hudson has presented us with, is *Isidorus Characenus*, whose tract *de Mansionibus Particis*, was published by Hæschelius in his Collection; and afterwards, when it was enlarged by the Paris edition, it was communicated by Fabricius to our Editor. Mr. Dodwell is of opinion, that this *Isidorus* wrote after the year 36, and before the year 162; that Pliny's *Isidorus Characenus* was a quite different person from this *Isidorus*; that he only wrote a *Periplus*, whilst the other wrote a *Periegesis*; that the latter very probably lived nearer the time of Lucian than that of Pliny, and that *Solinus* was more modern than our Geographer. The next Geographical writer is *Scymnus* of the island of *Chios*, whose description of the world is written in verse, and translated into Latin by Paulus Vindingius. This piece was falsely ascribed to *Marcianus* of *Heraclea*, and published under his name by Hæschelius in 1600. Dr. Hudson has added several fragments of *Scymnus* collected and translated by Lucas Holstenius. Mr. Dodwell tells us, that we have two sufficient marks of the time, wherein *Scymnus* lived, taken from the succession of the Kings of Pergamos and Bithynia, since he dedicates his works to *Nicomedes*, King of Bithynia; and he asserts, that *Scymnus* was born in Varro's 610th year, and could not possibly write either before the 625th, or after the 679th year. Then follows *Plutarch's* little tract concerning Rivers, which was first published in Greek only by Sigismundus Gelenius at Basil, in 1533. A more beautiful and correct edition was published at Tholouse in 1615, by Philip James Mauffacus, who translated it into Latin, and illustrated it with a great many notes. Dr. Hudson has revised this translation, which he carefully collated with the version of *Natalis Comes*, and *Hadrian Turnebus*. Mr. Dodwell observes, that the learned are divided in their opinions about the author of this treatise. Some ascribe it to *Parthenius*, others to *Antonius Liberalis*, others to *Plutarch*, but not the *Chæronensian*; whilst *Mauffacus* alone attributes it to that *Plutarch*. Mr. Dodwell is persuaded, that it belongs not to *Parthenius*, nor to *Antonius*, but to one, whose real name was *Plutarch*; though who he was, is very uncertain. *Agathemerus* follows next, whose piece *Godefridus Venedelinus* had designed to have published, but was prevented by death. His copy fell into the hands of *Tennullius*, who published it at Amsterdam, 1671, with a Latin version and notes. After this *Gronovius* rendered it more compleat by making some few alterations in the text, but a great many in the Latin translation, much for the better. Dr. Hudson follows this edition of *Gronovius*. Mr. Dodwell remarks, that *Agathemerus* had consulted *Ptolemy's Geography*, and consequently wrote after *Ptolemy*; though he was not much later than that writer, since he mentions *Spain* and *Gaul*, which were names but lately in use among the

Library in the University of Oxford; which place he held till his death. In 1712 he was appointed Principal of St. Mary Hall in that University, at the solicitation of Dr. John Radcliffe, the Physician (i). His health declined a considerable time before his death; but at last being seized with a dropsy, it proved fatal to him on the 27th of November 1719, being then about fifty seven years of age. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Harrison, by whom he had a daughter, who married July the 29th 1731 Mr. John Boyce, son of Sir John Boyce of the city of Oxford (l). Dr. Hudson held a correspondence with the most eminent learned men of his age; particu-

larly

(!!) See a Pamphlet intitled, *The Contract violated, or the Hasty Marriage*, printed at London 1734, in 8vo.

(i) Hall, ubi supra.
(l) Idem, ibid.

the Greeks, when Agathemerus wrote his treatise. Mr. Dodwell further observes, that our Geographer was more modern than *Marcianus Heracleota*, and that he wrote in the interval between Septimius Severus, and Gallienus, since he mentions Babylon's being in possession of the Romans, which was not reduced into a Roman Province till the time of Severus in the year of Christ 201; and by consequence our author was later than him. The last piece of Geography contained in this volume is the *Epitome of Strabo*, never printed but once before, which was at Basil in 1533, to which Dr. Hudson has added the Latin version of Jerom Gemuseus, corrected in a great many places. And that we may the better compare this *Epitome* with the original, our author has all along taken notice of the passages in Strabo, which correspond with the words of the epitomizer. Mr. Dodwell tells us, that the author of this epitome was of later date than Ptolemy, Arrian, and Marcian, and that he did not imitate Marcian in his manner of epitomizing, since the titles of Marcian's Abridgments were always *Ἐπιτομαί*, whilst that of this author is *Χρησολογία*, a term not known in Marcian's days. He remarks, that the epitomizer of Strabo lived when the Slavonians were in possession of Macedonia, Greece, Epirus, and Peloponnesus; which he proves from the words of that writer: *Καὶ οὖν ἡ πᾶσα ἧμερον ἢ Ἑλλάδα σχεδὸν, ἢ Πελοπόννησον, ἢ Μακεδονίαν, Σκυθίας, Ἑλλάδος τοὺς νότιους*: From which words Mr. Dodwell remarks, that we may gather two marks of the time, wherein this epitomizer lived, viz. that he was not older than the time, when the Slavonians became masters of the countries, which he mentions, nor later than the age, in which they lost that empire. Mr. Dodwell concludes, that they were not intire masters of those Provinces till the time of Basil the Bulgarian Prince, between the years 976 and 996; and that it was about that time the epitomizer lived. The third volume of our author's edition of the *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, was printed at Oxford, 1712, in 8vo, and contains eleven pieces; the first of which is a Latin extract of the *Navigation of the Bosphorus Ibraicus*, written in Greek by *Dionysius Byzantinus*. The second is a *Description of the Euxine Sea*, falsely ascribed to *Arrian*. The third is a *Description of the World and of the Nations* by an anonymous Latin author, who lived under Constans and Constantinus. The fourth piece contains various readings on an anonymous Latin Geographer of Ravenna. The fifth contains the situation of places in Arabia by *Ptolemy*, corrected by an antient manuscript. Mr. John Greaves, Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, had fitted this piece for the press. The sixth is the *Description of Chorasnia and Marwarahnabra*, or of the countries on the north side of the river *Oxus*, taken from the Tables of *Abulfeda Ismael*, Prince of Hamah in Syria. He wrote that work in Arabic in the year 1221; and Mr. Greaves published it at London in Arabic and Latin, in the year 1650. The seventh is a *Description of Arabia Felix, and the adjacent Seas*, by the same author. The eighth contains two *Tables* of the Longitude and Latitude of the southern places of Africa and Asia, from the Canary Islands to China. The first is of *Nassir-Eddin*, a famous Persian, and the second of *Ulug-Beig*, a Tartar or Tatar, as the eastern nations pronounce it, who was grand-son to *Tamerlane*. Mr. Greaves had also published them. The ninth piece is an extract of the *Persian Syntaxis of George Chrysoecca*, containing a Catalogue of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal cities, particularly of Arabia. The tenth is such another Index of remarkable cities by *Ptolemy*, taken from a manuscript, and collated with others. The eleventh

piece is concerning the constellations of the two Hemispheres by the same author, with the degrees of Longitude and Latitude revised by Dr. Edmund Halley. These tables are only in Greek. The fourth volume was printed at Oxford, 1712, in 8vo. It contains a posthumous Dissertation of Mr. Dodwell upon *Dionysius the Geographer*, wherein he asserts, in opposition to the common opinion, that this *Dionysius* is not the same with him, who is mentioned by *Pliny*, and was contemporary with *Augustus*, and born at *Charax-Spasinus*, a city of *Sufiana*, the country of *Isidorus* abovementioned; but another of *Corinth*, and who lived after *Caracalla*. This dissertation contains also several remarks upon *Dionysius*. Then follows *Dionysius* in Greek and Latin, with *Eustatius's* Commentary subjoined. There are four Maps in this edition; the first of *Africa*; the second of *Europe*; the third of *Greece*, and the neighbouring parts of *Italy*, and those of *lesser Asia*; and the fourth of *Asia*. Dr. Halley has set down in them the degrees of Longitude and Latitude, which had been omitted in the maps of the former edition of *Dionysius* of Oxford. Next follow, 1. The Description of the Earth by *Rufus Festus Avienus*, in 1393 Hexameter verses. 2. That of *Priscian*, in 1087 verses. 3. The Description of the Sea-Coasts by the same *Rufus Festus Avienus* abovementioned, in Iambic verses, whereof we have only 705. Under the text of these Poems are placed the various readings of the manuscripts and of the editions, with the conjectures and remarks of several authors. There are likewise under *Avienus's* two poems the conjectures and corrections of our author and Dr. Hody. These Latin Geographers are followed by the Greek Paraphrase of *Dionysius*, and some *Scholæ* never published before, and some small fragments relating to Geography. Lastly there are corrections, various readings, and remarks by Dr. Hudson and other learned men, particularly by *Holstenius*, on *Dionysius* and *Eustatius*. IV. *Dionysii Halicarnassensis Opera omnia Græcè & Latine cum Annotationibus*. Oxon, 2 Tomes in Folio, 1704. Dr. Hudson's Preface to the first Tome is addressed to *Laurentius Alexander Zacigni*, Keeper of the Vatican Library, and to *James Perizonius*, Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Greek at *Leyden*; in which he returns his acknowledgments to those learned men for their assistance, and particularly to *Zacigni*, who had communicated to him the collation of *Dionysius* with a copy in the Vatican-Library. The Doctor has made use of several editions of that author, and kept close to the Greek copy of *Sylburgius* with respect to the Greek text, and at the bottom of each page set down the various readings of the Vatican Manuscript, collated partly by *Josephus de Juliis*, and partly by *J. Theodorus Calliergus*. Among these various readings he has interspersed, where it was necessary, several notes of *Sylburgius*, *Portus*, *Stephens*, *Casaubon*, *Valesius*, and others, with some remarks of his own. As to the Latin version, he thought fit to make use of *Portus's*, which he has corrected in several places, and divided into sections for the greater ease of those, who are not very well versed in Greek. In the *Ursinian* fragments he has followed the version of *Stephens*, and in the *Peiresidæ* that of *Valesius*. To these he has added an Appendix by *Sylburgius de Legibus veterum Romanorum*; because by it the mutilated passage of *Dionysius*, pag. 689, may in some measure be applied. Lastly he has at the end of the second volume given us Mr. Dodwell's Chronology for the clearing up the series and times of the History down to the days of *Augustus*; which will be of very great use for *Livy's* History likewise; and Mr. Dodwell has added the Chronology on the pages of the History. To the first volume are prefixed the testimonies

larly Muratori, Salvini, and Bianchini, in Italy; Boivin, Kuster, and Michael Lequien, the editor of Damascenus, in France; Godfrey Olearius, John Burchard Menckenius, John Christopher Wolfius, Henry Lewis Schurtzfleisch, John George Eccard, and John Albert Fabricius, in Germany; Eric Benzelius in Sweden; Frederic Rostgard in Denmark; James Perizonius, Hadrian Reland and John Le Clerc in Holland; besides his intimacy with all the great men of his own country (*m*). Dr. Anthony Hall tells us (*n*), that he was a man of great probity, an agreeable countenance, and moderate stature, and enjoyed a very vigorous constitution till he broke it with his intense application to his studies.

(*m*) Hall, *ubi supra*.

(*n*) *Ibid.*

testimonies concerning Dionysius and his Antiquities by Strabo, Plutarch, Eusebius, and others. In the Preface to the second Tome, addressed to Michael Lequien, he makes his acknowledgments to that Gentleman for collating the works of Dionysius with several manuscripts, and communicating the same to him. In the second Tome the Doctor has ranged all Dionysius's works relating to Rhetoric and Criticism in the same order, that they are in the edition of Sylburgius; but that the true disposition of them may be distinguished from the vulgar one, he has given us a catalogue of the works, both these that are extant, and those that are lost. With regard to the Greek text he has generally followed the edition of Sylburgius, which he has corrected in many places, as well as the Latin versions. V. *Dionysii Longini de sublimitate Libellus, cum Præfatione de Vita & Scriptis Longini, notis, indicibus, variis Lectionibus*. Oxon, 1710, in 4to, 1718 in 8vo. This edition is a very beautiful one. The notes are very short, as all those of Dr. Hudson are. VI. *Mæris Atticista de Vocibus Atticis & Hellenicis. Gregorius Martinus de Græcarum Literarum pronuntia-*

tione. Oxon, 1712, in 8vo. This piece of *Mæris*, whom some manuscripts call *Eumaridas*, though well known by means of Photius, and by being cited by a great many learned men, had never been printed till now. The letter of Gregory Martinus was added only to make the volume of a reasonable size. Martinus in this Letter defends the modern pronunciation of the Greek language with great learning and spirit. VII. *Fabularum Æsopicarum Collectio quotquot Græcè reperiuntur. Accedit Interpretatio Latina*. Oxon, 1718, in 8vo. Dr. Hudson published this edition of Æsop's Fables for the use of those, who begin to learn the Greek tongue. VIII. *Flavii Josephi Opera que reperiri poterunt omnia. Ad Codd. MSS. diligenter recensuit, novâ versione donavit, & notis illustravit Joannes Hudson*. Oxon, 1720, in two volumes folio. This edition is the most exact of any which had ever been published of that author. The Doctor died while it was in the press; and Dr. Anthony Hall, who married his widow, took the care of printing the last sheets. T.

☉ HUET (PETER DANIEL), a very learned French writer [*A*] in the XVIIth Century, was son of Daniel Huet, Esq; and Isabella Pillon de Bertouville, and was born

(1) Preface de Virgile, num. 22.

[*A*] A very learned French writer.] His works are as follow. I. *De Interpretatione Libri duo*. Paris, 1661, in 4to. Stadæ, 1680, in 12mo. Hague, 1683, in 8vo, with his Treatise concerning the original of Romances, translated into Latin. This book is written in the form of a Dialogue between Isaac Casaubon, Frontô Ducæus the Jesuit, and Thuanus. Monsieur de Segrais tells us (1), that nothing can be added to this treatise either with respect to beauty of stile, strength of reasoning, or variety of learning, which was very extraordinary in a person so young as Monsieur Huet. then was. II. *Origenis Commentaria in sacram Scripturam, Græcè Latine, cum Latinâ Interpretatione, Notis, & Observationibus Petri Danielis Huetii*. Roan, 1668, two volumes in folio. Cologne, 1685, three volumes in Folio. III. *L'Origine des Romans*. Paris, 1670, in 12mo. London, 1672, in 12mo, translated into English. Amsterdam, 1679, in 16mo, translated into Low Dutch by Mr. Broekhuisen, Hague, 1683, in 8vo, translated into Latin by Mr. Piron, and subjoined to his book *de Interpretatione*. Paris, 1685, 1693, 1709, in 12mo, with an addition of a Letter concerning *Honoré d'Urfé*, author of *Astrea* the Romance. In 1715 there was published at London in 12mo an English translation under the following title: *The History of Romances; an Enquiry into their Original; Instructions for composing them; an Account of the most eminent Authors; with Characters and curious Observations upon the best Performances of that Kind. Written in Latin by Huetius: made English by Mr. Stephen Lewis*. This translator is mistaken in asserting, that Monsieur Huet wrote this piece in Latin; so that it is evident that he never saw the original. IV. *Discours prononcé à l'Académie Française*. Paris, 1674, in 4to. V. *Animadversiones in Manilium & Scaligeri Notas*, published at the end of Monsieur de la Faye's *Manilius ad usum Delphini*. Paris, 1679, in 4to. The design of Monsieur in his notes is to show, that Joseph Scaliger ought not to have considered his edition of Manilius as an accurate or considerable performance. VI. *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Paris, 1679, and 1687, in Folio. Amsterdam, 1680, in 8vo, in two volumes, published by Christopher Sandius. Amsterdam, 1694, in 4to. Paris, 1690, in Folio, *recognita, castigata, & amplificata*. Leipzig, 1694, 1704, and 1722, in 4to. To support the title

of this work he shews, that religion is founded upon moral demonstrations, depending on certain experience, and the unanimous consent of mankind. He disposes the principles after the method of Geometricians in definitions, postulate, and axioms. He endeavours to prove, that they are no less certain than Geometrical demonstrations; from whence he concludes, that since the Christian religion has as much or more certainty than what the human mind believes to be most certain, namely Geometry; it is a prodigious instance of insatiation to despise it, and a strange obstinacy to contradict it. These principles being laid down, the author infers his demonstrations, which consist in ten propositions, which amount to this: That the books of the Old and New Testament are true: that those of the Old Testament contain several Prophecies of the Messiah: that those prophecies are accomplished in the Messiah: that the books of the New relate facts and miracles, which cannot reasonably be doubted, and which prove invincibly the truth of the Christian Religion. To evince the genuineness of the books of the Old Testament, he examines the authority and antiquity of every book in particular. He shews that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, and answers the objections of Spinosa. He asserts, that all the ancient Deities of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, Northern and Western nations, and even of some of the Americans, Greeks, and Italians, were only Moses in several disguises: for instance, that the Adonis of the Phœnicians, the Mercury, Osiris, Serapis, Anubis, and other Deities of the Egyptians, the Zoroaster of the Persians, the Deities of the Western nations, Apollo, Priapus, Æsculapius, Prometheus, and other Gods of the Greeks, Janus, Faunus, Vertumnus of the Latins; in short all the fabulous Deities are only Moses, whose History has been disguised. He treats of the ancient Greek versions of the books of the Old Testament, of the Hebrew language, of the Canon of the sacred books of the Old Testament, and of every thing relating to the critical knowledge and antiquity of those books. He vindicates the truth of the History of the New Testament. But the most considerable part of this work is that, in which he shews that the Prophecies of the Messiah contained in the Old Testament are accomplished in the person of Christ. To the edition of 1690 he prefixed a Preface in answer to some objections

born at Caen in Normandy February the 8th 1630. He lost his father at the age of eighteen months, and his mother four years after; and was delivered to his guardians, who were very negligent of him, and put him out to board in the city, where though he had but little assistance and bad examples before him, he passed through his course of humanity-studies before he was thirteen years of age. In the prosecution of his philosophical studies he happened upon an excellent Professor, Father Mambrun, a Jesuit, who after Plato's example directed him to begin with learning a little Geometry. Our author went farther in it than he desired, and contracted such a relish for Geometry, that he made it his chief study, and in a manner slighted the writings which his master read to him. He went through all the other parts of the Mathematics, and maintained public theses at Caen, a thing never before done in that city. Having passed through his classes, it was his business to study the Law, and to take his degrees in it. But two books published

objections against this work. His opinion, that Moses is to be found in the greatest part of the Deities of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks, &c. had met with most opposition. He affirms, that this was not impertinent to his subject, since proving the antiquity of Moses was proving at the same time the antiquity of the books of which he was author. Now nothing shews this antiquity more clearly, than to prove that what the ancients esteemed most ancient and venerable, their Gods and Heroes, were nothing else but Moses. It is allowed, that this would be of great advantage; but the evidence of these arguments is not so readily admitted. If Monsieur Huet had given them as conjectures, or well imagined co-incidences, they might have passed; but they will not be received as demonstrations. Besides, this was not believed to be his intention; and all that he alleges in justification of himself, proves only, that he might urge such kind of arguments, since several writers had done so before him. Artapanus maintained that Mercury and Musæus were Moses; Vossius the Elder and Bochart have affirmed the same of Bacchus; Justin Martyr of Mnevis an Egyptian God; Bochart of Typhon. Vossius asserted that Hercules is the copy of Joshua; Bochart, that Saturn and his three sons, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, were formed upon Noah and his sons; Apollo Pythius upon Phut; Mercury, upon Chanaam or Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses; Bacchus, upon Nimrod; Prometheus, upon Magog; Apis, Serapis, and Mnevis, upon Joseph; Ilithus, upon Lilith; Silenus, upon Shiloh, who is the Messiah. Some have conjectured that Zoroaster was the same with Moses; that Ham is Misraim, or Japhet, or Ebus, or Assuerus, or Nimrod. A learned man has likewise affirmed, that Jabel and Jubal are Mercury and Apollo; that Ada and Zilla the wives of Lamech, are Juno and Latona; that Naomi is Venus; that Tabalcain is Vulcan; and that Mercury Trimegistus is the eternal word. Monsieur Huet having defended his opinion by authority, endeavours to support it by reason; and taking Zoroaster for an instance, shews several great co-incidences between the life of Moses and what is related of Zoroaster. The names of their fathers resemble each other very much. Both of them are said to have smiled as soon as they were born. Both of them wrote five books of the origin of things; and prohibited idolatry under severe penalties. Their Kings endeavoured to destroy them; but God preserved them by sending venomous flies against their persecutors. They avoided this danger by flight, and passed over rivers dryshod. Both of them being banished their country retired to a mountain, which appeared to them covered with a celestial fire; and they could not look upon God, who was surrounded with the flames. They received from him the book of their laws, which greatly resembled each other. They returned from the mountain covered with a radiant light. They were supported in the desert with miraculous food, and at last disappeared without any person's discovering the manner of their death. If we add to this, that several eminent writers have asserted, that there never was such a person as Zoroaster, Monsieur Huet thinks it cannot reasonably be denied, that Zoroaster is Moses himself. It must be owned, that this instance has some probability attending it; but the greatest part of his other instances are not favoured by such co-incidences. He asserts for example, that Janus is Moses, because Albricus, who wrote concerning the images of the Gods, says that he was commonly painted with rays about him, holding a staff in his hand, with which he struck a rock, whence proceeded water.

This is not at all convincing. But what follows is less so. When we see, says Monsieur Huet, Venus in the hymns ascribed to Orpheus, dancing with her Nymphs upon the shore of Syria, who brings incense from a place near the waters of Egypt; do not we immediately perceive Miriam the sister of Moses dancing and singing with her companions in Syria, near the country where the incense grew upon the shore of Syria, which she had just passed over? Do not we perceive in this Miriam and her companions the origin of the Fable of the Muses, who took their name from that of Moses famous for his songs, whom the Greeks called Μουσαῖος or Μοῦσα, and whose sister ought to be called Μοῦρα, and her companions Μοῦραι. But nothing gave so much offence as his asserting that Priapus was the same with Moses. *Priapus idem ac Moser.* He vindicates himself from the raillery which this exposed him to, by saying, that we ought to fall likewise upon Artapanus, who affirmed that Moses is Mercury, the God of thieves, a thief himself, and the pander of criminal love. That we ought to reproach Bochart, who said that Moses is Typhon, an impious and barbarous monster, and an enemy to the Gods; and the Shiloh or the Messiah is Silenus, that ridiculous Deity, who is always reeling with drunkenness. Priapus and all other Heathen Gods are representations of Heroes, or of things natural. He represented the vivifying power of the sun, and fecundity of nature. He is, according to some, the symbol of the sun; according to others, the God Pan, or Bacchus, Apollo, Mercury; Typhon, whom learned men have thought to be Moses. Would they therefore have made any difficulty of saying the same of Priapus? Add to this, that the same obscenity, which appears in the images of Priapus, is to be met with likewise in these of Pan, Orus, Osiris, Mercury, Marsyas, and Terminus. Our author in his *Commentarius de Rebus ad eam pertinentibus* owns, that this work of his met with better success among foreigners than among the French, many of whom considered it as a book full of learning, but void of proofs; which occasioned several persons to say, that he had demonstrated nothing but his extensive reading. Others less equitable borrowed from it, and at the same time attacked it, in order to cover their own plagiarism. Monsieur Huet complains particularly of Monsieur Ferrand and Frassen, especially the latter, whom Monsieur de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris obliged to give him satisfaction. Monsieur Simon had a design to make an abridgment of this work; but Monsieur Huet being informed, that it was to alter it as he thought proper, desired him to excuse himself that trouble. The first edition of 1679 is most sought after, because there are some passages in it, which are not to be found in the editions of Paris in 1687 and 1690. VII. *Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ.* Paris 1689 in 12mo. Helmstadt 1690 in 12mo, published by Henry Meibomius. *Frisiæ* (perhaps Franeker) 1690 in 12mo. Hanover 1690. *Campis* 1690 in 12mo. Paris 1694 with additions. When Monsieur Huet wrote this book, says Monsieur Themiseul in his *Letters*, he was greatly piqued against the Cartesians, as appears by the eighth chapter of this work. He was displeased that those Philosophers infinitely preferred those who cultivate their reason, to those who only cultivate their memory, and require, that men should endeavour more to know themselves than to know what was done in former ages. "What, says he, because we are men of learning, shall we become the subject of the raillery of the Cartesians? VIII. *Quæstiones Ainetanae de Concordiâ Rationis & Fidei.* Caen 1690 in 4to. Leipzig 1692 in 4to. Leipzig 1701 and

lished at that time interrupted his application to that course of study, and diverted it to another. These two books were *Des Cartes's Principles*, and *Bochart's Sacred Geography*. He admired Des Cartes at first, and adhered to his Philosophy for several years. Bochart's Geography made a great impression on him by its vast extent of learning; and being full of Hebrew and Greek, he resolved to make himself a master of these languages; for which purpose he applied himself to them with great vigour, and contracted an intimacy with Monsieur Bochart, who assisted him in his studies. At the age of twenty years and one day the custom of Normandy delivered him from the tuition of his guardians, who had been very sparing in their allowance to him. His strongest passion, and that which he first gratified, after he became master of himself, was to see Paris, not so much out of curiosity, as to furnish himself with books, and introduce himself into the acquaintance of learned men. Two years after Christina Queen of Sweden having invited

1709 in 4to. This is written in the form of a dialogue after the manner of Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*. It is divided into three parts: lays down general principles concerning the certainty of reason and faith, the use of reason in points of faith, and of faith in points not discoverable by reason; and he proposes methods of reconciling them. He endeavours to shew, that those things which appear most opposite to our reason, though proposed by religion to our belief, are not more extraordinary than many things, believed by the Pagans in their religion. For this purpose he compares the doctrines and practice of Christianity with the sentiments of the Philosophers, the fables of the Poets, and the practice of the people, in which consisted their divinity, and which were the foundation of their religion. IX. *De la Situation du Paradis Terrestre*. Paris 1691 in 12mo. Leipzig 1694 in 16mo, translated into Latin by John George Pritius, a Divine and Minister of Francfort. Leipzig 1694 in 4to, in Latin, with his *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Amsterdam 1698 in 12mo, in Latin, with the *Dissertatio de Navigationibus Salomonis*. Amsterdam 1698 in folio, in Latin, in the *Critici sacri*. Amsterdam 1701 in 12mo. Amsterdam 1716 in 12mo, translated into Low Dutch. In this treatise our author places the terrestrial paradise upon the canal formed by the Tygris and Euphrates after they have joined near Apamea, between the place where they join and that where they separate in order to fall into the Persian Gulf, on the Eastern side of the South branch of the great circuit, which this river makes towards the West, which is marked in the maps of Ptolomy near Aracca about 32 degrees 39 minutes North latitude, and 80 degrees ten minutes longitude. X. *Nouveaux Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cartésianisme*. Paris 1692 in 8vo. Amsterdam 1698 in 12mo, with additions. The first edition appeared under the name of M. G. de P.A. that is, Monsieur Gilles de l'Aulnoy, a man of character, who had conferences at his house at Paris, and who lent his name to this book. The second edition was published under the name of M. G. de l'Academie Française, through a mistake of the Bookfeller in Holland, who mistook the initial letters in the first edition. XI. *Statuts Synodaux pour le Diocèse d'Avranches, lus & publiez dans le Synode tenu à Avranches l'an 1693*. XII. *Trois Supplémens aux dits Statuts Synodaux, lus & publiez dans les Synodes tenus à Avranches dans les années 1695, 1696, 1698*. Caen. in 8vo. XIII. *Carmina Latina & Græca*. Deventer 1668 in 8vo. Amsterdam 1672 in 16mo, published by Mr. Hogerfius. Utrecht 1664 in 8vo and 1700 in 16mo, published by Mr. Grævius. Paris 1709 in 12mo, the fifth edition published by the Abbé d'Olivet, who likewise published a new edition at Paris 1729 in 12mo. XIV. *De Navigationibus Salomonis*. Amsterdam 1698 in 8vo. It is reprinted with the *Critici sacri*; and translated into French, and published by Mr. Bruzen de la Martiniere in a collection intitled, *Traitez Geographiques & Historiques pour faciliter l'Intelligence de l'Ecriture sainte par divers Auteurs celebres*. Hague 1730, two volumes in 12mo. In this treatise he enquires, how Hiram King of Tyre could send his ships from Tyre, which lies upon the Mediterranean Sea, to Ezion-geber upon the Red Sea; and observes, that there was a canal made by art from the Nile into the Red Sea. He proves this from the testimony of the Arabians, who assert that there was a canal from the time of Abraham. Strabo says that Sesostris caused it to be made; and Herodotus tells us, that it was done by Nechius, the grandson of Sesostris. Some authors affirm, that this work was left unfinished; but perhaps

a small canal might be opened, and the great one never have been finished. He then examines into the situation of *Opbir* and *Tbarsis*. He imagines *Opbir* to be the South coast of Africa, called by the Arabians *Zanguebar*, and particularly *Sophala* upon the same coast. *Tbarsis* he supposes to be the Western coast of Africa and Spain towards the mouth of *Bœtis*. XV. *Notæ in Antologiam Epigrammatum Græcorum*. Utrecht 1700 in 16mo, published at the end of Grævius's edition of our author's Poems. XVI. *Les Origines de la Ville de Caen & des Lieux circonvoisins*. Roan 1702 in 4to. The second edition printed in the same city in 1706 in 8vo is greatly enlarged. XVII. *Lettre à Monsr. Perrault sur le Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes, du 10 Octobre 1692*, inserted in the third part of the *Pieces fugitives* without the author's knowledge. In this letter he attacks Monsieur Perrault with great vigour and force of reasoning. XVIII. *Examen du sentiment de Longin sur ce passage de la Genèse, Et Dieu dit, que la Lumiere soit faite, & la Lumiere fut faite, par Mr. Huet, ancien Eveque d'Avranches*: inserted in the tenth tome, art. 3. of Monsieur Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Choise*. We shall give an account of the occasion of this piece. Monsieur Huet in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* had maintained, that this passage of Moses, *God said, let there be light, and there was light*, was perfectly simple, and not sublime and figurative, as Longinus in his treatise *Of the Sublime* had asserted. In 1682 Messieurs de Port Royal gave a French translation of Genesis, with an *Exposition of the Literal and Spiritual Sense thereof, drawn from the holy Fathers and Ecclesiastical Authors*; and in the *Preface*, after having produced the authority of Longinus to shew, that there is the sublime and grand in the style of that History, which being tempered with a divine simplicity, is every where stamped with the character of truth, they report the opinion of this able Rhetorician upon the passage abovementioned, to which they add the remark, or, to use their own words, the *wise reflection* made thereupon by Monsieur Boileau in the preface to his translation of Longinus printed with his works in 1674. All this gave occasion to Monsieur Boileau to make an addition to the preface to that translation, wherein he expresses his surprize, that Monsieur Huet should disown the sublime in this passage, and congratulates himself upon the suffrage of Messieurs de Port Royal, who had made a very different judgment from that Prelate. Monsieur Huet having read that passage of Monsieur Boileau's, thought it concerned him to defend his opinion, and wrote a letter of some length to the Duke of Montausier, the Dauphin's Governor. It is not to be doubted, but that the Duke soon communicated this piece to Monsieur Boileau; yet it is not probable that he was convinced by Monsieur Huet's arguments; since in all the following editions of his works, he never altered that passage in his preface, which had occasioned Monsieur Huet's complaint. Neither did he make any answer to that dissertation, probably because it was not made public. For Monsr. Le Clerc having inserted it in 1706 in his *Bibliothèque Curieuse* with several judicious remarks in confirmation of Monsieur Huet's opinion; Monsieur Boileau wrote an answer. XIX. *Lettre à M. Foucault Conseiller d'Etat sur l'Origine de la Poésie Française, du 16 Mars 1706*, inserted in the *Memoires de Trevoux* in 1711. XX. *Lettre de M. Morin de l'Academie des Inscriptions à M. Huet* (that is, of Monsieur Huet himself) *touchant le Livre de M. Tolandus Anglois, intitulé, Aëidæmon, & Origines Judaicæ*: inserted in the *Memoires de Trevoux* for September 1709, and in the collection, which the Abbé

invited Monsieur Bochart to her court, Monsieur Huet accompanied him, and set out on the journey in April 1652. Monsieur Bochart did not meet with the reception which he expected. For the Queen's health being infirm, and too much study having injured it, Monsieur Bourdelot her Physician, an artful courtier, who had studied her temper as well as constitution, prevailed on her to break off all conversation with the men of letters, in hopes to govern her alone himself. Monsieur Bochart was the sufferer on this account; for Monsieur Huet's youth prevented him from appearing formidable to the Physician. He often visited the Queen, who would have engaged him in her service; but he being sensible of her mutable temper thought proper to return to France at the end of three months; the chief fruit of his journey being a copy of a manuscript of Origen, which he transcribed at Stockholm, and the acquaintance which he had contracted with the learned men in Sweden and Holland, through which he had passed.

Upon

Tilladet published of Monsieur Huet's works under the title of *Dissertations sur diverses matieres de la Religion & de Philologie*, Paris 1612, two volumes in 12mo. Hague 1714 two volumes in 12mo. XXI. *Histoire de Commerce & de la Navigation des Anciens*. Paris 1716 in 12mo. Brussels 1717 in 12mo. This has been translated into English. XXII. *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*. Amsterdam 1718 in 12mo. XXIII. *Traité Philosophique de la Foiblesse de l'Esprit humain*. Amsterdam 1723 in 8vo. It is a sceptical piece, and unworthy of our author. Father Castel the Jesuit has undertaken to shew in the *Memoires de Treux* for June 1725 p. 989, that this treatise was not written by our author. But the Abbé Olivet has proved the contrary in a pamphlet published at Paris 1726 in 12mo, under the title of *Apologie*. This treatise has been translated into English, and published in 8vo. XXIV. *Huetiana, ou Pensées diverses de M. Huet*. Paris 1722 in 12mo. XXV. *Diane de Castro; ou le faux Incas*. Paris 1728 in 12mo. This romance was written when he was very young. XXVI. In the second volume of Father Desmolet's *Memoires de Litterature* there is printed a Latin preface to our author's *Traité de la Foiblesse de l'Esprit humain*. He left behind him a Latin translation of Longus's *Loves of Daphnis and Chloe*; an Answer to Monsieur Regis with regard to Des Cartes's *Metaphysics*; his Notes upon the Vulgate Translation of the Bible; and collection of between five and six hundred letters in Latin and French, written to learned men. We shall give the reader some written to Dr. Thomas Gale, and communicated to us by the learned Roger Gale Esq; the Doctor's son.

Clariss. ornatissimoq; Viro Thomæ Galeo,
S. P. D. Petr. Dan. Huetius.

" *Jamblichum* tuum accepi, Vir doctissime, cum & ejus jam compositum esse, nam statim atq; ad me perlatum est eum labore tuo excultum, & doctrinæ tuæ monumentis insignem prodiisse, nihil mihi ad eum comparandum reliqui feci, cum propter scriptoris singularum eruditionem, per quam me plurimum profecisse memineram, cum nondum Græcæ extaret, tum propter accuratam tuam Interpretationem & Annotationes non vulgaris saporis, quas adjecisse te accerperam. Præclarè enim merito meritis es de re literariâ & literatis omnibus nobili hac Lucubratione, nominisq; tui famæ egregiè consulisti. Ego vero pro tam splendido munere gratias ago tibi habeoq; quam possum maximas. At futurum speraveram, ut omnes *Jamblichi* reliquias colligeres, & in unum Corpus digeres. Id profecto & Rei Dignitas & Auctoris præstantia, & reliquorum ejus operum Commendatio postulabat; nos verò id à te nunc expectamus. Atq; utinam diligentiam tuam quoq; conferres in excolendum *Porphyrium*, hominem excellentis ingenii & doctrinæ. Nihil profecto literarum bono, cui natus es, vel gloriæ tuæ utilius præstare quires; nihil eximie tuæ eruditioni expromendæ commodius posses reperire. Quamobrem te magnoperè hortor, ut hanc Spartam ornandam suscipias. Hoc si feceris, nullis omnino officiis deero, si quæ à me ad præclarum hoc institutum promovendum poterunt proficisci. Et verò sunt mihi ad manum nonnulla, quibus non parum locupletari possent hæc Editio. Digna quoq; res esset studiis tuis sparsa Procli monumenta recomponere, viri magni, qui clarissimas disciplinas animo pervagatus est, & acutis commentationibus illustravit. Harum collectionem nos quoq; juvare, & collatis symbolis amplificare possimus. Ac sæpe numero sum miratus neglectos

" jacuisse hætenus tam locupletes & luculentos Auctores, neq; inter tot eruditos homines, qui Veterum emendandis & edendis scriptis industriam suam commodarunt, extitisse quenquam, qui ad hæc excutienda & publicanda animum appelleret. Nempe uni tibi Laborem hunc destinabat Deus, ut qui alios doctrinâ superes, idem auctores eruditione cæteris præstantiores curis tuis perpolires. Cæterum sapere tibi *Demonstrationem* meam *Evangelicam* per mihi gratum perq; jucundum est, cum ipsum te norum quam limari sis & subacti Ingenii Judicii; Miserram exemplaria Libri hujus ad clarissimi Judicii; *Miserranum, Vossium, Bernardum, & Belgium*; quæ an ad vos pervenerint, nullus scio. Ex te velim intelligant hostra adversum eos observantiæ significationem hanc me dedisse. Vale. VI Cal. Septembr. MDCLXXXIX. Lutet."

" Cl. eruditissimoq; Viro Thomæ Galeo,
S. T. P. P. D. Huetius.

" Quanti interest literariæ Reipublicæ exire in lucem publicam quæ a *Simplicio* in *Jamblichum* disputata sunt, præsertim si labor tuus accesserit & diligentia, præclare intelligo; neq; operæ ulli vel labori parcendum mihi esse duco, quoad ejus compos fieres. Verum scito Romæ perpaucos esse, qui Græca Exemplaria versare, pauciores qui describere consueverint. Esurientes quidam Græculi operam olim suam ad id locabant; qui quæstus, quoniam exilis erat, neq; æφιλία satis largiter suppeditabat, egestate coacti ad alias artes animum studiumq; converterunt. Est equidem nunc illic *Petrus Possinus*, Græcarum Literarum apprime sciens, mihiq; amicus. Verum ab homine ætatis jam affectæ suis studiis intento, suisq; meritis percelebri, hanc operam nec postulare æquum est, nec expectare. Si quid tamen vel precibus aliunde efficere poterò, vel auctoritate, vel etiam pretio, non patiar officium ullum erga te meum desiderari. De colligendis & componendis atq; etiam exornandis *Porphyrii* Operibus sermo te cogitare vehementer sanè lætor. Præclarum enim verò Consilium, nobis utile, & tibi perquam honorificum; quo & eos, qui severiores sectantur discipulis, & qui aetate tibi devincuntur. Equidem enim Doctrinæ genus, quam Literarum partem non attingit Vir ille, maximus? Macste igitur esto hoc animo, doctissime Galæe, & in eam curam cogitationemq; incumbere, hanc uni tibi palmam esse repositam, quam Eruditorum omnium Plausus excipiet, immortalis Gloria consequetur. Fertur isthic apud vos prodiisse ante hos quatuordecim annos *Dissertatio de Paradiso terrestri*, Anglico sermone scripta. Velim ex te scire quid sit illud Operis; unde si quidquam discere nos posse putes, peto abs te ut Librum ad me mittas: dabo operam ut statim tibi pretium renumeretur. Vale IV Eid. Jan. MDCLXXX. de Sangermano.

" Clariss. doctissimoq; Viro Thomæ Galeo,
S. P. D. P. D. Huetius.

" Literas tuas ad XIII Cal. Martias tertio circiter quartoo; postquam scriptæ erant mense, vix tandem accepi. Lutetiâ enim profectus IV Cal. Maii inferiore, non longè Cadomo distans; atq; illuc post longos & diuturnos circuitus agrè tandem pervenerunt Literæ tuæ. Ad eas sic habetò: Scribam ad *Petrum Possinum*, vel operam, ut *Simplicium* illum, quem postulas, det per se, vel per amicum in Biblio-

" thecâ

Upon his return to his own country he resumed his studies with more vigour than ever, in order to publish his manuscript of Origen. Two Academies, one of which had been established during his absence for polite Literature, and of which he had been elected a member without his knowledge; and another, which he founded himself for Natural Philosophy, served to divert him in his fatigue, or rather made him change his labour from time to time. Sixteen years after his return from Sweden his edition of Origen appeared. These sixteen years he spent without any employment but his studies, though he went every year for a month or two to Paris. During this interval he had several advantageous offers, which he refused. Queen Christina, who upon her abdication of the Crown of Sweden had retired to Rome, invited him thither in 1659. But the treatment of Monsieur Bochart, who had met with such neglect from her in Sweden after he had been sent for with such assurances of favour, deterred him from accepting her invitation. He tells us likewise,

“ thecâ Vaticanâ, aliisq; quæ Romæ sunt, conqui-
 “ rat. Sed quoniam homo senio est confectus, & ho-
 “ rarum suarum perparcus, auctor tibi sum, ut literas
 “ meas mittas ad Nazarium tuum, negotiumq; ipsi
 “ des uti Possinum conveniat, redditisq; meis Literis
 “ paratum se dicat, quæcunq; vel suaserit vel jussit
 “ exequi; se modo auctoritate suâ, ope, concilio, of-
 “ ficiis adjuvet. Quod facturum libenter virum hu-
 “ manissimum spero, atq; etiam recipio. Hoc tibi si
 “ probabitur, Literas ad Possinum statim à me habe-
 “ bis. Libellum Anglicum de Paradiso Terrestri una
 “ cum Literis tuis accepi. Habeo gratiam; referam
 “ etiam, si potero; majorem tamen habuissim, si pre-
 “ tium à me representari passus esses. Nam quo pro-
 “ motior est Liberalitas tua, eo parcius hic mihi
 “ utendum est. Procli Dissertationes in Parmenidem
 “ si quando nanciscar, tibi redimam. Verum rarè
 “ venales prostant Libri hujusmodi calamo exarati.
 “ Si uspiam occurrat, atq; ejus describendi faculta-
 “ tem impetraverimus, non male nobiscum ageur.
 “ Vale. Id. Sept. MDCLXXX. Alneto ad Adonem
 “ fluvium.”

“ Cl. doctissimoq; Viro Tho. Galeo, S. P. D.
 “ P. D. Huetius.

“ Eram Lutetiz, cum mihi reddite sunt ante aliquot
 “ menses postremæ Literæ tuæ, quibus velle te signi-
 “ ficare, ut Romam ad Petrum Possinum scriberem
 “ de Simplicio, adituq; ad Bibliothecam Vaticanam
 “ hominibus tuis patefaciendo. Fecissim illico, nisi
 “ ad me perlatum fuisset de humanissimi hujus viri
 “ obitu; quod etsi non certè & affirmatè dicebatur,
 “ mihi tamen expectandum esse duxi, quoad certius
 “ aliquid acciperem. Id ipsum verò ad te scribere
 “ distuli, quod & Lutetiz Valetudine satis diu ten-
 “ tatus sum, sic ut Lestione & scriptione mihi à Medi-
 “ cis interdiceretur, & post restitutam sanitatem statim
 “ huc me contuli, confirmandi mei causâ. Cum
 “ ergo de Possini vitâ incertus sum, ne nunc quidem
 “ ad eum scribo, ne frustra scribam. Quod si res
 “ adhuc intègra est, & perseveras in proposito scribam
 “ ad eminentissimum Cardinalem Estræum, qui Literis
 “ Literatisq; impensè favet, literarum omnium ipse
 “ peritissimus, ut Nazarium tuum auctoritate suâ ad-
 “ juvet, ad ea consicienda quæ ipsi demandasti. Id
 “ tibi si probari intellexero, statim à me Literas ad
 “ eum accipies. Utar ad id Mabilionii nostri operâ
 “ quoad ex te sciam, quo eas ad te recta destinari,
 “ quoq; modo inscribi jubeas. Tu tuas ad me mittes
 “ Lutetiam, apud Andræam Pralard Bibliopolum,
 “ Viâ Jacobæâ, qui eas quocunq; loco futurus sim,
 “ diligenter curabit. Ita nullius interpositione egebi-
 “ mus. De studiis & Lucubrationibus tuis valde velim
 “ ex te cognoscere. Vale. Cal. Septemb. MDCLXXXI.
 “ Alneto.”

“ Præstantissimo Viro Thome Galeo, S. P. D.
 “ Petr. Dan. Huetius, Episcopus Sues-
 “ nensis designatus.

“ Accepi Literas tuas, eruditissime Galeo, singularis
 “ adversum me benevolentiz significatione plenas, qui-
 “ bus novâ dignitate auctum me gratularis. Etsi ve-
 “ ro perhonorificum mihi est hoc de me maximi Regis
 “ judicium, qui tanto muneri nec impari nec inde-
 “ corem fore me censuit & probari tamen abs te non
 “ exigua mihi est honoris accessio. Quanquam si non
 “ inopus mei æstimator esse velim, iuipicari fortasse
 “ debeo nos id tam ab existimatione tuâ quam ab
 “ amiciâ proficisci. Etsi vero nova ac priori longe
 “ dissimilis vivendi ratio jam inde mihi ineunda est,

“ nunquam tamen à me impetratum iri sentio, ut ci-
 “ tibatâ carentem fenestram, hoc est, ut Literarum nostrarum
 “ expertem, agere possim. Nam in quarum sinu
 “ natus & eductus sum, quæ nobis jucundissimæ &
 “ individuz comites ita adhæserunt, ut rebus afflictis
 “ solatio, lætis & florentibus oblectationi semper fue-
 “ rint, quarum muneris est quod Spiro & placeo;
 “ si modo placeo; eas affectâ jam ætate aspernari,
 “ illiberale esse duco. Quamobrem nihil est cur du-
 “ bites, quin eodem animo accipiam excellentis doc-
 “ trinæ tuæ scetus, iisq; evolvendis par studium ad-
 “ hibeam ac feci olim, cum nullæ curæ otium nos-
 “ trum interpellarent. Libellus Originis de Oratione,
 “ quem ad me miseris, intra ipsius Angliæ fines à
 “ prædonibus interceptus est. Si quando promissum
 “ de edendis Originis opusculis exolvere potero, non
 “ parum ex Labore hoc tuo ad nostram Editionem
 “ accedet ornamenti. Nondum puto in Galliam per-
 “ latum fuisse Spenceri librum de Legibus Ebraeorum.
 “ Magnum aliquid & a singulari Auctoris eruditione,
 “ & ab argumenti hujus dignitate expectamus. Tu
 “ vero, Vir eximie, in nobis amandis perge: id pro-
 “ fecto, si non virtute, at nostro ærga te cultu & ob-
 “ servantiâ promeremur. Vale. Lutetiz Paris. VI Eid.
 “ Aprilis MDCLXXXVI.

“ Ornatissimo & eruditissimo Viro Thome
 “ Galeo, S. T. P. Petrus Daniel Huetius,
 “ tius, Episcopus Suesion. designatus.

“ Jam diu sum in ære tuo, doctissime Galeo, cum ob-
 “ egregium illud Munus, quo nos profectus es, lu-
 “ culentum Librum de Piscibus a Mabilionio tuo nobis
 “ nomine redditum, de quo maximas habeo ti-
 “ bi agoq; gratias; tum multò magis ob tuam in
 “ retinendâ nostrâ necessitudine constantiam & fidem.
 “ Nos verò huic minimè desumus; & quamvis non
 “ patitur moles Negotiorum, quibus in administrandâ
 “ amplissimâ Dicecesi non premimur modo, sed planè
 “ obruimur, ut frequenti literarum commercio bene-
 “ volentiam tuam colere, nostramq; tibi testificari pos-
 “ simus; viget tamen ea apud nos magnâ excellentis
 “ tuæ eruditionis admiratione conjuncta. Subit in-
 “ terdum invidere Justello nostro, qui eandem tecum
 “ urbem habitat, & sedens adversus identidem te af-
 “ peccat & audit. Verum quoniam ita terrâ mariq;
 “ disjuncti sumus, ut mutuo colloquio aspectusq; frui
 “ nobis non liceat, at animorum certè conjunctione
 “ nostri desiderium solemur. Vale Lutet. Parisiorum
 “ X Cal. Martias MDCLXXXVII.

“ Eximio Viro Thome Galeo, S. P. D. Pe-
 “ trus Daniel Huetius, Episcopus Sues-
 “ sionensis designatus.

“ De Manilio edendo nunquam equidem cogitavi, Vi-
 “ rorum omnium optime & humanissime; & si cogi-
 “ tâssim, nunc mihi variis occupationibus & gravibus
 “ curis impicito hujusmodi cogitatio omnino esset ab-
 “ jicienda. Liceatne verò hæc studia persequi, cui res-
 “ pirare non licet? Et nunc quod in hoc secessu pos-
 “ sum otiosus videri, non ita sane est; nobiscum
 “ atulimus negotia nostra. Meministi Horatianum
 “ illud, Post equitem sedet atra Cura. His negotiis
 “ alia succrescunt indies, nec literas nostras respicere,
 “ nedum retractare sinunt. Cur autem Manilii Editi-
 “ onem suscepisse vel dictus sim vel creditus, duo viden-
 “ tur effecisse; & quod notæ quædam nostræ ad cal-
 “ cem Delsinianæ Editionis adjectæ sunt octo abhinc
 “ annis; & quod Auctoris hujus Codicem quandam
 “ MS. misit ad me nuper Vossius. At notas expresse-
 “ runt à me Fajii Editoris flagitationes assiduz: Codi-
 “ cem

likewise, that he received an offer from Sweden to take upon him the education of the young King, who in 1660 succeeded Charles Gustavus, successor of Christina, but that he excused himself. However, this fact is fully refuted by the authors of the *Acta Litteraria* of Sweden. Ten years after Monsieur Bossuet being appointed by the King Preceptor to the Dauphin in the room of the President de Perigny, who died in 1670, his Majesty chose Monsieur Huet for his colleague with the title of Sub-Preceptor to the Prince, which he had long before designed to honour him with, but had been dissuaded from it by Monsieur de Montausier, though otherwise a friend to our author, at the desire of Monsieur de Perigny, who was jealous of the merit of a colleague of so great a character. He came to court in 1670, and continued there till 1680, when the Dauphin married. His employment taking up a considerable part of his life, he stole several hours from sleep to compleat his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, which was begun and ended amidst the embarrassment of a court. He refused for a long time the sollicitations of several members of the French Academy, who would have engaged him to desire a place in that illustrious body; but at last he consented, and was admitted there in 1674. Though the first idea of the Commentators for the use of the Dauphin was started by the Duke de Montausier; yet it was Monsieur Huet, who formed the plan, and directed the execution of it, as far as the capacity of the persons employed in that work would permit. While he was engaged in writing his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, the sentiments of piety, which he had from his earliest years, prompted him to enter into holy Orders, which he did at forty six years of age. In 1678 he was presented by the King to the Abbey of Aunay in Normandy, which was so agreeable to him, that he retired there every summer, after he

“ cem verò hunc pervolare fivit otium, quod ætate
 “ hac proximâ præstiturunt nobis aque Borbonienses,
 “ ad quas Valetudinis causâ me contuli. Etsi vero il-
 “ lustrandi Manilii nullum omnino cepi consilium,
 “ quod si tamen perficere possis, ut studiosus aliquis
 “ Codicis Oxoniensis cum Editione Scaligeranâ conten-
 “ dendi Laborem in se volet recipere, & variantes Lecti-
 “ ones ad te transmittere, quas mecum deinde commu-
 “ nices, rem mihi feceris longè gratissimam. Per-
 “ sbyrii Editionem *ἐπι ἰμανίλων ἀποχρῆς* benè tibi ver-
 “ tere cupio. Doctus & plenus bonæ frugis Libellus, ut
 “ alia omnia magni illius Viri, cujus utinam univer-
 “ sas scriptionis in unum aliquando corpus possis collig-
 “ gere. Poteris quidem, si voles, voles autem, si me
 “ audias, nam qui pro dignitate operis rectè exequi
 “ possit, præter te nemo homo est. Lutetizæ recudi-
 “ tur *Demonstratio nostra Evangelica*. Illuc post fe-
 “ mestrem absentiam revolare cogito. Et verò conti-
 “ nui Imbres, qui totum hunc fœdarunt Septembrem,
 “ ex amœno hoc secessu me invitum extrudunt. Tu
 “ bene vale. IV Non. Octobris. MDCLXXXV. ex
 “ Alneto.”

“ Ornâtissimo Viro *Thomæ Galeo*, S. P. D.
 “ *Petrus Daniel Huetius* Episcop. Sueff.
 “ designatus.

“ Literas tuas ad VII Cal. Quintil. datas Idibus Octo-
 “ bris accepi in Alnetano nostro, quæ est Abbatia
 “ Neustriæ inferioris. Tum autem me comparabam
 “ ad reditum pro more meo. Sic enim annis ab hinc
 “ aliquot vitæ tempora partiri soleo, ut Vere & Æstate
 “ rusticus sim, hyeme urbanus, Lutetiamq; repetam,
 “ Nihil autem mihi magis præter spem potuit con-
 “ tingere, quam variantes *Lectiones Maniliani* Codi-
 “ cis *Mertonensis*, tuo amicorumq; tuorum studio ex-
 “ ceptas, accipere. Nam quid tantum de te prome-
 “ ritus sum, omnium quotquot sunt hominum op-
 “ time & benignissime, ut tantum Laborem subire,
 “ totq; bonarum horarum jacturam meâ causâ facere
 “ velles? Equidem si te ex scriptis duntaxat tuis nos-
 “ sem, primum te gentis eruditæ sine cunctatione
 “ ac fortasè etiam primum principemq; ponerem.
 “ Nunc cum ad singularem illam doctrinam huma-
 “ nitas inusitata & expromta Liberalitas accesserint,
 “ nihil a me dici potest tam magnificè quin Virtus
 “ tua exuperet. Quamvis igitur gratias habeo tibi
 “ agereq; immortales debeo, referre certè neque pos-
 “ sum, neq; posse unquam spero. Cæterum quod ais,
 “ geminam tibi videri hujus operis Editionem pro-
 “ diisse, in eo facilè tibi assentior; nam & in aliis
 “ idem deprehensum est à me, maximè verò in Jo-
 “ sephi *ἀρχαιολογίᾳ*, quod & clarissimum *Bernardum*
 “ monui. Cuiam verò discrepantiæ hæc Maniliani
 “ Astronomici accepta referenda sit, an Auctori ipsi,
 “ alteri, statuere sanè promptum non est, ei præsertim,
 “ cui perspecta sit infinita Criticorum licentia. Nam ne
 “ recedamus ab hoc opere, si quis Scaligeri Editiones cum

“ prisicis, vel ipsas etiam inter se contulerit, *Manilium*
 “ pene quærat in *Manilio*, ea fuit hominis Confidentia.
 “ Gratissimum mihi fuit eximium Aristarchi Libellum,
 “ nativò ornatu excultum, & insigni fragmento *Pappi*
 “ cinctum prodire. Atq; utinam idem studium in re-
 “ liquis Mathematicis a Commandino Latinè editis,
 “ longeque etiam pluribus, qui latent in forulis Biblio-
 “ thecarum, ponat aliquando doctissimus *Wallisius*.
 “ Multos in iisdem argumentis versatos jam olim pa-
 “ raverant Prælo, qui Regiæ huic Bibliothecæ tum
 “ præfecti erant; quidam etiam typis sunt excusi, sed
 “ nondum venæunt. Interpretandorum eorum curam
 “ demandaverat illustrissimus *Colbertus Henrico Valefo*,
 “ Viro cætera doctissimo, at Mathematicarum Disci-
 “ plinarum imperito. Hinc maxima succrevit Erro-
 “ rum Seges, qui vel primo intuitu incurrunt in oc-
 “ los. Plurimos facilè reperias scientiæ hujus, pluri-
 “ mos Græcæ Linguz gnaros; perpaucos utriusq;
 “ ac ferè nullos; pauciores etiam qui veterum Mathe-
 “ maticorum Libros versaverint. Fugerat me penitus
 “ insigne illud, quod indicasti, *Bedæ* testimonium de
 “ Purpurâ vestrate Britannicâ, ex quo liquido cognosci-
 “ tur, neq; unquam intercedisse omnino Purpuræ usum,
 “ contra ac multi putant, & hanc quæ nuper apud
 “ vos reperta est, illam ipsam esse, quæ Bedæ tempo-
 “ ribus erat in pretio. Perge verò excellenti tuâ Eru-
 “ ditione doctiores nos facere. Ego quidem libentes
 “ tibi *μαθητεύω*. Vale. Lutet. Paris. Cal. Decemb.
 “ MDCLXXXV. III.”

“ Viro amplissimo D. D. *Petro Danieli*
 “ *Huetio* Abrincotensium Episcopo *Thomas*
 “ *Gale*, S. P. D.

“ Nobilis Vir *Robertus Boyle* ὁ *μανυρίτης*, libris eru-
 “ ditus Philosophiam, vitâ sanctissimâ Religionem plu-
 “ rimum promovit. Idem legavit stipendia, quo eruditus
 “ quispiam instrueretur ad bellum contra Atheos geren-
 “ dum, quâ scriptis, quâ concionibus, per omnem poster-
 “ ritatem. Non est dissimulandum multa apud nos effe-
 “ buisse Atheorum Examina: otio suo assidue abutuntur in
 “ traducendo *Moyse*. *Julianus Simplicius*, aliiq; rectè,
 “ aiunt, pronuciavere totam *κοινογραφίαν* *Moyse*icam ex
 “ sacris Ægyptiorum fabulis desumptam fuisse. In
 “ tempore igitur, S. Antistes, edidisse videris elegan-
 “ tem de Paradiso libellum. Multi cum legunt &
 “ laudant: ut idem faciant plures, curabo ut nostra
 “ sermonem publicum prodeat. Hoc meum consilium
 “ oro in bonam accipias partem, veniamq; impertias
 “ quod te inconsulto rem istam aggressus sim. Emisi hoc
 “ anno duo Volumina Historicorum, qui res Anglica-
 “ nas olim Latinè tradiderunt. Ubi primum claudetur
 “ Janua, hos ad te, venerande Præful; mittam,
 “ observantiz mese testes. Emendavi ad MSS. veteres
 “ Iamblichi libros, quos prius evulgavit *Arcegius*.
 “ Isti cum versione meâ exhibunt, vere appetente. E-
 “ jusdem Iamblichi opusculum *ἐπι κοινῆς Μαθηματικῆς*
 “ tuo beneficio jampridem nactus sum. In eo inter-
 “ pretando,

he had left the court, and wrote a great many of his works there. In 1685 he was nominated to the Bishopric of Soissons. But before the bulls for his institution were expedited, the Abbé de Sillery having been nominated to the See of Avranches, they exchanged Bishoprics with consent of the King; though by reason of the differences between the court of France and that of Rome they could not be consecrated till 1692. This delay was no great uneasiness to Monsieur Huet, who had more relish for a private and studious life than that of a Bishop, and accordingly resigned his Bishopric of Avranches in 1699, and was presented by the King to the Abbey of Fontenay near the gates of Caen. His love to his native place determined them to fix there, for which purpose he improved the house and gardens belonging to the Abbot. But several law-suits coming upon him, he removed to Paris, and lodged among the Jesuits in the *Maison Professe*, whom he had made heirs to his Library, reserving to himself the use of it during life. Here he lived the last twenty years of his life, dividing his time between devotion and study. He employed himself chiefly in writing notes on the vulgate translation; and read over for that purpose the Hebrew text four and twenty times, comparing it with the other Oriental texts. He spent every day two or three hours in this work from 1681 to 1712. A severe distemper, which attacked him that year, and confined him to his bed for near six months, weakened extremely his body and memory, but not the vivacity of his genius. However when he had recovered his strength, he applied himself to the writing of his life, which he did in a very elegant manner, though not with the same order and exactness as his other works, his memory being then decayed, and afterwards more and more declining; so that he was not any longer capable of a continued work, but only committed to writing detached thoughts, which are published under the title of *Huetiana*. It is remarkable that two or three hours before his death he recovered all the vigour of his genius and memory. He employed these moments in acts of piety, and died January the 26th 1721, aged ninety one years. He had a strong constitution, which was never altered by his intense study; he had a lively genius and solid judgment, and an easy affable temper, and was a man of a very agreeable conversation and strict probity (a).

(a) See his *Commentar. de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*; his *Eloge* by the Abbé Olivet, prefixed to the *Huetiana*, and to his *Traité Philosophique de la Foiblesse de l'Esprit humain*; and *Memoires de Trevoux*, Avril 1721.

“pretando nolui tempus perdere. Lacunis ubiq; scatet
“ofcitantia Librarii, quo apud vos usus sum. Mol-
“liora tempora video mihi expectanda, ut hic Libel-
“lus sanitati suæ restitatur. Deus O. M. Orbi
“Christiano pacem, tibi, O Galliarum Lux & Orna-
“mentum, vitam ad multos annos concedat. Vale.
“Dub. Lond. Kal. Novembres Anno MDCXCII.”

“Præstantissimo Viro T. Gale, S. P. D.
“Petrus Daniel Huetius Episcopus Abrin-
“censis.

“Dici non potest quam mihi jucundæ fuerunt Lite-
“ræ tuæ. Nam cum propter insignem Eruditionem,
“quâ paucos hac ætate pares habes, neminem supe-
“riorem, carus sis omnibus, mihiq; adeo ipsi, multo
“mihi carior es certè ob eximiam bonitatem, mo-
“destiam, liberalitatem, cæterasque Dotes, quas in te
“jampridem expertus sum, atque earum prædicandi
“nullum finem facio, quotiescunq; in eruditissimæ
“gentis tuæ mentionem incido. Quamobrem sic ve-
“lim existimes esse me virtutum tuarum non admira-
“torem modo summum, sed etiam assiduum Præco-
“nem. Quo mihi gravior accidit diuturna illa litera-
“rum intermissio, quæ ex ferali hoc orta bello, sua-
“vissimum nobis ademit tuæ consuetudinis fructum. An
“enim ad te perventuræ sint Literæ istæ, ne satis qui-

“dem certus sum, nedum editos à me libellos in lu-
“cem, ad te, ad *Justellum*, ad *Berrardum* tuto possim
“transmittere. Miror itaque penetrare ad vos po-
“tuisse Dissertationem nostram de *Situ Paradisi ter-
“restris*; cum vix duo Exemplaria, perfractis claustris
“ad hujus regni aditus oppositis, in Hollandiam eva-
“serint, et si benè multa per Germaniam illuc cu-
“randa fides hominibus tradideram. Quæ si perve-
“nissent ad destinatum finem, pars aliqua ad vos itura
“erat; sed ea demum intercederunt. Gratissimum
“autem mihi est atque etiam honorificum operâ tuâ
“libellum hunc in vestram Linguam transferri; nam
“quod desit ab Auctore, vel ad Elegantiam & Orna-
“tum, vel ad Doctrinæ Copiam, largiter farciatur ab
“Interprete. Ejus quidem Latine vertendi Laborem
“viri aliquot nostrates in se receperunt. De Scripto-
“ribus Anglicanæ Historiæ a te editis aliquid ex li-
“terariis Ephemeridibus cognoveram. Libros istos in
“Galliam nusquam extare puto. De *Jamblichio* salivam
“mihi movisti. Valde mendosa est *Arceriana* editio,
“nec multo sanior Interpretatio. Scriptor tibi fami-
“liaris, à me non alienus certè; in quo exornando
“quicquid collocatum à te erit temporis & laboris,
“tibi honori, nobis emolumento erit. Vale, erudi-
“tissime, & quod mihi longe pluris est, optime Vir.
“Luter. Paris. XV Kal. Febr. MDCXCIII.” T.

HUGUES (JAMES) a Divine and Canon, born at Lisle in Flanders, printed at Rome in 1655, a work of a very singular kind, considering the wild chimæras it abounds with [A]. He dedicated it to Pope Alexander VII, and interspersed his epistle dedicatory with many ridiculous applications.

☞ HUMPHREY

[A] He . . . printed . . . a work of a very singular kind, considering the wild chimæras it abounds with.] Here follows the title of it: *Vera Historia Romana, seu Origo Latii vel Italiæ ac Romanæ Urbis: è tenebris longæ vetustatis in lucem producta. Liber primus qui primordia Europæ ac Latii primævi Annales demonstrat atque Urbis conditæ. Romæ, typis Francisci Monææ, M. DCLV. i. e.* “A true Roman History, or the
“Origin of Latium or Italy, and of the city of Rome,
“brought to Light out of the Darknes of distant
“Antiquity. Book I, containing a relation of the
“beginnings or first peopling of Europe, the annals
“of old Latium, and of the building the city of Rome.”

It contains 284 pages in 4to (1). The following pas- (1) König ob-
sage from the Memoirs of Trevoux, may serve as a serves that this
specimen of this whimsical book. According to James work was printed
Hugues, “there never were such men as Janus, Æneas, at Rome in the
“or Romulus. Whatever has been related of them, is I don’t know
“taken from the predictions of I know not what Sy- that edition.
“bil, who, in her Prophecies relating to St. Peter, (2) Father
“had given to this Saint, the name of those heroes; Tournemine, in
“and who, agreeable to the style and genius of Pro- a *Memoir* inserted
“phetic writings, had employed the past tense instead in the *Journal*
“of the future. This author’s book of the origin of *de Trevoux*, for
“Rome, is full of chimæra’s no less extraordinary Feb. 1704, pag.
“than that just now related (2).” 335, 336. Tre-
voux edit.

HUGHES (JOHN), an ingenious and polite writer in the eighteenth Century, was son of a worthy Citizen of London by Anne the daughter of Isaac Burges Esq; a Gentleman of an antient family and good estate in Wiltshire, and was born at Marlborough in the said county on the 29th of January 1677, but educated in London, and received the rudiments of learning at private schools. In the earliest years of his youth he applied himself with ardour to the pursuit of the sister-arts, Poetry, Drawing, and Music; in each of which, by turns, he made a considerable progress; but, for the most part, followed these and other studies of humanity, only as agreeable amusements, under frequent confinement from indisposition, and a continual valetudinary state of health. He had for some time an employment in the office of Ordnance, and was Secretary to two or three Commissions under the Great Seal for purchasing lands for the better securing the Docks and Harbours at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich. In the year 1717 the Lord Chancellor Cowper, to whom Mr. Hughes was then but lately known, was pleased of his own accord, and without any previous sollicitation to make him Secretary for the Commissions of the Peace, and to distinguish him with singular marks of his esteem [A]; and upon his Lordship's resigning the Great Seal, he was, at his particular recommendation, and with the ready concurrence of his successor, continued in the same employment under the Earl of Macclesfield. He held the said place to the time of his death, which happened on the 17th of February 1719, the very night, in which his Tragedy, intitled, *The Siege of Damascus*, was first acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. He was then forty two years of age. His body was privately interred in the vault under the chancel of St. Andrew's Church in Holbourn. His writings have gained him an established reputation [B]. He was happy in the acquaintance and friendship of several

[A] Distinguish him with singular marks of his esteem.] Mr. Hughes, as a testimony of gratitude to his noble patron and friend, gave his Lordship a few weeks before he died, his picture drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller, which he himself had received as a present from that admirable painter. The value his Lordship set upon it will best appear from the letter, which he wrote to Mr. Hughes upon this occasion.

“ 24 January, 1719-20.

“ Sir,
“ I thank you for the most acceptable present of your picture, and assure you, that none of this age can set a higher value upon it than I do, and shall, while I live; though I am sensible posterity will outdo me in that particular. I am, with the greatest esteem and sincerity,

“ Sir,
“ Your most affectionate and
“ obliged humble Servant,
“ COWPER.”

[B] His writings have gained him an established reputation.] We shall first give an account of his Poems and Dramatic works, and then proceed to his translations and writings in prose. The *Triumph of Peace* was his first Poem of any length, that appeared in public. It was written on occasion of the Peace of Rastatt, and printed in the year 1697. The *Court of Neptune* was written upon King William's return from Holland, two years after the Peace, in 1699. The *House of Nassau*, a Pindaric Ode, printed in 1702, was occasioned by the death of King William. The Translation of the *Third Ode of the Third Book of Horace*, and the Paraphrase of the *Twenty second Ode of the First Book*, were both written when he was very young; and the latter of them was his first Poetical Essay that appeared in print. The Paraphrase of the *sixteenth Ode of the second Book of the same author*, printed in the sixth volume of Dryden's *Miscellanies*, was written in 1702. The six *Cantata's*, set by Dr. Pepusch, were designed as an Essay, (which was the first in the kind) for compositions in English after the manner of the Italians. They were written before the introducing Italian Operas on the English stage, though not published till afterwards. The success, which they met with, encouraged our author to write occasionally several others in the same manner. As his Odes for Music, Cantata's, and Songs, are allowed by the testimony of the best Judges to be extremely well adapted to that art, they have likewise had the advantage to be set by the best masters. The *Tenth Book of Lucan* was translated by Mr. Hughes long before Mr. Row undertook that author. The occasion of it was this. Mr. Tonson Senior solicited a translation

of Lucan by several hands. Mr. Hughes performed his part; but others failing in their promises, the design was dropped; and Mr. Rowe was afterwards prevailed upon to undertake the whole, which he performed with great success. In 1709 Mr. Hughes obliged the public with an elegant Translation of Moliere's *Misanthrope*. This has been since reprinted with the other Plays of that admirable author translated by Mr. Ozell; but no notice is taken by what hand it was omitted. In 1711 Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Clayton had concerts of music in York-Buildings; on which occasion they sent Mr. Hughes the following letter:

“ Dear Sir,
“ Mr. Clayton and I desire you, as soon as you can conveniently, to alter this Poem (1) for Music, pre-^{(1) Alexander's Feast: or the Power of Music: An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day.} serving as many of Dryden's words and verses as you can: It is to be performed by a voice well skilled in recitative; but you understand all these matters much better than

“ Your affectionate humble Servant,
R. STEELE.”

According to their request, he made several alterations in it; but it appears from a letter from Mr. Hughes to Sir Richard Steele, that Mr. Clayton's composition did not satisfy the Connoisseurs in music. The *Opera of Calypso and Telemachus* was performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market in the year 1712. We shall take notice of one circumstance concerning this Opera, as it relates to the history of music in England, and discovers the great partiality shewn at that time to Operas performed in Italian. After many such had been encouraged by large subscriptions, this originally written and set in English after the Italian manner (though not at first) was performed with the usual expence of scenes and decorations; and being much crowded and applauded at the rehearsals, a subscription was obtained for it as usual. This alarmed the whole Italian band, who had interest enough (the late Duke of Shrewsbury being then Lord Chamberlain) to procure an order the day before the performing this Opera, to take off the subscription for it, and to open the House at the lowest prices or not at all. This was designed to sink it; but failed of its end. It was however performed, though under so great discouragement, and was revived some years ago at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Mr. Addison in the *Spectator* (2) (2) Vol. 6. num. speaking of the just applause given this Opera by Signior Nicolini, (who, he says, was the greatest performer in Dramatic music, that perhaps ever appeared upon a stage) has these words: “The town is highly obliged to that excellent artift for having shewn us the Ita-
“ lian

of the greatest men and finest genius's of the age, particularly Earl Cowper, Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, now Bishop of Winchester, the late Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Addison, Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Southerne, Mr. Rowe, &c. (a). Sir Richard Steele, immediately after the death of Mr. Hughes,

(a) Mr. Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes Esq; prefixed to the first volume of his Poems on several Occasions; with some select Essays in Prose. London 1735, in 12mo.

drew his character in a very just and pathetic manner in a paper published by him, and intitled, *The Theatre* (b); wherein he says, that our author, "could hardly ever be said to have enjoyed health; but was in the best of his days a Valetudinarian. If those who are sparing of giving praise to any virtue, without extenuation of it, should say, that his youth was chastised into the severity, and preserved in the innocence, for which he was conspicuous, from the infirmity of his constitution; they will be under a new difficulty, when they hear that he had none of those faults, to which an ill state of health ordinarily subjects the rest of mankind. His incapacity for mere frolic

(b) Num. 15, from Tuesday Feb. 16. to Saturday Feb. 20, 1719-20.

"diversions

lian music in its perfection, as well as for that generous approbation he lately gave to an Opera of our own country, in which the composer endeavoured to do justice to the beauty of the words by following that noble example, which has been set him by the greatest foreign masters in that art." The *Ode to the Creator of the World*, occasioned by the Fragments of *Orpheus*, was printed in 1713, at the particular instance of Mr. Addison, and is mentioned with applause in the *Spectator*. This and *The Ecstasy*, published since the death of the author, are esteemed two of the noblest Odes in our Language. In the latter there is a fine compliment to Sir Isaac Newton. The Tragedy of *Cato* was first acted in the same year, 1713. We take notice of this particular, because we are informed by a late writer (3), that its being then brought upon the stage was in a great measure owing to Mr. Hughes. We shall give the writer's own words. "It has been often said by very good judges, that *Cato* was no proper subject for a Dramatic Poem. That the character of a Stoic Philosopher is inconsistent with the hurry and tumult of action and passion, which are the soul of Tragedy. That the ingenious author miscarried in the plan of his work, but supported it by the dignity, the purity, the beauty, and justness of the sentiments. This was so much the opinion of Mr.

(3) Mr. Oldmixon in his *Essay on Criticism*, printed in 1728 in 8vo, pag. 6.

(4) Arthur Maynwaring, Esq; Author of the *Madley*, &c.

Maynwaring (4), who was generally allowed to be the best critic of our time, that he was against bringing the Play upon the stage, and it lay by unfinished many years. That it was play'd at last, was owing to Mr. Hughes. He had read the four acts which were finished, and rightly thought it would be of service to the public to have it represented at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when the old English spirit of liberty was as likely to be lost, as it had ever been since the conquest. He endeavoured to bring Mr. Addison into his opinion, which he did so far as to procure his consent, that it should be acted, if Mr. Hughes would write the last act; and he offered him the scenery for his assistance, excusing his not finishing it himself on account of some other avocations. He prest Mr. Hughes to do it so earnestly, that he was prevailed on, and set about it. But a week after seeing Mr. Addison again, with an intention to communicate to him what he had thought of it, he was agreeably surprized at his producing some papers, where near half of the act was written by the author himself, who took fire at the hint, that it would be serviceable; and upon a second reflection went through with the fifth act; not that he was diffident of Mr. Hughes's ability, but knowing that no man could have so perfect a notion of his design as himself, who had been so long and so carefully thinking of it. I was told this by Mr. Hughes; and I tell it to shew, that it was not for the love-scenes that Mr. Addison consented to have his Tragedy acted, but to support the old Roman and English public spirit, which was then so near being suppressed by faction and bigotry." The *Siege of Damascus* was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in the year 1719 with great applause. Mr. Hughes drew up the dedication of it to Earl Cowper but ten days before he died. It is indeed surprizing, that he should be able to form a piece so finely turned, and with so much spirit at such an hour, when he had death in view, and was too weak to transcribe it himself. It is generally allowed, that the characters in this Play are finely varied and distinguished; that the sentiments are just, and well adapted to the characters; that it abounds with beautiful descriptions,

apt allusions to the manners and opinions of the times, where the scene is laid, and with noble morals; that the diction is pure, unaffected, and sublime, without any meteors of style, or ambitious ornaments; and that the plot is conducted in a simple and clear manner.

Mr. Duncombe (5) observes, that the only objection which he had ever heard, related to the plan of it. "There does not appear (say some, who are esteemed persons of very good taste and judgment) a sufficient ground and foundation for the distress in the fourth and fifth acts. For what is *Phocyas's* crime? The city of Damascus is besieged, and fiercely attacked by the Saracens. There is little or no prospect of relief. It must therefore probably fall into their hands in a short time, be sacked and plundered, and the garrison and citizens enslaved. At this dangerous juncture *Phocyas* assists the enemy to take it in a few days sooner. But upon what terms? That all who lay down their arms, shall be spared, and liberty granted to every citizen, that shall choose it, to leave the city, and carry off with him a mule's burden of his goods; the Chiefs to have six mules, and the Governor ten; with arms for their defence against the Mountain-Robbers, (*Act IV. Scene I.*) in so much that *Daran* says, (*Act V. Scene I.*) *The land wears not the face of war, but trade; and looks as if its merchants were sending forth their loaded caravans to all the neighbouring countries.* What is there in all this, that a virtuous man might not have done for the good of his country? If *Phocyas* is guilty, his guilt must consist in this only, that he performed the same action from a sense of his own wrongs, and to preserve the idol of his soul from violation or death, which he might have performed laudably upon better principles. But this (say they) seems not a sufficient ground for those strong and stinging reproaches he casts upon himself, nor for *Eudocia's* rejecting him with so much severity. It would have been more rational (considering the frailty of human nature, and the violent temptations he lay under) if he had been, at last, prevailed upon to profess himself a Mahometan; for then his remorse and self-condemnation would have been natural, his punishment just, and the character of *Eudocia* placed in a most amiable light."

(5) Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes Esq; prefixed to the first volume of his Poems on several Occasions, pag. 26. edit. London 1735, in 12mo.

Mr. Duncombe (6) owns himself at a loss for an answer to this objection; and therefore thinks himself obliged to acquaint the reader, in order to do justice to the author's judgment, that he had formed the play according to the plan here recommended. But when it was offered to the managers of Drury-Lane Play-House in the year 1718, they refused to act it, unless he would alter the character of *Phocyas*, pretending that he could not be an hero, if he changed his religion, and that the audience would not bear the sight of him after it, in how lively a manner soever his remorse and repentance might be described. "But surely, says Mr. Duncombe, when in the agony of his soul, and distracted with passion, he is at last prevailed upon, though with the utmost reluctance and horror, to kiss the Alcoran, he rather appears an object of pity than of detestation. How tenderly and reasonably passionate is the scene here referred to, as it stands in the original draught of the play, and what scope does it give a masterly actor to display his skill!" However the author, who was then in a very languishing condition, finding, that if he did not comply, his relations would probably lose the benefit of the Play, he consented, though with reluctance, to new model the character of *Phocyas*. He wrote, when he was but nineteen years old, a Tragedy,

intituled,

“diversions never made him peevish or sour to those, whom he saw in them; but his humanity was such, that he could partake and share those pleasures he beheld others enjoy, without repining that he himself could not join in them. No, he made a true use of an ill constitution, and formed his mind to the living under it, with as much satisfaction as it could admit of. His intervals of ease were employed in drawing, designing, or else in Music or Poetry; for he had not only a taste, but an ability of performance to a great excellence in those arts, which entertain the mind within the rules of the severest morality and the strictest dictates of religion.” His brother, Mr. JABEZ HUGHES, who had a place in the Stamp-Office, and died at London January 17, 1735, aged forty six, was a man of a very good genius and considerable learning, and published a Translation of *Claudian's Rape of Proserpine*, the second edition of which was printed at London 1723 in 12mo under the following title: *The Rape of Proserpine from Claudian. In three Books. With the Episode of Sixtus and Erictho from Lucan's Pharsalia, Book VI. Translated by Mr. Jabez Hughes. The second edition, corrected and enlarged with notes.* A collection of original Poems and Translations, with some occasional letters on important subjects, was prepared for the press by this Gentleman a little before his death, and is expected to be soon published.

intituled, *AMALASONT, Queen of the Goths*, which displays a fertile genius, and a makerly invention; but as it was never designed by him for the press, nor revised and corrected in his riper age, the diction in general was too much neglected. Mr. Duncombe tells us (7), that he has “attempted to correct the style, and altered some incidents, which were thought not likely to succeed. This may be presented to the view of the public, when it can be brought on the stage without having too much injustice done it in the performance.” The same Gentleman collected our author's Poems, and published them at London, in 1735, in two volumes in 12mo, under the following title: *Poems on several Occasions. With some select Essays in Prose. In two Volumes. By John Hughes, Esq; Adorned with Sculptures.* We shall now take a view of Mr. Hughes's *Translations and Writings in Prose.* The *Advices from Parnassus*, and the *Political Touchstone of Trajano Boccalini*, translated by several hands, were printed in Folio in 1706. This translation was revised and corrected, and the preface to it was written by Mr. Hughes. His translation of Monsieur de Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead*, with two original Dialogues, were published in 1708. The greatest part of it had lain by him above six years. He afterwards translated Monsieur de Fontenelle's *Discourse concerning the Antients and Moderns*, which is printed with his *Conversations with a Lady on the Plurality of Worlds*, translated by Mr. Glanville. The *History of the Revolutions in Portugal*, written by the Abbé de Vertot, and translated by Mr. Hughes, was printed for S. Buckley in 1712, without the name of the translator. The translation of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise* was so well received by the public, that there have been five editions of it in the compass of a few years; though it has been but lately known by what hand it was performed. He wrote the Preface to the *Compleat History of England*, printed at London in 1706 in 3 vol. in Folio, and reprinted in 1719 (8). In the *Tatler* he wrote, vol. II. No. 64, A Letter, signed *Josiah Couplet*. No. 73. A Letter against Gamesters, signed *William Trussy*. Mr. Tickell alludes to this Letter in a copy of verses addressed to the *Spectator*, Vol. VII. No. 532.

*From felon Gamesters the raw Squire is free,
And Britain owes her rescu'd Oaks to thee.*

No. 113, The Inventory of a Beau. In the *Spectator* he wrote, Vol. I. No. 33, A Letter on the Art of improving Beauty. No. 53, A second Letter on the same subject. No. 66, Two Letters concerning fine Breeding. Vol. II. No. 91, The History of *Honorio*, or the *Rival Mother*. No. 104, A Letter on Riding-Habits for Ladies. No. 141, Remarks on a Comedy intitled, *The Lancashire Witches*. Vol. III. No. 210, On the Immortality of the Soul. No. 220, A Letter concerning Expedients for Wit. No. 230, All, except the last Letter. No. 231, A Letter on the Awe of appearing before public Assemblies. No. 237, On Divine Providence. Vol. IV. No. 252, A Letter on the Eloquence of Tears and Fainting-Fits. No. 302, The Character of *Emilia*. No. 311, A Letter from the Father of a great Fortune. Vol. V. No. 375, A Picture of Virtue in Distress. Vol. VII. No. 525, On Conjugal Love. No. 537, On the Dignity of Human Nature. No. 541, Rules for Pronunciation and Action, chiefly collected from Cicero. No. 554, On the Improvement of the Genius, illustrated in the Characters of Lord Bacon, Mr. Boyle, Sir Isaac Newton, and Leonardo da Vinci. Mr. Duncombe (9) observes, that he has not been able to learn what papers in the *Guardian* were written by Mr. Hughes besides No. 37. Vol. I, which contains Remarks on the Tragedy of *Otello*. Our author is supposed to have written the whole, or at least a considerable part of the *Lay-Monastery; consisting of Essays, Discourses, &c. published singly under the title of the Lay-Monk. Being the Sequel of the Spectators*: the second edition of which was printed at London 1714 in 12mo. It contains forty papers, the first of which is dated Monday November 16, 1713, and the last February 15, 1714. Mr. Hughes published, in the year 1715, a very accurate edition of the works of Mr. Edmund Spenser, in six Volumes in 12mo. To this edition are prefixed the Life of Mr. Spenser; an Essay on Allegorical Poetry; Remarks on the *Fairy-Queen*, on the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and the other writings of Spenser; and a Glossary explaining the old and obscure words; all written by Mr. Hughes. *Charon, or The Ferry-Boat, A Vision*, first appeared in the year 1718. This, and Mr. Walth's *Æsculapius, or Hospital of Fools* (10), are perhaps the two finest Dialogues in our Language, as well as the most lively imitations of Lucian.

(7) See *The Life of Dr. White Kennet Bishop of Peterborough*, pag. 33. edit. London 1730 in fol.

(8) See *The Life of Dr. White Kennet Bishop of Peterborough*, pag. 33. edit. London 1730 in fol.

(9) See *The Life of Dr. White Kennet Bishop of Peterborough*, pag. 33. edit. London 1730 in fol.

(10) See *The Life of Dr. White Kennet Bishop of Peterborough*, pag. 33. edit. London 1730 in fol.

(9) *Ubi supra*, pag. 36.

(10) This Dialogue is printed for J. Pemberton at the end of a *Miscellany of Poems and Translations in 1714*.

HUMPHREY (LAURENCE), a learned English writer in the sixteenth Century, was born at Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamshire, about the year 1527 [A], and educated in the Greek and Latin Languages at Cambridge, and in 1547 became Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford (a). In 1549 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b), and was chosen perpetual Fellow of his College (c). In 1552 he took the degree of Master of Arts (d). About that time he was made Greek Reader of his College, and entered into holy Orders. In June 1555 he had leave to travel abroad [B], and went to Zurich,

(a) See Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 208, 209.

(b) See Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 208, 209.

(c) See Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 208, 209.

“also for the excellency of his learning and wit, that he might freely for the cause of study travel into parts beyond sea for one year, conditionally that he contain himself from those places, that are suspected to be heretical or favourers of heresy; and that also he refrain from the company of those, who are or were authors of heresy or heretical opinions, &c.

Zurich, and associated himself with the English exiles there, who had fled their country on the account of Religion. After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England, and was restored to his Fellowship in Magdalen College, from which he had been expelled, because he did not return after his time of leave was expired (e). In 1560 he was appointed the Queen's Professor of Divinity at Oxford (f); and December the 11th 1561 elected President of his College (g). June the 10th 1562 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and July the 10th the same year that of Doctor (b). In 1570 he was made Dean of Gloucester upon the promotion of Dr. Thomas Cooper to the See of Lincoln; and in 1580 removed to the Deanery of Winchester in the place of Dr. John Watson, which was the highest preferment, which he enjoyed, on account, as it was thought, of his not consenting altogether to the ceremonies of the Church of England (i) [C]. He published several works [D]; and was a man of extensive learning, and a profound Divine. He spent the greatest part of his time in a studious and retired manner, and died February the 1st 1588, aged sixty three years, and was interred at the upper end of the Inner-Chapel of Magdalen College, where a monument was erected to his memory [E]. He married in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign Joan, the daughter of Andrew Infordby of Ipswich in Suffolk, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters. She died August the 27th 1611, aged seventy four years, and was interred in the Chancel of Steple-Barton Church in Oxfordshire; over whose grave her eldest daughter Justina, wife of Caspar Dormer of the said place Esq; erected a fair monument (k).

(e) Idem, *Atb.*
Oxon. col. 241.

(f) Idem, *Hist.*
& Antiquitat.
Univerf. Oxon.
lib. 2. pag. 37.

(g) Idem, *ibid.*
pag. 191.

(b) Idem, *Fafsi*
Oxon. vol. 1. col.
91.

(i) Idem, *Atb.*
Oxon. col. 242.

(k) Idem, col.
243.

[C] *Not consenting altogether to the ceremonies of the Church of England.* Mr. Wood tells us (3), that our author "from the city of Zurich and the correspondence, that he had at Geneva, brought back at his return to England so much of the Calvinian both in doctrine and discipline, that the best that could be said of him was, that he was a moderate and conscientious Nonconformist." However Gabriel Harvey L. L. D. who was his contemporary, and knew him, observes (4), that he and Dr. William Fulke of Cambridge, whom he styles *Standard-bearers* for a long time of the Nonconformists, did grow conformable in the end, as they grew ripper in experience and sager in judgment.

(3) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. 1. col. 242.

(4) Pierce's *Sup-*
pererogation: or
a new Praise of
the old Ass. A
preparative to
certain larger Dis-
courses, intitled,
Nashe's Fame,
pag. 92. edit.
London 1593 in
4to.

[D] *He published several works.* They are as follow. I. *Epistola de Græcis Literis, & Homeris Lectione & imitatione, ad Præsidentem & Socios Coll. B. Mar. Magd. Oxon.* prefixed to a book of Hadrian Junius, intitled *Copia-Cornu*, printed at Basil 1558 in folio. II. *De Religionis conservatione & reformatione, deq; primatu Regum.* Basil 1559 in 8vo. III. *De ratione interpretandi Auctores.* Basil 1559 8vo. IV. *Obadias Propheta, Hebraicè & Latinè, & Philo de Judice Græcè & Latinè:* printed at the end of the preceding tract. V. *Optimates, sive de Nobilitate, ejusque antiqua Origine, Naturâ, Officiis, Disciplinâ, &c. Libri tres,* Basil 1560 in 8vo. This was translated into English by an anonymous person, and printed at London 1563 in 8vo. VI. *Philo Judæus de Nobilitate, interprete Laurentio Humfredo:* subjoined to the preceding tract. VII. *Oratio Woodstockiæ habita ad illust. Reginam Elizabetham 31 Augusti 1572.* London 1572 in 4to. VIII. *Jobannis Juelli, Angli, Episcopi Sarisburiensis, Vita & Mors, ejusque veræ doctrinæ Defensio, &c.* London 1573 in 4to. IX. *Oratio in Aulâ Woodstockianâ habita ad illust. Reginam Elizabetham anno 1575.* in 4to. X. *De Fermento vitando: Concio in Matt. 16. Marc. 8. Luc. 12. Jesus dixit illis, Videte & cavete a fermento*

Phariseorum. London 1582 in 8vo. Rupell. 1585 in 8vo. XI. *Jesuitismi pars prima; sive praxis Romanæ Curie contra Republicas & Principes.* London 1582 in 8vo. XII. *Jesuitismi Pars secunda: Puritano-Papismi seu Doctrinæ Jesuiticæ aliquot rationibus ab Edm. Campiano comprehensæ, & a Joanne Duræo defensæ, Confutatio.* London 1584 in 8vo. XIII. *Apologetica epistola ad Academiæ Oxoniensis Cancellarium.* Rupell. 1585 in 8vo. XIV. *Seven Sermons against Treason,* on 1 Sam. c. xxvi. 8, 9, 10, 11, &c. London 1588 in 8vo. XV. *Concio in die Cincrum,* in 8vo. XVI. He also revised and corrected *Joannis Shepreth summa & Synopsis Novi Testamenti distichis ducentis sexaginta comprehensa,* first printed at Strasburg about the year 1556 in 8vo, and published it at Oxford 1586 in 8vo. XVII. He likewise wrote, in conjunction with Robert Crowley, a book against that of Miles Hoggard, published under the reign of Queen Mary against the Protestants.

[E] *Where a monument was erected to his memory.* The epitaph on it is as follows.

M. S.

Laurentio Humfredo S. S. Theologiæ in hac Academiâ Doctori & Professori Regio per annos 28. P. M. bujus Collegii Præsidi, Justina Dormeria filia natu maxima, Patri suo venerabili æviterni obsequii ergo, H. M. mærens posuit. Obiit Kal. Februarii anno salutis 1589 ætatis suæ.

*Tumulum recentem, sive, (moræ precium est) lege
Novè ad sepultum heic quenquam cave creduas.
Humfredus Alpha Theologus subitus situ'st,
Studio, labore, lectione, acumine,
Varro alter, Helluo literarum maximus.
Pietatis orbis Christianus testis est,
Venta boic Decano, Magdalenâ Præsidi
Perhospitali debuit. Sat, Hospes, i.*

T.

HUNGARY (MARY Queen of), the sister of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was married in the year 1521 to Lewis King of Hungary, who was unfortunately killed in the battle of Mohacks in the year 1526. His widow was made Governess of the Low-Countries in the year 1531, and acquitted herself of that employment with great courage and prudence [A]. She continued in that employment till Charles the Fifth's abdication, when she accompanied him into Spain, where she died October the 18th 1558. She was very

[A] *She acquitted herself of that employment with great courage and prudence.* Read Brantome; he tells you, that "this Queen of Hungary was a great help to the Emperor, and that she served him so well, that one cannot tell what would have become of him, had it not been for her. And indeed he left all the affairs of his government entirely to her care, so that even when the Emperor himself was in Flanders, he suffered her to manage all the public business of the Low-Countries; the Council was held at her Palace, and she presided in it. It is true that she,

"who was very prudent and wise, depended on his advise, and gave him an account of all that passed in the Council, when he was absent, in which he took a great delight. She carried on great and successful wars, sometimes by her Generals, and sometimes in Person, being always on horseback, like a brave Amazon (1)." What Brantome says (2) of the Oration she delivered the day of the Emperor's abdication, is very curious. We have here an instance which proves that the women are capable of governing.

(1) Brantome,
Dames Galantes,
tom. 2. pag. 91.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 95.

very fond of pomp and splendor [B], and took a great delight in hunting [C]. It is reported that she endeavoured to have the punishment of the Reformed mitigated [D]. She understood Latin (a). There arose a personal hatred between her and Henry the second King of France, which occasioned a great devastation; for they did by turns set each other's country-seats on fire. Mary was the first that began to practise that kind of hostility, in order to be revenged of the French for some songs they had made against her reputation [E]. Henry found means to be even with her [F]. He

(a) See the remark [H].

(3) *Memoirs*, tom. 2. in the *Elogy of Henry II*, pag. 23.

(4) *Memoirs des Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 92.

(5) *Hilarion de Coste, Elog. des Dames Illustres*, tom. 2. pag. 561.

(†) 1482.

(†) 1496.

(6) That is to say, Margaret, Charles V's natural daughter.

(7) *Strada, de Belg. Belgic. lib. 2. pag. 45.*

[B] *She was very fond of pomp and splendor.* Brantome asserts (3) that when Philip II went to take possession of the Low-Countries, he was received in the most stately manner imaginable; "but especially, adds he, the Queen of Hungary made him the most splendid reception in her Palaces of Bains and Marimont, going far beyond what was done by any other person." He gives us afterwards an account "of the representation of a siege, with which this Queen entertained the Emperor and all his Court, at his beautiful Palace of Marimont." He observes in another book (4), "that she entertained the Emperor Charles and his whole Court at her Palace called Bains, when his son King Philip passed from Spain into Flanders to visit her: the stateliness of which entertainment was so wonderful and great, that nothing was mentioned at that time but *las fiestas*, the entertainments of Bains; thus the Spaniards used to speak. And indeed I remember, that whatever great entertainment was given during the journey to Bayonne, as running at the ring, tournaments, masquerades, and other expensive entertainments, nothing came up to *las fiestas* of Bains, according to some old Spanish Gentlemen, who had seen those entertainments."

[C] . . . and took a very great delight in hunting.] She followed her husband every where, and even when he went a hunting, "which exercise she loved entirely; so that when she was Governess of the Low-Countries for her brother the Emperor Charles V, she used often to leave her agreeable palaces of Mechlin and Brussels, to go and live in the country at Marimont, and in her other palaces situated near the forests, where from morning till night she took the diversion of hunting: whence the Flemish used to call her the Huntress, and used to draw her like Diana. She raised the same inclination in her niece, Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, who has also been Governess of the Low-Countries. She had inherited a fondness for this laborious exercise of hunting from her grand-mother by her father's side, namely, Mary Duchess of Burgundy, consort to the Emperor Maximilian I. This Princess being a hunting (which diversion she used to take almost every day) fell from her horse and died, to the great grief of the Flemish, and the Emperor her Consort, who lost also his second wife Blanch Sforza by the same accident (5)." This seems to be a translation of the following words from Famianus Strada. *Capitulum venandi studio summopere Gubernatrix, plane ut Venatricem vulgo appellarent, habituque venatricis expingerent: neptem videlicet Mariæ Burgundiæ, quæ ab insectandis feris nunquam destitit, donec inter venandum equo excussa vitam amisit (†), fato non tam suo, quam Maximiliani mariti, cujus uxor altera, Blanca Sfortia, in venatione equo decidit, obiitque (†). Ejusmodi autem studium arripuit tam avidè, in eumque laborem duravit adeo membra decennis nondum puella (6), ut amatam per saltus camposque sequeretur impavida (7). The sense of the end of this passage is, that "the Princess Margaret became so fond of hunting, and hardened her body so in that exercise, that being not yet ten years old, she could follow her aunt through fields and woods, without fearing the least danger."*

[D] *It is reported, that she endeavoured to have the punishment of the Reformed mitigated.* When the Court of Spain, in order to satisfy the discontented in the Low-Countries, promised them in the year 1566, that the exercise of the Inquisition should be suppressed, it was added, that the imperial laws, which condemned Hereticks to death, should be mitigated, as they had been in the year 1550 at the Queen of Hungary's request. *Immo sic Casarem salutarum fuisse si viveret,*

quando ipse ob similes difficultates anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimoque, postulante Mariâ Hungariæ Regind ejus sorore, easdem pœnas quas ante statuerat, emendare ac lenire non inutile aut indecorum arbitratus est (8). i. e. "Nay, the Emperor would have done the same had he been alive, since the like troubles happening in the year 1550, he himself did not think it useless or disgraceful to amend and mitigate, at his sister the Queen of Hungary's request, the laws he had made before concerning the punishments of the Hereticks."

[E] *She set Henry II's Country-Seats on fire . . . in order to be revenged on the French for some songs they had made against her reputation.* Here follows what Brantome relates upon this subject (9). "I have heard it reported, that the chief reason for which the Queen of Hungary kindled her noble fire about Picardy, and in other parts of France, was the impudence of some bold slanderers, who used to talk of her amours, and to sing aloud every where a song intitled *Au Barbançon de la Reine d'Hongrie*, (to the Queen of Hungary's Barbançon). This was however a rustic song, which plainly appeared to be made by some silly country fellow." It appears from thence that the people are doomed to be punished not only for their Sovereign's faults (10), but even for those of a great many other persons. I shall now quote a passage in which some particulars seem to be omitted. "There was a very great hatred between Henry II, and the Queen of Hungary, the occasion of which I am not acquainted with: I know only that the French soldiers had made some songs upon her and Barbançon, the most handsome Lord at her court (11)."

It was an easy matter to supply what is wanting in this account; it was but observing, that this Queen caused several places in Picardy to be burnt without sparing even the Royal Palace of Folembray. Thus one sees what this personal hatred was grounded upon on both sides. Mary imagined, no doubt, that Henry approved of those songs, and hated him for it heartily; Henry on the other hand took the burning of his own Country-Seat for a personal affront. I do not know what we ought to think of this Princess's amours; I only remember that Brantome asserts (12), "she was very beautiful and agreeable, and very lovely, though she shewed herself somewhat manly: but she was never the worse for it in love affairs, nor in war, which she chose for her exercise."

If you have a mind to know when she committed those excesses in Picardy, read the following passage. "Whilst the Emperor her brother was besieging Mentz, she came into Picardy with the Count de Rœux, to prevent the King from going to the assistance of the besieged, laid all waste before her, set fire to every thing, burnt Noyon, Nefle, Chauny, Roye, Folembray, a Royal Palace built by King Francis I, destroyed seven or eight hundred villages, and besieged Hedin, which she took (13)."

[F] . . . Henry found means to be even with her.] After he had taken Marenburg and Dinant, and laid Bouvines even with the ground, the inhabitants of which had been, some hanged, and the rest put to the sword, he crossed the Sambre, and laid the whole country of Hainault waste. "He burnt Mariemont, a Country-Seat built by the Queen of Hungary, and the pretty city of Bains (14), with the stately Palace which she had built there, and adorned with an immense number of pictures, antient statues, and other ingraven and carved works. The old city of Bavets, concerning the antiquity and greatness of which the old chronicles relate a thousand stories, underwent the same desolation. The burnings and devastations were very much against Henry II's temper, but he thought he was in honour

(8) From Strada, Decad. 1. lib. 5. pag. 217.

(9) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 388.

(10) *Quicquid delirant Reges plebsuntur Achivi.* Horat. Epist. 2. lib. 1. ver. 14.

(11) *Mezeray, Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1090.

(12) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 90.

(13) *Hilarion de Coste, Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 7. pag. 567.

He puts in the margin. "Hence came this common saying; She acted the mad woman in Bray, she has been Mary at Bourg, when the French burnt that city."

But it is not an easy matter to guess at the meaning of this marginal note; one cannot make any sense of it; it should be perhaps *Marric (Jorry)* instead of *Marié (Mary)*.

(14) It should be *Binche*.

He wished most passionately to take her prisoner [G]. Erasmus dedicated a book to this Princess, in which the Printers committed maliciously a very strange blunder [H]. Father Hilarion de Coste has been guilty of some little chronological errors [I], and Moreri has not followed his account accurately in every respect.

(15) Mezeray, *Hist. de France*, tom. 2. pag. 1090, under the year 1554. See also Lewis Guicciardini *Descript. du Pais Bas*, pag. m. 468.

(16) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 92.

(17) *Ibid.* pag. 93.

(18) *Ibid.* pag. 94.

(19) Brantome seems to be guilty here of an anachronism; for this Queen had laid Picardy waste before her beautiful palace of Biche was burnt. And besides we do not find that any truce was concluded during Mary's administration after the year 1554. And she was no more Governess when the truce was concluded Feb. 5, 1556.

(20) Farnian. *Strada*, Dec. 1. lib. 9. pag. 577. *ad ann.* 1578.

(21) *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 306.

"nour obliged thus to revenge himself for the burning of his palace of Folembay, and because in that same place the Flemish had exposed during two days a picture of his father the great King Francis, to the insults of the soldiers (15)." Let us add to this authority of Mezeray a passage from Brantome, which contains more particulars. "She was the first that kindled those great fires in France, and she burnt beautiful houses and castles, particularly Folembay, a fine and pleasant Palace, which our Kings had built for the pleasure and diversion of hunting; at which the King was so much vexed and exasperated, that he was soon even with her, and to revenge himself he burnt her beautiful Palace of Bains, which was reckoned a wonder of the world, exceeding (if I may say so, and as I heard those say, who saw it in its perfection) the seven wonders of the world so famous amongst the antients (16)." There was in that Queen's room, a tapestry all wove

with gold, silver, and silk, in which were represented very naturally Charles V's conquests, and all his expeditions (17). "In a word (18), there was nothing in that Palace but what was excellent and precious; but this poor Palace lost all its splendor some time after; for it was entirely plundered, destroyed, and pulled down. I have been told that when the Princess heard this, she was so much concerned, vexed, and exasperated, that she was a great while before she recovered herself, and as she once passed by the ruins of it, she looked upon it with sadness; and with tears in her eyes swore that France should repent it, and feel the consequences of those burnings, and that she would never be satisfied, till that beautiful Palace of Fontain-bleau, which men did so much admire, was levelled with the ground, so that not one stone should be left upon another. And indeed she did fully satisfy her passion upon that poor Province of Picardy (19), which felt her rage and her flames: and I think that if a truce had not been concluded, her vengeance would have been excessive. For she had an hard and proud heart, which was not easily mollified; and she was reckoned to be a little too cruel, both by her own party and by ours. But such is the natural temper of the women, and even of them that are distinguished by their rank, they are too ready to revenge themselves, when they are injured. It is said, that the Emperor loved her the better for it." Some Historians relate, that Henry II caused an inscription to be engraved on a stone, in which this Queen was stiled a mad-woman, and ordered to remember Folembay. *Bincium Mariæ Hungariæ Reginæ olim deliciae, Henrici secundi Galliarum Regis odium expertæ. Feruntque reperit inibi saxum, quod Henricus villæ suæ à Maria vastatæ ultor inciderat in hæc verba: Infana Regina, Folembayum memoria sepete* (20). i. e. "Binch, formerly Mary Queen of Hungary's delight, experienced the anger of Henry II, King of France. "It is reported that a stone was found there, on which Henry, in order to be revenged of Mary who had burnt his Palace, caused these words to be engraved, *Diffracted Queen, remember Folembay.*"

[G] . . . he wished . . . to take her prisoner.] Brantome acquaints us with this particular (21). "I have been told, these are his own words, that the late King Henry II, wished nothing more earnestly, than to have it in his power, to take the Queen of Hungary prisoner, not with a design to use her ill, though she gave him sufficient reason for it, by setting all on fire, but that he might have the glory to keep that Queen prisoner, and see what would be her behaviour and contancy in prison, and whether she would be as haughty and proud as she was at the head of her armies: for there is nothing so stout and haughty as a great Lady, when she has a mind to it, and has such a courage as this had, who was extremely pleased with the name which the Spanish soldiers gave her, who as they used to call her brother the Emperor, *el Padre de los Soldados* (the Father of the Soldiers) so they called her

la Madre (their Mother), as formerly in the days of the old Romans, Victoria or Victorina was called in her armies the Mother of the Camp (22)." (22) Brantome is in the right. *Hic puerulus a Victoria Cæsar est appellatus, quum illa Mater Cæsarum ab exercitu nuncupata esset.* i. e. "Victoria called this little boy Cæsar, as she herself was called the Mother of the Camp by the Army."

[H] Erasmus dedicated a book to her, in which the Printers committed maliciously a very strange blunder.] The book which Erasmus dedicated to her in the year 1529 is intitled, *Vidua Christiana* (the Christian Widow). The author observes of her, that she took a great delight in the reading of Latin books. *Cæsaris germana Maria Latinos codices habebat in deliciis, cui nuper scripsi Viduam Christianam. Id efflagitavit à me quidam Ecclesiastes illi charissimus. Scena rerum humanarum invertitur, monachi literas nesciunt, & sœminæ libris indulgent* (23). i. e. "Mary, the Emperor's filter, was extremely fond of Latin books; I have lately dedicated my *Christian Widow* to her; being desired to do it by a Minister who was very much in favour with her. The world is turned upside down: the Monks cannot read, and the women

whence she retired soon after into Moravia (24), not thinking herself safe at Vienna, because of Soliman's invasion. But to mention now the malicious error of the Printers, I must observe that they were vexed because they had not received from the author the presents they expected. Whereupon the hardest drinker among them undertook to revenge them all, and found an infallible method to perform his design: a method which vexed Erasmus to such a degree, that he would have given three hundred golden crowns to have prevented it; but it is such an error of the press as cannot be translated into any language. We must therefore present our readers with the original only. *Nuper cum inter imprimendum excusores aliquot conquesti fuissent me sibi xenia nondum persolvuisse, exortus est inter eos quidam cateris vinolentior, qui profiteretur se pœnas à me exacturum, ni darem: atque id profectò veterator tam egregiè effecit, ut aureis nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluissim. Cum enim in Vidua mea, quam Serenissimæ Hungariæ Reginæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cujusdam sanctissimæ sœminæ inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba subjunxi; Atque mente illâ utum semper fuisse, quæ talem sœminam deceret. Unde scelestus ille animadvertens sibi vindictæ occasionem oblatam esse, ex mente illa mentula fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impressa* (25).

[I] Father Hilarion de Coste has been guilty of some chronological errors.] I. He asserts (26), that our Mary Queen of Hungary was born at Brussels September the 13th 1513. This is false and impossible, since the Archduke her father died in the year 1506. They have put 1503 and not 1513 in Moreri's Dictionary. II. This Prince's nuptials were not celebrated at Buda in the year 1521, to the great satisfaction of Uladislaus (27) King of Hungary; for Uladislaus died in the year 1516. III. Queen Mary did not continue constantly at Linz in Austria (28) during the years 1527, 1528, 1529, and 1530. I have quoted (29) Erasmus, who asserts that he retired into Moravia in the year 1529.

IV. She was not Governess of the Low-Countries twenty eight years (30) but only twenty four (31), namely from the year 1531, to the year 1555. The author, whom I refute, contradicts himself, and owns in page 569, that this government did not last above twenty five years: but he commits in that very passage several blunders. V. He supposes that the Queen of Hungary resigned that government into her brother's hands in 1557. It was October the 25th, 1555. VI. He supposes that Margaret of Austria Governess of the Low-Countries died in the year 1532, whereas she died in the year 1530. He supposes in this Margaret's elogy (32) that she was born January the 10th 1480, and died Dec. 1, 1531, at the age of fifty one (33). Is this knowing how to reckon? VII. He asserts that the Queen of Hungary began to govern the Low-Countries in the year 1532, whereas it was the preceding year. VIII. He says that when she resigned that government to her brother; she made a long speech to the people. The assembly before which Charles V abdicated his Kingdoms ought not to be called thus.

(22) Brantome is in the right. *Hic puerulus a Victoria Cæsar est appellatus, quum illa Mater Cæsarum ab exercitu nuncupata esset.* i. e. "Victoria called this little boy Cæsar, as she herself was called the Mother of the Camp by the Army."

(23) Erasmus. *Epist. 31.* lib. 19. pag. 846. See also *Epist.* 20. lib. 26. pag. 1432.

(24) *Idem*, *Epist.* 21. lib. 26. pag. 1434.

(25) *Idem*, *Epist.* 68. lib. 30. pag. 1956. dated from Friburg Jan. 9, 1535. This Letter was published by Moreri with the *Life of Erasmus*, in the year 1697.

(26) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 2. pag. 559.

(27) *Ibid.* pag. 560.

(28) *Ibid.* pag. 565.

(29) In the remark [H] quotation (24).

(30) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 2. pag. 566.

(31) Brantome, *Dames Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 91.

(32) Pag. 313. of the 2d volume.

(33) *Ibid.* pag. 319.

spect [K]. I omit mentioning the scandalous report concerning Charles V's amours with this Queen of Hungary [L], who was, they say, Don Juan of Austria's mother.

[K] ... Moreri has not followed his account accurately in every respect. Hilarion de Coste had observed, that the Queen of Hungary died, as she was in her return to the Low-Countries, where she desired to end her days, because she was very much beloved and esteemed by the inhabitants of those countries (34). Moreri instead of keeping within the same bounds, asserts that she died, at the same time when she had just taken again upon her the government of the Low-Countries. He has been more exact in transcribing one of the blunders of that Minim: he asserts with him that this Queen governed the Low-Countries twenty five years till the year 1557, when she went into Spain. I have already observed, that she governed those Countries only from the year 1531, till October the 25th 1555; and I add, that she went into Spain in the year 1556. Moreri ought not to have said, that she was still very young when she married Lewis Jagellon, King of Hungary; for she was

eighteen years old when her nuptials were celebrated; one would not give her that age, if one were to judge of it by Moreri's expressions; for it is well known that the daughters and sisters of Kings are sometimes married before they are ten years old.

[L] I omit mentioning the scandalous report concerning Charles V's amours with the Queen of Hungary. See above, the end of the remark [A] of the following of Don Juan of AUSTRIA, and add to it the following words of Gabriel Naudé, *The same Emperor... bid all those misfortunes under the cloak of piety and religion, confining himself in a monastery, where he had also an opportunity to repent of the sin he had committed by begetting a bastard child, who was also his nephew* (35). (35) Naudé, *Coups d'Etat*, The Sieur Lewis de Mai justly censures that writer's boldness in asserting such a thing. See the pages 617, 765, 766 of his *Remarques sur les Coups d'Etat*.

(34) Tom. 2. pag. 570.

(35) Naudé, *Coups d'Etat*, chap. 4. pag. 617.

HUNGARY (ISABELLA, Queen of), the sister of Sigismund Augustus King of Poland, was a Princess of very great merit. In the year 1539 she married John Zapoliha Vaivod of Transilvania, who had been elected King of Hungary in the year 1526, and who contended vigorously for that crown with Ferdinand of Austria the Emperor Charles V's brother. She was delivered of a son July the 7th 1540. Her husband was so overjoyed at it, that he drank immoderately at an entertainment, and this occasioned his death, which happened the 21st day of the same month [A]. Isabella, not finding herself in a condition to keep for her son a crown which Ferdinand endeavoured to wrest from him, implored the protection of the Ottoman Porte, from whence she received such powerful succours, that Ferdinand's army, which was besieging Buda, was entirely routed. Soliman came himself into Hungary to bring Ferdinand to reasonable terms. He used Isabella's child very kindly [B], and if he refused to see her, it was for such reasons as were very obliging to her [C]. But his ill designs soon broke out; for he made himself master of Buda, and forced Isabella to retire to Lippha (a). This was a terrible vexation to this Princess, who was not a little fond of reigning.

(a) Sept. the 3d 1541.

The

[A] Her husband drank immoderately... which occasioned his death &c. He was gone into Transilvania to suppress a rebellion which Ferdinand's party had raised there. Stephen Mailats the most obstinate of those rebels, had taken shelter "in the castle of Fogarats, to wait for the supply which Ferdinand sent him under the conduct of Nadafdy. The King besieged him there and took him after a long siege. In the mean time there arrived a messenger, who acquainted him with the birth of a son, that God gave him. As such news is always very acceptable to those that have no children, especially to persons who begin to grow old, it is easy to imagine that John was very well pleased with this news: and indeed he indulged himself in some excess, drinking after the Hungarian manner, which increased his distemper, so that he died at Sassebes, a few days after his son's birth, in the 53d year of his age (1).

[B] Soliman... used Isabella's child very kindly. I shall again transcribe the words of the author, whom I have quoted in the foregoing remark. "Soliman I sent presents to the young King... and desired the Queen to let him see her son, giving her his word that it was only with a design to make his own children love the child the more. At the same time the Deputies had orders to tell her, that if he did not go and wait upon her, it was only for fear lest his visit should expose her reputation. The Queen returned thanks to the Grand Signior; and as she scrupled to send her son, George Martinusias told her that she could not refuse it. Being therefore constrained by necessity, she put the infant into a cradle becoming such a child, and having commanded its nurse, some other matrons, and several Hungarian Lords to accompany it, she sent it to the camp. Soliman desirous to do honour to that child had it received by a troop of horse, saw it and caressed it himself, and had it caressed by his own children (2)." Hilarion de Coste gives a very particular account of all this in his elogy of our Queen

Isabella (3). Soliman, says he, sent to the young King "three horses exceedingly beautiful, the harness of which was trimmed with gold, and adorned with pearls and precious stones; as also very rich plumes and Brocado garments. He sent also golden chains and rich robes made after the Turkish fashion to the chief Lords and Barons of Isabella's court... The Queen put her son in a coach that was gilt and very stately, with his nurse, and some Ladies, who had dressed him very fine, that Soliman might like him the better... The Ottoman Prince sent a troop of horse very well equipped, and some companies of Janizaries to receive him in the most honourable manner. As soon as these troops had saluted the young King of Hungary, they put him in the middle of themselves, and in this pompous manner conducted him to their Emperor, who, the moment he saw this little Prince, shewed him great love, and received him very kindly both as a vassal of the Ottoman house, and as a son of John King of Pannonia, whom he had very much beloved and esteemed; having protected him against the attempts of Ferdinand King of Bohemia, and of the Emperor Charles V. He commanded his children, Bajazet and Selim, who were then in the camp, to do the same. These were the sons of the beautiful Rose or Roxelana." This author pretends (4) that Soliman would know "whether this child was a boy or a girl, for there was a report spread through the Turkish army, that it was a girl, and that this was the reason why Isabella Jagellon had it educated secretly."

(3) *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 631 & dec.

(4) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 632.

[C] Soliman refused to see her... for such reasons as were very obliging to her. I have already observed, that he sent this Princess word, that if he did not wait upon her, it was only for fear lest his visit should expose her reputation. This was certainly a very obliging discretion: for it is certain that there would have been a great many slanders dispersed abroad, had there been an interview between Soliman and this Queen. Hilarion de Coste makes the Grand Signior's Deputies al-

3 ledge

(1) *Discours Historique & Politique sur les Causes de la Guerre d'Hongrie*, printed with other curious pieces at Cologne 1666, in 12mo, pag. 237, 238. See also Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 629.

(2) *Discours Historique & Politique*, &c. pag. 242.

The hopes she had that the Kingdom of Hungary would be restored to her son, as soon as he would be of age, those hopes, I say, grounded on Soliman's promise, were but a very indifferent comfort to her. She behaved with great strength of mind under this heavy trial; and comforted herself as well as she could with the title of Queen-Regent of Transilvania, which Soliman suffered her to bear; but as he left George Martinusias to assist her, she met with a thousand vexations during her Regency. For she had only the name of a Regent, all the authority being lodged with this Monk George (b). She was forced at last to break openly with him, the consequences of which ruined her authority entirely; for her adversary, being supported by Ferdinand, sent for a powerful army, which was commanded by a very cunning Italian (c), who managed matters with so much artifice, that he engaged this Queen to yield Transilvania to King Ferdinand in the year 1551, after which she retired to Cassovia. It was on her journey thither that she carved some Latin words on a tree, which have been mentioned by the Historians [D]. She was not a woman that could lead a quiet life; she did not continue long at Cassovia; she went into Silesia, and thence she retired into Poland with her mother Bonna Sforza, and her brother Sigismund Augustus. She kept up a correspondence with the great Lords in Transilvania, in order, if possible, to have the country restored to her. She applied again to Soliman for his protection, and made use of so many artifices, that at last she entered again into Transilvania in the year 1556. She kept it till her death, and engrossed the whole power as much as she could, without giving her son John Sigismund any share in the administration [E]. The bigots in vain endeavour to excuse such a

(c) John Baptist Castaldo, Marquis of Cassano, who had been educated in the family of Francis d'Avales, Marquis of Pescara. Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 644. *Delectus est Joannes Baptistus Castaldus Padenæ Comes, et ob res recentior egregie gestas (nam in bello Germanico castrorum praefectus summa cum laude manus obiverat) Cassani Marchio à Caesare creatus*. Thuan. lib. 9. pag. 180.

(b) Thus they used to call George Martinusias.

(5) That is to say, Soliman's Deputies or Envoys, who had carried presents to the young King.

(6) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 632.

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 633.

(8) She understood Italian, Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames*, tom. 1. pag. 644. asserts, that he harangued in that language, to persuade her son to resign the crown.

(9) Thuan. lib. 9. pag. 182. col. 2. ad ann. 1551.

(10) *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 648.

ledge other excuses, which are not in the least probable. "They (5) said also to this Princess, that Soliman had not less regard and esteem for her, than for the King her son, both on account of her own merit, and because she was the daughter of Sigismund King of Poland, whom he called his father; and that if his religion had suffered him to wait upon her, he would not have failed to do it; and that therefore he could not give her leave to come into his tents, and desired her to send only her son with his nurses (6)." If it was inconsistent with Soliman's religion to receive Isabella in his tents, would that same religion have suffered him to receive there the young Prince's nurse with the Ladies who attended him (7)?

[D] She carved some Latin words on a tree, which have been mentioned by the Historians.] Thuanus in his account of this particular observes that she was learned (8). *Quae (Regina) statim, ne privata in eo regno, cui summo cum imperio praesuisset, diutius viveret, convulsatis rebus suis per montes asperos Cassoviam versus iter direxit. Cum propter angustias viarum inter silvas de curru descendere cogere, cum auriga currum traduceret, ipsa retro in Daciam respiciens, pristini culminis, è quo deciderat, memor altum corde suspirium duxisse dicitur, et cum aliud non posset litterata femina, inscripto arbore nomine, haec addidisse, SIC FATA VOLUNT, eoque relicto justis doloris monumento, rursus currum conscendit, institutum iter persequitur (9).* i. e. "As this Queen could not bear the thought of living in a private condition where she had enjoyed the sovereign power, she took all that was hers with her, and set out for Cassovia over steep mountains. The road being very narrow through the woods, she was obliged to step out of her coach; and whilst the coachman drove it through the wood, she looked behind her towards Transilvania, and calling to mind the high station from which she was fallen, she fetched a deep sigh from her heart, they say, and having carved her name on a tree, she added these words to it; THUS FATE DECREED IT; which was all that this learned woman could do on this occasion, and having thus left a memorial of her well-grounded grief, she stepped into her coach again, and continued her journey." Hilarion de Coste deserves to be transcribed, because of the particular account he gives us (10). "As this virtuous but unfortunate Princess... was going to Cassovia through the heavy and difficult roads of that country; she was obliged in a very bad place to step out of her coach, and to walk on foot. As the coachman was endeavouring to get the coach clear from that place which was near a wood, this Heroine who was not less learned than magnanimous, cast her eyes towards Transilvania which she left, and calling to mind the honours she had received there, and the condition she had been in, and which was now altered, she could not forbear fetching a deep sigh, and carved on the bark of a tree the three words to express her grief,

and shew her skill in the Latin tongue. SIC FATA VOLUERUNT; i. e. Thus fate decreed it, according to what Thuanus and several other (11) Historians relate. Martin Fumée Sieur de Genille relates it thus: he observes that Queen Isabella passing over the mountains which separate Transilvania from Hungary, and coming down a very steep and dangerous side of those mountains, that road being so bad that her coach could not pass through it, she was obliged to walk on foot down hill with the Ladies that attended her, not without much trouble and inconvenience, both because the road was very difficult, and because of a very heavy rain which happened to fall and wet her to the skin (12). The poor Queen of Hungary complained all the way of her ill fate, which persecuted her not only in things of importance, but even in mere trifles, and ascribing this bad luck she had in her passage over that high and steep mountain to the obstinate malice of her destiny, she took a knife, and in order to allay her affliction and excessive grief, she wrote with the point of that knife, on the bark of a large tree under which she sheltered and rested herself during the rain, these Latin words, *Sic fata volunt*, and under them *Isabella Regina*. i. e. Thus fate decreed it; Isabella Queen." We have reasons to think that she did not carve that inscription without a disposition to murmur against Divine Providence; for she began the oration she made, when she abdicated the crown, with the most bitter complaints against fate. *Though inconstant fortune*, said she (13), *according to her cruel changings, altering and confounding all the affairs of this world, has perplexed mine to that degree, that at this time my son and I are obliged to leave this Kingdom, &c.* This was abusing God's Providence, and charging it with cruelty, as the Heathens used to do in their misfortunes.

(11) Natalis Comes, P. Matthieu, Artus Thomas.

(12) We transcribe this period in the wretched condition in which Hilarion de Coste left it.

(13) Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 645. Thuanus, lib. 9. pag. 182. makes her speak thus to her son. *Quando tua aut mea potius fortuna non tulit ut regno paterno legibus juris gentium tibi delato uti frui posses, fatorem INIQUITATEM quae nulla vi nostra aut humana industria corrigi potest, aequo animo feramus necesse est.*

Cum complexa sui corpus miserabile gnati, Atque Deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater (14).

— His lifeless limbs embraced
—
— Accusing all the Gods and every star."

Dryden.

It is probable that our Princess designed to leave on the bark of that tree a memorial of the injustice she imagined Heaven did her, and to let all the passengers know, that she was bold enough to complain of it.

[E] She engrossed the whole power... without giving her son... any share in the administration.] This may be proved by the remonstrance which Henry II caused to be made to this Princess. John James of Cambray, Dean of Bourges, that Prince's Ambassador, assured her, on his journey to Constantinople, that France would give her all the assistance she could wish; which obliged her to send Christopher Bathori Ambassador into France... to thank the most Christian

(14) Virg. *Eclog.* 5. ver. 23.

(15) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 657.

(16) The father of the brave and unfortunate Sigismund Bathori Prince of Transilvania. *Ibid.*

conduct [F]. She died at Alba-Julia, or Weiffenburg September the 15th 1558 (d).

(d) I have extracted the particulars I relate here, from Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 624, &c.

“ Christian King for her favour and good will.” Batori was very well received by Henry II, “ who sent him back with Peter Martinez into Transilvania, where they assured Queen Isabella by his most Christian Majesty’s order, that he would make an alliance with her by marrying one of his daughters with her only son John Sigismund, who was then seventeen years old, on condition that she should educate him in a grand manner, and not suffer so many women, and men of a mean extraction to come near him, who are not proper to be educated with Princes, and that she would acquaint him with state-affairs. Petrowitz, and most of the Lords of the Queen’s council gave their approbation to the most Christian King’s advice, even in her Majesty’s presence, and boldly told the French Ambassador that they had already represented this to the Queen their mistress, who from that time began to mistrust that Embassy, and imagined that these Lords had advised the King of France to this.” She consulted her mother, who made her the following answer: “ *Daughter, keep always the power in your own hands, and do not suffer your son to have so much authority; for you will lose it all, as soon as you shall have married your son with the daughter of so powerful a Prince as the King of France is.* Isabella having followed this bad advice of her mother Bonna, did not make an alliance with the French King; and after that she always hated those, who advised her to let the King her son see the armies, to acquaint him with the affairs of the Kingdom, and to send him to Waradin. She gave the command of all her armies to Michael Balassa, a haughty man, at which

“ her subjects were not very well pleased, for they wished that she would choose a General of a more meek and gentle temper than that man was (17).” [F] . . . *The bigots do in vain endeavour to excuse such a conduct.* As there is no passion but they endeavour to vindicate at the expence of religion, they made use of this admirable cloak to hide our Isabella’s ambition. Here follow the words of a Minim, who quotes Florimond de Remond. “ The authors who wrote this virtuous Princess’s defence, observe that she did not much like the great Lords of Hungary and Transilvania. Petrowitz was in a particular manner odious to her, because he professed Luther’s heresy, and because under a fair pretence of acquainting him with the affairs of his Kingdom, he endeavoured to estrange him from his mother, that he might the easier make him forsake the ancient and true religion, and admit the new and false one. Which he did after his mother’s death (18).” Father Maimbourg asserts (19), that John Sigismund did not dare declare for the Hereticks during his mother’s life, but that it was not only for that reason, but also because Soliman had written to the Queen, that she must not suffer new sects to creep into the Kingdom, lest they should disturb the tranquillity of it, by dividing the people upon so nice a subject as religion is . . . (20). But the Queen dying soon after, and Selim, who did not much mind the trouble occasioned by religion, succeeding his father Soliman, who died of an apoplexie fit at the siege of Ziget, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Arians entered again into Transilvania, and being supported by Petrowitz’s favour, they took more liberties there, than they had ever done before (21).

(17) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, tom. 1. pag. 624.

(18) Ibid. (19) Maimbourg, *Hist. de l’Arianisme*, tom. 3. pag. 345. of the Dutch edit.

(20) Ibid. under the year 1555.

(21) Ibid. under the year 1560.

HUNGERUS (WOLFGANG) a Civilian of the sixteenth Century, was born at

Wasserburg (a) in Bavaria. He was Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Ingolstat, Chancellor of Frisingen, and Assessor of the Imperial Chamber at Spire (b). He drew up an Apology for the Emperors Frederic Barbarossa, and Lewis of Bavaria, but being a good Catholic, he thought it more adviseable to suppress it [A], than to publish it in such an age as that he lived in. He died of a distemper with which he was afflicted for many years (c), whereby the world was deprived of many useful works they might have expected from so learned a man. We are told that he died in 1555 (d). The notes which he had wrote on the Cæsars of Cuspinian, were published at Basil in 1561; and they rectify and clear up many things which had been advanced either falsely or confusedly in that history of the Emperors, and in some other books. We find in the Epitome of Gesner’s *Bibliotheca*, a Wolfgang Hungarus, different from our Hungerus; but

(a) Hence comes the Latin surname *Aquiburgensis*, assumed by him.
(b) See the dedication to the *Cæsars of Cuspinian*, Basil edit. 1561.
(c) Ibid.

(d) Konig, in *Biblioth.* pag. 412.

[A] He drew up an apology for the Emperors . . . but judged it most adviseable to suppress it.] As he threw all the blame on the Popes, there is no doubt but the Protestants would have taken advantage from his book. But however this be, let us copy his own words. *Nos certe pro utrisque optimis imperatoribus Baisario & Enobardo elucubrata Apologia integra, luce ipsa clarius ostendimus, & fabulam illam de Ludovico Baisario vanam, falsam & tralaticiam esse: & Enobardum non tam de verbis quam rebus ipsis contendisse, atque in summa longe alias fuisse summis Pontificibus in hos Imperatores odiorum causas: & quæcumque tandem ea fuerint, saltem negocia ipsa contraversa à Pontificiis ea animorum impotentia, fastu & acerbitate tractata, ut horundem Imperatorum ubique major modestia, mansuetudo, humanitas, adoque innocentia, pietas & justitia eluceat: utcumque insignis ille Theologus Albertus Pighius Campensis, Pontificiorum Hector Li. 5. ca. 14. & 15. Ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ, causam bujus Ludovici ita proposuerit atque explicarit, ut universam eam damnaret. Sed voluisse ipsum eo in argumento ac præsertim libr. 6. Romanorum Pontificum auribus aliquid dare, jampridem etiam Catholicum veritatis amantissimum Theologum, virum Ecclesiasticum, doctrina & vitæ sanctimoniam, nuper dum viveret, cum primis spectatum, scio pronuntiasse: & ubi necesse sit, ipsius censuram autographam ea de re in medium proferre possum. Neque vero nostro ex capite isti apologiæ nostræ hoc gloriose arrogamus, sed potius concordiam ex calculo ami-*

corum aliquot, tam ecclesiasticorum quam laicorum qui Catholica in religione juxta nobiscum versantur, & Ecclesiæ statum ac fœdis & perniciosis abusum & vitiorum manstris repurgatum, sartumque & tectum (ut aiunt) jampridem pio zelo, sed hætenus frustra optant, ac super ea apologia ipsis exhibita consulti, etiam scripto sua singuli candido & libere exposuerunt judicium. Attamen & sponte nostra, & præcellentis cujusdam amici benevolæ monitu, hoc tempore domi retinere eandem quam in publicum edere maluimus (1): i. e. “ In an apology written purposely by way of vindication of those excellent Emperors, Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic Barbarossa, I have shewn as clear as the sun, that the story relating to Lewis abovementioned, is idle, false, and trifling; and that Frederic Barbarossa did not contend so much about words as things; lastly, that the hatred which the Popes entertained against those two Emperors arose from quite different causes; and that whatever these were, the controversy was carried on by the Papal advocates with so much passion, pride and rancour, that in every part of it we may perceive, on the side of the abovementioned Emperors, much more modesty, meekness, humanity, and therefore more innocence, piety and justice: nevertheless that celebrated Divine, Albertus Pighius of Campen, the Champion of the Romanists, in book v, chap. 14 and 15 of his Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, has laid down and explained the case of this Emperor Lewis in such a manner,

(1) Hungarus, *Annal. in Cæsars Cuspiniani*, pag. m. 136. col. 2.

but this is a mistake; which shews that the smallest change of the letters in proper names multiplies writers improperly. We find, in the Epitome just mentioned, the titles of some other works of this Civilian [B].

“ as quite to condemn it. But I was told long since
 “ by a Catholic Divine, a man famous for his erudi-
 “ tion and piety, and whose opinion I can produce in
 “ writing, in case this were required, that Pighius,
 “ in every part of this argument, and especially in the
 “ sixth book, was desirous of flattering the Roman
 “ Pontiffs. Neither do I pretend on my own judg-
 “ ment to arrogate so much with regard to my apo-
 “ logy, but rather in that some of my friends, both
 “ of the Clergy and Laity, who profess the Catholic
 “ Religion as I do, who have for a long time, but
 “ hitherto in vain, earnestly wished that the Church,
 “ being purged from many shameful abuses and horrid
 “ vices, may be entirely reformed; these persons,
 “ I say, being consulted with regard to this apology,
 “ candidly and freely gave their respective opinions of

“ it in writing. Nevertheless of my own choice, and
 “ by the advice of a most excellent friend, I chose to
 “ keep it by me rather than publish it at this time.”

[B] *The titles of some other works of this Civilian.*
 It appears that he corrected and published *Bartholo-
 mæum Bolognium super Authent. habita. C. ne filius
 pro patre*; and that he translated from the Spanish and
 Italian into the German language. *Excitatorium Au-
 licorum de officio Aulici ut gratiam Principis consequatur
 & conservet* (2). This translation, which was printed
 at Strasburg in 8vo, anno 1582, is doubtless that of a
 book of Guevara (3). We see in Draudius's *Bibliotheca
 Classica* (4); *Wolffg. HUNGERI Linguae Germanicæ
 Vindicatio contra exoticas quasdam, quæ complurium
 vocum & dictionum mere Germanicarum, Etymologias ex
 sua petere conati sunt* (5), Strasburg 1586, 8vo.

(2) *Epitome Ges-
 nerii*, pag. m.
 824-
 (3) See the re-
 mark [G] of
 the article GUE-
 VARA, citati-
 on (19).
 (4) Pag. 1377.
 edit. Francof.
 1625.
 (5) This word
 makes a solecism
 in this place.

HUNNIUS (ÆGIDIUS or GILES) born in a village of Wirtemberg December the 21st 1550, was one of the most famous Divines of the Augsburg Confession. He went through his Theological studies at Tubingen under James Andreas, the younger Brentius, and two other Professors; and acquired so much erudition during the eight years he spent in that University, that he was thought capable of being a Professor of Divinity in Marburg, at twenty six years of age. He fully answered the advantageous opinion which had been entertained of his learning; for having read some Lectures and preached some Sermons at Marburg (a), the Landgrave being resolved to retain him, recommended him in a very honourable manner to the Duke of Wirtemberg, in order that Hunnius might be admitted to his Doctor's degree of Divinity. Hunnius returned to Tubingen, and there took his Doctor's degree a few months after his marriage July the 16th 1576. During the first six years of his Professorship he did not publish any books against the Calvinists; but otherwise he was perpetually at war with them [A], and did not spare them in his Academical disputations. At last he published books against them [B] in 1514; and gained so much reputation, that in 1592 he was invited into Saxony there to reform the Electorate. He was appointed chief Professor of Divinity at Wittemberg, principal Minister of the Church of the Castle, and Member of the Ecclesiastical Senate. He applied himself with extraordinary vigilance to detect such as were not true Lutherans [C]; and as he was very successful in clearing the country of them, he was invited to act the same part in Silesia [D]. He was made Superintendent of the Church of Wittemberg in 1595; and the same year he was engaged in a mighty controversy with Samuel Huberus, concerning Election and Predestination [E]. He

was

(a) In 1576.

[A] *He was perpetually at war with the Calvinists.*
 What follows is said of this in his funeral oration (1).
*Quas autem & quam serias, quamque frequentes velita-
 tiones in Hassia tam Castellis, quam Marburgi, jam cum
 clanculariis, jam cum apertis hostibus, quos Sacramenta-
 rios Lutherani vocant, subire coactus fuerit; quæ &
 quam gravia certamina, ob sanctissimum Religionis
 Christianæ articulum, de personâ Christi, ejusque ad
 dextram Dei sedentis adoranda majestate sustinuerit:
 id Deo, rerum omnium inspectori ac judici, notum est: ne-
 que fugit id multos pios & cordatos homines. i. e. “ In
 “ what strong, as well as frequent contests he was
 “ forced to engage in Hesse, as well at Cassel as at
 “ Marburg, one moment against secret enemies, and
 “ another against open ones, who are called Sacramen-
 “ tarians by the Lutherans, what mighty combats he
 “ sustained, on account of that most holy article of the
 “ Christian Religion, concerning the person of Christ,
 “ and his adorable majesty sitting at the right hand of
 “ God: these things, I say, are known to God,
 “ who sees and judges all things; nor are they un-
 “ known to many pious and judicious men.”*

[B] *... He published books against them.* We find
 by the same orator, that our Hunnius did not confine
 his exploits merely to the Sacramentarian war; he also
 attacking the followers of the Lutheran Illyricus. In
 publicum postea scriptis suis progressus sub annum octo-
 gesimum quartam Danæum imprimis, Urfinum, Peze-
 lium, Grabium, & alios oppugnavit, editis libellis de
 personâ Christi, ejusque ad dextram DEI sedentis di-
 vina majestate: de altarum abrogatione. Postea &
 Flacianorum cohorti bellam sacrum indixit, edito libello
 de substantia peccati originis (2). i. e. “ He after-
 “ wards, about the year 1584, published some pieces
 “ with relation to the person of Christ, and his divine

“ majesty sitting at the right hand of God; and con-
 “ cerning the taking away of altars; in which he
 “ chiefly attacked Danæus, with Urfinus, Pezelius,
 “ Grabius &c. He afterwards proclaimed a holy war
 “ against the Flacians, in a treatise relating to the
 “ Substance of Original Sin.”

[C] *He applied himself to detect such as were not true
 Lutherans.* This was a sort of Inquisition, which
 deprived many people of their employments, and
 drove them from their country; for whenever a person
 refused to sign the formulary proposed by Hunnius and
 his colleagues, he was looked upon as a Calvinist, and
 found no mercy. Contzen the Jesuit (3) makes him-
 self merry in describing this Inquisition, and observes
 that Hunnius wrote an apology for it. *Quin & Ægi-
 dius Saxoniam visitationem contra Calvinistas defendit,
 Refutationem enim scripsit Calvinistici libelli, quo visita-
 tio illa exagitata fuit* (4). The cruelties exercised at
 that time on persons suspected of being Calvinists, as
 related by Hospinian, strike the reader with horror (5).

[D] *To act the same part in Silesia.* This we are
 told by Melchior Adamus. *Fridericus IV Lignicensium Parte altera,
 & Brigensum in Silesia Dux, Hunnii potissimum opera
 ac studio usus, Ecclesiarum Lignicensium per Silesiam re-
 formationem suscepit atque perfecit; ejecto inde Leonbar-
 do Krentzhemio, Lignicensium tunc Superintendente; cui Cal-
 winismi crimen impingebatur* (6). i. e. “ Frederic IV,
 “ Duke of Lignitz and Brieg in Silesia, began and
 “ perfected, chiefly by the assistance of Hunnius, a
 “ reformation of the Churches of Lignitz in Silesia;
 “ and ejected Leonard Krentzhemius, at that time Su-
 “ perintendent of Lignitz, who was charged with the
 “ crime of Calvinism.”

[E] *He was engaged in a mighty controversy with Sa-
 muel Huberus, concerning election and predestination.*
 This

(1) *Apud Mel-
 chior Adam. in
 Vit. Theolog. pag.
 729.*

(2) *Apud eundem.
 ibid.*

(3) Contzen, in
*Jubilo Jubilo-
 rum, ad ann.
 1592, 1593.*
 (4) *Idem, ibid.*
 (5) *Idem, ibid.*
 (6) *Melch. A-
 dam, in Vitis
 Theolog. pag. 729.*

was one of the chief opponents of Gretser and Tanner the Jesuits, in the Conference held at Ratisbon [F] 1602 (b), and died April 4, of the following year (c). He wrote a great number

(b) This Conference, according to most authors, was held in 1601. (c) Extracted from Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 723, & seq. He has given an Extract of Hunnius's *Funeral Oration*, spoke by Leonard Hutterus.

This man had been Minister of a village near Berne; and having examined the acts of the conference of Mombeliard (7), four articles in Beza's doctrine had appeared to him not very conformable to the Scriptures: I. That Christ Jesus did not die for all men. II. That most men are excluded from the promises of grace. III. That the only cause why the reprobate are damned is, merely from the will of God, who created them, purposely to shew in them the power of his anger. IV. That no one can tell whether baptism regenerates children. He had the courage to contradict these four articles, but he was expelled for his boldness; Musculus and Gryneus having successfully attempted his expulsion. He had retired to the territory of Wirtemberg, and got a Church there; after having embraced the Augsburg Confession. Having made himself known to the Elector of Saxony by some books he published, he was invited to Wirtemberg, to be Divinity Professor there. The earnestness with which he refuted the Swiss Protestants on the article of predestination, carried him into another extrem; he teaching publicly, that God has elected all men to eternal life. Hunnius and his colleagues admonished him of his error; but as he did not leave it, he was expelled. He went to Ratisbon, had conferences with some Divines; persisted obstinately in his errors, and published some books at Spire to maintain them. This was the fourteenth schism which divided the Lutheran Church (8). Such was the man our Hunnius had to deal with. He had the good fortune to be victorious on this occasion, he prevailing so far as to get his enemy removed; but he was a little suspected of heterodoxy, and therefore was obliged to write in his own justification. Read the following words of Calixtus. *Post annum superioris seculi octogessimam Aegidius Hunnius, nisi fallor, primus vel certe inter primos precipuus, priscam & ante Augustinam in primitiva Ecclesia receptam sententiam revocavit, & in Ecclesiis Sæbælasque nostras reduxit; non tamen sine difficultate, contradictione & insimulatione Pelagianismi* (9). Read likewise the following passage. *Fortem se & fidum purioris doctrine hyperastissem, adversus inanes Huberi Phœnias eo tempore præstitit Hunnius, dum partim monendo, partim scribendo, errantem Huberum in viam revocare studuit: quod ipsa res loquitur, & monumenta hæc de controversia bene multa edita, cum primis verò ille tractatus Hunni de providentiâ & prædestinatione filiorum Dei, satis luculenter testatur. Diffidio autem illo Huberi remotione sopito, prodit anno nonagesimo septimo epistola: qua variorum errorum, de cœnâ Domini, de baptismo, de libero arbitrio, de personâ Christi, de æternâ prædestinatione fuit insimulatus. Hanc igitur Hunnius eodem anno refutavit, ut & eos qui in Anhaltinis ecclesiis altaria, imagines, organa musica, hostias, & alias ceremonias abrogarant* (10). i.e. "Hunnius then proved himself to be a brave and faithful defender of the purer doctrine, in opposition to the idle cavils of Huberus, whilst he used his endeavours, both by admonition and by writing, to bring back the mistaken Huberus into the paths of truth: this is manifest from the thing itself; and the many pieces he published with regard to this controversy, shew this evidently, particularly Hunnius's treatise relating to providence, and the predestination of the sons of God. But an end being put to these contests by the removal of Huberus, an epistle was published in 1597, wherein he was charged with various errors relating to the Lord's Supper, Baptism, Free-will, the person of Christ, and Eternal Predestination. Hunnius refuted this the same year; as likewise those of the Churches in Anhalt, who had taken away altars, images, organs, hosties or sacrifices, or other ceremonies." I add these last words to shew, that Hunnius was not against altars, images, and several Romish ceremonies, which the other Lutherans abhorred.

[F] He was one of the chief opponents . . . in the conference held at Ratisbon. I am persuaded that most of my readers will be very glad to be freed from the

trouble of consulting another book, in order to get a general idea of this conference; and for this reason I shall here set down what Peter Matthieu relates concerning it (11). "Maximilian Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, and Philip Lewis likewise Palatine of the Rhine, Count of Veldents and Sponheim, cousins and united by blood, but separated and very opposite in the union of minds, which is religion; resolved in order to re-unite themselves in the same belief, and bring their subjects to the same confession and profession of faith, to assemble at Ratisbon, the ablest and most famous German Divines in Germany of both religions; that they, by an amicable conference, might clear up the difficulties that occasioned this wretched schism. They disputed only on the following thesis; *Whether the holy Scriptures be a sufficient rule with regard to things necessary to salvation.* The Roman Catholic disputants were four Divinity Professors of the University of Paris (12), and one of them was a Jesuit. On the side of the Protestants were fifteen Divines of the Palatinate of the Rhine, and of the Dukedoms of Saxony, Brandenburg and Wirtemberg . . . The Presidents were the two Princes; and Gretser the Jesuit, and Heilbrun the Protestant Minister, were the spectators . . . (13). The conference took up fourteen sessions, in which the power of the Judge was for a long time discoursed on with great vehemence, but not with great clearness, since that verbal dispute was followed by long apologies in writing." I here insert the following marginal note of Peter Matthieu. On this disputation at Ratisbon, says he, abstracted from the acts and registers of the Sessions, day by day, there is extant a book intitled *Analysis Dialectica Colloquii Ratisbonensis, anno 1601 de norma & judice omnium controversiarum fidei Christianæ habitæ.*

The Historian's reflection on these verbal disputations is pleasant enough. "When I consider, says he (14), the little benefit that has accrued from those disputations in different parts of Europe, and that the holy scripture is a field which every man thinks he has a right to combat in; I cannot forbear wishing that there were some severe prohibition against this vulgar treatment of it; and it would be well were it taught, like Epicurus's atoms, Pythagoras's numbers, Plato's ideas, Aristotle's Entelechia, and the figures of the Cabalists; that none, except those who were capable of understanding it, might attain to the knowledge of it. But whilst every one pretends to be skilled in it, it so happens that the faithful, like the bee, from the same flower, gather honey; the disobedient, like the spider, draw poison; and many grow distracted about the beast of the Revelations."

To this passage I will add the following words of Mr. Baillet. "This conference was like those battles, in which the victory is not determined from the number of the slain. Each side boasted their having gained the advantage, both parties drew up relations of it, and books in Latin as well as German, to the number of twenty. Among these pieces I met with one in the vulgar tongue relating to the triumph of the Jesuits, printed at Tubingen, a Lutheran city, in the year 1603 in 4to, and one in Latin written by Hunnius, and published at Wirtemberg in Saxony, the same year and the same size, with the following title, *Epistola consolatoria cum nat.* . . . Hunnius endeavoured to revenge the cause of his party by an *Anti-Tanner* . . . and by the *Anti-Gretser* (15). He had read the historical relation drawn up by Father Tanner, but was not satisfied with a relation which was not favourable enough to his party. To prevent the effects he feared would accrue from the reading of it, he composed a counter-relation of it, that is, a history of the conference at Ratisbon, after his manner, which was published, in 1602, at Wittemberg in Saxony. Peter Tanner did not think it advisable to leave this piece unanswered; and not contented

(7) Between Theodore Beza and John Andrews.

(8) Extracted from Micraelius Synagm. Hist. Eccl. pag. 871.

(9) Calixtus, Consider. Doct. Reformat.

(10) Hutterus, apud Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 729.

(11) Matthieu, Hist. de la Paix, lib. 4. ad ann. 1601. pag. m. 134.

(12) Matthieu is mistaken. Cayet, Hist. de la Paix, pag. 260. is as much in an error in saying, that the Duke of Bavaria's Divines were Hunger and Tanner, Doctors in the Faculty of Paris, and Gretser a Jesuit. Now Tanner had been a Jesuit from eighteen years of age; and consequently was not a Doctor in the Faculty of Paris.

(13) Matthieu, Hist. de la Paix, liv. 4. pag. 135.

(14) Ibid. pag. 136.

(15) Baillet, Art. 21. des Anti.

number of books, and got many children [G]. Some of his sons have got a name by their works [H]; but one of them turned Roman Catholic [I]. Hunnius did not discover greater passion and animosity in any of his works, than in that which he intitled, *Calvinus*

ented with reprinting his relation both in Latin and German at Munich in Bavaria; he also published some reflections on that of Hunnius, entitled, *Examen Narrationis quam historicæ Relationis nomine insignitam de Colloquio Ratisbonensi edidit Ægidius Hunnius Prædicans, at Munich 1602 in 4to.* It was against this last work that Hunnius wrote his *Anti-Tanner*, which he printed the same year at Wittemberg. Father Tanner published a reply, in which he drew up a defence of his first confutation . . . and some remarks on the death

(16) Ibid. Art. 37. num. 1.

of the same author (16). It was published at Munich in the year 1603, in 4to, and intitled *Apologeticus pro compendiaris relatione de Colloquio Ratisbonensi 1601 adversus Anti-Tannerum, cum Appendice de morte Ægidii Hunnii*. Baillet observes, that Father Gretser could not forbear making reflections on Hunnius's *Anti-Gretser*: They were printed at Ingolstadt some time after, and since inserted among some other of his works, with the following title, *Admonitio de Anti-Gretsero* (17).

(17) Ibid. Art. 21.

This Jesuit published some other piece against the same antagonist. *Labyrinthus Critico-Hunnianus, hoc est, Disputatio de Hunnio Prædicante, genioque Lutberano semetipsum contradictionibus implicante & jugulante in aliquot articulis fidei 1602, & Responsum ad Thefes Hunnianas, de Colloquio Pontificiis jucundo* (18), una cum sex digressionibus contra ejusdem Hunnii calumnias, 1602 (19). It is to be observed, that the two Bibliothecarii of the Jesuits ascribed to Father Tanner, a book intitled *Labirintus Critico* (20) *Hunnianus*, printed at Munich in 1612. Might not one conclude that that there is some error here (21)? Would two Jesuits have made use of the same title, in writing against the same adversary?

(18) This is an error of the press for *jucundo*. Father Southwell has retained the word *jucundo*.

(19) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 200.

[G] He wrote a great number of books, and got

many children.] An edition has been published of his works in five volumes. *Primus variis tractatus de articulis fidei, alter polemica, tertius & quartus commentaria in Matthæum, Johannem, & omnes penes Epistolâs Canonicas, quintus disputationes & orationes varias continet.* Edidit etiam vernacula lingua postillam *Evangelicam & Epistolicam. Homilias in VI Prophetas, Iteanos & Catechismum, confessionem de persona Christi & id genus alia* (22). With regard to his conjugal fruitfulness, we are assured, in his Funeral Oration, that heaven indulged him the blessing promised to the faithful by the Psalmist. *Inde divinæ benedictionis vestigia, tum in re familiari, tum in eo potissimum deprehendit: quod juxta promissionem Psalmi, Vidit filios ac filias, sicut plantationes olivarum, in circuitu mensæ suæ* (23).

(22) Micrælius, *Synag. Hist. Ecclæs.* pag. 760.

(23) Apud Melchior. Adam. in *Vitis Theol.* pag. 730.

(24) Psalm 128.

His wife, like a fair fertile vine,
Her lovely fruit shall bring;
His children, like young olive plants,
About his table spring (24).

TATE and BRADY'S Version.

[H] Some of his sons have got a name by their works.]

NICHOLAS HUNNIUS, Professor in Wittemberg, and afterwards Superintendent at Lubec, has published, *Epitome credendorum: Examen errorum Pbotinianorum: Capistrum Lancelotto impati: Necessaria defensio de Papa Antichristo: Refutatio Weigelianæ Theologiæ: Apostasia Ecclesiæ Romanæ: Pellis ovina papistica: Innocentia Lutheranorum: Fundamentalis dissensus Lutheranorum & Calvinianorum: Necessaria Admonitio contra theosophos* (25), *novellos Prophetas, nomine ministerii Lubecensis, Hamburgensis, & Lunæburgensis*, and some other treatises. He died in 1643, aged 58: and GILES HUNNIUS, his brother, died the year before, Superintendent General of Altemburg (26).

(25) See Molleerus, *Uagoge ad Hist. Cæsarionis Cimbricæ*, Part 3. pag. 469.

(26) Extracted from Micrælius, *Synag. Hist. Ecclæs.* pag. 760, 761.

[I] One of them turned Roman Catholic.] This was HELFRICUS ULRICUS HUNNIUS, a Civilian. He published at Colen in 1633, a book wherein he pretended to shew, that even by the confession of some learned Protestants, we are bound to restore to the church of Rome the temporalities of the church, of which it was dispossessed during Luther's reformation. Voetius hath been reproached with having stolen from this book the authorities and arguments employed by him against the Canons of Utrecht. *Iterato voto, pel-lucem illum centonem, magnam partem confarcinatum*

esse ex duodecim consiliis Lutheranorum . . . simul editis per Helfricum Utricum Hunnium J. C. filium Ægidii Hunnii, celebri quondam Theologiæ Doctoris & Professoris in Academia Witebergenfi, qui pelleret offa Antichristiana, cum turpissime desecisset ad Pontificios, atque secundum fatum Apostatarum, negligeretur ab iis, qui exemplo diaboli Matth. iv. 9. plurimos sectatores sibi colligere solent, per mysticam illam vocem: Hæc tibi dabo: Colonia Agrippinæ anno 1633 evulgavit duodecim illa Responfa, seu, ut ipse pariter vocat, Præjudicia, inscripta Abbati Fuldensi, cum in finem, ut evinci posset, Lutheranos (per errorem summum iis conjungit Calvinistas, quum neque Matthæus Wesenbecius, neque Hieronymus Treutlerus, prout fingit Hunnius, unquam vixerint in communionem eorum, qui Calvinistæ audiunt) esse vultu-luxurios, atque diſtante propria conscientia, debere restituere bona Ecclesiastica, à se invasa, occupata, direpta, ac prophanata, ut loquitur famelicus Apostata in titulo. Verum esse quod dico, quisvis cognoscat, si instituerit Consilium Theologicum comparare cum hisce Responfis; ubi aut Hunnius, aut ejus Typographus erravit in citandis authoribus, maxime juris Canonici textibus, pariter (respicio primam editionem) errant Architeſti bujus, Kar' ἀντιφασει, Consilii Theologici; quod adeo impudens, ut pag. 25. speciatim in hunc Hunnii tractatum digitum intendat (27). i. e. "I once again take notice, that the greatest part of this tinsel compilation was borrowed from the twelve Councils of the Lutherans . . . published together by Helfricus Utricus Hunnius, a Civilian, son of Giles Hunnius, formerly a famous Divinity Professor, in the University of Wirtemberg; who being ensnared by the bait of Antichrist, scandalously turned Papist; and being (as is the fate of Apostates) neglected by them, who, after the Devil's example, Matth. iv. 9. used to win over the greatest number of profelytes by the mystical words following, *all these things will I give unto thee*; published in Colen in the year 1633, these twelve answers, or as he calls them, *Prejudices*, inscribed to the Abbot of Fuld, in this view, viz. to shew that the Lutherans (through an egregious mistake he joyns the Calvinists to them, though neither Matthew Wesenbecius nor Jerom Treutlerus, as Hunnius pretends, ever lived in the communion of those who are called Calvinists) that the Lutherans, I say, are self-condemned, and, from the impulses of their own consciences, ought to restore the Church-possessions by them invaded, possessed, plundered and prophaned, to speak after the title-page of this hungry apostate. Any person may prove the truth of these assertions, who shall compare the theological council with these answers; for in all places where Hunnius or his printer has committed any mistake in citing of authors, particularly in the texts of the canon law, there also (I speak of the first edition) the compilers of this pretended theological council mistake with them; which is so very impudent, that page 25 he points in particular at this tract of Hunnius." Baillet, whom nothing can escape, was not ignorant that this man had changed his religion, but he did not know that it was a son of the author of the *Anti-Gretser*. His words are these. "When the Protestants, who alledge against us the *Anti-Hunnianus*, and the *Resolutio Anti-Hunniana*, of Valentin Bullen a Lutheran, still reckon Hunnius among those of their communion; they either give us occasion to believe that they have confounded Nicholas Hunnius a Lutheran, who died in 1643, with Helfricus Utricus Hunnius a German Civilian, converted from the Lutheran Church to that of Rome, and who was contemporary with the other Hunnius; or they were desirous of concealing his conversion; whether they did not believe it to be sincere, or supposed it to be of short continuance. However this be, Valentinus Bullen printed, in opposition to him, his *Anti Hunnius*, at Leichen, in the year 1633 in 8vo, with this title *Resolutio Anti-Hunniana seu Responfo ad calumniosam Resolutionem tertiam præjudicialium Quæstionum H. Utr. Hunnii*. He declares in this work that he is firmly persuaded he did not dissemble in any manner when he

(27) Martinus Schoockius, *Exercitat. variar.* pag. 52. edit. in 4to.

Calvinus Judaizans [K]. Calvin was there accused of so many heretical crimes [L], that he might have been afraid of being treated like Servetus, had he lain at Hunnius's mercy.

Some

renounced the Lutheran principles: and he shews plainly enough that he had read his book of the twelve unanswerable arguments of the Catholic Religion, printed at Colen in 12mo, 1632 (28). Our Ulric Hunnius published at Gießen, a treatise de Transactione in 1615; four books variarum Resolationum Juris Civilis, at Francfort in 1620; and a dispute de Homicidio & ejus pœna, at Marburg in the year 1625.

[K] He entitled... one of his books Calvinus Judaizans. The complete title runs thus: Egidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans, hoc est, Judaicæ glossæ & corruptelæ quibus Joannes Calvinus illustriora Scripturæ Sacræ loca, & testimonia de gloriosa Trinitate, Deitate Christi, & Spiritus Sancti, cum primis autem vaticinia Propbetarum de adventu Messicæ, natiuitate ejus, passione, resurrectione, ascensione ad celos, & sessione ad dexteram Dei, detestandum in modum corrumpere non abhorruit. I am not satisfied with the informations I have hitherto received with regard to the history of this work, and the consequences with which it was attended; but I believe I may venture to affirm, and hope Mr. Baillet (29) will not be displeas'd at it, that this book was not published in 1575. Hunnius was then but twenty five years of age; and had he distinguished himself at that age by such a work, the author of his funeral oration would not have failed taking notice of it, and would not have said that Hunnius began to write against the Calvinists about 1584. The Jesuit Conzen (30) fixes the year 1593, as the date of the impression of the Calvinus Judaizans, and I believe he is in the right for so doing. The circumstance which puzzles me is, to find in Pareus's life, that Giles Hunnius disturbed the peace of the Church in 1595, by accusing the Calvinists, and particularly John Calvin, of judaizing. I will give the passage at some length, because the reader will herein find some touches of our Hunnius's character, according to his adversaries. Repertus est anno deinceps 1595 turbulentus quidam Gracchus, qui pacem Ecclesiæ livido calamo inquietare paravit, ægre ferens, Evangelicorum Principum animos à tribunitiis Ecceholorum concionibus abhorreere, unionemque ac concordiam Christianam serio meditari: quam proinde non alia fabrica melius se disrumpere posse speravit, quam si immani isto convitio gravaret Ecclesias Reformatas, criminatus eas Judaizare: ac CALVINUM primipitarem Ecclesiarum Reformatarum Doctorem, Judaicis glossis pleuraque oracula Veteris Testamenti detemerare. Accusatio hæc tametsi non communem causam Ecclesiarum Orthodoxarum tangeret, proprièque eam spectaret, cujus Episcopus fuisse Calvinus, tamen quia per illius latus cæteræ omnes in capite CHRISTO unitæ petebantur, propudiosis istis calumniis CLYPEUM veritatis Catholicæ de sacrosancta Trinitate opposuit, Eccehasque Orthodoxas, & CALVINUM Electum DEI organum fortissime asseruit: adeoque in

who read his conclusion imagine that an end had been entirely put to this contest by Pareus's answer? But it was quite otherwise; for Hunnius replied, and his adversary did the same. Hutterus informs us that Hunnius, in 1598, published two books against Pareus; who had writ in favour of Calvin. Duobus libris: D. Pareo respondit, qui Calvinum patrocinium susceperat (32). Pareus returned to the charge, and printed a book at Neustadt in the year 1599 in 8vo, intitled, Orthodoxus Calvinus oppositus Pseudo Calvinus Judaizanti: which work was reprinted forty two years after in Geneva (33). This I learn from Baillet, which thereby plunges me into a fresh perplexity; for I infer from the preface to the Calvinus Orthodoxus (34), that Pareus compos'd and published it 1594. He says (35) that Calvin had been dead thirty years; and that this apology would have been published at Francfort during the time of the spring-fair, had not the impression been delayed by persons in power (36). He adds (37), they have changed their mind, and approved of my publishing this work. This shews plainly that the Calvinus Orthodoxus was printed in 1594; and nevertheless the author informs us, towards the close of the book, that Samuel Hüberus had been banished from Wittemberg, which, according to Melchior Adam (38), was not till 1595.

[L] Calvin was there accused of so many heretical crimes. Here follows the summary of his Calvinus Judaizans, according to Pareus (39). In ipso libri titulo Calvinum ex Ariano Judæum, vel certe ex Arianozante Judaizantem facit, & amarissime passim insectatur, quod mera ambitione, studio perverso, ludo aleatorio, versutia veleratoria, temeritate desultoria, Scripturam sacras à sensu proprio ad peregrinum inflectat, quod easdem tetris corruptelis, glossis impiis, proditoriis elusionibus, & plenis Judaicæ perfidiæ nequitiaque strophis, ad suam & aliorum perniciem horribiliter alio detorqueat: quod testimonia de Deo uno & trino stropharum suarum spiritus intricat: quod Scripturæ locis æternam Deitatem Christi confirmantibus caliginem Judaicam offendere non reformidet: quod illustrissima vaticinia Propbetarum de Messia Judaicis perversis sensibus involvat; in fraudem Christianæ religionis adulteret: & ad perfidiam Judaicam infidelitatis, Arianæque impietatis retundendam strophis nefariis bebetet, inutiliaque reddat: quod Evangelistarum, Apostolorumque sacrosanctas explicationes nequiter eludat: ipsos Apostolos sub ferulam censoriam revocet; flagellet: quod Scripturarum Ecclesiasticarum, veterum & recentium, piarum interpretationes altissimè despicias & irritas, ipsosque sexagenarios de ponte præcipites, &c. Passim etiam non acerbis modo sarcasms furdo illudit, sed & conviciatur virulentissimè, appellat acutum Diaboli instrumentum, Censorem, Aristarchum, Dictatorem, Apostolo Paulo doctiorem, autodidactum Scripturæ interpretem, Doctorem superciliosum, præstigiarum Judaicarum architectum, colubram, Angelum & Spiritum tenebrarum ex abyssi putio emergentem, & quæ alia hujus generis infinita sunt maledicentiæ ejus emblemata, vel potius convicia, lectu sanè & auditu horrenda. i. e. "He makes Calvin, in the title of the book itself, a Jew from an Arian, or a Judaizer from an Arianizer; and reproaches him in the most bitter terms every where, as a man who merely from ambition, a perverse inclination, gamester-like, with wicked craft, and inconstant rafhness, wrests the holy Scriptures from its natural sense to one that is foreign to it; as a man who, by dark corruption, impious glosses, treacherous mockings, and quirks full of Jewish perfidy and wickedness, horribly perverts the meaning of them to his own destruction and that of others; as a man, who perplexes with his knotty devices the proofs of the one-thrice God; as a man, who is not afraid of spreading a Jewish gloom over those passages in Scripture which confirm the eternal Divinity of Christ; as a man who darkens by Judaical perversions the most glorious Prophecies relating to the Messiah; vitiates them to the detriment of the Christian Religion; and, to lessen the perfidy of Jewish infidelity, and Arian impiety, blunts the edge of them by wicked quirks, and makes them useless; as a man, who wickedly

(28) Baillet, Art. 79. of the Anti.

(29) See Art. 66. num. 1. of the Anti.

(30) In Jubilo Jubilorum, pag. 307.

(31) Philippus Pareus, in Vita Davidis Parai, pag. m. 51.

(32) Apud Melchior Adam, pag. 729.

(33) Baillet, Art. 66. num. 1. of the Anti.

(34) This is the title of the book in the Geneva edition 1641.

(35) Prefat. pag. 4.

(36) Ibid. pag. 14.

(37) Ibid. pag. 15.

(38) In Vita Hunnii, pag. 729.

(39) Pareus, in Prefat. Calvinus Orthodoxus, pag. 9.

Some particulars want to be rectified in the remark where I speak of the *Calvinus Judaizans* [M].

HUTTEN

“ wickedly eludes the sacred explications of the Evangelists and Apostles, and presumes to censure and defame the Apostles themselves: in a word, as a man, who greatly despises, and laughs at the pious interpretations made both by ancient and modern Ecclesiastical writers; and is for rejecting them as obsolete. He not only throws out the most bitter taunts against him, on all occasions, but calumniates him in the most harsh and virulent manner, calling him the Devil’s sharp instrument, a Censor, an Aristarchus, a Dictator, more learned than Paul the Apostle; a self-instructed Interpreter of the Scriptures; a supercilious Doctor, an Architect or Framers of Jewish incantations; a Serpent, an Angel and Spirit of darkness rising from the infernal abyss; and a numberless multitude of such vile names, shocking to read as well as hear.” It is to be observed he declares, that if he does not plainly shew Calvin’s Judaism, he desires never to be believed upon any occasion (40). One cannot forbear asking the following question: Was he persuaded, or was he not, of the truth of what he advanced? Christian charity obliges us to think he was, for otherwise we must look upon him as the worst wretch that ever lived. Let us therefore conclude that he spoke as he believed; and conclude from thence, that in hot constitutions, like his, zeal is a kind of drunkenness, which so distracts the mind, that all objects appear double and false.

(40) *Hoc loco discrete se adstrinxit* (pag. 6.) *ut nisi Calvinum judaizantem ad oculum demonstraret, nobis sibi ulla unquam in re post hoc fidem adhiberi. Idem, ibid. pag. 16.*

(41) *Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 469.*

Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus, Et solem geminum, & duplices se ostendere Thebas (41).

“ Like Pentheus, when distracted with his fear,
“ He saw two suns, and double Thebes appear.”
Dryden.

(42) *Ille aper in nostris erat qui maximus agris, Ille mihi serendus aper. Ovid. Metam. lib. 3. sub finem.*

The Priestess of Bacchus, who fell violently on her own son, mistaking him for a wild boar (42), whilst he beheld, without any faith, or rather with contempt, the ceremonies of the festival, is an image of the vertigo or giddiness with which the train of zealots are seized. Pareus ascribes all these strange flights of Hunnius to the Devil; it is the Devil, says he (43), employed Hunnius, as a writer every way qualified to compose so slanderous a book. *En utro tandem, Christiane Lector, extremæ improbitatis Satanae exemplum. Quasi enim hætenus Nestorianismis, Arianismis, Turcismis, Paganismis, Atheismis, & id genus impurissimis sputis suis Ecclesias nostras parum conspurcarit: nuper easdem etiam JUDAÏSMI stercorebus petulantissimè conspergere est aggressus, constato per idoneum artificem libello mendaci juxta & maleficio, qui titulo CALVINI JUDAIZANTIS circumfertur.* i. e. “ Behold, O Christian reader, an example of the extreme wickedness of Satan: as though he had not enough defiled our Churches with Nestorianism, Arianism, Turcism, Paganism, Atheism, and such like impurities: he not long since, most impudently endeavoured to fling Jewish filth at it; by means of a lying and calumniating book, now handed about, and entitled CALVIN TURNED JEW, being composed by an artificer, who was every way qualified for the business.”

(43) *Pareus, in Præfat. Calvinus Oribodoxi, pag. 3.*

The design, according to Pareus, was to extirpate the Calvinists, in order that the Ubiquitarian Doctors might be highly esteemed. *Hinc Pseudo-Calvinus Judaizans, cujus hoc est argumentum & scopus.* Calvinus est Judaizans, Arianizans: ergo & Calvinistorum Ecclesie (quas vocant) sunt tales: extirpandæ; ergo cessabunt Ubiquitati facessere negotium; ergo stabit Ubiquitas: ergo in pretio erunt Ubiquitarii Doctores. *Hæc est Satana Dialectica* (44). i. e. “ Hence the false Calvin judaizing, the scope and argument of which is as follows: Calvin judaizes and Arianizes; therefore the Calvinistical Churches, as they are called, are such; therefore they ought to be extirpated; therefore they will disturb Ubiquity no longer; Ubiquity will therefore stand; the Ubiquitarian Doctors will therefore be held in esteem. This is Satan’s logic.”

(44) *Idem in Calv no Oribodoxi pag. 344.*

[M] Some particulars in the remark [K] want to be rectified.] The reader must expunge, in the re-

mark [K], the two passages where I suppose that Lipenius is not mistaken, in placing, under the year 1594, the edition of Hunnius’s *Anti-Pareus*. I now am of opinion, that Baillet was not mistaken in saying, that this date in Lipenius ought to be corrected; for I have a copy of the *Anti-Pareus*, the title of which declares that it was printed at Francfort *ex officina Palibeniæ*, in the year 1598; the prolegomena whereof are subscribed *Ægidius Hunnius*, and dated March 20, 1598. The title of the book, as I have given it from Baillet, is imperfect, and expressed in such a manner as renders it obscure; but here follows the complete title. *Anti-Pareus: hoc est invidia Refutatio venenati scripti à D. Davide Pareo, Heidelbergensi Theologo, editi in defensionem srophorum & corruptelarum quibus Johannes Calvinus illustrissima Scripturæ Testimonia de mysterio Trinitatis necnon oracula prophetarum de CHRISTO detestandum in modum corrupit. Scriptus per Ægidium Hunnium.* Hunnius declares, that as he was enough employed with other matters, he should not so much as cast his eye on Pareus’s book, had not the advice of friends, and the vanity with which his adversaries was swelled by his silence, made him resolve to answer it (45): such is the excuse he makes for not replying sooner. Now it being certain that the book which he refutes is that which David Pareus has entitled *Calvinus Oribodoxus*; it follows that this work of Pareus was not first published in 1599, and is not a reply, as Baillet supposes. Let us now positively affirm that it was published either in 1594 or 1595.

(45) *Hunnius, in Prolegomenis ad Anti-Pareum.*

It is to be observed that Hunnius complains, that Pareus accuses him of having asserted that Calvin was an Arian. He affirms that he had declared the very contrary; and had only shewn, that the sense which Calvin gives to many passages of the Bible is favourable to the Arians. I will now cite a distinction he employs. I will take it for granted, says he, that Calvin had no design to favour either the Arian or Jewish principles; but the spirit (46) which suggested those false glosses to him had a tendency that way. *Esse autem, Calvinus ipse srophis suis non hoc sibi habuerit propositum ut Judæorum Arianorumve causam proverberet, sed tantum ut Interpretationis novitate & insolentia sibi præ cæteris doctoribus, veteribus & recentioribus, famam nominis conciliaret: Tamen Spiritus, qui hæc ei glossas & elusiones suggererat, hunc sibi scopum præfixum habuit absque controversia, ut nimirum ambiguis & lubricis hinc srophis unum post alterum de Trinitate Testimonium, aut de Messia oraculum redderet incertum, atque sic hominum animos paulatim à petra certitudinis dejectos in dubitationum fluctus conjiceret* (47). i. e. “ Let us suppose that Calvin did not design, by his quirks and devices, to favour the Jews or Arians; but only, by the infrequency and novelty of his interpretations, to gain himself a reputation superior to that of other Doctors ancient or modern: Nevertheless the spirit, which suggested to him those glosses and impositions, had, without doubt, the following view, viz. by these ambiguous and dangerous subtleties, to enervate and render doubtful, successively, the evidence or testimonies concerning the Trinity, and the prophecies with regard to the Messiah; and in this manner to plunge the minds of men, by insensible degrees, from the rock of certainty, into the ocean of doubt.” Here follows another passage, wherein he says that the Devil exhibits the utmost efforts of his malice in Pareus’s book. His expressions are very gross on this occasion. *Cum igitur hoc Parei scriptum ita comparatum sit, ut in eo Satanas, non dicam diabolicæ suæ maliitæ vestigia quædam ostendat, sed impurum suum podicem (salva venia) denudatum lectoribus conspiciendum exhibeat, dubitavi, fateor, essetne quicquam operæ impendendum tam flagitiosæ scripti Refutationi: donec vel tandem & inimicorum insulsis gloriationibus, & imprimis amicorum crebris admonitionibus excitatus, hunc quoque laborem, quamlibet molestum, ad vindicandum gloriam Dei, & sacro-sanctam veritatem ipsius, suscipiendum mihi & exantlandum esse duxi* (48). i. e. “ Since then this book of Pareus is written in such a manner, that the Devil shews therein, not only some tracts of his diabolical malice, but (if I may use the expression) exhibits his filthy breech to the

(46) i. e. the Devil.

(47) *Hunnius, in Prolegomenis ad Anti-Pareum, p. 30. I set down the page, though the Prolegomena are not marked.*

(48) *Idem, ibid. pag. 3.*

(a) It was the feat of the family; it still exists, and makes a figure.

(b) See the list of them in the remark [B].

(c) In 1517.

HUTTEN (ULRIC DE) a Gentleman of Franconia, was born at Steckelberg (a) in 1488. He first went through his studies in Fulde, then at Colen, after at Frankfort on the Oder, where he took his Master of Arts degree in the year 1506, being the first promotion made in that newly-opened University. Having a genius for Poetry, he first set up, as an author, in that species of writing, by publishing a piece in the year 1513 [A], intitled, *Vir bonus*. The year following Prince Albert of Brandenburg having made his first entry into Mentz, whereof he was Archbishop, gave Hutten an occasion of composing a second Poem; he writing a large panegyric, in verse, in his honour, wherein he included (what cost him no little pains) an encomium on all Germany. He had a cousin, JOHN DE HUTTEN by name, who was Court-Marshal to Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg, and was killed by this Duke in the forest of Beblingen, in the year 1515. Our Poet, waiting for an opportunity of shewing his resentment against this Prince, sword in hand, published several pieces against him (b). He was at that time in Italy [B], where he had given many proofs of his courage [C] in the war which the Emperor Maximilian sustained during nine years in that county. At his return to Germany (c), Conrad Peutinger recommended him in such strong terms to the Emperor, that this Prince bestowed the poetical Crown on him [D]. From that time Hutten had himself drawn in armour, with a crown of laurel on his head, and took vast delight in being represented in that manner. He went not long after to the Elector of Mentz's court, and there wrote a dialogue intitled, *Aula*, in the year 1518. Hutten went, a little after, to the diet of Aufburg with the Elector his master, who was there honoured with a Cardinal's hat. In this diet articles had been exhibited against the Duke of Wirtemberg, on which occasion the murder of the Marshal of his Court was not forgot. These complaints had not produced any very great effect; but at last this Prince having seized upon the Imperial City of Reuthingen, in January 1519, a league was formed against him in Suabia, and those who formed it did not lay down their arms till they had driven him out of all his dominions, to which he did not return till fifteen years after. Our Hutten served in that war. Believing that the cause in which Luther had embarked was a very good one, he joined in it with great warmth; and published Pope Leo X's bull against Luther in the year 1520, with interlineary and marginal glosses (d), in which that Pope was made an object of the strongest ridicule. The freedom with which he wrote against the irregularities and disorders of the Court of Rome [E], exasperated Leo

(d) They are in vol. 2. of Luther's Works, pag. 53, & seq. in

“ the reader's view; I will confess that I was in
 “ some doubt with myself whether so scandalous a
 “ piece merited a refutation; till at length, excited
 “ by the silly vaunts of my opponents, and particularly
 “ by the repeated admonitions of my friends, I thought
 “ it incumbent on me to attempt and go through with
 “ this enterprize, how arduous soever it might be,
 “ to vindicate God's glory and his holy truth.”

[A] Publishing a piece in the year 1513.] He therefore was five and twenty when he first set out as an author. Moreri then must have mistook, and was not able to copy Melchior Adam justly, when he says that Hutten, when but eighteen years of age, published several works in verse.

[B] He was at that time in Italy.] I have followed the Chronology of Melchior Adam my author; but I ought to inform my readers in this place, that I doubt whether it be just. I do not believe that all the pieces which relate to John Hutten's death, were published before Ulric Hutten's return to Germany. I find in Gesner's Bibliotheca, that the collection of all these writings was printed in the seat or castle of Steckelberg in the year 1519, in 4to. It contained *Ulrici Hutteni super interfectione propinqui sui Joannis Hutteni equitis à Wirtembergensi Duce Ulrico Deploratio, heroicis versibus. Ad Ludovicum Huttenum super interemptione filii consolatoria Oratio. In Ulrichum Wirtembergensem Orationes quinque inveniuntur. In eundem Dialogus, cui titulus Phalarismus. Apologia pro Phalarismo, & aliquot ad amicos Epistolae. Ad Franciscum Galliarum regem Epistola, ne causam Wirtembergensis teneatur exhortatoria. Inferuntur etiam Epistolae aliquot ad Amicos.* I also find Melchior Adam quoting a speech of Ulric Hutten against the Duke of Wirtemberg, which was wrote but in 1519, that is, two years after the author's return from Italy into Germany. Have I not therefore just reason to doubt of Melchior Adam's accuracy? The circumstances he relates from this speech are of too singular a nature not to be taken notice of in this place. We are there informed that the body of John Hutten was dug up pretty near the forest in which he had been killed; yet it was dug up, I say, whilst the confederates were making war on Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg. The murder had been

perpetrated four years, and yet the corps was not rotted, but bled when it was touched, and the face was still to be known; from all which Hutten infers that his cousin was innocent. *Rem admirandam, & cujus prope nullius fides capax sit, vidisset. Quartum jam annum defossum corpus non consumptum, non putrefactum, totam adhuc faciem cognoscibilem: quin etiam sanguine commaduit attactum. Ex igitur innocentiae testimonium! Deposuimus Eslinge, inde ad patriam sepulturam devecturi* (1).

[C] where he had given many proofs of his courage.] Those he gave in war were no doubt inferior to those he gave in a rencounter. He was gone from Rome to Viterbo, at a time that an Ambassador of France had stopt at the last mentioned city. Now a general quarrel happened to arise, in which Hutten, forsaken by his comrades, was attacked by five Frenchmen at once, and himself put them all to flight, tho' he had received some wounds. He wrote an epigram on that occasion, which may be seen in Melchior Adam, in *quinque Gallos à se prostratos*, on his putting five Frenchmen to flight.

[D] The Emperor Maximilian bestowed the Poetical crown on him.] He acknowledges himself obliged, for that honour, to the good offices of Peutinger, and returns thanks for it in one of his works (2). He even says that the crown in question had been made in Peutinger's house by Constantia his daughter, whose virtue and beauty he applauds exceedingly. *Illam aio coronam, illam lauream quam tu ante domi tuae, accurate contexente & adorante filia tua Constantia, omnium que istic sunt puellarum & forma & moribus praestantissima, apparaveras.* This circumstance, for a Poet who loved the fair-sex as dearly as Hutten did, could not but suggest new words and a great many thoughts; and it is a hundred to one but a great many epigrams were wrote on the charming Constantia Peutinger.

[E] He wrote against the irregularities and disorders of the church of Rome.] Hutten published, among other works, an Historical Treatise in the German language, concerning the disobedience with which the Popes had behaved perpetually towards the Emperors. At the end of it we find, that Maximilian I having been imposed on by Leo X, spoke as follows. *This Pope*

(1) Hutten; in Orat. contra Wirtemb. apud Melchior. Adam. in Vita Jurisconsult. pag. 17.

(2) Praefat. ad Principes German. ut bellum Turcis inferant, apud Melch. Adam. in Vita Jurisconsult. pag. 15.

in the highest degree; and induced him to command the Elector of Mentz to send him to Rome bound hand and foot. Hutten then withdrew from this Court [F], and went to that of the Emperor Charles V in the Netherlands; but did not continue long in it, being told that his life would be in danger. It is some way probable that he withdrew then to the fortrefs of Ebernburg; for it was thence he wrote in 1520 his complaint to the Emperor, to the Electors of Mentz and Saxony, and to all the States of Germany against the attempts which the Pope's emissaries made against him. It was from the same place that he wrote to Luther in May 1521 (e), and published several pieces in favour of the Reformation. We don't know the exact time when he left this castle; but it is certain that in January 1523 he had left Basil [G], where he had flattered himself with the hopes of meeting with a secure asylum; but instead of it he had been exposed to great dangers. Erasmus having politely refused a visit from Hutten, for fear of heightning the suspicions that were entertained against him, as well as for fear of something else which he afterwards owned [H], was soon after severely attacked in a public manner, by Ulric de Hutten. Erasmus answered it [I]; and there is no doubt but Hutten would have made a reply, had he not been snatched away by death, he dying in an island of the Lake of Zurich August the 29th 1523 [K]. He was a man of little stature;

(e) This Letter is in Luther's Works, edit. Witt. pag. 102.

(3) *AA. & Scripte. Lutberi, ad ann. 1519.*

(4) Melch. in *Witz Jurisconsult. pag. 19.*

(5) Dated at Basil the 21st of Jan. 1523. Book 4. Epist. pag. 968. *apud Melch. Adam. pag. 21.*

(6) It is the 113th Letter of book 19. p. 949.

(*) Probably *Pox* is meant here.

(7) It is very probable that by the word *Scabies*, he means the Itch here.

(†) Or rather *Pox*.

Pope has already cheated me in a base manner, and I may truly say that no Pope ever kept his word with me; but I hope, with the grace of God, that this will be the last. Cochleus says (3), that before Luther's name was spread, Ulric de Hutten had published several pieces against the oppressions which Germany suffered by means of the Popes; and that he wrote, in 1519, a small tract entitled *Trias Romana*, the invention whereof was exceedingly pretty, and which brought a prodigious odium upon the court of Rome.

[F] *Hutten withdrew from the Elector of Mentz's court.* I do not find, in Hutten's Life, that he was ever seized by order of the Elector of Mentz, as Moreri affirms; all I find is, that he banished him from his court, *exclusus itaque aula & urbe Moguntina* (4); and that he forbid all persons to sell or read his works upon pain of excommunication.

[G] *In January 1523, he had left Basil.* This appears from the following words of a Letter of Oecolampadius (5); *Sunt hic ex sacerdotibus & theologis, qui de me pessime loqui cupiant, nec desistunt ubi clam conveniunt. Tantum machinati ut Hutteno non fuerit diutius tutum hic agere, unde & nudius tertius hinc discessit, quorum autem nescio. i. e.* "Some Ministers and Divines, in this place, desire that I should be extremely ill spoken of, and do not fail to do this in their secret meetings. They went so far in their machinations, that Hutten was not safe any longer here, for which reason he left us three days since; but whither he is retired I cannot say."

[H] *Erasmus having politely refused a visit from Hutten, for fear of . . . something which he afterwards owned.* Writing to Melancthon in September 1524, (6), he tells him, that he would gladly have received Hutten's visit, without much valuing what the world might say of it; and that the motive of his refusing Hutten's visit, was not merely from the apprehension he was under of making himself odious; but that there was another motive, viz. that he should then have been under a necessity, of taking into his house that boaster, oppressed with poverty and the (*) itch, who only fought for a nest to lay himself in, and to borrow money of every one he met with. Thus we find that Erasmus was more swayed, on this occasion, by interest than by fame. *Quod Hutteni colloquium deprecabar non invidiam metus tantum in causa fuit: erat aliud quiddam quod tamen in Spongia non attigi. Ille egens & omnibus rebus destitutus querebat nidum aliquem ubi moraretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles cum sua scabis (7) in ades recipiendus, simulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo Evangelicorum, sed titulo duntaxat. Sletstadii multavit omnes amicos suos aliqua pecunia. A Zuinglio improbe petiit, quod ipse Zuinglius mihi suis literis perscripsit. Jam amarulentiam & gloriam hominis nemo quamvis patiens ferre poterat. i. e.* "The reason why I avoided a conference with Hutten, was not only for fear that my reputation would suffer by it; there indeed was another which I have not mentioned in my *Sponge*. As Hutten was poor, and in want of every thing, and fought only a nest where he might dwell in, I must have taken this braggadocio, with his (†) itch, into my house; and have taken him under the name of one of the Evangelists, though but in name only. He borrowed

" money from all his acquaintance in Schleitad; and " faucily importuned Zuinglius for some, as he in- " formed me by letter. The most patient person living " could not bear with the bitterness and vaunting of " this man." It appears by this, that Erasmus was not afraid of our Hutten, because he was a zealous Lutheran, but because he was a plundered officer, who wanted to take up his winter-quarters at Erasmus's. There is no doubt but that Hutten's visits, and his borrowing money on those occasions, were displeasing to many professed Protestants.

[I] *Erasmus answered it.* This answer is inscribed to Zuinglius, and is entitled *Spongia Erasmi adversus aspergines Hutteni*. Erasmus there confesses ingenuously, that he desired Hutten might be told not to come and see him, unless some important reason obliged him to it; but he shews that his intreaty was so much softened, and afterwards made so many proposals to this friend, that any reasonable man would have been satisfied with them. The worst circumstance is, he told Mark Laurinus, Dean of Bruges, in a letter, that had Hutten made him a visit, he would not have refused to converse with him. *Fuit hic Huttenus paucorum dierum hospes: interim nec ille me adit, nec ego illum; & tamen si me convenisset, non repulisset hominem à colloquio* (8). He adds that the reason which prevented their seeing one another, was, Hutten could not be without a stove, and Erasmus could not bear one. We see, by this example, that the most honest people are apt not to express always, in their letters, things as they know them to be. Hutten was highly exasperated at Erasmus, and reproached him, in very disobliging terms, on a thousand accounts. Erasmus made the best justification in his power. After Hutten's death, one Otho Brunfels, a Physician, answered Erasmus in his name.

[K] *He died in an Island of the Lake of Zurich.* He also was interred there, and some years after a Gentleman of Franconia caused the following distich to be engraved on his Sepulchre.

*Hic eques auratus jacet, oratorque disertus
Huttenus, vates carmine & ense potens* (9).

" Hutten, a Knight and Orator lies here,
" For his bright pen and sword alike renown'd.

The most unhappy circumstance is, he died of the foul disease. Had Varillas related this first (10), I should not be concerned about it; but I find this incident in Gesner's *Bibliotheca*. After this, who would not deplore the odd character of the man? Hutten, wandering from place to place on account of his religion; Hutten persecuted for his strong zeal, carries the foul disease about him whithersoever he goes, and at last dies of it. What a strange medley is this! He had published, in 1519, a Latin book concerning Guaiacum and the venereal Disease. He at that time could treat of it as a master; for in all probability he did not get this distemper since his abjuration of the Popish religion. By the way Varillas makes a wrong computation. He says that Hutten espoused the interest of Luther five years before he died, and two years after the Diet of Ausburg, where he had opposed the League

(8) *Erasmi. Ep. 6. lib. 23.*

(9) *Gesner. in Biblioth. folio 342.*

(10) *Hist. de Herese, lib. 4.*

figure; of a weak and sickly constitution, but extremely brave, and a little too passionate [L]. A collection of all his Poems was published at Frankfort in 1538 (f). He is thought to have wrote many libels [M].

Part of his library fell into the hands of a Physician, who, as it is said, sold some books belonging to it, to Frobenius. See the beginning of book 2. of Joachim Camerarius's Letters.

The conjecture which was mentioned in the preceding editions, viz. that John de Hutten was suspected to have had too great a share in the Duchefs of Wirtemberg's good graces, is false. It was the Duke who loved that gentleman's wife (g). The Duke has been introduced in a dialogue, as follows: *Nobilem juvenem, meum comitem, cum ejus uxorem puellam venustam deperirem, obruncavi* (b). i. e. "Being distractedly in love with the beautiful young wife of my companion, a noble youth, I killed him."

(f) Extracted from his Life, in Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Jurisconsultor. Germanæ*, pag. 13, & seq.

(g) See tom. 4. *Observationum Selectarum ad Rem Literariam Joh. Hanium*, printed at Hall 1701, pag. 169, 170.

(b) U. Huttenus in *Pbalasino*, folio Aij.

league which the court of Rome intended to form against the Turks. This Diet was held in 1518, and Hutten must consequently have turned Lutheran in 1520; now he lived but three years after this. Varillas's remark, that he was obliged to live chastely, because he had taken holy orders, is perhaps not altogether false, for we find the following words in Melanchthon's life. *Interesserat Hutteno cum Croto Rubiano singularis usus à prima adolescentia, quo autore vel certe adjutore reliquit ille contubernium Fuldanum, in quod puer magis disciplinæ quam religionis causa datus esset*. i. e. "Crotus Rubianus was of great service to Hutten. He was at his childhood; for by his counsel, or help, he quitted the Abbey of Fulde, wherein he had been placed, more on a religious account than on that of literature, when almost a boy."

ni facere & admirari propter doctrinæ eruditionem & præstantiam ingenii, sic ab illius natura vehementer excelso animo, & voluntate ad novam rem propensa . . . (16) Nicol. Geronomus timere Philippum Melanchthonem licuit animadvertere. Camerarius (15) who informs us of this, adds, that Ulric Hutten was vastly impatient; and that his air and discourse shewed him to be of a cruel disposition. He applies to him what was said of Demosthenes; viz. that Hutten would have turned all Europe topsy turvy, had his power equalled his designs and enterprizes. Judge of his temper the following specimen. Being told that the Carthusians had wiped their backsides with the prints representing his face, he fined them two thousand pistoles. *Huttenus Cartusianos, quia imagine sua pro anitergii usi sunt, in duobus millibus aureorum nummum multavit* (16). This was making them pay exceeding dear for the little regard they had shewn to the laurel, which crowned the head of the print in question. Varillas (17) says, that Luther had it placed in the front of his books. I related elsewhere (18) the menaces which Hutten vented against the Pope's Nuncio; and after this I can very easily believe that he wrote thus to the Elector of Mentz: *If you burn my books, I will burn your cities* (19).

(11) *Biblioth. folio 342.*

(12) *Camerar. in Vita Melanchth.*

(13) Luther. tom. 1. *Epist. pag. 282 and 285.*

(14) *Quid Huttenus petat videt, nollem vi & ca. de pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad humanum.* Idem, tom. 1. *Epist. pag. 332.*

[L] He was . . . a little too passionate. Gesner (11) observes that Hutten, at the beginning of the reformation, said and wrote many things with great freedom and boldness against the Roman Catholics, as well as against Princes and the magistrats of the cities. He joined with so much fury with Capnio against the Monks, that after having attacked that faction with his pen, he fell upon it with his sword. *Litigantes Monachos cum Capnione variis exagitavit, & illam factionem armis quidem vehementissimis scriptis, sed aliquando post armis quoque expeditis adortus est* (12). He acquainted Luther with the double war which he carried on against the Clergy. *Hutten literas ad me dedit ingenti spiritu æstivantes in Romanum Pontificem, scribens se jam & literis & armis in tyrannidem sacerdotalem ruere, motus quod pontifex fidas & venenum ei intenterit, ac Episcopo Moguntino mandavit, captum ac vinculum Romam mittere* (13). i. e. "I received a letter from Hutten filled with rage against the Roman Pontiff, declaring he would attack, both with his pen and sword, the tyranny of the Clergy; he being exasperated against the Pope for threatening him with daggers and poison, and commanding the Bishop of Mentz to send him bound to Rome." Since Luther did not approve of this man's violent temper (14), we are not to wonder that it gave Melanchthon some uneasiness. He loved Hutten for his genius and learning, but he dreaded his pride and passion, and his innovating temper. *Ut virum mag-*

Of the following among others; *Dialogus Philalethi civis Utopiensis. Oratio ad Christum pro Julio secundo Ligure pontifice* (20) *Bullicida* (21): *Prædones: Momus: Carolus: Pistatis & Superstitionis Pugna: Conciliabulum Theologistarum adversus bonarum literarum studiosos. Apebbbegmata Vadisci & Pasquilli de depravato Ecclesiæ statu. Huttenus Captivus, Huttenus illustris, autore S. Abydeno Corallo Germano* (22). A burlesque satyr, entitled *Nemo*, had been ascribed to Erasmus; but Hutten was author of it (23); he himself declaring this, and being angry that the glory of it had been given to another. Some persons affirm that he is author of *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* (24). This fiction would be more tolerable than another which is ascribed to him, viz. that he himself drew up the letter, which he published under the name of the Universities of Paris, Oxford and Prague (25). Had he lived thirty five years longer (26), he would have overflowed Europe with a deluge of books and libels.

(15) In *Vita Melanchth.*
(16) Nicol. Geronomus, *Epist. ad vertere.*
(17) *Hist. de Herese*, lib. 4.
(18) In citat. article ALEXANDER JEROM.
(19) Palavicin. *Hist. Concil. Trident.* lib. 1. cap. 25. num. 1.
(20) Melch. Adam, in *Vitis Jurisconsult.*
(21) *Epitome Gesneri.*
(22) Gesner, in *Biblioth.* who takes the *Abydeno Corallo* to be a supposititious name.
(23) See Erasmus's Letters, pag. 543 and 575.
(24) See the remark [F] of the article HOCHSTRATUS.
(25) See Father Labbe, *de Script. Eccles.* tom. 1. pag. 922.
(26) Melchior Adam and Moreri date his birth to the year 1488, and his death to 1523, and yet they say he lived 36 years.

☞ The above article being very imperfect, it will be necessary to add a supplement to it.

HUTTEN (ULRIC DE) was born the 20th or 21st of April 1488; was sent to the Abbey of Fulde at eleven years of age; and took his Master of Arts degree at eighteen, at Frankfort on the Oder. In 1509 he was at the siege of Padua, in the Emperor Maximilian's army; and he owned that it was the want of money which forced him to make that campaign. He returned soon into Germany, and there began to apply himself anew to his studies, contrary to his father's inclination [A]. He went to various places [B]. The correspondence he held with Erasmus was of great advantage to him.

[A] He began to apply himself again to his studies, contrary to his father's inclinations. This old man not having the least taste or esteem for polite literature, thought it unworthy the pursuit of persons of exalted birth; and being angry at his son on that account, he therefore would not give him the supplies he wanted; which very probably was the cause of his being reduced to the necessity that had forced him to serve under the Emperor in Italy. Our Hutten's father would have been glad, as his son was so fond of learning, that he

had applied himself to the civil law, since that might raise him in the world; but Hutten had no inclination for that kind of study. However, finding there was no other way of getting himself reconciled to his father, he went to Pavia in April 1511, which city being besieged and taken by the Swifs, he was taken prisoner, plundered of all he had; but was afterwards released, and then went to Bologna in July (1).

[B] He went to various places. From Bologna he travelled to Bohemia and Moravia; and waiting on the

(1) *Hommes Illustres du P. Nicéron*, tom. 15. pag. 245, 246.

him [C]. It was in 1516 that Hutten was honoured with the poetical Crown; and returning to his own country, he did not meet with so kind a reception from his friends as he expected [D]. He was in France in the year 1518; from whence he went to Mentz, and engaged in the service of the Elector Albert. Hutten did not once come to an engagement in the war against the Duke of Wirtemberg; however, the tumult of a camp and the noise of arms soon gave him a distaste for a military life, so that he could not forbear panting after his studies and a retirement [E]. In 1519, his patron the Elector of Mentz permitted him to go and spend some months in the Castle of Steckelberg; but in 1520 Leo X obliged the Elector to dismiss Hutten, that Pope being exasperated against him, for republishing an old book intitled, *De unitate Ecclesiæ conservanda, & schismate quod fuit inter Henricum IV Imp. & Gregorium VII Pont. Max. &c.* Hutten then withdrew to Brabant, and made some stay in the Court of the Emperor Charles V, but was forced to leave it soon, upon which he retired to Ebernburg [F]. Hutten did not begin to declare openly for Luther till after he had left the Elector of Mentz's Court; but he had wrote to him before from Mentz, and his first letter to Luther is dated June the 4th 1520. Varillas had made some false assertions with regard to our Hutten [G]. During his abode in Ebernburg, he performed a very generous action with regard to his family [H]. It was Francis de Sickingen, Luther's great protector, to whom the Castle of Ebernberg belonged, that had given an asylum to Hutten ever since his retiring to that place; and it is probable that he had accompanied his patron in the expedition wherein he was killed in May 1523. Hutten was now obliged to seek some other shelter, and to wander up and down during the short time he had to live. He then withdrew to Basil, but not being allowed to continue there, he went to Mildehausen, and died in an island called Uffnort [I]. His Panegyrist declares that it is a mere calumny to say that he died of the foul disease; but it is nevertheless probable that he fell a victim to it [K]. Some think very justly that he was never in holy orders.

the Bishop of Olmutz in a very poor condition, that Prelate, who was a great Mecenas, gave our Hutten a gracious reception; presented him with a horse; and gave him money to pursue his journey. Hutten travelled to Vienna, and there saw Joachim Vadianus, to whom he then gave the Poems which Vadianus published afterwards. It is probable that it was from this city that Hutten returned a third time into Italy; and it appears by one of his letters dated from Bologna the 31st of July 1516, that he was then studying the law (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 246, 247.

[C] *The correspondence he held with Erasmus was of great advantage to him.* It obtained him particularly a very kind reception from all the *Literati* in Italy whom he visited, and especially at Venice, from Batt. Egnatius, Ang. Contareni, And. Asulanus, &c. (3).

(3) Ibid. pag. 247, 248.

[D] *He did not meet with . . . a . . . kind reception from his friends.* As these were told that Hutten had devoted all the time, during which he pretended to study the civil law, to polite literature, his family and friends reproached him grievously on that account. This gave him some uneasiness at first, but he afterwards only laughed at their clamours (4).

(4) Ibid. pag. 248, 249.

[E] *He could not forbear panting after his studies.* This we find by a letter of his to Frederic Piscator, dated the 21st of May 1519. He there discovers an inclination for matrimony, and expresses himself in a singular way on that occasion. He informs his correspondent, that he wants a wife who may take care of him; and that what advantageous things soever some people might tell him of a single life, he found himself not qualified for it, and did not like to lie alone. That he wanted a partner in whose company he might unbend his mind, joke and tattle with, and sooth his cares. That his wife must be beautiful, young, well educated, merry, modest and patient. That he did not require much money with such a one; and did not so much regard her birth, because she would be sufficiently ennobled by marrying him. *Opus, says he to Piscator, uxor est, quæ me curet. Nosti mores; non facile solus esse possum, ne noctu quidem. Facessant mihi enim prædicare quidam cælibatus bona, & solitudinis commoda; non videor esse capax. Me quidem habere oportet, ubi curas & ipsa ubi acriora etiam studia remittam, quicum ludam, quo jocos conferam, amœniores & leviusculas fabulas miscam, ubi solitudinis aciem obtundam, curarum æstus mitigem? Da mihi uxorem, & ut scias qualem, da venustam, adolescentulam, probe educatam, hilarem, verecundam, patientem; satis habeat, non multum. Divitias non quæro enim. Et ad genus quod pertinet, satis nobilem futuram puto, quæcumque Hutteno nupsit* (5).

(5) Ibid. pag. 250, 251.

[F] *He retired to Ebernburg.* Meeting with the famous Hochstratus in his journey thither, he drew his sword, and running up to him, swore he would kill him for what he had done against Reuchlin and Luther; but Hochstratus throwing himself at his feet, conjured him so earnestly to spare his life that Hutten let him go, after striking him several times with the flat of his sword (6).

(6) Ibid. pag. 253.

[G] *Varillas has made some false assertions.* He says that Hutten declared publicly for Luther five years before his death, and two years after the Diet of Augsburg; and that he there opposed the league which the Court of Rome would have formed against the Turks. This Diet was held in the year 1518. Hutten must therefore have turned Lutheran in 1520; and he lived but three years after this. Besides, it is an absolute falsehood to assert that he opposed the League against the Turks; so far from it he made a speech, which is still extant, to excite the Princes of the Empire to unite together against those infidels. The only opposition he made was, to the tenths which the Pope intended to raise on that occasion, he fearing they would be employed in other uses (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 253, 254.

[H] *He performed a very generous action with regard to his family.* Being the eldest son, and succeeding to the whole estate of his father and mother by their death, he gave it up all to his brothers; and even, to prevent their being involved in the misfortunes and disgraces which he expected, by the suspicions that might be entertained against them, he conjured them not to remit him any money, nor to hold the least correspondence with him. It was now that he devoted himself wholly to the Lutheran party, to advance which he laboured incessantly and with indefatigable zeal, both by his writings and actions (8).

(8) Ibid. pag. 254, 255.

[I] *He went to Mildehausen and died &c.* He concealed himself for some time in the monastery of the Austin Friars at Mildehausen; but being discovered, he fled by night to Zurich, where, as he probably did not think himself more secure, he secluded himself in an island of the neighbouring lake, called Uffnort, and there died.

[K] *It is probable that he fell a victim to the foul disease.* We don't find that he was married, and yet it appears, by his Letters mentioned above (9), that he could not live without a woman. Hence we may presume that he used to go abroad in quest of pleasures which he had not at home; and that he even was not very cautious in the choice of those women he frequented, since as early as 1518 he had got the infamous distemper, of which Gefner declares he died; as appears by his letter to Pirckheymer, dated

(9) Remark [E] citation (5) above.

(a) See Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN, citati- on (b).

orders [L]. The date of the impressi- on of one of his books, shews an error of Melchior Adam, and of Bayle after him [M]. Hutten had a considerable share in the famous book intituled, *Epistola obscurorum virorum* [N]. We shall here relate the particulars of the murder of John de Hutten, cousin to our Ulric [O] (a). We will likewise

the abovementioned year, and by the dedication of his book, *De Ligni Guaiaci in Morbi Gallici curati- one viribus*, i. e. "Of curing the Pox by Guaiacum wood", where he observes, that having been grievously afflicted with the distemper which is the subject of his book, he recovered his health wholly by the use of this remedy (10).

(10) Niceron, *Hommes Illustres*, vol. 15. pag. 257, 258.

[L] Some think very justly that he was never in holy orders.] Varillas declared he was, from an inference which he drew (11); but it seems to be altogether false, for Hutten could not have taken holy orders except in Fulde, which he yet did not, since he was placed in that Abbey to study, and not to be made a Monk, *Discipline magis quam religionis causa*, says Joachim Camerarius (12); since he did not make any vow there; and since although the Abbot of this monastery would have persuaded Hutten to stay with him, he yet must have left his cloyster at about fifteen or sixteen years of age, when he was not old enough to be admitted into holy orders. Not to mention that this particular is spoken of by no author except Varillas (13).

(11) See remark [K], towards the end, of Bayle's article of HUTTEN.

(12) *In Vita Melanchth.* pag. 93.

(13) Niceron, *Hommes illustres*, vol. 15. pag. 258, 259.

[M] Melchior Adam and Bayle have committed an error.] These say that the first book Hutten published was his *Vir bonus* in 1513, and consequently that he was twenty five years of age before he set up for an author (14). But this is a mistake, Hutten having published a treatise on the art of verification two years before; *Ars verificandi*, Wittenbergæ 1511 in 4to; so that he began to appear publicly as an author at twenty three years of age. This piece has borne a great many impressions.

(14) See the text of Bayle's article of HUTTEN, after the letter [A] See also the remark [A].

[N] Hutten had a considerable share in the *Epistola obscurorum virorum*.] These Letters were written on occasion of the Controversies which Reuchlin had with the Divines of Colen, occasioned by one Pfefferkorn a converted Jew, who, upon pretence that the books which the Jews had relating to their Religion kept them from turning Christians, obtained an edict from the Emperor, by which they were all ordered to be burnt. In these Epistles the ignorance and presumption of the Friars and Divines who lived in those barbarous times, are painted in the most natural colours. Most of them are addressed to Ortuinus Gratius, because he had wrote an apology for the Divines of Colen in opposition to Reuchlin. It is a whimsical Satyr on the barbarous style of the Scholastic Divines, which is there imitated, but very much heightened, to make it still more ridiculous. The perusal of this work is said to have had a surprizing effect on Erasmus (15). Ortuinus Gratius having been chiefly attacked in those letters, he thought it not adviseable to let them go unanswered; and therefore he published the following piece; *Lamentationes obscurorum virorum, non prohibita per sedem Apostolicam*. Colonia 1518, in 8vo. This volume contains also, besides the brief of Pope Leo X against the *Epistola obscurorum virorum*, and Erasmus's letter to John Cæsarius; the following piece; *Epistola apologetica Ortuini Gratii, ob primam à parvulo educationem Daventriensis cognominati, Agrippinensis quoque Academiae Philosophi, Christianique Sacerdotis, ad obscuram Reuchlinistarum cohortem, citra bonorum indignationem missa*. The other authors of these Epistles, besides Hutten, are said to be Reuchlin, Herman de Neuenar, &c. Hutten seems to own himself one of the authors of them, since he speaks, in his letter to Pirckheymer, of the *Lamentationes* published against the *Epistola obscurorum virorum*, as of a work written against him. We do not know exactly the time when those Epistles first appeared in print, the year not being set down in the first edition; but it is certain that they must have been printed before the year 1517, since there is extant a brief of Pope Leo X, dated from Rome the 15th of March of that year, which forbids the reading or keeping them upon pain of excommunication. This is one reason; but a stronger is, that the second edition of them was printed in 1516. The two parts which compose this work were

(15) See the remark [Z] of the article ERASMUS.

published at different times. The first part appear'd under the following title: *Epistola obscurorum virorum ad Magistrum Ortuinum Gratium Daventriensem, Colonia Latinas Literas profertentem*. At the end of the book are the following words: *In Venetia impressum in impressoria Aldi Manutii, anno quo supra. Etiam cavisatum est, ut in aliis, ne quis audeat post nos impressare per decennium, per illustrissimum Principem Venetiarum*: all this may probably be fictitious, and the book may have been printed in Germany. Besides, there is no date, as is pretended in the last mentioned Latin words, and to which the reader is referred. The second part which appeared afterwards, has the title above, together with these words: *Non illa quidem veteres & prius vixit; sed & nova & illis prioribus elegantia, argutis, lepore ac venustate longe superiores*. At the end are the following words; *Quinta Luna obscurus viros edidit. Lector solve nodum, & ridebis amplius. Impressum Romanae curiae*. This first edition is in 4to. There have been many editions of this work: *Editio secunda cum multis aliis Epistolis annexis, quae in prima impressura non habentur*. Venetiis (that is probably in Germany) 1516, 4to. It. *Cum dialogo mire festivo*, 1556, in 8vo. It. *Cum variis additionibus ejusdem argumenti*. Francofurti 1581 and 1643, in 8°. But the most beautiful edition is that of London 1701, in 8°. It is surprizing that notes have not been added to it, since they are so very much wanted (16).

[O] We shall here give the particulars of the murder of John de Hutten.] Lewis de Hutten, father of this John, was very intimate with Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg; and relying on the friendship which that Prince had for him, he intrusted him with John de Hutten, one of his four sons, to be as his companion. The young man behaved exceedingly well, and won the Duke's friendship, insomuch that he trusted him with the most important secrets, and revealed all his designs to him. Some time after John married the daughter of a General of that Duke's cavalry; when Lewis de Hutten, his father, being desirous of settling the affairs of his family, ordered his son to come to him: and as the Duke could not refuse to permit him, he told him that he must confer with him on certain matters before he went away, and for that purpose took him into the country, upon pretence that they should be less interrupted there. But now the Duke carrying him into the forest of Beblingburg, he fell upon Hutten and killed him, and probably had caused ruffians to lie in wait for him. Be this as it will, Hutten's body was found, wounded mortally in seven places. This murder made a great noise, and the occasion of it was long unknown; but at last Ulric de Hutten discovered the whole affair, firmly resolved to do this, because the Duke had afterwards said, in justification of this cruel action, that John de Hutten was a perjured wretch; that he deserved death, and consequently that he had justly punished him. Here follows what we are told concerning this matter. The Duke of Wirtemberg was fallen distractedly in love with John de Hutten's wife, and by the assiduity and warmth of his addresses, had at last disposed her to grant what he so ardently wished for. The only affair now was, to get an opportunity of meeting together privately, which was the more difficult, because the husband, knowing the Duke's designs, kept a very watchful eye over his wife. But these obstacles, so far from extinguishing the Duke's flame, only heightened it the more, and prompted him to behave in a most extraordinary manner. He threw himself at John de Hutten's feet; and, with tears in his eyes, begged that he would permit him to love his wife. The husband, in extreme surprize, conjured the Duke not to request so ignominious a favour, nor to do an action so unworthy a man of his rank. Nevertheless fearing, as it really happened, that the passion which this Prince had for his wife would make him incur his hatred, he informed his friends of the dilemma he was in, wrote to his father about it, and used all the arts possible to disengage himself from the Duke's service, who

(16) Niceron's *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 15. pag. 271, & seq. and tom. 25. pag. 141.

likewise give an account of some of Hutten's works [P] (b).

(b) All these particulars are extracted from Ulric de Hutten's *Life*, written by James Burchard, and published at Wolfenbittel in the year 1717, in 12mo, and from tom. 15. of Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*.

who had just before offered him a considerable employment in their neighbourhood. Hutten's relations did not yet know that the Duke had ingratiated himself into the wife's favour; notwithstanding which they were determined to get him out of the Duke's hands, but unhappily they delayed their resolution too long; for the Duke whose flame raged daily with greater violence was resolved not to let Hutten go, as this would have defeated all his hopes, and yet was determined to get rid of an Argus; which was the motive that prompted him to commit the murder abovementioned. The Duke, after John de Hutten's death, was indulged in all his criminal wishes by the widow, whom he made his concubine (*).

Our Ulric de Hutten, at the time of this murder, was at the Baths of Ems in Germany, and not in Italy as Bayle asserts (17). It was thither that the news was sent him of it by Marquard de Hatssteyn, Canon of Mentz, a relation of his. The five orations which our Ulric de Hutten wrote against the Duke of Wirtemberg were composed at different times. The three first a little after John de Hutten's death, the fourth seventeen months after, and the fifth in 1519, after that the Princes who had made a league against the Duke in question had driven him out of his country (18). The style of all those orations is energetic; the author did not spare invectives, and has employed many odious expressions with the utmost strength and fire; the whole speaks a man who is exasperated at the affront he has received, and which it is not in his power to revenge (19).

[P] We shall give an account of some of our Hutten's works. Those who desire to see an ample catalogue of them may read Father Nicéron's *Hommes illustres* (20). A singular circumstance in Hutten's book *De Guaiaci Medicina, & morbo Gallico liber*, first printed in 1519, is, that although it is dedicated to Albert Elector of Mentz, a spiritual Prince, yet Hutten is not ashamed to declare, that after having himself been long a martyr to the disease, he there treats of, the pox, he had been cured only by Guaiacum (21). In the two dialogues entitled *Febris*, Hutten feigns a discourse between himself and the fever with which he had been long tormented, and therefore intreats it to go and annoy those, who may be in better circumstances to maintain it. Hutten's servant is afterwards introduced, and joins in the conversation. These dialogues are very ingenious, and extremely satyrical, particularly against the Prelates and Monks, whom Hutten inveighs sharply against in all his writings (22). The piece entitled *Phalarismus*, one of the five satyrs written against the Duke of Wirtemberg (23), consists of a dialogue, the interlocutors whereof are *Cbaron*, *Mercury*, the *Tyrant*, i. e. Duke Ulric, and *Phalaris*. The author feigns that the Duke, by permission from Jupiter, goes down into Hell, in order to have an interview with Phalaris, and that meeting him in the infernal regions

he receives the most horrid counsels from him, all which he promises to put in execution at his return to the earth (24). Besides the two dialogues intitled *Febris*, Hutten wrote three more, all which were printed together in Mentz, in the year 1520, in 4to, with this title, *Dialogi, Fortuna, Febris I, II, Trias Romana seu Vadiscus, Inspicientes*. We have spoke of the second and third of these dialogues just above. The first of them intitled *Fortuna* is very ingenious, as indeed all Hutten's are, which Thuanus declares are not inferior to those of Lucian. The author therein supposes himself to be discoursing with fortune, concerning several things which had befallen him, and of the wishes he had formed in order to attain a happy life. The fourth dialogue intitled *Trias Romana*, (25) or *Vadiscus*, is a strong satyr against the Court of Rome. It is intitled, *Vadiscus*, from the author's feigning that he was told all he related in that dialogue by one Vadiscus, who, in his return from Rome, had passed by Mentz, where he had discoursed with him; and he intitled it *Trias Romana*, because he always reduces every particular he advances to three points. Thus he begins as follows: *Tria Urbis Romæ dignitatem tuentur, auctoritas Pontificis, Reliquiæ Sanctorum, & Merx Indulgentiarum*. i. e. "Three things keep up the au-

thority of the City of Rome, the authority of the Pontiff, the relics of Saints, and the trade of Indulgences." The reader may judge by this specimen of the style of the rest of the piece. The fifth dialogue is intitled, *Inspicientes*, from the two principal interlocutors in it, who are the *Sun* and *Phaeton*. These discourse together, and afterwards with the nuncio Cajetan, on the affairs of Germany, and the transactions there in 1618 (26). The letters mentioned by Bayle (27), wrote by the Universities of Paris, Oxford and Prague, were not, as some (28) have objected, forged by Hutten; but being found by him at Bopart, a castle on the Rhine in the Archbishopric of Triers, he published them in some time after. The subject of these six letters relates to the schism that was then in the church; and they were written by the three Universities abovementioned to one another, to the Romans, to Pope Urban, and to the Emperor Winceflaus (29). Besides Otho Brunfels the Physician, who defended Hutten against Erasmus (30), another person wrote a piece in his favour intitled, *De Erasmi Spongia judicium Erasmi Alberi, adeoque, quantum illi conveniat cum M. Lutheri Doctrina*. 8vo (31). It is to be observed that there was published at Frankfurt in 1538, a collection of all Hutten's Latin Poetical pieces in one volume in 12mo (32). The several Libels, which Bayle (33) is in doubt, whether or no they were wrote by our Hutten, were in all probability composed by him. Those who desire a more particular account of them may read Father Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*.

(*) See the last paragraph of Bayle's text of the article ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(17) See his text of the article ULRIC DE HUTTEN, before the letter [B].

(18) All this clears up the doubts that Mr. Bayle entertained with regard to the times in which these several Orations were written. See the remark [B] of his article ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(19) Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*, vol. 15. pag. 278, & seq.

(20) Tom. 15.

(21) Ibid. pag. 277.

(22) Ibid. pag. 277, 278.

(23) See Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN, remark [B].

(24) See remark [E] of Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(25) See remark [A] of his article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(26) Conrad Gesner, who has been followed by Pallavicino, Boissart, &c.

(27) Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 15. pag. 287, 288.

(28) See the end of the remark [I] of Bayle's article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

(29) *Hommes Illustres*, vol. 5. pag. 295.

(30) Ibid. pag. 299, 300.

(31) See the remark [E] of his article of ULRIC DE HUTTEN.

HUTTERUS (LEONARD) Professor of Divinity at Wittemberg, was born in 1562 at Ulm, where his father was Minister. He was so well instructed in the Sciences, and made so great a progress in them, that Hutterus, when but three and thirty, was preferred to a Professorship of Divinity in one of the most famous Universities (a). He discharged the several duties of his employment in such a manner, as got him the character of a laborious man, and as extremely well qualified to teach others (b). He discovered an ardent zeal for Orthodoxy, being a most rigid Lutheran. This zeal appears in every part of his writings [A]; and if we reflect but ever so little on his assertions with

(a) That of Wittemberg.

(b) Extracted from Spizelius in *Templo Honoris referato*, pag. 32, & seq.

[A] This zeal appears in every part of his writings. See particularly his work intitled, *Concordia concors, sive de origine, & progressu formulæ Concordiæ Ecclesiarum Augustanæ confessionis liber unus*, Rudolpho Hospiniano oppositus. It is in folio, and was printed at Wittemberg in 1614 (1). See also his *Dispute pro formula Concordiæ* (2); his *Collegium Theologicum de articulis confessionis Augustanæ, & libro Christianæ concordiæ* (3); his *Irenicum vere Christianum, sive de Synodo & unione Evangelicorum non fucata concilianda* *Traclatus Theologicus*; his *Sadeel Elencomenus, hoc est Traclatus pro majestate humanæ naturæ Christi*. He wrote with great warmth against Popery. See his *Disputes de Sacrificio Romanensium Missatico, ejusque*

horrenda abominatione: de Transubstantione & Processionibus Pontificiis, pro asserendo integro Sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ contra Jesuitas. See likewise *Refutatio duorum Librorum Rob. Bellarmini de Missa: Triumphus de regno Pontificio: Illas malorum regni Pontificio-Romani, sive Historica Dissertatio injustissimo Pontificis Romani in Ecclesia Dei dominatu: Actio in Jacobum Gretserum de Imperatorum, Regum, ac Principum Christianorum in sedem Apostolico-Romanam munificentia pro Nicolao Clemangis* (4). I omit the title of several other of his works, both in German and Latin. His *Calvinista Aulico-Politicus*, printed at Wittemberg in 1615, shall be cited in the following remark.

(1) See the remark [E] of the article HOSPINIAN.

(2) Printed at Wittemberg in 1605.

(3) Idem, 1610.

(4) Extracted from Spizelius, in *Templo Honoris referato*, pag. 37, 38.

with respect to the martyrs of the Geneva Confession [B], it must be confessed that he ran into extremes. This turn of mind exposed him to many vexatious disputes, in which he was very much slandered [C]. He died in 1616. He must not be confounded with him who published a Polyglot Bible [D].

[B] *His assertions with respect to the martyrs of the Geneva confession.*] The Elector of Brandenburg had alledged in his edict for toleration, among other particulars, the vexations and punishments which the common enemy had made the Calvinists suffer; but to oppose this our Hutterus observed, that the Arians, the Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians might, in order to obtain toleration, make use of the like maxim. He asserted that the Calvinists had not suffered death, for believing that the blood of Jesus Christ would save them, but for refusing to obey the Pope whom they called Antichrist. *Scripterat quondam in Edicto Serenissimus Elector Brandenburgicus, non excludendos esse à Christiana communione Reformatos, qui idem sentiunt in fundamento fidei, in Evangelio cum Lutheranis laborant, certant, luctantur, eoque nomine à communi hoste innumeros cruciatus sustinuerunt, sustinentque quique etiam sanguinem pro confessione illa largissimè profuderunt. Cornua illi obvertere ausus Hutterus in Aulico-Politico cap. 2. pag. 176. &c. ubi regetis, à Papiſtis etiam Anabaptistas, Arianos, Antitrinitarios, aliosque supplicio affectos esse; causam supplicii nostrorum non fuisse, quòd crederint, se per Christum servatum iri, sed quòd Romanum Pontificem non agnoverint Pastorem universalem, sed Antichristum, ejusque jugum detrectaverint ferre* (5). The Swifts divine, whose words I borrow on this occasion, makes this judicious remark, viz. that this method of branding the martyrdom of the Calvinists may be employed with equal success against the Lutheran martyrs. He says that, after observing that a Divine of Strasburg employs the same cavil of Hutterus. *Gemella his effutivit Dannenhawerus, Argentinenſis Theologus, Colleg. Decalog. p. 394, ubi Reformatorum Martyrium larvatum vocari, & cum Judæorum, Ethnicorum, Arianorum sub Athalario Gotborum Principe religionis causa occisorum Martyrio comparare non erubuit. Certè pædodis talis etiam Lutheranæ Ecclesiæ Martyrii veri palmas laudemque præcideret* (6). i. e. "One Dannenhawerus a Strasburg " Divine, published two pieces, wherein he is not " ashamed to call the martyrdom of the Reformed or " Calvinists, *masked*; and to compare it to the mar- " tyrdom of the Jews, Pagans, and Arians put to " death, for their religion, under the Gothic Monarch " Athalaric. It is certain that such a deceitful con- " struction would likewise deprive the Lutheran Church " of the glory of true martyrdom." Can we enough admire the effects of a headstrong temper or prepossession? And is it not a deplorable circumstance, that a Popish Missionary can object to Protestants, that the martyrdom of their brethren is looked upon, by some Lutheran Doctors, as a false martyrdom? See one of the remarks (7) of the article WESTPHALUS (*Foachim*). It is to be observed that Pappus calls those calumniators, who accuse the Lutherans of considering the Calvinist martyrs as the martyrs of the Devil, *Nulla modo eos habemus pro martyribus Diaboli; quemadmodum accusamus* (8).

shall not dispute about these matters because they are not enough known to me; but I shall say in general, that some Doctors are so very passionate, so morose, and allow so little toleration to others, that they create themselves enemies, not because they maintain orthodox principles, but because of their rude way of maintaining them. Their adversaries take their revenge of them by personal reproaches; they publish the most vexatious truths relating to them; prove them guilty of many shameful things, and bring them into such a dilemma that they cannot justify themselves. How do they act then? They make a great merit of their patience, and compare themselves to the Prophets, the Apostles, and even to Christ himself. *When, say these, persecuted as they were for the truth, we do not open our mouths when the enemies of the truth revile us.* Moliere should introduce this in some scene of his *Tartuffe*; for it is to be particularly observed, that this sort of people are never silent, when they have any slander to publish against their neighbour, or when they can alledge any thing plausible for their justification. However this be, the panegyrist of our Hutterus bestows the following fine eulogium on him. *Sicuti verò summis quibusque Viris non omnia omnino ex animi fluxere sententiâ, sed cruces, calumnie, & persecutiones variæ illos exercuerunt, ita Hutterus certissimo hoc fidelium Dei servorum charactere nequam caruit, quippe quo ab omnipotente Deo, Propheta, Apostoli, & sinceri Ecclesiæ Doctores olim sunt signati... Idem profusus nostro fatum; quod æquo & patienti pertulit animo, magisque de abstergendis calumniis, suis antecessoribus impactis, quam famæ & exultationis propriæ vindicatione fuit sollicitus, baud ignorans, omnes injurias oblivione melius, quam commemoratione sanari, & inimicorum calumnias contemptu potius quam lingua esse vindicandas* (2). i. e. "But as all great men have not been " successful in all their desires, but have been exercised " by crosses, calumnies and persecutions; so Hutterus " was not, in any manner without the most evident " characteristic of the faithful servants of God, as " being that, with which the Prophets, Apostles, and " true Doctors of the Church were antiently sealed by " the Almighty... This was entirely the fate of our " Doctor, to which he submitted with an equal and " patient mind; he being more solicitous to blot out " the aspersions cast on his predecessors, than to vindicate his own fame and reputation, well knowing " that all injuries are treated better by being forgot " than remembered, and the calumnies of enemies are " to be refuted rather with contempt than the tongue."

[D] *He must not be confounded with him who published a Polyglot Bible.*] His name was ELIAS HUTTERUS. He first published a Bible in four languages, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German, at Hamburg, in the year 1597: but afterwards added to it the Italian, French, Sclavonian and Saxon. His New Testament was printed in the year 1600 in twelve languages, viz. in Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish and Polish. He reduced into four the edition of 1603, viz. Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German. This Polyglot Bible is extremely scarce. There is a collection of letters with regard to the judgment of learned men concerning this work (10).

[C] *His turn of mind exposed him to many vexatious disputes, in which he was very much slandered.*] He is put in parallel, in his eulogium, with the Prophets and Apostles who were persecuted for the truth; and it is affirmed that he answered calumny only by silence and contempt. I

(5) Heideggerus, *Dissert. Selectar.* tom. 2. pag. 352.

(6) Heideggerus, *ibid.*

(7) The remark [H].

(8) Joh. Pappus, *Epit. Hist. Eccl.* pag. m. 49.

(9) Spizelius, in *Templo Honoris* referato, pag. 35.

(10) Extracted from Hottinger, *Biblioth. Quadrupartita*, lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 141, 142.

HUYBERT (PETER DE) Lord of Burg, Krayenstein &c. gained very great reputation by the considerable services he did to the Republic of the United Provinces in the Low-Countries, and particularly to the Province of Zealand. His family is very ancient, and has produced several eminent persons [A]. He was born at Middleburg August

[A] *His family is very ancient, and has produced several eminent persons.*] He was descended from CORNELIUS DE HUYBERT, and Jean Van Haemstede. The family of Haemstede was descended from Witte (of Holland) Lord of Haemstede, natural son of Floris V, Count of Holland and Zealand, Lord of Friesland, &c. by a daughter of the Lord of Heusden (*).

(*) John the 7th.

This maiden had been kind to Floris only because he had promised to marry her. JACOB and HERMAN DE HUYBERT Cornelius's sons commanded the fleet, which conducted the Archduke Philip and the Queen his consort into Spain in the year 1506. These two illustrious persons were on board the ship commanded by these two brothers. The Fleet, which was very

la. ge.

(*) That is to say one of the Magistrates, not much unlike our Alderman.

(a) The Conferences held at Mechlin in the years 1652, and 1653.

(b) The King of Sweden had begun the war against Denmark, and had conquered all Denmark except the city of Copenhagen.

(c) This treaty which was concluded by the mediation of Sweden, put an end to the war between Charles II King of England and the United Provinces.

August the 1st 1622, and was chosen one of the Counsellors (*) of that city March 24, 1646. He acquitted himself of that function with so much wisdom and ability, that the Province of Zealand sent him Deputy to the Assembly of the States General, and afterwards to the first Conferences (a) that were held between the King of Spain's Deputies and those of the United Provinces, after a long and bloody war, which was gloriously finished at Munster January the 30th 1648, having been continued during fourscore years. He was sent Embassador Extraordinary to the King of Sweden, to the King of Poland, and to the Elector of Brandenburg, during that famous war, in which the Swedes made themselves masters of Poland, and gained so many victories over the King of Denmark, that they forced him to yield them three noble Provinces beyond the Sond. In March 1659 he was chosen Secretary of State to the Province of Zealand, and in May following he was appointed Plenipotentiary for the treaty of peace which was concluded between Sweden and Denmark (b), through the mediation of France, England and the United Provinces, in the year 1660. His Principals were so well satisfied with the ability and integrity with which he had acquitted himself of those great employments, that in March 1664 he was raised to the high post of Counsellor-Pensionary of Zealand. The commission for that post charges the Pensionary, amongst other things, to defend and assert at all times, and on all occasions, the rights and pre-eminence of the State, and the Laws and Privileges of the country; which renders that post very dangerous and difficult; and yet he performed the functions of it during twenty three years and an half, with the approbation of all the world, and to the satisfaction of his Principals; who when they sent him Deputy to the Council of State of the United Provinces, September the 27th 1687, declared expressly in his commission, *that they were very well pleased with his long and faithful services, and would always remember them with gratitude.* We must not omit to observe that he was chosen Plenipotentiary for the United Provinces in the year 1665, for the treaty of Breda (c). He died at the Hague January the 7th 1697. It was observed of him, that he adhered constantly to the Religion established by the Laws of the State. He was a strenuous assertor of it on every occasion, and would never suffer the least alteration in it, either with regard to doctrine or to discipline (d). I shall mention his three sons in the remark [B]. They had him interred in a chapel of the Church of Burg in Zealand, and caused an epitaph to be engraven on his tomb (e). The reader will find it below [C].

(d) Taken from Memoirs communicated to the Bookseller.

(e) He had herself ordered this tomb to be made, and besides that he contributed a great sum of money towards repairing the church in which he lies buried, he had the direction of the building of that edifice, which is reckoned to be done with a good taste for Architecture.

We

large, went through a great storm in the Channel; several ships were cast away in the Archduke's fight, who yet would not suffer the fleet to put into any harbour of England, because of some affairs which had happened between him and the King of England. But when the two brothers HUYBERT had represented to him the great danger they were in, and that it was absolutely necessary to shelter themselves in the harbour of Weymouth (†), he and his consort submitted to this advice, and abandoned themselves to the prudence and conduct of the two brothers. It was on this occasion the Archduke gave him this motto for his Coat of Arms, WAECKT HUYBERTS, that is to say, WATCH HUYBERTS. The Emperor Maximilian, and the Archduke Charles, in order to testify their gratitude for this great service done to the King of Castile, son of the former and father of the latter, did on March 13, 1513, confer on the three brothers JOHN, Jacob, and Herman DE HUYBERT, and their descendants, the privilege of wearing a sword, with leave to every one of them, to suffer their servants also to wear it, which in those days was a very particular mark of honour and distinction. December 19, 1512, Margaret, Archduchess of Austria, then Governess of the Low-Countries, sent John and Herman de Huybert to Henry VIII, King of England, for some negotiations which she was pleased to trust them with. The Emperor Charles V being at Ziericksee lodged at LIEVEN JACOBSON DE HUYBERT's house, who was then Burgomaster of the city, and *Dike-Grave* (‡) of the land of Schowen. The three brothers settled in the same city of Ziericksee, and built each of them a house there, and these three houses are still the largest and most considerable buildings at Ziericksee (1).

(†) Mr. Bayle says *Weymouth*, which is either a mistake of his, or an error of the press.

(‡) That is, Superintendent of the Moles.

(1) Taken from Memoirs communicated to the Bookseller.

(2) In the Account of Don Philip Prince of Spain's Journey through the Low-Countries, in the year 1548, printed at Antwerp in the year 1552, in folio, pag. 203.

Juan Christoval Calvet de Estrella speaks of this family with praise: *y no poco nombrados*, says he (2), *eran los Huybertos de Cirixea per su valor y riqueza*. i. e. "The Huyberts of Ziericksee were very famous for their courage and riches." The author of the supplement to the Abbot Ursperg's Chronicle, mentions the person who conducted the Archduke Philip into Spain; but the name he gives him differs from that which is given him in the Memoirs I have quoted. However it be, here follows what that author says. *Carolus Quintus rediit in His-*

panias, Johannes Cornelius nauta navigatione decem dierum ab Anglico littore vehit. Hic nauta regem Philippum illustrissimi Augusti patrem, ultima navigatione, in summa tempestate in Hispanias vexerat, & reginam Danorum una cum Principe Ultrajectino in Daniam vexerat. Vir dives & peritissimus rei nauticae (3). i. e. "Charles the Fifth returned into Spain. John Cornelius (a), Captain of a man of war, conducted him thither in ten days sailing from the coast of England. This same Captain had conducted King Philip, the most illustrious Emperor's father, in his last voyage into Spain, during which they met with a very great storm; he had also conducted the Queen of Denmark, with the Prince of Utrecht, into Denmark, he was a rich man, and a very experienced mariner."

§ (*) *John Cornelius.* I suppose the author of that Chronicle mistook *John* for *Jacob*; and imagined that *Cornelius*, which signifies *Cornelius's Son*, was one of this Huybert's Christian names. *Add. Rem.*

[B] I shall mention his three sons.] The eldest is ANTHONY DE HUYBERT, Lord of Kreuningen, Counsellor in the High-Court of Justice. The second is JOHN DE HUYBERT, Lord of Nootgauw. He entered into the army; and his conduct and courage raised him to the post of Lieutenant General of the horse (4). The third, DAVID DE HUYBERT, has been Counsellor in the Council of Flanders, and is now one of the Directors of the East-India Company (5).

[C] *His sons . . . caused an Epitaph to be engraven on his tomb, which the reader will find hereunder.* It contains a short account of his life, and his character expressed in the most noble manner.

(3) Paralipomenes, ad Abbat. Ursperg. apud Anton. Mathæum, *Var. Aevi Aulici*, p. 249.

(4) His Britannic Majesty (King William) raised him to that post after the peace of Ryf-wick.

(5) Taken from the abovementioned Memoirs.

D. M.

Viri Nobiliss. & Amplissimi

P E T R I. D E. H U Y B E R T.

DOMINI. DE. BURG. ET CRAYSTEIN.

antiqua. & multis. imaginibus. clara. familia.

Zeelandica. oriundi.

Natus. est. Middelburgi. propter. ingenii. præstantiam. oris. facundiam. & industriam. singularem. invigilandi. bono. publico. in. Senatum. illius. urbis. cum. vix. adolevisset. est. cooptatus. omnium. expectationi.

(*) He has been Secretary to the city of Amsterdam, and is now *Droffuart* of *Muyden*, and *Baljaar* of *Naarden* and *Grovieland* &c. N. B. *Droffuart* is a kind of Governor, as we might say a Lord Lieutenant of a County, but with a greater power and for life.

We shall add a short supplement to this article which has been communicated to us by that great man's grandson PETER ANTHONY DE HUYBERT (*) Lord of Kreuningen, &c. This supplement is extracted from Luicius's Dutch Dictionary. When Peter de Huybert was sent Deputy from the Province of Zealand to the Council of State of the United Provinces in the year 1687, it was for the remainder of his life, (which was a particular mark of distinction, and a proof of the great esteem the Province of Zealand had for him) and indeed the States of that Province resolved, *that as a reward for the pains and labours he underwent a long while for the service of his country, he should enjoy all his life time the same salary, and be free from house-rent, as when he was Pensionary, and should have the same privileges and immunities; and that it would be acceptable to the States, that he should be present in their assemblies, whenever he happened to be in the Province during their meetings.* He justly deserved such a reward, since he had acted the part of a true patriot, and boldly assisted his country with his good advice in the most critical junctures [A],

as

pectationi. cum. satisfecisset. post Pacem. Monasteriensem. ad. conventum. Mechlinensem. controversiis. non. decisis. inter. Hispanos. &. Batavos. componendis. dein. ad. Reges. Sueciæ. Poloniæ. Daniæ. &. Elect. Brandeb. missus. fuit. publice. gravissimis. de. rebus. iisque. confectis. ex. sententia. Reip. redux. a. Præpot. Ordd. Zealand. respecta. a. fide. &. prudentia. delectus. fuit. ut. iis. esset. ej. secretis. post. advocatus. perpetuus. Reip. Zealand. est. factus. summo. omnium. consensu. dehinc. ab. Unitis. Belgis. Abligatus. fuit. ad. Pacificationem. Bredanam. tandem. ne. tantæ. prudentiæ. fructum. soli. caperent. Zelandi. passî. sunt. eum. adscribi. Consilio. communi. Ordd. Sociatorum. septem. populorum. ut. omnium. utilitatibus. serviret. ad. has. dignitates. illum. evexit. non. ambitio. populi. &. potentium. sed. testata. cunctis. incredibilis. vigilantia. in. obsequiis. stationis. suæ. munitis. summa. consilii. præsentia. in. celeriter. inveniendis. quæ. tempora. Reip. exigebant. mira. dexteritas. in. efficiendis. quæ. in. rem. sapienter. consuluerat. singularis. sagacitas. in. arduis. &. impedimentis. negotiis. explicandis. &. ingens. robor. animi. in. iis. libere. oppugnandis. qui. recte. sententia. de. Rep. ejus. sæpe. auctor. fuit. adversabantur. partes. nec. fecit. nec. fovit. in. omni. varietate. rerum. &. Reip. vicissitudinibus. statum. &. dignitatem. suam. tenuit. illibatam. fatum. vitam. defletus. bonis. omnibus. &. valde. desideratus. O. D. VII. Januar. An. Ch. MD. CC. XVII. ætat. LXXV. mœtissimi. liberi. P. C.

the good advices he had often first proposed for the welfare of the Commonwealth. He never raised nor encouraged parties in the State, and in all the changes and revolutions of the Commonwealth, he always kept his dignity and character without blemish. He died full of days, lamented by all true patriots, and very much regretted, January the 7th 1697. This epitaph his mournful children made for their most beloved father."

[A] He boldly assisted his country with his good advice in the most critical junctures.] We shall give two instances of it, as we find them in the Memoirs that have been communicated to us. The first is as follows: "In the year 1675 the States of Guelderland offered the Prince of Orange (†) the sovereignty of their Provinces, with the title of Duke of Guelderland, and Earl of Zutphen, upon certain conditions. The Prince thought it proper to consult the other Provinces before he accepted that offer. He wrote therefore to the States of Holland, and almost in the same words to those of Zealand and Utrecht; the latter advised the Prince immediately to accept the offer of those of Guelderland. The Prince sent about the same time a letter written with his own hand to the Counsellor-Pensionary, which is still kept in Peter de Huybert's family. This great man had always been of the Prince's party, and had often endeavoured to persuade the Counsellor-Pensionary De Wit to yield some things to the Prince, which could not have been denied him without exposing the State to the danger of being forced by the populace to yield him things of much greater consequence. But yet he was of opinion that if they should advise the Prince to accept the Sovereignty offered him by those of Guelderland, it would be paving the way to make him obtain the Sovereignty of Zealand also. The Prince being acquainted with this opinion of Peter Huybert, desired him to call the States of Zealand together, but not to give his own opinion upon this affair, but to leave the members full liberty to give their votes. De Huybert convened the States accordingly; but as the members were of different opinions, they could not come so soon to a final resolution. At last, however, it was resolved, four votes against two, that the Prince should be dissuaded from accepting the offer of the States of Guelderland; and that notice should be given him of this resolution, in a letter containing the advices of the members, with the arguments alledged to support them: the letter was written to him according to a model, which the Counsellor-Pensionary had drawn up, at the request of the States. The Prince, who being the first and only Nobleman in Zealand, had very great credit there, shewed his discontent in a long letter, wrote March the 18th in the same year; after he had refused the offer of Guelderland, and declared that he would not accept it, when he knew how some of the chief cities of Holland had expressed themselves upon this affair." Here follows another instance of our Huybert's patriotism. "In the year 1684 there were great commotions in Zealand about the levying of sixteen thousand men: the Prince went thither to engage the Zealanders to suffer it. Four of the six cities declared for the raising of those soldiers, and the Prince de- fired that the Counsellor-Pensionary should declare the resolution of the States according to that ma- jority."

(†) William, afterwards King of England.

The Epitaph of that most noble and great man, PETER DE HUYBERT, Lord of Burg and Krayesteyn, descended of an antient and very noble family in Zealand. He was born at Middelburg; and for his eminent genius, great eloquence, and singular care in watching for the public good, he was admitted a member of the City Council, when he was hardly of age: and having fully answered the expectations of his country, he was sent, after the peace of Munster, to the congress that was held at Mechlin, to settle the differences that were not yet determined, between the Spaniards and the Dutch. He was afterwards sent to the Kings of Sweden, Poland, and Denmark, and to the Elector of Brandenburg, upon very important affairs; which having finished to the satisfaction of the Commonwealth, he was appointed by the States of Zealand their Secretary, for they were fully persuaded of his faithfulness and wisdom: some time after he was unanimously chosen Counsellor-Pensionary; he was afterwards sent by the United Provinces to the congress that was held at Breda for a treaty of peace. Lastly, that the Zealanders might not alone reap the benefit of his great wisdom, they suffered him to be sent a Deputy to the Council of State of the seven United Provinces, that he might be serviceable to all. He was not raised to these high dignities by the people's fondness, nor by the power of the great; but by his incredible care in acquitting himself of the duties of his functions, of which all were fully persuaded; by his great presence of mind in quickly advising what was necessary to be done for the public good in every circumstance; by his wonderful ability in executing what he had prudently advised; by his exquisite sagacity in explaining the most difficult and intricate affairs; and by his great courage and strength of mind in opposing those who refused to follow

as we shall relate in the Remark below.

(*) Because this was one of those affairs which cannot be determined but by an unanimous consent.

“ But he protested that this was against his oath, against his commission, and against the union of the cities *. Whereupon the Prince himself took the votes, and the next day he delivered to the States a writing drawn up by way of apology, in which it was asserted, that the cities had agreed to determine this affair of raising soldiers, by a majority of votes : and thus this affair ended. All the cities kept silent, except Middelberg, which protested, and soon after Zeiricksee disapproved her Deputies conduct in this affair. As Huybert by such behaviour gained a bad reputation at the Stadt-

holder's court, he was prevailed upon to resign his post of Counsellor-Pensionary in the year 1687 ; but was fully rewarded for it, as we have seen in the text of this supplement.

We shall observe here that there is now but one branch of the males of this family extant ; namely, that of *Anthony de Huybert*, mentioned by Mr. Bayle : he died in the year 1702, leaving one son behind him, *PETER ANTHONY DE HUYBERT* still living, who communicated this supplement to us ; he has several sons.

HUYGENS (CHRISTIAN) one of the greatest Mathematicians and Astronomers of the seventeenth Century [A], was son of Constantine Huygens Lord of Zuylichem, who had served three successive Princes of Orange in the quality of Secretary. His mother's name was *Sufannah van Baerle*. He was born at the Hague in Holland April the 14th 1629. His inclination to the Mathematics appeared very early. His application to the Latin and Greek Languages did not prevent him from making a surprizing

[A] One of the greatest Mathematicians and Astronomers of the seventeenth century.] This appears from his writings which are as follow. I. *Theoremata de Quadraturâ Hyperboles, Ellipsis, & Circuli, ex dato portionum Gravitatis Centro. Quibus subjuncta est Ætiraus Cyclometria Cl. V. Gregorii a S. Vincentio edita anno 1647. Cum assertione hujus Ætiraus. Leyden 1651 in 4to.* It is likewise inserted among his *Opera Varia*, printed at Leyden 1724. This is the first work which our author published, and shewed what might be expected from him afterwards. II. *De Circuli magnitudine inventa. Accedunt Problematum quorundam illustrium construtiones. Leyden 1654 in 4to.* Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 351. III. *De Saturni Lunâ observatio nova. Hague 1656 in 4to.* Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 523. IV. *Ad Cl. V. Francisc. Xaverium Ainscom S. J. Epistola, quâ diluunturea, quibus Ætiraus Cyclometria Gregorii a S. Vincentio impugnata fuit. Hague 1656 in 4to.* Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 341. V. *De Ratiociniis in Ludo Aleæ: published at the end of Francis Schooten's book, intitled, Exercitationum Mathematicarum Libri quinq; Leyden 1657 in 4to.* Reprinted in his *Opera Varia*. Our author had written this in Low Dutch, and Schooten, who had been his Master in Mathematics, translated it into Latin, in order to shew the usefulness of Algebra. Huygens is the first, who treated of this subject, which has since been handled by Monsieur Sauveur, Bernoulli, and Montmort in a more exact manner. VI. *Brevis Institutio de usu Horologiorum ad inveniendas Longitudines. He wrote this in Low Dutch, and it was printed in that Language in 1657.* It is printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 193. VII. *Horologium. Hague 1658 in 4to.* Huygens had exhibited in the preceding work a model of a new invented Pendulum ; but as some persons envious of his reputation were desirous to deprive him of the honour of the invention, he wrote this book to explain the construction of it, and to shew, that it was very different from the Pendulum of Astronomers invented by Galileo. It is reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 1. VIII. *Systema Saturnium, sive de Causis mirandorum Saturni Phænomenon, & comite ejus Planatâ novo. Hague 1659 in 4to.* Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 553. Galileo had endeavoured to explain some of the surprizing Phænomena of the Planet Saturn. He had at first perceived two stars, which attended it ; and some time after he was amazed to find them disappear. Huygens being very desirous to account for these changes, perfected the Telescopes, and made himself glasses, by which he might view objects at the greatest distance. He applied himself then to observe all the Phases and Appearances of Saturn, and drew up a Journal of all the different aspects of that Planet, which vary extremely. He discovered the two Satellites, which attend it, and after a long course of observations perceived that the Planet was surrounded with a solid and permanent ring, which never changes its situation, though Saturn turns upon its center in the space of less than sixteen days. He discovered also a third Satellite of Jupiter, which till then had escaped the observation of the Astronomers. This new

system gained him the esteem of the most eminent persons in that science. IX. *Systema Saturnium ; cum assertione Systematis sui. Hague 1659 in 4to.* Reprinted in his *Opera Varia* p. 619. This tract is designed as an answer to a piece, which had attacked his system under this title ; *Estacii de Divinis Septempedani in Systema Saturnium Christiani Hugenii.* Hague 1660 in 4to. X. *Lettre du 5 Février 1665 sur les Horloges à Pendule.* Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* for February the 23d 1665. XI. *Lettre du 26 Février 1665 sur le même sujet.* Inserted in the same *Journal* for March the 16th 1665, and in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 213. XII. *Relation d'une Observation faite dans la Bibliotheque du Roy à Paris le 12 May 1664 d'un Halo, ou Couronne à l'entour du Soleil, avec un discours de la cause de ces Meteores & de celles de Perelles.* Paris 1667 in 4to. Our author read the discourse, which accompanied this relation, in an assembly of learned men in the King's library at Paris. It is printed in Latin among his *Opuscula Posthuma*. XIII. *Examen du Livre de M. Gregory, intitulé: Vera Circuli & Hyperboles Quadratura.* Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of July the 2d 1668. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 463. XIV. *Lettre à l'Auteur du Journal des Sçavans touchant la Réponse que M. Gregory a faite à l'examen du Livre, intitulé: Vera Circuli & Hyperboles Quadratura.* Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of November the 12th 1688. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 472. Our author in his *Examen* had asserted, that there were several mistakes in the demonstration, which Mr. James Gregory thought he had given of the impossibility of the Analytical Quadrature of the Circle ; and Mr. Gregory published an answer to his exceptions in the *Philosophical Transactions*. This engaged Mr. Huygens to write this letter, to which Mr. Gregory wrote a reply printed in the same *Transactions*. His book and his two replies are inserted among the *Opera Varia* of our author. XV. *Observation de Saturne fait à la Bibliotheque du Roy.* Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of February the 11th 1669. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 637. XVI. *Lettre sur le mouvement, qui est produit par le rencontre des corps.* Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of March the 18th 1699. Printed in Latin among his *Opera Posthuma*. XVII. *Lettre touchant la Lunette Catoptrique de M. Newton.* Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* for February the 29th 1672. Printed in Latin in his *Opera Varia* p. 757. XVIII. *Lettre touchant les Phænomenes de l'eau purgée d'air.* Inserted in the same *Journal* for July 1672 : and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 769. XIX. *Lettre touchant la Figure de la Planete de Saturne.* Inserted in the same *Journal* for December the 12th 1672, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 638. XX. *Lettre touchant une nouvelle maniere de Barometre qu'il a inventée.* Inserted in the same *Journal* for the same day ; and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 276. XXI. *Horologium Oscillatorium ; sive de Motu Pendularum ad Horologia aptato, Demonstrationes Geometricæ.* Paris 1673 in folio, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 27. This book contains the five following

surprising progress at nine years of age in Music, Arithmetic, and Geography, in which he was instructed by his father. At thirteen years of age he was put upon the study of Mechanics, for which he appeared to have a peculiar genius: Two years after, viz. in 1644, he had the assistance of a master of Mathematics, under whom he made a vast proficiency in a short space of time. The year following he went to study Law in the University of Leyden under the learned Civilian Vinnius; but this study did not engage him so fully, but that he continued that of Mathematics under Professor Schooten. He left this University at the end of one year, and went to Breda, where an University had just been erected, the direction of which had been given to his father. He staid in that city in 1646 and the two following years. After his return to the Hague in 1649 he went to Holstein and Denmark in the retinue of Henry Count of Nassau; and was extremely desirous of going to Sweden, in order to see Des Cartes; but the short stay of the

lowing discoursés; 1. *Descriptio Horologii Oscillatorii*.
 2. *De Descensu gravium, & motu eorum in Cycloide*.
 3. *De Evolutione & Dimensione Linearum Curvarum*.
 4. *De Centro Oscillationis seu Agitationis*. 5. *Horologii secundi constructio, & Theoremata de vi centrifugâ*.
 XXII. *Lettre touchant une nouvelle Invention d'Horloges très-justes & très portatives*. Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* for August the 15th 1678, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 764. XXIV. *Nouvelle Invention d'un Niveau à Lunette, qui porte la preuve avec soi, & que l'on verifie & redresse d'un seul Endroit*. Inserted in the same *Journal* for January the 29th 1680, and printed among his *Opera Varia* p. 254. XXV. *Demonstration de la justesse de ce Niveau*. Inserted in the same *Journal* of February the 26th 1680, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 258. XXVI. *Réponse à une Remarque faite par M. l'Abbé de Catelan contre sa proposition 4^e. du Traité des Centres du Balancement*. Inserted in the same *Journal* for June the 29th, 1682, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 222. The Abbé de Catelan's remark, which gave occasion to this answer, was published in the first *Journal* of the same year. The Abbé replied to Mr. Huygens in two pieces, one inserted in the *Journal* of July the 20th following, and the other in that of September the 14th: and in that of Sept. 7th, the same year he published *Objection contre le mouvement Cycloide des Pendules*. Several learned Mathematicians interested themselves in this dispute; and Mr. Bernoulli of Basil seeing that Mr. Huygens had made no reply to the Abbé de Catelan, published one for him in a letter inserted in the *Journal* of April the 24th 1684. XXVII. *Réponse à la Replique de M. l'Abbé Catelan touchant les Centres d'agitation*. Inserted in the *Journal des Sçavans* of July the 3d 1684, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 231. It does not appear that the Abbé de Catelan replied to Mr. Huygens; but he answered Mr. Bernoulli in a piece inserted in the *Journal* of September the 11th 1684. Mr. Bernoulli was not silent, but published a reply in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipzig for the year 1686, p. 356. Six years after this the Marquis de l'Hospital having seen this piece of Mr. Bernoulli, wrote to Mr. Huygens upon that subject. His letter is published in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* for June 1690, p. 440. XXVIII. *Remarques de M. Huygens sur la Lettre de M. le Marquis de l'Hospital & sur l'Ecrit de M. Bernoulli*. Inserted in the same work, p. 449; and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 246. These are all the pieces which have been published upon this dispute. They are all printed in Latin among Mr. Huygens's *Opera Varia*. XXIX. *Solutio du Problème proposé par M. de Leibnitz: Trouver une Signe de Descende, dans laquelle le Corps pesant descende uniformement, & approche également de l'Horison en tems égaux*. Published in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* of October 1687, p. 1110, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 290. XXX. *Astroscopia compendiaris, Tubi Optici molimine liberata*. Hague 1684 in 4to. Reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 261. XXXI. *Traité de la Luminiere, où sont expliquées les Causes de ce qui arrive dans la Reflexion & dans la Refraction, & particulièrement dans l'étrange Réfraction du Cristal d'Islande, avec un Discours de la Cause de la Pesanteur*. Leyden 1690 in 4to, and printed in Latin among his *Opera varia*, Tom. I. p. 1. XXXII. *Lettre touchant le Cycle Harmonique*. Inserted in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* of October 1691, p. 78, and

reprinted in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 745. XXXIII. *Solutio Problematis de Lineâ Catenariâ*; published in the *Acta Eruditorum* for the year 1691, p. 281, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 292. XXXIV. *Construction d'un Problème de Geometrie: Trouver une Ligne égale à une partie donnée de la Ligne Logarithmique*: published in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* for February 1693, p. 244; and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia*, p. 507. XXXV. *De Problemate Bernoulliano in Actis Lipsiensibus anni 1693. proposito*. Published in the *Acta Eruditorum* of the same year, p. 475, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia*, p. 516. XXXVI. *Constructio Universalis Problematis à Joanne Bernoullio proposita*. Published in the *Acta Eruditorum* of the year 1694, p. 338, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 518. XXXVII. *Epistola ad G. G. Leibnitium, upon the same subject*; inserted in the same place. XXXVIII. *Remarque sur le Livre de la Manœuvre des Vaisseaux de M. Renau*. Inserted in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Tom. 25, p. 195, and in the *Journal des Sçavans* for May the 9th 1695, and printed in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 292. Mr. Renau having answered this remark in the *Journal* of the 16th and 23d of May 1695, Mr. Huygens published, XXXIX, *Replique à la Réponse de M. Renau*; inserted in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans* for April 1694, p. 355, and reprinted in Latin among his *Opera Varia* p. 305. XL. *ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΩΡΟΣ, sive de Terris Cœlestibus eorumque ornatu conjectura, ad Constantinum Fratrem, Gulielmo III. Magnæ Britannicæ Regi a Secretis*. Hague 1698 in 4to, and reprinted among his *Opera Varia* p. 641, and translated into French under the title of *Nouveau Traité de la Pluralité des Mondes par feu M. Huygens, traduit du Latin en François par M. D. Paris 1702 in 12mo*. The translator of this book is Monsieur du Four, who has prefixed to it a very learned and ingenious preface. The Journalists of *Trevoux* had no reason to doubt whether this work was Mr. Huygens's; since it is incontestably his, and he had even printed the first sheet during his life, but was prevented by death from proceeding any further. He endeavours to shew in it, that it is probable, that the Planets are inhabited. XLI. In the collection published under the title of *Divers Ouvrages de Mathématique & de Physique par Messieurs de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, printed at Paris 1693 in fol. there are some pieces of our author, which have been reprinted among his *Opera Varia*. XLII. *Opuscula Postuma, quæ continent Dioptricam, Commentarios de Vitris figurandis, Dissertationem de Coronâ & Parheliis, Traçatum de Motu & de Vi centrifugâ, Descriptionem Automati Planetarii*. Leyden 1703 in 4to. Mr. Huygens had left by will to the University of Leyden his Mathematical writings, and requested Messieurs de Volder and Fullenius, the former of whom was Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Leyden, and the other at Francker, to examine these works, and publish what they should think proper. This is what they have done in this volume. Mr. Huygens had written in Low Dutch the second of the tracts, which it contains, and which relates to the art of forming and polishing Telescope-glasses, to which he had greatly applied himself; but Dr. Boerhaave, Professor of Physic at Leyden, had taken the pains to translate it into Latin. XLIII. *Opera Varia*. Leyden 1724 in 4to. This collection, which contains the greatest part of the pieces, which Mr. Huygens had published separately, is divided into four parts; the first of which contains the pieces relating

the Count in Denmark would not permit him. He travelled into France in 1655, and took the degree of Doctor of Law at Angers. He returned to that Kingdom in 1660, and from thence passed over to England the year following. He took a third journey to France in 1663. His merit became so conspicuous in that Kingdom, that Monsieur Colbert resolved to fix him at Paris by settling a considerable pension upon him. Mr. Huygens consented to it, and resided at Paris from 1666 to 1681. But his health, which had obliged him in 1670 and 1675 to visit his native air, at last forced him to leave France intirely, and return to Holland. He died at the Hague June the 8th 1695, aged sixty six years. He had been chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society at London in 1663, and a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris during his residence in that city. His whole life was spent in curious and useful researches. He loved a quiet and studious manner of life. He frequently retired into the country, in order to prevent interruption; but he did not at all contract that four and morose temper and behaviour, which are commonly the effects of solitude and retirement (a).

(a) See his *Life* prefixed to his *Opera Varia*, and *Bisnoge de Baulval's Hist. des Ouvrages des Savants*, tom. 11. Août, 1695, Art. 9. 2d edit. 1698.

lating to Mechanics; the second, those relating to Geometry; the third, those relating to Astronomy; and the fourth, those, which could not be ranged under any of these titles. Mr. Gravesande had the care of this edition, in which he has inserted several additions to the pieces contained in it, extracted from our author's manuscripts. The pieces, which were originally in French or Low Dutch, were translated into Latin by John Oosterdyk Schacht, son of a Professor of Physic at Leyden. XLIV. *Opera Reliqua*. Amsterdam 1728 in 4to, two Tomes. This new collection was published also by Mr. Gravesande. The first Tome contains the Treatises of Light and Gravity, which the Booksellers procured to be translated into Latin; but that translation not being exact, it was carefully revised by the translator of the other works of Mr. Huygens. The second Tome contains his *Posthumous Works*, which had been published in 1703, but with some corrections and additions. XLV. In the *Philosophical Transactions* we have the following pieces of his. 1. *An Observation of Saturn the 17th of August 1668*. Numb. 45, p. 900. 2. *A Summary Account of the Laws of Motion*: Numb. 46, p. 925. 3. *Instructions concerning the use of Pendulum Watches for finding the Longitude at Sea, together with a Method of a Journal for such Watches*: Numb. 47, p. 937. 4. *Observation of an Halo or Circle about the Sun at Paris May the 12th 1667, together with a Discourse concerning the Cause of these Meteors; as also that of Parhelia or Mock-Suns*: Numb. 60, p. 1065. 5. *Some Communications confirming the present appearance of the Ring about Saturn;*

by Huygens and Hooke: Numb. 65, p. 2093. 6. *Concerning the Observation of Saturn shortly to be without the Ansa or Arms*: Numb. 78, p. 3026. 7. *An Attempt to render the Cause of that odd Phenomenon of the Quicksilver's remaining suspended far above the usual Height in the Torricellian Experiment*: Numb. 86, p. 5027. 8. *Some Letters exchanged between Monsieur Slysius and Huygens about a considerable Optic Problem of Albaxen*: Numb. 97, p. 6119. 9. *A Continuation of the Optic Problem of Albaxen*: Numb. 98, p. 6140. 10. *Thoughts concerning Mr. Hooke's Observations for proving the Motion of the Earth, mentioned Numb. 101*: Numb. 105, p. 89. 11. *Concerning a new Invention of his of very exact and portative Watches*: Numb. 112, p. 272. 12. *Some Experiments made in the Air-pump upon Plants: together with a way of taking exhausted Receivers away from off the said Engine: by Huygens and Papin*: Numb. 120, p. 477. 13. *A Continuation of the Experiments made in the Air-pump by Huygens and Papin*: Numb. 121, p. 492. XLVI. In the register of the manuscripts of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris there is a Manuscript Treatise of the Load-stone, written by our author. XLVII. In the hands of William Jones Esq; F. R. S. is an original letter of Mr. Huygens dated at the Hague August the 18th 1662, Concerning the Weight of the Air at a given Height, with a Rule to find that Height; and likewise the Weight of the Air at any place being given, to find the Height of that Place. XLVIII. In the Register Books of the Royal Society there are a great many pieces of our author never yet published. T.

(a) *Lives of all the Lords Chancellors, Lords Keepers, and Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England*. By an impartial hand, vol. 1. in the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, pag. 1. edit. London 1708 in 8vo. (b) Wood, *Art. Oxon* vol. 2. col. 533. 2d edit. London 1721.

HYDE (EDWARD), Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was son of Henry Hyde of Pyrton in Wiltshire [A], by Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Langford of Trobridge in the same county. He was born at Dinton near Hindon in Wiltshire on the 16th of February 1608 (a). In Lent Term 1622 he became a student of Magdalen Hall in the University of Oxford (b). February the 14th 1625 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c); but failing of a Fellowship of Exeter College, for which he stood (d), he removed to the Middle Temple, where he studied the Laws for several years (e). In 1633 he was one of the chief managers of the Masque presented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to their Majesties at Whitehall on Candlemas Day [B]. In the Parliament, which began at Westminster April the 10th 1640, he served as Burgefs for Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire [C]. But that Parliament being soon after

(c) *Idem*, *F. R. S.* *Oxon*. vol. 1. col. 231. (d) *Idem*, *Art. Oxon*. ubi supra. (e) *Idem*, *ibid.* and *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, prefixed to *A Collection of several valuable pieces of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon*, pag. 2. edit. London 1727 in 8vo.

(1) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, pag. 1, 2. prefixed to *A Collection of several Pieces of the Right Hon. Edward Earl of Clarendon*, edit. London 1727 in 8vo. (2) *Ibid*. But Mr. Wood, *Art. Ox.* vol. 2. col. 532. and the author of *The Lives of the Lords Chancellors, &c.* in the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. 1. pag. 1. assert, that Mr. Henry Hyde, was third son of Mr. Laurence Hyde.

[A] Son of Henry Hyde of Pyrton in Wiltshire.] This Gentleman was descended of an antient family, originally of Cheshire (1), and was second (2) son of Laurence Hyde of Guffage St. Michael in Dorsetshire; whose fourth son was Sir Alexander Hyde of Salisbury, father of Dr. Hyde Bishop of Salisbury; Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Henry Hyde, beheaded under Cromwell, and eight other sons, all remarkable men, and raised by the Chancellor (3).

[B] In 1633 he was one of the chief managers of the Masque presented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to their Majesties at Whitehall on Candlemas Day.] Mr. Whitelocke tells us (4), that this Masque was held "more reasonable, because it would manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and serve to confute his *Histrionastix* against Interludes." The managers chosen for the Middle Temple were Mr. Hyde and Mr. Bulltrode Whitelocke;

for the Inner Temple Sir Edward Herbert and Mr. Selden; for Lincolns-Inn Mr. Noy the Attorney General and Mr. Gerling; and for Grays-Inn Sir John Finch and another Gentleman.

[C] Served as Burgefs for Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire.] In this Parliament Mr. Hyde distinguished himself upon the following occasion. The King in a message to the House of Commons had acquainted them, that as he heard the ship-money was unwillingly submitted to by the people, he would for the future release it in such a manner as the Parliament should advise, if they would grant him twelve subsidies to be paid in three years. This occasioned great debates that day and the next, when Mr. Hamden seeing the matter ripe for the question, desired it might be put, "whether the House should comply with the proposition made by the King, as it was contained in the message?" Hereupon Serjeant Gianville, the Speaker, (for the House was then in a Committee) endeavoured in

(3) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde*, ubi supra.

(4) *Memorials of the English Affairs*, pag. 19. edit. London 1731.

(f) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors, &c.* pag. 38. and Wood, *Atb.* Oxon. col. 533.

after dissolved, he was chosen for Saltash in Cornwall in the long Parliament, which began November the 3d the same year. His abilities began now to be very much taken notice of, and he was employed in several Committees to examine into divers grievances [D]; but at last being dissatisfied with the proceedings in the Parliament, he retired to his Majesty, and was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Privy Counsellor, and Knight (f). The Parliament were so highly incensed at Sir Edward's leaving them, that

in a pathetic speech to persuade them to comply with the King, and so reconcile him to Parliaments for ever. No speech ever united the inclinations of a popular Council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the question had been presently put, it was believed, that few would have opposed it. But after a short silence, the other side recovering new courage, called again with some earnestness, that Mr. Hamden's question should be put, which being like to meet with a concurrence, Mr. Hyde being very solicitous to keep things in some tolerable calmness, then stood up, and giving his reasons for his dislike to that question, proposed, "that to the end every man might freely give his Yea or No, the question might be put only upon giving the King a supply; and if this was carried, another might be put upon the manner and proportion; if not, it would have the same effect with the other proposed by Mr. Hamden." This, after it had been some time opposed and diverted by other propositions; which were answered by Mr. Hyde, would, as it was generally believed, have been put and carried in the affirmative, though positively opposed by Herbert the Solicitor General, if Sir H. Vane the Secretary had not stood up, and assured them as from his Majesty, that if they should pass a vote for a supply, and not in the proportion proposed in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him; and therefore desired, that the question might be laid aside. This being again urged by the Solicitor General, and it being near five in the afternoon, it was readily consented to, that the House should adjourn to the next morning, at which they were suddenly dissolved; and within an hour after Mr. Hyde met Mr. St. John, who was seldom known to smile, but then had a most cheerful aspect, and observing Mr. Hyde melancholy, asked him, *What troubled him?* who answered, "the same, he believed, that troubled most good men, that in a time of so much confusion so wise a Parliament should be so imprudently dissolved." Mr. St. John replied somewhat warmly, "that all was well; that things must grow worse before they would grow better; and that that Parliament would never have done what was requisite (5)." (5) *History of the Rebellion, B. 2.*

[D] *Employed in several Committees to examine into divers grievances.* Being appointed in April 1641, Chairman of the Committee which took into consideration the state of the court of York, of which the Earl of Strafford had been for some years President; he reported the case to the house; upon which it was resolved, that the commissions and instructions, whereby the President and Council in the north exercised a jurisdiction, were illegal both in creation and execution; and that it was unprofitable to his Majesty, and inconvenient and grievous to his subjects in these parts. Mr. Hyde being chosen hereupon to manage the conference with the Lords touching the same court, made a very eloquent speech, which was printed in *Rusworth's Collections* (6). But though he was zealous for the redressing of the grievances of the nation, yet he was on the other hand as watchful for the security of the established church; and a short bill being brought in to take away the Bishops vote in Parliament, and to leave them out of all commissions of the peace, or any thing that had relation to temporal affairs, he was very earnest for throwing it out, and said, "that from the time that Parliaments begun, Bishops had always been a part of it. That if they were taken out, there was no body left to represent the clergy; which would introduce another piece of injustice, which no other part of the Kingdom could complain of, who being all represented in Parliament, were bound to submit to whatever was enacted there, because it was, upon the matter, with their own consent; whereas if the bill was carried, there was no body left to represent the clergy, and yet they must be bound by their determination." When he had done, the Lord Falkland, who always sat

next to him, which was so much observed, that if they came not in together, as they usually did, every body left the place for him, who was absent, stood up, and declared, that he was of another opinion; and that he never thought, that the constitution of the Kingdom would be violated by the passing that act; and that he had heard many of the Clergy protest, that they would not own themselves represented by the Bishops; but if that could be made appear, it was to be presumed, that the House of Peers, among whom they sat and had their votes, would throw it out; and so facetiously answering some other particulars, he concluded for passing the act (7). Mr. Hyde was averse to the severe proceedings against the Earl of Strafford; but though those Lords and Commoners who were supposed to favour that Nobleman, were branded with the name of *Straffordians* and betrayers of their country, and a list of them was posted up at the corner of the wall of Sir William Brouncker's house in the Old-Palace-Yard, Westminster, yet such was the prudence of Mr. Hyde in this affair, that he was not included amongst them (8). When the Commons had drawn up a remonstrance of all the grievances since the beginning of the King's reign, and Mr. Hamden moved for an order for the immediate printing of it, Mr. Hyde opposed that motion with so much vigour, that he was committed to the Tower, where continuing some days, he afterwards resumed his place in the House (9). The Commons having prepared a charge against the Lord Chief Baron Davenport, Baron Weston, and Baron Trevor, Mr. Hyde was sent up with the impeachment to the Lords, to whom he made an excellent speech; which begins thus: "My Lords, There cannot be a greater instance of a sick and languishing Commonwealth, than the business of this day. Good God! how have the guilty these late years been punished, when the judges themselves have been such delinquents! It is no marvel, that an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary power, like a torrent, hath broken in upon us, when our banks and our bulwarks, the laws, were in the custody of such persons. Men, who had left their innocence, could not preserve their courage; nor could we look that they, who had so visibly undone us, themselves should have the virtue or credit to rescue us from the oppression of other men. It was said by one, who always spoke excellently, *that the twelve Judges were like the twelve lions under the throne of Solomon*; under the throne in obedience, but yet lions. Your Lordships shall this day hear of six, who (be they what they will else) were no lions; who upon vulgar fear delivered up their precious forts they were trusted with, almost without assault, and in a tame easy trance of flattery and servitude, lost and forfeited (shamefully forfeited) that reputation, awe, and reverence, which the wisdom, courage, and gravity of their venerable predecessors had contracted and fastened to the places they now hold, and even rendered that study and profession, which in all ages hath been, and I hope, now shall be of an honourable estimation, so contemptible and vile, that had not this blessed day come, all men would have had that quarrel to the law itself, which Marius had to the Greek tongue, who thought it a mockery to learn that language, the masters whereof lived in bondage under others. And I appeal to these unhappy Gentlemen themselves, with what a strange negligence, scorn, and indignation, the faces of all men, even of the meanest, have been directed towards them, since (to call it no worse) that fatal declension of their understanding in those judgments, of which they stand here charged before your Lordships." He concludes thus: "If the excellent, envied constitution of this Kingdom hath been of late distempered, your Lordships see the causes. If the sweet harmony between the King's protection and the subjects obedience hath unlucki-

(7) *History of the Rebellion, lib. 3.*

(8) *Lives of the Lord Chancellors, &c.* pag. 19.

(9) *History of the Rebellion, B. 4.*

(6) Vol. 1. Part 2.

(g) *Memorials of the English Affairs.* By Bulstrode Whitelocke Esq; pag. 62. edit. London 1732.

(b) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors, &c.* pag. 46.

(i) *Ibid.* pag. 46. 70.

that in their instructions to their General, the Earl of Essex, they excepted him, with a few others, from any grace or favour from them (g). In January 1643 he sat as a member of the Parliament assembled at Oxford; and in November 1644 he was one of the King's Commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. Not long after this treaty, the King sending the Prince of Wales into the West to have the Superintendency of the affairs in those parts, Sir Edward Hyde, and the Lords Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper were appointed to attend his Highness, and to be of his Council (b). Upon the declining of the King's cause, he, with the Lords Capel and Colepepper, fled from Pendennis Castle in Cornwall to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, and afterwards in 1648 to France (i); where, after the death of King Charles I, he was sworn of the Privy Council to Charles II. In November 1649, he and the Lord Cottington were sent Ambassadors extraordinary into Spain. In 1657 he was constituted Lord High Chancellor of England. Upon the death of Cromwell, and the divisions in England, General Monk being supposed to have a favourable view to the King, his Majesty's friends in England began to entertain some hopes of a change; and the year before the Restoration, the Lord Chancellor was indefatigable in writing letters, declarations, &c. to forward it [E], especially during those six months in which the King was absent from Brussels. But while these things were agitating, the Duke of York falling in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, the Lord Chancellor's eldest daughter, resolved to marry her, which, with all imaginable secrecy both from the King and Chancellor, he performed [F]. Upon the Restoration the Chancellor revisited his native country; and, as he had been the greatest sharer of his master's sufferings, he had a share proportionable of his glory. October the 27th 1660 he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and soon after created Baron of Hindon in Wiltshire, Viscount Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltshire; and, on the death of Henry Lord Falkland, Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire. In the Convention he made a speech by the King's order, desiring a bill of oblivion might be brought in, as the best method to engage his Majesty to his subjects [G]. He took care likewise neither to load the King's prerogative, nor encroach upon the liberties of the people; and therefore would not set aside the *Petition of Right*, nor endeavour to raise the Star-Chamber or High-Commission Courts again, when it was in his power; nor did he attempt to repeal the bill for triennial Parliaments; though at the same time he took care to repeal all things extorted by the long Parliament from King Charles I, and to settle the militia affairs. But other acts relating to the prerogative he did not touch upon, as tonnage, poundage, ship-money, &c. And when he might have obtained two millions for the standing revenue, he asked but 1200000 *l. per ann.* which he thought would still put the King upon necessity of having recourse to his Parliaments (k). This just conduct is said to be occasioned by a domestic accident [H]. In 1662 he is said to have opposed the proposal for the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal [I], and the sale of

(k) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde, pag. 23, 29.*

Dunkirk.

ly suffered interruption; if the royal justice and honour of the best of Kings have been mistaken by his people; if the duty and affection of the most faithful and loyal nation have been suspected by their gracious Sovereign; if by these misrepresentations and these misunderstandings the King and people have been robbed of the delight and comfort of each other, and the blessed peace of this Island been shaken and frightened into tumults and commotions, into the poverty, though not into the rage of war, as a people prepared for destruction and desolation; these are the men actively or passively, by doing or not doing, have brought this upon us: *Mijera Servitus falso Pax vocatur; ubi judicia deficiunt, incipit Bellum.*"

[E] *Indefatigable in writing letters, declarations, &c. to forward it.* A great many of his letters to that purpose are printed in the Appendix to *Vita Johannis Barwick, S. P. T.* printed at London, 1721, in 8vo.

[F] *Which with all imaginable secrecy both from the King and Chancellor he performed.* It was done so secretly, that after the Restoration, when the Lady's pregnancy appeared, the Duke was attacked by several of his friends in private with so much vigour and resentment, that he was brought under the strongest temptations to disown the obligation. But the King, though much surprized at the affair, very generously preserved the honour of an excellent servant, who had not been at first privy to it, and assured him, that *this accident should not lessen the esteem and favour he had for him* (10).

[G] *In the convention he made a speech by the King's order, desiring a bill of oblivion might be brought in, as the best method to engage his Majesty to his subjects.* The Chancellor was charged with advising the King, that not only clemency, but signal favour should be shewn towards those, who had opposed his father and

himself; and at the same time a neglect of those, who had adhered to the Royal Cause; and this upon the following maxim, "that to make his enemies friends, would secure them to him; and the Loyalists had given such proofs of unchanged fidelity, that forgetfulness, and even persecution itself, could never alter their dictates of honour and conscience, and therefore might safely be put off with the satisfaction of having done their duty (11)." This the Chancellor solemnly denied to the last.

[H] *This just conduct is said to have been occasioned by a domestic accident.* Bishop Burnet informs us (12), that "when he first began to grow eminent in his profession of the Law, he went down to visit his father in Wiltshire; who one day, as they were walking in the fields together, observed to him, that men of his profession were apt to stretch the prerogative too far, and injure liberty; but charged him, if ever he came to any eminence in his profession, never to sacrifice the laws and liberty of his country to his own interest, or the will of his Prince. He repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a fit of Apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours; and this advice had so lasting an influence on him, that he ever after observed and pursued (13) *Ibid.* "it."

[I] *He is said to have opposed the proposal for the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal.* This is asserted by Bishop Burnet (14), Archdeacon Echarde (14), Coke in his *Detention*, and other writers. But they are contradicted by the late Lord Lansdown (15), who observes that "the King was newly restored to dominions wasted and impoverished by a long ruinous civil-war. The highest bidder in ready money to supply the necessities of state was the alliance most likely to prevail. Whatever Portugal proposed to give, Spain offered as much; but the performance of promise on that side was suspected; Portugal

(11) *Life of the Lord Chancellor Hyde, pag. 26, 27. and Echarde, ubi supra.*

(12) *History of his own Time, vol. 1. B. 2.*

(14) *History of England.*

(15) *Vindication of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, from some Calumnies of Dr. Burnet, and from mistakes of Dr. Echarde, in relation to the Sale of Dunkirk, and the Portugal Match.*

(10) Echarde's *History of England, ad ann. 1660, B. 1. c. 1.*

Dunkirk [K]. The year following he had articles of high-treason exhibited against him by the Earl of Bristol, but they were rejected by the House of Lords [L]. In 1664

“ was thought the surest bargain, and had the preference. The King had a very ample portion with the Infanta; but being at the same time engaged in honour to stand by his brother-in-law against Spain, he was soon reduced to seek expedients to answer the demands of that service. The readiest that offered was the sale of Dunkirk; an act of necessity, not choice in the Earl of Clarendon.” His Lordship, to prove that the Chancellor proposed this marriage, quotes a long passage from the Memoirs of Portugal, written by the Sieur d’Abblancourt, Resident from France at the Court of Portugal, when this marriage proposal was made, in which France itself, says his Lordship, was too much interested not to be well informed. Thomas Burnet, Esq; in his Remarks upon the Right Honourable the Lord Lansdowne’s Letter to the author of the Reflections Historical and Political, &c. as far as relates to Bishop Burnet, has made some observations on his Lordship’s tract above quoted. And Mr. Thomas Carte (16) citing a relation of Dr. Hough, the present Bishop of Worcester, from the Duke of Ormonde’s mouth, and Sir Robert Southwell, affirms, that the King’s resolution to marry the Infanta, “ was taken without the knowledge, either of the Duke of Ormonde, or the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. The King first communicated it to the Chancellor, and told him at the same time, that he had agreed to the match. The Chancellor said, he hoped his Majesty was not determined, for there were several things deserved to be maturely considered in that affair, which he was ready to offer, if his Majesty had not prevented it by telling him, that he was absolutely determined. The Chancellor acquainting the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Southampton with the matter, it was agreed among them, that he should desire the King, to grant them all three an audience together. This was granted: they attended him in the room which was called *Tam Chiffinch’s Closet*, where the rarities stood; and gave him their reasons against the match. The Chancellor opened the subject, and particularly urged, not only what the Spaniards had objected as to the barrenness of the Lady proposed, but the accounts and reasons, which he had from other hands to believe, that the Infanta would never prove with child. That if it proved so in the event, it would be a great infelicity to the whole Kingdom; and this was a consideration so very important, that the Portugal Minister ought to be talked to plainly on the subject, and the matter seriously examined. The King replied, that he was satisfied, that accusation came originally from the malice of the Spaniards, and was without foundation; and in fine, told them, he had proceeded so far in the matter, that it was now too late for him to retreat, and he must go on with the treaty. During this audience, upon their remonstrating against his marrying a Roman Catholic wife, the King asked, *Where is there a Protestant fit for me to marry?* It was said, his Majesty could be at no loss in that point, for there were Ladies enough in Germany of that religion, and of families fit for the alliance of any Prince. *Cods fish*, says the King, *they are all foggy, and I cannot like any one of them for a wife.* Upon this answer, which excluded at once all Protestants that could be proposed, the Duke of Ormonde was clearly convinced, that the resolution was taken for the King to marry none but a Roman Catholic. It was a point indeed, which his mother, and those of that religion, which were in the secret of the change he had made in his, had extremely at heart, and thought of the utmost consequence, as well to fix him theirs, as to advance the cause of Catholicity.”

[K] *And the sale of Dunkirk*] Bishop Burnet (17) and Archdeacon Echard absolutely acquit the Chancellor of having any hand in that sale. But the Lord Lansdowne (18) cites the *Letters and Negotiations of Count d’Estrades*, who was the sole manager on the part of France for the treaty of Dunkirk, to shew, that the first motion came from the Chancellor in a Letter

dated at Hampton-Court June 29, 1662, and signed *Clarendon*. There is good reason to think the Queen-Mother, when she came over into England, was charged with this affair of Dunkirk as well as that of the Portugal match: and though the King did not immediately agree to the sale, yet being soon after reduced to great straits for want of money, unable to bear the expence of the garrison of that place out of the revenue of the civil-list, and unwilling to apply to Parliament for a supply, lest it should fall into the hands of a power, which the late troubles had taught him to dread, he resolved to take that party, and obliged the Earl of Clarendon to enter into a treaty with the Marechal d’Estrades for that purpose. The Chancellor in this point acted Ministerially, it being his general maxim, as well as that of his friend the Duke of Ormonde, to offer their advice freely to the King; but when his Majesty had once taken a resolution, however contrary it were to their sentiments, they presently acquiesced, used great caution in avoiding all reflections on his measures, for fear of making bad worse, and still continued in their respective posts to discharge their duty, and obey those commands which they wished had never been given (*).

[L] *The year following he had articles of high treason exhibited against him by the Earl of Bristol; but they were rejected by the House of Lords.*] The substance of the whole accusation was as follows: “ That the Chancellor being in place of highest trust and confidence with his Majesty, and having arrogated a supreme direction in all things, had, with a traitorous intent to draw contempt upon his Majesty’s person, and to alienate the affections of his subjects, abused the said trust in manner following. 1. He had endeavoured to alienate the hearts of his Majesty’s subjects, by artificially insinuating to his creatures and dependents, that his Majesty was inclined to popery, and designed to alter the established Religion. 2. He had said to several persons of his Majesty’s privy-council, *That his Majesty was dangerously corrupted in his religion, and inclined to Popery: That persons of that religion had such access and such credit with him, that unless there were a careful eye had upon it, the protestant religion would be overthrown in this kingdom.* 3. Upon his Majesty’s admitting Sir Henry Bennet to be Secretary of State in the place of Sir Edward Nicholas, he said, *That his Majesty had given ten thousand pounds to remove a zealous protestant, that he might bring into that high place a concealed papist.* 4. In pursuance of the same traitorous design, several friends and dependents of his have said aloud, *That were it not for my Lord Chancellor’s standing in the gap, popery would be introduced into this kingdom.* 4. That he had persuaded the King, contrary to his reasons, to allow his name to be used to the Pope and several Cardinals in the solicitations of a Cardinal’s cap for the Lord Aubigny, great Almoner to the Queen: In order to effect which he had employ’d Mr. Richard Bealing, a known papist; and had likewise applied himself to several papist priests and Jesuits for the same purpose, promising great favour to the papists here, in case it should be effected. 6. That he had likewise promised to several Papists, *he would do his endeavour, and said, be hoped to compass the taking away all penal laws against them;* to the end they might presume and grow vain upon his patronage, and by their publishing their hopes of toleration, encrease the scandal designed by him to be raised upon his Majesty throughout the kingdom. 7. That being intrusted with the treaty betwixt his Majesty and his royal consort the Queen, he concluded it upon articles scandalous and dangerous to the protestant religion. Moreover he brought the King and Queen together without any settled agreement about the performance of the marriage rites, whereby the Queen refusing to be married by a protestant priest, in case of her being with child, either the succession should be made uncertain for want of the due rites of matrimony, or else his Majesty be exposed to a suspicion of having been mar-

(* This remark was communicated to us by Mr. Tho. Carte.

(16) *History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, vol. 2. B. 6. pag. 254.

(17) *History of his own Times*, vol. 1. B. 2.

(18) *Vindication of General Monk*, &c.

1664 he opposed the war with Holland. In August 1667 he was removed from his post of Lord Chancellor [M], and in November following impeached of high treason, and other

ried in his own dominions by a Romish priest. 8. That having endeavoured to alienate the hearts of the King's subjects upon the score of religion, he endeavoured to make use of all his scandals and jealousies to raise to himself a popular applause of being *the zealous upholder of the protestant religion, &c.* 9. That he farther endeavoured to alienate the hearts of the King's subjects, by venting in his own discourse and those of his emissaries opprobrious scandals against his Majesty's person and course of life, such as are not fit to be mentioned, unless necessity shall require it. 10. That he endeavoured to alienate the affections of the Duke of York from his Majesty, by suggesting to him, *That his Majesty intended to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth.* 11. That he had persuaded the King, against the advice of the Lord General, to withdraw the English garisons out of Scotland, and demolish all the forts built there, at so vast a charge to this kingdom; and all without expecting the advice of the Parliament of England. 12. That he endeavoured to alienate his Majesty's affections and esteem from the present Parliament, by telling him, *That there was never so weak and inconsiderable a House of Lords, nor never so weak and heady a House of Commons; and particularly, That it was better to sell Dunkirk, than to be at their mercy for want of money.* 13. That contrary to a known law made last session, by which money was given and applied for maintaining of Dunkirk, he advised and effected the sale of the same to the French King. 14. That he had, contrary to law, enriched himself and his Treasurers by the sale of offices. 15. That he had converted to his own use vast sums of publick money raised in Ireland by way of subsidy, private and publick benevolences, and otherwise given and intended to defray the charge of the Government in that kingdom. 16. That having arrogated to himself a supreme direction of all his Majesty's affairs, he had prevailed to have his Majesty's customs farmed at a lower rate than others offered; and that by persons with some of whom he went a share, and other parts of money resulting from his Majesty's revenue." This heavy charge, filled with insinuations and aggravations, appeared rather to have been a personal quarrel, than any serious concern for publick truth and justice. The words concerning the King's private inclinations, here charged as spoken by him, were generally thought to have been the real expressions or suggestions of the Lord Chancellor; but surely it was not altogether without a cause. They may be thought the effect of an indecent freedom, but can hardly be imagined to have proceeded from any want of integrity or loyalty. And indeed there appears a perverse turn in the articles, first to represent the Chancellor as jealous of popery, and complaining of the King's inclination to it by choosing new Ministers popishly affected; and yet after all to make the Chancellor himself the instrument of those very designs laid for popery, and the professed promoter of them. This is somewhat surprizing; and what has since made the design'd revenge more apparent, is that the articles should tax the Chancellor with saying, that Sir Henry Bennet was a concealed papist, when the Earl of Bristol himself, the accuser, was the same, and had been privy to all that the King had done at Fontarabia at the Pyrenean Treaty. And indeed the House of Lords seemed sensible of the Malice of the accusation, as soon as the articles were exhibited and read before them. Upon which, after a short consideration, they made the following order: "That a copy of the articles or charge of high-treason exhibited this day by the Earl of Bristol against the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief Justice; who, with all the rest of the Judges, are to consider, *Whether the said charge hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded on, and how; and whether there be any treason in it or no; and make report thereof to this House on Monday next, if they can, or else as soon after as possibly they can.*" Upon this important occasion all the Judges met at Sergeant's Inn, and the Earl of Bristol repaired to

them, desiring to see their order; which being read, he told them, that *he came out of respect to know of them, whether they were informed how it came into the House of Peers, whether as a charge or not.* But one of the Judges, who had been present when it was delivered in, saying, that *they were tied up by their order,* the Earl took some exception at the manner of his expression, as if his address were unnecessary at that time; and taking it as a rebuke upon him, departed. But according to their order, which supposed it to be a charge of *high treason,* and not mentioning *misdemeanors,* upon consideration they unanimously agreed on this ensuing answer, which the Lord Chief Justice Foster delivered into the House of Lords: "We conceive, that a charge of high treason cannot, by the laws and statutes of this realm, be originally exhibited by one Peer against another unto the House of Peers; and that therefore a charge of high treason by the Earl of Bristol against the Lord Chancellor, mentioned in the order of reference to us of the 10th of this instant July, hath not been regularly and legally brought in; and if the matters alledged in the said charge were admitted to be true, altho' alledged to be traiterously done, yet there is no treason in it." Upon the reading of this answer the Earl of Bristol took exceptions at it; and some of the Lords, who were friends to the Chancellor inter'd, that if it was not regularly and legally brought in, it was a libel, and ought to be condemned, and the author of it censured." To satisfy the House, one of the Judges, upon conference with his brethren, did the next day deliver the reasons of the opinion of the Judges in their answer; when the Earl of Bristol, a little to extenuate the matter, said, that *the articles were not intended by him as a charge, but as an information.* Hereupon their Lordships, upon a fair debate of the question, did unanimously resolve to declare their concurrence with the opinion of the Judges (19). We

(19) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors,* pag. 208, & seqq. and Echard's *History of England,* ad ann. 1663, B. 1. cap. 1.

[M] *Removed from the Post of Lord Chancellor.*] The great seal was taken from him on the 31st of August 1667, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgman, with the title of Lord Keeper. Mr. Echard observes (21), that it has been often admired, that the King should not only consent to discard, but soon after banish a friend, who had been as honest and faithful to him as the best, and perhaps more useful and serviceable than any that he had ever employ'd; which surely could never have been brought to bear without numerous envious and enemies. To shew how these were raised, we are to remember, that during the height of his grandeur, which continued two years without any rivalry, as well as the rest of his Ministry, he manifested an inflexible steadiness to the constitution of the Church of England, in equal opposition to the Papists on one side, and the Dissenters on the other; so that none of these could be ever reconciled to him or his proceedings. Yet he seemed forward in the beginning to do so much towards the making of a coalition of all parties, that the Cavaliers and strict Churchmen thought themselves too grossly neglected; and many of them, upon that account, though unjustly, entertained insuperable prejudices against him, and joined with the greatest of his enemies. His authority was once so great and prevailing, that even when it was much diminished, the unpopular acts, miscarriages, or misfortunes were generally charged upon him. Besides, his personal behaviour was attended with a sort of a gravity and haughtiness, which struck a very disagreeable awe into a Court filled with licentious persons of both sexes. He often took liberty to give such reproofs to these persons of mirth and gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them; and sometimes

(20) *Lives of the Lords Chancellors,* pag. 207, 208.

(21) *History of England,* ad ann. 1667, B. 1. c. 3.

other crimes and misdemeanors by the House of Commons [N]; upon which in the beginning

thought it his duty to advise the King himself in such a manner, that they took advantage of him, and as he passed in Court, would often say to his Majesty, *There goes your Schoolmaster!* The chief of these was the Duke of Buckingham, who had a surprising talent of ridicule and buffoonry; and that he might make way to his ruin, he often acted and mimicked the Chancellor in the presence of the King, walking stately with a pair of bellows before him for the purse, and Colonel Titus carrying a fire-shovel on his shoulder for the pace, with which sort of banter and farce the King was too much delighted and captivated. These, with some more serious of the popish party, assisted by the solicitations of the ladies of pleasure, made such daily impressions upon the mind of the King, that he at last gave way, and became pleased, and willing to part both from his person and services. It is generally believed, that the King had some particular and private resentments against him, as checking of those, who were too forward in loading the crown with prerogative and revenue, and such like proceedings. And more particularly we are told, that he had countermined the King in a grand design, which he had to be divorced from the Queen, under these pretences: "That she had been pre-engaged to another person; or that she was incapable of having children." The person designed to supply her place was Mrs. Stuart, a beautiful young Lady, who was related to the King, and had some office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, sent for the Duke of Richmond, who was of the same name, and seeming to be sorry, that a person of his worth and relation to his Majesty should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry this Lady, as the most likely means to advance himself. The young Nobleman, liking the person, followed the advice, made immediate application to the Lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her. The King thus disappointed, and soon after informed how the match was brought about, banished the Duke with his new Duchess from Court, and reserved his resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity. However this might be, in a letter to the Earl of Sandwich from the Lord Arlington, who never was a friend to the Chancellor, we find these words: "His Majesty hath taken the seals from the Lord Chancellor, and given them to my Lord Bridgman with a great deal of satisfaction to the world and to himself; and he hopes, that rectifying some other important things before the Parliament, he may expect they will deliver him out of the straits he is so unhappily fallen into." As to the private reasons of the King's abandoning the Chancellor, his Majesty wrote an obliging letter to the Duke of Ormonde, then in Ireland, to give him satisfaction in that matter, as knowing him to be his intimate friend. Mr. Echard observes, that this letter was never yet published, nor would a copy of it be granted; but that he had more than once been told the substance of it by those who had read it; and the principal reason there given by the King was, *The Chancellor's insupportable Temper.* Mr. Thomas Carte in his *History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, printed at London 1736 in fol. has given a particular account of the reasons of the disgrace of the Chancellor, from which we shall borrow some passages. He observes (22), that his enemies had found means by a swarm of libels, and by an infinite number of little emissaries, to possess the people with a notion, that he was the cause of the late miscarriages in affairs; tho' he had never intermeddled in any part of the management of the Dutch war, to which he had ever been averse. His lease of Worcester-house, wherein he had lived ever since the restoration, expiring this year, and the owner of it resolving to make it the place of his own habitation, he had taken a very unhappy resolution of building an house on a piece of ground, which the King had given him near St. James's. There he erected a magnificent pile at a much greater expence than he imagined or intended, which almost ruined him in his fortune, by loading him with an heavy debt, and at the same time raised the envy of the world, who were willing enough to suppose it built by money corruptly gotten. He had removed thither in April before the affront put upon the nation at Chatham; and the clamours and fury of the populace raised on that occasion, were all le-

velled at him, whom they were misled to think the author of all the calamities of the kingdom; so that he was in continual apprehensions, that they would pull down his house, and that he should fall a sacrifice to the fury of a misguided and enraged multitude. In this situation he was still intrepid, supported by the clearness of his conscience, and well satisfied, that he had done nothing that he ought to be ashamed of himself, or his friends that he ought to be undeserved misfortune of popular odium some natural ones were added; the Dukes of Cambridge and Kendal, sons of the Duke of York, and the Lady Clarendon died within a few days of one another. He lost on May 16th his chief friend the Earl of Southampton, upon whose death the treasury was put into the hands of the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley, Sir T. Clifton, Sir W. Coventry, and Sir John Duncombe, none of them well affected to the Chancellor. Mr. Carte proceeds to remark, "That the Chancellor was certainly a Minister of as great probity, disinterestedness, and integrity, as hath been known in any age: his whole conduct, and his letters to the Duke of Ormonde (to a Friend, towards whom he had no reserve) are an irrefragable proof of this part of his character. But he seems to have fallen into that very mistake, which he remarks in Archbishop Laud, of imagining, that a man's own integrity will support him in all times and all circumstances of affairs, in the measures which he takes for the public good. He was passionate, and the solemn and cool in debate, did not bear an unreasonable contradiction with that temper, which selfish, artful, and designing men always take care to preserve. He was not without the pride of conscious virtue; and knowing well the just reasons upon which he gave his advice on any occasion, when he found it rejected, he thought himself the less concerned to prevent the ill consequences of measures taken by others counsels in opposition to his own, which were dictated purely by his zeal for the King's service, and his regard to the good of the kingdom. From the time that the Lord Arlington was made Secretary of State, he was apt upon occasion to complain, that he had no credit at Court, which disobliged the King; and to clear himself of having an hand in certain resolutions, which perhaps would otherwise not have been approved in the event; and yet his dislike thereof was still represented as the reason of their miscarriage, and served the advisers for an excuse. He always gave the King prudent and honest advice; but if it was over-ruled, (as was too often the case,) he did not care to intermeddle, but left it to wiser men (as he styled them) to follow their own measures, and to perform what they had confidently undertaken for the King's service. This manner of conduct made him neglect his interest (of which few Ministers have ever had a greater share, and yet founded upon virtue) in the House of Commons, till at last it was utterly ruined." Mr. Carte afterward tells us (23), that the Duke of Buckingham undertook, that the Parliament should do the King's business, if his Majesty would but sacrifice the Chancellor to their resentments. That the King was weary of a Minister, of whom from his early youth he had learned to stand in awe, and who still seemed to keep up an authority over him, by the remonstrances which he made to him on all occasions with great freedom and little ceremony. And that the Chancellor was thought to have promoted the marriage of the Duke of Richmond with Mrs. Stewart, in order to prevent the King from procuring a divorce from the Queen, and marrying that Lady. "Whether he actually encouraged the Duke of Richmond's marriage, doth not appear, says Mr. Carte; but I find, that he was so strongly possess'd of the King's inclination to a Divorce, that even after his disgrace he was persuaded, the Duke of Buckingham had undertaken to carry that matter through the Parliament. It is certain too, that the King considered him as the chief promoter of that marriage, and resented it in the highest degree. Thus affected towards the Chancellor, he easily closed with the Duke of Buckingham, to give him up to the malice of his enemies."

[N] *Impeach'd of high treason by the House of Commons.*

(22) Vol. 2. B. 6. pag. 349.

(23) Pag. 351.

ginning of December he retired into France, leaving a petition to the House of Lords [O]. Whereupon a bill was passed for banishing him from the King's dominions. He resided at Rouën in Normandy, where he continued seven years to the time of his death. In 1668 his life was attempted at Evreux near that city [P]. He died at Rouën December the 9th 1674, and his body was brought to England and interred in Westminster-Abbey. Besides his *History of the Rebellion* [Q] he

mons.] When the articles were exhibited to the House, Lawrence Hyde, Esq; afterwards Earl of Rochester, being the Lord Clarendon's second son, rose up and said, "That every particular of the charge against his father was groundless; and he was so fully satisfied thereof, that he humbly proposed to the House, that before it was received, his accusers might pitch on any one article, which ever they pleased, and support it by proofs; and if they did so, his father was ready to acknowledge himself guilty of the whole charge." The violence of the Earl of Clarendon's enemies hindered this proposal from being accepted: so that on the 12th of November Mr. Edward Seymour carried up the impeachment of the Earl to the bar of the House of Lords, and desired, that he might be committed to safe custody, till the Commons should make good their charge. But the Lords, dissatisfied at this general way of proceeding, sent to the Commons on the 15th of November, to desire a conference in the Painted Chamber; where they informed them, that they had not confined the Earl, nor sequestered him from Parliament, it being against the *Petition of Right* so to do, till particular Treason was charged against him. This occasioned warm debates in the House of Commons, who were so highly enraged, as to resolve, "that the Lords not having comply'd with the desire of the Commons in committing the Earl of Clarendon, and sequestering him from Parliament upon the impeachment from that House, was an obstruction to the public justice of the kingdom, and a precedent of evil and dangerous consequence." And upon this they appointed a Committee to draw up a declaration to vindicate their proceedings. During these divisions and debates, the Earl finding the storm to bear very hard upon him from all quarters, and especially from the Court, thought it most advisable to withdraw himself, and retire to Normandy.

[O] *Leaving a petition to the House of Lords.*] The Lords received it on the 3d of December, and sent two of the Judges to acquaint the Commons of it, and desired a conference; where the Duke of Buckingham, who was plainly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the Commons, and with his usual way of insult and ridicule said, "The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this scandalous and seditious paper sent from the Earl of Clarendon. They bid me to present it to you, and desire you in a convenient time to send it to them again; for it has a style, which they are in love with, and therefore desire to keep it." When the petition was read in the House of Commons, it occasioned very warm speeches, and was voted by them, to be *scandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the justice of the nation*, and that it should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

[P] *In 1668 his life was attempted at Evreux near that city.*] In the Bodleian library at Oxford there is an original letter from Mr. Oliver Long to Sir William Coventry, Secretary of State, dated at Evreux in Normandy April the 26th 1668; in which is the following passage. "As I was travelling from Rouën towards Orleans, it was my fortune April the 23d N. S. to overtake the Earl of Clarendon (then in his unhappy and unmerited exile) who was going towards Bourbon, but took up his lodging at a private Hotel in a small walled town, called Evreux, some leagues from Rouën. I, as most English Gentlemen did to so valuable a patriot, went to pay him a visit near supper-time, when he was, as usual, very civil to me. Before supper was done, twenty or thirty English sea-men and more came, and demanded entrance at the great gate, which being strongly barred, kept them out for some time; but in a short space they brake it, and presently drove all they found, by their advantage of numbers, into the Earl's chamber; where by the assistance of but three swords and pistols we kept them out for half an

hour, in which dispute many of us were wounded by their swords and pistols, whereof they had many. To conclude, they broke the windows and doors, and under the conduct of one Howard, an Irishman (who has three brothers, as I am told, in the King of England's service) and an Ensign in the company of canoneers, they quickly found the Earl in his bed, not able to stand by the violence of the gout, where, after they had given him many blows with their swords and staves, mixed with horrible curses and oaths, they dragged him on the ground into the middle of the yard, where they encompassed him around with their swords, and after they had told him in their own language, how *he had sold the Kingdom, and robbed them of their pay*; Howard commanded them all, as one man, to run their swords through his body. But what difference arose among themselves before they could agree, God above, who alone sent this spirit of dissention, only knows. In this interval their Lieutenant, one Swaine, came and disarmed them; sixteen of the ring-leaders were put into prison, and many of those things they had rifled from him found again, which were restored and of great value. Monsieur la Fonde, a great man, belonging to the King of France's bed-chamber, sent to conduct the Earl on his way hither, was so desperately wounded in the head, that there were but little hopes of his life. Many of these assassins were grievously wounded; and this heinous action is so much repented by all here, that many of these criminals will meet with an usage equal to their merit. Had we been sufficiently provided with fire-arms, we had infallibly done ourselves justice on them; but we fear not but the Law will supply our defect." We shall add here an extract from a manuscript communicated to us by the learned Richard Rawlinson, LL. D. and F. R. S. and intitled *Remarks made in a Journey from Exeter 24 Febr. 1667 to Naples and Leghorn, ending 24 March 1672*: By John Brooking. The passage is as follows. "The 8th of April 1667. N. S. I paid a visit to the Earl of Clarendon Hyde, *quondam* Lord Chancellor of England, who was fled hither [Rouën in Normandy] *incognito*, to avoid the penalties of several accusations, that might have followed on his remaining at home. And chiefly incited were the seamen; for while I was here, there was a Captain of a ship in port, that came to see him, who desired the Captain to send him a piece of English salt beef, which he promised to send him the next day without fail; but as he was putting it over-board, the seamen declared, that if that went over for his Lordship, they would immediately throw the Captain into the sea after it. So the Captain was forced to excuse his promise, and desired my Lord to have patience mixed in his salad; else he might chance to get a stomach, and want what would satisfy it; at least that which he intended should. My Lord received me (in company with Mr. Wilkins) very civilly, entertaining us in discourse near an hour. He is a fair, ruddy, fat, middle statured, handsome man, about 60 years old, mighty affable, (though whence this should proceed, I will not judge). He told us, he was to go hence to Orleans, and thence to Bourbon, to make use of those waters. He seemed much troubled with the gout, had only five or six attendants, and one Gentleman afforded him by the King of France for his safe conduct through his dominions."

[Q] *His History of the Rebellion.*] The first volume of this work was printed at Oxford in fol. 1702; the second in 1703; and the third in 1704. It has been reprinted several times since in six volumes in 8vo. A French translation of it was printed at the Hague in 1704 and 1709 in 12mo. Dr. Henry Felton (24) styles our author "the noblest and most impartial Historian this nation hath produced. The

(24) *Dissertation on reading the Classics and forming a just style.* par. 220. 4th edit. London 1730.

he wrote several other works [R].

“ compassion and repentment of his thoughts, the noble openness and freedom of his reflections, the glorious debt he pays to friendship, and the veil he kindly draws over the sorrows and reproach of his country are so admirably and well expressed in such lively colours, that we are struck with sympathy, and do feel by reading, that he wrote from his heart under the deepest sense and most present impression of the evils he bewaileth. I have met with none, that may compare with him in the weight and solemnity of his style, in the strength and clearness of diction, in the beauty and majesty of expression, and that noble negligence of phrase, which maketh his words wait every where upon his subject, with a readiness and propriety that art and study are almost strangers to.” The author of the *Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Causes of Prodiges and Miracles, as related by Historians. With an Essay towards restoring a Method and Purity in History*; tells us (25)

(25) Part 1. pag. 60, 61, 62. edit. London 1727, in 12mo.

Raleigh and Hyde “ are the only two, whom our nation has yet produced of an Historic genius. The first excelling in grandeur and majesty of thought, equal to the subject he undertook: and the latter, for his comprehensive knowledge of mankind, will for ever bear the unrivall'd title of the *Chancellor of Human Nature*. It is the great Hyde, and he alone, that in the knowledge of mankind is always clear, deep, easy and perfect. I make no scruple to confess, that in the *History of the Grand Rebellion* there are more offences against the truth of composition than in all the best Greek and Roman Historians put together; and think it no difficulty to prove, that in that single work there are more and far greater excellencies than in the whole body of ancient History. It is indeed the only one of English History we can glory in; the French boast a great number of considerable writers of their own History: but to them we may answer as the lioness in the fable did to an ignoble beast, who set an unreasonable value on the fruitfulness of her womb: *It is true, I bear but one, but that one is a lion.*” With regard to the Charge of this History's being interpolated we shall refer to the article of *ATTERBURY (FRANCIS)*, and only add here a memorandum written by the late Thomas Slater Bacon Esq; in a folio copy of that History now in the possession of — Gill Esq;

(*) Vol. 2. pag. 445, 446.

“ Easter Sunday 1731, Dover-Street. Dr. Terry of Christ Church in Oxford told my Lord Oxford, Lord Duplin, Thomas Harley, Mr. Wotton, and me, that he was employed at Westminster-School by Bishop Sprat about 1693 to read the MS. of the *History of the Earl of Clarendon*, the first volume writ by the Earl in a bad hand, but all the volumes were fairly writ by his Secretary. The manuscript was carried to Oxford, when

“ the Bishop, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Smallridge, Atterbury, Stratford prepared it for the press, and did not alter any thing, only particles and parentheses; and the Earl of Rochester added about fourteen lines of the King's escape from the Spaniards to Breda, out of his father's MS. and there was omitted by the family about the Queen's government, where there is a text, *Woe to woman, &c.* He had given an account of the Queen's asking at a Play, who that *fat man was*, pointing to Hyde: the King said, *it was he that did all the mischief.*” There must be some mistakes in this memorandum or in *Bishop Atterbury's Vindication of Bishop Smallridge, Dr. Aldrich, and himself from the scandalous Reflections of Oldmixon, relating to the publication of Lord Clarendon's History*; since the Bishop declares in that piece, that himself and Bishop Smallridge were not any ways concerned in preparing that History for the press, nor ever saw it till it was in print.

[R] He wrote several other works.] *Several Speeches in Parliament*, during his Chancellorship, from the Restoration to the year 1667. They are in number at least ten, and were printed in folio papers. *A full Answer to an infamous and traitorous Pamphlet, intitled, A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing the reasons and grounds of passing their late resolutions touching no farther address or application to be made to the King.* London 1648 in 4to. *The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex.* Printed in the *Reliquie Wottonianæ*, London 1672 in 8vo. This piece was written when he was young, and before he had entered on the stage of business. *Animadversions on a Book intitled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by D. Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refused and retorted by S. C. By a Person of Honour.* London 1674 in 8vo. It was printed twice that year. The *Imprimatur* is dated November the 29th 1673. *A Letter to the Duke of York; and another to the Dutchess of York*, upon occasion of her embracing the Roman Catholic Religion. *A brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to the Church and State in Mr. Hobbes's Book, intitled Leviathan.* Oxford 1676 in 4to. The *Imprimatur* by Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, is dated July the 1st 1676. The Dedication to his Majesty is dated at Moulins May the 10th 1673. He made likewise *Alterations and Additions to a Book, intitled, “A Collection of the Orders heretofore used in Chancery.”* London 1661 in 8vo, done by and with the advice and assistance of Sir Harbottle Grimstone Bart. Master of the Rolls. His *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland* was printed at London 1726 in folio. His *Essays* were printed there in one volume in fol. T.

☞ *HYDE (Dr. THOMAS)*, one of the most learned Writers of the seventeenth Century, was son of Mr. Ralph Hyde, a Minister of Billingsley near Bridgnorth in Shropshire, and descended from the Hydes of Norbury in Cheshire. He was born at Billingsley June the 29th 1636; and having from his youth a strong inclination to the Oriental Languages, began the study of them under his father; and afterwards in 1652 being admitted a student in King's College in Cambridge, he became acquainted there with Mr. Abraham Wheelock, who being an admirable Linguist, encouraged and promoted him in his studies of the Eastern Learning (a). After he had continued a little more than a year in that College, Mr. Wheelock sent him to London, and appointed him one of the correctors of the Polyglot Bible, then about to be published by Dr. Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, he being the sole cause and contriver of that excellent work. Mr. Hyde, besides his attendance in the correction of it, he set forth the *Persian Pentateuch*, and assisted in correcting the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan Languages in that work, and in collating various copies [A]. In 1658 he went to the University

(a) Wood, *Art. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 973. 2d edit. London 1721.

[A] He set forth the *Persian Pentateuch*, and assisted in correcting the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan languages in that work, and in collating various copies.] He transcribed the *Persian Pentateuch* out of the Hebrew characters, in which it was first printed at Constantinople, into the proper Persian characters, which by Archbishop Usher was then judged impossible to

have been done by a native Persian, because one Hebrew letter frequently answered to divers Persian letters, which were difficult to be known. He translated it likewise into Latin. What he did further in the Polyglot, is specified in the Preface of it by Dr. Walton in these words. *Nec prætereundus est D. Thomas Hyde, summa spei juvenis, qui in Linguis Orientalibus supra ætatem*

University of Oxford, and was admitted a Student of Queen's College, where he was soon after made Hebrew Reader. In the beginning of April 1659, Richard Cromwell, then Chancellor of the University, sent his letters to the members thereof, which say, that "he is of full standing since his admission into the University of Cambridge for the degree of Master of Arts; that he hath given such public testimony of his more than ordinary abilities and learning in the Oriental Languages, &c." Whereupon the Delegates of the University ordered on the 12th of the same month, that "he should accumulate the degree of Master of Arts by reading only a lecture in some of those Languages, and that he should have such fees remitted to him as belong to the University, &c." This order being confirmed by the Convocation on the same day, he was admitted Master of Arts the next (b), and soon after made second Keeper of the Bodleian Library in the room of Henry Stubbe ejected. In 1665 he published a Latin translation of Ulug-Beig's Observations concerning the Longitude and Latitude of the fixed Stars, with notes [B]; and in December the same year was elected Head keeper of the Bodleian Library upon the resignation of Dr. Thomas Lockey (c). In October 1666 he was collated to the Prebend of *Yatminster secunda* in the Church of Salisbury, upon the death of Dr. John Wall (d). In 1674 he published a Catalogue of the printed Books in the Bodleian Library [C]. December the 14th 1678 he had the Archdeaconry of Gloucester, vacant by the death of John Gregory, conferred on him by Dr. John Prichett, Bishop of that See, whose wife was nearly related to the first wife of our author (e). April the 3d 1682 he was admitted Doctor of Divinity (f). December the 22d 1691, he was elected Arabic Professor upon the death of Dr. Edward Pocock (g). He published several works besides those already mentioned [D].

(b) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. 974. and *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 126.

(c) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* col. 974.

(d) Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Anglicanae.*

(e) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* col. 974.

(f) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 219.

(g) *Idem, Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 974.

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etatem magnos progressus fecit, quorum specimina deditum in Arabibus, Syriacis, Persicis, &c. corrigendis, tum in Pentateucho Persico characteribus Persicis describendo, qui antea solis Hebraicis existit, ejusque versionem Latinam concinnando.

[B] In 1665 he published a Latin Translation of Ulug Beig's Observations concerning the Longitude and Latitude of the fixed Stars, with Notes.] It was printed in 4to under this title: *Versio Latina e Lingua Persica, Commentarii in Observationes Ulugh-Beigi de Tabulis Longitudinis & Latitudinis Stellarum fixarum.* This is a small part of an Astronomical work of Ulug Beig. To this Dr. Hyde has added Mohamedes Tizinus's Tables of the Declension and Ascension of the Fixed Stars.

[C] In 1674 he published a catalogue of the printed books in the Bodleian library.] It was printed at Oxford in folio under the following title: *Catalogus impressorum Librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi: Cura & Opera Thomae Hyde e Coll. Reginae Oxon. Protobibliothecarii.* The *Imprimatur* is dated November the 26th, 1674. The Dedication to Archbishop Sheldon is dated November the 25th 1674.

[D] He published several works besides those already mentioned.] He published *Quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apostolorum Lingua Malaica, Characteribus Europaeis*, at Oxford, 1677, in 4to. His *Epistola de Mensuris & Ponderibus Serum sive Sinensium, &c.* was printed at the end of Dr. Edward Bernard's book, intitled, *De Mensuris & Ponderibus antiquis Libri tres*, Oxford, 1688, in 8vo. In 1690 he published at Oxford in 4to, *Annotatiunculae in Tractatum Alberti Bobovii Turcarum Imp. Mohammedis IV. olim Interpretis primarii de Turcarum Liturgia, peregrinatione Meccana, Circumcisione, aegrotorum visitatione, &c. Subjungitur Castigatio in Angelum a Sancto Josepho, Carmelitarum discalceatorum in Perside praefectum olim generalem.* In 1691 he published at Oxford in 4to, *Itinera Mundi, sic dicta nempe Cosmographia, autore Abrahamo Peritsol; cum versione & notis Thomae Hyde.* At the end of this book he has reprinted the two pieces abovementioned, viz. *Tractatus Alberti Bobovii de Turcarum Liturgia, &c.* and *Castigatio in Angelum a Sancto Josepho.* In 1694 he published at Oxford in 8vo, *De Ludis Orientalibus Libri duo, &c.* The first book is divided into two parts; the first of which parts contains *Mandragoras, seu Historia Sbabildii, &c.* in Latin; and the second part *Hist. Sbabildii, &c.* in Hebrew and Latin. This *Historia Sbabildii* had been published by itself at Oxford, 1689, in 8vo. The second book contains *Historia Nerdiludii, hoc est dicere, Truncolorum, &c.* He wrote likewise *In Historiam Plantarum Oxoniensium Annotationes Nominum singularum Plantarum Lingua Arabica & Persica & Turcica*, published by Jacob Bobart in his *Historia Plantarum*, at Oxford, 1699, in 4to. Mr. Wood tells us (1), that in 1694, he had ready

(1) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 975.

for the press *Historia Aegypti naturalis curiose de Animalibus, Plantis, &c. Compendium, Arabicè & Latine, cum Iconibus & Notis*, in 8vo. *Chinnuch seu Catechismus Ecclesiae Anglicanae Hebraicè versus, cum Notis*, in 8vo. *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum, cum Zoroastris Vita & praeceptis, ejusque de Christi Vaticinium. Una cum Specimine veteris Linguae & Scripturae Persicae jam postliminio restituta.* This was printed at Oxford in 1700 in 4to, under the following title: *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum. Ubi etiam nova Abrahami, & Mithrae, & Vestae, & Manethis Historia, &c. atque Angelorum Officia & Praefecturae ex Veterum Persarum sententiâ. Item Persarum annus antiquissimus tangitur, is rû Gjenshâd detegitur, verus rû Yefdegerd de nova proditur, is rû Melishâb, is rû Seljûk & rû Chorzenhâd notatur, & is rûs Katâ & rûs Oighûr explicatur. Zoroastris vita ejusque & aliorum vaticinia de Messiah è Persarum aliorumque monumentis eruuntur: Primitivae opiniones de Deo & de Hominum Origine referantur; originale Orientalis Sibyllae Mysterium recluditur, atque Magorum Liber Sad-dor (Zoroastris praecepta seu Religionis Canones continens) è Persico traductus exhibetur. Dantur Veterum Persarum Scripturae & Linguae (ut haec jam primò Europae producantur & literato Orbi postliminio reddantur) Specimina. De Persicae ejusdemque Linguae Nominibus, deque bujus Dialectis & à modernâ differentiis strictim agitur. Auctor est Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. Ling. Hebraicae in Universitate Oxon. Professor Regius, & Ling. Arabicae Profess. Laudianus. Praemisso Capitulo Elencho; accedunt Icones, & Appendix variarum Dissertationum.* This work is dedicated to John Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham. It is divided into thirty five chapters; to which is subjoined a large appendix containing several dissertations. It appears from the title, that Dr. Hyde's design is not to give us a plan of the religion of the modern Persians, which is to be found in the Koran, the Mahometan being the established religion in Persia now. In the first chapter he distinguishes the Persians into ancient and modern. The ancient Persians had a religion intirely different from that of the modern, and it has been still preserved among some of their descendants. The modern Persians are a mixture of several different nations, Saracens, Tartars, Parthians, Medes, old Persians become Mahometans, and women of Georgia and other countries transplanted into Persia, who have formed a language compounded of those of all these different nations. Our author, before he enters into particulars, gives us in this first chapter a general idea of the religion of these ancient Persians. There are some still who profess it, both in Persia and India, and lived separately from the rest as much as possible, and eat only with those of their own religion, in order to preserve their purity. This religion has passed through three different states. The first

He died in the middle of February 1702.

HYPERIUS

first was a state of purity; those, who professed it, worshipped only the true God, of whom they had very just notions, which they had received from their ancestors Shem and Elam. The second state is that, in which Sabaism was mixed with the knowledge and worship of the true God. They did not indeed worship the sun and the planets; but they had too much reverence for those stars, and fell into superstition in that respect. Abraham opposed, with the utmost vigour, all kinds of false worship, and all the superstitions of his age; and as the Persians highly revere that Patriarch, and acknowledge that they received their religion from him, Dr. Hyde is persuaded, that Abraham reduced them from their errors, and restored amongst them the worship of the true God in all its purity. But they afterwards fell back into their former superstitions, though without losing the knowledge of the true God, whose service they were always so jealous of, that they abominated all adoration of images. The third state of the religion of the ancient Persians is, when in imitation of the fire preserved upon the altar in the temple of Jerusalem, they kept likewise a perpetual fire upon an altar; which custom was observed likewise by the Greeks and Romans. This gave occasion to the common opinion, that the ancient Persians worshipped fire; but our author endeavours to justify them from that imputation. He owns, that they regarded this fire as a thing sacred, and paid to it a kind of service, which he calls *Pyrodulia*; but he denies, that they ever paid to it a proper adoration, which he styles *Pyrolatria*. We are not to be surprized, that practices have been imputed to these people, which they never observed. It is very difficult to know thoroughly their religion, since Zoroaster their great Prophet has expressly prohibited them to instruct strangers in it, or in their language. However our author having desired one of his friends, who lived in Persia, to inform himself of the priests of that religion, concerning the worship paid by them to *Mitbra*, which is the sun; they answered, that they did not pay any divine worship to it, or to the moon, or to the stars; but only turned towards the sun, when they prayed, because the nature of it nearly resembles that of fire. They regarded it likewise as the image of God; and some of them have said, that God resides in it, and others have imagined, that it will be the seat of the blessed. These are the true grounds of their respect for the sun: but this respect does not go so far as adoration. It is the same case with regard to fire: when they are asked, whether they worship it, they constantly deny it, affirming, that they worship God alone. But as they had a great respect for their sacred fire, if any one of them was obliged to take an oath, he used to do it before this fire burning upon an altar; as the Jews did before the altar at Jerusalem, upon which there was fire. It was likewise the custom of the Pagan Arabians, who when they suspected, that the person, who was about to swear, would take a false oath, they privately cast salt into the fire, in order to strike a terror upon him by the crackling noise, which it made. As the Jews burnt their sacrifices in the sacred fire, the Persians did the same, imagining that the sacrifices would not pollute the fire like other profane things; but if any person threw filth, or spit into it, it was a crime worthy of death. The Kings of Persia, and other wealthy persons, sometimes cast into the fire pearls, spices and precious oils, in order to nourish the flames more delicately, and this they called *Fire-Fests*. But they did this to the honour of God, and referred to him ultimately all that they did with respect to the fire, or by means of it. But this was not the only element, which they shewed their reverence to; for they respected the air, water, and earth, and considered them as the principles of all things. They had and still have *Curators* of these four elements, who are employed to take care of the waters, the rivers, and fountains, to prevent as much as possible the air from being infected with any stink, the fire from being polluted with any filth, or the earth with any dead body. It is out of regard to the earth, that they do not bury their dead; and for fear of infecting the air, they keep crows and vultures, to devour the corpses, which have no other tombs than

the entrails of these birds of prey. It was for the same reason, that Numa appointed, that the Vestals should take care of the four elements; so that the word *Vesta* is sometimes used for fire, and sometimes for the earth. The Vestals were also obliged to look after the fountain of the Muses near their Temple. The Persians abominate all noxious animals, and on the contrary have a prodigious esteem for a dog and a cock. Zoroaster expressly commands them to maintain dogs; and they are so fond of cocks, because they are a kind of living clocks, that they would expose themselves to the severest pains rather than cut off the head of one of these animals. Hence it is, that Aristophanes calls a cock *the bird of Persia* or *Media*; and there are such a vast number of them in those countries that our travellers scarce eat any thing else; and from hence that useful bird has been propagated over the whole world. In the second chapter our author mentions how the Persians boast of having received their religion from Abraham, which gives him occasion to represent the history of the life of that Patriarch, to examine into his true sentiments with regard to religion, and to compare them with those of the Persians. He explains in a quite new manner divers Chaldee words, the true signification of which was before unknown. He shews, that Abraham became famous over the whole world, and that God's command to him to offer up his son, which the Pagans imagined to have been executed, led them to think, that in order to obtain some signal favour from heaven, the surest way was to offer up one of their children to God. The Indian idolaters stiled their chief priest *Brahma* or *Brahama*, which is nothing else but the name of *Abraham*. This Patriarch, according to the Jews and Eastern people, whose opinion our author does not disapprove of, lived in the time of *Nimrod*, who was the *Ninus* of the Pagans, and was the son of *Cush*. The latter lived in the territory of Babylon; but Chaldea being too small for his descendants, they removed into the neighbouring country, and settled there. This country was called at first from their father's name *the land of Cush*, and afterwards *the land of Havilah*, and it had the name of *Arabia* from *Yaarab*, the son of *Joktan*; who dwelt in that country, and possessed it. From this remark and some others Dr. Hyde concludes, that it is a mistake to understand *Ethiopia* to be *the land of Cush* mentioned in scripture; since the word is not taken in that sense in any part of the Bible, but always signifies the territory of Babylon, or Arabia. There are several other curious observations in this chapter. Some authors are of opinion, that Abraham was educated from his birth in the true religion, which was that of Eber, one of his ancestors; but Dr. Hyde thinks the common notion more probable, viz. that Abraham was at first an idolater, but afterwards converted to the knowledge of the true God, by the particular interposition of heaven. It is impossible to say at what age he was converted. The opinion of the Persians, who assert, that he was then fifteen years of age, or that of Cedrenus, who tells us that he was twenty four years old, is not disapproved by our author; who makes a great many other curious remarks upon Abraham, and upon his father Terah, his country, actions, &c. In the third chapter Dr. Hyde examines more particularly into the religion of the Persians, and shews in what it agreed and what it still agrees in with that of Abraham. He treats also of the Sabaites and their religion. The Persians knew the history of the creation of the world, having learned it from the Jews, or from Zoroaster; and they kept it more pure than any other nation. As Moses has said nothing of the creation of good or bad angels, the Persians have likewise omitted it. Our author is of opinion, that though angels are created beings, and consequently not so antient as their Creator, yet it is not to be doubted, but that they existed an infinite time before the creation of the world, and are so antient, that it is impossible for the mind of man to form a just idea of their duration; "for it is not, *says he*, pious or fit to imagine, that God was at any time without ministers; and we ought to believe, that he had always angels ready to serve, and disposed at all times to execute
" his

HYPERIUS (ANDREW (GERARD) a celebrated Minister and Professor of Divinity, was born at Ypres in Flanders May the 16th 1511. It is from his native place he

"his commands." *Quamvis Angeli sint Creatura, adeoque non antiquitate æquales sint cum suo Creatore; nullam tamen est dubium quin existerint infinito tempore ante Creationem mundi, & sint tantæ antiquitatis, quæ sit ultra humanæ mentis vires conceptionemque rite considerare aut perpendere; quod piè credendum est, cum non sit pium aut decorum imaginari Deum ullo unquam tempore fuisse Ministris destitutum, sed semper habuisse Angelos ministrantes, qui ad nutum ipsius divinum jussa præstare constanter omni tempore parati fuerint* (2). Our author supposes likewise, that the apostate angels transgressed before the creation of the world, though not long before it. He thinks, that as the Persians were descended from Shem, they received also from him the knowledge of the true God, though they fell afterwards into a kind of Sabæism, like the rest of the world. They were recovered from their errors by Abraham; upon which account they gave the name of that Patriarch to their religion, calling it *the Religion of Abraham*. He conquered *Cbedorlaomèr*, King of Persia; and it is probable, that this Prince and his allies, embraced the religion of the conqueror; and that this example was followed by the subjects of these Princes, as the people generally follow the religion of their governors. With regard to the Sabæites, the Doctor informs us, that this is not the name of a particular nation, as that of the *Sabæans*, who were called so from *Saba*, a city in Arabia Felix. It is the name of a sect dispersed over several nations, who worshipped stars and idols. The Arabians have not succeeded in the origin of this name, since they imagined, that the word *Sabaa* signified *to change one's religion*. The word *Sabæite* comes from the Hebrew *סבא*, *Saba*, which signifies troops or an army or host; and the name of *Sabæites* was given to those, who worshipped the host of heaven, that is, the stars. There were two kinds of Sabæites, one of whom worshipped the stars, and the other idols. The former were of two kinds; viz. the Greek Sabæites, who chiefly addressed their devotion to the planets; and the Indian Sabæites, who addressed it to the fixed stars. The Doctor corrects here several profane writers, who have spoken very differently and confusedly of the religion of the Persians, and rectifies their accounts by distinguishing the times. He agrees with Herodotus and Strabo, that there was a time, when the Persians had neither temples nor altars. It was when they addressed their prayers only to the planets or to God, to procure their propitious influences. But when they began to build certain places, in which to keep the sacred fire, and which the Doctor calls *Pyrea*, they began likewise to have altars, upon which they sometimes offered sacrifices. It is not absolutely true, what those Authors have written, that the Persians had no Images, since *Giemsbid*, one of their Kings, is accused of idolatry, and since towards the end of their Empire they worshipped Venus in Temples appointed for that purpose, where that Goddess had her Priests and Priestesses. Herodotus relates, that there was a law at Babylon, which ordered, that the women should come once in their lives to the Temple of Venus, and prostitute themselves to the first passenger who would have any commerce with them; and that they could not refuse this. The richer sort went in a chariot with a magnificent equipage. When they were once come to the Temple, they were obliged not to return, till some passenger had pity on them. Those who were handsome, continues Herodotus, returned soon, but some ordinary women stay'd several years before they received their passport. Dr. Hyde observes, that he had not read any where, that the Persians had any other statues but that of Venus. The *fourth* chapter is designed to prove against the Greek and Latin Writers, that the service paid to *Mitbra*, or the Sun, was not a divine adoration, properly so called. The *fifth* chapter contains a kind of digression upon the modern *Sabæism*, and the idolatry of the Nations, who made Idols under the influences of the Planets. In the *sixth* chapter we see the care which the antient Persians took of the water and fire; for though they endeavoured to preserve the purity of all the four elements, yet they took a more particular care of the

water and fire, since these two elements were most obnoxious to pollution. They believed, that there was an Angel especially appointed to guard the water, and called him *Ardisûr*, or *Arduisûr*. They celebrated his praises, and desired him to continue in his office. The *seventh* chapter treats of the Goddess *Vesta*, adored by the Greeks and Romans. The *eighth* chapter treats of the Goddess *Vesta* of the Persians, and the care which the *Magi*, their Priests, took to preserve the fire. These Priests were obliged to be married, because among those people it was meritorious with regard both to this world and that which is to come, to increase the number of the faithful by propagating the species. The Doctor is of opinion, that the Persians used to maintain the sacred fire long before the reformation of their religion by Zoroaster. Hence it follows, that before his time they had likewise covered places in the form of Temples, since they could not otherwise have preserved the fire. Zoroaster only augmented the number, as our Author proves. There is still extant a Persian book, intitled, *Gjâvidân Chrad*, i. e. *The Eternal Wisdom*, which is older than all the writings of Zoroaster, and ascribed to one of their Kings named Hûthang. This book proves evidently, that the people of those times worshiped the only true God. The same appears from some other books cited by the Doctor. The *ninth* chapter treats of the two principles of all things, according to the notions of the Persians; of the names given to them; and of their opinions with regard to the Deity and the creation of all things. They established two principles; the first of these which is single and eternal, the Author and Principle of all good, is God, whom they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Ixid*, that is, *He who ought to be pray'd to*. They called him likewise *Ormuzd*, or *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*, and by joining a more modern name, *Hormizda Choda*, that is, *O great God*, or, *O supreme God*. It is from this word, that the Greeks formed that of *Oromasdes*. Besides this Principle they laid down another created one, which they supposed to be the Principle of Evil, and called it *Abâriman*, *Abreman*, *Abriman*, and sometimes in poetry *Abrimanân*; whence the Greeks, who wrote the History of Persia, took their *Ἀβρῖμάνης*. This word is compounded of two others, which are synonymous, and signify *impure*, *polluted*; so that these two words being joined signify *very impure*, and *very much polluted*. In their antient books, to shew the abhorrence which they had to the Demon, whom they called by this name, they wrote it in an inverted manner, thus: *ουσιρρυπ*. With respect to the Creation, the Persians taught with the scriptures, that it was performed in six spaces of time. But they pretend, that they are not simple days, and that by a day we are to understand the space of several days. Here is the manner in which they divide these six periods of time, and the names which they give to them. They called the first *Mid-yûzeram*, containing the space of forty five days, in which God created the Heavens. The second was called *Mid-yûsham*, containing sixty days, employed in creating the waters. The third was called *Pitishabim*, and comprehends seventy five days, in which the earth was created. The fourth was called *Jyaseram*, and contains thirty days, in which the trees were produced. The fifth was called *Midiyârim*, and comprehends eighty days, during which all the creatures were made. An Author cited by the Doctor tells us, that in this fifth period God created the beasts and Birds, namely an hundred and seventy two kinds of beasts, and an hundred and ten kinds of birds. The sixth period was called *Hamspitâmidim*, and contains seventy five days, in which Man was created. All these periods together make three hundred and sixty five days, which form one year. According to the Persians, the creation began about May, and ended in the same Month; so that Adam, when he rose from the hands of God, saw the whole earth covered with fruits. Zoroaster appointed, that for each of these six periods employed in the Creation, there should be observed five festal days. In the *ninth* chapter our Author treats of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, of divers imaginary terrestrial Paradises, of Moses

he took the name under which he is known (a). His father, who was a Civilian, and had already sent him to study in several places, finding his end drawing near in the year 1528

(a) The City of Tyres has been called *Hyperæ* by several authors. Beza calls it thus in *Iconibus*, and says, *Andreas Gerardus e Patria Hyperius fuit cognominatus.*

and Solomon; and shews, that the religion of the ancient Persians agrees in many points with that of the Jews, and was derived from it. Those people believed, that Adam and Eve were the stock, from whence mankind descended, though some among them gave our first parents different names. They believed an universal deluge, which covered the whole earth. But all were not of this opinion; some denied the deluge; others said, that it was not universal, and that it did not rise above the top of a mountain near *Hulvan*, a City upon the frontiers of Assyria and Persia. The Persians have spoken of divers terrestrial Paradises, and sometimes given different names to the same place. This was occasioned because the true situation of the Garden of Eden was uncertain. Some fixed it at Jerusalem, others at other places. The Persians had some knowledge of Moses, whom they stiled *the ruddy Shepherd, who holds a staff*; because he was a shepherd when he lived with *Jethro* his father-in-law; and because he performed all his miracles in Egypt and the Wilderness by means of his rod. They had knowledge also of Solomon, whom they called *Gjem*, which is likewise the name of one of their Kings. The *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *thirteenth* chapters contain the names and attributes, which they gave to God, to Angels, and to the Devil. In the seven following chapters the Doctor treats of the year, and the different epochs of the ancient Persians and other Nations, and of the names of the Angels, whom they imagined to preside over every month of the year. The ancient Persian year was Solar, and not Lunar; but as it consisted only of twelve months of thirty days each, it did not answer exactly to the time in which the sun passes through the ecliptic; by which means the beginning of their year answered successively to all the degrees of the signs of the zodiac, and ran through all the seasons, till after a revolution of 1460 years it returned to the same point, where it had begun. King *Gjemshid* leaving this manner of estimating time for civil purposes, established another for religion, in order that in a certain period of time the same festivals might come together at the same season of the year. For this purpose he ordered, that at the end of 120 years there should be an intercalation of a whole Month, which should receive its name from the month after which it was intercalated. *Yesdegerd* established another epocha; and ordered the years to be computed from the beginning of his reign, and fixed the beginning of the year at March, from which it was very different when that Prince began his reign. He abolished the names of the Angels, which the months bore, and gave them natural names, taken from the season prevailing in each month. He altered also the names of the days, and gave them such as were taken from some remarkable event; calling one, for instance, *abundance of riches*, another by a name which expressed some great rejoicing upon it, another from the revenge which he had taken of some of his enemies, from some battle, or other singular event. He abolished in consequence of this all the feasts and divine service observed on certain days; so that in his Calendar there was no festival but that of the new year. But *Yesdegerd* reigning but twenty years, the Persians, who had not forgotten their ceremonies, returned after his death to their old method of computation, restoring to the months and days the names which they had before the reign of that Prince. It is a mistake therefore of several Eastern and European Writers to call this ancient epocha the epocha of *Yesdegerd*, since on the contrary that epocha was abolished by that Prince, who established another, which continued no longer than his reign. It appears, that the ancient Persians did not know the distinction of the year into weeks, but that they divided it only into twelve equal parts; and all the days of the months had their particular names, as those of the weeks have with us. Dr. Hyde gives us also an explanation of the epocha's of the Tartars and Chinese;

and in the *nineteenth* and *twentieth* chapters he mentions the different offices ascribed to the Angels by the Persians; and observes, that the ancient and modern Persians, as well as the Mahometans, imagined, that every man has two Angels attending him, one good, the other bad. In the *twenty first* and *twenty second* chapters he treats of the Legislators of the ancient Persians, of the state of their primitive and orthodox Church, of the heresies, sects, and heretics among them, and particularly of *Manes*, *Mazdek*, and some others. After Abraham, their oldest Legislator was Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and assuming the character of a Prophet, after some difficulty procured the King to approve his religion, who established it in his dominions. It was the ancient religion purged from Sabaism, with the addition of some particular rites and ceremonies. This religion is retained by many of the Persians to this day. The works of Zoroaster, which contain divers precepts relating to doctrine and manners, are in the same esteem with them, as the Bible with Christians. However if we judge by the Book, a translation of which is subjoined to our Author's work, among several good rules of morality there are a great number of superstitious and trifling things. The religion of Zoroaster did not always continue in the same state; it suffered several changes, as particularly under the reign of Alexander the Great, who conquered Persia, and under some other Princes. King *Ardesbir Babecan*, who reigned two hundred years after Christ, called together a kind of Council, in order to consult the Priests of his dominions upon several important points of religion, and by this means cleared it from several errors, with which it had been before in a manner disfigured. This reformation was brought about by the assistance of a certain Legislator named *Erdavirâph*. But it did not long continue; for *Manes* propagated his monstrous notions over Persia, where he was born. In the *twenty third* chapter Dr. Hyde gives us an account of the life of *Darius Hystaspes*; and in the *twenty fourth* that of Zoroaster. He observes, that his true name is *Zerdusht*, that of *Zoroaster* being invented by the Greeks, who, in order to accommodate foreign names to their own language, have generally disfigured them in such a manner, that it is almost impossible to guess at the true name. They have likewise often given the same name to different persons, on account of some resemblance; and this has happened upon the present occasion; so that there are almost as many Zoroasters as there were Hercules's. But the Persians speak only of one, and agree about the age in which he lived, though they differ about his country. Some relate, that he came from China, and others from Europe, by which perhaps they mean Palestine, which is not far distant from it. The most certain opinion is, that he was born in Persia, but that his father being poor, he became servant to the Prophet *Esdra*, and seeing his master working divers miracles, he was induced to attempt the same, or, at least, to pretend it, in order to establish a new religion, or to reform that, which was already established. Monsieur Bernard (3) remarks (3) *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Mars 1701, pag. 252.* in his account of our Author's Book, that he does not find that *Esdra* ever worked any miracles; but that if Zoroaster really was a servant of his, we may assert with greater probability, that he learned of that Prophet all the miracles which *Moses* and the other Prophets performed. Dr. Hyde gives a long account of the artifices made use of by Zoroaster to attain his end. He spent but four or five years in digesting and propagating his doctrines; and then was killed together with eighty other Priests. But it is probable, that before he undertook his reformation, he wrote and prepared a considerable number of books, which he published afterwards. Our Author rejects what the Greeks have written concerning his Death. He employs his *twenty fifth* chapter in explaining the general name of *Zend* or *Zendavestâ*, which Zoroaster gave to his work. The word *Zend* in Arabic, and that of *Eshia* Hebræo-

1528 ordered his wife to send him to Paris, that he might continue his studies there. This was done accordingly. Hyperius studied Philosophy three years following in the College

Hebræo-Chaldaic, and signifies *Fire*; so that we may translate the word *Zendavestâ*, an *Instrument to strike fire with*; Zoroaster intimating by this, that the design of his works was to kindle the fire of zeal and piety in the hearts of men. In the *twenty sixth* chapter the Doctor treats particularly of Zoroaster's books, and of the language and character in which they are written. The original of *Zendavesta* was written upon twelve skins in the Persian language, but in ancient characters, not understood by all the modern Persians. All his works are in prose; so that whatever is in verse, and ascribed to him, is absolutely spurious. It is true, that some Persian Priests have translated into verse a small part of their Legislator's writings, because the people did not understand the language of the original; but they did not begin to do it till two hundred years ago, and the ancient Persians never undertook any thing of that kind. In the *twenty seventh* chapter our Author treats of the nature of fire, the manner of keeping it among the Persians, the signal used to call them to the public assemblies, their manner of behaving in their Temples, their use of rods in divine service, their daily repeating of their prayers in a low voice, and their silence. In the city of Nussari in India, the followers of Zoroaster assemble at the sound of a little bell; but at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, they know the proper times of assembling without any signal, or by only making use of a large piece of wood, which they strike; and this they do to avoid offending the Mahometans, who will not permit the use of bells, because they were invented by the Christians. When the Persians pray, they place themselves at a small distance from the fire, which burns in their great Temples, for fear of polluting it with their breath; but in small Temples there is only a lamp. For the greater precaution, they cover their mouth with a square piece of linnen called *Panâm*. They pray with a low voice, and only murmur between their teeth. The Priest advances nearer to the fire; he has also his mouth covered, and a cap with ears on his head, and is covered with an Albe, holding in one hand a book, and in the other several white rods. He chants likewise the prayers, and recites the office taken from the book *Zend*. Sometimes in the warmth of devotion he stands upon one foot, in imitation of their great Prophet. After prayers follow the offerings. Every person who is able casts into the fire precious ointments, spices, pearls, or at least corn or flesh. In the *twenty eighth* chapter our Author treats of the Priesthood and Hierarchy of the *Magi*, at the time when their church was in its flourishing state, and even at present. He tells us, that this Hierarchy was not much different from that, which subsists now in those Christian Churches, in which the several sacred orders are distinguished. The Clergy were formerly very rich, but they are in very different circumstances now under the oppression of the Mahometans. The revenue of the Priests consists chiefly of this, that upon the 24th of April all the inhabitants of a Parish extinguish the fire in their houses, and go to light it again by the fire of their Priest, paying him each of them for this purpose about six shillings and three pence. They likewise pay tythes. In the *twenty ninth* and *thirtieth* chapters the Author treats further of the fire; mentions the names given it by the Persians; and speaks of the Temples built to preserve it in, of the manner in which the *Magi* behave in them, of the reproachful names given by the Mahometans to the followers of Zoroaster, of those given to each other; of their Priesthood, their several sacred orders, and the particular names given them, and of the habits of the Priests. In the *thirty first* chapter he discourses of the Persian *Magi* in general, and particularly of those who came to worship Christ immediately after his birth. The Persians by the word *Mogb* mean their Wise Men and Priests. The Chaldeans have taken from this their word *Mag*, and the Greeks adding their termination have changed it into *Máγος*, which signifies, not a Magician, but a Philosopher, or Wise Man. Such were those who came to Bethlehem, and not Kings, as is commonly said without any foundation. Dr. Hyde thinks after Petavius, that they

came from Persia, and not from Arabia, which they only passed through, or, to speak more exactly, from the Country of the Parthians, where there was the same religion and Magi as in Persia, and where the seat of the Empire was at the birth of Christ. The Prince, who sent these Magi, permitted them to come, was the same *Pbraates*, the son of *Orodes*, who sent his four sons to Rome to be educated there, who did homage to Augustus, and restored to the Romans the ensigns, which his father Orodes had taken from Crassus. The Gospel, according to Dr. Hyde, and divers learned Writers, informs us, that the birth of Christ was revealed to the Persians. They had this advantage over many other Nations, as well that the Christian Revelation might be immediately known in the most distant places, as because the Persians were the only people, except the Jews, who had preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God, though mixed with some superstitions. What the Prophet Isaiah foretold concerning Cyrus two hundred years before the birth of that Prince, is a sufficient proof of the particular regard which God had for the Persians. But whence could these Magi learn, that a Messiah was to be born among the Jews? Daniel and some other Prophets had been in their Country. Besides we find some Predictions in the writings of their pretended Prophet Zoroaster, who was sometimes inspired by God, as Balaam had been before. Add to this, that the prophecies of the Old Testament were not unknown to them. In the *thirty second* chapter our Author shews the original of all the fabulous stories relating to the Sibyls and the books ascribed to them; and in the *thirty third* chapter he gives a short account of the religion of the ancient Persians. He shews, that they constantly believed one God, almighty and eternal, possessed of all perfections which Christians ascribe to him. They believe an universal resurrection both of the good and bad, and a last judgment, in which every one will receive according to his works; the good a life of eternal Happiness, and the vicious an eternity of misery; God having prepared for the former a Paradise of Chrystal, and for the latter an Abyss to plunge them into. They believe, that they offend God every day, but they protest, that they repent of all their sins, both of mind and body, by their thoughts, words, and actions. They believe, that God has given the government of cities and provinces to Planets and Angels. That they are sent for the good or punishment of mankind, when he thinks proper. That every man has his good and evil Angel, the former of whom inclines him to virtue, and the latter to evil. That the Devil is an irreconcilable enemy to Mankind. That God favours certain persons with an infused Light, which qualifies them to govern other men, and to become skilful in arts and sciences. The good likewise receive such a light. But Dr. Hyde is of opinion, that this signifies only natural light or reason. The Persians believe, that in the life to come the vicious will be tormented with different kinds of punishment; but instead of fire they speak of darkness, and a black stinking river, the waters of which are cold as snow; and suppose them to be formed of tears shed for the dead, and which serve only to enhance their punishment. They have not all the same notions concerning the place of happiness; some have fixed it in the sun, with the Manicheans and other heretics; others have imagined, that after the resurrection the blessed will live upon the earth, which shall be renewed, after having passed through a conflagration. They speak likewise of a bridge built upon the abyss, over which the souls separated from the bodies are to pass into the seat of immortality; and they mention several other strange things related by our author. In the *thirty fourth* chapter he treats of the marriage of the Persians; of their baptisms and ablutions; and of their funeral rites. In the last chapter he treats of the names of Persia and the Persians; and of their ancient and modern language, and its different dialects, that is, of the language of the Persians, Medes, and other people of Asia. To these thirty five chapters is subjoined a Latin translation of a book used

College of Calvi ; and after he had taken a little journey to Ypres, he returned to Paris in the year 1532, and studied Divinity there till the year 1535. He went afterwards to Louvain, and then he travelled through several Provinces of the Low-Countries and of Germany ; which rendered ineffectual the pains his friends had taken to procure him a living without his knowledge ; for as soon as it was represented to Carondilet Archbishop of Palermo and Chancellor to the Emperor, that he had travelled in Germany, this rendered him so much suspected of heresy, that he was obliged to think of a sanctuary. He went into England, and lived above four years with an English Nobleman, who was a lover of learning [A]. He crossed the sea again in 1541, and designed to visit the University of Strasburg, and particularly to see Bucer, who made that University very famous. But as he passed through the country of Hesse, he met at Marburg with a Professor of Divinity, named Geldenhaur, who was one of his friends, and who in order to keep him there, gave him hopes of some employment in the University of that city. He settled there, and soon after succeeded his friend, who died in January 1542. He continued two years in that employment without marrying. But thinking that he could not live any longer comfortably without a wife, especially because he was not very well in health (a reason which would have hindered a great many other persons from entering into the marriage state) in the year 1544 he married (b) a widow, by whom he got six sons and four daughters. He died at Marburg February the 1st 1564, having acquitted himself

(b) *Animum ad matrimonium adiecit, quod non putaret se commode sine uxore, maxime cum non ita firma valetudine esset, vitam transigere posse.* Melchior Adam in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 393.

by the Magi, intitled *Sad-der*, containing the laws and precepts of Zoroaster. It was written above two hundred years ago in verse in the modern Persian language by one of their Priests, the son of *Melichsáb*, a man of great learning and skill in the old Persian, and in the ancient books written in that language. In the fourth *Porta* or chapter the author exhorts sinners not to despair of the mercy of God, since he is ready to give much, and to receive but little. He mentions upon this occasion, that while Zoroaster was conversing familiarly with God, that Prophet saw a man, whose whole body was in hell, except his right foot. He asked who he was, and God answered, that it was a Prince who had reigned over thirty three cities, and done no good during his life, having given up himself to oppression, injustice, and violence, and made his people suffer a thousand evils. But that having one day met with a sheep bound, at such a distance from his food that it could not reach it, he thrust it towards the sheep with his foot ; which for this reason was exempted from the torments of hell, to which the rest of his body was exposed. In the twenty fifth *Porta* the author dissuades from fasting ; and teaches, that the true fast consists in abstinence from sin. In the sixty seventh he places lying among the worst of sins. The *Appendix* of Dr. Hyde contains several curious observations. Mr. Wood tells us (4) that 1694 Dr. Hyde designed to publish the following books, if he should live to finish them, having already done something towards all of them, viz. I. *Grammatica pro Lingua Persica* ; in 4to. II. *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* ; in a thick 4to. III. *Lexicon Turcico-Latinum* ; in a thick 4to. IV. *Nomenclator Mogolo-Tataricum, cum Grammatica ejusdem Linguae.* V. *Dissertatio de Tartaria.* Item *Historia Chartiludii* ; & *Dissertatio de Numerorum Notis, earundemque origine & combinandi ratione, doctrina nova* ; in 8vo. VI. *Curiosa Chinenfis & Selanensis* ; in 8vo. VII. *Historia Gemmarum Arabicæ & Latine, cum Notis* ; in 8vo. VIII. *Historia Tamerlanis Arabicæ & Latine cum Notis* ; in 4to. IX. *Liber Bustân Persicæ & Latine cum Notis* ; autore *Scheia Shadi* ; in 4to. X. *Divini Poetæ Hâphix Opus Persicæ & Latine, cum Notis* ; in 4to. XI. *Abulfedæ Geographia Arabicæ & Latine, cum Notis* ; in 4to. XII. *Liber Baharistân eloquentissimo Stylo conscriptus, meri ingenii Specimina continens, Librum Gulistân æquans, si non superans, Persicæ & Latine, cum Notis* ; in 4to. XIII. *Maimonidis Liber More Nevochim transcriptus ex characteribus Hebraicis quibus a Maimonide scriptum est, in propriis Arabicis, cum novâ versione & Notis, Arabicæ & Latine* ; in a thick 4to. XIV. *Historia Regum Persicæ ex ipsorum monumentis & autoribus extracta* ; in 4to. XV. *Annotationes in difficiliora Loca Biblica ex Literaturâ Orientali* ; in a thick 4to. XVI. *Periplus Marium Mediterranei & Archipelagi Turcicæ & Latine cum circulo ventorum in variis Linguis, Arabicâ, Persicâ, Chinenfi, &c.* in 8vo. XVII. *Zoroastris Perso-Medi Opera omnia Mathematico-medico-physico-Theologica Persicæ & Latine* ; in folio. XVIII. *Liber Erda-viraph-name Persicæ & Latine* ; in 4to. XIX. *Lexicon Hebraicum emendatum ex MSS. Lexicis Rabbi Pinchon, R. Jonæ, & R. Jesaiæ, atque ex col-*

latione sum Linguis Arabicâ & Persicâ & aliis Linguis Orientalibus ; in 4to. XX. *Cælum Orientale Arabico-Persicum, atq; Occidentale Græco-Latinum, una cum Sappii Figurationibus Stellarum duplici situ, prout in Cælo, & prout in Globo apparent, cum earum nominibus secundum harum gentium doctrinam* ; in 4to. XXI. *Commentarius in Pentateuchum Arabicè, auctor Mansûr Syro-Arabe ex Scripturâ Gersumi in Arabicam transcriptus & Latinitate donatus* ; in 4to. XXII. *Urbium Armeniæ Nomenclaturæ ex eorum Geographia excerptæ, &c.* XXIII. *Varia Chinenfis, scil. eorum Idololatria, Opiniones de Deo & de Paradiso atque de Gebennâ, & de Gradibus & modis supplicii ; de eorum Literaturâ & Libris & Chartâ, & de imprimendi modo atque antiquitate &c. omnia excerpta ex ore & scriptis nativi Chinenfis Shin Fo-burg* ; in 8vo. XXIV. *Varia Selanensia, ubi insulæ Selan (vulgo Batarvis Ceylon) Historica quædam & vocabularium genuinis eorum Characteribus exaratum cum eorum Alphabeto & aliis rebus* ; in 8vo. XXV. *Bantamenfè Alphabetum à Legato scriptum cum Literarum potestate & numerorum notis* ; in 8vo. XXVI. *Notæ Arithmeticæ variarum Gentium, ubi italicum Notarum Origo & combinandi ratio docetur* ; in 8vo. XXVII. *Dialogi Arabico-Persico-Turcici, Latine versi* ; in 8vo. XXVIII. *Liber de Turcarum opinionibus in rebus religiosis, Turcicè & Latine* ; in 8vo. XXIX. *Utilia, mensalia, scil. quid in Conversatione Conviviali decorum est, Arabicè & Latine* ; in 8vo. XXX. *Rivole Lexicon Armeniacum cum Linguis Orientalibus (scil. Arabicâ, Persicâ, & Turcicâ) collatum & in margine notatum* ; in 4to. XXXI. *Evangelium Lucæ & Acta Apostolorum Lingua & Characterè Malaico* ; in 4to. He also translated into English the letters of several Eastern Kings and Princes sent to King Charles II, King James II, and King William III. T.

[A] He lived with an English Nobleman, who was a lover of learning.] It was the son of the Lord William Montjoy, whom Erasmus, who was infinitely beholden to him, has so much commended. In *Carolus Montjoium, Guillelmi filium, Baronem incidit* (Hyperius) quem Erasmus Roterodamus amplissime in scriptis suis ac sæpè commendat. Is amicè cum Hyperio multis ac variis de rebus collocutus cum ingenium ejus perspexisset, oblato liberali stipendio, domum suam cum invitavit, ubi annos quatuor amplius suavissime Hyperius cum Montjoio vixit in otio literario (1). i. e. "He met with my Lord Charles Baron Montjoy the son of William, on whom Erasmus has often bestowed great praises in his writings. This Lord having conversed with Hyperius in a friendly manner upon several subjects, and observing his great genius, invited him to his own house, and offered him a handsome salary ; so that Hyperius lived above four years with him, and was at leisure to apply himself to literature." Observe, that they have put *Monticius* instead of *Montjoius* in Paul Freher's Theatre (2) ; and that though Erasmus dedicated his *Livy* to Montjoy the son, and also commended him in some other places, yet what is here asserted of the great and numerous commendations can properly relate only to the father. The son was still very young when Erasmus died (3).

(4) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 975. 976.

(1) Melch. Adam, in *Vita Hyperii*, pag. 392. *Vitar. Theolog.*

(2) Pag. 198.

(3) *Vide* Erasmi, Epist. 16. lib. 26. & Epist. 25. lib. 28.

himself with great application of the functions of a Divinity Professor above twenty two years. He wrote a great many books [B], some of which have been copied by a Doctor of Louvain [C]. He laboured chiefly to teach the Students in Divinity a method to preach well. He had a very clear head; and besides his knowledge in the Languages, in History, in Philosophy, and in Divinity, he had also a particular talent of teaching well. He had begun very soon to exercise himself that way; for whilst he studied at Paris, he used to teach the other scholars in private. He was very modest at entertainments; meek and civil in conversation; and he loved to be sometimes at a well regulated entertainment, and was delighted with an agreeable conversation, as much as he hated those enormous bumpers, which guests are sometimes obliged to drink [D], and those silly jokes, which do but too much prevail in our conversations. In a word, he was a man who had a true wit and good sense, and who added that good quality to his virtue and zeal. They who desire to see a more particular account of him may read the authors to whom I refer (c). Verheiden's account of him differs a little from Melchior Adam's [E]. I can hardly believe that Hyperius had been a Monk [F]. Some of the books he wrote were published after

(c) Wigandus Orthius, in *Oratione funebri Hyperii*. Melch. Adam, in *Vita Hyperii*, which is only an Extract of the *Funeral Oration*. Verheiden, *Præfatio*. aliquot *Theolog. Effig.* pag. 95.

[B] He wrote a great many books.] If we may credit Verheiden, the works of Hyperius which have been published, would make up seven volumes in folio. There are some written upon the human sciences, as Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, Astronomy, Optics, Natural Philosophy, &c. The others are either Commentaries upon some parts of the holy Scripture, or Theological tracts. That intitled *De recte formando Theologiae studio*. i. e. "Of the true Method of studying Divinity;" and that *De formandis Concionibus sacris*; i. e. "Of making Sermons?" have been so much liked by a Doctor of Louvain, that he has inserted them almost word for word in the books he published upon the same subjects at Antwerp in the year 1565. Hyperius was still but a young student when he delivered an oration at Paris (4), which has since been printed, and which contains the eulogy of his friends (5).

[C] Some of which have been copied by a Doctor of Louvain.] Valerius Andreas confesses it. *Quicquid boni habent ejusdem (Hyperii) de formandis sacris concionibus Libri duo, deque recte formando studio Theologico Libri IV*, id in suos similis argumenti libros transtulit Laurentius à Villavicentio ex Ord. Augustiano Doctor Theol. Lovaniensis (6). i. e. "All that is good for any thing in Hyperius's two books of the manner of making sermons, and in his four books of the best method of studying Divinity, has been transcribed by Laurence a Villavicentio, a Monk of the order of St. Austin, and a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Louvain in the books he wrote upon the same subjects." This Doctor was a Spanish Monk of the order of St. Augustin. His name was *Laurence de Villavicenza*. He is often quoted as a notorious plagiarist. I have not met with any author that observed this plagiarism before the learned Raynolds. He mentions it in the fourth chapter of the first book of his treatise *De Idololatria Romana*, printed at Oxford in the year 1596, and he observes that this Monk altered in Hyperius's book all that was inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Some time after Keckerman (7) mentioned the same plagiarism, acknowledging that Raynolds had already observed it. Voetius (8) spoke of it quoting Keckerman, in a dissertation which was held in the year 1655; but he pretends that the work which the Spanish Monk pirated, was the manner of teaching Divinity. Now this treatise contains but three books, whereas the work which Raynold Keckerman and the Bibliographer of the Low Countries pretend was transcribed by the Spanish Monk, contains four books, and is usually quoted under this title: *De Ratione Studii Theologici*. i. e. "The Method of studying Divinity." It is certain that this last work is not the same with the *Methodus Theologiae*, i. e. "The Manner of teaching Divinity," which Hyperius also wrote. Voetius has not been accurate enough. Monsieur Colomies (9) does also mention this plagiarism, and quotes Raynolds. Placcius (10) who speaks of it, does it only on the credit of one of his friends, who wrote to him, that Simon Oomius mentioned it in the second preface prefixed to a Dutch book: and he pretends as well as Konig (11) that this plunder relates to the book intitled *Methodus Theologiae*. A modern author (12) quotes not only Keckerman and Colomies upon this plagiarism of Villavicenza, but also John Heilfeld *cap. 25. Sphingis Theologico-Philosophicæ*.

It is to be observed that none of these authors, except Valerius Andreas, mention the double plagiarism of the Spanish Monk, they speak only of that which relates to the book intitled, *De Studio Theologico*. But on the other hand Nicholas Antonio does not only assert that Villavicenza transcribed all that was good in two of Hyperius's books, but he ascribes to him the same conduct with regard to two other books published by Protestant writers; the one is *De Phrasibus sacrae Scripturae*; i. e. "Of the Phrases used in the holy Scripture;" the other is *Tabula compendiosa in Evangelia & Epistolas*. i. e. "Short Indexes to the Gospels and Epistles." Observe that he has added to his own mistakes those of Valerius Andreas. He pretends (13), like him, that Hyperius had been a Dominican; and he commits himself the following blunders; 1. He gives Hyperius the name of *Hesperius*; 2. he supposes that the treatise *De formando Studio Theologico* contains but three books; 3. He asserts that the treatise *De formandis sacris Concionibus* contains three books, whereas it contains but two.

[D] He hated those enormous bumpers, which guests are sometimes obliged to drink.] Here follows what is observed in his funeral oration (14). *In colloquiis & conversationibus humanis & æquus, & quemadmodum immania illa in conviviiis hominum potaba, & fœuriles in colloquiis nugæ ex animo fuit averfatus, ita moderatè conviviiis, jucundisque amicorum confabulationibus nonnunquam interfuit.*

[E] Verheiden's account of him differs a little from Melchior Adam's.] Verheiden has given us but a short eulogium of him; but we meet in Melchior Adam with a much fuller account in a chronological order. The latter does not make Hyperius travel into Spain; he supposes that he only visited those provinces of Italy, which are between the Alps and Bologna; and that he travelled thither whilst he was upon his studies at Paris, and before he took a journey to Louvain. Verheiden on the contrary pretends that Hyperius travelled into Spain and Italy, after he had studied at Paris and at Louvain. He supposes that he first taught Philosophy at Marburg, and then Divinity. Melchior Adam does not mention the Professorship of Philosophy.

[F] I can hardly believe that Hyperius had been a Monk.] There is not a word of it in the extract from Wigandus Orthius did not say it; for this is a particular, which honest Melchior Adam would not have omitted, though he had given us but a very short extract, and not a long account containing a thousand trifling circumstances. Yet I would not depend upon this argument only; I have enquired for Wigandus Orthius's oration, and have found it at last; but I could not meet in it with the least hint that could make me suspect, that Hyperius was ever a Monk; whence I infer that he never was one. Let it not be objected that I argue here by a negative argument. I do not pretend to vindicate that way of arguing (15); but I dare to assert that it is very good on this occasion, both because the person who delivered the funeral oration on Hyperius's death could not but know whether or not he had been a Monk, and because if he had known he had been one, he would certainly have told it, and was obliged to do it. Such particulars were not omitted with regard to Musculus, Marlorat, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, and several other supporters of the new reformation, who

(13) Nic. Anton. *Bibliob. Hispan.* tom. 2. pag. 9.

(14) Apud Melchior Adam in *Vitis Theolog.* pag. 397.

(15) The blunders of Moreri and Valerius Andreas.

(15) Mr. de Launoi wrote some books to prove that a negative argument is good. Monsieur Thiers, amongst others, refuted his opinion.

(d) Verheiden, *Præstant. aliquot Theolog. Effig.* pag. 95.

after his death [G], by the care of his son Laurence Hyperius, or of John Mylius (d).

who had left their convents; and there was perhaps never a man less capable to omit such a particular, than Orthius, who thought it his duty to observe in a funeral oration, that Hyperius went to wait for his clothes at Marburg, because he knew, that he would live cheaper there, than in any place on the banks of the Rhine. *Sciebat enim minoris se apud Catos interea posse vivere, quam uspiam ad Rheni ripas.* He relates a thousand particulars as important as that is, which have all been faithfully transcribed by Melchior Adam. I cannot therefore but think, that Moreri was in the wrong to assert, that Hyperius became a Monk of the order of St. Dominick, and distinguished himself by his learning; but that he basely apostatised afterwards. He transcribed this from Valerius Andreas, who had already published that falsity. This Bibliographer of the Low-Countries, who was also mistaken in placing Hyperius's death under the year 1560, is inexcusable for omitting to observe that Hyperius had been a Minister. Moreri, who has observed it (16), is to be blamed for omitting to mention his Professors of Divinity. His inaccuracy appears also in this expression, *he fell into Luther's errors, which he taught.* To what purpose is this last remark express'd thus in a loose manner? Was it not enough to have filed Hyperius a Protestant Minister in the first line of his article? Was not this hinting sufficiently that he had taught the doctrines of the Protestants? But further, it is not true that Hyperius

followed Luther's reformation. The *Index* of prohibited books (17) might have set Moreri right in this particular.

[G] *Some of his books... were published after his death.* Consult Gesner's epitome, you will see there, that several of Hyperius's works were printed in his life-time. I do not think therefore that he can be quoted as an instance of that singular modesty, which makes an author put off till after his death the publishing of his writings, that he may not hear his own praises. Let them take some notice of this, who read in Saldenus (19) the passage which I shall now transcribe. *Cujus (contemptus famæ vel gloriæ propriæ) illustre exemplum antebac præbuit Theologus sua ætate celeberrimus Andreas Hyperius, de quo testis est Justus Vultejus (20), quod ideo post mortem demum in lucem prodire sua voluerit, quia gloriam sibi nullam, nec vulgi applausus iis captabat. Hos enim (inquit) si tanti faciendos esse putasset, utique vivo ei frui illis licuisset.* i. e. "Andrew Hyperius, one of the most eminent Divines of his time, gave a noble instance of this contempt of fame and glory; for Justus Vultejus testifies, that he would not have his books published till after his death, because he aimed at no glory by them, and endeavoured to gain the public applause. For, adds he, if he had had any value for it he might have enjoyed it in his life-time."

(17) We read there in pag. 16. of the edition in folio 1667. *Andreas Hyperius, seu Hyperius, Theologus Calviniano Zwillingianus, Professor Marpurgenfis.* Konig, pag. 420. of his *Bibliotheca* calls him a Reformed Divine, which in the style of the Protestants of Germany is the same as a Calvinist Divine.

(19) *De Libris & eorum Laetione,* pag. 47.

(20) Vultej. in *Dedic. Oper. Hyperii præfix.*

(16) He did not spell the name of the city right, calling it *Marburg.*

(a) Apollodorus, lib. 1.

(b) *His mihi pro meritis (ut falsi criminis obæ) Parta fides) regno & solio confidere patris Supplicium datur.* Hypsipyle apud Statium, *Theb.* lib. 5. ver. 320.

HYPPIPYLE the daughter of Thoas King of the Isle of Lemnos, saved her father's life when the women of that island made a general slaughter of all the men that were there (a). She did not save him openly, but was obliged to make the other women believe that she had killed him, and upon this supposition they chose her for their Queen (b). The Argonauts landed some time after in the island of Lemnos, and were received with all the marks of the most intimate friendship, for the women of that island had not slain the men out of any hatred for the male sex [A], but rather out of such a revenge as shews, that they were very fond of the sweet pleasures of love. The Argonauts, after the fatigues they had suffered at sea, refreshed themselves as much as they pleased in the arms of these widows: nor did Hypsipyle forget to take care of her self; she chose their chief for her partner, and was soon pregnant of twins. If her fate differed from Dido's in this particular [B], it was like her's in another, for Jason did not prove less inconstant than

[A] *The women of the island of Lemnos had not slain the men out of any hatred for the male sex.* They were determined to that slaughter because the men did not lie any more with them, and diverted themselves only with the slaves they had taken in Thrace (1). They did this because their wives stunk so much that they could not come near them without the utmost disgust (2). This stink was an effect of Venus's anger; either because this Goddess was exasperated against them for neglecting to sacrifice to her during several years (3), or because she had taken an aversion to the isle of Lemnos, having been surprized there with Mars (4), for it was in that island the Gods saw her lying with him. Others (5) assert, that Medea being jealous of Hypsipyle had cast certain drugs into the isle of Lemnos, which caused the women to stink thus. It is added that during several ages they used to stink so much on a certain day every year, that their husbands, and even their very children could not endure to be near them. The authors are not agreed whether it was their mouth or their armpits that stunk so. Eustathius (6) asserts the first opinion, and Dion Chrysostomus (7) the second. Here follows some verses of Statius in which Hypsipyle represents the dismal condition of that island during the interregnum of love.

"affords now nothing but bitter hatred, anger, and quarrels."

This interregnum was so insufferable, that the women resolved upon the slaughter I have mentioned.

[B] *Her fate differed from Dido's in this particular.* For poor Dido's amours with Æneas proved fruitless, which grieved her very much. I have observed in another place (9) the difference there is between her taste and that of the women of this time. The latter being forsaken by their lovers at the beginning of the campaign, are overjoyed when the pleasures they tasted during the winter, are not attended with generation. I quote this instance, without pretending to exclude those that relate to persons of another profession. I quote it, I say, because in my opinion the stay of the Argonauts in the isle of Lemnos, may very well be compared to the soldiers continuing a long while in winter quarters.

Let us observe that Hypsipyle solemnly declares in the work of a Latin Poet, that it was very much against her will she married the lovely Jason.

*Cinerem furiasque meorum
Testor, ut externas non sponte aut crimine tædas
Attigerim, (scit cura Deum) est blandus Jason
Virginibus dare vincula novis (10).*

(9) In the article **GARNACHE**, remark [B].

(10) Statius, lib. 5. ver. 454.

(1) Apollodorus, lib. 1.

(2) *Idem, ibid.*

(3) *In insula Lemno mulieres Veneri sacra aliquot annos non fecerant.* Hygin. cap. 15. See also Apollodorus, lib. 1. Stat. *Theb.* lib. 5. and the Scholiast in Euripidem in *Hecubæ.*

(4) Lactantius in *Statium*, lib. 5. *Thebaid.*

(5) Myrtius Lesbios, lib. 1. *Lebracorum.* apud Scholiast. Apollon. in lib. 1. Argonaut.

(6) In *Iliad.* lib. 3.

(7) *Orations* 32.

(8) Statius, *Thebaid.* lib. 5. ver. 70.

*Protinus a Lemno teneri fugistis amores,
Motus Hymen, versæque faces, & frigida justæ
Cura Tori: nullæ redeunt in gaudia noctes,
Nullus in amplexu sopor est; odia aspera ubique
Et furor, & medio recubat discordia læto (8).*

i. e. "Tender Cupids you are fled immediately from Lemnos: Hymen is removed, his torches are extinguished, the marriage bed is forsaken; no longer do the nights afford us joyful pleasures; no longer do we sleep in the arms of our husbands; the bed

i. e. "I call to witness the ashes and furies of my ancestors, that it is not of my own accord nor by any crime, that I consent to marry a foreigner; (the Gods know it). Though lovely Jason knows how to captivate young virgins."

But a Greek Poet represents her so much in love with him, that the moment she saw him, she offered him her Kingdom.

than Æneas [C]. See in the supplement to Moreri's Dictionary what became of Hypsipyle, when her subjects found out that she had not killed her father.

Ἐς δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς
 Πατρῶν ἰδέσθαι, καὶ τοὶ ἄδοι, ἢτ' ἂν ἰκίτα
 Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θέωνος ἔχουσι γέρας (11).

(11) Apollonius,
 lib. 5. ver. 827.

i. e. "Stay here, let it be acceptable to you; and for your reward, you shall have my father's Kingdom," Valerius Flaccus, also represents her deeply smitten with this Hero's charms, and ready to marry him the first time she sees him.

Unius haret

Alloquio, & blandos paulatim colligit ignes,
 Jam non dura sibi, Veneri nec iniqua reverse (12).

(12) Val. Flaccus,
 lib. 2. ver. 353.

i. e. "She speaks with one only; and insensibly suffers the fire of love to kindle in her bosom; she is no longer averse to the marriage-bed, nor does she decline the pleasures that return to her."

[C] Jason did not prove less inconstant than Æneas.] He forsook her and her two children and continued his

voyage; so that she is one of those Heroines, whose sad complaints and tender sighs upon their being forsaken by the lovers to whom they refused nothing, are related by Ovid, Ariadne, Hypsipyle's grandmother (13), had met with the same fate. See in Ovid her complaint against Theseus. I make a reflexion upon this subject. The Mythological authors and the writers of modern romances followed very different roads. The former keep too much to the History, the latter recede too much from it. I say this only with regard to the description: they give us of men's morals as to their characters of heroes. In Mythology the Heroines are not only too amorous, but also too free of their favours: the Heroes are not constant; they get their Heroines with child, or they do their best endeavours for it, and then they forsake them. This favours too much of History, and is of a bad example for either sex (14); it is better to choose the opposite extreme, as is done in our romances: it is better, I say, to suppose, even against all probability, that such Heroes and Heroines as never commit the least fault.

(13) Theseus, Hypsipyle's father, was the son of Barchus and Ariadne.
 (14) We may apply to these accounts this sentence of Horace, Ode 7. lib. 3. *Historias peccare docentes. i. e. Tales that are hawks to vice.* *Crash.*

JACCETIUS

I.

JACCETIUS (FRANCIS CATANEUS) was born in Florence the 16th of November 1466. He was the disciple of Marfilus Ficinus; and improved so happily by the instructions of this great master, that he became one of the ablest Platonists of his time, and an exceeding good Orator. He succeeded the abovementioned Ficinus in his Professorship of Philosophy; he looking upon Jaccetius as perfectly well qualified for it, and even concluding that nature had brought him into the world for that purpose. He published a great many books [A]; died in Florence in the year 1522; was buried in the church of Santa Croce or Holy Cross in the sepulchre of his ancestors, and left thirteen sons [B]. Benedetto Varchi made his funeral Oration, and his life was written very elegantly by Euphrosynus Lapinus (a). Diaceto, which is his true Italian name, has been changed a numberless multitude of ways by those writers who speak of him or his posterity [C]. We have another FRANCIS CATANEUS JACCETIUS who wrote books [D]; but I am of opinion that he is known only under the name of DIACETTIUS, or DIACETIUS. I fancy that Count de Chateaufvillain, who married one of the maids of honour to Catherine de Medicis, descended from our Francis Jaccetius [E]. This young Lady was called Mademoiselle d'Atri, and has been very well and very ill spoken of (b).

(a) Ex Michaele Pocciantio, de Scriptor. Florentinis, pag. 67, 68.

(b) See the Notes on the Confession Catalique de Sancy, pag. 459, & seq. edit. of 1699.

[A] He published a great many books.] Here follow the titles of some of them; *De Pulchro libri tres. De Amore libri tres. Paraphrasis in Politicum & Theagenem Platonis, & in Aristotelem de Caelo & Meteoris. Enarratio in Platonis Symposium. Oratio in funere Laurentii Medices. Epistole variae, &c.* An edition was made, at Basil, of his works, in the year 1563, in folio. It is mentioned in the epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca, under *Franciscus Cataneus Jaccetius*. The Bodleian Catalogue, and Konig speak of it only under the word *Cataneus*. Ghilini calls this author only *Francisco Catanio* (1). He has admirably well paraphrased what Pocciantius says of him, and has not added any other incident.

(1) Ghilini, Teaturo, tom. 2. pag. 88.

[B] He left thirteen sons.] I doubt not but one of them is the person whom I mention in the article MACHIAVEL (2), and whose fatal end is thus described by Pierius Valerianus: *Jacobus Jaccetus juvenis & Græce, & Latine egregie peritus, pangendi carminis auditor non illepidus, Florentinam cathedram obtinebat; sed infelici suo fidei conjurationis in Julii Cardinalis Medices eadem certo die patrandam conscius fuit; qua patefacta, captus ipse, & tam nefandi sceleris convictus Senatus Florentini judicio securi percussus est* (3). i. e. "James Jaccetus, a young man exceedingly well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues, and a good Poet, obtained a Professor's chair in Florence; but through his ill fate, he joined in a plot in order to murder Cardinal Julius of Medicis, on a certain day. The conspiracy being discovered, Jaccetus was seized, and being found guilty of so horrid a crime, was beheaded, pursuant to the sentence of the Senate of Florence." Paul Jovius, who bestows no other title upon him than that of Poet (4), deserves censure. I am of opinion that brother Angelus de Cataneis Diacetus (5), who after having gone thro' the several dignities of the order of Dominicans, was made Bishop of Fiesoli in 1566, was one of the thirteen sons of our Jaccetius. He died the 5th of May 1574, at fourscore and one years of age (6). He is called in his epitaph (7) *Angelus Cataneus Diacetus*.

(2) At the remark [C].

(3) Pierius Valerian. de Litterator. Infelicit. lib. 2. pag. 77.

(4) See remark [C] of the article MACHIAVEL.

(5) He is thus named in tom. 3. pag. 340. of Ughelli's Italia Sacra.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Ughelli gives it, ibid.

[C] Diaceto, which is his true Italian name, has been changed a numberless multitude of ways by those writers who spoke of him or his posterity.] See the remark [C] of the article MACHIAVEL, and observe that the reason why I make *Diaceto* his true name,

is because I met with this word in the subscription of a letter (8), which the grand-son of our Jaccetius wrote to the Varchi the 9th of September 1561, upon sending him two copies of a work of his grandfather's (9). He had received four of them from Venice. The edition pleased him as to the types, but he found it incorrect. Michael Pocciantius is not altogether accurate, he spelling our author's name thus; (9) That intitled, *Franciscus Catbanus Diacetus* (10). I am to observe that the author of the notes of the Confession of Sancy informs me (11), that *Carolus Zenobii de Ghiaceto unus ex Decemviris Baliae Florentinae civitatis*, signed in the quality of J. . . son of Cosmo de Medicis, in a contract made at Florence in 1453, which he saw among the Archives of Lorrain. This shews that this family was not antiently called *Diaceto*. It is very probable that Diaceto was made by joining the name and the article together. I have spoke elsewhere (12) of the life of one Paul Ghiacetti.

(8) Bulifone has inserted it in pag. 199. of his *Litterae Storice, Politice, & Erudite*, printed at Pozzoli in 1685.

[D] We have another FRANCIS CATANEUS JACCETIUS who wrote books.] Michael Pocciantius calls him *Franciscus Catbanus Diacettius*, and says that he was a Canon in the cathedral of Florence, Apostolical Prothonotary, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Bishop of Fiesoli; and that he wrote in Italian, among other works, the life of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Dominick, and of some Bishops of Fiesoli; several sermons, and the Epistles and Gospels for all the year (13). Ughelli calls him *Franciscus Cataneus Diacetus*; and says that he succeeded Angelus de Cataneis Diacetus his uncle, in the Bishoprick of Fiesoli, in the year 1570; had a seat among the Fathers of the Council of Trent; wrote some tracts entitled *De Auctoritate Papæ & Consilii, de Superstitione Artis Magicae, &c.* that he discharged all the duties of a worthy prelate, and died the 4th of November 1595 (14).

(10) Mich. Pocciant. de Script. Florent. pag. 67.

(11) Pag. 461. of the edit. of 1699.

(12) In the remark of the article FONTIUS.

[E] Count de Chateaufvillain . . . descended from our Francis Jaccetius.] Mezerai speaking of the exploits of the King's troops against the League, observes, that Sancy made himself master of Chateaufvillain in Champagne in the year 1589, at the solicitation of the Lord of the place. It was, adds he (15), a Florentine named *Louis Dijacetti*, who, like many of his countrymen, had acquired great riches by farming the imposts of the King.

(13) Pocciant. de Script. Florent. pag. 71.

(14) Ughelli, Italia Sacra, tom. 3. pag. 340.

(15) Mezerai, Hist. de France, tom. 3. pag. 784. edit. of 1685.

☞ JACOB (HENRY), a very learned English writer in the seventeenth Century, was son of Mr. Henry Jacob [A] a Minister in Kent, by Sarah sister of John Duma-relique of the Isle of Jersey Gentleman. He was born in the Diocese of London about the

[A] Mr. Henry Jacob.] This Mr. Jacob was a native of Kent, and entered a Commoner or Butler in St. Mary's-Hall, in the University of Oxford, in 1579, at sixteen years of age (1), where he took the

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 404.

degree of Bachelor of Arts, December 16, 1583 (2), and that of Master of Arts July 8, 1586 (3). Entering into holy orders he became Præcentor of Corpus Christi College, and was afterwards beneficed in Kent, particularly

(2) Idem. Fassi; Oxon. vol. 1. col. 124.
(3) Idem, ibid. col. 132.

the year 1609, and in his younger years sent by his relations to be educated abroad, and studied at Leyden under Thomas Erpenius, and made a prodigious progress in Philological and Oriental learning. At about the age of two and twenty years he returned to England, and by Mr. William Bedwell, who was eminent for his skill in the Arabic Language, he was recommended in the strongest terms to William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, who wrote letters to that University in his behalf [B], that he might be created Bachelor of Arts (a), as he was on the 20th of January 1628⁸ (b). The year following, by the interest of Mr. Selden, Mr. Henry Briggs, and Mr. Peter Turner he was elected Probationer Fellow of Merton College in Oxford (c).

(a) Wood, *Atb.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
158, 159. 2d edit.
London 1721.

(b) *Idem*, *Fasti*
Oxon. vol. 1. col.
246.

(c) *Idem*, *Atb.*
Oxon. ubi supra.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

“ But then, says Mr. Wood (d), he not having so much Logic and Philosophy to carry him through the severe exercises of that Society, the Warden and Fellows tacitly assigned him Philological Lecturer. This being done, he was called away to follow law-suits concerning his patrimony; which being concluded he fell into a dangerous sickness, and by the sudden loss of his Patron of Pembroke, his life was in jeopardy.” Bishop Laud being soon after chosen Chancellor of the University, a way was found out from the statutes of Merton College to make Mr. Jacob *Socius Grammaticalis*, that is, Reader of Philology to the Juniors, a place which had been disused for about an hundred years. So that being made compleat Fellow, he spent some time in 1636 with Mr. Selden (e) [C]; and August the 13th the same year he was created Master of Arts (f). June the 14th 1641 he was elected Superior Bedell of Divinity (g). The same year Sir Nath. Brent, Warden of the College, being his enemy, endeavours were used to eject him out of his Fellowship, as appears from a letter of Mr. Peter Turner to Mr. Selden [D]. November the 1st 1642 he was created Bachelor of Physic (b). “ But his head, says Mr. Wood (i), being always overbusy about critical notions, (which

(f) *Idem*, *Fasti*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
268, 269.

(g) *Idem*, *Atb.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
159.

(b) *Idem*, *Fasti*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
20.

(i) *Atb.* *Oxon.*
vol. 2. col. 159.

particularly at Cheriton, as Mr. Wood was informed; though upon search into that Parish Register, wherein are the names of all the Rectors of that church set down since 1591, that of Henry Jacob occurs not, he having been perhaps Rector before that time. He was a person exceedingly well read in theological authors, but a most zealous Puritan, or, as his son Henry used to say, *the first Independent* in England (4). He wrote the following works. *A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption, &c.* written against certain errors in those points publicly preached in London, 1597. London, 1598, in 8vo. The points, which he endeavours to confute, were, 1. That Christ suffered for us the wrath of God, which we may well term the pains of Hell. 2. That Christ after his death on the cross went not into Hell in his soul. *Of the Church and Ministry of England, written in two Treatises against the Reasons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnson.* Middleburg, 1599, in 4to. Our author and Mr. Johnson, who was a Brownist, and lived in Holland, had several disputes at Amsterdam about the Church of England's being a true church. *Defence of a Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption.* 1600 in 4to. *Reasons taken out of God's word and the best human Testimonies, proving a necessity of reforming our Churches of England, &c.* 1604, in 4to. *A Position against vain-glorious, and that which is falsely called learned preaching.* 1604, in 8vo. *The divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's true, visible, and material Church.* Leyden, 1610, in 8vo. *Plain and clear Exposition of the second Commandment,* 1610, in 8vo. *Declaration and opening of certain points, with a sound Confirmation of some others, in a Treatise, intitled, The Divine Beginning, &c.* Middleburg, 1611. He wrote and published likewise several pieces, as the *Counter-Poison*, &c. which being printed privately, or beyond the seas, are rarely to be met with. He began to gather a congregation in the city of London in 1616, and died in 1621 (5).

(4) *Idem*, *Oxon.*
vol. 1. col. 465.

(5) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[B] *Who wrote letters to that University in his behalf.* These letters are dated November 24, 1628; in which the Chancellor says, that “ Henry Jacob, a young scholar, had bestowed divers years in the Low-Countries in the study of good literature, and had his education principally under one *Erpenius*, a famous scholar, especially in the Oriental languages; in which learning he profited under him beyond the ordinary measures of his age, &c.”

[C] *He spent some time in 1636 with Mr. Selden.* He was *Amanuensis* to that great man, as appears from these words of Mr. Selden: *Ubi Amanuensis mihi in Caedice Regio tunc porrigendo operam praestitit mihi vir doctissimus Henricus Jacobus, &c.* (6). “ At this time, it is said, he taught, or at least improved Selden

(6) *Vindiciae Maritimi*
clausi, pag. 53.
edit. Londini
1653.

“ in the Hebrew language, and added several things which Selden finding to be very excellent, let them stand (7).”

[D] *As appears from a letter of Mr. Peter Turner to Mr. Selden.* This Letter, which we copied from the original, is addressed to his worthy honoured friend Mr. Selden, and is as follows.

(7) Wood, *Atb.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
159.

“ Sir,
“ Out of that affection, which naturally inclines men to preserve their own benefactors, I presume upon your ready assistance for the preserving Mr. Jacob in that fellowship, which by your procurement my Lord of Canterbury conferred upon him. If some means for prevention be not timely used, he is likely the 10th of January to be pronounced *non Socius*. The main quarrel to him, (and that not disguised neither) is, that he was brought in by my Lord's Grace, irregularly and unstatutably, say they, though I know the contrary, and am able to demonstrate it before indifferent judges, such as he is not likely to find our Warden or any of his creatures. Another exception is, that the Squire Bedell's office is not compatible with his fellowship; which will easily be answered by the practice both of our owne College and of other Colleges in both Universityes. So will also some other exceptions, which they have against him upon the by, be easily blowne away, if they were to be scanned before indifferent judges. At another time there were some remedies to be found against these proceedings, by appealing to the Visitors. But our Visitor now being under hatches, and his jurisdiction suspended, we know not where to seek for remedie. If the suspension were intended by the Lords to extend onely to that jurisdiction, which essentially is inherent in the Archbishoprick (as this power of Visitor is not) then there is still a power in my Lord's Grace, though a frustraneous one, since he does not make use of it. If it were intended that this jurisdiction likewise should be involved in the general suspension, another quere will rise where it is lodged all this while, whether in the same persons, &c. whence they have committed the execution of the ordinary jurisdiction; or *in nubibus*, to be extracted thence upon occasion, and placed where the Parliament pleaseth. If in the same persons, then Mr. Warden by this means is his own Visitor, and a man that should appeal from him to himself, were like to find much remedie. If *in nubibus*, and yet to be disposed of by Parliament, I doubt whether they will have leisure at such a time to take so petty a business into their consideration. Then againe, it is to be feared, lest the same consideration, which made them take the Archbishop's jurisdiction

“(which made him sometimes a little better than crazed) he neglected his duty so much, that he was suspended once, if not twice, from his place, and had his Bedell’s staff taken from him.” At last, when the Parliament Visitors came in 1648 he lost it altogether, and was ejected from his Fellowship; so that being destitute of a maintenance, he retired to London, where Mr. Selden contributed to his support. But the benefactions of his friends not being sufficient, he sold that little land which he had at Godmersham in Kent, and died before it was spent. He wrote many things, but published nothing himself [E]. Having broken his health by his intense application to his studies, he retired, by the advice of his friends, some weeks before his death to Canterbury in September 1652, where he was entertained by Dr. William Jacob, an eminent Physician of that city, though not related to him. But soon after a tumour breaking out in one of his legs, he died there November the 5th 1652, about the year of his age forty four, and was interred the next day in the parish church of All-Saints in that city (k). “ Soon after

(k) Ibid. col. 159, 161.

“ jurisdiction out of his hands, will sway them to place it in such hands, as are most likely to make use of it against my Lord, to overthrow all his acts. If they should think of a Clergie-man, the Archbishop of Yorke is as likely a man as another; and our Warden hath already (though very ignorantly) intitled him to the Visitorship of our College; with which opinion it is likely he hath possessed his friends in the Lords House (as my Lords of Northumberland and Essex) and they probably may cause it to be suggested to the House. If they should think of a Lay-Lord, our Chancellor having the nearest relation to the University, may in likelihood be thought of before any other; whose affection though for my own particular I have no reason to distrust, yet I cannot be confident upon his judgment. Besides that our Warden presumes upon a great interest in him; which (whatever it be) he is likely to improve to the best advantage, through the opportunity of his friends assiduous about my Lord, Sir B. Rudyard and Mr. Oldsworth. These considerations and doubts drive me to wish, that this same jurisdiction might prove a waft or stray, and so fall into the King’s hands. I should hope it might without much difficulty be obtained of him to interest himself in the business so farre, as to lay his injunction upon our College, that in the interim, untill the Parliament have leysure to examine my Lord’s acts, orders, and injunctions made in our College, they shall all stand good, and all acts done or suffered in the College, contrary to them, should be void. Thus as briefly as I could I have represented to you my feares, my doubts, my wishes. Out of them, (which I cannot do) your judgment will raise some settled resolution, what is to be done in this business; unto which I shall as readily subscribe, as I doe sincerely

“ Your friend, devoted
 “ Merte. Coll. “ to serve and honour you,
 “ 30. X^{bris} 1641. “ Pet. Turner.

[E] He wrote many things, but published nothing himself. They are as follow. I. *Oratio inauguralis sub Aditu Prælectionis Philologicae publicè habita apud Collegium Oxonio-Merton.* 4 Aug. 1635. II. *Græca & Latina Poemata.* III. *Description of Oakley-Hole near Wells,* ann. 1632. Written in English verse. IV. *Annotationes in eam partem Orationis inauguralis, in quâ dicitur, “ Oratione solutâ scripsit Aristæus Proconne-“ sius.”* These four pieces were published at Oxford during the author’s life, in 1652 in 4to, by his intimate friend Mr. Henry Birkhead, Fellow of All-Souls College. V. *Etymotechnia Catholica,* containing four *Diatriba’s* concerning the original of letters. The first *de Ordine Alphabeti*; the second *de transitu Alphabeti*; the third *de numero, figurâ, potestate & divisione Literarum*; and the fourth intitled *Geographistor Etymotechnus.* VI. *Grammatica Ebræa.* This Grammar is drawn up in a new method. VII. *ΣΒΩ vel Osi-“ ris inventus; de Coptiacis Originibus Commentatio.* VIII. *Geographumena:* in which are many Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities discovered. IX. *Pancarpia, opus ex Artibus & Linguis miscell.* This piece is imperfect. X. *Excogitata Philosophica; nempe de novâ ratione circæ Monopsyllogismum dialecticum, pridem semi circulariter figuratum, natalia ventorum conceptacula, &c.* XI. *Magnetologia, in Lib. 3. agentibus de tripli-“ ci motu magnetico Lapidali, Cœlesti, & Animali, &c.*

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XII. *Libri Ebræo-Rabbinici in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ recensiti, ann. 1629.* Mr. Wood had a copy of this written by the hand of Dr. Gerard Langbaine. It was the first work, which Mr. Jacob performed after he was settled at Oxford, at the desire of his Patron William Earl of Pembroke, the Hebrew books abovementioned being the same which the Earl had obtained out of Italy from the Baroccian Library. XIII. Besides the manuscripts, which we have given an account of, Mr. Jacob left a great many others, several of which he lent to Dr. Peter Turner, who after his ejection from the University of Oxford in 1648, retiring to the house of his sister, the widow of Mr. Watts, a Brewer in Southwark, and dying there in January 165½, his papers came into the hands of his nephew William Watts, afterwards Residentiary of Hereford, who having a son of Brazen-Nose College in Oxford, into whose possession they came, he communicated several of them to Moses Pengry, Fellow of that College, one of which was intitled, *De Mari Rubro*; and another *De Historiâ Beli & Draconis.* Copies of these tracts were communicated by Mr. Pengry to Mr. Richard Reeve, then Master of the School adjoining to Magdalen College. Mr. Wood informs us likewise (8), that “ our Author being ejected in 1648 (8) Ibid. col. 160
 “ from Merton College, and so consequently from his chamber, wherein he had left a trunk full of books, as well written as printed, left Oxon; and taking no care, nor appointing any friend for its security, his chamber-door, before a year was expired, was broke open for a new comer, who finding the trunk there, did let it remain in its place for a time. At length, when no man inquired after it, as the then possessor thereof pretended, he secured it for his own use, broke it open, and therein discovered a choice treasure of books. One of them being a manuscript, and fit for the press, he disguised and altered it with another style, and at length, after he had learned Hebrew and the oriental languages to blind the world, and had conversed openly with those most excellent in them, as Pocock and Bogan of Corpus Christi College, or any Grecian or Jew, that came accidentally to the University, he published it under this title: *Delpbi Phœnicizantes, sive Tractatus, in quo Græcos, quicquid Delpbis celebræ erat (scu Pythonis & Apollinis Historiam, seu Pœanica Certamina, & Præmia, &c.) e Josuæ Historiâ scripti; sacris effluxisse rationibus haud inconcinnis ostenditur, &c.* Oxford 1655, in 8vo. To which is added, *Diatriba de Noe in Italiam adventu, ejusq; Nominibus Ethnicis,* and a little tract *De origine Druidum:* which three things are much commended by foreign Authors, particularly by Spizelius in his book *De doctrinâ Sinesium.* The person, whom Mr. Wood means in this passage, and who published the *Delpbi Phœnicizantes* in his own name, was Dr. Edmund Dickenson, afterwards an eminent Physician at London. Mr. Jacob put notes to most of the printed books in his study, and particularly to Salmasius’s *Exercitationes Plinianæ in Solinum;* which book coming into the hands of Mr. Henry Birkhead, Fellow of All Souls College, “ he transcrib’d the said notes, and entering them into another copy of his own, deleted those of Jacob with aqua fortis, and sold the copy itself to an Oxford Bookseller; such, says Mr. Wood (9), was his for- (9) Ibid.
 “ did avarice.” T.

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(1) *Ibid.* col. 161.

“ after, says Mr. Wood (1), in a bright moon-shining night, the resemblance of Henry
 “ Jacob came into the bed-chamber of the Doctor, who being asleep, the resem-
 “ blance laid his cold hand upon his face. Whereupon the Doctor awaking, looked up
 “ and saw Henry Jacob staring upon him, with his beard turned up, as he used to wear
 “ it living: whereat being strangely surpris'd, he stirr'd himself, thinking that it might
 “ be a dream; but still the resemblance stood still; so that the Doctor having not cou-
 “ rage to speak to it, turned on the other side, and lay in a cold sweat. After some
 “ time he looked again, and saw him sitting on a little table near to his bed; but before
 “ morning he vanished. Another night the maid going out of the house, saw the said
 “ resemblance standing on a wood-pile, and was thereupon much affrighted. These
 “ stories the Doctor did confidently aver to be true, not only to Dr. Peter Moulin Pre-
 “ bendary of Canterbury, but to others of note, among whom, if I am not mistaken,
 “ Dr. Meric Casaubon was one.”

(a) *The Life and Death of the venerable Dr. Jackson, Dean of Peterborough, and President of Corpus Christi in Oxford, prefixed to A Collection of his Works, London 1653 in fol.* This Life was written by Mr. Edmund Vaughan Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

(b) Wood, *Atb.* Oxon. vol. 1. col. 633. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) *Life*, ubi supra.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

(e) *Idem*, *Fassi* Oxon. vol. 1. col. 156.

(f) *Idem*, *ibid.* col. 165.

JACKSON (THOMAS), a very learned English Divine in the seventeenth Century, was descended of a very worthy family in the Bishopric of Durham (a), and was born at Witton on the river Weer in Durham, December the 21st 1579 (b). He was at first designed by his parents to be a Merchant in Newcastle, where many of his relations and friends lived in great wealth and prosperity; but that temptation could not divert him from his inclination to learning (c). At the instance therefore of Ralph Lord Evre, Baron of Malton and Wilton he was sent to the University of Oxford [A], and became a student of Queen's College under the tuition of Mr. Richard Crakanthorp in Midsummer Term 1595, and was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College March the 24th 1596 (d) [B]. July the 23d 1599 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e); and July the 9th 1603 that of Master (f). May the 10th 1606 he was chosen Probationer Fellow of his College (g). June the 26th 1622 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (h). He read a Lecture of Divinity in his College every Sunday morning, and another day of the week at Pembroke College, then newly erected, at the desire of the Master and Fellows there. He was chosen Vice-President of his College for many years together, who by his place was to moderate the disputations in Divinity (i). In 1624 he left the College for a Living in the Bishopric of Durham, to which he was presented by the President and Fellows of his College; and from thence soon after he removed to the Vicarage of Newcastle upon Tyne (k), where he discharged his duty in a most exemplary manner [C], and was much followed and admired, says Mr. Wood (l), for his excellent way of preaching, which was then puritanical. In 1630 (m) he was elected President of Corpus Christi College [D], partly by the interest of Dr. Neile Bishop of Durham, who had before

(g) Wood, *Atb.* Oxon. ubi supra.

(h) *Idem*, *Fassi* Oxon. vol. 1. col. 223.

(i) *Life*, ubi supra.

(k) *Ibid.* and Wood, *Atb.* Oxon. ubi supra.

(l) *Ibid.*

(m) *Idem*, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 232.

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[A] *At the instance of Ralph Lord Evre, Baron of Malton and Wilton, he was sent to the University of Oxford.* Our Author in the dedication to that Nobleman of his treatise, intitled, *The eternal Truth of Scriptures, and Christian Belief thereon wholly depending, manifested by its own Light*, printed at London 1613 in 4to. has these words: “ That love and duty, which I owe unto your honourable family and person, as in many other respects, so chiefly in this, that being engaged unto a more gainful, but not so good a course of life, and well nigh rooted in another soil, I was by your Lordship's favourable advice and countenance transplanted to this famous nursery of good learning.”

[B] *Was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College March 24th 1596.* The Author of his *Life* (1) tells us, that although he had no notice of the vacancy of the place, till the day before the election, yet he answer'd with so much readiness and applause, that he gained the admiration, as well as the suffrages of the Electors, and was chosen with full consent, though they had received letters of favour from great men for another scholar. He had not been long admitted into this place, before he had like to have lost his life by an accident. For walking out with others of the younger company to wash himself, he was in imminent danger of being drowned. It was a long and almost incredible space of time, wherein he lay under water, before a boat could be procured, which was sent for, rather to take out his body, before it floated, for a decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The Boatman discerning where he was by the bubbling of the water (the last sign of a Man expiring) thrust down his hook at that very moment, which at the first trial lighted under his arm, and brought him up into the boat. All the parts of his body were swollen to a vast proportion; and though by holding his head downward they let forth the water, yet no hopes of life appeared. They brought him therefore to the land, and lapped him up in the gowns of his fellow-students. After some warmth and former means renewed, they

perceived that life was yet in him, convey'd him to the College, and commended him to the skill of Dr. Channel, an eminent Physician of the same house; where with much care, time, and difficulty he recovered to the equal joy and wonder of the whole society. His grateful acknowledgments to the Fisherman and his servant, who took him up, knew no limits, being a constant revenue to them while he lived.

[C] *Removed to the Vicarage of Newcastle upon Tyne, where he discharged his duty in a most exemplary manner.* He shewed himself to be very studious, humble, courteous, and charitable. When he went out, what money he had, he usually gave to the poor, who at length flock'd so to him, that his servant took care, that he had not too much in his pocket. At a certain time Dr. Henderson, the Physician of that town, his neighbour and intimate friend, having made a purchase, sitting melancholy by him, and fetching a sigh, Dr. Jackson asked the reason. He said, that he had a payment to make, and wanted money. Dr. Jackson told him, that he would furnish him; and calling for his servant, informed him of the Physician's need, and asked what money he had. The man stepping back silent, the Doctor bade him speak. The man said, forty shillings. The Doctor ordered him to fetch it, for Dr. Henderson should have it all. Upon this the Physician turned his sadness into laughter; and Dr. Jackson demanding the reason, he answer'd, that he had occasion for four or five hundred pounds. Dr. Jackson replied, that he thought forty shillings a great sum, and that he should have it, and more also, if he had it (2).

[D] *Elected President of Corpus Christi College.* The Author of his life tells us, that he was chosen in his absence, at so great a distance, so unexpectedly, without any suit or petition upon his part, that he knew nothing of the vacancy of the place, but by the same letters, that informed him, that it was convey'd upon himself. A preferment of so good account, that it had been much desired and eagerly sought after by many eminent men, but never before went so far to be accepted of. But Mr.

(2) *Life*, ubi supra.

(1) Prefixed to his Works.

taken him off, says Mr. Wood, from his precise way, and made him his Chaplain; but more by the endeavours of Bishop Laud. Upon this he left his Vicarage, was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty (n), and June 18, 1635, Prebendary of Winchester (o), and was presented to the Vicarage of Witney in Oxfordshire, which, after he had been at much pains and expence to clear the title of the Rectory to all succeeding Ministers, he freely bestowed on Mr. Thomas White, then Proctor of the University, and Chaplain of Corpus Christi College (p). In 1638 he was promoted to the Deanery of Peterborough in the room of Dr. John Towers, advanced to the Episcopal See (q). He published a great many works [E]. He died September the 21st 1640, and was interred in the Inner Chapel of Corpus Christi College. Mr. Wood tells us (r), that he was furnished with all learned Languages, Arts, and Sciences, especially Metaphysics, which he considered as a necessary handmaid to Divinity; and that he was also profoundly read in the Fathers. He had a strong judgment. He wrote excellently concerning the divine attributes, and with vigour against the Church of Rome. Mr. Barnabas Oley (s) declares, that

(n) Idem, *Atb. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(o) Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclis. Anglic.* pag. 529.

(p) *Life*, ubi supra.

(q) Le Neve, ubi supra, pag. 241.

(r) *Atb. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(s) *Life of Mr. George Herbert*, edit. London 1652. It is not pag. d.

Mr. Wood, as we have observed in the text of this article, asserts, that Bishop Neile and Bishop Laud made use of their interest to procure this place for him. He governed in a most obliging manner the fellows, scholars, servants, and tenants. No man departed from him melancholy, except in this particular, that by some misdemeanor or wilful error they had created trouble, or given offence to him. He used the friends as well as the memory of his predecessors fairly. He was a lover and maker of peace. He silenced and composed all differences, displeasure, and animosities by a prudent impartiality, and the example of his own sweet disposition. It was a new and peculiar art of discipline, but successfully practised by him, that those under his authority were kept within bounds and order, not so much out of fear of the penalty, as out of love to the Governor. He took notice of that which was good in the worst men, and made that an occasion to commend them for the good's sake; and living himself, *tanquam nemini ignosceret*, as if he were so severe, that he could forgive no man, yet he reserved large pardons for the imperfections of others. He willingly admitted, and was much delighted in, the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young Divines, advising them what books to read. This was one of the special advices and directions which he commended to young men; *Hear the dictates of your own conscience. Quod dubitas, ne feceris*; making this comment upon that of the son of Sirach, *In all thy matters trust (or believe) thy own soul*, and bear it not down by impetuous and contradictory lusts (3).

(3) *Ibid.*

[E] He publish'd a great many works.] They are as follow: I. *The eternal Truth of Scriptures, and Christian Belief, thereon wholly depending, manifested by its own Light.* London 1613 in 4to. This is the first Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. II. *How far the Ministry of Men is necessary for planting true Christian Faith, and retaining the unity of it planted,* London 1614, in 4to. This is the second Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. III. *Blasphemous Positions of Jesuits and other later Romanists concerning the authority of their Church.* London 1614, in 4to. This is the third Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. The Dedication to William Lord Bishop of Durham is dated at Corpus Christi College March 25th 1614. IV. *Justifying Faith: Or, the Faith, by which the Just do live. A Treatise containing a Description of the Nature, Properties, and Conditions of Christian Faith.* London 1615 and 1631, in 4to. This is the fourth book of his *Comments on the Creed*. V. *A Discovery of Misperceptions, breeding Presumption and Hypocrisy, and Means how Faith may be planted in Unbelievers.* Printed with the preceding Treatise. VI. *A Treatise concerning the Original of Unbelief, Misbelief, and Misperceptions concerning the Verity, Unity, and Attributes of the Deity, &c.* London 1625, in 4to. This is the fifth Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. VII. *A Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes.* London 1628, in 4to the first Part. The second Part was printed there in 1629 in 4to. These two parts make the sixth Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. The first part is dedicated to William Earl of Pembroke in an Epistle, wherein, as Mr. Prynne says (4), "the Author professeth himself an Arminian, and Patron of their Tenets. And from chap. 8. to the 20th he professedly maintains a mutability in God's eternal Decrees of Election, and Reprobation, depending upon the Actions and Wills

(4) *Camberbury's Doom*, pag. 166, 167.

of Men, Universal Grace and Redemption, with other Arminian Errors. This Book, though publicly complained of, was never called in by the Bishop [Laud.] but the second Part thereof was printed with License Ann. 1629, and the Author of it advanced to the Presidentship of Corpus Christi College in Oxford by this Bishop, yea by him designed to be Doctor of the Chair (though he missed that preferment) to poison the University of Oxford with "his Arminian dregs." VIII. *The Knowledge of Jesus Christ.* This is the seventh Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. A larger title of it runs thus: *Christ exercising his everlasting Priesthood, &c. Or, a Treatise of the Knowledge of Christ, which consists in the true Estimate or experimental Valuation of his Death, Resurrection, and Exercise of his everlasting sacerdotal function, &c.* London 1624, in 4to. IX. *Humiliation of the Son of God by his becoming the Son of Man, &c.* London 1626 and 1636 in 4to. This is the eighth Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. X. *Treatise of the Consecration of the Son of God to the everlasting Priesthood, &c.* London 1628 and 1633, in 4to, Oxford 1638 in 4to. This is the ninth Book of his *Comment on the Creed*. XI. *A Treatise of that Knowledge of Christ, which consists in the true Estimate or experimental Valuation of his Death, Resurrection, and Exercise of his everlasting Sacerdotal Function in the Heavenly Sanctuary, where he now sitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father.* London 1654, in folio. This is the tenth Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. XII. *MARAN AΘA. Dominus veniet. Of Christ's Session at the Right Hand of God, and Exaltation thereby. Of his being made Lord and Christ. Of his coming to judge the Quick and the Dead. Of the Resurrection of the Body; and Life everlasting both in Joy and Torments.* London 1657, in folio. This is the eleventh Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. This with the tenth Book, and a preface concerning them and their Author, were published by Barnabas Oley, M. A. of Cambridge, who had before published the second edition of the three first Books at London 1653, in folio, with a large Preface written by the Editor, and a Life of our author written by Mr. Edmund Vaughan, Fellow of Corpus Christi College. To this eleventh Book are subjoin'd divers Sermons, proper Attendants upon the precedent Treatise. XIII. *Treatise of the Holy Catholic Faith and Church, in three Books.* London 1627, in 4to. This is the twelfth Book of his *Comments on the Creed*. XIV. *A Treatise of Christian Obedience.* XV. *A Treatise of the primordial State of the first Man. Of the manner how Sin found entrance into, and is propagated in the world. Of the Nature of Sin. Of our first servitude to it. Of that poor Remnant of Free-Will left in the Sons of Adam, with directions to use it aright, and how we are to be set free by the Son of God. Of Mortification. Of the right Use of Reason, or Rules of Art for determining Doubts in Divinity, &c.* London 1654, in folio. XVI. *A Discourse of the Limitation of the two Propositions in the thirteenth Verse of the eighth Chapter to the Romans.* XVII. *A Vindication of himself, or a serious Answer to Mr. Henry Burton's Exceptions taken against a passage in his Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes.* XVIII. *A Paraphrase on the eleven first Chapters of Exodus, with useful Annotations, Observations, and Parallels.* XIX. *Salvation only from God's Grace, or an Exposition of Rom. ix. 16.* XX. *God's just hardening of Pharaoh, when he had filled up*

that he "had not read so hearty and vigorous a champion against Rome, so convincing and demonstrative as Dr. Jackson." He was a man of a blameless life, studious, humble, courteous, charitable, and pious; and was extremely beloved by all, except the rigid Calvinists, who considered him in an odious light as an *Arminian* [F]. There was another Divine of both his names, who was educated in the University of Cambridge, afterwards Minister of Wye in Kent, and at length Prebendary of Canterbury, and Doctor of Divinity. He published several Sermons, and was a severe enemy to the Arminians, and was a witness against Archbishop Laud upon his trial (t).

(t) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 636.

the Measure of his Iniquity. Or, an Exposition of Rom. ix. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. These five last Treatises were printed in his *Second Part of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ*, abovementioned, at London 1654, in folio. XXI. *Several Sermons.* These works of his, with some others not before printed, were published together at London 1672, in three volumes in folio. He wrote likewise *An Historical Narrative* licensed by Dr. Edward Martin, domestic Chaplain to Bishop Laud, without that Prelate's Privy; for which he was dismissed the Bishop's service (2), and the book called in, and suppressed. But Mr. Prynne, an implacable enemy to Bishop Laud, says (3), "that the said *Historical Narrative*, which was the vilest Imposture that ever was thrust upon our Church, was licensed by the said Martin with Laud's privy; and that the calling of it in was the act of Archbishop Abbot upon Prynne's complaint, and the public scandal it gave, much against Laud's Will, who ever since connived at the sale of them."

(2) See Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, pag. 508.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 510.

(F) *Extremely beloved by all except the rigid Puritans, who considered him in an odious light as an Arminian.* Mr. Prynne speaks thus of him (4): *Dr. Jackson of Oxon is a man of great abilities, and of a plausible, affable, courteous deportment, till of late he hath been transported beyond himself with metaphysical contemplations, to his own infamy and his renowned Mother's shame; I mean, the University of Oxford, who grieves for his defection, from whose Dugs he never suck'd his poisonous doctrines.* In another place (5), that "he was convicted in the last Parliament (6), yea openly accused in the last Convocation for his heretical *Arminian* books, which have been censured by Mr. Henry Burton in his *Seven Viols*, and particularly answered by the acute and learned Dr. Twisse." Mr. Burton took offence at our Author's *Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes*, and in the Epistle before his book intitled *Israel's Fast*, printed in 1628, has the following passage: *These Neutralizers, or Popish Arminians, or Arminian Papists, or what you will, under the name of the Church of England, dare vent any Arminian Heresy: As in a book lately printed, and by authority too, there is this most blasphemous Arminian Heresy; That there is a goodness objective in the creature, which in order of nature is precedent to the act or exercise of God's will: Thus by necessary consequence mak-*

(4) In his *Anti-Arminianism: or the Church of England's old Antitibetis &c.* pag. 270. edit. 1630.

(5) *Appendix to Anti-Arminianism.*

(6) In 1628.

ing the Creature a God, having a self-being, independent, but only upon God's bare Prescience, upon which, and not upon that supreme Cause of Causes, God's will, he hangs the being and well-being of all the creatures. Dr. Jackson wrote a *Vindication of himself*, printed in the *Appendix to the tenth Book of his Comments on the Creed*, wherein he denies that he ever wrote the proposition abovementioned, but owns the following one contained in his *Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes*, chap. 13. part 3. p. 149. in 4to. "As there is a logical possibility presupposed to be the working of the Almighty Power; so there is a goodness objective precedent in order of nature to the act or exercise of his will." He asserts in his *Vindication*, that "all things are not good only because God willeth, but God willeth some things because they are good;" and that "if the acts and injunctions of God's will were the only rule of Goodness, and had not eternal Goodness rather for their rule, it would be hard to avoid the Stoical error, that all sins are equal, besides a kind of fatality in human affairs worse than Stoical. The Turks acknowledge God's will to be a rule of goodness, as sovereign, as the Author of the forementioned *Epistle* doth; to be such a Cause of Causes, as he would have it: But being ignorant, or not considering, that there is an immutable goodness precedent to the act or exercise of God's will; a goodness whereof his will, however considered, is no cause, for it is co-eternal to his will, to his wisdom, and essence; they fall into grossly absurd errors. And consequently unto this their ignorance, or to the common error, that all things are good only because God willeth them, they sometimes highly commend, and sometimes deeply discommend the self same practices for quality and circumstances with as great vehemency of zeal and spirit, and with as fair protestations of obedience in all things to God's will, as any other men do. . . . Whosoever he be, whether Jew, Turk, or Christian, which thinks, that all events are so irresistibly decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwise than they do, must of necessity grant, either that there is no moral evil under the sun, or that God's will, which is the Cause of Causes, is the only cause of such evil."

T.

✠ JAMES (Dr. THOMAS), a very learned English Divine in the seventeenth Century, was born in the Isle of Wight (a) at Newport (b) about the year 1571 [A]. He was educated in Grammar learning at Wickham school near Winchester, from whence he went to New College in Oxford, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1593 (c). May the 3d 1595 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (d); and February the 3d 1595 that of Master of Arts (e). About the year 1599 or 1600, being recommended to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Bodley by his great learning and knowledge of books, he was designed by him the first Keeper of the public Library at Oxford then founding; and this office was confirmed to him by the University in 1602 (f). May the 16th 1614 he accumulated the degrees in Divinity (g); and having about that time the Subdeanery of Wells conferred upon him freely without his seeking by the Bishop of that See, and the Rectory of Mongeham in Kent, with other spiritual preferments by the Archbishop of Canterbury without asking (h), he resigned in 1620 the place of Library Keeper (i), being about that time a Justice of Peace (k), and betook himself more intensely to his studies, the fruits of which are several valuable works [B]. He was a Member of the Convocation

(a) Fuller's *Worthies in Hampshire*.

(b) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 144.

(c) *Ibid.* ibid.

(d) *Ibid.* *Fusti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 149. 2d edit. London 1721.

(e) *Ibid.* ibid. col. 154.

(f) *Ibid.* *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 537.

(g) *Ibid.* *Fusti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 197.

(h) *Ibid.* *Atb. Oxon.* ubi supra.

(i) *Ibid.* *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 53.

(k) *Ibid.* pag. 144.

[A] Born about the year 1571.] Mr. Woods tells us (1), that he was about sixty eight years of age, when he died, which was in August 1629.

(1) *Atben. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 540.

[B] Several valuable works. His writings are as follow. I. *Philobiblium Richardi Dunelmensis*, published by our author, who collated several manuscripts of it, at Oxford 1599 in 4to, with a dedication to Sir Tho-

mas Bodley. To this is subjoined an *Appendix de Manuscriptis Oxoniensibus*. II. *Ecloge Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*. London 1600 in 4to. This contains a catalogue of all the manuscripts in each College-Library in the University of Oxford, but not those in the public Library; and in each College Library in Cambridge, and in the public one there. Mr. Wood observes (2), that

(2) *Ibid.* col. 538.

Convocation held with the Parliament at Oxford in the first year of King Charles I's reign, wherein he made a motion, that some persons might be commissioned to peruse the manuscripts of the writings of the antient Fathers in all public and private Libraries in England, in order to detect the forgeries of foreign Popish editions (l). He was prodigiously well versed in the Fathers and Schoolmen, and so universal a scholar, that he was esteemed by some a *living Library*. His designs were always for the public benefit of Learning and the English Church; which being known to Camden, he saith of him (m), *he is a learned man, and a true lover of books, wholly dedicated to learning, who is now laboriously searching the Libraries of England, and purposeth that for the public good, which will be to the great benefit of Students.* In a letter to Mr. Calendrine dated at Oxford May the 23d 1624 (n) he observes, that if the University of Cambridge would set up and forward a project like Dr. Goad's, "he dared undertake more good to be done

" for

in making of this catalogue " he had liberty given to " him by each College in Oxford to peruse their manuscripts, and from that society, which he perceived " was careless of them, he borrowed and took away " what he pleased, and put them forth into the " public Library. Several such manuscripts were taken " from Baliol College, and some from Merton, and do " yet bear in their respective fronts the names of the " donors of them to those houses." Joseph Scaliger in a letter to Richard Thomfon dated Decemb. 16, 1600, highly commends this catalogue. His words are as follow. *Catalogus ille scriptorum Oxoniensium & Cantabrigiensium Librorum mirificè me affectit; præsertim Gallicæ & regni Francorum illustrari possint; & præterea non minorem numerum eorum, quibus Tyrannis Pontificia manifesto depræbendi possit; tum quæ docent, quando clacæ illæ & colluvies monachorum sese in Europam effuderint, ut Lololita hodie & Capuccini. Habetis quoque Originem in Celsum, alioque eximios Græcos nondum editos, quos parum vexari ab iis puto; qui in Collegiis degunt. A me certè non raro reviserentur, si ibi adessent.* III. *Cyprianus redivivus, hoc est, electus eorum, quæ in opusculo Cypriani de Unitate Ecclesiæ sunt vel addita, vel detracta, vel lapsu Typographi, vel alio quovis modo supposita, &c.* Printed with the Ecloga. IV. *Spicilegium D. Augustini, hoc est, Libri de fide ad Petr. Diaconum, cum antiquissimis duobus Manuscriptis & postremis ac ultimis Editionibus excusis, tam Basilienfis quam Parisiensis diligens Collatio, ac Castigatio, &c.* Printed with the Ecloga. V. *Bellum Papale, seu Concordia discors Sixti V & Clementis VIII. circa Hieronymianam Editionem.* London 1600 in 4to and 1678 in 8vo. VI. *Catalogus Librorum in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ.* Oxford 1605 in a large octavo, or rather a small quarto. Reprinted with many additions in a thick 4to, 1620. To which was added an Appendix in 1636. In this catalogue is inserted a catalogue of all the manuscripts which were then in the Bodleian Library. VII. *Concordantia sanctorum Patrum, i. e. vera & pia Libri Cantuorum per Patres universos, tam Græcos, quam Latinos Expeditio, &c.* Oxford 1607 in 4to. VIII. *Apology for John Wicliffe, shewing his Conformity with the now Church of England, &c.* Oxford 1608 in 4to. To this is added *The Life of John Wicliffe*. IX. *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelats, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for maintenance of Popery and Irreligion.* By Thomas James, Student in Divinitie and chief Keeper of the Publicke Librarie in the Universitie of Oxford, of the honorable foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley Knt. Together with a sufficient Answer unto James Gretser & Antonie Possiveine Jesuites, and the unknown author of the Grounds of the Old Religion, and the New. Divided into five Parts. London 1611 in 4to, and 1688 in 8vo. It is dedicated to Dr. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. The first Part shews the *Bastardie of the false Fathers*; the second, the *Corruption of the true Fathers*; the third, the *Varietie and Contrarietie of the Popish Bibles, commonly called the Vulgar Bibles in Latine*; the fourth, the *open and secret wrongs done unto Fathers, antient, middle-aged, or modern Writers, by the Papists, chiefly in their Indices Expurgatorii*; the fifth, particular Remedies against these several Diseases, when and how to be applied, together with the use, profit, and commoditie of the antient Manuscripts. In the Advertisement to the Christian Reader he observes, that there are 187 different Treatises, which are shrewdly

suspected, if not plainly convicted of forgery by the Papists themselves. " I follow herein, *says he*, the " judgment of their best learned writers, most esteemed " in their times, such as Bellarmine and Baronius Cardinals, Possivein and Gretser Jesuites, Sixtus Senensis of the order of the Preachers, Angelus Roccha an Eremita, Pamelius a Monk, and sundry others." He remarks, that the special motives of publishing of this treatise were three. " The first, *says he*, because " it is a matter of faith, to appoint what is Scripture, " and what is not; which Pope Sixtus taking upon " him to determine, sitting in Chayre, hath soulely " erred; so that it appears by this, that their conclusion is false, *that the Pope cannot erre in matter of faith.* The second, because the Papists are ready " to oppose and object still unto us our different translations of the Bibles, when there may be very good reason given out of the Originals for both readings, " little considering their own grosse errors and palpable absurdities in the setting forth of their two Bibles, authorized by two Popes within two yeares; " which to reconcile is a matter altogether unpossible, " and to indure, likewise intolerable. I undertand " by our *Divines of Down*, that they meane to have " a bout with us, for the Corrections of the *Bishop's Bible.* I would they would be pleased, first to answer for themselves and their two Popes, and then " let them object what they can against us for changing " and altering some fewe words in the Bible, and they " shall be answered with reason. Another motive that " hath provoked me to the writing of this argument " hath been a pretended Answer of James Gretser unto my *Bellum Papale.* It was fitte his reasons should " be answered, tho' his scurrilous jests and reproachful " speeches deserve no better answer than that of Salomon's fool." In the *Appendix to the Reader* he tells us, that since the printing of this book he had been informed of a *dangerous practice in Rome.* " In the " *Vatican Library, says he*, there are certaine men " maintained only to transcribe Acts of the Councils, " or Copies of the Father's workes. These men, " pointed for this business, doe, as I am credibly informed, in transcribing bookes imitate the letter of " the antient copies, as neere as can be expressed. " And it is to be feared, that in copying out of bookes " they doe adde and take away, alter and change the " words, according to the pleasure of their Lord the " Pope. And so these transcripts may within a few " yeares, by reason of their counterfaising the antient hands, be avouched for very old manuscripts, " deluding the world with a shewe of antiquitie: the " danger is the greater, because there may be an " *Index Expurgatorius* (for ought we know) for purging the manuscripts as well as the printed bookes. " This practise of theres I heard of some two or three " years agoe; but I had forgotten of whom, and " therefore did forbear to mention it, till such time " as by God's will I lighted upon the Gentleman " againe, who was at Rome in the *Vatican*, and saw " it with his eyes, and will testifie it upon his oath, if " need be." X. *The Jesuits Downfall threatened against them by the Secular Priests for their wicked Lives, accursed Manners, heretical Doctrine, and more than Machiavillian Policy.* Oxford 1612 in 4to. To this is added *The Life of Father Parsons an English Jesuit.* XI. *Filius Papæ Papalis, &c.* London 1621, translated from Latin into English by *William Crashaw.* Our author's name is not put to it. XII. *Index generalis sanctorum*

(l) *Ibidem, Ibid. & Arb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 537.

(m) *Britannia, in Comit. Monmouth. edit. 1607.*

(n) *Collection of Letters, at the end of Archbishop Usher's Life by Dr. Rich. Farr, Num. 66. pag. 307.*

“ for the profit of Learning and true Religion, than by building ten Colleges. I have
 “ of late, continues he, given myself to the reading only of manuscripts; and in them
 “ I find so many and so pregnant testimonies, either fully for our Religion, or against
 “ the Papists, that it is to be wondered at.” And in another letter to Bishop Usher
 dated at Oxford February the 15th 1624 (o) he writes thus: “ Not only the *Rabbins*,
 “ but the *Thalmud* in six volumes at Rome hath felt the smart of the Popish *Indices*.
 “ Would God, we were but half as diligent to restore, as they to abolish and put out
 “ the truth. I have restored 300 citations, and rescued them from corruption in thirty
 “ quires of paper. Mr. Briggs will satisfy you in this point, and sundry other projects
 “ of mine, if they miscarry not for want of maintenance: it would deserve a Prince’s
 “ purse. If I was in Germany, the Estates would defray all charges. Cannot our
 “ Estates supply what is wanting? If every Churchman, that hath an 100 *l. per ann.* and
 “ upward, will lay down but a shilling for every hundred toward these public works, I
 “ will undertake the reprinting of the Fathers, and setting forth of five or six orthodox
 “ writers, comparing of books printed with printed or written; collating of Popish
 “ translations in Greek; and generally whatsoever shall concern books, or the purity of
 “ them. I will take upon me to be a *Magister S. Palatii* in England, if I shall be
 “ thereunto lawfully required.” He died at his house in Hollywell in the North Suburb
 of Oxford in August 1629, aged about fifty eight years, and was interred in New Col-
 lege Chapel (p).

(o) Ibid. Num.
77. pag. 320.

(p) Wood, *Hist.*
& *Antiq.* pag.
145. and *Atben.*
Oxon. col. 540.

*sanctorum patrum, ad singulos versus cap. 5. secundum
 Matthæum, &c.* London 1624 in 8vo. XIII. *Notæ
 ad Georgium Wicelium de Metodo Concordiæ Ecclesiasticæ,
 cum Catalogo authorum qui scripserunt contra squalores
 Ecclesiæ Romanæ.* London 1625 in 8vo. XIV. *Vindici-
 cæ Gregorianæ, seu restitutio innumeris pene locis Gre-
 gorius Magnus, ex variis manuscriptis, ut magno labore,
 ita singulari fide collatis.* Geneva 1625. XV. *Manu-
 ductio or Introduction unto Divinity, containing a Confu-
 tation of Papists by Papists throughout the important Ar-
 ticles of our Religion, &c.* Oxford 1625 in 4to. XVI. *Humble and earnest request to the Church of England for
 and in the behalf of Books touching Religion.* Printed in
 one sheet in 8vo. 1625. XVII. *Explanation, or en-
 larging of the Ten Articles in his Supplication lately exhib-
 ited to the Clergy of England, for the restoring to integ-
 rity Authors corrupted by Papists* Oxford 1625 in 4to.
 XVIII. *Specimen corruptelarum Pontificiorum in Cypriano,
 Ambrosio, Gregorio Magno & autore Operis imperfecti,
 & in jure Canonico.* London 1626 in 4to. XIX. *Index
 librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis.* Oxford 1627 in
 8vo. XX. *Admonitio ad Theologos Protestantés de Libris
 Pontificiorum cautè legendis.* MS. XXI. *Enchiridion
 Theologicum.* MS. XXII. *Liber de susceptionibus &
 conjecturis.* MS. “ These three manuscripts, says Mr.
 “ Wood (*), I saw formerly in the Lambeth Library
 “ under D. 1, 2, 3; but whether printed I know
 “ not: perhaps the *Enchiridion* is.” Dr. James like-
 wise translated from French into English, *The Moral
 Philosophy of the Stoics.* London 1598 in 8vo, and
 published *Two short Treatises against the Order of the
 begging Friars*, written by John Wicliff; and a book
 intitled, *Fiscus Papalis: sive Catalogus indulgentiarum
 & reliquiarum septem principalium Ecclesiarum urbis
 Romæ, ex vetere MS. descriptus.* London 1617 in 4to.
 The Latin out of the Manuscript is set down in one
 column, and the English in another. Some were of
 opinion, that this book was not published by Dr. James
 but by William Crashaw of Cambridge. There are
 several letters of our author published in the *Collection* of
 three hundred Letters written between Archbishop Usher
 and most of the eminentest Persons for Piety and Learn-
 ing in his time, subjoined to Dr. Richard Parr’s *Life* of
 that Prelate. In his letter to him dated at Oxford Ja-
 nuary 28, 1623, he writes thus: “ I have traced the
 “ steps afar off about the *Succession and Visibilty of the
 “ Church*, wherein your Lordship hath gone a far
 “ journey. I do but glean where you have reaped a
 “ plentiful harvest. Nevertheless, if my poor and
 “ weak labours may any ways stead your Lordship,
 “ I would be glad to contribute my pains... I am

“ not so far gone in years as in sicknesses; yet my body
 “ is not so weak, but my mind is as strong; and my
 “ zeal great to see somewhat acted against the Papists
 “ in matters of forgery and corruption, which are
 “ matters of fact, whereto my studies have always
 “ aimed, and shall during life, if God will. I find
 “ infinite corruption in the Fathers works, especially
 “ of the Roman print. In the *Canon Law* and *De-
 cretals* I can convince them of shameless forgeries by
 “ the Parchments. But that which hath amazed or
 “ amused the world, and made it turn or continue
 “ Popish, hath been the want of Censurers of the Fa-
 “ thers works, which made our *Magdeburgians* and
 “ some of our best learned, to lance the Fathers, and
 “ not to spare them, whereas they are but Pseudo-
 “ Fathers indeed. But the notedest cozenage, which
 “ is rise and most beguiling in these days, is a secret
 “ *Index Expurgatorius*, and therefore the more dange-
 “ rous; that is, the reprinting of books, not making
 “ mention of any castigation or purgation of them,
 “ and yet both leaving and adding, and otherwise in-
 “ finitely depraving them, as is to be seen in hundreds
 “ of books of the middle-age and later writers. I in-
 “ stance in *Sixtus Senensis*, and *Alphonsus de Castro*,
 “ and *Antoninus’s Summi*. There are about five hundred
 “ bastard treatises, and about a thousand places in the
 “ true authors, which are corrupted, that I have dili-
 “ gently noted; and will shortly vindicate them out
 “ of the manuscripts; for hitherto they be but con-
 “ jectures of the learned. For this purpose I have
 “ gotten together the flower of our young Divines,
 “ who voluntarily will join with me in the search.
 “ Some fruits of their labours, if your Lordship de-
 “ fires, I will send up. And might I be but so
 “ happy as to have other twelve thus bestowed, four
 “ in transcribing orthodox writers, whereof we have
 “ plenty, that for the substantial points have maintained
 “ our religion, (40 or 50 pounds would serve) four to
 “ compare old prints with the new; four other to
 “ compare the Greek translations by the Papists, as
 “ *Vedelius* hath done with *Ignatius*, wherein he has
 “ been somewhat helped by my pains; I would not
 “ doubt but to drive the Papists out of all their start-
 “ ing holes. But alas! my Lord, I have not en-
 “ couragement from our Bishops. Preferment I seek
 “ none at their hands; only 40 or 60 pounds *per an-
 num* for others, and their Lordships letters to en-
 “ courage others, is that I seek, which being gained,
 “ the cause is gained, notwithstanding their brags in
 “ their late books. H.

(*) *Atben. Oxon.*
vol. 1. col. 539.

(a) Wood, *Hist.*
& *Antiq. Univ.*
Oxon. lib. 2. pag.
240.
(b) *Iidem, Atb.*
Oxon. vol. 1. col.
615. 2d edit.
London 1721.
(c) *Iidem, Fasti*
Oxon. vol. 1.
col. 118.

JAMES (RICHARD), nephew of the preceding, was born at Newport in the
 Isle of Wight (a), and admitted a scholar of Corpus Christi College in Oxford from
 that of Exeter September the 23d 1608, aged about sixteen years (b). October the 12th
 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c), and January the 24th 1615 that of
 Master (d). September the 13th 1615 he became Probationer Fellow of Corpus Christi
 College (e). About that time he entered into holy Orders (f). January the 28th 1623,
 his uncle Dr. Thomas James wrote thus of him in a letter from Oxford to Bishop
 Usher:

(d) *Iidem, col.*
197.

(e) *Iidem, Atb.*
Oxon. ubi supra.

(f) *Iidem, ibid.*

(g) *Collection of Letters*, printed at the end of Dr. Richard Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, Lett. 62. pag. 303. edit. London 1686, in fol.

Usher (g): "A kinsman of mine is at this present, by my direction, writing *Becket's Life*, wherein it shall be plainly shewed, both out of his own writings and those of his time, that he was not, as he is esteemed, an *Arch-Saint*, but an *Arch-Rebel*, and that the Papists have not been a little deceived in him. This kinsman of mine, as well as my self, shall be right glad to do any service to your Lordship in this kind. He is of strength, and well both able and learned to effectuate somewhat in this kind; critically seen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; knowing well the languages both French, Spanish, and Italian, immense and beyond all other men, especially in reading of the manuscripts; of an extraordinary style in penning; such a one as I dare balance with any Priest or Jesuit in the world of his age, and such a one as I could wish your Lordship had about you. But *Paupertas inimica bonis est moribus*, and both fatherless and motherless, and almost (but for my self) I may say (the more is the pity) friendless." July the 7th 1624 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (b). He published some pieces, and left a great number of curious manuscripts behind him [A]. Mr. Wood observes (i), "that though humorous, he was of a far better judgment than his uncle Dr. Thomas James; and had he lived to his age, would have surpassed him in published books. He was esteemed to be a person well versed in most parts of learning. He was noted by all those that knew him to be a very good Grecian, Poet, an excellent Critic, Antiquary, Divine, and admirably well skilled in the Saxon and Gothic Languages. But as for his skill in preaching, it was not, except by the graver sort, approved by any in the University. For of three Sermons delivered to the Academians, one concerning the *Observation of Lent*, was without a Text, according to the most ancient manner; another against a Text; and a third beside it; shewing himself thereby a humorous person." He had travelled very much abroad, and was in Russia in 1619. He assisted Mr. Selden in the edition of the *Marmora Arundeliana*, that great man styling him in the preface to his book, *Vir multijugæ Lectiōnis studique indefatigabilis*. He was very serviceable likewise to Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Cotton, in disposing and settling of their noble Library. His intimacy with the former of those Gentlemen, who was no friend to the Prerogative, occasioned him to be closely confined by order of the House of Lords in the year 1629, when Sir Robert was imprisoned for some matters uttered in the Parliament. Mr. Wood

(b) *Iidem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 228.

(i) *Atten. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 615.

remarks,

[A] He published some pieces, and left a great number of curious manuscripts behind him.] He published several Latin sermons, as, 1. *Anti-Possessivus, sive Consequo habita ad Clerum in Acad. Oxon. an. 1625. in a Tim. iv. 13.* Oxford 1625 in 4to. 2. *Consequo habita ad Clerum Oxon. de Ecclesiâ, in Matth. xvi. 18.* Oxford 1633 in 4to. And several English sermons, as, 1. *Sermon concerning the Eucharist, delivered on Easter-Day in Oxford, on Matth. xxvi. ver. 26, 27, 28.* London 1629 in 4to. 2. *History of Preaching, or concerning the Apostles preaching and ours, on 1 Cor ix. 16.* London 1630 in 4to. 3. *Sermon concerning the observation of Lent-fast.* London 1630 in 4to. There is no text prefixed to this sermon, but it is grounded on Luke iv. 2. 4. *Sermon concerning the times of receiving the Sacrament, and of mutual Forgiveness, delivered in Corpus Christi College at the election of a President on 1 Cor. xi. 25.* London 1632 in 4to. 5. *Apologetical Essay for the Rightness of a miserable unhappy People, preached at St. Mary's in Oxford on Psalm 37. 25.* London 1632 in 4to. He published also *Pœmata quædam in mortem clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni & Thomæ Allen.* Oxford 1633 in 4to. With these Poems he published Sir Thomas More's Epistle written from Abingdon in Berkshire in 1519 to the University of Oxford for the cultivation of the Greek tongue, which had been for many years neglected among the members thereof. He likewise translated into English Minutius Felix's *Octavius*, Oxford 1636 in 12mo. All the above-mentioned pieces, except the translation of the *Octavius*, he gave bound up in one volume to the Bodleian Library, with a copy of verses of his composition written in a spare leaf before the first of them, beginning thus:

"Dear God, by whom in dark womb's shade
I am to fear and wonder made, &c."

He wrote these verses, when he was closely confined by order of the House of Lords. He left behind him about 45 manuscripts either of his own composition, or collected by him from various authors, all written by his own hand, which came first into the hands of his friend Dr. Thomas Greaves, and afterwards into the Bodleian Library. Those of his own composition are, I. *Decanonisatio Thomæ Cantuariensis & suorum*, in folio. This book, containing 760 pages, begins thus: *Viam*

regiam mihi patefacit ad decanonizationem fidei & fucati Martyris, &c. and the beginning of the Epistle to the Reader is this, *Amice Lector, rogatus sum sepius, &c.* II. *Comment in Evangelia S. Jobannis*, in two parts in 4to. The beginning is, *Postmodo ad textum sacre historie deveniam, ubi prius, &c.* Both parts contain about twelve sheets. III. *Notæ in aliquot loca Bibliae*, in three sheets in 4to. The beginning is, *Videte sub ficu, Paraphrases sub umbrosâ ficu, &c.* IV. *Antiquitates Insulæ Viçæ*, in seventeen pages in 4to. The beginning is *Angli Saxones Marciarum, &c.* and of the epistle to the reader, *Utrum moriar priusquam hoc opus perficiam, Deus novit, &c.* It is only a specimen or a foundation for a greater work to be built upon. V. *Epistola ad amicos suos doctos.* The beginning of the first epistle, which was written to Dr. Sebast. Benefield of Corpus Christi College, is, *Sante Deus, &c.* This manuscript is a thick 4to, and contains epistles chiefly written to those of his own College, epitaphs, and some English copies of verses. VI. *Epigrams* in Latin and English, with other Poems. VII. *Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages, &c.* These reasons which are six or more, have this beginning, *Sir, if you please to learn my mind concerning the Attempts on the Lives of great Personages, &c.* written in two sheets in folio. VIII. *Two Sermons: the first on James v. 14, the second on John xii. 32.* Both written in folio. IX. *Iter Lancastrense.* It is in English verse, and was written in 1636, and hath this beginning, *High Holt of Wood, &c.* It contains two sheets and an half. X. *Glossarium Saxonum-Anglicum.* It is a long pocket-book. XI. *Glossarium Sax. Angl.* another part in 8vo. XII. *A Russian Dictionary*, with the English to it. XIII. *Observations made in his Travels through some parts of Wales, Scotland, on Sberland, Greenland, &c.* In four sheets in 4to. XIV. *Observations made on the Countrey, with the Manners and Customs of Russia or Rusland, ann. 1619.* In 8vo. It was intended to be transcribed, and to have other things added to it. Besides these fourteen books Mr. Wood had another of *Epigrams*, chiefly in Latin, and some in Greek, in 8vo, dedicated to his Tutor Dr. Sebast. Benefield. His collections are in twenty four volumes in 4to and seven in folio, and contain for the most part notes from ancient manuscripts, and sometimes from printed authors, relating to history and antiquity. H

(k) *Ibid.* col. 616. and *Hist. & Aniq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 240.

remarks (k), "that nothing was wanting to our author and his studies but a Sine-Cure or Prebendship, either of which, if conferred upon him, Hercules's labours would have seemed a trifle." He died of a quartan fever in the house of Sir Thomas Cotton in Westminster in the beginning of December 1638, and was interred on the seventh day of that month in St. Margaret's Church.

(a) *Valer. And. Desselius, Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 154.

(b) He who made himself so famous, under the name of the Abbot of St. Cyran.

(c) *Leydecker, ubi infra, citatio* (g) pag. 8.

(d) *Ibid.* citatio (g) pag. 10.

(e) *Ibid.* pag. 12.

(f) *Valer. And. Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 154.

JANSENIUS (CORNELIUS) Bishop of Ipres, was one of the most learned Divines of the seventeenth Century. He was born near Leerdam [A] in Holland in the year 1585. It has often been objected to him that his family was Protestant, and that himself had professed that Religion for some time [B], but this is a falsity. He went and studied at Louvain in 1602, and applied himself so closely to his books that he fell sick (a), and therefore was advised to remove to another place for the benefit of the air. Accordingly Jansenius went to Paris, where he met with John du Verger de Hauranne (b), with whom he had contracted a very strict friendship in Louvain. By the recommendation of this worthy friend he got to be Preceptor in a good family (c), and being a man of erudition, he soon got acquainted with some persons of figure. Some time after he went to Bayonne, to meet his good friend who had retired thither. In this place they applied themselves with so extraordinary a vigour to their studies [C], and ingratiated themselves so far into the esteem of the Bishop of Bayonne, that he procured Du Verger a Canonry in his Cathedral, and Jansenius the Headship of a College (d). The Prelate just mentioned having been raised to the Archiepiscopal See of Tours [D], prevailed with Du Verger to go to Paris; when Jansenius being thus separated from his friend, and being not sure of the protection of the new Bishop, left Bayonne and returned to Louvain, where he was appointed Principal of St. Pulcheria's College, which employment he disliked, because it did not give him leisure to pursue his studies according to his wishes; this likewise was the reason why he refused to teach Philosophy (e). He took his Doctor's degree in Divinity with great reputation in the year 1617 (f), and was admitted as one of the ordinary Professors; and he acquired so much esteem, that the University sent him twice into Spain [E], on affairs of consequence. He was appointed by the

(1) *Leydecker, de Vita & Moribus Jansenii,* pag. 2.

(2) *Jansenius patria fuit Batavus, atque ut ipse scribit, quasi in honore id poneret, Leerdamensis. . . Unde verè iste error? an quod, &c. Idem, ibid.* and pag. 3.

(3) See the remark [A] of the article CASSELLAN.

(4) Intituled, *Histoire du Jansenisme, contenant sa Conception, sa Naissance, son Accroissement, & son Abaissement.*

(5) See the *Factum* or *Cases* of Jansenius's Relations, in tom. 8. pag. 317. of the *Morale Pratique.*

(6) In *Præ-tione Triumphus Catholicae Veritatis*, printed at Paris in the year 1651.

(7) See the *Factum* of Jansenius's Relations, pag. 307.

[A] *He was born at Leerdam.* In a village called Accoy, as Mr. Leydecker observes. *Fallunt, says he (1), operis postumi editores quando referunt eum natum esse Leerdami modico Bataviæ oppidulo, sed tanti viri natalibus jam magno. Etenim sciunt ejus Affecle eum in Comitatu quidem Leerdamensi natum, non tamen in oppido LEERDAMO (Lingerdame aliâ, quod ad Lingam suum sit situm) sed in quodam Pago, quod Urbe-cula subist, & Accoy appellatur: sic Nepotis & Consanguinei, qui ibi adhibe degunt, testantur, superstitie humili Domuncula, in qua primum lucem adspexit. i. e. "The editors of his posthumous works are mistaken, " in saying that he was born at Leerdam, a little " town of Holland, but now great for having given " birth to so renowned a man. For let his followers " know, that the country of Leerdam indeed gave " birth to him, but not the town of Leerdam (or Lin- " gerdam because it stands on the river Linga) but a " certain village, called Accoy, lying under the " little town. This is what we are assured by his " posterity and relations who still live there; the " little house in which he was born is still existing." We must not think there is any thing peculiar in Jansenius's calling himself *Leerdamensis* (2); he giving himself that name, from the custom which people have of assuming the name of the town in the territory whereof they were born. This may be proved by a numberless multitude of examples (3).*

[B] *It has been often objected to him, that he himself had professed the Protestant religion for some time.* One Moles du Bourg, a Jesuit of Bourdeaux, published a little book (4) in 1658, wherein he asserts (5) that Cornelius Jansenius's father professed the Calvinistical Heresy; but that his son, when come to maturity, declared himself a Roman Catholic. Father Labbe had published the same particular before (6); *Princeps eorum extitit CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, qui gente Hollandus, patria Leerdamensis, inter hæreticos educatus à puero, tum Lovanii, &c. i. e. "The principal of these " was CORNELIUS JANSENIUS, who being a Hol- " lander, born in Leerdam, was brought up among " the Heretics from a child; afterwards at Louvain, " &c." Father Hazart renewed the same calumny in a Flemish work intituled *The Triumphs of the Popes of Rome*, published by him at Antwerp in 1681. His father, says he, was a Calvinist; and as to Jansenius himself, when grown up, he made an outward show of being a Catholic (7). But being sued for scandal, he alleged, among other reasons, that he was not the inventor of that reproach, since he had published it*

after Moles du Bourg (8). It has been proved indisputably in the cases I cite, that this reproach is absolutely false. Here follows a passage of Mr. Leydecker, wherein are some particulars that are not in the *factum* or *cases*. *Parentes habuit bonos, Pontificia Religioni addictos, licet Evangelica lux Belgio affunderetur, quibusque modicae oper. Ut male Hazardus Jesuita in Historiis cum Patre Calviniano natum retulerit, illum falsi postulantis, qui id non ferrent, Nepotibus. Pater appellatus fuit vernaculo nomine JAN OTTIE (9), factus (9) It is observed in the very beginning of the first case, that his name was John Otto Acqoy.* *brili opere vitam queritans, Mater autem LYNTJE GYSBERTS, cum referunt superstites, unde hic Filius CORNELIS JANSEN dictus est, antiquo vulgi in Belgio more, at Latina vel erudita terminations, CORNELIUS JANSENIUS (10). i. e. "He sprung from honest parents devoted to the Romish religion, notwithstanding " the Gospel had diffused its light over Holland, and " who possessed a small estate. Therefore Hazard the " Jesuit asserted a falsity, in declaring him to be a " Calvinist; and accordingly was sued for it in an " action of scandal by his relations, who highly re- " sented that outrage. Jansenius's father was called " JAN OTTIE, in the language of the country, and " was by trade a Carpenter; his mother was named " LYNTJE GYSBERTS, as persons now living declare; whence this son, had the name of CORNELIUS LIUS JANSEN, after the ancient custom of the vulgar " in Holland, but was called CORNELIUS JANSENIUS " in the Latin or learned termination."*

[C] *They applied themselves with extraordinary vigour to their studies.* "It was at Mr. d'Hauranne's, who was afterwards bishop of St. Cyran, that Jansenius spent the five or six years he staid in Bayonne; applying himself so intensely to the study of the Fathers, and of St. Austin, that he not appearing to be of a strong constitution, Hauranne's mother used sometimes to tell her son, that he would prove the death of that worthy young Fleming, by making him over-study himself (11).

[D] *This prelate having been raised to the Archiepiscopal See of Tours.* This Archbishopric, according to Leydecker (12), was become vacant by the voluntary resignation of Sebastian Galigai, the Marquis d'Ancre's brother-in-law (13); *Vacante Cathedra per spontaneam Sebastiani Galigaji Florentini, infelicis Marchionis Ancrei fratris, cessionem.*

[E] *The University sent him twice into Spain.* His enemies have published a great many falsities on this occasion. They have asserted, that he fled into Spain to escape the Inquisition, who was going to seize him, for venting

(8) *Ibid.* pag. 317.

(9) It is observed in the very beginning of the first case, that his name was John Otto Acqoy.

(10) *Leydecker, de Vita Jansenii,* pag. 3.

(11) *Factum pour les Parents de Jansenius,* pag. 410.

(12) *De Vita Jansenii,* pag. 100.

(13) Or rather brother-in-law; for Marquis d'Ancre's name was Concini, and his wife Galigai.

the King his Sovereign, Professor of the holy Scriptures in the year 1630 in the University of Louvain; and five years after created by him Bishop of Ypres. A book which Janfenius published against France [F], greatly contributed to his promotion to that See,

(14) Factum, pag. 450.

(15) Pag. 451.

(16) That is of Mofes du Bourg.

(17) Val. And. in Fastis Academiis, pag. 393.

(18) Fasti Acad. pag. 138.

(19) Dated the 31st of December 1627.

(20) Factum, pag. 462, 463.

(21) Bibliob. Belg. pag. 154.

venting his new doctrine in that country (14). This Father Hazart has advanced, after Mofes du Bourg, whom he copied. Here follows what is answered in the Factum (15).

"This ignorance (16) with regard to the affairs of Janfenius, shews sufficiently that this is mere calumny and fiction. He speaks of his journey to Spain, as though he had made but one; whereas he undertook two (†), the one in 1624, and the other in 1625. This circumstance would have puzzled this Jesuit of Bourdeaux; for had he fixed his tale to Janfenius's first journey, the falsity would have been visible; because Janfenius would have taken care not to have gone thither a second time: And had he fixed it to the second journey, it would have been visible another way; it being infallibly certain, that so unlucky an accident would have defeated all his negotiation, and he would have returned in disgrace to Louvain; instead of this it is very certain that he returned with glory to it, having obtained all that the University of Louvain had requested of his Catholic Majesty, to put a stop to the enterprizes of the Jesuits. In fine an author, who deserves so little credit on other accounts, is altogether unworthy of credit with regard to a particular that deserves so little belief itself, when he, in the same place, advances three other palpable falsities against the same person; and this the Jesuit of Bourdeaux has done. The first falsity is, that Janfenius's father was a Calvinist, &c. The falsity of this calumny is very evidently proved in the first and third Factum. The second falsity is, that Janfenius at his return to Louvain, after the long excursion he had made in France, managed his intrigues so well, that, under the notion of his being a poor Dutch Catholic, he got a pensioner's place in a College, where certain monies were bestowed for the maintenance of such poor scholars. An impudent falsehood which has been refuted by the public records (†), since Janfenius, immediately at his return to Louvain in 1617, took his Doctor's degree in Divinity, and was appointed President of St. Pulcheria's College: *Louvanium revocatus novo Collegio D. Pulcheriaë præficitur*. The third is an infamous calumny, viz. that this honest pensioner used to steal the College-money, to pay the boarding of two nephews of the Abbot of St. Cyran. Now all these are false assertions. 1. The Abbot had but one nephew, not two, in Louvain. 2. Had Janfenius been only a Pensioner, how could he have had the disposal of the College monies? 3. This pretended theft is a horrid calumny, that is vented in many of the Jesuits libels, whereof they have been convicted in the sixteenth Provincial Letter, beginning thus, *I will tell you, &c.*"

It had been asserted a numberless multitude of times, that there is no fiction but what is grounded on some true incident. This may be said with regard to that of Mofes du Bourg; for it appears by a Letter of Janfenius, that the Spanish Inquisition lodged some informations against him after he was gone. Here follow the words of his Letter (17). "They write to me from the other side the Pyrenees (Spain), that the Inquisition has been raised against a Doctor of Louvain who has been in Spain, and that they applied themselves to a Doctor of Salamanca, (the principal Doctor of that University) at whose house he lodged, and who is called Basil de Leon, to lodge an information against him, as being a Dutchman, and consequently a Heretic; but he answered them so much to the advantage of this Doctor, that they were quite put out of countenance (18)." I shall conclude this remark with the following words of Valerius Andreas (19). *Brevi quoque tempore eam de se opinionem apud Academicos omnes excitavit, ut præ Janfenio alius magis idoneus non fuerit judicatus, qui nomine ejusdem Academiæ bis Legatus in Hispanias mitteretur. Ubi quâ prudentiâ ac dexteritate sese gesserit, tum apud Regem Catholicum, tum in Academia Salmanticensi ac Vallisoletana, felicif-*

simus utriusque Legationis eventus docuit. i. e. "He likewise, in a short space of time, gained so much esteem among all the members of the University, that no person was thought so well qualified as Janfenius, to be sent into Spain as Embassador from the said University; where, the happy success of both embassies proves with how great wisdom and dexterity he acted, as well with regard to the Catholic King, as to the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid." Consult Leydecker (20) concerning the subject and success of these two journeys into Spain.

[F] Janfenius published (21) a book against France. (21) Anno 1635;

The arguments in it are exceedingly strong; and it is intitled *Alexandri Patricii Armacani, Theologi, Mars Gallicus, seu de Justitia armorum & fœderum Regis Galliaë libri duo*. It contains the most malicious and the most odious exclamations against the services which France continually did the Protestants of Holland and Germany, to the great prejudice of the Romish religion. The Dutch are there treated as rebels, who owe the republican liberty they enjoy to an infamous usurpation. They have answered that reproach an hundred times; and Leydecker did not forget to make a solid answer to it not long since (22). He informs us (23) that a report was spread, viz. that Janfenius being consulted by the Duke d'Arfehote and the Archbishop of Malines, after the taking of Boisleduc and Maestricht, advised them to shake off the Spanish yoke, and to form themselves into Cantons after the manner of the Swiss. It was discovered that he had given that counsel, and he was very uneasy about it. Upon this President Rose suggested an expedient by which he might extricate himself, which was, that he should write against France, and gave him the plan of the *Mars Gallicus*. *Opportunè suam operam offerebat P. Rosæus, vir eruditissimus, Sanctioris Consilii Præses, cujus ante meminimus, suppeditato voluminis argumento, quo vel penitentiam ageret, vel famam falsi accusaret. Istud autem erat Mars Gallicus, stylo quidem Janfenii ornandus, cujus tamen materia ipsius opus, eruditionem & ingenium excedebat* (24). Leydecker alledges a

Letter of Fabio Chigi the Nuncio. *Et ne mentiri viderentur, Literas produxerit Fabii Gigibii, Nuntii Apostolici (qui deinde Alexander VII fuit) ad F. Barberinum, Cardinalem, datas Colonia 25 Martii, 1641, ubi hæc scripta, Cardinalis Richelieu admodum stomachatur in Janfenium, quod cum Rosæo Martem Gallicum conscripserit. Nimirum hæc Litera adhuc in Collegio S. Officii Romæ asservantur* (25). i. e. "And that

they might not seem to tell an untruth, they shewed the Letters of Fabio Chigi the Apostolical Nuncio (who was afterwards Alexander VII) to Cardinal F. Barberini, dated at Colen the 25th of March 1625, wherein was the following words; Cardinal Richelieu is greatly offended at Janfenius for his writing the Mars Gallicus in concert with Rose. These letters are still preserved in the College of the Holy Office at Rome." The Jesuits did not fail to exasperate the Court of France against Janfenius's followers, as being a man who had defamed the Nation and his Monarchs, from the first almost to the last. Leydecker cites a long passage which he supposes to be of Father Annat (26), but which, in all probability, is of Father Vavasseur (27). I will transcribe no more of that long passage than the circumstance which relates to the ingratitude with which Janfenius was reproached. *Ante omnia Janfenio exprobrat ingratum in Galliam animum, quæ ipsi valetudinem, quam recipere non possit in patria, concreto & pingui caelo, restituerat puro & salubri; quæ vitium, cum egeret, præbuerat, tum domestico Præceptori Lutetiæ Parisiorum, tum ludi publici Magistro Bajonæ, quæ notitiâ Virorum illustrium atque doctorum animum fecerat ad majora, aditumque & viam muniverat. Quin in Galliis, quod beneficium loco sine dubio numeravit, magnam adeptus erat librorum Calvinianorum copiam, quorum de fontibus haussit Augustini interpretationem, & invenerat homines à*

Calvini disciplina non alienos, quibuscum liberiores de Gratia sermones contulerit (28). i. e. "He particular-

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(22) Leydecker, de Vita Janfenii, pag. 94, & seq.

(23) Pag. 92.

(24) Pag. 93.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid. pag. 89.

(27) It is ascribed to him pag. 31. of Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy's Catalogue, printed in the year 1678. The Janfenius was printed in the year 1650, by Sebastian and Gabriel Cramoisy.

(28) Autor Libri cui titulus Janfenius Suspectus, opud Leydeckerum, pag. 89.

See, but he did not enjoy it long, he dying the 6th of May 1638. He had spent above twenty years on a work in which he explained St. Austin's system concerning the doctrine of Grace; and this book being published after his death, occasioned great disturbances in the Romish Church [G], and cut out a great deal of work for the Popes. Those persons who have asserted the same doctrine as Jansenius have been called Jansenists, and the Jesuits have been their chief adversaries. Perhaps the insincerity and foul play that attends such sort of controversies, was never so glaring as on this occasion [H]. This Doctor had engaged in controversy with the Protestants [I], and left them the field of battle.

“ly reproaches Jansenius with being ungrateful to France, which by its pure and salubrious air had restored him to the health he could not obtain from the gross and thick air of his native country; which gave him a subsistence when he was in want, both when he was a domestic-tutor in Paris, and master of a public school in Bayonne; which, by an acquaintance with learned and illustrious men, had formed his mind to greater things, and strengthened his interest. Nay, in France (which he doubtless thought a benefit) he got a great number of Calvinistical books, from which fountain he drew his interpretation of St. Austin; and met with persons that were not averse to Calvin's doctrine, and with whom he conversed more freely concerning Grace.”

Let us admire in this place the vicissitude of human things. Jansenius was rewarded with a mitre, for having confounded France upon her forming alliances with Protestant States; and at this time (29) the Court of Spain would no doubt bestow a good Bishopric on a Doctor of Louvain, who should write a book in as strong terms in justification of such an alliance or league, as that book was which Jansenius wrote against France; so true it is, that men may arrive at the same ends by quite contrary ways; and that what is good at one time is very bad at another (30). The refutation of a book may deserve the same recompense which the book itself had deserved. What a pleasant scene would it be for unexperienced people, to see a Professor of Louvain raised to a Bishopric, for solidly refuting our Jansenius's *Mars Gallicus*?

Naudé (31) makes him author of the *Admonitio* (32) and *Mysteria Politica*, two pieces, says he, which produced wonderful effects in opposition to the designs of Lewis XIII; but I fancy he is mistaken.

[G] This book . . . occasioned great disturbances in the Romish church. It has given birth to a numberless multitude of other books, some of which contain all that could be said on both sides upon the subject, by men of great acuteness, subtlety, and learning; but after all, a man is not a whit the wiser than he was before, and this will ever be the fate of such disputes; the more they are handled, the more they will be perplexed; and the more they will give the reader occasion to say, *Fecistis probe, incertior sum multo quam dudum* (33). i. e. “Admirably well, indeed, I now am “much more in doubt than I was before.” Some author has said, that the doctrine of Grace is an ocean which has neither shore nor bottom. He perhaps could have compared it more justly to the Faro of Messina, where people are always in danger of splitting upon one rock, by their endeavouring to shun another; *Incidit in Syllam cupiens vitare Charybdim*. The whole, in fine, is reducible to this. Did Adam sin freely? If you answer, yes; then his fall, will it be replied, was not foreseen: But if you answer no; then, will it be said, he is not guilty. You may write a hundred books against either of these consequences, and at last you must be forced to own, either that the infallible foreseeing of a contingent event is a mystery which it is impossible to conceive; or that the manner how a creature, who acts without liberty or necessity, sins nevertheless, is quite incomprehensible. I desire no more: for to what purpose is it to write so many books, since you must be forced at last to own one of these two incomprehensible mysteries?

[H] The insincerity and foul play that attends such sort of controversies, was never so glaring as on this occasion. Those persons who have a little penetration see manifestly, that, in the dispute with regard to liberty, these two sides only can be taken; the one is to assert, that all causes distinct from the soul, which concur with it, endue it with the power of acting or not acting; the other is to assert, that they determine the soul in such a manner, to act, that it cannot do otherwise. The first opinion is that of the Molinists; and the

second that of the Thomists, the Jansenists and Protestants of the Geneva confession. There we have three kinds of people who oppose Molinism; and who, in the main, must be of the same opinion on that head. Nevertheless the Thomists have asserted with all their might, that they were not Jansenists; and the last mentioned have asserted with the same heat, that they were not Calvinists, on the article of liberty. There are no artifices or ill-grounded distinctions but what have been made use of, to colour over this pretence; and all this in order to avoid the ill consequences which they foresaw would follow, in case any conformity should be allowed either with the Jansenists or Calvinists. On the other side, the Molinists have not omitted any kind of sophistry, to shew that St. Austin did not teach Jansenism; as being unwilling to own that their tenets are contrary to those of this great saint. In this manner the Thomists refusing to own that there was any conformity between them and a set of people who were considered as Hereticks: and the Molinists too own their doctrine different from that of a Doctor whose opinions have been always looked upon as orthodox; both have play'd an hundred tricks, and conducted themselves with the utmost insincerity on those occasions.

[I] This Doctor had engag'd in controversy with the

Protestants. The substance of this dispute is said to be as follows (34). The States-General published an edict in 1629, forbidding the publick exercise of the Romish Religion in Boisleduc; and appropriated the ecclesiastical revenues of the mayoralty of that city to the service of the Protestant Religion, which they appointed four ministers to preach there. The last mentioned hearing that many horrid slanders, concerning their doctrine, were secretly spread, published a manifesto, declaring that they taught nothing but the pure Gospel; and intreating their adversaries to propose whatever objections they might have to make in a publick manner. This was answered only by

a piece (35) writ by Jansenius. Gilbert Voetius, one of the four ministers who preached in Boisleduc, wrote remarks on this work (36), which Jansenius refuted by a new work (37). The author of the remarks replied, he again refuting his adversary in a large book he published anno 1635, and entitled *Desperata Causa Papalis*. Jansenius did not make any reply, but Libertus Fromondus, one of his friends, answered for him. This work (38) was printed at Antwerp anno 1636, and refuted by Martin Schoockius, Professor in history and eloquence at Deventer, who entitled his answer, *Desperatissima Causa Papalis*. It was printed anno 1638. There the dispute ended, if we may believe Leydecker (39). I nevertheless find in Valerius Andreas's Bibliotheca, among Fromondus's works, a piece entitled *Sycophanta: Epistola ad Gilbertum Voetium*, printed in 1640. And since the first impression of this article, I have seen a letter, in which this Utrecht Professor is reproached with being mistaken. *Falleris, Jansenii*, pag. 64.

O Præclare, secus res habet . . . Fromondus . . . ultimo icu prostravit adversarium, nunquam quod sciam refutatus (40). i. e. “Illustrious man, thou art “mistaken; the affair is otherwise—Fromondus—“fell'd his adversary with the last blow, and has never been refuted that I know of.”

Jansenius had another war to maintain which may be called a Protestant one: for Theodore Simonis (41), a wavering Roman Catholick, who wanted a matter, waited upon him at Louvain, to desire him to clear up some doubts with respect to the Pope's infallibility, the worship of the Eucharist, and some other points. Jansenius being puzzled with this man's objections, told him one day, that he would not dispute any longer with him by word of mouth, but in writing; and that he saw plainly he had to do with a Roman Catholick who would soon go to Holland, and there boast that he had overcome him. Simonis,

(29) I write this in 1695.

(30) See the remark [I] of the article HOT-MAN.

(31) Naudé, *Cours d'Etat*, chap. 4. pag. m. 610.

(32) See the remark [F] of the article BOUCHER (John).

(33) Terent. *Pbernio*, Act. 2. Scene 3.

(34) Leydecker, *de Vita Jansenii*, pag. 57. & seq.

(35) Intituled, *Alexipharmacum*, printed in the year 1630.

(36) Intituled, *Pbilinius Romanus correctus*.

(37) Intituled, *Notarum Spongia*, printed in the year 1631.

(38) Intituled, *Causa desperata*. *Glib. Voetii adversus Spongiam*. . . . *Cornelii Jansenii Crisis operis*.

(39) *De Vita Jansenii*, pag. 64.

(40) *Epistola Christiani Pbilierii ad Janum Paleologum*, p. 50.

(41) He was born in Holstein.

battle. He wrote some other books [K]. I did not assert that the Court of Rome issued out informations against this Bishop's epitaph [L]. Consult the work which Leydecker has lately published. It is an excellent work (g).

(g) It is intitled, *De Historia Jansenismi Libri VI, quibus de Cornelii Jansenii Vita & Morte, nec non de ipsius & sequacium Dogmatibus differtur.* Utrecht, 1695, 8vo.

nis, who could scarce prevail with himself to dispute in writing, resolved however at last to do it. But after both had wrote twice on the subject in question, his lodgings were surrounded with soldiers, and himself threatened with the punishment due to Hereticks. Duke d'Arfchor's Secretary exclaimed aloud against him; and said that there was wood enough in his master's forests to burn that Heretic. But as the person who examined Simonis, in the name of the Archbishop of Malines, declared that he had found him a good Catholic, and fully resolved to persevere in the Romish Communion, the prisoner was set at liberty, and Janfenius was forced to pay the expences of the soldiers, &c. Two years after Simonis turned Protestant, and published a book (42) intitled *De Statu & Religione propria Papatus adversus Jansenium* (43). I have lately read, that this man having quitted the Lutheran Communion to go over to that of Rome, turned Lutheran again, and at last Socinian: He was Principal of the Socinian college of Kiffelin in Lithuania (44); and was well versed in the Greek tongue; and was he who translated Comenius's *Jamae Linguarum* into that language.

[K] He wrote some other books.] An Oration *de interioris hominis reformatione. Tetrateuchus sive Commentarius in IV. Evangelia. Pentateuchus sive Commentarius in V. libros Moysis.* The answer of the Divines of Louvain, *de vi obligandi conscientias quam habent edicta regia super re monetaria,* and that of the Divines and Civilians, *de Juramento quod publica auctoritate Magistratus designato imponi solet,* were all written by Janfenius (45). Leydecker complains (46) that the harmony of the Gospels, in Moreri's Dictionary, is ascribed to our Janfenius, and says it was wrote by another Janfenius, bishop of Ghent. I have not found this in Moreri. The mistake which Arnauld (47) ascribed to George Hornius, viz. of his supposing that our Janfenius was bishop of Ypres, and afterwards of Ghent, is corrected in Leydecker's edition (48).

[L] The court of Rome issued out informations against Janfenius.] The 10th of December 1655. "The

" Bishop of Ypres, Francis de Robes (49), of the family (49) Leydecker, of the Counts of Annap, caused the monument of Cor-^{pag. 133.} nelius Janfenius, his predecessor, to be taken away ^{him} privately in the night; on which monument was ^{Roblesius.} engraved an elogium of his virtue and erudition, and particularly of his book intitled, *Augustinus, declaring, that this faithful interpreter of the most secret thoughts of St. Austin had employ'd on that work a divine Genius, an indefatigable labour, and his whole life-time; and that the Church would receive the benefit of it upon earth, as he did the reward of it in Heaven:* Words that were highly injurious to the bulls of Pope Urban VIII. and Innocent X. who had censur'd that work. The Bishop destroy'd this monument by the express orders of Pope Alexander VII. and with consent of Archduke Leopold, Governour of the Netherlands, in spite of the resistance of the Chapter, which went such lengths, that one of the principal Canons had the courage to say, that it was not in the Pope nor the King's power to suppress that epitaph; so dear was Janfenius to this canon and his colleagues (50)." Consult Leydecker (51), who relates all this more at large. I can scarce believe what he says (52), that father la Chaise the Jesuit advised the breaking to pieces the Chaise on which Janfenius's epitaph was engraved, but that the Bishop of Ypres only had it thrown by. I am of opinion, that Father la Chaise, in 1655, was not in a condition to have a concern in any such counsels. I will add the following curious particular. "The last time that the Most Christian King was at Ypres, an hospital nun who had assisted him (53) in his last sickness, and spoke of him as a saint, declared with a flood of tears to some Lords of the Court, that she held Janfenius by the arm when he wrote his last will; and she conjured them at the same time to intreat the King to cause a reparation to be made, for the injury which had been done to so holy a man, in taking away his tomb-stone (54)."

(42) Printed at Leyden in 1636.

(43) See a very ample relation of all this affair in Leydecker, pag. 68, & seq.

(44) See Molletus, *Historiam Ciberonensium Cimbrica,* Part 3, pag. 103.

(45) Extracted from Valer. Andreas, pag. 155.

(46) Pag. 2.

(47) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 3, pag. 130.

(48) In *Notis ad Hist. Ecclesiast. Hornii*, pag. 517.

(50) St. Romuald, *Journal Chronologique & Historique*, tom. 2, pag. 612.

(51) *De Vita Jansenii*, pag. 132, & seq.

(52) Pag. 135.

(53) *Jansenius*.

(54) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 2, pag. 452.

JAPAN. This is the name of a wide-extended country situated to the East of China, and divided into several islands. Such ample mention is made of it in Moreri's Dictionary (a), that I have but few particulars to observe. I will not even enumerate all his omissions, but only take notice of some of the articles of the Theology of those Islanders. "The monarchy of Japan is divided into two Estates, the Ecclesiastical and the Secular. The former is composed of the Bonzes, and the latter of the Nobility and People. The name of Bonzes is common to all the Ministers devoted to the service of the Gods whom the Japonese adore. They profess celibacy [A], and... they have a Sovereign Pontiff called Iaco or Xaco, who is vested with authority over all the rest; judges of matters relating to Religion; determines what is to be observed concerning the worship of the Gods, and believed with respect to their nature. He elects the Tundes who dispose of matters of less importance, and are in some measure like our Bishops... (b). The Japonese have two sorts of Deities. The first are the Demons or Devils whom they worship under several shapes; not from the hopes of receiving good from them, but out of fear of being hurt by them. The second are the Kings,

[A] The Bonzes profess celibacy.] But then "they do not always observe it very exactly. They abstain from fish and flesh, shave their beard and hair, and conceal their debaucheries under the appearance of an austere life (1)." The greatest profit they make is, the burying of the dead. The people, persuaded that the souls of their relations may, in the life to come, fall into some necessity, spare no expence in order to procure them the comfort which the Bonzes promise they shall meet with, upon condition that large alms are bestowed. They also employ another artifice to enrich themselves, viz. they borrow money from weak and credulous people, promising to repay them in the next world with large interest; and borrowing in this manner, they say among themselves, that the term of years is worth the money (2). Those who would be desirous of drawing a parallel between the east and west, would

find it defective with respect to the article of those debts payable in the other world; but then a celibacy not well observed, frauds concealed under the appearance of a rigid morality, the profit accruing from burials, succours sent to souls separated from the body: all these things would furnish a great number of Parallels. I am persuaded that many people could not forbear, as they read the extracts of Cousin (3), to say inwardly to themselves, 'Tis thus with us. It would be curious enough to see a relation of the western parts of the world written by a Japonese or Chineze, who had lived several years in the capital cities of Europe: They would pay us in our own coin. The Missionaries who go into the Indies publish accounts of these countries, wherein they exhibit the fallacies and frauds they have observed in the worship of those idolatrous nations. They ridicule it, but whilst they do

(a) Particularly in the edit. of 1699.

(b) *Journal des Savans* of July 18, 1689, pag. m. 492. in the Extract of *Hist. de l'Eglise de Japon.* by Mr. l'Abbe de T.

(1) *Journ. des Savans* of July 18, 1689, pag. 492. Dutch edit.

(2) Ibid. pag. 492.

(3) Author of the *Journal des Savans*, cited above and below.

“ Kings, Conquerors, and learned Men, whom they have ranked in the number of
 “ the Gods, the chief whereof are Amida and Xaca [B]. . . There are said to be ten or
 “ twelve sects or religions in Japan, and each is indulged the liberty of following that
 “ which he pleases; which does not occasion feuds or divisions; and for this reason, say
 “ they, because minds or understandings are not united by way of relation or kindred
 “ like bodies. Among these sects there are three principal ones. The first does not
 “ hope or expect a life after this; and acknowledge or know no other substance but
 “ what strikes the senses. . . The second, who believe the immortality of the soul and a
 “ life to come, is followed by the worthiest sort of people, and is called the Sect of the
 “ Men of the most high God. The third is that of the worshippers of Xaca (c).” The
 “ Bonzes may be compared to our Monks (d). According to some authors (e), the most
 “ general division that can be made of the sects of the Japonese, is to divide them into
 “ such as professedly go no farther than bare appearances; and such as search for reality
 “ which does not strike the senses, and is by them called truth. Those who adhere only
 “ to appearances, believe another life after this [C], for the eternal reward of good men,
 “ and the everlasting punishment of the wicked. But such as seek for the internal and insen-
 “ sible reality, reject the notion of heaven and hell, and teach doctrines which bear a great
 “ affinity to Spinoza’s opinion [D]. They agree with the Epicureans in this particular, viz.
 “ that

(c) Ibid. pag.
494.

(d) See the re-
mark [B].

(e) See Possevinus
Bibliob. Select.
lib. 10. cap. 2.
pag. m. 410.
tom. 1.

do this, ought they not to fear that it will be retorted
upon them?

Quid rides? mutato nomine de te

Fabula narratur (4).

(4) Horat. Sat.
1. lib. 1. ver. 69,
70.

That is,
 “ What, dost thou laugh? and think that thou art free?
 “ Fool, change the name, the story’s told of thee?
 CREECH.

Or that they should meet with the just reproaches
which all such deserve who wink at their own faults,
but are eagle-ey’d at discovering those of other people?

*Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
 Cur in amicorum vitis tam cernis acutum,
 Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius? at tibi contra
 Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus & illi* (5).

(5) Idem, Satyr.
3. lib. 1. ver. 25.

That is,
 “ When thou art blind and senseless to thine own,
 “ How dost thou see thy friend’s disease so soon?
 “ That scarce a serpent can so quickly spy,
 “ Nor any eagle hath so good an eye?
 “ Well then, go on, pursue thy mean design,
 “ As thou dost find their faults, so they will thine.
 CREECH.

[B] *The chiefs are . . . Amida and Xaca.* “ The
 “ former is represented under various monstrous shapes.
 “ In one of his Temples, at Iedo, he is carried on a
 “ seven-headed horse. The finest of his Temples is
 “ near Meaco, and is five hundred foot long, and a
 “ thousand Idols of massy gold are in it. With re-
 “ gard to Saca or Xaca, the Bonzes tell a thousand
 “ impertinent stories of him. They say that he was
 “ born eight hundred times in different species, before
 “ he was born of a woman; and that when he
 “ was born of her, he issued through his mother’s
 “ sides, through which he had gnawed with his teeth.
 “ The truth is, Xaca was a Sophister, who persuaded
 “ people any thing he pleased. His mother, being
 “ big of him, dreamt that a white elephant issued
 “ through her mouth. Hence it is that white ele-
 “ phants are held in veneration in India, China, Tun-
 “ quin, Siam and Pegu. They are served in gold
 “ plate; and Noblemen of great distinction visit them
 “ in crowds, and pay them the same honour as to
 “ Kings (6).” One of the three principal Sects of the
 “ Japonese is that of Xaca’s worshippers. “ They form
 “ a community, rise at midnight to sing hymns,
 “ meet every evening to hear the discourse which
 “ their Superiour makes to them on some moral sub-
 “ ject, and then gives them some points to meditate
 “ upon. He sometimes represents to them a dying
 “ man; and repeats the reproaches which the soul
 “ and body make to one another in the expiring
 “ moments. The meditation lasts an hour: and when
 “ it is ended, every person gives the Superiour an ac-
 “ count of the thoughts which came into his mind,
 “ and the resolutions he has formed (7).”

(6) *Journal des
Savans*, of July
1689, pag. 495.

(7) Ibid. pag.
4:6.

[C] *Those who adhere only to appearances, believe
 another life after this.* Their opinion seems to be

that of Amida, of Xaca and Fotoke. They say that
at the four cardinal points of the world there are certain
Countries, the inhabitants whereof are in a fulness of
satisfaction, whereby they enjoy a supreme felicity;
that all the laws of Japan were made by Fotoke;
and that those who observe them shall no sooner leave
this life, but they will go up into those places; that
they will be born again there; and that Fotoke will
transform them, and give them thirty two forms or
shapes, and fourscore qualities, with which they shall
live in perfect beatitude to all eternity, happy and
contented with their condition. *In omnem eternita-
tem vivent læti admodum, felices & sua sorte conten-
ti* (8). Women will not be admitted in those Coun-
tries; but those who shall be saved for having ob-
served Fotoke’s laws, will be transformed into men;
for otherwise they would not receive the reward for
the good life they led, because (say these) they are in
their own nature unclean, detestable, and execrable.
*Eo quod feminae sint natura detestabiles, execrandæ &
immundæ* (9). With regard to the transgressors of
Fotoke’s laws, they shall go from this life, into certain
infernal places, and there suffer six sorts of never-ending
punishments. Such is the general doctrine of those who
follow appearances. As to the other Sects, they argue
as they please on this subject; but these agree in this
center of unity, and their opinion is that of the igno-
rant and vulgar: *Et quamvis de hisce rebus unaquæque
Japoniorum secta loquatur, ut vult, communi tamen con-
sensu quicunque extrinsecam rerum faciem sectantur, in
hoc, quod diximus, conveniunt, & banc opinionem rudes
& vulgares homines amplectuntur* (10). I borrow all
this from Possevinus the Jesuit (11), who did not
think himself obliged to refute the doctrines of this
Sect; for since, says he, they profess to adhere only to
appearances, what they say has in reality no solidity
nor truth; ’tis at most but a phantom, or exterior of
truth. The Bonzes themselves confess manifestly, that
this whole system of Camus and Fotoke was built, or
rather invented for the sake of the ignorant and weak
minds: *Nam (ut ipsimet Bonzii, qui suæ sententiæ Ma-
gistri & Doctores sunt, aperte fatentur) totam de CAMI
& FOTOQUE disciplinam propter rudes & inscios rerum
homines, capti, & ingenio imbecillos, esse compositam,
vel potius confictam, non quod aliquid eorum, quæ in ipsa
docentur, verum sit* (12). However Possevin refutes the
doctrine of this Sect in his 5th chapter (13).

(8) Possevin. ubi
infra.

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Idem, ibid.
(11) *Extracted
from Possevin,
Bibliob. Select.
tom. 1. lib. 10.
cap. 2. pag. m.
410, 411.*

(12) Idem, ibid.
pag. 411.

(13) Ibid. pag.
429, & seq.

[D] *Such as seek for the internal and insensible reality,
 reject the notion of heaven and hell, and teach doctrines
 which bear a great affinity to Spinoza’s opinion.* They
 neglect externals, they devote themselves wholly to me-
 ditation, they reject all discipline that consists in words,
 and adhere only to the exercise called by them SOKU-
 ZIN SOKUBUT, that is, *the heart*. They maintain
 that there is but one principle of all things, and that
 this principle is found every where; and that the heart
 of man, and the interior of other beings differ not from
 this common principle; and that all other beings re-
 turn to this common principle when they are destroyed.
 It exists, *adds they*, to all eternity; it is one only prin-
 ciple, clear and luminous; it is incapable of increasing
 or decreasing, it has no shape; it does not reason, but
 lives

that they divest God of the government of the world ; as a circumstance that would interfere with the supreme tranquillity, which, according to them, forms all his felicity. They even go farther than Epicurus, for they deprive God of reason and understanding. They doubtless are afraid that these qualities would disturb his repose, since they find by experience that reasoning is attended with some fatigue (f). The Christian Religion which Francis Xavier, and several other Missionaries after him, preached to the Japonese, did not find any greater obstacles than what the Bonzes raised against it; not so much by disputes and arguments, as by the methods commonly employed by Ecclesiastics ; I mean by having recourse to the secular arm, and by force, exhorting the Kings and the People to maintain the old Religion, and persecute the followers of the new (g). It must be confessed however, that these Japonese Priests had conferences with the Christian Priests ; and made such objections to them as shewed they did not want sense (b). They could not prevent the Christian Religion from making a very great progress in a short time ; but they at last excited the Emperor to have recourse to such violent proceedings, as quite extirpated it in Japan, and very much swelled the martyrology [E].

(f) Ibid. lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 415.

(g) See Journal des Savans of July 1689, pag. 499.

(b) See Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, Sept. 1691, pag. 8, & seq. in the extract of Histoire des Eglise du Japon. Father

lives in idleness and a perfect repose. *Figura carens, ratiocinationis expert, vitam agens otii, quietis, & tranquillitatis plenissimam* (14). They teach that those who, in this life, have known this principle extremely well, attain to the perfect glory of Fotoke and his successors ; and that such as never arrive at this exalted pitch of knowledge, are born again several times, and migrate from place to place ; but that they, in the other world shall be all absorbed in this common principle of all things. They likewise assert that knowledge does not differ from ignorance ; that good and evil are not two beings, and that the one is not distinct or separate from the other (15). Possévin reduces this system to these four points : I. That there is but one principle of all things ; that this principle is supremely perfect ; that it is wise, but understands nothing, and does not concern itself with the affairs of this world, inasmuch as it lives in a perfect repose ; and, like a man, who is strongly attentive to one thing, and leaves or neglects all the rest. II. That this principle is in all particular beings, and communicates its essence to them ; so that they are the same thing with it, and return to it when they themselves end. III. That the heart of man does not differ from this common principle of all beings ; and that when men die, their hearts perish and are consumed ; but that the first principle which before endued them with life, subsists still in them ; whence it follows that there is neither paradise nor hell, neither rewards nor punishments after this life. IV. That it is possible for man, in this world, to raise himself to the condition and supreme majesty of the first principle, so far as by strength of meditation he may know it perfectly, and so arrive to the supreme tranquillity which this principle enjoys in itself ; that this is all the good which man can attain to ; and that till he has attained it by a perfect meditation and knowledge, he is tormented with perpetual disquiet ; he often is torn from one hell to another, and does not find rest in any place. It is very certain that we here have a great number of particulars which Spinoza did not teach ; but, on the other side, it is very certain, that he, like those Japonese Priests, has taught that the first principle of all things, and all the beings of which the universe is formed, are but one and the same substance ; that all things are God, and that God is all things ; in such a manner that God and all things that exist make but one and the same being. One cannot enough admire that so extravagant a notion, so full of absurd contradictions, should have got into the heads of so many people so distant one from the other, and so different in temper, education, custom, and genius. Possévin (16) brings many arguments against the hypothesis of these Bonzes, and refutes it chiefly by the contradictions it contains ; and first he observes, that they have but very few doctrines concerning the nature of the first principle, that they do not say any thing upon it with perspicuity, that they are not able to answer the questions or objections proposed to them, nor confirm their opinions ; and that their only refuge is to say, that it is to no purpose for men to enquire into the nature and power of the first principle (17). *Omnia unico verbo putant se dissolvere, dicentes hominum non interesse hujus principii vim, & naturam pericrutari inquirendo aut disputando: quod totum manifeste constat, ex ignoracione profectum & na-*

sum (18). It is to be observed that part of his objections (19) combat also part of Spinoza's system.

[E] *The violent proceedings of the Japonese very much swelled the martyrology.* Read the Ecclesiastical History of Japan, written by Francis Solier the Jesuit, and the History of the Church of Japan, by Abbé de T (20). "This Abbé admires the depth of God's judgments; and wonders, he should have permitted the blood of so many martyrs to be shed, without its having served, as in the first ages of the Church, as a fruitful seed for the forming or producing of new Christians (21)." Without presuming to enquire into the reasons the divine wisdom may have, for permitting at one time what it does not permit at another; it may be said that the Christianity of the sixteenth century had no right to hope for the same favour, and the same protection from God as the Christianity of the three first centuries. The latter was a benign, gentle and patient religion, which recommended to subjects submission to their sovereigns, and did not endeavour to raise itself to the throne by rebellions; but the Christianity which was preached to the infidels of the sixteenth century was far different; it was a bloody, murderous religion, that had been used to slaughter for five or six hundred years. It had contracted a very long habit of maintaining and aggrandizing itself, by putting to the sword, all that resisted it. Fires, executions, the dreadful tribunal of the inquisition, cruades, bulls exciting subjects to rebellion, seditious Preachers, conspiracies, assassinations of Princes, were the ordinary methods employed against those who refused submission to its orders. Could these Christians promise themselves the blessing which Heaven had granted the primitive Church, to the Gospel of peace, of patience and gentleness? The best choice the Japonese had to make was, to become converts to the true God; but not having knowledge sufficient to renounce their false religion, they then had no other choice to make but an active or passive persecution. They could not refuse their ancient government nor their ancient worship but by getting rid of the Christians. These, one time or other, would have destroyed both; they would have armed all their new converts; would have introduced into Japan the soldiers and cruel maxims of the Spaniards; and, by hanging and slaughtering in America, would have enslaved all Japan. Thus, to consider things only in a political view, it must be confessed, that the persecution which the Christians suffered in that country was a prudent means to prevent the overthrow of the monarchy and plundering of a state. The ingenuous confession of a Spaniard justifies the precautions which these infidels took. "It furnished the Bonzes with a specious pretence for exercising their hatred, and soliciting the extirpation of the Christians. Being asked by the King of Tossa, how the King of Spain got possession of so great an extent of country in both hemispheres, he answered too frankly, that he used to send Friars to preach the Gospel to foreign nations; and that after having converted a considerable number of Heathens, he used to send his forces, which, joining with the new converts to Christianity, by that means conquered the country. The Christians paid dear for this indiscreet confession (22)."

(18) Possévin-Biblioth. tom. 3. pag. 412.

(19) Ibid. pag. 419, 420.

(20) It was printed at Paris in 2 vol. 4to, in the year 1689.

(21) Journal des Savans of July 25, 1689, pag. 507.

(22) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, Sept. 1691, pag. 13, 14.

(14) Possévin-Biblioth. Select. tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 2. pag. 415.

(15) Extracted from Possévin. ibid.

(16) Possévin-Biblioth. tom. 1. pag. 412, 413.

(17) This is a gross contradiction, which Possévin should have objected to them; for since they say that the greatest happiness of man proceeds from the perfect knowledge he can acquire of the first principle, it concerns him to enquire into the nature of that first principle.

Father Possévin has censured very severely the Laws established by the Japonese Legislator [F].

[F] *Father Possévin has censured . . . the laws established by the Japonese legislator.* The first fault he finds with them is, that they enjoin idolatry, and particularly the worship and adoration of Camus and Fotoke. He gives a very just description of the enormity of idolatry, and places it in the highest rank of injuries that can be done to God. This he proves from the example of rebellion; for he says that the greatest crime which can be committed against a sovereign is, to divest him of his power, and bestow it on another. *Sicut nullum crimen in Regem ac Principem potest gravius admitti, quum eum à suo regno pellere, è regis dignitatis gradu dejicere, & alium in summum regis amplitudinis fastigium evehere; ita summa est in Deum injuria, summum in eum scelus admittitur, cum divinus honor, & cultus, qui ipsi soli debetur, in alium transfertur, ipsi detrabitur, alii tribuitur* (23).

(23) Possévin. *Biblioth. Select.* tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 6. pag. 435. See, on this subject, *Pensées diverses sur les Comètes*, pag. 340, 390.

“ As there cannot be a greater crime committed against a King or Prince than to drive him from his Kingdom, to divest him of the regal dignity, and to raise another person to his throne; so it is doing the highest injury to God, and acting the most horrid wickedness against him, when the divine honour and worship that are due to him only, are taken from him and transferred to another.” The second fault in those laws is, that whilst they very severely prohibit to the Bonzes the use of women, they allow them that of their own sex. They prohibit them the former as a nasty and abominable thing, and approve the latter as a honest and holy. *In Bonziis omnem cum fœminis concubitum, ut rem fœdam, turpem, & detestabilem damnant: at usum puerorum permittunt, imo in eisdem Bonziis coitum cum pueris approbant, ut rem honestam & sanctam* (24). Possévin shews, on many accounts, the atrocious nature of Sodomy. The third fault is, that forbidding the killing of certain beasts sacred to Camus and Fotoke, they permit men to kill one another, and even to be their own murderers. They suppose, not only that it is an action agreeable to those Deities, but also the true way to Deification, and hence it is that very great numbers of the Japonese kill themselves, either by plunging into the water, burning or burying themselves alive, or leaping from the top of a rock. Many also rip up their bellies for very slight reasons; and several mothers kill their own children. Possévin shews the wickedness of all such proceedings (25). The last fault he censures is, that the laws of Japan declare, that by the bare invocation of NAMUAMIDABUT, or by crying FORENGUELIO, all kinds of sins are expiated without there being any need of repentance. The Japonese, *continues he*, do not speak either of satisfactory punishments or good works; they pretend that those things are injurious to the merit of XACA and AMIDA, who have been afflicted enough

(24) Possévin. *ibid.*

(25) Possévin. *ibid.* pag. 436.

JARCHI or JARHI (SOLOMON) a famous Rabbi, lived in the twelfth Century [A]. His true name is *Ijaaki* (a). “ And yet that pretended name of Jarhi made some persons imagine that he was of Lunel in Languedoc, but he was of Troyes in Champagne, as R. Ghedalia, and most of the Jewish Chronologers assert . . . His books are very much esteemed amongst the Jews [B], and we may say that he is their “ grand

(a) Simon, *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Testament*, pag. m. 545.

(1) Simon, *Hist. Crit. de Vieux Testament*, pag. 545.

(2) See König, *Biblioth.* p. 423.

(3) *Ibid.* But observe that König,

ibid. pag. 496.

who after Hottinger places

Maimonides in

the 13th century, does not follow the common

opinion, according to which he lived

in the 12th.

(4) Hoornbeek, *contra Judæos*,

pag. 7.

(5) Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.*

tom. 2. p. m. 799.

(6) Hoornbeek, *contra Judæos*,

pag. 7.

[A] *He lived in the twelfth century.* This is what Father Simon (1) supposes. Others place his death in the year 1105 (2). Some make him live in the thirteenth century, and pretend that he was contemporary with Maimonides (3). Others again suppose that he lived in the fourteenth century (4); for they assert that he was banished from France with all the other Jews by King Philip surnamed *le Bel*: now this Monarch's edict against the Jews is dated July the 22d 1307 (5). Hoornbeek supposes that this Rabbi was banished from France at that time; he makes him a native of Lunel in Languedoc; and he observes that there were always a great many Jews in that city; which he proves thus. *Unde in epistolis Gregorii, libr. 3. epistol. 21. Venantio Episcopo Lunensi inscripta ita incipit: multorum ad nos relatione pervenit, à Judæis in Lunensi civitate de gentibus ad servitium Christiana detineri mancipia* (6). i. e. “ Whence the twenty first letter of the third book of Gregory's Letters,

for the crimes which men have committed, and have sufficiently expiated them by their sufferings. This doctrine opens the door to sin; for as nothing can be easier than to throw out an invocation or a cry, men are sure to avoid easily all the punishments they have reason to fear, after having abandoned themselves to the greatest crimes. Possévin (26) shews very evidently the enormity and horreur of this doctrine, and the pernicious effects which result from it.

(26) Possévin. *Biblioth. Select.* tom. 1. lib. 10. cap. 6. pag. 437.

No reader need fear he would be guilty of a mistake, in condemning such a doctrine; but should he venture to pronounce, that Possévin has faithfully represented the doctrine of the Bonzes, he very possibly may form a rash judgment; for, in short, people must never be condemned on the testimony of their enemies; and enquiry ought to be made, whether their doctrine has been faithfully represented. Now it would not be a faithful representation of it, to insist on the letter of some law, without regarding the interpretations of the Doctors; for, by such a method of proceeding, one might ascribe a great number of absurdities to the most rational religions. There are some harsh things in scripture, which it would be wrong to consider as laws enacted by the Christians; for these do not take them in the literal sense, but explain and soften them by other passages, and agreeably to the analogy of the faith. It would be proper for us to be informed whether the Bonzes do not the same, with respect to some of the ordinances of the legislators. I could easily believe those particulars that are related concerning the knavish tricks and hypocrisy of those idolatrous Priests; but I think it probable, that they cover, with some exterior of severity, their doctrine as well as their behaviour; and perhaps we ought to ascribe only to some of them, what Possévin charges the whole body of their sects with. Some Friars have declared, that very great villains have been saved by the bare invocation of the Blessed Virgin. The extravagance of those who speak of the treasure of indulgences, and who say that the merits of Saints, and their works of supererogation supply the want of repentance in many persons, would furnish a Japonese traveller with very good chapters. Would it not be unjust, should he relate all these particulars as articles of the Christian faith? Once again, I should be curious to know what answer the Bonzes would make to the following question. Do you teach those things which Possévin ascribes to you? I also should be glad to see a history written by them, concerning the settling of Christianity in their island, and its extirpation. And in case such Japonese had writ it after having perused the history composed by Francis Solier and Abbé de T, it would still be more curious to compare them.

“ which is written to Venantius Bishop of Lunel, begins thus: *We have been told by a great many persons, that the Jews who live in the city of Lunel keep several Christians as slaves.*” This is a very gross blunder; for Lunel in Languedoc never was an Episcopal city. Pope Gregory means in this passage *Luna* a city of Tuscany in Italy, the ruins of which are still to be seen near the mouth of the river Magra. The Episcopal See of that city was removed to Sarzana by Pope Nicholas V (7).

(7) See Miræus, *Geog. Eccles.* pag. 236.

[B] *His books are very much esteemed among the Jews.* His commentaries on the Bibles of Venice and Basil are extant. They have also printed with the text of the Talmud his glosses or commentaries upon that great work (8). Monsieur Brun (9) relates, that he has seen several Jews “ at Bourdeaux, who had still so great a respect for the memory of Solomon Jarhi, the most illustrious of their Rabbies, by the learned commentaries he wrote both upon the holy

(8) Simon, *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Testament*, pag. m. 545.

(9) Brun. *Véritable Religion des Hollandais*, pag. 224.

(b) Ibid. pag. 514. col. 2.
(c) I give the article of this same Rabbi under the word ISAACITES.

“ grand author.” They add sometimes to the books they call the five volumes, *the Commentaries of Raschi, who is their chief author upon the Bible, because he is very well skilled in their systems of Divinity, and in their Translations* (b). Father Simon, who says all this, ought to have observed, that Rabbi Raschi is the same with Rabbi Jarchi or Isaaki. He is also called *Isaacites*. See the margin (c).

(10) He should have said Lunel.
“ Scripture, and upon the Talmud, that they assured me, *says he*, they were determined to take very soon a journey to Lunelle (10) near Nîmes, to see the place where this great man was born, and

“ whence he took his name (*), and that they would endeavour to settle there, which they hoped would be granted them.”

(*) *Jarchi* signifies the Moon in Hebrew (and the Moon in French is *la Lune*) so that he was called *Jarchi of Lunelle*.

JARDINS (MARY CATHERINE DES) famous for her Romances [A], flourished in the seventeenth Century. She was “ born at Alençon, a little city of which her father was Provost. As soon as she was nineteen years of age she began to consider how small her estate was; and finding her self poor, and having as much wit as ambition, she went to Paris with a design to mend her fortune. She was not entirely disappointed in her hopes; for she soon gained a reputation by her genius; and the men of wit were proud of her acquaintance. Monsieur de Ville-Dieu, a handsome Gentleman, and in pretty good circumstances, was one of the first that became acquainted with Mistress de Jardins; he esteemed her, loved her, and married her, though she wanted beauty: but he died unfortunately soon after. The poor woman retired for grief into a Convent; but when she had eased her grief a little there, she left the place, and entered into the world again, and married to her second husband Monsieur de la Châte, whom she also buried. Being deeply afflicted at this new misfortune she resolved never to marry again, but to pass the remainder of her days in love-intrigues. She began therefore to hearken to the flattering addresses of her lovers, and to answer them in little Poems and Letters, which are very ingenious and witty (a).” The author, from whom I borrow this account, has omitted a great many particulars [B], and has not been accurate with regard to chronology; for he pretends that she did not begin to hearken to the flatteries of her lovers, till after the death of her two husbands; whereas several persons have told me positively, that this epoch is very ill-placed, and that this woman’s galantry was infinitely less than ever at the time he mentions. There has been in the Low-Countries one Mistress DES JARDINS, whose name and picture have for some years following been prefixed to the Almanack; she was contemporary with the person who is the subject of this article, and who died in the year 1683 (b).

(a) Richelet, *Vie des Auteurs François*, p. lviii. of the Hague edition, 1699.

(b) See the *Mercur Galant*, for November 1683, pag. 267.

JARRIGE

(1) It was, I think, intitled, *Alcidamis*, or *Alcidamis*, I do not remember it well.

[A] *She is famous for her romances.*] The first, or one of the first she wrote (1) was to contain several volumes in 8vo, according to the custom of those times. But she did not carry it on so far as she designed at first; and I have been told that she drop: it, because it was found out that she designed to represent under fictitious names and with some alterations, the adventures of a great Lady, who married below her dignity. She was threatened with the resentment of the persons concerned, if she dared to carry on the intrigue to the end of the romance; she broke off therefore in the middle of her story. However she did not bury her talents; on the contrary, she invented a new kind of romantick stories, of which she published a great many, and she succeeded very well that way; she brought those little stories of amorous adventures into fashion, in which stories the good or bad success of love appears very soon, and thus she sunk the reputation of those long and tedious accounts of heroick adventures, which made the Printers of Cassandra, Cleopatra, Cyrus, Clelia, &c. get so much money. The new taste she raised does still subsist; and though that sort of works please only when they are new, and soon become obsolete, yet the first romances she wrote according to her new fancy, are still read with pleasure; as her *Journal Amoureux*, her *Annales Galantes*, her *Galanteries Grenadines*, and several others. She published in the year 1672 *Les Exiles de la Cour d’Auguste*: i. e. “ The persons banished from Augustus’s Court.” An illustrious Lady (2) thought this romance *very pretty*. That intitled *Les Desordres de l’Amour* (3). i. e. “ The bad consequences of Love,” and that other the title of which is *Portrait des Foibleffes humaines* (4). i. e. “ A Description of the Weaknesses of Men,” are not inferior to any of the former. The misfortune is that Mistress des Jardins gave occasion to an abuse, which grows worse and worse every day. I mean that of ascribing stories and amorous intrigues of one’s own invention to the greatest men of former ages, and of interspersing them with some particulars, that have some

foundation in history. This mixture of truths with fables creeps into a great many new books, spoils the taste of young people, and is the reason why one dares not to believe even what is really true. See the remark [C] of the article NIDHARD.

[B] *Monsieur Richelet . . . has omitted a great many particulars.*] Since I observe this, it would be reasonable for me to supply his defects. But it is not in my power to consult the persons who might acquaint me with those particulars; it is therefore just to excuse an omission in me, for which Monsieur Richelet may justly be blamed; for as he lived at Paris, where he did not lead a sedentary life, it was easy for him to enquire about the time when Mistress Des Jardins left the country, and settled in the capital city of the Kingdom. It would not have cost him more trouble to learn with whom she was first acquainted there, what patrons she got, what book she published first, and when she published it; in what year she was married to her first husband, when he died, at what time she married again, when she lost her second husband; the chronological order in which her Romances were printed; the time of her death, and several other particulars of that kind, which he does not mention in the least; and yet we read on the top of his pages, *Vie des Auteurs François*. i. e. “ The Lives of the French Authors.” Is not this imposing most shamefully upon the readers by a sham title? Ought an account to be called thus, when it wants the most material particulars? You will say, no doubt, that there are a great many readers, who do not mind those omissions; but this is not clearing the writer. These readers would not have been displeas’d had they met in his work with the particulars he has omitted; and a great many other readers would have been very glad to find them there. He did not therefore follow the best method; for it is much better to do what pleases a great many persons, and displeases none, than to do that which some dislike, though others do not dislike it.

(2) Madam de Sevigné. See the *Lettres du Comte de Buffi-Rabutin*, Part 3. Let. CC. pag. m. 362.

(3) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Sept. 1686. in the *Catalogue des Livres Nouveaux*, num. 1.

(4) See the same *Nouvelles*, for November 1685 Art. 1. and the *Journal des Sçavans*, for Nov. 19, 1685, pag. m. 494.

(5) See the *Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres*, for Oct. 1684, in the *Catalogue*, num. 5.

JARRIGE (PETER), born at Tulle in Limoufin, was one of the most famous Preachers amongst the Jesuits, but otherwise a dishonest man [A]: he was so exasperated against his whole Order, because he was not promoted in it to the employments which he imagined he deserved, that he resolved to turn Protestant. He imparted his mind to a Minister (a), who procured him an opportunity to retire into Holland (b), He abjured the Roman Catholic Religion in the Consistory of Rochelle on Christmas-day in the year 1647. When he was arrived at Leyden, he preached to a very numerous congregation upon the motives of his conversion, and endeavoured afterwards to persuade the world, that he had no longer the least inclination for Popery. The States of Holland granted him a pension (c). But "the Jesuits caused information to be made against him with the utmost severity, and endeavoured as much as lay in their power to defame him. They obliged the Judge of Rochelle to condemn him to be hanged, and afterwards burnt. But all that noise served only to make the public know how much they were vexed at this loss, and to afford Jarrige, who was very passionate and revengeful, a pretence to revenge himself upon them. He did it with a witness in a book, which he intitled *Les Jesuites mis sur l'Echafant*; i. e. *The Jesuites exposed upon a Scaffold at the place of execution*; he abused them so severely in that book, that their society never met with any thing that vexed them so much (d). He also published a particular answer to Father Beaufés, who had defamed him very much (e). His treating the Jesuits thus, might have made the world imagine, that they would be for ever irreconcilable; and yet the Jesuit Ponthelier (f), who was then at the Hague amongst the attendants of an Embassador, had some hopes to reclaim that haughty spirit; he practised upon him so, that he persuaded him to return into the Pale of the Church of Rome; which he did accordingly in the year 1650. Jarrige left Leyden, and went amongst the Jesuits of Antwerp, where he published his recantation immediately [B]; but

(a) To Monsieur Vincent Minister of Rochelle.

(b) Histoire de l'edit de Nantes, tom. 3. pag. 93.

(c) Jarrige, Recantation, pag. 101.

(d) Hist. de l'edit. de Nantes, tom. 3. pag. 93.

(e) In a book intitled, *Les Impietez & Sacrileges de Pierre Jarrige, Recantat. de Jarrige, pag. 70.*

(f) See the remark [C].

[A] He was a dishonest man.] This appears most evidently by what he confesses himself in his recantation. I need not therefore to insist upon an argument, which a very honest man urged one day before several persons of the Reformed religion. He observed that a studious man, like Jarrige, who was continually composing of Sermons, could not have remembered at Leyden that vast number of little stories, which he has related in his *Jesuites mis sur l'Echafant*, and in his answer to James Beaufés; he could not, I say, have remembered them, had he not wrote them down, at the time he heard them, with the names and surnames of the persons concerned, and with all the minute particulars of times and places. Now this betrays a wicked heart; this shews that he was a dishonest man; for he would not have taken the trouble to keep such a register, had he not designed to prepare weapons to use them on occasion against the Jesuits, if he should happen to fall out with them. This was therefore thinking of revenge, and providing means to make himself formidable, even before he knew whether he would ever have occasion for them. There are some persons, who keep all, even the most inconsiderable letters of their friends, and who are most careful to keep particularly those letters of which they may take an advantage, in case they should happen to fall out with their friends. They consider the inconstancy of our passions, and they love as tho' they were to hate one day (1), and take their measures accordingly. It is certain, that they who keep their friends letters, and remember their most free conversations, and greatest secrets, with such a design, are very wicked men. The person, whom I have mentioned in the beginning of this remark, made use of that comparison. I do not pretend to vindicate his reflection: I relate it only as a matter of fact; the reader will judge of it as he pleases. I have, besides this, wherewithall to support the assertion in my text, as you will see in the following remark.

[B] He published his recantation immediately.] He confessed (2), that a most bitter and violent passion made him retire from the Jesuits; and that there was (3) not a word in the cursed and scandalous Sermon which he preached at Leyden, but what was, properly speaking, a blasphemy, which deserved so much the more to be punished on the day of God's judgment, as his heart disowned his words. He acknowledged (4), that he had added to his first and impudent lye such circumstances as were both false and criminal, namely, that it was sixteen years since God had laid in his mind the first foundations of that work, which he had begun to perform some months before in his own country, and which he happily finished to his satisfaction in the territories of Holland. He confessed (5), that to compleat his wickedness he had

slandered several innocent persons, to revenge himself of two whom he thought guilty; that upon reading the sentence by which he was condemned to death (6) for a religion which he abhorred in his heart . . . his anger deprived him of his judgment, and without minding what he did, acted like mad dogs, who bite their own masters without knowing them. Being therefore deprived of my right senses, says he (7), I wrote a virulent and bitter libel against the Province of Guienne which I had left. . . . I made use of all the artifices I was capable of to asperse their reputation. Rhetoric has the properties of those multiplying glasses, which make the smallest objects appear very large, and represent a frog as big as an ox. It was an easy matter for me to find some slight foundations upon which I might build the most heinous crimes. I did not mind to tell the truth, if I could but find some probable arguments to support the falsities I asserted. I had but a small ground to work upon, but by the particulars which I industriously raised upon it, I made a mountain of a mole-hill. They who knew the trifling and inconsiderable stories that happened in that holy Province, will understand, much easier than any other readers, that a revengeful spirit rendered me very industrious in exaggerating the smallest things, and exceedingly artful to make them appear probable. The reverend father Ponthelier has censured me severely, but yet with kindness, for these artifices, whilst my passion was still in its height; and he received no other answer from me but this; namely, that, since Father Rousseau and Father Beaufais had made use of a thousand artifices and falsities to get me condemned to be burnt, it was but reasonable that I should also find some means to be revenged, and that upon a small foundation I should ground the most heinous charges, as they had raised theirs upon mere appearances. I added, that they had not barely wrote, as I did, but that they had really caused me to be hanged and afterwards burnt in effigy . . . (8). As a revengful man I chose the blind side of my enemies, that I might more effectually disperse my slanders . . . Whenever I met with the least opportunity to censure them, I never failed to make my own conjectures pass for proofs; and if it happened that any of them were suspected, either with or without reasons, by persons of their own society or by strangers, I took those bare suspicions for real truths, and I generally endeavoured to make honest men pass for very great criminals, who after a very strict examination would have been found guilty only of some imprudent actions, or at most of some very slight faults. Whoever will examine my discourse seriously and with an unbiassed mind, will find, that in order to render my forgeries more acceptable to the reader and more probable, I generally prefix to them some reflections that are both plausible and artful. I have said too much to deserve

A REFLECTION on the conduct of those who keep all their friends letters.

(1) Ita amicis habere, posse ut fieri inimicis putet; i. e. "Act with your friend, as tho' he might once become your enemy." Publius Syrus, apud M. cr. b. Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 7.

(2) Page 8.

(3) Page 11.

(4) Page 22.

(5) Page 69.

(6) The Provincial of the Jesuits obtained from the Presidial Court of la Rochelle a sentence by which Jarrige was condemned to be hanged, and afterwards burnt. He carried me to the gallows, says Jarrige, pag. 72 of his Recantation, and from the gallows to the wood-pile. He caused the sentence of the Presidial Court to be printed; he had it explained, and laid open the grounds of the sentence pronounced against me, and dispersed it through all the Provinces; and he would have had my body treated after the same manner as he did my picture, had not God protected me in a country, where I was then only sinning against him.

(7) Page 73.

(8) Page 77.

but it is not known what became of him since that time (a). A great many persons believe that the Jesuits imprisoned him for the remainder of his life [C]. This might be ; but other reasons may be given why such a man should have entirely disappeared [D]. The Historian whom I have quoted will not, I am sure, take it amiss, if

any credit, and even the Heretics themselves, though they may perhaps urge my slanders hereafter as good arguments, disproved them in the Synod of Middelburg ; and indeed a man cannot believe those slanders, unless he be as blind and passionate as I was when I wrote that book. And if there has been any evil committed, the guilty have been banished from the society (of the Jesuits), which as it has the proprieties of the great ocean, so it cannot keep any dead corps in its bosom. I was therefore unjust, to make an illustrious and religious society answerable for the faults of those, whom she has cast out as men unworthy to live with saints, and to cherish a spirit of devils amongst saints. My anger and passion made me relate the evil, and conceal the remedies that were used against it. I have said indeed what some had committed, but I have not added, that they were expelled immediately and without delay as so many infected men. I was writing a satire to revenge myself, and not a panegyric to commend them. They who know the Jesuits, will be persuaded, that the crimes of regicides, of murdering children, of Sodomy, and such other abominable actions, which I charged them with, are mere forgeries (9). How often have I made use of captious reflections, against all the rules of sound reasoning, in order to draw general inferences from particular facts, and to charge the whole society with such crimes, as I could not have proved upon one single person, had I been called upon to do it in a legal manner ? What stories have I not forged, altered and falsified a thousand ways, in order to sting more cruelly, and to make deeper and more dangerous wounds ? If I were to give in this place a particular account of all that I have said, and refute every thing, and to mention the grounds of my accusation, I should tire you, dear reader, with a thousand circumstances, which would make my recantation abound with difficulties, and little edifying. Let it therefore be sufficient for me to declare, that I retract all that I have said in that pernicious book, both in the whole and in every part of it, except however what I have asserted of Father Roussieu, and of Father Beauvais, in my own vindication and defence. I desire the equitable reader to place that book in the same rank with my declaration, and I intreat him by the tender mercies of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, not to read that declaration any more, because it is heretical ; and never to cast his eyes upon that book, because it is an abortive child, which an evil conscience conceived, melancholy formed, and revenge brought forth.

I leave my readers to judge, whether the Gentlemen of Port-Royal were in the right to assert, that Peter Jarrige did not publish a sufficient recantation ; and that he accuses indeed himself of too much passion in his book against the Jesuits, but that he does not retract positively any of the scandalous stories he had related. They who answered Father Maimbourg's History of Calvinism were sure to make an advantage of this observation of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal (10).

§ (a) It is not known what became of him.] Jarrige being reconciled to the church of Rome retired to Tulle in the Limousin, where he lived as a secular priest, the Pope having given him leave to do it. He died there September the 26th, 1670 (*).] ADD. REM.

[C] A great many persons believe, that the Jesuits imprisoned him for the remainder of his life.] As he knew beforehand that people would say this, or even something worse of him, he took care to let the world know, that the Jesuits received him very kindly ; adding, that they who would not believe it, might come and see him. " I know very well, said he, that the Ministers and the Gentlemen whom I have left, will publish that I am dead, or in prison ; but do me the favour to tell all those that come to Antwerp, that they may visit me in the College, and I promise you, that I shall not only speak with them freely and with a perfect liberty, but, if they please, I shall also accompany them through the whole city, and take a journey with them into the Roman Catholic territories (11). Add to this the following passage from his recantation (12). " I know very

well that the Heretics, who judge of other people's actions by their own, will spread a false report, as, for instance, that I was poisoned ; or that I am shut up in a dungeon, where I see the light only thro' a little hole ; that the reverend Father John Pontelier, who was the chief instrument God made use of to help me out of the abyss, has seduced me, and drew me artfully from the United Provinces, and from a safe sanctuary, to deliver me up into the hands of my enemies, or to a certain death. But it is necessary for the conversion of all the apostates of several orders, who are still in the mire of error, where they are detained only through the fear of being punished, that they should know, all these reports are false, and that I escaped the wolf's clutches, to enter into the bosom of a merciful shepherd, who takes a pride in carrying the lost sheep on his shoulders. Indeed if I should receive such a treatment as my crimes deserve, an imprisonment of ten years would not be long enough to atone for them. But since I returned freely into my Father's bosom, without being forced to it, where sin abounded during two years, grace abounds much more at present." He affected to let the public know all the securities that had been given him. " I have received from his Majesty, says he (13), the fullest pardon and absolution that was ever granted, so that I do no longer fear either Bourdeaux on account of my book, or Rochelle on account of the sentence of death passed upon me. I have received, in the second place, letters of security, or letters of assurance from our Holy Father the Pope, with full liberty to retire into such Catholic city as I shall choose, and by these letters all Civil and Ecclesiastical Magistrates are commanded to protect me, his Holiness being satisfied, if I do but wear a Priest's garment. Thirdly, I have received from the Archduke Leopold a pass to travel freely over all his territories. Fourthly, Francis Piccolomini, General of the Society of Jesus, has sent me Letters-Patent to enter again amongst the Jesuits, with whom I am now, they having fully pardoned me my fault, without enjoining me any penance, or requiring any satisfaction from me, but what I may make privately of my own accord. The same has given me other Letters-Patent to go into such Kingdom or Province of the world as I shall think fit ; so that I have had the liberty to choose any of the Society's Colleges : All this is sealed with the Great Seal of the General's Office, so that nothing can be more authentic. And to compleat my happiness, Father Pontelier, who has been the chief author and promoter of all these favours and wonders, has got leave to live with me as long as he pleases ; and I assure you, that he will not forsake me, till I be entirely satisfied. And besides all this, I have the liberty to be either a secular Priest, or to continue in the Society of the Jesuits (which is a thing that is never granted to any person) and I expect definitive answers from Rome."

[D] Other reasons may be given why such a man should have entirely disappeared.] By his own recantation he was convicted of being the greatest villain upon earth. For he acknowledged there, that in order to revenge himself of two Jesuits, he had defamed the whole Society by the charges of regicide, murdering of infants, Sodomy, and such other abominable crimes (14). (14) Retraç. When a man publickly confesses himself guilty of calumny with regard to such crimes, he has no other course to take, but to hide himself for the remainder of his days. If he has any principles of conscience left, he ought to confine himself to some secret place, to do penance all his life-time. If he has no conscience, yet is not past all shame, he ought to avoid all company, and after the example of Bellerophon, the very prints of mens feet.

Ἄλλ' ὅτι δὴ κακίῳ ἀπήχθετο αἰῶσι θιῶν,

H'as

(9) Pag. 79.

(10) See the Apologie pour les Reformateurs. liv. c. 9. p. 154. and the Crit. General. Lettre 9. p. 137. 2d edit. (*) From the remarks printed at the end of the Paris edition of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary.

(11) Lettre de Jarrige au Sieur G. M. Marcband, à Leide, dated from Antwerp, May 8, 1650. It was printed at Leyden the same year, with an answer to it, of which I shall speak in the remark [F].

(12) Pag. 4.

(13) Lettre au Marcband de Leide.

pag. 79.

for the Reader's instruction I should correct his account a little [E]. In the Answers that were published to Jarrige's Recantation, it was asserted that his conduct had not been

(15) Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. ver. 300.

Ἥλος δὲ κακιστὸν τὸ Ἄλφειον εἶπε ἀλλ' ἄλλο, Ὅς θυμὸν καλῶν, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλείων (15).

That is,

" Being now odious to all the Gods, he wandered alone through the plains of Aleii (in Cilicia) devouring his own heart, and avoiding the very foot-steps of men."

(16) Lettre 34. to Chapelain, lib. 5. See Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 3. folio 263. D.

It is then a man must practise, what Balsac said he would do for a much less considerable reason : I would go, said he (16), and eat my very heart in the deserts of Thebais ; Ipse cor meum edens, hominum vestigia vitans.

[E] The Historian, whom I have quoted, will not take it amiss . . . that I should correct his account a little.] Jarrige " was a turbulent and ambitious man, and his conversion was owing perhaps to the anger he conceived when he was disappointed in his hopes of being raised to the highest dignities in the Society, rather than to any real zeal for the truth. He abjured the Roman Catholic religion in the Consistory of Rochelle, on Christmas-day, after which he retired into Holland. This was the first wound of that kind the Society of the Jesuits received, not one person amongst them having forsaken the Roman Catholic religion before him. Or at least, if others had forsaken it, it did not make any noise abroad, either because the Jesuits out of prudence thought it not fit to blaze it out, or because the persons were too insignificant to complain of their forsaking the Society . . . (17). Jarrige disappeared soon after his book had been published, and the Jesuits boasted, that as he had left their Society only out of spite, he returned to it through repentance, and had confined himself to one of their Convents, in order to renounce the world, and to make penance all his life-time. But as he never appeared any where since, it was thought on the contrary, that the Jesuits found means to have him carried away, and that they revenged themselves secretly upon him for the vexation he gave them by changing his religion. And indeed, it is not to be imagined, that after they had made such an outcry upon his forsaking them, they would make no advantage of his return, nor carry him at least sometimes through those Provinces, in which his apostasy was known, in order to check the joy, which his conversion gave to the Reformed. And besides, we have had since that time other instances of what they are capable of doing against those, that forsake them ; it is well known, that they find means to carry them off out of their safest retreats, and that they make them atone, by long and heavy punishments, for the crime they committed by breaking their vows (18)." I shall make but three remarks upon this account.

(17) Hist. de l'Etat de Nantes, tom. 3. pag. 93.

(18) Ibid. pag. 94.

The Ist will be very short ; that author should not have made use of the word perhaps, with regard to the motives of Jarrige's conversion. It is plain that it was owing only to spite. Monsieur Spaenheim was fully persuaded of it from the very first conversation he had with him (19) ; and Jarrige's whole recantation favours of nothing else.

(19) Jarrige, Recantation, pag. 7.

CONCERNING Hafn-mullerus, an Ex-Jesuit, and his Historia Ordinis Jesuitici. (20) Taken from the preface which Polycarpus Likerus prefixed to Hafn-mullerus's work. (21) At Franckfort, in the year 1593, in 4to (22) Hafn-mullerus, qui fuit Jesuita, & scripsit Triumphum Pa-palem, habet multa bona Scaliger, in Scaligeranis posterioribus, pag. m. 105. It is not true that he is the author of the Triumphus

My Ild observation is, that this was not the first wound of that kind which the Society received, and the consequences of which made a great noise. A Jesuit named Elias Hafn-mullerus left his Order in the XVth Century, and turned Lutheran. He was a man who had very exactly observed all that could be said for or against that Society ; so that the Jesuits did all that lay in their power to seize him, lest he should publish an history of them. He was so happy as to avoid the snares they had laid for him, by hiding himself now in one place and then in another. But at last, the better to secure himself against all their attempts, he retired to Wittemberg in the year 1587 (20), where he employed his time in putting the finishing-hand to an History of the Jesuits, which he designed to publish ; but he died before he could send it to the press. His manuscript was published sometime after by Polycarpus Lyierus (21). It is a very smart piece against the Jesuits (22), and upon the whole more

Papalis, which is prefixed to his Historia Ordinis Jesuitici. Maximilian Philo is the author of it. This blunder of Scaliger is also

offensive, than Jarrige's books, though perhaps it does not contain so many stories relating to particular persons. This work was received with great applause ; the Jesuits obliged James Gretserus to refute it, which gave rise to several works pro and con.

I have observed that Hafn-mullerus does not relate so many stories as Jarrige does ; but it is certain that in the chapter concerning the Vow of Chastity, he relates some that are very scandalous ; and, with a design, no doubt, to make the public more strongly condemn the lewd actions, which he accuses the Jesuits of, he expatiates upon several precautions, which he says the Jesuits take in order to strengthen themselves against those crimes. He asserts, that they take such food as mortifies and enervates the flesh ; that they recommend watching, fasting, lashing, and the wearing of an hair-cloth, to those that confess their temptations to them. In cibis & potu variis utuntur herbis & pharmacis, quibus nature vim enervant, & sobolem, ut ita dicam, intra viscera propria occidunt masculinam, & à Deo ordinate humane propagationis hostes. Si qui fratres in confessionibus conquiruntur de carnis infirmitate, flammis atque ustione, eam ut extinguant, ordinant illis vigiliis, jejuniis, cilicia, & flagella quibus carnem suam doment, confitent, & in servitutem, ut loquuntur, spiritus redigant (23). i. e. " For their meat and drink they use herbs and drugs, by which they enervate the strength of nature, and these man-haters, these enemies to the propagation of mankind established by God himself, do, if I may say so, kill their offspring in their own bowels. If any of the brethren complain in their confessions of the weakness of the flesh, of their flames, and burning, they command them, in order to extinguish that fire of lust, to watch, to fast, to wear an hair-cloth, and to lash themselves, that they may thereby subdue the flesh, and bring it into subjection to the spirit, as they use to speak." He adds, that there are some who labour to kindle and cherish in their soul a great hatred for the female sex. Nonnullos vidi qui nihil voluerunt edere, quod à muliere coctum sciebant. Alios dicentes audivi, quoties de femina cogito, toties stomachus meus & bilis commoventur & conturbantur. Alius dicebat, tædet pudetque me quod à muliere sum in banc lucem editus ; dignus certe cui vacca fuisset genitrix. Alii nihil prorsus boni in tota mulieris substantia esse dicunt, sique ex illis quidam cæteros in barum calumniarum palestra vincere conantur, illi ad mentionem mulieris expuunt, & in tabula maledicos, & in sexum sæmininum contumeliosos Mantuani versus (quos tamen is non nisi de malis cecinit) descriptos ob oculos ponunt, ut sic in scipissimajus in mulieres odium excitent (24). i. e. " I have seen some, who would not eat of any thing which they knew was dressed by a woman. I have heard others say, whenever I think of a woman, my stomach rises, and my blood is up : another said, it grieves me, and I am ashamed that a woman brought me into the world : he deserved indeed to have had a cow for his dam. Others again assert, that there is no good at all in the whole substance of a woman, and if there be some amongst them who pretend to excell above the rest in these calumnies against the fair sex, they spit at the bare mentioning of a woman, and they keep some slanderous verses, injurious to the female sex, composed by Baptist Mantuanus (which yet he intended only against the bad women) engraved on a plate, continually before their eyes, that they may thus perpetually stir up in themselves an hatred for the women." It appears from this passage, that all sorts of silly and extravagant notions can make their way to people's mind, under the auspices of a mistaken devotion. For can there be any thing more absurd, and more worthy of a mad-man, than the discourses of these people, My stomach turns, say they, my blood is up whenever I think of a woman. It grieves me, and I am ashamed that I owe my birth to a woman. I spit when I hear a woman mentioned. I have not met in Hafn-mullerus's work with a passage, which a modern author has quoted from it (25) ; he asserts that he read there, that a certain labourer, who worked in a Convent of the Jesuits, could never care for his wife,

(23) Hafn-mullerus, Historia Ordinis Jesuitici, pag. 127. edit. Francof. 1605.

(24) Ibid. pag. 131.

(25) The author of the Polygamia triumphatrix. Here follows what we find there, pag. 130. Hafn-m. Historia Jes. c. 6. p. 99. ubi jocosam sed tamen veram historiam narrat de officio quodam, qui apud Jesuitas laborans, comedens, & bibens, uxori benevolentiam debitam non potuit reddere, sed apud alios vel aquam bibens vitrum se valuit præstare, eamque ob causam non voluit, ut amplius Jesuitis inferiret, nisi & postea Landsburgerse prohiberent in Bavaria, ne amplius cervicem apud Jesuitas emarent.

(17) *Biblioth. Vetus & Nova*, pag. 421. (b) *J. Justum...* *serali peccate constitutum*. It should have been *Jesuitas*.

been very edifying, whilst he acted the Protestant [F]. Konig (g) calls him *Jarrichius*, and pretends that he published *The Jesuit upon the Scaffold* in the year 1665 (b). There are three blunders here (*).

In the Oxford Catalogue they have mistaken him for another Jesuit, a work of whom is ascribed to him, and whose name was Peter Jarric.

(*) I. Jarrighius for Jarricus; II. The Jesuit, instead of the Jesuits; III. The year 1665, instead of 1650.

(26) A city in Bavaria.

though they gave him abundantly to eat and drink; and yet when he worked at other peoples houses, he could very well perform his nocturnal duty, though he drank nothing but water: wherefore his wife would not have him work any more in the Convent of the Jesuits, and afterwards the Magistrates of Landesberg (26) would not suffer any beer to be bought of them. If this beer had really that bad quality, the Magistrates did very well to prohibit it amongst the lay-men, for the conjugal duty is so much a privileged case, that several Casuists submit even the Canon-Law to it; they pretend that when fasting renders a man incapable to pay his wife what he owes her, he is *ipso facto* excused from fasting. See the margin (27).

(27) They are not obliged to fast, who when they fast cannot perform the conjugal duty. Emmanuel Sa. *Aphorism. verbo Jejunium*, num 9. Tolet. *Instruct. Sacerdot.* lib. 6. cap. 4. Thomas, *2 secunda Quest.* 147. Art. 4. Du Moulin in the book of *Traditiones*, pag. m 343.

If the Jesuit Halenmullerus's conversion made a great noise, that of the Jesuit Reihing made still more noise (38). He is generally thought to have contributed to make the Duke of Newburg enter into the pale of the church of Rome. See the article REIHING. We have here then two remarkable conversions of Jesuits, which happened before that of Peter Jarrige. I say nothing of Daniel Peirol, Pastor of the church at Montauban, and Professor in the University of that city. He had been a Jesuit, and wrote something against Father Coton. I met with this particular in page 21 of Gilbert Voetius's *Confraternitas Mariana*.

(28) He turned Lutheran about the year 1621.

My III^d observation is, that Jarrige was not carried away by force; he retired of his own accord, being persuaded to it at the Jesuit Ponthelier's intigitation. This appears by the authentic pieces which have been printed; such is the letter he wrote to a Merchant at Leyden, and more still, his own recantation (29).

(29) See the remark [C] quotations (11), (12), and (13).

[F] *His conduct was not very edifying, whilst he acted the Protestant.* I have seen two answers to his recantation, the one was written by Ezekiel Dannois, of Compiègne, Minister of the Gospel; the other by John Nicolai, of Luxemburg, a Member of the French church at Amsterdam. In the Preface to this second answer, I read, that Peter Jarrige laboured in vain to be admitted a Minister before the four years tryal, which the Synod require of those, who forsake Idola-

try, was expired. This tryal, says the author to him, "made you burst with anger, after the last denial you met with at the Synod of Haerlem, in which you were also accused (you know best in your own conscience, whether it was justly or not) of an action as shameful as those wickednesses, with which you charge the Jesuits of your Province, in order to expose them on a scaffold. And though that affair was not thoroughly examined at that time, because the witnesses were absent, yet the suspicions that were conceived against you have not been removed, considering the great knowledge and experience you seem to have in those things in your book against the Jesuits." The letter which the Merchant of Leiden wrote to him will explain all this; we meet in it with the following words. "You may remember with what spirit you was acted upon, when you returned from the Synod of Middelburg, in which you had so earnestly endeavoured to be dispensed from the order which is made, that no converted Roman Catholic be admitted to the holy Ministry (which you designed to invade, that you might give greater offence) till after a tryal of four years your petition being rejected, you shewed your presumption, pride, and vanity; and returning home, you happened to be in the night-time in the cabin of the boat with several women; and as you could not speak to them but by signs, you exposed your obscene parts before them by the light of the candle, which made them cry out so loudly against the wicked and abominable Priest, as they called you, that they awaked not only a faithful servant of God, who was there, but also all the passengers that were in the boat, who being alarmed by the womens outcry, run to their assistance, and having heard the whole story, would needs throw you into the water, which they had certainly done, had not that honest man appeased them: however the skipper promised solemnly that he would give an account of the whole story at the place whence you came."

(a) Sorel, *Biblioth. Française*, pag. 132. edit. 1667. Observe that the city mentioned by Sorel is Cognac.

JAVERSAC (N) was one of the authors that entered the list during the great controversy between Balzac and Father Goulu. He was born in a city pretty near Angoulême (a); he went to Paris with a Book against both *Phyllarchus* (b) and *Narcissus* (c), and intitled it *Aristarque à Nicandre* (Aristarchus to Nicander). His criticisms were very wrong in some particulars; as for instance, he asserted that one must say (in French) *une Ruelle* (a narrow lane, and also the bed-side) and not *une Ruelle*; *un Livraire* (a Bookfeller) and not *un Libraire*, because we say *un Livre* (a Book) and not *un Libre*. This new author was assaulted with sword and pistol at his Inn, and even whilst he was in bed. But as he was young and valiant, he took his sword, and pursued his enemy into the street, so that he had all the honour of that stout defence. Notwithstanding this, some persons took care to have this story cried the next day about the streets, quite otherwise than it really happened [A]. They published a libel intitled *Le Defaite du Paladin Javersac par les allies & confederes du Prince des feuilles* (d). i. e. "The Overthrow of the Knight

(b) It is the name which F. Goulu took.

(c) Thus F. Goulu called Balzac.

(*) This is what *Phyllarchus* signifies in Greek.

Errant Javersac by the Allies and Confederates of the Prince of the Leaves (*). I have been told by a man, who has a great deal of wit, that Balzac was the author of that piece, and that it is the best that was published about this controversy. The public found that there was a sacrilegious calumny in the title of that libel (e); for Father Goulu was charged there with the attempt committed notwithstanding the boldness of his profession.

(d) Sorel, *Biblioth. Française*, pag. 132.

(e) *Iidem*, *ibid.*

(1) It is a very small pamphlet containing but 16 pages in 8vo. It has been reprinted in the folio edition of Balzac's works, with other pieces written in his defence.

[A] *This story was published quite otherwise than it happened*] Never did two things differ more, than the account of this story as it is related by Sorel, differs from the account we read in the *Defaite du Paladin Javersac* (1). It is asserted in this pamphlet, that the Knight errant was of Cognac, where he had pleaded at the bar; that when his book was published, there was a wicked plot formed to assault him in the open street, but they were obliged to attack him in his own chamber, because he kept himself locked in all day long; that they surprized him in bed sleeping in the arms of his landlord's wife, on a thursday, August 11, 1628; that they waked him out of his sleep by a volley of battinadoes, which did not cease till the

aggressor thought fit, for the Knight-errant did nothing but submit entirely to providence. The conclusion of the libel is, that Phyllarchus's friends, "being united in this with those of the other side, have sworn to exterminate all the Javersacs they shall meet with, and to let the bad Poets know, that besides the golden age, the brazen age, and the iron age, so often mentioned, there is still a wooden age to come, of which the antient Poets do not speak a word, and in the misfortunes and calamities of which the bad Poets will have a greater share than other men." I make use of the edition published in 1665 (2). See the following remark.

(2) That is the folio edition of Balzac's Works.

(f) See the last remark, quotation (14).

(g) Sorcel, *Biblioth. Française*, pag. 132.

cession. Javerfac cleared him of the charge, and laid it only upon Balzac (f), but considerate persons could neither accuse Phyllarchus nor Narcissus of it (g). However we know certainly, that it has been published (b), that Balzac being on his death-bed called to mind that in his younger days there happened something between him and Monsieur de Javerzac, upon which he sent one of his friends to that Gentleman's house, seven or eight leagues distant from Angoulême, desiring him to come to see him that he might have the pleasure of embracing him before he died. That he actually embraced him with an incredible transport of joy, and shewed him such a sincere love as agreeably banished from their mind the remembrance of their former quarrel. That Monsieur de Javerzac was so deeply affected with it, that he immediately, with tears in his eyes, composed a Sonnet, to lament for ever the loss of his friend.

Since the first edition of this Dictionary I have learnt some particulars, which I shall acquaint the reader with [B].

[B] I have learnt some particulars, which I shall acquaint the reader with.] The Sieur de Javerfac's book was printed and reprinted in the year 1628, with this title, *Discours d'Aristarque à Nicandre, sur le jugement des esprits de ce temps, & sur les fautes de Phyllarque*. i. e. "A discourse from Aristarchus to Nicander, concerning the judgment of the wits of this age, and concerning Phyllarchus's mistakes." The first thing we meet with in it is an advertisement from the printer. It contains nothing but falsities; for it is asserted there, that they were obliged to make use of a thousand artifices, in order to render the care, with which the author endeavoured to prevent the publication of his work, ineffectual. He was not so very fond of it, as willingly to expose it to the rage of envy. We meet next with an abusive letter, which he had written to Monsieur Bergeron, the King's Counsellor, and Referendary in Chancery. He shews a very great passion in that letter, because he supposed this Monsieur Bergeron had made objections against granting him a license for his book, that he might not have the advantage of being the first that published any thing concerning this controversy between Balsac and Father Goulu, and that la Motte Aignon might have time to be before-hand with him. We meet thirdly with his preface, in which he gives us an account of the great pains which his enemies took to stop the printing of this work. After all these pieces follows the book itself. This is not the only work which the Sieur de Javerfac published. The same year 1628, he presented the world with a *Discours d'Aristarque à Calidoxe sur ce qui s'est passé entre lui & Balsac*. i. e. "A discourse of Aristarchus to Calidoxus, concerning what passed between him and Balsac." The printing of it cost him an hundred crowns (3); nor could he find means to have it printed at Paris, neither with a license, nor otherwise. He asserts (4), that his father had been in several honourable deputations, and was raised to the most considerable employments in the assemblies of the reformed before the civil wars. . . . and (5) that he can prove by authentic records, that his ancestors acquired him a title to nobility, by their possessing a long while several considerable employments at the court of Navarre. He asserts also (6), that he had offered Balsac to give him satisfaction either as a gentleman or as a philosopher. He relates at length the misfortune that happened to him when he was assaulted in his bed (7). He avoided a little the blow which one of the three fellows, that entered the chamber, struck at him; but it is too glorious for me, says he (8), not to confess that he hit me on the arm, telling me, you was forbidden to write against Balsac. He adds (9), that his landlady was wounded

in her little finger, and that he pursued them sword in hand into the street, and that two hundred witnesses, who saw him in his shirt on the threshold, had published it every where before-hand; that with his sword he thrust the man, who had struck him, in the breast, and that fifty persons, who saw his sword bend quite double, judge from it that the villain had a coat of mail on (10). He observes (11), that he had the honour, two or three days before, to be a second to a Marquis in a duel. And indeed I think that he was more proper to fight than to write books, and that he would soon have got the better of Balsac, in a dispute that must have been determined sword in hand. He lets fall from his pen very silly bravadoes against him (12), but he seems to be afraid lest his adversary should charge him with some amorous intrigues, in which he was engaged in his youth (13). Let us remember that he never suspected Father Goulu to be the author of the affront that was offered him. I do not know, says he (14), why Balsac should stand in fear of me, if he be not guilty, and if he think he can clear himself perfectly of that crime, by charging Phyllarchus with it, who has acted a much more generous part, and who has too good an opinion of his own wit to vindicate himself. I had such strong proofs against Balsac, and judged so well of Phyllarchus's honesty, that I never could suspect him in the least. He was, I think, much more angry with my book, than with my person.

Let us conclude with observing, that it is easy to know he was born an Huguenot, but not, whether or no he was one still; for the passage which I shall now quote is equivocal. After they had enquired where I lodged, and heard from my landlady that I lodged at her house, they asked her of what religion I was. She answered, that she did not know it, but that, however, I went often to church. It might very well have been declared upon oath, that there is not one Catholic, whose faith is more orthodox than mine is (15). The Sieur de Bergeron printed a letter against the imperinencies and falsities written by the Sieur de Javerfac, in a letter which he prefixed to a book, &c. (16). There was also published (17) a piece with this title, *Le non passionné sur le Livre intitulé la Defaite du Palladin Javerfac*. i. e. "The impartial judge concerning a book intitled 'the defeat of the knight-errant.'" This piece is infinitely more favourable to the knight than to his adversary. But as for the book intitled, *Achates à Polemon pour la Defense de Phyllarque* (18). i. e. "Achates to Polemon, in defence of Phyllarchus;" it cuts Javerfac in pieces. I have quoted a passage from it in the remark of the article ARTABANUS IV (19).

JENISCHIUS (PAUL) was born at Antwerp June the 17th 1558, and died at Stugart December the 18th 1647. He was a learned man, and understood several languages. His book intitled *Theaurus Animarum*, (The Treasure of Souls) drew a heavy persecution upon him; he was banished, and his banishment continued above fifty years. He suffered it very patiently, and enjoyed a very good health till the last year of his life; eating and sleeping well (a), and applying himself to Music, which he understood in perfection, and to the study of the holy Scriptures, and to Mechanics. He had nineteen children, of whom there were but four alive when he died. The last year of his life his health was very much impaired, and he expired in very violent pains (b). The Bibliographers of the Low-Countries knew nothing of him.

JENKIN (ROBERT), a learned English Divine, in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, was son of Mr Thomas Jenkin of Minster in the Isle of Thanet in Kent, and born there, and baptized January the 31st 1656. He was educated at King's

(a) *Perpetua animi tranquillitate & corporis valetudine firma cum orexi & suavi somno usq.* Joh. Valentinus Andreas, *Epist.* 190.

(b) Morisier, in his Account of Balzac's death. It is printed in the folio edition of Balzac's works.

(10) Ibid. pag. 185.

(11) Ibid. pag. 198.

(12) See especially pag. 198.

(13) Ibid. pag. 201.

(14) Ibid. pag. 199.

(15) Ibid. pag. 176.

(16) It was written to Monsieur Balzac, and printed in the year 1628.

(17) In the year 1628.

(18) Printed that same year.

(19) See also the article MUSAC.

(b) Taken from the 190th Letter of John Valentinus Andreas.

King's School at Canterbury; and from thence sent to St. John's College in the University of Cambridge, of which he was afterwards chosen Fellow. He was made Chaplain to Dr. John Lake, who was translated from the See of Bristol to that of Chichester in 1685; and in 1688 promoted by him to the Præcentorship of that Church, which he soon vacated by refusing to take the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary. In 1711, upon the death of Dr. Humphrey Gower, Master of St. John's College, he was elected Master in his room, and likewise Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity; which places he held to the time of his death, which happened April the 7th 1727 (a). He wrote several works [A].

(a) *History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenth in Kent.* By John Lewis, M. A. pag. 40. 2d edit. London 1736 in 4to.

[A] He wrote several works.] I. *An historical Examination of the Authority of General Councils; showing the false dealing, which hath been used in the publishing of them; and the difference among the Papists themselves about their Number.* 1688, in 4to. II. *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion,* two Volumes in 8vo. 3d Edit. 1708. III. *Defensio S. Augustini adversus Joannis Pbereponi in ejus opera Animadversiones,* Cambridge 1707, in 8vo. There was a second Edition printed at London 1728, in 8vo. This book is written against Monsieur Le Clerc, whom our author complains of for having treated the fathers, and

especially St. Austin, with severity, tho' he allows Monsieur Le Clerc to be a man of no small or contemptible abilities: *Mibi profecto est nec amore nec odio, sed scriptis solis cognitus: in ipso autem non exiguas nec contemnendas dotes agnosco.* IV. *Remarks on some Books lately published, viz. Mr. Bafnage's History of the Jews: Mr. Whitton's Eight Sermons: Mr. Lock's Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's Epistles: Mr. Le Clerc's Bibliothéque Choise, London 1709, in 8vo.* V. He translated the *Life of Apollonius Tyanæus,* written in French by Monsieur Tillemont. H:

JEWEL (JOHN) a learned English Writer and Bishop in the sixteenth Century, was son of John Jewel Gent. and was born at Bowden or Buden in the Parish of Berrierber in Devonshire May the 24th 1522 (a). In July 1535 he was sent to the University of Oxford, and entered into Merton College (b) under the tuition of Mr. John Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. August the 19th 1539 he was admitted Scholar of Corpus Christi College; and on the 20th of October 1540 took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts (c). Being now in the capacity of taking Pupils, many resorted to him, whom he mostly instructed privately in Protestant principles, and publicly in Humanity Studies, being chosen Rhetoric Reader in his College (d). January the 28th 1544 he took the degree of Master of Arts (e). His life during his residence in the College was so exemplary, that Mr. Moren, Dean of the College, used to say to him: *I should love thee, Jewel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian; in thy Faith I hold thee a Heretic; but surely in thy life thou art an Angel. Thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran* (f). Upon the death of King Henry VIII he openly declared himself a Protestant, and upon Peter Martyr's coming to Oxford, he frequented his lectures and sermons, and was Notary to that Divine, when he disputed in the Divinity-Schools with Chedsey, Tresham, Morgan, and others, about the Real Presence (g). In 1550 he took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (h); and became a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and a Preacher and Catechiser at Sunningwel near Abingdon in Berkshire (i). Upon the accession of Queen Mary to the Crown in July 1553, he was one of the first who felt the rage of the storm then raised against the Reformation; for before any law was made, or order given by the Queen, he was expelled the College by the Fellows, by their own private authority (k) [A]: upon this he retired to Broad-gate's Hall, (now Pembroke College) where he continued some time, and the fame of his learning drew many scholars to him. He was likewise chosen Orator to the University [B]. He

(a) See his *Life* prefixed to his *Works*, and to his *Apology*; and *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, pag. 418.

(b) *Prince, ubi supra.*

(c) Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 63. 2d edit.

(d) *Idem, Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 169.

(e) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(f) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(g) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(h) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(i) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(j) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(k) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(f) *Prince, pag. 419.*

(g) *Idem, ibid.*

(h) Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 75.

(i) *Prince, ubi supra, and Wood, Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 169.

(k) Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, B. 8. pag. 8. and *Prince, ubi supra, pag. 419.*

continued

[A] *Expell'd the college by the fellows, by their own private authority.*] They had nothing to object against him, but, 1. His following of Peter Martyr. 2. His preaching some doctrines contrary to Popery. 3. His taking orders according to the laws then in force (1). 4. His refusal to be present at mass, and other Popish solemnities (2). At his departure he took leave of the college in a Latin speech, full of pathetic eloquence: "I have often, says he, heretofore upon divers occasions, if not with so good success as I wished, yet with most ardent affection and desire of good, spoken unto you out of this place. But now, thro' the iniquity of the times, things are brought to this pass, that I am to speak only this at the last, that I must speak no more unto you. I have incurred, I see, some mens implacable hatred; but how deservedly, God knows, and let them look to it. This I am sure of, that they who would not have me stay here, would suffer me to live no where. I yield to the time; and if they take any delight in my misery, I hinder them not. What Aritides prayed before he went into banishment, that I pray of Almighty God, that no man may think of me when I am gone; and can they desire more?" Here his tears could no longer be restrained; at last he proceeded thus: "Pardon me, if it do grieve me to leave the place,

"where I have been brought up, where I have lived hitherto, where I have been in some place of reckoning. But why do I stick to kill my heart with one word? Alas! that I must speak it, as with grief I must. *Valeant studia, valeant hæc te&ta, valeat sedes cultissima literarum, valeat jucundissimus conspectus vestri; valete juvenes, valete socii, valete fratres, valete oculi mei, valete omnes mei.*"

[B] *He was likewise chosen Orator to the university.*] This we are informed of by Mr. Prince (3). And we find that in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he was employed to write in the name of the university, the first congratulatory letter to her Majesty. Wood informs us (4), that this task was evidently imposed upon Mr. Jewel by those who meant him no kindness; for it was taken for granted, that he must either provoke the Roman Catholics, or lose the good opinion of his party. But he was so dexterous in his composition, as to escape the snare. The address being both respectful and guarded, passed the approbation of Tresham the Commissary (5), and some other Doctors, and was well received by the Queen. *Epistolam quandam gratulatoriam transmittendam decrevere seduliorum prepositi, Magistro Johanni Jewel, Collegii Corporis Christi Socio, id negotii demandantes. Hoc hostili in virum animo factum liquet, quem utique munere illo fungi non aliter posse sponderent, quam ut vel Pontificiorum exacerbarer,*

(1) *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, pag. 419.

(2) Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, B. 8. pag. 8.

(3) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(4) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(5) *Idem, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 69.

(3) *Ubi supra, pag. 420.*

(4) *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 1. pag. 274, 275. See likewise Fuller, *Church History*, B. 8. pag. 6.

(5) *Commissario.* Mr. Collier in his *Ecclesiast. II. cry.* Part 2. B. 5. pag. 240. has erroneously rendered this word *Vice Cancellor.*

continued so long at Oxford, till he was called upon to subscribe to some of the Popish doctrines under the severest penalties; which he submitted to. However this did not procure his safety; for Dr. Martial, Dean of Christ Church, who had changed his Religion twice already, as he afterwards did twice or thrice more in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (l), had certainly caught him in a snare laid for him, had he not gone that very night he was sent for, a wrong way to London. In this journey, one Augustin Berner, a Swiss, first a servant of Bishop Latimer, and afterwards a Minister, found him lying upon the ground, almost dead with weariness and cold; and setting him upon an horse, (for Mr. Jewel, though lame, made his escape on foot) conveyed him to the Lady Anne Warcup's a widow, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him up to London. Having twice or thrice changed his lodgings in London, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a man of great distinction and in considerable offices at that time, furnished him with money for his journey, and procured him a ship to convey him beyond sea. He arrived at Francfort in the beginning of the second year of Queen Mary's reign, where he made a public recantation of his subscription to the Popish doctrines. Thence he went to Straßburg, and afterwards to Zurich, whither he attended Peter Martyr, in whose house he resided. During this time it is probable, that he made an excursion to Padua, where he contracted a friendship with Signior Scipio, a Venetian Gentleman, to whom he afterwards addressed his Epistle concerning the Council of Trent (m). After Queen Mary's death he returned to England in 1558, and was soon after employed with some others in a disputation at Westminster against the Papists; and deputed by the Queen to visit the western parts of England in order to root out Popery there (n). About this time he wrote a letter to Henry Bullinger concerning the state of Religion in England [C]. January the 21st 1559 he was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury (o). His writings have rendered his name famous over all Europe [D]. He was created Doctor of Divinity May the 26th 1565 (p). He died at Monketon-Farley September the 23d 1571

(l) *Life of Bishop Jewel*, prefixed to his *Apology*, printed in 1585, pag. 11.

(m) *Ibid.* and *Prince*, pag. 420, 421.

(n) *Prince*, pag. 422.

(o) *Godwin, de Praesulibus Angliae, in Episcopis Sarisburienfis.*

(p) *Wood, Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 96.

cerbarct, vel suorum à se mentes alienaret. Verum spes eos egregie fefellit, utriusque enim dubio quodam & obscuro scribendi genere sustulit Jewellus, & epistolam à Tresbamo Commissario ac Doctoribus nonnullis prius approbatam, grate admodum accepit Maria.

[C] *About this time he wrote a letter to Henry Bullinger at Zurich, concerning the state of religion in England.* In this letter, dated May 22, 1559, he returns Bullinger thanks for his favours in Germany, and for the letters which he had lately written to encourage the English Divines to stand firm for the truth. He observes, "That arguments for resolution were very necessary at the present juncture. That the reformed in England had not only their old antagonists, but their late friends to encounter. That these latter had deserted the cause, joined the enemy. and made a more vigorous and obstinate resistance than any of the rest. And what gives us, says he, most trouble, we have the remainder of the Spanish vices, luxury, pride, and libertinism to contend with. As yet our fortunes are unrestored, and we are little better for returning to our country. But we hope our affairs will mend shortly; for the Queen is a prudent and religious Princess, and inclined to favour us. Religion is recovered to the same foot, in which it stood in the reign of King Edward VI. And I am satisfied the letters sent hither by yourself and your republic, had a considerable weight in this matter. The Queen will not endure the style of head of the Church. She is altogether of opinion, that this title is too great for any mortal, and ought to be given to none but Christ. And besides, it has been so horribly abused by the Pope, that it is scarcely consistent with a good conscience for any person to make use of it. The Scottish Presbyterians called this distinction a *blasphemous Title*, when used either by Popes or Princes. Their argument is this: The Church, say they, is the Spouse of Christ. No Spouse can be said to have any other head, but him whose Spouse she is. Now if the Church should acknowledge herself to be the Spouse of any other but Christ, she would be a professed Adulteress. To return, our universities are in a lamentable Condition, and almost quite lost to all sense of orthodoxy. There are not now above two in Oxford of our sentiment, and those so far dispirited as to be of no use. Thus Friar Soto, and another Spanish Monk, have entirely destroyed Peter Martyr's plantation, and made a mere wilderness of the Lord's vineyard. You can scarcely imagine that so great a ravage and desolation of principles could have happened in so short a time. And

"tho' I should be glad to see any thing from Zurich in England, yet I would not advise you to send any young travellers hither at present, unless you would have them come home with less learning, and a worse belief." The rest of the letter relates either to private persons, or business of the state.

[D] *His learned writings have rendered his name famous over all Europe.* They are as follow, I. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienses* (7). II. *Exhortatio in Collegio Corporis Christi, sive Concio in Fundatoris Foxi Commemorationem* (8). III. *Concio in Templo B. Mariae Virg. Oxon. Ann. 1550, in Pet. 4. 11.* This sermon was preached for his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity. It is reprinted in Dr. Laurence Humphrey's *Life of him*, p. 49. and it was translated into English by R. V. and printed at London 1586, in 8vo. IV. *Oratio in Aula Collegii Corporis Christi* (9). This speech was made to this society, when he was obliged to leave them in 1554. V. *Epistola ad Scipionem Patritium Venetum de Causis cur Episcopi Angliae ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent, Ann. 1559.* It is reprinted in an Appendix to the second edition of Sir Nathaniel Brent's translation of the *History of the Council of Trent*, London 1629, in folio. Signior Scipio, a noble Venetian, with whom our author had contracted an acquaintance at Padua, had written a letter to him, in which he observed, that himself, and many others, were extremely surpris'd, that the English took no notice of the Council of Trent, nor sent any representatives, nor excus'd their absence by letters. "That they had made a sudden alteration in religion, and taken leave in a manner of every thing, which had been for so many years established. That as far as he could judge, this looked like pride in the management, and schism in the issue. That it was a most unwarrantable neglect to set aside the Pope's authority, and not appear at the Council upon his summons. That it was not lawful to discuss matters of religion elsewhere. That at such general assemblies the Patriarchs and Bishops might be consulted. Here the learning of Christendom and the flower of the Church was to be met with. This was the place where people might expect the Oracles of truth, and the resolutions of the Holy Ghost. That when any controversy happened about the worship of God, it had been the custom of pious Princes to refer the matter to a public assembly of the Bishops. That the Apostles and Primitive Fathers esteem'd councils as the best expedient for discovering truth, and settling controversies. By this means the heresies of Arius and Eunomius, of Eutyches, of Macedonius, and Pelagius, were suppressed. And thus the modern dif-

ferences

(6) *Bibliotheca Tigurina*, pag. 134. and *Collier, ubi supra*, Part 2. B. 6. pag. 432.

(7) *Vide Laurent. Humfredum in Vita Johanna Juelli*, pag. 35. edit. 1573, in 4to.

(8) *Ibid.* pag. 45, 46, &c.

1571 in the fiftieth year of his age, and was interred almost in the middle of the choir of his Cathedral at Salisbury (q). With regard to his person, he was of a thin habit of body, which he exhausted by his intense application to his studies, which occasioned a cold

(q) Godwin, *supra*.

“ferences might be agreed, and the breaches in the Church made up, if the parties would lay down animosities, and apply to this remedy. But that to go about adjusting of these matters without the decision of a Council, is an irreligious attempt.” To this letter our author returned a large and solemn answer, wherein he takes notice, “That the English were not the only nation which declined coming to Trent; since the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, stood off; and the Church of the Abyssines, the Greeks, and Armenians, the Christians in Egypt and Barbary, in Persia and India, sent no body to appear at the Council. And for instance in Europe; did the Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, says he, the Princes of Germany, the Republics of Swisserland, the Kingdom of Scotland, to mention no more, comply with the summons? And since so many other countries are not represented at Trent, it is somewhat odd to wonder at the English. And besides, the Pope himself does not appear at a Synod of his own convening. This ought to be esteemed a strange omission.” Our author goes on with his objections and remonstrances against the Council, because it was convened by the Pope, and not by the Emperor. He supposes, that Trent was not large enough to accommodate such numbers as were necessary. He observes, that the English Bishops were employed in instructing and governing their charge, and could not be absent from their dioceses without deserting their function in some measure. That the present Pope Pius IV. made his way to the chair by Simony, and bribing the Cardinals. That instead of paying his debts to Cardinal Caraffa, who procured him a majority, he confined that Prelate, and dispatched him in prison. That the ancient Fathers declined coming to Councils, when they had reason to believe them to be packed and prejudiced against them. Thus St. Athanasius refused to come to the Council of Sirmium; and St. Chrysostom took no notice of the Synod *sub quercu*; neither could Paulinus, Bishop of Triers, appear at the Council of Milan, where he foresaw that every thing would be carried in favour of the Arrians. That the Fathers of Trent had pre-engaged themselves to the Pope, and sworn away their freedom in voting. Lastly he wonders, “That the Pope should summon the English to the Council, who had been already pronounced heretics by his predecessors. What character should they appear under? It was not probable, that the Council would allow them the common privilege, considering the censure passed on their doctrine. What then must they take so long a journey to be set at the bar, and plead as criminals? By this method they could expect nothing more, but either to recant, or have the censure repeated upon them. But to stand to the Pope’s justice, when they had such weighty exceptions to his authority, was more than they could submit to.” VI. *Letters between him and Dr. Henry Cole, upon occasion of a Sermon that Mr. Jewel preached before the Queen’s Majesty, and her Honourable Council, London 1560, in 8vo.* This letter-combat began March 18, 1559, and continued till May 18, 1560. VII. *A Sermon preached at St. Paul’s Cross the second Sunday before Easter, Ann. 1560. on 1 Cor. xi. 23.* London 1560, in 8vo. From this text he took occasion to make a remarkable challenge in defence of the Reformation. The Church of England was reproached with novelty by the Papists, and charged with departing from the primitive doctrine. In answer to this charge, the Bishop defended the Protestant cause from the Scriptures and Fathers, adding this solemn protestation; “That if any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, are able to shew any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father, or out of any old General Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the Primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved, that there was any private mass in the world for the space of six hundred years after Christ, or that the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper

“was ever administered to the people under one kind, or that the people then had their Common Prayers in a strange tongue, that they understood not, or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal Bishop, or the head of the universal Church, or that the people were taught to believe that Christ’s body is really, substantially, corporeally, carnally, or naturally in the Sacrament; or that his body is or may be in above a thousand places at one time, or that the Priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head, or that the people did then fall down and worship it with Divine honour, or that then the Sacrament was hanged up under a canopy, or that in the Sacrament, after words of consecration, there remained only the accidents or shew, without the substance of bread and wine, or that the Priest then divided the Sacrament in three parts, and after received all alone himself, or that whosoever had then said, that the then Sacrament is a pledge, token, or remembrance of Christ’s body, had therefore been judged for an heretic, or that it was then lawful to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, or five masses said in one day, or that images were then set up in churches, that the people might worship them, or that the lay-people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own language; if any man alive can prove any one of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence of Scripture, antient Fathers, or any one General Council, or any example of the Primitive Church, I here promise, that I will give over my opinion, and subscribe to him. Yea, I further promise, that if any of all our adversaries be able clearly and plainly to prove, in manner aforesaid, that it was then lawful for a Priest to pronounce the words of Consecration closely and in silence to himself, or that the Priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father, or to receive the Sacrament for another, as they now do, or apply the virtue of Christ’s Death and Passion to any man by means of the mass, or that then it was thought a sound doctrine to teach the people, that the mass *ex opere operato* is able to remove our sins, or that any Christian man called the Sacrament his Lord and God, or that the people were then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament so long as that bread remaineth without corruption, or that a mouse, worm, or other creature may eat the body of Christ, or that ignorance is the mother of devotion: as I said before, so say I now again, if any of them can clearly prove any of these things in the manner aforesaid, I promise to yield and subscribe unto him. Indeed they have long boasted of antiquity, &c. but when they are put to their proofs, they can produce nothing. I speak not this out of arrogancy, (thou Lord knowest it; that knowest all things) but because it is in the cause of God, and for asserting his truth, I should do God great injury, if I should conceal it.” This challenge made a great noise, and the Papists thought themselves obliged to answer it. Dr. Henry Cole wrote several letters to him upon this subject (9). John Rastell, a Jesuit, published likewise, *A Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr. Jewel at Paul’s Cross, Antwerp 1564.* The Bishop was likewise attacked by Dorman, in his *Proof of certain Articles of Religion denied by Mr. Jewel, Antwerp 1564, in 4to,* and his *Request to Mr. Jewel, that he keep his Promise made by a solemn Protestation in his late Sermon at St. Paul’s Cross, 15 June 1567, London 1567, in 8vo.* And by Martial. But the former of these was answered by Dr. Alexander Nowel, in his *Reproof of a Book intituled, A Proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr. Jewel, set forth by Tho. Dorman, London 1565, in 4to;* and his *Reproof of Mr. Dorman’s Proof continued, &c. London 1566, in 4to.* The latter was answered by his *Answer to John Martial’s Treatise of the Cross, London 1565, in 4to.* But the Bishop’s most considerable antagonist was Mr. Thomas (10) Hardyng, who published, *An Answer to Mr. Jewel’s Challenge, Louvain 1564, in 4to.* Upon this Bishop Jewel published, VIII. *A Reply to Mr. Hardyng’s Answer; by perusing whereof the discreet and*

(9) Wood, *Art. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 197.

(10) Mr. Collier in his *Eccles. History*, Part 2. B. 6. pag. 462. erroneously calls him John.

cold that was the cause of his lameness, which affected him to his death. Notwithstanding this, most of his journies in Germany as well as in England were undertaken on foot, till he became a Bishop. He was of a pleasant and affable temper. He had naturally a very strong memory, which he greatly improved by art; so that he could exactly repeat whatever he had written after once reading; and therefore generally at the ringing of the bell he began to commit his sermons to his memory; which was so firm, that he used to say, that if he were to deliver a premeditated speech before a thousand auditors, shouting or fighting all the while, yet he could say all that he had provided to speak. And so quick was it in receiving, that when the Bishop of Norwich proposed to him many barbarous words out of a Kalendar, and Hooper Bishop of Gloucester forty strange words, Welsh, Irish, and foreign terms, he after once or twice reading at the most, and a little recollection repeated them all by heart backward and forward. Another time when Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal read to him only the last clauses of ten lines in *Erasmus's Paraphrase* confused and dismembered on purpose, he sitting silent a while, and covering his face with his hand, on the sudden rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences the right way, and the contrary, without any hesitation. He professed to teach others this art, and taught it his tutor Parkhurst beyond the seas; and in a short time learned all the Gospel forward and backward. He was a great master of the antient languages, and skilled in the German and Italian. He was a constant Preacher, greatly charitable, an encourager of learning, and a regular Conformist [E].

IGNATIUS

and diligent Reader may easily see the weak and unstable Grounds of the Romish Religion in 27 Articles, London 1566, in fol. This was translated into Latin by William Whitaker, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, and printed at Geneva 1585, in fol. with our author's *Apologia Ecclesie Anglicanae*. Mr. Hardyng wrote, in answer to this Reply, *A Rejoinder to Mr. Jewel's Reply; by perusing whereof the discreet and diligent Reader may easily see the Answer to his insolent Challenge justified, and his Objections against the Mass, &c.* Antwerp 1566, in a thick quarto. And, *Another Rejoinder to Mr. Jewel's Reply against the Sacrifice of the Mass*, Louvain 1567, in 4to. IX. *Apologia Ecclesie Anglicanae*, London 1562, in 8vo. It was several times printed in England and abroad, and translated into Greek, and printed at Oxford 1614, in 8vo. It was also translated into English, by the Lady Bacon, wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, soon after the publication of it, and printed under this title, *An Apology, or Answer in Defence of this Church of England, concerning the State of Religion used in the same*, London 1562, in 4to. This *Apology* was approved by the Queen, and set forth with the consent of the Bishops. It is a defence of the English Reformation, with a brief declaration of the religion professed in the Church of England. It is written with great learning, clearness, and strength, and with a peculiar elegance of style. It was well received by the Protestants abroad, as appears from a letter of Peter Martyr to our Bishop, in which he informs him, that himself, Bullinger, and other Divines had read it with prodigious satisfaction. Mr. Wood observes (11), "That the Council of Trent, held at that time, saw and censured it, and appointed a Frenchman and an Italian to answer it; but they hung back, and would, or rather could, not answer it." Mr. Thomas Hardyng published *A Confutation of it*, printed at Antwerp 1563, in 4to. Upon this the Bishop wrote, X. *A Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, containing an Answer to a certain Book lately set forth by Mr. Hardyng, and intitled, A Confutation, &c. in six Parts*, London 1564, 1567, in folio. Translated into Latin by Thomas Braddock, B. D. and Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, and printed abroad in 1600, in folio. In answer to the Bishop's Defence, Mr. Hardyng published *A Detection of several foul Errors, Lyes, Slanders, &c. uttered and practised by Mr. Jewel, in a Book by him set forth, intitled, A Defence of the Apology, &c.* Louvain 1564, in 4to. Upon this the Bishop wrote, XI. *An Answer to Mr. Hardyng's Book, intitled, A Detection of certain Errors, &c.* London 1565. XII. *A View of a seditious Bull sent into England from Pius the Fifth, Bishop of Rome, ann. 1569. Delivered in certain Sermons in the Cathedral Church of Sarum, 1570.* London 1582, in 8vo. XIII. *A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of the Sermons preached at Salisbury, 1570.* London 1582, in 8vo. XIV. *Exposition on the two Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, London 1594, in 8vo. XV. *A Treatise of the Sacraments, gathered out of his Sermons*, London 1583, in

8vo. XVI. *Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majesty at Paul's Cross, and elsewhere.* There are 13 in number. All these books, (except the first five abovementioned) with the *Sermons and Apology*, were printed in one volume in folio at London 1609, with an Abstract of his Life, but full of faults, (says Mr. Wood) written by Daniel Featly. Besides these writings, he left in manuscript, *A Paraphratical Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole Year: A continue Exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments: A Commentary upon the Epistle of the Galatians, and on the Epistle of St. Peter.* In 1641 there was printed in his name at London, in one sheet in quarto, *An Answer to certain frivolous Objections against the Government of the Church of England.* He wrote likewise a *Dialogue*, in which he comprehended the sum of the Art of Rhetoric (12).

[E] *A regular conformist.* Dr. Laurence Humfrey, in the Life of our Bishop, has endeavoured to represent him a favourer of the Non-conformists. But it is certain, that he opposed them in his exile, when they began their disputes at Franckfort; and in a sermon of his preached at Paul's Cross, not long before his death, and printed among his Works in 1609, he defended the rites and ceremonies of the Church against them. He had likewise a conference with some of them concerning the ceremonies of the present state of the Church, which he mentioned with such vigour, that tho' upon his death-bed he professed, that neither his sermon nor conference were undertaken to please any mortal man, or to trouble those who thought differently from him; yet the Puritans could not forbear shewing their resentments against him (13). *It was strange to me, says Dr. Whitgift (14), to hear so notable a Bishop, so learned a man, so stout a champion of true religion, so painful a Prelate, as Bishop Jewel, so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of wicked tongues.* He is supposed likewise to have been the author of a paper, intitled, *A brief and lamentable Consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy of England*, written in the year 1566. His address to the Non-conformists in the cloise is very remarkable; "Do not suffer Satan, says he, to perplex your consciences. Throw up your contest, and make for unity. Be not ashamed to repent, nor afraid of losing your credit with the people. We are commanded to go to Nineveh, and denounce the judgment of God. Instead of this, we desert our business, and lie idle in the hold. This misbehaviour draws the storm upon us; and unless Jonas repents, the ship is in danger of being lost. You have churches; why do ye quit them, and run to field-conventicles? You have public places to officiate in; what makes you affect private meetings? You have the Christian Religion preached to you in its original purity; what reason then can ye have to be disgusted? Are not the Holy Scriptures read to you? Have ye not the liberty of perusing them at pleasure? And is not Popery discharged? As for those, who conform to the habit, were they not banished

(12) Prince's Works, pag. 424.

(13) Prince, ubi supra, pag. 426.
(14) Answer to the Admonition, pag. 423.

(11) *Ant. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 171.

IGNATIUS, the Founder of the Jesuits. See LOYOLA.

“ for their orthodoxy? And did they not give up
 “ their fortune with all the resignation imaginable?
 “ Who takes more pains in preaching? Who writes
 “ to better purpose? Who manages with more vigi-
 “ lance and vigour in their respective stations than

“ these men? You talk of reformation, but they
 “ practise it. If you love Christ, feed his sheep, and
 “ do not quarrel in his vineyard. Let us help to bear
 “ one another's burthens, love our brethren, and not
 “ disturb the public repose.” T.

ILLYRICUS (MATTHIAS FLACIUS) one of the most learned Divines of the Augsbuurg Confession, was born at Albona in Istria (a) March the 3d 1520. He studied the Belles Lettres at Venice under Egnatius, and having from his seventeenth year a strong inclination to study Divinity, he resolved to be a Monk, because he wanted money to maintain himself in the Universities, and therefore the only means he had to satisfy his inclination was by studying in a monastery. He acquainted a Provincial of the Cordeliers, who was his mother's relation, with his design. This Provincial, who began already to have a taste for the Reformation [A], advised him to go into Germany, and not to shut himself up in a convent. Flacius followed that advice, and arrived at Basil in the year 1539 [B]. Having continued there a few months he went to Tubingen, whence he removed to Wittemberg in the year 1541, and studied there under Luther and Melanchthon. He got a livelihood by teaching Greek and Hebrew. Having acquainted Pomeranius, and afterwards Luther with the temptations that disturbed his mind concerning sin, God's wrath, and predestination, he was publicly prayed for at church, and they afforded him all the comfort which the holy Scriptures furnish us with, so that his mind was soon easy. Melanchthon gave him a thousand proofs of his good nature and generosity: they found a wife for him, and gave him some employment in the University in the year 1544 (b). All the schools in Saxony having been dispersed by the war, Flacius went to Brunswick, where he gained a great reputation by his Lectures. He returned to his former employment at Wittemberg in the year 1547, and soon after he strongly opposed the *Interim*, and all the prudent and discreet methods, which Melanchthon hinted were proper to be followed; and that he might be more at liberty to exclaim against Popery, without regard for any body, he retired (c) to Magdeburg, which town was at that time proscribed by the Emperor. He published there several works, but the most considerable of them is certainly that Ecclesiastical History, which was called the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, and of which he had the chief direction. He accepted the post that was offered him in the new University of Iena in the year 1557, and taught there five years; after which, as he could not agree with his collegue Victorinus Strigelius [C], he

(a) A part of the Country, which was anciently called *Illyrium* or *Illyria*; hence it is, that Matthias Flacius was surnamed *Illyricus*. It is not true, as Melchior Adam, and several others assert, that he was born in Sclavonia.

(b) Micrælius therefore is mistaken who makes him Professor at Wittemberg as soon as the year 1540. *Synagm. Hist. Eccl.* pag. m. 751.

(1) Melch. Adam, in *Vit. Theol.* pag. 478. See also Verheiden, in *Effigies*, pag. 157.

(2) In *Effigies*, pag. 157.

(3) *Addit. aux Elog.* tom. 1. pag. 471.

(4) In the year 1560 according to Micrælius, *Synagm. Hist. Eccl.* pag. m. 827, 828. But according to Melch. Adam, in *Vit. Theolog. Germ.* pag. 420. it was in 1557.

(5) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1560, num. 32.

(6) See Micrælius, *Synagm. Hist. Eccl.* pag. m. 827, 828.

REFLECTIONS ON FLACIUS'S opinion concerning the nature of sin.

[A] This Provincial, who began already to have a taste for the Reformation. He deserves a place in the Martyrology of the Protestants, since after he had suffered during twenty years great hardships in goal, because he was suspected of heresy, he was thrown into the sea. His name was Baldus Lupatinus. *Baldus autem iste, ut hoc in exordio addamus, paulo post in suspicionem hæreses venit: ac Venetiis viginti ipsos annos situm squaloremque carceris, tandem in mari summersus supplicium fortiter portavit* (1). i. e. “ This Baldus, to add this by the by, was soon after suspected of heresy; and having suffered great hardship in goal at Venice during twenty years, he was at last cast into the sea, and underwent his punishment with a great courage.”

[B] He arrived at Basil in the year 1539. He was therefore nineteen years old at that time. Whence it follows that Verheiden (2) is mistaken, when he asserts that Illyricus was seventeen years old when he went to Basil. Monsieur Teissier (3) has followed Verheiden's account.

[C] He could not agree with his Collegue Victorinus Strigelius. They were of different opinions concerning the conversion of man, and concerning the power of free-will. They disputed upon these subjects at Weimar before the Duke of Saxony (4). They ran upon the contrary extremes; Strigelius favoured those that are called *Adiaphorites* and *Synergists*, who ascribed a great deal to free-will, and pretended that original sin did but slightly wound the soul (5). Flacius on the contrary asserted, that that sin was the very substance of the soul. The controversy was carried on in thirteen meetings, the acts of which were published with a preface to them by Musæus, who was one of Flacius's followers (6). We see here plainly what a desire to contradict others may produce. It is a passion which carries persons of a brisk and lively genius beyond bounds. Flacius, who could not be satisfied with differing moderately from his rival, receded from his opinion as far as he could, and seeing him assert

that original sin wounded the soul only with regard to her accidental properties, he resolved to maintain that the very substance of the soul was corrupted, whence it followed that sin was the very substance of the soul. Flacius would never have dreamed of that doctrine, had not his Collegue taught the contrary doctrine. But if the controversy which arose between these two Professors, shews us what may be the consequences of a spirit of contradiction, and of the ἀμετρία τῆς ἀποβολῆς, or the keeping no medium in going to contrary extremes, it shews us also how proper the Peripatetic Philosophy is to foment divisions amongst the Divines: For Illyricus's doctrine would have given no offence, had men believed with the new Philosophers, that there are no accidents distinct from the substances; that pain for instance is nothing else but the soul itself as it is modified after a certain manner: this being granted, it is plain that Illyricus's doctrine is very true; sin is not a being distinct from the soul that sins, nor is virtue a being distinct from the virtuous soul. I cannot conceive how those Divines, who suppose, that there is a real distinction between the soul and the modifications of the soul, dare to assert that there happens an alteration in a man, when he passes from a state of innocence to a state of sin, or from a state of sin to a state of grace. According to these Divines, when a man sins, there is an entity produced distinct from the soul, which entity unites with the soul, and makes up with it an whole, which contains two beings really distinct from each other, the one of which is called substance, and the other accident. I maintain that this union does not produce any alteration in the soul, and that the soul continues to be exactly the same as it was before that union. You may mix grains of wheat with grains of barley as much as you please, you will never make them cease to be wheat; and in all the natural and artificial mixtures, the compound bodies become indeed capable of a new kind of actions; but yet each part of these compounds, as much as it is distinct from all the other parts, keeps distinctly the same

(c) In April 1549. Buchholz, pag. m. 564.

he retired to Ratibon, where he continued to publish a great many books. In the year 1567 he was called into Brabant to establish churches there according to the Augsburg Confession; but the persecution soon dispersed these new congregations; so that he went to Strasburg, and thence to Francfort, where his reputation suffered a great loss; for he was forsaken by most of his followers, because he was charged with holding the opinions of the Manichees; the ground of this charge was, his teaching that sin is not an accident, but the very essence of our souls (d). He died at Francfort March the 11th 1575 (e). He was a man of excellent parts, of a vast genius, extensive learning, and great zeal against Popery, but his restless, passionate, and quarrelsome temper spoiled all his good qualities, and occasioned a thousand disturbances in the Protestant Church. He did not scruple to assert that Princes ought to be kept in awe by the fear of seditions (f). There was no reason to lament his death; for divisions, which are always justly scandalous, were at that time more pernicious than war, because they gave the Church of Rome a fair opportunity to reproach the growing Reformation. Some have said that the only good action he did was to die (g): this is running upon extremes. He published a great many books (b), and none of his contemporaries knew how to search old Libraries with more advantage than he did. He got from one of them an antient Mafs-book [D],

(d) See the remark [C].

(e) Taken from Melchior Adam in *Vitis Germanorum Theologorum*, pag. 472, & seq.

(f) *Metu seditionum terrendos esse Principes*. Melancthi *Epist.* cvii. pag. 134.

(g) *Nequidquam recti fecisse nisi cum moreretur*. Guil. Budæus, Cent. 16. *Savantologiae*, ad ann. 1575. apud Quenest. de *Patriis Eruditor.* pag. 263.

(b) Simlerus, in his *Epistolis of Gesner*, and Teiffier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 422. gives a catalogue of them.

which

same nature it had before. And thus we may say, that if the soul were really distinct from its sin, that is to say, from the sin, with which it would be united, in that case the soul would never pass to another state. A soul once innocent would for ever be so. See what the *Nominals* say (7) against those who assert that *Accidents* are really distinct from *Substances*.

[D] He got from a Library an antient Mafs-Book. Here follows the title of that work, which was printed at Strasburg for Christopher Mylius in the year 1557. *Missa Latina, quæ olim ante Romanam circa septingentesimum Domini annum in usu fuit bona fide ex vetusto authenticoque Codice descripta à Matthia Flacio Illyrico*. i. e. "The Latin Mafs-Book, which was formerly in use before the Roman, about the year 700, faithfully transcribed from an antient and authentic Manuscript, by Matthias Flacius Illyricus." Thus Monsieur Colomiés gives us that title (8), and he had perhaps transcribed it from the *Sieur du Peyrat's* work (9). He has added several curious particulars concerning that Mafs-Book. He observes that the Lutherans thinking it "inconsistent with the belief and practice of the Roman Catholics, boasted of it on every occasion; that the Catholics, for their part, without examining that Mafs-Book very exactly, prohibited it in their *Indexes* (10); . . . that the Lutherans coming to examine that Mafs-Book more carefully, and finding that it did not favour their opinions, suppressed all the copies of it they could meet with, so that it became very scarce: and that the Roman Catholics making an advantage of this kind of a retraction, have since caused that Mafs-Book (11) to be reprinted, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope and of the King of Spain." I do not doubt but he owes to the *Sieur du Peyrat* all that he asserts of the Lutherans concerning the suppressing of the copies: but I would not answer for him, that he was not a little too credulous in this respect; for du Peyrat does not give us any other reason for what he charges the Lutherans with, but the scarcity of the copies of that Mafs-Book. I own that he quotes a passage from *Wicelius*, in which *Illyricus* is censured for imprudently furnishing the Roman Catholics with arms against his own sect by the printing of that Mafs-Book. But this makes rather against than for du Peyrat's assertion. For *Wicelius* does not charge the Lutherans with making amends for their blunder by suppressing the copies; and yet if du Peyrat were in the right, they had already suppressed them when *Wicelius* published his book. He published it in the year 1564. Now du Peyrat's argument is grounded upon this, namely, that *Cassander* and *Pamelius* his *Contemporary*, did not in the least mention *Illyricus's* Mafs-Book in their works concerning *Liturgies*. And yet, says he (12), they have very carefully enquired for all that relates to this subject, and they had great credit in Germany . . . by which they could easily get all the books that were of any use to them. He argued therefore after this manner: If the Lutherans had not destroyed all the copies of the Mafs-Book, which *Illyricus* had published, *Cassander* would have mentioned that Mafs-Book, for he would certainly have seen a copy of it. But he has not mentioned it in the least;

(7) *Casimirus Tholofus*, in *Atomis Peripateticis*, tom. 3. pag. 249, & seq.

(8) *Colomiés*, *Biblioth. Coisite*, pag. 12.

(9) *Du Peyrat*, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi*, pag. 561.

(10) *Philip II* by the Duke of *Alva's* advice and at his request, and afterwards *Sixtus V.* *Colomiés*, *Biblioth. Coisite*, pag. 12.

(11) *Father Le Cointe* has inserted it in his *Ecclesiastical Annals of France*; and *Cardinal Bona* at the end of his *Liturgica*. *Ibid.* pag. 12.

(12) *Du Peyrat*, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi*, pag. 618.

it is therefore certain that the Lutherans had destroyed all the copies of it. Observe that *Cassander's* book upon the *Liturgies* was printed (13) some years before *Wicelius's*. We shall shew hereunder, that *Cassander's* not mentioning *Illyricus's* Mafs-Book is no proof of the scarcity of it, and that it does not follow from thence that he knew nothing of it. I shall only observe at present, that *Wicelius's* censure is an argument against the *Sieur du Peyrat*. But let us see what he relates (14).

Flavius (15) *Illyricus* having inconsiderately published it at Strasburg in the year 1557, not minding what he was doing, and the Lutherans and other Heretics in Germany observing the great prejudice their new opinions received from that antient Mafs-Book, gathered up all the copies of it they could meet with, and suppressed them, that the Roman Catholics might not have any knowledge of it, nor urge it against them, as clashing entirely with Luther and Calvin's sect. *George* *Wicelius* (*), an antient disciple of Luther, who left him at last, and threw himself into the pale of the church, mentioning *Flavius Illyricus* in his defence of the Church-Liturgy, printed in the year 1564, seven years after this Gallican Mafs-Book was published, severely censures *Flavius Illyricus* on account of that Latin Mafs-Book's (†), saying, even the blind might see very plainly, that by printing it, he had ignorantly and imprudently hurt the cause of Luther and Calvin's parties, and very much obliged the Catholics. *Wicelius's* words are as follow. *Matthias Flavius Illyricus edidit repertam Missam Latinam, non triumphans tamen de Thesauri tanto adversus Catholicos, quum vel cæcipienti homini apparet totum illud quod edidit, contra Lutheri, Calvinique sectas edidisse, sed & Catholicis nobis rem longe gratissimam fecisse; quid enim ibi nisi Missam Latinam, quæ hodie in usu generali est, inscienti, imprudensque defendit? Tantum abest, ut suo, seclæque more oppugnet; locupletior est illa quidem, plusque precum continet, sed omnino tamen eadem cum usitatâ, cujus etiam dicta, factaque omnia passim sequitur, ut diversam esse confirmare nemo audeat*. i. e. "Matthias *Flavius Illyricus* published a Latin Mafs-book which he met with: but yet he could not make any advantage of that treasure against the Catholics; for even the blind may plainly see that the whole book he published is against Luther and Calvin's sect, and that by printing it he obliged us Catholics very much. For what else has been done besides vindicating the Latin Mafs, which is generally in use? That which he published is indeed larger, and contains more prayers, but yet it contains the very same things with that which is in use, the words and actions of which it follows through the whole, so that no one will dare to assert that it is different from it." This was undoubtedly the reason, why *Flavius Illyricus* and his followers in Germany, being sensible of the imprudence they had been guilty of, burnt or otherwise suppressed that Gallican or Latin Mafs-Book, fearing lest they should be a laughing-stock to all the world. I am confirmed in this opinion, when I consider, that though that Mafs-Book was printed at Strasburg in the year 1557.

(13) In the year 1558. See *Val. Anr. Biblioth. Belgic.* pag. 261.

(14) *Du Peyrat*, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi*, pag. 617.

(15) He calls him always thus.

(*) *Vide Georgium Wicelium in Defensione Liturgicæ Ecclesiasticæ.*

(†) It was called the *Gallic* or *Latin Mafs-Book*.

which he published in the year 1557. This will give us an opportunity to examine several particulars. He got also from those Libraries an infinite number of collections, which have been very useful to several persons. I mean the Memoirs he collected to compile his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* [E]; i. e. "A List of the Witnesses to the Truth."

"yet neither George Cassander, who died but in February 1566 (4), nor Pamelius his Contemporary . . . mention it in the least." Du Peyrat reports the same thing in page 623. "I maintain, says he, that since neither Cassander nor Pamelius, who carefully enquired for all kinds of Liturgies, never saw this, which yet was printed in their life-time, eight or nine years before the death of either (16), and since even at present it is very scarce both in France and in Germany, the Lutherans and the Calvinists have made a sacrifice of it to Vulcan, as soon as it was published, to prevent the Catholics from having any knowledge of it, and from urging it against them, as a very sharp knife, come from their own shop and out of their own hands, to cut their throat with, and prove their blind obstinacy against the ancient and true doctrine of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church." Let us see now whether Cassander's silence proves any thing.

Mr. Colomiés, who refutes Cardinal Bona, ought to have known, that du Peyrat misled that Cardinal: The censure must therefore have been levelled first against du Peyrat. However it be, here follow Colomiés's words (67). "Cardinal Bona was mistaken, when he imagined that Cassander never saw the Mafs-Book published by Illyricus. For besides that in Cassander's collection of ancient prayers, there are some which are also to be met with in Illyricus's Mafs-Book, here follow the words of Fr. Baudouin, a famous Civilian, in a letter to Cassander, dated from Francfort in the year 1557, that is to say, the same year that Mafs-Book was printed. *Francfordiam reversus, reperi Illyrici ad me literas cum libello de Missa ad Palatinum nostrum.* (He means Otho Elector Palatine, to whom the book is dedicated.) *Rogat ille meum judicium de suis Missæ antiquitatibus. Ego id ad te nunc refero, & libellum ipsum mitto, de quo quid sentire debeamus familiariter nos moneas, ut de qua re tam multi multa confusè balbutiunt, rectè & distinctè respondere aliquando possimus.* i. e. "Being returned to Frankfort, I found there a letter from Illyricus to me, with his Mafs-Book dedicated to Otho Elector Palatine. He desires me to give him my opinion concerning the antiquity of that Mafs-Book. I refer it now to you, and send you the book, praying you would let me know in a friendly manner, what we ought to think of it; that as several persons say now a great many things of it at random, we may know at last how to answer them rightly and positively." I have another argument stronger than that to prove, that Cassander had perused Illyricus's Mafs-Book; and, what is very remarkable, du Peyrat himself affords me that argument. I find in a marginal note (18), which he has put in page 622, that this Mafs-Book is mentioned at the end of a book printed in the year 1561, intitled, *De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri, &c.* i. e. "Concerning the duty of a pious man, and a true lover of the public tranquillity, &c." Now it is certain that Cassander wrote a book with this title. If du Peyrat had known this, he would not have asserted that Cassander never saw Flacius's Mafs-Book. It appears from thence that he urged a very bad argument, as to what relates to Cassander, in order to prove that the copies of that Mafs-Book were become very scarce. But after all, will some say, it is certain that they became scarce, and that Cassander did not mention that Mafs-Book in his Book of Liturgies. With regard to this last particular I answer, that this work of Cassander was perhaps already printed off, when the author received Illyricus's book. Valerius Andreas observes in his Bibliothecque, that Cassander's book was printed in the year 1558. Though this be put in the title-page, yet the book might have been exposed to sale in Autumn 1557; at which time Cassander might not yet have received the book, which Illyricus had published in the year 1557. As to the other particular, I shall only observe that there are several works of Illyricus which are as scarce as his Gallican Mafs-Book.

There are a great many other reasons of the scarcity of a book, besides the care that is taken to burn all the copies of it, that can be met with.

[E] I mean the Memoirs he collected to compile his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*.] The misfortune is, that he is charged with having stolen manuscripts. Let us see what Melchior Adam relates. *Tertium locum facile obtinet Martyrologium illud, quod hac occasione compilatum ferunt. Contexit abbas Johannes Trithemius catalogum auctorum. Hunc cum vidisset Flacius, temperare sibi non potuit, quin dissimulatâ personâ & habitu, aliquot in Germaniâ monasteriorum bibliothecas perlustraret: quos commode posset historicos clam auferret: atque isto adminiculo librum, qui Catalogus Testium Veritatis indigitatur, conscriberet* (19). i. e. "We may justly place in the third rank that *Martyrology*, which was composed on this occasion. The Abbot John Trithemius drew up a catalogue of authors. When Flacius had seen it, he had no rest till under a false name and in disguise he visited some libraries of the Convents in Germany; whence he stole clandestinely all the historical books he could conveniently take, and by that help he wrote the work, which is intitled, *A List or Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*." The Roman Catholic writers did not fail to make an advantage of this observation. *Egregium scilicet opus, says Spondanus (20), after he had transcribed that remark, and quoted Melchior Adam, quod ex furto & sacrilegio impii transfugæ confectum est, ut mirum videri non debeat si tot mendaciis & falsiloquiis scateat à patre omnis nequitie & immunditiæ eructatis.* i. e. "An egregious work indeed, which an impious deserter compiled from what he sacrilegiously stole: nor ought we to wonder that it should abound with so many lies and falsities, belched out by the fother of all wickedness and villainy." See in page 120 of Colomiés's *Opuscula*, what is said there of Lindenbroch. But after all, it is going too far, to infer from a man's stealing of manuscripts, that he also falsifies them afterwards, and publishes them with a thousand alterations. Spondanus is not well warranted in drawing such a reference. And besides he is mistaken in supposing that Illyricus published his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, only with a design to oppose it to William Eifengreinius's work. For on the contrary, Eifengreinius published his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, only to oppose that of Illyricus. This appears from the date of the impressions. Illyricus's Catalogue, first printed at Basil in the year 1556, was reprinted at Strasburg in the year 1562. Whereas Eifengreinius's was printed at Dillingen in the year 1565. This is sufficient to refute the passage which I shall now transcribe (21). *Nec vero tam illud æmulatione Trithemii, cujus opus omnino diversum est, suum concinnasse putamus; quàm turpiori flagitio ad obscurandum illud, quod Gulielmus Eifengreinius itidem Germanus Catholicus ediderat eodem titulo Catalogi Testium Veritatis, quo Patrum & Ecclesiasticorum omnium qui ad eum usque diem hæreses expugnaverant, non parvo labore testimonia pro veritate fidei Catholice protulerat. In cujus invidiam, simul & ut facum faceret imperitis, Flacius commentarium suum eodem titulo edidit, sed absque nomine auctoris (22), falsulis & mendaciis refertum.* i. e. "Nor do I think that he (Illyricus) wrote his book, with a design to imitate Trithemius, whose work is quite different; but with a more base and wicked intention, to destroy the reputation of that, which William Eifengreinius, who was also a German, but a Roman Catholic, had published with the same title, of *A Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*, in which he had with great pains collected the passages from the Fathers and from all the ecclesiastical writers to his time, in favour of the Catholic faith. Flacius therefore quit of envy against him, and with a design to mislead the ignorant, published his book with the same title, but without his name (22): it abounds with idle stories and falsities."

Observe that Simon Goulart of Senlis had made a great many additions to that work of Illyricus in the editions published in 1597, and 1608. But the public

(4) This is plain from Cassander's Epitaph, made by Cornelius Galterus of the City of Ghent, and put up in the church of St. Francis of Poland. It is prefixed to Cassander's Liturgies.

(16) This is false with regard to Pamelius, who died in Sept. 1587, in the 52d year of his age. His book of Liturgies, was printed in the year 1571. See Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 425.

(17) Colomiés, Biblioth. Cboisic, pag. 14.

(18) Here it follows, but I have corrected some errors of the press in it. *Ad calcem libelli de officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc Religiois dissidio typis excusis, anno 1561 referuntur doctorum aliquot ac piorum virorum libri, ex quibus videri potest quam non sit difficultis controversiarum in Religione conciliatio, si controversandi studium vitetur, inter quos fit mentio ejusmodi Missæ bis verbis, Missa Latina vetus, quæ ante 700 annos in usu fuit in Ecclesia Gallicana, & Germanica, Argentorati apud Cbrist. Mylium 1557.*

(19) Melchior Adam, in Vitis Theol. pag. 475. He quotes Keckerman in Meibod. Hist.

(20) Spondanus, ann. 1560. num. 32. He is mistaken when he styles Melchior Adam a Lutheran.

(21) Spond. ad ann. 1560, pag. m. 602. Possivina. Appar. Sacr. tom. 1. and several other authors, as Baillet observes in his quotation, assert the same. He asserts it also himself, Jugemens des Savans, tom. 2. pag. 537, 538.

(22) This is false; see below quotation (59).

It is pretended that he concealed sometimes his own name under a fictitious one [F]. Moreri was very much in the wrong to refer his article to the letter T, under the name of *Trancowitz* [G].

Spondanus committed a very gross blunder when he mentioned the Centuries of Magdeburg [H]. You will find it in the remark (i), in which I relate some particulars concerning

(i) It is the remark [H].

(23) See John Albertus Faber, in *Decade Decadem*, num. 96. public had reasons to complain (23), that since he took the liberty to alter the whole disposition of that work, and to add or suppress what he thought fit, he did not distinguish by some particular marks, what was his, and what belonged to Illyricus. It was this perhaps, that engaged a Lutheran to publish a new edition of the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, in every respect like that of Illyricus himself, except only that he prefixed to it the testimonies of the learned both for and against it. This new edition was printed at Francfort in the year 1666 in 4^o, without John Conrad Dietericus's name, who published it, but his name was prefixed to it in the edition which was published in the year 1672 (24). Let us observe that Melchior Adam does not well abridge the author he quotes. I have consulted the original since the first edition of this Dictionary, and I have met with a particular in Keckerman which ought not to have been omitted. It is, that our Illyricus having learnt from John Trithemius's work, that several authors, who lived in the darkest ages of Popery, and yet shewed the corruptions of it, resolved to render ineffectual the care that was taken to conceal the books of those authors. Let us transcribe the whole passage from Keckerman.

(24) Joh. Albertus Faber, in *Decade Decadem*, num. 96.

Ceterum quod attinet ad insidiosos occultatores Historiarum, certum est in Bibliotheca Vaticana, & aliis Bibliothecis Italiae, imprimis autem in Bibliothecis Monasteriorum, clam servari multos Historicorum superiorum seculorum, qui de fraudibus Pontificum, deque abusu Ecclesiae Romanae, & contra de conservatione verae doctrinae, etiam sub mediis tenebris Papatus scripserunt, id quod manifestè patet ex Catalogo autorum, edito ab Abbate Johanne Trithemio qui istos autores ex Bibliothecis ante annos paulo plus centum collegit; quem Catalogum cum vidisset Matthias Flacius, temperare sibi non potuit, quin dissimulatâ personâ, & habitu aliquot in Germania Monasteriorum Bibliothecas perlustraret, artemque arte eluserit, quos commodè posset Historicis clam auferret, atque adeo eximium istum librum, qui dicitur Catalogus testium veritatis, isto adminiculo conscriberet (25). i. e. "As to the crafty concealers of Historians, it is certain that in the library of the Vatican, and in several other libraries of Italy, particularly in those of the Monasteries, they keep secretly a great many Historians of the former ages, who wrote of the impostures of the Popes, and of the abuses of the Church of Rome, and of the preservation of the true doctrine, even in the greatest darkness of Popery; as appears plainly from the catalogue of authors published by the Abbot John Trithemius, who a little above an hundred years ago made a collection of those authors from the libraries. Matthias Flacius having seen that catalogue had no rest, till under a false name and in disguise he visited some libraries of the Convents in Germany, and eluding artifice by artifice, stole clandestinely all the historical books he could conveniently take, and by that help he wrote that egregious book, which is intitled, *A Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*."

(25) Keckerm. de *Natura & Proprietat. Histor. in Auctoris*, cap. 1. p. m. 151.

(26) He lived in the 9th Century.

(27) See the *Acta Erudit. Lips.* for 1697, pag. 295, in the account of Archbishop Usher's book intitled, *Historia Dogmatica Controversiarum de Scripturis sacris Vernaculis*.

(28) Apud *Acta Erud. Lipsiens.* ibid.

(29) His *Epitome Chroniconum mundani* was printed at B. 61 in the year 1532. See Gesner's *Bibliotheca*.

[F] It is pretended that he concealed sometimes his own name under a fictitious one.] It is asserted that the Achilles Gassarus, who published a work of Otrifidus a Monk of Weissenburg (26), is no other but Flacius Illyricus. That Monk's work is an harmony of the four Gospel's in German verse; it was dedicated to Solomon and Luitbert, Archbishops of Mentz, and to Lewis King of Eastern France (27). Wharton, who pretends (28) that Illyricus published it under the name of Achilles Gassarus, must give me leave to observe to my readers, that there was in the sixteenth century a German Physician named Achilles Gassarus, who had published some books (29), when Illyricus was still a school-boy.

[G] Moreri was very much in the wrong to refer him to the letter T under the name of *Trancowitz*.] Monsieur Teiffier has been the occasion of that blunder by these words in page 471 of his first volume. The name of MATTHIAS FLACIUS was *Trancowitz*.

He quotes *Verbeiden's effigies*. But *Verbeiden* does not say this. Let us see what the curious Colomies has discovered upon this subject (30). "To conclude, let us here give the true name of Illyricus, which was *Francowitz*, as Bucholcer the son tells us in page 83 of his *Chronology*, or rather of the *Continuation of his Fathers*, printed at Gorlitz in the year 1599. *Vernum & integrum*, says he, *Flacii nomen ego ex certis autoribus cognovi esse tale; Matthias Francowitzius, cognomento Flacius, gente Illyricus, patriâ Albonensis.*" i. e. "I have found in authors of an unquestionable authority, that the true and whole name of Flacius was, Matthew *Francowitz*, an Illyrian by nation, and a native of Albona." König (31) calls him also *Francowitzius*; but Quenstedt (32) calls him *Trancowitzium*.

(30) *Bibliotheca Cbojse*, pag. 15.

(31) *Biblioth. v. & m. v.*, pag. 306.

(32) *De Patria Illust.* pag. 262.

(33) Spondanus, ad ann. 1560, num. 31. p. 601.

(34) See Caspar Sagittarius, *Introduct.* in *Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 279.

(35) *Ibid.*

[H] Spondanus committed a very gross blunder, when he mentioned the centuries of Magdeburg.] He asserts that they began to publish them in the year 1560, and that the fourth volume was the first that was published (33). This is what is absolutely false. The three first centuries were printed before the fourth. In the catalogue of the library of Francfort, published in the year 1604 by Becman (34), the three first centuries are said to have been printed in the year 1559, and the fourth in the year 1560. Draudius (35) also places the edition of the three first under the year 1559. Monsieur Sagittarius tells us, that in his copy the year 1562 was set down for the three first centuries, the year 1560 for the fourth, 1562 for the fifth and sixth, 1564 for the seventh and eighth, 1565 for the ninth, 1567 for the tenth and eleventh, 1569 for the twelfth, and 1574 for the thirteenth, which is also the last. It is very probable, that Spondanus's edition was like that of Monsieur Sagittarius; that is to say, that neither of them had the first edition of the three first centuries. But this does not clear Spondanus; for if he had read the preface to the first century, he would have seen that the centuriators complain there of a libel in which their work was cried down, before the public had seen any thing of what they had composed. *De sumptibus vero profitemur, say they, nos paucissimos habere, qui annuatim aliquid conferunt: nec pro laborum conditione operarii satis sustentantur, sicut ipsmet optimi testes sunt: imo nisi Deus nobis quosdam Meccenates adhiberent (quod tamen ne fiat, multis invidi strenue laborant) neque progredi satis expedite poterimus: neque forte totum Opus, ut est institutum, absolvere. Impudens igitur, planeque diabolicum est mendacium, & criminatio istius scurræ, qui nuper in maledico & famose scripto, sine nomine edito (ubi tamen aliam saltat fabulam) Sardonio risu, & virulento sarcasmo nostrum opus historicum Aureum appellat: eo quod ex multo auro Germanico sit constat. Non vidit sceleratus iste scurræ Opus, & tamen non veretur canino, aut viperino potius dente arrodere. Deinde non habet cognitâ rationes nostras iste conviciator ac criminator: & tamen ut Semei, nos false irridet, ac mentitur splendide. Nam quam pauci, & quam parce dent, quam frugaliter alantur hujus instituti operarii, poterat iste irrisor explorare, non a profugis, sceleratis, pollutis, mendacibus, quibus gubernationis nostræ ratio ne nota quidem est, sed a nobis ipsis.* i. e. "As to the charges of this work we can truly declare, that there are but few persons who contribute any thing yearly towards them; nor are the undertakers sufficiently supported in proportion to their labour, as they can all witness; nay, if God does not raise us some more friends (which invidious persons endeavour to prevent as much as lies in their power) we shall not be able to carry on this work with speed, nor even perhaps, to compleat it according to our design. It is therefore an impudent and devilish lie, and an horrible slander, which a certain buffoon lately published in an anonymous and slanderous libel (in which he would however seem to have another design) calling our work ironically and with a very bitter joke, a golden work, because, says he, it is made with a great deal of German

concerning the History of those Centuries. Monsieur Varillas, who has faithfully transcribed that blunder of Spondanus, has added so many others of his own to it [I], that one

" German gold. The wicked wretch has not seen all the work, and yet he dares to asperse, it in the most cruel manner. And besides, this slanderer and accuser does not know our circumstances, and yet, like Shimei, he pretends to be smart against us, and lies impudently. For this scoffer might have enquired, not indeed from renegado's, villains, wicked men, and lyars, who have not the least knowledge of our affairs, but from ourselves, how few persons there are, that give us any thing, how sparingly they give, and how frugally the undertakers of this work are supported." This long passage may serve us for two purposes. For besides that it is an argument against the false æra of the centuries, it does also hint to us, what we ought to think of these words of Spondanus. *Quod opus vocatum est ab aliis Evangelicis Aureum; non quidem in laudem, sed ironice, propterea quod multo principum quorundam Germaniæ & civitatum auro, ostiatim emendicato, fit editum.* i. e. "The other Evangelicks (or Protestants) called it a golden work; not to commend it, but ironically, because it was made by dint of gold, begged from door to door, of some Princes and cities in Germany." This is asserting that the other Evangelicks called that work of the centuriators a golden work, to ridicule it, and to give the public to understand that it was compiled at the expence of the Princes of Germany. But all these pretended Evangelicks are no more than anonymous writers, who published a libel under the false name of the students of Wittemberg (36). See in Monsieur Sagittarius (37) several extracts from the dedications of the centuries, which are designed to shew, that Illyricus, Wigandus, Judex, Faber, and the other undertakers of that work, had but too much reason to desire the public's assistance. Observe that there were additions made to the third century, when it was reprinted at Basil (38). *Accesserunt castigaciones & additiones locorum aliquot in prima editione depravatorum vel omisforum* (39). i. e. "With corrections and additions of some passages, which were either erroneously printed or omitted in the first edition." Observe also that the first four centuries and part of the fifth were composed at Magdeburg; that the fifth was finished at Iena; that the sixth was written in the place to which Illyricus, Wigandus, and Judex retired, on account of the persecution; that the seventh was composed in the country of Mecklenburg, and the rest in the city of Wisnar in the same country (40).

I had composed all this before I could meet with a copy of the first editions of these centuries; for as the edition of Basil 1624, in three volumes in folio, published by the care of Lewis Lucius, is more esteemed than any of the others, every one endeavours to get it, and it is a difficult matter to meet with the others in the libraries of private persons. I have at last been able to consult leisurely the edition which the centuriators caused to be printed at Basil by Oporinus; but the copy of the three first centuries, which was lent me, having been bound more than once, I could not meet in it with the date of the impression. I believe that the last leaf had been torn off before it was bound the last time, and it was probably on that last leaf, that Oporinus placed the date 1559 (41). However it be, this copy of the three first centuries is printed in an Italic letter, and contains neither corrections nor additions. Now we have seen that the edition which Monsieur Sagittarius made use of, which is of the year 1562, contains additions and corrections. It is therefore neither the first, nor that which I have now before me. Observe that the copy of the fourth century, printed by Oporinus in the year 1560, is in a Roman letter.

[I] Monsieur Varillas . . . has added many blunders of his own to that of Spondanus.] Melanchthon, says he (42), was hardly dead, when the centuriators of Magdeburg began to publish their work upon Church History, with the fourth volume. This is his first blunder. That volume, continues he, is indeed the best of the thirteen in the opinion of the Lutherans, or the last bad according to the Catholics. We defy him to prove this. There were (43) at first but four of the Ministers

of Magdeburg that were engaged in it, namely Matthias Flacius, John Vigand, Matthew Judex, and Basil Faber. But afterwards the most learned of the Lutherans had an hand in it, though we know the names of but four more, who were Nicholas Gal, Celestinus Hutten, Jaspas Nidpruc Counsellor of State to the Emperor, and Baptist Hoincel (44). Consult Mons. Sagittarius, he will tell you, that Andrew Corvinus, Thomas Holtuter, Pancratius Veltbeck, Nicholas Amstdorf, Nicholas Galus, Martin Copus, Ebeling Almannus, Ambrose Hidfild, David Cicelerus, Jasper Leunculus, William Radentis, Nicholas Beumuller, Bernard Niger, Peter Schrader, and Conrad Agrius have also had a share in that work. So that Monsieur Varillas names three persons who are not in that list of Monsieur Sagittarius, and he supposes falsely that we know the names of only eight centuriators. I have seen indeed in Monsieur Sagittarius the name of John Baptist Heinzelius, and that of Jaspas Nidpruck, Counsellor to the Emperor; but he does not say that these persons were concerned in the centuries, he observes only that they encouraged Marc Wagner, who went from one library to another in order to collect materials (46). This Wagner was very serviceable to the centuriators; he visited the libraries in Germany and Denmark, that of Edinburgh in Scotland, &c. He had a particular talent for that kind of inquiries, and they gave him a very glorious certificate, in which they acknowledged his fidelity, diligence and accuracy (47). That certificate is dated September the 30th 1557; it is declared therein amongst other things, that he had taken several journeys with Illyricus to collect materials (48), and that having given several proofs of his capacity that way, it was thought that he could alone continue his travels; that they had therefore committed it to his care, giving him recommendatory letters, by which all learned and devout persons were desired to communicate to him the manuscripts and ancient records, which could be of any use. Illyricus was one of those that signed this certificate. Monsieur Varillas asserts, that the authors of the other sects, which separated from that of Luther, censured the centuries several ways, and published divers extracts of the errors, which they pretended crept into them. Not one person, that I know of, ever mentioned those extracts; Monsieur Varillas would have been very much puzzled, had he been obliged to prove his assertion. Conrad Brunus, whose invective against the work of the centuriators has been refuted by Illyricus in the year 1556, was a Roman Catholic. Eisengreinius, who also wrote against them, was of the same religion. Let us take notice of some other blunders of Monsieur Varillas. Illyricus, says he (49), engaged the next year 1561 at Weimar in Thuringia, in a public disputation with the famous Victorinus Spingel. He is mistaken both with regard to the time when this disputation was held (50), and with regard to the name of Illyricus's antagonist (51). The Catholics observed that in less than fifty years there sprang up more heresies from that of Luther, than there had been since Jesus Christ even to Luther (52). This hyperbole, which he transcribed from Spondanus, but not without making it something less, is the most silly thing in the world. Et videas hinc etiam quam secundus fuerit Lutherus qui plures protulerit pestiferarum hæresum auctores, quam ab orbis ortu fuerint ante in universo mundo (53). i. e. It appears also from thence how fruitful Luther was, who has produced more authors of pestiferous heresies, than there had been before in the whole world since the creation." You will find in Moreri, that the number of the chief heretics, who appeared in the world, from the first century of Christianity, to the time of Luther, amounts to 183: and it is hardly possible to find above ten or twelve schisms during the first fifty years of Lutheranism. Let us continue to hear Mr. Varillas (54). "It was probable with a design to escape for a time the persecution which Flacius expected from his friends, on account of the passion he had shewed at Weymar, that he disguised himself, and went incognito to visit all the libraries of the Monasteries in Germany. He made bold to steal all the scarce books he could conveniently

(36) See Sagittarius, *Introd. ad Hist. Eccl.* pag. 256 and 266.

(37) *Ibid.* pag. 260, &c.

(38) In the year 1562, if I am not mistaken.

(39) Sagittarius, *Introd. ad Hist. Eccl.* pag. 269.

(40) *Ibid.* pag. 245.

(41) Mr. Hill, Minister of the English Church at Rotterdam, who has a fine Library, and an admirable knowledge of books, has assured me that the first Centuries were printed that year.

(42) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Herésie*, liv. 24. pag. m. 229. under the year 1561.

(43) *Ibid.*

(44) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1560, num. 52. p. 602. calls him *Jean-nem Baptissem Henclium*.

(45) Sagit. *Introd. ad Hist. Eccl.* pag. 247, 248, 249.

(46) *Ibid.* pag. 252, 253. Observe that Melchior Adam, in *Vit. Theol.* pag. 474. asserts, that Jaspas Nidpruck and John Baptist Heinzelius assisted Flacius and his fellow-labourers.

(47) *Ibid.* pag. 253, 254.

(48) *Cum D. Illyrico aliquot monasteria perlustrasse, & cum ipso nulla alia de causa peregrinatum fuisset, quam ut pium hunc comatum pro sua tenuitate juvaret.* *Ibid.* pag. 254.

(49) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Herésie*, lib. 24. pag. 231, 232.

(50) See the remarks [C].

(51) His name was Strigelius, and not Spingel.

(52) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Herésie*, lib. 24. pag. 232, 233.

(53) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1560, num. 32. pag. 602.

(54) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Herésie*, liv. 24. pag. 233.

one cannot conceive how a man of wit can be guilty of so many mistakes. Let us not forget to observe, that Illyricus's *Clavis Sacrae Scripturae*, i. e. "A Key to the holy Scripture," is one of his best works. See what Monsieur Simon says of it in his

Critical

(*) In the *Life of Flacius*, take (*), and made extracts of the others. The

author of his life relates that he did it out of emulation, and to compose, after Trithemius's example, a collection of all those that had wrote books: but this will not seem probable to those who will compare these two books together, since they are quite different. Trithemius's work is, properly speaking, a catalogue of the Ecclesiastical writers, and of the books they have composed; and Flacius's is a collection of passages which seem to be contrary to the Roman Catholic Religion, and favourable to rigid Lutheranism. There are a great many errors in these words. For in the first place, Illyricus visited the libraries before the year 1560; he did it with a design to collect materials for his *Catalogus testium veritatis*. Melchior Adam, the only voucher quoted by Spondanus and by Monsieur Varillas, declares it positively. Now that *Catalogue* was printed in the year 1556 (55); therefore, &c. In the second place, it is false that Melchior Adam asserts that Illyricus undertook such a work out of emulation, and to compose after Trithemius's example a collection of those that had wrote books. If Melchior Adam had said this, he would have been very much mistaken; and consequently Spondanus (56) would assert a thing, which upon the whole is false. See in the remark [E] how the reading of Trithemius's work gave rise to Illyricus's design. In the third place, what Varillas says of Trithemius's work, and of that of Illyricus shews plainly that he knew nothing of either: for Trithemius does not confine himself to the Ecclesiastical writers, nor does the other confine himself to those passages, which seem to be favourable to the strictest Lutheranism. Monsieur Varillas supposes, that the envy which Illyricus had conceived against the book of William Eisen-grem (†) a Roman Catholic Divine, intituled *The Catalogue of those, who bore witness to the Truth, determined him to undertake a work of the same kind in favour of his sect* (57); the contrary of this is true, as you have seen above (58). Lastly, Monsieur Varillas charges him with having published his book without putting his name to it, either because he would not expose himself again to the resentment of the other sects, which he foresaw would not like his work, or because he supposed that the world would know well enough that he was the author of it, though his name was not prefixed to it (59).

(55) See Joh. Albertus Faber, in *Decade Decadum*, num. 96.

(56) *Nec vero tam illud emulatione Trithemii suum concinnasse putamus, quam &c.* Spondan. ad ann. 1560, pag. 602.

(†) Thus he writes that name.

(57) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Heresie*, liv. 24. pag. 233.

(58) In the remark [E].

(59) Varillas, *Hist. de l'Heresie*, liv. 24. pag. 234.

(60) *Ibid.* pag. 230.

I have omitted a particular, for which Monsieur Varillas deserves to be censured. Let us consider it here. It relates to the dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Monsieur Varillas asserts (60), that it vexed that Princess more than it did her honour; and that there are but few instances of such strange and unseasonable actions in the history of men of letters, though they be charged with not being always very polite. The centuriators could not but know this notorious fact, namely that Queen Elizabeth was a Calvinist with regard to doctrine, though she were a Lutheran with regard to Church discipline. And yet in that same dedication, by which they endeavoured to obtain that Queen's protection, they inserted a satire against the Calvinists. They charged them with rendering Christ's testament ineffectual, as much as lay in their power, by arguments borrowed from Philosophy; with rejecting the Real Presence, and the Communion of our blessed Saviour's Body and Blood, against his own expressions, which are very plain; with endeavouring to mislead those who read the Gospel, by perplexing with subtle and far-fetched interpretations the natural sense of a great many passages, which are so plain that they need no explication. They proved afterwards unanswerably in the body of that volume, and in the twelve following, that the Church had always believed that Presence; and whoever will take the pains to read them, will observe immediately, that though they who paid them wished that they would write with less accuracy and with more temper upon that subject, that they might not prevent the union between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, which was then again negotiating; yet they had so little condescension for their benefactors, that they handled this subject with

more accuracy and passion than they did any other. These are all glosses forged in the historian's own brains. He added these flourishes of his own invention to an observation which Spondanus made incidentally; and we may be sure he spoke without any voucher, and without having read the dedication he was censuring. There was not the least unpoliteness or imprudence in the conduct of the centuriators. They did not know yet what final resolution the Queen of England would take: they knew only that she laboured to establish a good form of religion. They commended her for it; they congratulated her upon it, and they encouraged her very earnestly to apply herself effectually to root out all the evils which the followers of Antichrist had occasioned. *Ad te igitur nunc, Regina potentissima & serenissima, convertimur. Audimus enim, te post accepta Regia sceptrā, etiam de præcipuo sine ac munere tui officii, societatis ac vitæ totius omnium subditorum tuorum cogitare. Itaque non tantum lætis acclamationibus Regiæ tuæ dignitati gratulamur: sed toto etiam pectore patrem Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI invocamus, ac rogamus, ut... Sed quia non satis est bene cœpisse, hortamur etiam te, illustrissima & potentissima Regina, ut totis viribus in id opus incumbas, ut Religio pura, integra, inviolata in toto regno tuo instauretur, omnibus Antichristi crudelitibus, vulneribus, pestibus ac carcinomatibus recedat, curatis, atque sublatis. Debes enim hunc honorem Deo conditori ac redemptori tuo, debes tibi ipsi, debes subditis tuis* (61). i. e. "We address ourselves therefore unto

you, most powerful and serene Queen: for we hear that after your accession to the Crown, you began immediately to think of the chief end and duty of your station, on which the union and life of all your subjects depends. And therefore we do not only congratulate you with joyful acclamations upon your royal dignity, but we also from our hearts pray and beseech the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, that... But as it is not enough to begin well, we also intreat you, most illustrious and powerful Princess, to apply yourself earnestly, and as much as lies in your power, to establish a sound, pure and uncorrupted religion throughout your whole Kingdom, and to root out all the cruelties, wounds, dangerous evils, and cankers of Antichrist. This you are bound to do in honour to God your Creator and Redeemer; this you owe to yourself, this you owe to your subjects." It was but fit that Divines of the Augsburg Confession should add to this a word of advice concerning the Corporal Presence. They did it after the following manner (62). *Illud verò etiam non prætereundum est, cum jam variae passim grassentur quasi sæditiones opinionum, inter quas aliqui etiam testamentum Domini planè philosophicis rationibus ita evacuant, ut corpus & sanguinem Christi, quod ad præsentiam & communicationem, juxta clarissima, evidentissima, veracissima & potentissima verba ipsius CHRISTI, profus removeant, miraque verborum perplexitate fucum faciant: in primis videndum tibi est, ut & articuli fidei sine pharisaico fermento, & Sacramenta à Christo instituta citra omnem adulterationem instaurentur: id quod te facturam esse, omnes pii sperant, summisque votis à te contendunt.* i. e. "We must not omit to observe, that there are several factions, if we may say so, with regard to opinions, and amongst them some who by arguments that are only Philosophical, do so enervate the Testament of our Lord, that they entirely exclude the Body and Blood of Christ, as to their Presence and Communication from the Sacrament, against the most plain, most clear, most evident and strong expressions of CHRIST himself; and by the wonderful ambiguity of their words they impose upon the readers. You ought therefore to take a particular care that the articles of the Christian Faith be established without any Pharisaical Leaven, and the Sacraments instituted by Christ himself be restored without any corruption. This is what all good men hope you will do, and what they most earnestly entreat you to do."

When Monsieur Varillas supposes that the centuriators could not but know this notorious fact, namely that Queen Elizabeth was a Calvinist with regard to doctrine,

(61) *Epist. Dedicat. Centuriæ quarta Magdab.* pag. 8.

(62) *Ibid.* pag. 9.

(k) *Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament*, chap. 13, pag. 428, &c. of the edition printed at Rotterdam 1685. *Critical History of the Old Testament* (k). See also John Albert Faber in the 96th article of his *Decas Decadum*.

trine, he only shews his own ignorance: he does not consider that they wrote their dedication at a time when they did not yet know upon what footing the reformation would be established in England. Their volume is indeed dated 1560, and Elizabeth's reformation was established in the year 1559. But who is there that does not know it is the Bookseller's custom to put the date of the next year to the books that are printed off towards the end of August? I believe therefore, that this dedication, which has no date to it, was sent to Oporinus, Bookseller at Basl, in the year 1559, before they knew in Germany the Ecclesiastical regulations made in England by Queen Elizabeth; and after all it could not appear at that time that this Princess had declared for Calvin's opinion with regard to the Corporal Presence. Read the following page from Bishop Burnet. "Some of the reformed Divines were appointed to review King Edward's liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was

"fit to change it. The only considerable variation was made about the Lord's Supper... It was proposed to have the Communion Book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the Corporal Presence. For the chief design of the Queen's Council was to unite the nation in one faith, and the greatest part of the nation continued to believe such a presence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it, that so it might be as a speculative opinion, not determined, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind. Hereupon the rubric that explained the reason for kneeling at the Sacrament, that thereby no adoration is intended to any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, because that is only in Heaven, which had been in King Edward's liturgy, was now left out, &c. (63)." (63) Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation of England*, vol. 2. B. 3. under the year 1559, pag. 393. See also pag. 405.

INCHOFER (MELCHIOR) a German Jesuit, born at Vienna in the year 1584, entered into the Society of the Jesuits at Rome in the year 1607. He had already distinguished himself by his knowledge of the Law. He taught a great while Philosophy, Mathematics and Divinity at Messina, and in the year 1630 he published there a book, which brought him into some trouble [A]. He was obliged to go to Rome to answer the complaints that had been made against him before the Congregation of the Index. The Judges were very well satisfied with the reasons he pleaded in his defence, and ordered him only to alter the title of his book, and to explain some things in it more at large, which he did accordingly in a second edition. He continued several years at Rome, and died at last at Milan, September the 28th 1648 (a). Besides the works of his that are extant [B], and by which it appears that he was very learned, he was preparing others for the press (b), which would have shewed how extensive his learning was, had not death prevented him from compleating them. He is thought to be the author

(a) Taken from Nath. Southwell, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 608.

(b) See the titles of them, in Nathaniel Southwell, *ibid.*

[A] He published a book, which brought him into some trouble.] Here follows the title of it. *Epistola B. Mariae Virginis ad Messanenses Veritas vindicata*, i. e. "The Blessed Virgin Mary's Letter to the people of Messina, proved to be genuine," in Folio. The Congregation of the Index having heard Father Inchofer's arguments, gave him leave to reprint that work with this title, *Conjectatio ad Epistolam beatissimae Mariae Virginis ad Messanenses*. i. e. "A Conjecture concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary's Letter to the people of Messina." This second edition was published at Viterbo in the year 1633. He got leave to strike out and add to it what he pleased. *S. Congregatio non solum permisit eidem dictum opus de novo edere, mutato tamen iustis de causis titulo in hunc modum, Conjectatio, &c. & quibusdam magis explicatis sed etiam demendi & addendi si quae viderentur, liberam & amplam facultatem permisit* (1). This gives us to understand, that provided one does not affirm too positively, that the Virgin Mary wrote to the inhabitants of Messina the letter which passes under her name, it is not unlawful to believe it, and to make others believe it also. A German writer (2) observes, that Baronius and Theophilus Raynaud are not of Inchofer's opinion with regard to that letter. I will not contradict what he asserts of Baronius; for though this Annalist does not mention particularly the pretended letter to the Messinians, yet he declares in the general, that all the letters, which it is pretended the Blessed Virgin wrote to some cities, must be looked upon as apocryphal. *Traduntur & aliae ab ipsa ad alias scriptae civitates, quas cunctas, cum careant Ecclesiae auctoritate, non nisi in apocryphorum classem rejiciendas esse omnes facile judicabunt* (3). i. e. "There are some other letters handed about written by her to other cities; but as they are not supported by the authority of the church, every one will easily judge, that they must be placed amongst the apocryphal pieces." But as for Theophilus Raynaud, he ought not to be quoted on this occasion, since he only mentions the letter, which it is pretended the Blessed Virgin wrote to St. Ignatius, and that Saint's pretended answer (4). The German author is not more happy, when he quotes Rivetus (5), who without mentioning in the least the letter to the Messinians, does only explode

what has been reported concerning the epistolary correspondence between the Blessed Virgin and St. Ignatius.

[B] The works of his that are extant.] I shall not repeat here what relates to his volume concerning the Virgin Mary's pretended letter to the Messinians. His other works are, *Traclatus Syllepticus, in quo quid de terra solisque motu vel statione secundum sacram Scripturam & SS. Patres sentiendum, quae certitudine alterutra sententia tenenda sit, ostenditur*. i. e. "A Treatise, in which is shewed what we ought to believe concerning the motion or rest of the Earth and the Sun, according to the holy Scriptures, and the Fathers, and with that certainty we must hold either opinion." Printed at Rome in the year 1633, in 4to. *De sacra Latinitate, hoc est, de variis Linguae Latinae mysteriis, ex origine, progressu, fine, caeteraque instituti sui ratione ad Evangelii praedicationem, Latinae Ecclesiae exaltationem, Romanae Imperii majestatem spectantibus*. i. e. "Of the sacred Latin tongue; that is to say, of the several mysteries of the Latin tongue, from its rise, progress, design, and other reasons of its being used, relating to the preaching of the Gospel, to the exaltation of the Latin Church, and to the Majesty of the Roman Empire." Printed at Messina, in the year 1635, in 4to; and at Munich in the year 1638, in 8vo. *Historia trium Magorum*. i. e. "The History of the three Wise Men." Printed at Rome in the year 1639. *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hungariae Tomus I.* i. e. "The first Volume of the Annals of the Church of the Kingdom of Hungary;" at Rome in 1644, folio. The Funeral Oration on the death of Nicholas Ricardi, a Dominican, and Master of the Sacred Palace. He published some other books, to which he did not put his name. *Alia quaedam ipsius prodierunt sub alienis nominibus R. P. E. L. &c. & sub nomine Academici Vertumnii, adjectum praedictionibus Joannis Baptistae Cortesii Poema in laudem Medicinae & contra malos Medicos*. i. e. "He had published some other works under fictitious names, and there is a Poem of his in praise of Physic, and against bad Physicians, under the name of Vertumnus Academicus: it is added to John Baptist Cortesius's Lectures."

(1) Nath. Sotuel, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 608.

(2) Placidus, de Pseudonymis Jo. Rhodii, num. 59. pag. 44.

(3) Baron, ad ann. 48. num. 25.

(4) Theophil. Raynaudus, de malis & bonis Libris, num. 235. pag. m. 148.

(5) In Critico Sacro, lib. 2. cap. 1.

(6) Sotuel, *Biblioth. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 608.

thor of a Libel against the Jesuits, intitled, *Monarchia Solipforum* [C]. He was not well pleased with them (c).

(c) This appears from the following words of the Preface. *Illud constat, nisi inter Solipfos rubiginasset, & copia & splendore inter summates literarum viros fuisse radiaturum.* i. e. "It is certain that he would have gained a very great reputation amongst the most eminent men of Letters, had he not been forced to rust away amongst the Solipfi, that is to say, those men who live only for themselves."

[C] He is thought to be the author of a libel against the Jesuits, intitled *Monarchia Solipforum*.] The author of that libel (†) calls himself *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*. It was printed in Holland in the year 1648, *juxta exemplar Venetum*, according to the copy printed at Venice, as it is said in the title-page; they added to it a key to explain the fictitious names mentioned therein. This work is ascribed to Melchior Inchofer in the edition published at Venice in the year 1652 (7). Christopher Pellerus, who relates this conjecture, adds also, that this German Jesuit went to Rome after he had wrote that book, and never returned from thence. *Monarchia Solipforum quam perhibent scripsisse quempiam patrem ex Societate N. Inchoferum Germanum, postea Romam profectum nunquam reversum* (8). i. e. "The Monarchy of the Solipfi,

"which is said to be written by a Father Jesuit, "named N. Inchofer, a German, who went aserwards to Rome, whence he never returned." He is mistaken with regard to this journey to Rome; for it was a great while after Inchofer had left Germany, that he wrote that satyr: he wrote it only after he had bore great discontents in the order, the habit of which he took at Rome at the age of twenty three years. The passage I have quoted from Pellerus made

Konig (9) give us two authors out of one. He mentions *Melchior Inchofer*, and *Nicholas Inchofer*: To the former he ascribes part of what Alegambe relates, and to the latter the Monarchy of the Solipfi. He quotes Christopher Pellerus, but he makes him say more than he should, namely, that this piece was composed in the year 1648. Pellerus does not say this. If Konig had remembered, that when we do not know a person's Christian name, we use to put an N. instead of it, he would not have invented, on Pellerus's authority, a pretended *Nicholas Inchofer*. He observes that others ascribe that work to Scioppius. It is certain that Otto Tabor, a German Civilian, imagined that Scioppius might be the author of it; but he did not assert it positively. *Lucius Cornelius Europæus*, says he (10), *sive is sit Gaspar Scioppius, sive quis alius ex genere Scriptorum satyricorum, in Monarchia quam dicit Solipforum Leoni Allatio dedicata, &c.* i. e. "Lucius Cornelius Europæus, whether he be Jasper Scioppius, "or any other of the satyrical writers, in the Mo-

narchy of the Solipfi, as he calls it, dedicated to "Leo Allatius, &c." Decker (11), without exploding Pellerus's conjecture (12), or that of Tabor, offers us another, which is intirely groundless. He imagines that one *Gabriel Bariacus Lermæus*, a Gentleman of Languedoc, might be the author of that Monarchy of the Solipfi. We shall now quote two passages from Monsieur Arnauld, one of which will remove our doubts, and the other will acquaint us with Inchofer's design, and with the true meaning of the word *Solipfi*. One would think, says Monsieur Arnauld (13), *that the Monarchia Solipforum was written by Scioppius, because we find it printed in Germany with some books, which were undoubtedly composed by that author. And yet it is certain that this Monarchy of the Solipfi is the work of a German Jesuit, named Melchior Inchofer. We know where the original of a letter, written by a Spanish Jesuit, who acknowledges this, and complains bitterly of it, is lodged. The other passage is as follows (14). It is well known, says Monsieur Arnauld to the Jesuits, that it is your character to be eager in doing good, provided you do it ALONE, and no man has a share in the glory of it but yourselves. And if you will be sincere, you must confess, that one of your Fathers, who wrote a book intitled Monarchia Solipforum, was very well acquainted with your character.* See Gisbert Voetius's Theses (15).

There was a pretended Letter from Pope Innocent the XIIIth to the Emperor, dispersed abroad in the year 1696; the Pope in that letter calls the Society of the Jesuits *Monarchiam Monopantorum*: upon which Father Papebroch made the following reflection. *Forstian quasi ueros uerba soli omnia velint esse & estimari Jesuitæ, scilicet alludendo ad uetus scomma satyrici cuiusdam commenti quo scripsit anonymus aliquis Monarchiam Solipforum, ueluti innuere uolens quod Societas soli sibi arrogare nitatur omnia* (16). i. e. "Perhaps from the Greek words *ueros uerba* (alone all), as though "the Jesuits pretended that they alone were sufficient "for every thing, and must be esteemed such; for "this is an allusion to a satyrical invention of an "anonymous writer, who published the *Monarchy of "the Solipfi*, as though he would hint thereby, that "the Society of the Jesuits endeavoured to arrogate "every thing to themselves alone."

INNOCENT VIII, elected Pope in the year 1484, was of Genoa, and his name was John Baptist Cibo. Authors differ with regard to the nobility or meanness of this extraction [A]. But it is agreed that he was sent to the Court of Naples in his youth, and that he waited on King Alphonsus. He went afterwards to Rome, and was one of the Cardinal of Bologna's servants; and this, I think, was the occasion of his being promoted to the Bishopric of Savona (a). Pope Sixtus IV, who had a great friendship for him, gave him the Bishopric of Melfi, and afterwards a Cardinal's Cap. One of the first actions, which Innocent VIII did after he was raised to the Papal dignity, was his entering into a conspiracy against Ferdinand King of Naples with the Barons of that Kingdom. He sent for Robert Sanseverini to Rome, and conferred upon him the command of the army in the expedition against that Prince; but as he had no reasons to be well

[A] Authors differ with regard to the nobility or meanness of his extraction.] We shall see hereunder (1), that he had been a poor boy according to Volaterranus. Onuphrius Panvini asserts the same in one of his books (2), and supposes that he was born of a mean family, and that his father was a Physician. But he speaks quite otherwise in another work (3); for he expatiates there upon the ancientness and nobility of the house of Cibo, he makes Innocent VIII to be the son of Aaron Cibo, a Nobleman of Geneva, illustrious for his military actions, Governor of Naples under the Kings Rhenus, and Alfonso, and famous for the office of a Roman Senator, the functions of which he had gloriously performed (4). It is supposed (5), that Panvini corrected his former account upon reading the Funeral Oration on the death of Pope Innocent VIII, delivered by Leonelli, Bishop of Concordia, who was sure to speak of Aaron Cibo's noble extraction and

employments. It is a little surprizing, that so learned an Historian as Panvini was, who was also a Monk, and lived soon after this Pope, should have been unacquainted with the merit and great employments of Innocent VIII's father, and should have known him rather as a Physician and Commoner, than in the glorious character of a Nobleman of Genoa, a Governor of Naples, and a Roman Senator. Several persons will imagine, that when Panvini retracted his former assertions, he conformed not so much to the exact truth, as to the notions of the Preacher who made Innocent's Funeral Oration, a kind of discourse which admits of flattery without measure. Let the reader judge of this what he pleases; but I would advise him to remember, that exaggerations are often made use of to disgrace the former condition of those, who rise to the highest posts (6).

(†) It was translated into French and printed at Amsterdam in 12mo. The Translator added some remarks, and several other pieces to it. The Preface contains a great many particulars concerning that work and its author. *Addit. to the Amst. edit.*

(7) Vide Placcium, in *Rhodianis*, num. 59. pag. 43.

(8) Christoph. Pellerus, in *Politico scelerato impugnatione*, pag. 9. edit. 1665.

(9) *Biblioth. vet. & nova*, p. 417.

(10) Otto Tabor, in *Prefat. ad Disputationes de confrontatione, apud Placcium in Rhodianis*, pag. 43.

(a) You will find in Moreri, that Paul II gave him that Bishopric.

(1) In the remark [E].

(2) In *Commentario de Pontificibus & Cardinalibus*.

(3) In *Vita Innocentii VIII*.

(4) See *Spondanus, Annal. Eccl. ad ann. 1484*, num. 5. pag. m. 180.

(5) *Ibid.*

(11) *De Scriptis Adsporis*, pag. 93. edit. 1686.

(12) There is Pecker, in the edition of Decker printed in 1686.

(13) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 3. pag. 686.

(14) *Ibid.* pag. 86.

(15) Vol. 3. pag. 685, 686.

(16) Papebroch. *Elucid. Hist. Act. in Controversia Carmelitica*, cap. 10. pag. 138.

(6) See the remark [A] of the article TOUCHET.

well pleased with this General's conduct, he turned him out of his place, and made a treaty of peace with Ferdinand. The terms of this treaty were, that the King of Naples would pardon the rebels, and pay to the holy See the tribute which he owed; but he performed neither of these conditions, and rendered ineffectual all the measures which the Pope took, to get satisfaction for this infringement [B]. After this Innocent VIII would not engage any more in a war, and applied himself intirely to make the city of Rome reap the benefits of peace [C]. He took care to have provisions plentiful and cheap in that city, and caused all robbers to be punished severely. He created new offices, the sale of which brought him in large sums of money; he was the first Pope who ever boasted of his bastards, and who loaded them with riches [D]. He was a handsome man,

[B] Ferdinand . . . rendered ineffectual all the measures which the Pope took to get satisfaction for this infringement.] The author from whom I borrow this article, does not tell us, that Innocent VIII excommunicated King Ferdinand; he observes only the Pope's Deputies returned home without succeeding in their commission. *Quorum neutrum Ferdinandus quum postea minimè præstaret, missus Petrus Vincentinus camera auditor audacissimus, una simul cum Jacobo Volaterrano Secretario Apostolico ac cubiculario viro prudente ad res re-* (7) Volaterranus, *petendas re infecta revertit* (7). i. e. "As Ferdinand lib. 22. pag. 821. performed neither of the conditions, Peter Vincentius, Auditor of the chamber, a very haughty man, being sent with James Volaterranus, Apoitto- lical Secretary, and Chamberlain to the Pope, a prudent man, to demand satisfaction, returned home without obtaining any thing." To supply Volaterranus's omissions, I shall transcribe here Coeffeteau's words. "As Ferdinand had not performed the conditions of the treaty he had made with him (the Pope) he sent to ask him the tribute which he owed to the church; but Ferdinand did not give his Embassadors much satisfaction, upon which the Pope thundered out a sentence of excommunication against him, deprived him of his Kingdom, and declared Charles King of France lawful heir of it, in right of King Renuus of Sicily, and of his brother the Count of Maine (8)."

[C] He would not engage any more in war, and applied himself intirely to make the city of Rome reap the benefits of the peace.] You will see here how difficult it is for a Pope to acquit himself of his functions to the satisfaction of mankind. For if the Popes are blamed, when they pretend to meddle with the political affairs of Europe, they are also blamed when they do not meddle with them, in which case it is asserted, that they are of no use to the public good. Guicciardini has given us this notion of Innocent VIII. He adds indeed an observation to it, which softens his censure; for he observes, that the idleness, in which the Pope indulged himself, was attended with this good effect; namely, that nothing was apprehended from him that could disturb the tranquillity of Italy. You will see this fact related with a parenthesis of a Protestant Divine. "Guicciardini gives us the following character of Innocent VIII. His life, which otherwise was of no use to the public (a noble qualification in a Pope), was however attended with this advantage, that having on a sudden laid down his arms, which he had unluckily taken up in the beginning of his Pontificate, against Ferdinand, at the instigation of several Barons of the Kingdom of Naples, he indulged himself afterwards only in IDLE PLEASURES; so that he had not the least thought nor design, neither for his own, nor for his relation's advantage, that could in the least disturb the tranquillity of Italy (9)." They, who will take notice of the parenthesis, will easily understand, that if I choose rather to quote Rivet's words, than Guicciardini's original, it is because they are a proof of my assertion. Would to God that men committed no other faults but such as promote the public tranquillity!

[D] He was the first Pope that boasted of his bastards, and who loaded them with riches.] Volaterranus speaks of it thus: *Pontificum etiam primus qui novum & ipse exemplum introduceret palam liberos nobis jactandi, ac soluta omni antiqua disciplina divitiis eos omnibus cumulandi* (10). i. e. "He was also the first Pope who gave a new example of boasting publickly of his bastard children, and loading them with all sorts of riches, having entirely relaxed the ancient disci-

pline." He mentions only one son and one daughter of this Pope; and he observes, that the former obtained from his father some cities in the neighbourhood of Rome, with the advantage of being son-in-law to Laurence of Medicis; and that he married his daughter (11) to a Genoese, and gave her a very great portion (12). Moreri has blundered here: he asserts, that Innocent VIII left two sons behind him very rich, whom he had got before he was raised to the Papal See. This is a mistake both with regard to the sex and to the number of these bastards; there were sixteen of them, eight sons and eight daughters, upon which this epigram was made:

*Quid queris testes, sit mas an femina Cibo,
Respice natorum, pignora certa, gregem;
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas.
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.*

"Why would you inquire for witnesses, to know whether Cibo is a man, or a woman? Do but look upon the number of his children; they are a certain proof of what he is: he has wickedly begotten eight boys, and as many girls; so that Rome may justly call him father."

According to Monsieur du Pleffis (13), these four verses are an epitaph, which Marcellus composed for Innocent VIII; but I do not meet with them in my edition (14) of that Poet's works; nor do I think that they were omitted out of regard to the Court of Rome; for they have left the following verses in it.

*Epitaph. Innocentii Octavi.
Spurcities, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia deses
Hoc Octave jacent quo tegeris tumulo* (15).

"The Epitaph of Innocent the Eighth. Villainy, gluttony, covetousness, and slothful laziness lie here in this tomb, Innocent, in which you are buried."

We also meet there with the following epigram.

*De Xysto & hæred.
Exhausti Xystus bellis & cædibus urbem;
Tercentena hæres restituit sobole* (16).

"On Pope Sixtus and his successor. Sixtus has drained the City of men by wars and murders: his successor has peopled it again with three hundred children of his own."

Mr. du Pleffis asserts, that the former of these two distichs is the conclusion of the epitaph, or four lines, which I have transcribed in the first place. I do not know whether or not he made use of an edition different from mine, or whether he followed some inaccurate transcriber; but I am certain that the author of the *Well-grounded prepossessions against Popery* asserted without any examination (17), that the character of Pope Innocent VIII was expressed after his death in six Latin verses, which he transcribes. They are an epigram, the last distich of which is the epitaph, which is really to be met with amongst Marullus's Poems. The two first distichs are those four lines which are not in my edition, neither before the epitaph nor in any other place. Mr. Zuinger (18) Professor at Basil, supposes that these six lines are two of Marullus's Epigrams; however he has shewed more good sense than the author of the *Prepossessions*; he has not joined

(7) Volaterranus, lib. 22. pag. 821.

(8) Coeffeteau, Réponse au Mistré d'Iniquité, pag. 1209.

(9) Rivet, Remarques sur la Réponse au Mistré d'Iniquité, Part 2. pag. 626, 627. What he quotes from Guicciardini is towards the beginning of the 1st book.

(10) Volaterranus, lib. 22. pag. 822.

(11) Her name was Theodorina.
(12) Gerardo whom he had got before he was raised to the Papal See. Usumari Genensium nuptiam opibus pet quam magnis ornavit. Volaterranus, lib. 22. pag. 821.

(13) Du Pleffis Mornai Mythes d'Iniquité, pag. 559.

(14) Printed at Spire in the year 1595.

(15) Marcell. Epigram. lib. 4. pag. m. 84.

(16) Idem, lib. 3. pag. 60.

(17) Jurieu, Pré-jugem Legitimes, Part 1. pag. 247.

(18) Jo. Zuinger, de Fæsto Corporis Christi, pag. 135.

man, polite to an excess, but covetous, ignorant, and of an indifferent genius [E]. He died in July 1492, at the age of sixty. He had received a considerable present from the Sultan, namely the head of the spear, with which our Lord's side had been pierced [F]. It

together what ought to be separated. As for the following epigram of Sannazar,

*Innocuo prius æquum est debere Quirites,
Progenie exhaustam restituit patriam,*

"The antient Romans are justly obligated to Innocent, since he has peopled again with his own children their country, which was drained of men."

Mr. Zuinger, I say, is in the right to quote this epigram as Sannazar's, for it is really to be met amongst his Poems (19). Coeffeteau was in a great perplexity when he came to answer that part of Monsieur du Pleffis's book, which relates to Pope Innocent's bastards. Let us transcribe Coeffeteau's words. "Du Pleffis, not being able to asperse Innocent with regard to his lawful marriage (for he had been married before he was chosen Pope) quotes an obscure writer, who asserts that this Pope was the first that took a pride in having bastards. And to confirm this assertion, he transcribes an epitaph written by Marullus, who yet speaks there only of the children which Innocent had got in lawful marriage. Now none of these authors are worthy to be credited, and they all deserve to be severely punished for the licentiousness with which they wrote, having taken liberty thus to asperse with their calumnies the supreme head of the church. And indeed the good Historians do not accuse Innocent VIII of any of those wickednesses, which the obscene Poet Marullus charges him with. However we are willing to let him enjoy the privileges of his profession (20)."

The absurdity of this answer of Coeffeteau, will plainly appear by Rivet's reply. "This Pope's pleasures, says he, had not always been idle, for he got a great many children. If it had been in lawful marriage, before he was a Priest, he could not have been blamed for it. And if Coeffeteau had quoted credible authors to prove this assertion, he would have vindicated the Pope's memory to some purpose. But I do not meet with any author who asserted that this Pope had been married. And as for the writer who observes, that he was the first Pope who gave a new example of boasting publicly of his bastard children, he is no obscure writer, as my adversary would make us believe, but that Volaterranus, whom not long ago he called a great man, and an orthodox writer . . . Coeffeteau could not but know this author, but he dissembled it, and fell only upon the poor Poet Marullus, as though he had been the inventor of that story, and he calls him an obscene Poet. But let him consult his Possévinus, who will tell him that this Marullus (*) lived in the Church of Rome with the reputation of a pious man, and his works have often been printed at Antwerp, at Cologne, and elsewhere (21)." I observe that there is a sin of commission, and not of omission, in these words of Rivet. The latter is his not censuring Coeffeteau's audaciousness, with regard to Marullus's verses (22): He asserts that this Poet speaks only of the children which Innocent had got in a lawful marriage. But in this case, what can be the sense of the word *nocens* (criminal), which we read in the third line? Does it not signify that he became a father in a criminal manner? The sin of commission consists in his pretending that Marullus of Spalato, whom Possévinus commended, is the same Marullus, whose poems are so well known. They are two different persons.

[E] He was a handsome man, polite to an excess; but covetous, ignorant, of an indifferent genius.] Let us quote a Roman Catholic author, for a Protestant might be excepted against. *Fuit Innocentius corpore excelso, ac candido, decoroque: ingenio tardo, ac literis procal* (23). i. e. "Innocent was tall, fair and handsome, but of a slow genius, and had no inclination for literature." He had said a little before (24): *Pauper olim puer, forma tamen præstanti inter Alfonso regis Siciliae ministros (25) inde Romam veniens in contubernio Philippi Cardinalis Bononiensis fuit . . . Quum Xysto plurimum dilectus esset ob dulces mores & humanitatem*

qua omnes usque ad vitium superavit. Nam & infirmæ conditionis homines sæpe exosculabatur, amplectebaturque. Verum quum omnibus blandus esset, nemini tamen benignus, innatamque avaritiam jocos atque disteriis transigebat. i. e. "Formerly when he was a poor boy but very handsome, he was one of the under-servants of Alfonso King of Sicily. He went afterwards to Rome, and lived in the family of Philip Cardinal of Bologna . . . Pope Sixtus had a great friendship for him on account of his sweet temper, and politeness, in which he excelled all others, even to an excess. For he would often kiss and embrace even persons of the meanest condition. But though he was civil to all, yet he was kind to none, and his jokes and jests he disguised that covetousness, which was born with him." Monsieur du Pleffis Mornai imagined, that Volaterranus hinted there by modest expressions the infamy of Innocent VIII's private life (26). Upon which Coeffeteau fell into a passion. "It is a strange thing, says he (27), that he would reckon his natural beauty as a crime, and suspect him from thence of that sin, which was punished with fire from heaven; which against all the rules of charity, and even against all the rules of that civil behaviour we owe to each other, he would confirm by this Prelate's great affability, which made him embrace even persons of the meanest condition. Reader, must not a man's mind be extremely corrupted by heresy, to pass so odious a judgment on a Pope, who was commendable for his singular innocence?"

[F] He had received from the Sultan . . . the head of the spear, with which our Lord's side had been pierced.] Bajazet II dreading his brother, even after he had obliged him to retire to Rhodes, tried all possible means to persuade the Grand Master, Peter d'Aubusson, to deliver him up to him, or at least to prevent him from having any correspondence with the Turks. The Grand-Master engaged himself upon very advantageous terms to have him well guarded. The articles of this agreement were signed December 8, 1482 (28). He suffered him to go into France some time after, and consented at last that Innocent VIII should have him in his power, and receive the money which Bajazet paid (29). He obtained a Cardinal's cap as a reward for it, and took the precaution to shelter himself under the authority of the King of France; for it was the French Court that delivered the Turkish Prince into the hands of the Pope's Embassadors in the year 1488 (30). Bajazet had made the King of France very considerable offers, "only to prevail upon him to keep the young Prince in his own Kingdom in safe custody, so that it might not be in his power to make his escape, to return into his own country, and begin a new war there. These offers were, that he would give him all the relics of God our Creator, of the Apostles, of the male and female Saints, which his late father Mahomet had met with at Constantinople, when he took that city, and in all the other cities which he had conquered from the Christians; he repeated the same offers, which he had already made to the Grand-Master of Rhodes, namely, that he would do his best endeavours to conquer the Holy Land, and to deliver it up to the King; he offered him also a very considerable pension for his maintenance (31)." Bajazet's Letter came too late: it had already been promised to commit his brother to the care and keeping of Innocent VIII. As soon as he was acquainted with this, he wrote to the Pope, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by presents, and particularly by offering him the head of the spear, which had pierced the side of our Lord, which he had already offered to the Grand-Master, and he assured him, that he would punctually pay him 40000 ducats yearly, on condition that he would not let him go away for whatsoever pretence it might be (32). Volaterranus mentions this; it is proper to transcribe the whole passage: the reader will meet with other particulars in it, he will see, that Innocent VIII was buried near the shrine in which was contained the head of the spear found at Antioch at the time of the crusades (33).

Sepultus

(19) It is the 38th of the 1st book, pag. 124. of the edition published at Amsterdam in the year 1689.

(20) Coeffeteau, *Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1209.

(*) Marcus Marullus Spalatinus.

(21) Rivet, *Remarques sur la Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 627.

(22) That is to say the verses which he confessed were written by Marullus.

(23) Volaterranus, lib. 22. pag. 821.

(24) *Ibidem*, *ibid.* pag. 820.

(25) The Sieur de Roccolles, in pag. 123. of his *Vie du Sultan Gemes*, says that he waited on an Officer of Alfonso's Court; and in the next page that he had been a footman in his youth.

(26) Du Pleffis Mornai, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 558.

(27) Coeffeteau, *Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1208.

(28) See Roccolles, *Vie du Sultan Gemes*, p. 91.

(29) Bajazet paid 40000 ducats yearly, besides 35000 for his brother's maintenance. *Ibid.* pag. 92.

(30) *Ibid.* pag. 126.

(31) Roccolles, *Vie du Sultan Gemes*, pag. 127 & 128.

(32) *Ibid.* pag. 142.

(33) See the *Histoire des Croisades*, written by the Jesuit Maimbourg, lib. 2. page 178, &c. of the Dutch edition, under the year 1089.

(b) Taken from Volaterran. lib. 22. pag. m. 820, & seq.

It is reported, that the title which had been put on the cross was found at Rome under his reign (b). See in Father Gretser how the Roman Catholics endeavour to answer the objections that are urged to prove that this title is spurious (c).

(c) Gretser, Exam. Mysterii Plezzani, pag. 549, & ult.

Sepultus in Basilica Petri arco monumento juxta arcam ab eo designatam, in qua ferrum bastæ conditur quod latus dominicum perdidit. Hoc siquidem olim apud eadem sancti Andreae Antiochia repertum, capta jam civitate, Boemundus in prælio corripens, arcem quæ expugnari non poterat illico cepit, simul & hostium x. milia prodigiöse trucidavit. Inde Constantinopolim domo imperatori aduersum. Postremo Turca illi succedens, Innocentio ut eum

“ in St. Andrew’s church at Antioch, and that city “ being taken, Boemundus seized upon this relic during the battle, upon which the fort, which till then “ could not be mastered, was immediately taken, and “ 50000 men were slain by Boemundus. This relic “ was carried thence to Constantinople, the Emperor “ having made a present of it to that city. The Turk “ succeeding him afterwards, sent it as a present to “ Innocent, with a design to draw him over to his “ interest, on account of his brother who was Innocent’s prisoner.” See the article VIGERUS (35).

(94) Volaterran. fratris captivi causa leniret, pro munere miserat (34). lib. 22. pag. 821, i. e. “ He is buried in St. Peter’s church, under a braft “ tomb, near the shrine which he had appointed, and “ in which is contained the head of the spear, which “ pierced our Lord’s side. It had been formerly found

(35) Remark [A].

INNOCENT XI, created Pope September the 21st 1676, was of Como in Lombardy; his name was Benedict Odeschalchi, as you may see in Moreri’s Dictionary, where you will also meet with several other particulars, which for that reason I shall omit here. He bore arms in his youth [A]; and left them afterwards to enter into the Ecclesiastical State. He went to study at Naples, where he commenced Doctor; after which he retired to Rome, under Pope Urban VIII, who appointed him first Apostolic Secretary. He acquitted himself so well of that employment, that he was promoted to that of President of the Apostolic Chamber, and then to that of Apostolic Commissary, and Governor of the *Marca di Roma*. He was made a Cardinal March the 6th 1645, and soon after he was sent Legate to Ferrara, and then promoted to the Bishopric of Novara (a). The French reported that his liberality and court artifices procured him the Cardinal’s Cap, by Donna Olympia’s credit [B]; but they must confess that he appeared to have a great aversion for a voluptuous life. He was a man of strict morals, and had the reputation of a religious man. He favoured the Jansenists much more than his predecessors had done; which made the Jansenists adhere to the cause of the Pope with more zeal than they had done before [C]. He gave offence to an infinite number of persons,

(a) Taken from a piece containing but 16 pages in 4to, and intitled, *La Vie d’Innocent XI, Pape de Rome, écrite par D. G. B. P. à l’Illustre Seigneur le Baron Giovannelli, Coufin de sa Sainteté.*

[A] He bore arms in his youth. Here follows what we read in the pamphlet of sixteen pages (1). “ *Benedict* therefore had a mind in his younger days “ to exert himself in the profession of a soldier, for he “ had a great deal of courage and bravery, though he “ was not very tall; and as if he had foreseen the “ wars in which he was to be engaged in his old age, “ he desired chiefly to improve himself in the knowledge of the art of war, that he might afterwards “ carry it on to an advantage in the church militant.” The reasoning in these words is not much better than the style; but this is out of the question here. Let us only observe, that this author gives us to understand that his *Benedict* bore arms only in Poland. And yet other writers assert (2), that he also bore arms in Flanders under the Spaniards against the French, and that he was wounded there with a musket shot in his right shoulder, of which he continued indisposed all his life-time. I have read in I know not what news-writer, that Innocent XI’s indignation against France was owing to an affront he received from a certain Frenchman in the army, and which Benedict Odeschalchi suffered to go unpunished, but of which he revenged himself on the whole French nation, when he came to be Pope.

“ given her several entertainments, she began to make “ interest for him very zealously, particularly for an “ action which this prelate did, and which deserves to “ be related. As he was gone to pay her a visit, in “ the beginning of the reign of her uncle (6) Pope “ Innocent X, it happened that a Silver-smith came to “ her house to shew her a very rich and beautiful silver “ chest which he had to sell. After she had examined “ it some time she said, in the presence of Odeschalchi and of several Lords, who heard her answer, “ that it was a beautiful piece of plate, but as she “ was a poor widow, she could not go to the price of “ it: having said this she retired into her chamber. “ Odeschalchi called the Silver-smith immediately, “ asked him the price of that piece of plate, and “ agreed with him to buy it for eight thousand crowns, “ after which, without more words, he sent it with a “ compliment to Donna Olympia, who seeing so fine a “ present, wondered at this extraordinary action, and “ went immediately to meet the Pope, and asked him “ the post of Clerk to the Chamber as a present for the “ prelate, and afterwards a Cardinal’s cap, which he “ obtained also by Cardinal Palotta’s intercession.” I transcribe these words according to the copy which has been communicated to me (7). I have the same “ book in Italian; it is intitled *La giusta Statera de’ Porporati*, and was printed at Geneva in the year 1650. I have examined it, and met in it not only with the “ passage you have just now read, but also with some “ other particulars, namely, that our Benedict Odeschalchi had paid his attendance to Don Barberini, in order to be promoted to the post of Clerk of the Chamber, that he had paid him the money that is required, and that nevertheless he could not compass his design; that he was a man of an indifferent understanding (8), and that though he had spent large “ sums of money, yet he was a rich and liberal Cardinal; that when he was but a Bishop, he loved to “ make parties of pleasure, and was very fond of plays, and entertainments, but that he led a very retired life after he was a Cardinal.

(6) It should be her brother-in-law.

(7) By Monsieur Pillardy, whom I have mentioned above, quotation (e) of the article GLEICHEN.

(8) *E soggetto di mediocre intelligenza.*

[B] His liberality and court-artifices procured him the Cardinal’s cap, by Donna Olympia’s credit. See the *Mercurio Galant* (3); you will find there, that our Benedict Odeschalchi, who was the son of a rich Banker of Como, used to game with Donna Olympia, and lost his money designedly out of complaisance to that woman. The mentioning of a Banker calls to my mind the following passage in the *Menagiana* (4). “ Pope “ Innocent XI was a Banker’s son: he was elected “ Pope on St. Matthew’s-day; and that very day “ Palquin said, *Invenerunt hominem sedentem in telonio*. i. e. “ They have met with a man sitting at “ the receipt of custom.”

We meet with the following passage in a small pamphlet printed at Avignon for John Bramereau in the year 1652, which is intitled, *La juste Balance des Cardinaux vivans*. i. e. “ A true Balance of the Cardinals now living.” “ After the death of Urban VIII, “ Odeschalchi began to make his court to Donna Olympia, Innocent X’s niece (5), and after he had

[C] *The Jansenists adhered to the cause of the Popes with more zeal, than they had done before.* This is what Monsieur Talon censures them for in the famous plea he made against Innocent XI, January 23, 1688.

(1) See the title of it in the margin of the text of this article, quotation (a).

(2) *Mercurio Galant*, sur August 1689.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Page 185. of the 1st edition printed in Holland.

(5) It should have been sister-in-law, for this is the sense of the word cognata, which is in the Italian original.

by suppressing an office of the Immaculate Conception, and several Indulgences. None but the Janfenists were pleased with this in France. They dispersed his two decrees, and added some remarks to them [D]. I do not believe that his prohibiting severely to pay any honour to the name and bones of Anthony Cala [E] was generally approved. He shewed an inflexible obstinacy in his contests with France, by which he convinced all the world, that persons who pretend to a strict morality, exceed all others when they design to revenge themselves [F]. It is pretended that a voluptuous Pope, but who at the

(9) Talon, *Play-doyer*, pag. 42. of the Dutch edition.

It is a strange thing, says he (9), that the Pope, whose chief care ought to be to keep our faith uncorrupted, and to prevent the spreading of new opinions, should not have ceased, since he is raised to St. Peter's See, to keep a correspondence with those, who publicly profess themselves to be the followers of Janfenius, whose doctrine all his predecessors have condemned. He has loaded them with favours, he has made their elogies, he has declared himself their protector; and this dangerous faction, which during the space of thirty years has omitted nothing that could lessen the authority of all the spiritual and temporal superiors, who would not favour it, does now raise altars to the Pope, because he supports and encourages its cabal, which would again have disturbed the peace of the church, had not its progress been stopped by the prudence and indefatigable labours of a Prince, sent by Heaven to be the protector and defender of the faith. I do not think that any Janfenist ever undertook to write a vindication of the four propositions agreed upon by the French Clergy in the year 1682, against which the supporters of the Italian doctrines have exclaimed so loudly, and published so many books. If the same thing had happened under Pope Innocent X, or Alexander VII, it is certain that the Janfenists would have composed a thousand volumes to vindicate the decisions of the clergy, and to refute the writings of the Italians. The weakness of man appears in every thing; the rules of our conduct differ according to the times we live in, and as we happen to be well or ill disposed towards some persons. The same doctrines, which we spare out of gratitude towards a benefactor, are censured and exploded out of resentment against an oppressor.

[D]. . . They dispersed two of his decrees, and added some remarks to them.] The one was given at Rome February the 17th 1678, and condemns the book intitled *Officio dell' immacolata concezione della Santissima Vergine nostra Signora, approvato dal sommo Pontefice Paolo V, il quale à chi devotamente lo recitarà concede indulgenza di cento giorni, come apparisce nel suo breve dato in Roma li x. Luglio M DC XV. in Milano per Francesco Vigone.* i. e. "The Office of the Immaculate Conception of the most blessed Virgin our Lady, approved by Pope Paul V, who grants an Indulgence for an hundred days, to those who repeat it with devotion, as appears by his Brief dated from Rome July the 10th, 1615. Printed at Milan, for Francis Vigone." The other decree was given at Rome March the 17th 1678, and abrogates a great many indulgences. The Janfenists took care to have these two decrees secretly printed in France, and added some rules to it, by which the readers might know how useful they were; they are made up of a collection of passages. It will be of some use to transcribe here the reflection of a Jesuit concerning the eager zeal of the Janfenists with regard to these decrees, and concerning the little account they make of the Pope's constitutions against Janfenius. "Some years ago they put into the *Index* at Rome an Italian book printed at Milan, which contains the office of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. The prohibition did not relate to the office of the Conception, which has been a long while known and admitted in the Church, and which has been again approved since by Innocent XI. But this decree related to some other matters which are either false or rash, and which happened to be printed with the same book: and besides the decree was made for Italy only, and not for the rest of the world, where this little book could not certainly be published. And yet this decree was immediately printed and published both in Latin and in French by some persons of that party (the Janfenists) with a rhapsody of passages which were nothing to the purpose, and designed only to make it swell to the

bulk of a considerable pamphlet. It was dispersed, I say, through all France and the Low-Countries with as much care and diligence as though it had been a Canon of some General Council upon a most important doctrine of religion; and it is well known to what an excess some of their Ghostly Fathers carried their inconsiderate zeal. Thus you see how far these Gentlemen know how to submit to the orders of the Church, when they please. Would not this make us think, that as soon as the Pope (10) should prohibit the translation of the New Testament published at Mons, they would no longer dispute it nor recommend it to the world? And had we not reason to expect, that they would do no less with regard to his new decree in favour of the office of the Conception, than they had done for the first, which I have mentioned? But we should have been very much disappointed in our expectations. They act upon other principles with regard to those things, in which they are themselves concerned (11).

[F] He prohibited the paying any honour to the name and bones of Anthony Cala.] This man had been a long time venerated as an holy Hermit in the Kingdom of Naples; but Innocent XI in the year 1680 commanded to suppress all that worship, and ordered to carry Anthony Cala's bones into a common Church-yard, to be there mixed with the other bones, and never to be carried off again. He also ordered to remove his images, clothes and other relics from all consecrated places (12). Father Papebroch quotes this instance to justify the liberty he took to suppress some saints.

[F] When they design to revenge themselves.] The Court of France under Lewis XIV and the Court of Rome under Innocent XI were acted upon by the same spirit of haughtiness and inflexibility, and have thus presented all Europe with a long scene in which they tried which of the two would gain the greatest reputation with regard to such a spirit. They vied with each other who would be most openly revenged. But at least the civil world was obliged to yield to the Church. The Pope shewed that it is not without reason he styles himself the Vicegerent of God upon Earth; of God, I say, who keeps to himself the right of revenge (13), and declares that *to him belongeth vengeance*, and that he will take it. The Pope as Lieutenant of the God of Vengeance, has admirably well asserted the rights and privileges of that noble Lieutenantcy. I do not admit of the thoughts of those satyrical wits, who pretend that in matters of revenge laymen are but unskillful beginners, if compared with Clergymen; but there have been few controversies between the civil world and the Church, in which the Popes have not at last gained the upperhand, and been much beyond the laymen in point of revenge. They are the Vicars and Proxies of God, who has kept vengeance to himself; which is saying all that can be said. If my memory does not fail me, the first step, which exasperated the Court of France, was the protestion which Innocent XI granted to some French Bishops (14) who were persecuted because they would not consent to the extension of the *Regale*. The reason why the Court of France was so angry, was that the briefs of Pope Innocent XI (15) in behalf of these Bishops contained very strong and smart expressions. When they had observed this haughtiness, they resolved to make use of the most effectual means to vex him. The French Clergy delivered (16) their opinions concerning the power of the Church, and drew up four propositions upon this subject, by which the Pope's power is confined within such narrow bounds, as are very odious to the Court of Rome. But after all this was no new doctrine; the Clergy determined nothing but what was agreeable to the maxims of the Church of France, and what the Sorbonne had taught an hundred times over. Men might therefore have imagined that any other Pope would not have taken offence at it, and that

(10) He means Innocent XI, who had condemned the Translation printed at Mons.

(11) Father Le Tellier, *Observations sur la nouvelle Defense de la Version de Mons*, pag. 422.

(12) See Father Papebroch, in *Respons. ad Exhibitionem Errorum* pag. 18, 19.

(13) *Deut. xxxii* 35.

(14) See a Catalogue of several other reasons of discontent which the Court of France had, and which were posterior to this, in the Answer to the Marquis of Lo-wardin's Protest, pag. m. 97, &c.

(15) Directed to the King of France in the year 1678, and in the year 1679.

(16) In the year 1681.

Innocent

the same time had known how to make his own private passions a sacrifice to political views, had been much more useful to the Roman Catholic party [G]. The French are very

Innocent XI would perhaps conceal his grief; but in order to put him under a necessity to confess, that he had received a very great affront, the determinations of the Clergy were proposed, by the King's authority, as a doctrine, which no person whatsoever would be suffered to contradict, and which all they, who designed to take their degrees in Divinity or in the Canon Law, and commence Doctors, would be obliged to hold and maintain. Those propositions were asserted by the Rector of the University of Paris in a public disputation, at which the Archbishop of Paris presided, and in which the disputant was in all his formalities as Rector, that it might appear it was the whole body of the University, represented by the head of it, that asserted these propositions. The Thesis was posted up at the door of the Nuncio's house, in spite of all the opposition he pretended to make against it. The Pope shewed his resentment openly against the Clergy; he made a severe answer to a letter he received from them, and would never grant bulls to those who had been present at the Assembly held in the year 1682. He abrogated all the immunities of the French Ambassador, as well as those of the others, and he would never receive the Marquess de Lavardin who was sent Ambassador to him (27). Hereupon France did a bold action: that Ambassador entered Rome in a manner sword in hand, and having taken possession of his privileged quarters, he caused it to be guarded as though it had been a strong hold (18). The Pope, without shewing any concern, revenged himself in a surprising manner; he shut up St. Lewis's Church, because the Marquiss of Lavardin had been suffered to come into it; he excommunicated that Ambassador, and persisted in his resolution not to acknowledge him as such.

Things were in that pass, when his most Christian Majesty, observing that the continuing of these disputes would be detrimental to him, sent secretly to Rome a person whom he could trust, and to whom he gave a credential letter written in his own hand for his Holiness (19). This person was to acquaint the Pope with the King's most secret intentions. But the Pope would neither receive his letter, nor give him audience. Whereupon the King wrote another letter to Cardinal d'Etrée, which was communicated to the other Cardinals. His Majesty complained therein of the Pope's behaviour, and shewed particularly what prejudice all Europe and the Church might receive from what the Pope had already done against the Cardinal of Furstenberg. To this partiality he ascribed the measures that were taking against King James in favour of the Protestant Religion, &c. This letter being dispersed through the city of Rome was perhaps a new reason, which determined the Pope to support more and more the cause of Prince Clement of Bavaria against the Cardinal of Furstenberg. Now by giving this Cardinal the exclusion he revenged himself fully of all the affronts he might have received: he robbed the French King of the advantage of being the sole arbiter of peace and war, and forced him, whether he would or not, to engage in a war against all Europe. He perceived very soon what were the consequences of this conduct; and though he did not live long after so dreadful a revenge, yet he lived long enough to have the satisfaction of seeing France attacked by so many enemies, that it was a general opinion she must absolutely sink and be undone at the very first campaign. Who will say then that the Church did not get the victory over the civil world in a long trial who should better be revenged? If Alexander the Great had been a Roman Catholic, he had found it a very difficult matter in a struggle with the Pope to make him say the words which he forced from the Priestests of Delphos; *My Son, thou art invincible*. Delphos invisit, Apollinem de eventu belli, quod moliebatur, consulturus. Sed Virgo fatidica negabat, *per eos dies adiri deum fas esse; donec ipse eo profectus, vi conripuit virginem, & ad templum traxit. Sed quum inter eundem illa patrium morem pertinacia regis victum reputans, exclamasset, *invidus es, fili; accipere omen dixit: nec alio oraculo sibi opus esse* (20). "Alexander went to Delphos to consult Apollo about the war which he designed to undertake. But the*

Virgin Prophetess told him it was not lawful to consult the God in those days. Wherefore he went thither himself, took her by force, and dragged her to the temple. As they went along she considered that that King's obstinacy made her break through the custom of their ancestors, and she cried out, *My son, thou art invincible. I accept the omen, said he, nor have I occasion for any other oracle.*"

[G] It is pretended that a voluptuous Pope... had been much more useful to the Roman Catholic Party.] They who do not love this Pope assert that he was sufficiently acquainted with the general condition of Europe to know, that considering the situation affairs were in, when the Cardinal of Furstenberg claimed the Electorate of Cologne, it was in his power to save the King of England, and to furnish France with the necessary means to execute whatever she would think fit to undertake; for with the assistance of such a Cardinal, who would have inherited the whole estate of his predecessor, the French King would have tied up the hands of all the German Princes, who were ill-affected to him. They had experienced this in the year 1684, when France desired a truce. Now it is certain that the victories which France might have gained would have extended the Roman Catholic Religion farther, and strangely weakened the Protestant interest. Why then was the Pope so much against that Cardinal? It is, say some, because he hated the King of France, and chose to sacrifice the interest of the Roman Religion rather than deprive himself of the pleasure he took in vexing his enemy, and renounce the sweets of revenge. The same persons say that he knew very well there was an alliance upon the carpet, of which the Protestants were to have the chief direction, and which might become capable of oppressing the Roman Catholic Religion throughout all Europe: and that the most effectual method that could be imagined to prevent that alliance, was to confer the whole estate of the late Elector of Cologne on a Cardinal, who would never enter into a confederacy with heretical Princes. Why then did Innocent XI oppose this Cardinal's interest so strongly? It is, say they, because he was overjoyed to have an opportunity to expose the French Monarchy to the greatest dangers; and if he could but revenge himself of the Court of France, he was very little concerned for the detriment which Popery might receive. This is what his enemies said; we ought not to lay too much stress upon it; their anger must make us mistrust their conjectures. It is perhaps much more reasonable to think that Innocent XI, applying himself very much to the reformation of manners, and to religious exercises, was not capable either of knowing what was really advantageous to his religion, or of preferring what is profitable to what is honest. Now he imagined it was but just to prefer the Elector of Bavaria's brother before the Cardinal who claimed the Electorate. Some apply to Innocent XI what was said of Hadrian VI. He was an honest man, but unacquainted with the intrigues of politicians (21). It was a great happiness for the Protestants, that the See of Rome in the year 1688 happened to be filled by a Pope, who was either unacquainted with his own true interest, or too obstinate to improve the opportunities he met with, when they chanced to clash with his own private passions.

But after all, who could prove that Innocent XI did not in some respects follow the rules of a wise policy? Has the Court of Rome nothing to dread from the excessive power even of those Princes, who are most bitterly exasperated against the sects that are separated from the Catholic Church? Did not Sixtus V, whose knowledge and skill in politics were so great, choose rather to support Henry IV, and Queen Elizabeth, than to suffer the King of Spain to enlarge his dominions too much (22)? Who can assure us that Innocent XI did not act from the same principles, when he took measures that were so much against the true interest of France, and so profitable to the Protestants? One thing however seems to be very certain; namely, that the anonymous author of a pamphlet (23) intitled, *Le Reproche extravagant, où l'on fait voir qu'on ne peut sans*

(17) In the year 1687.

(18) See Mr. Leti, *Monarchie Universelle*, Part 2. pag. 346, &c.

(19) *Lettre du Roy de France au Cardinal de Etrée*, dated Sept. 6, 1688. It is inserted in Mr. Leti's *Monarchie Universelle*, Part 2. pag. 447, &c.

(20) Freinshem. *Suppl. in 2. Curium*, lib. 1. cap. 11. num. 16. ex Plutarcho.

(21) See the remark [2.] of the article of HADRIAN VI.

(22) See the remark [F] of the article ELIZABETH.

(23) Printed at Cologne for Peter Matteau in the year 1689.

very angry with him, and it is said, that this will be a great help to promote his canonization [H]. He had no learning [I]. He died August the 12th 1689. The French King's letter to the Conclave, though in a few words, signifies much against the deceased Pope's memory [K].

I have met with a passage in the *Valesiana*, which I think deserves to be transcribed here at length [L]. I shall also quote some of Monsieur La Fontaine's verses, which shew

fans folie reprocher au Pape la ruine de la Religion Catholique en Angleterre; i. e. "The Impertinent Charge, "in which it is proved that it is a folly to charge the "Pope with the ruin of the Catholic Religion in "England;" it is certain, I say, that this author is in the wrong to assert that such a charge is impertinent.

[H] *The anger of the French against him . . . will be a great help to promote his canonization.* It is not long since (24) the news-writers in Holland have asserted in the pamphlets, which they publish monthly, that there are a great many miracles performed at this Pope's tomb, which is a great mortification to the court of France; and that the enemies of that Court on purpose to vex it, will probably endeavour to have this Pope canonized. Here then we shall have a Saint made so out of spite. Prudence requires, generally speaking, that we should adhere to the strongest party; but this maxim proves sometimes false. There are some Princes who owe their rise only to the crafty policy with which they declared themselves very early irreconcilable enemies to a powerful state, which had made itself dreadful to all its neighbours; for all those, who dread such a state, willingly promote the interest of this open enemy, and furnish him, as much as lies in their power, with all that he desires. It is not necessary to go back as far as the time of the antient heathens, in order to meet with instances of Princes, who ruined themselves to all intents and purposes, by choosing to enter into an alliance with their most powerful neighbour, rather than with any other state (25). A private man, who from a prosperous condition comes to misfortunes, will no longer see about him that croud of friends which surrounded him before; they all forsake him and leave him alone.

*Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos;
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.* (26).

"In happy days a thousand friends you'll find:
"If fortune turns, they'll turn all with the wind."

Sovereign Princes meet with a quite contrary fate; for if they become too powerful, all their neighbours forsake them, and confederate against them. It is certain that Innocent XI got an infinite number of friends and admirers, only because he endeavoured to disappoint the designs of France as much as lay in his power. This will raise his reputation, and make people believe his pretended miracles the easier.

[I] *He had no learning.* It is said, that his Secretaries were obliged to explain to him in Italian what they wrote for him in Latin. See hereupon the *Ménagiana*, where you will meet with this passage (27). "Favoriti, the late Pope's Secretary, used to read to "him the briefs which he had drawn up, and to explain them to him in Italian, upon which the Pope "used to weep for joy, and to say, *cosa diranno di noi* " *nella posterita, quando vederanno costi bella latinita* " *nostra.* i. e. What will posterity say of us, when "they shall see our fine Latin stile?"

[K] *The French King's letter to the Conclave, though in a few words, signifies much against the deceased Pope's memory.* It begins thus (28): *Your letter dated the 13th Instant has acquainted us with the death of our holy Father Innocent XI, and we have good reasons to believe that it pleased God Almighty to take him at a time when all the forces of heresy united together seem to contrive the ruin of our religion, to which the division of the Catholic Princes does not contribute a little.* This is saying in a few words, which seem to favour of nothing but moderation, that the present circumstances the Church was in requiring a Pope heartily concerned for her interest, God took Innocent XI out of this world, because he was either ill-affected to the Church, or incapable to promote her interest.

[L] *I have met with a passage in the Valesiana, which I think deserves to be transcribed here at length.* "It is pity, said the learned Hadrian Valesius (29), "that Innocent XI suffered himself to be continually "beset by the enemies of France. How many advantages would he not have procured to the Christian "Religion, had he been supported by persons as well "affected as himself? What would he not have "restored? What would he not have reformed? What "great expectations did he not raise in us, when he "suppressed the Office of the Conception, as Clement IX had done that of Slavery? What would he "not have done, had he been told of the impertinent "devotion of that Monk, whom M. . . mentioned "to us the other day? Would he not have severely "censured and condemned those superiors, who suffer "one of their Fanatics to publish Collects or Prayers "directed separately to every part of the Holy Virgin's body (30)? Is not such an impertinence shocking, and repugnant to religion, modesty, and good "sense. Innocent XI would not have stooped there; "he would have restrained the luxury and extravagance of the women. What obligations would he "not have laid upon a great many husbands, had his "design succeeded? I have it also from very good "hands, that he would have suppressed the privileged "altars, which are a very great abuse. And indeed, "can some indulgences granted to an altar make the mass that is said at it more effectual? And does "Christ's blood, which is of an invaluable price, "want some additional merit, to be more acceptable "to God, and more prevailing with him in favour of "those, who are prayed for? They are only Mendicant Friars that invented those things, to entice "more customers to their Churches."

What Valesius observes here, concerning the design of restraining the luxury and extravagancies of the women, puts me in mind of the great zeal which Innocent XI expressed against the women who used to shew their breasts. "This Pope not being able to persuade the fair sex not to shew their breasts and arms, notwithstanding several powerful motives he urged for that purpose; and being even told that the great consternation under which all Italy laboured, when the "Turks were besieging Vienna, could not put a stop to this excess, resolved finally to try the last remedy, namely excommunication. He published a decree November the 30th 1683, by which all maidens "and women were commanded to cover their shoulders "and breast to their neck, and their arms to the wrist, "with some thick and untransparent stuff; they that "did not obey this order within six days after its publication, were to be excommunicated *ipso facto*, so "as that the Pope alone had power to absolve them, "unless they were at the point of death; for it was "therein declared, that those Father Confessors, who "would pretend to absolve them from this excommunication, would fall under it themselves, and suffer all "such spiritual and temporal punishments as his Holiness would think fit: the same spiritual punishments "were to be inflicted on the fathers, husbands, masters, "and other heads of families, by whose leave or connivance the daughters and wives should offend against "this decree (31)." I do not know what success these terrible threatenings had; but I imagine, that as they had been revived from time to time, under Innocent XI's predecessors (32), there was occasion to revive them also some time after. This is the fate of all sumptuary laws; luxury, with a desire of letting off one's beauty, will soon break through the most wise regulations. This is a disorder to which we may apply what a grave historian observed with regard to Aitologers: they were continually commanded to leave Rome, and they never left it (33). King Lewis XIV has lately (34) published very good edicts against luxury. If he can force his subjects to obey him in this respect, it will be a more wonderful thing than the

(29) *Valesiana*, pag. 45, & seq. edit. de Hollande.

(30) Monsieur Baudelet asserts in page 183 of his *Ptolemée Auteurs*, that he has seen the printed book which contains those Collects or Prayers.

A DIGRESSION concerning the reformation of luxury.

(31) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for May 1686, article 2. pag. 495.

(32) *Ibid.* pag. 497.

(33) *Genus humanum . . . quod in Civitate nostra & habitabit imper & retinebitur.* Tacit. *Hist.* lib. 1. cap. 22.

(34) I wrote this power in May 1700.

(24) I wrote this in the beginning of Sept. 1695.

(25) Compare this with what is observed in the remark [X] of the article BEL-LARMIN.

(26) Ovid. *Trist.* lib. 1. Eleg. ix. 5.

(27) In pag. 52. of the first Dutch edition. It seems as though the Printers had omitted a word or two in the Italian passage.

(28) The Letter is dated from Versailles August 24, 1689. It is inserted entire in the *Mercure Historique & Politique*, for October 1689, pag. 1026.

(b) Concerning the Orations of this Orator, see *Æt. Erud. Lifon* in the 3d vol. of the *Supplements*, pag. 43, &c.

shew that people wrote very freely at Paris against Innocent XI [M]. You will meet with a beautiful elogium of this Pope in Signor Malagonelli's seventh Oration (b). It is written in an admirable Latin style, and worthy of ancient Rome.

(35) See the *Lettres Historiques*, for May 1700, pag. 574.

(36) That is to say the Lawyers wives.

(37) *Lettres Historiques*, for May 1700, pag. 575.

(38) Messieurs *Isalin* and *Cbarodon*.

power he had to lessen considerably the madness of fighting duels throughout his whole Kingdom. The news-writers have told us lately, that the Lawyers belonging to the Parliament of Paris have promised they would take care to have luxury suppressed in their families. We shall know in time whether these two united powers, that of the sovereign, and that of the husband, will be able to complete a lasting reformation. It was notified to these Gentlemen (the Lawyers) that as some (25) of those women (36) who chiefly set up for Ladies of Quality, would perhaps be unwilling to retrench something both of their rich garments, furniture, coaches, &c. and of the useless number of their chamber-maids, embroiderers, tapestry-makers, and footmen, that wait upon them; it had been resolved to put a stop to this licentiousness, which does so little become the condition and quality of those Ladies . . . (37); it being the King's intention that they obey and reform immediately, without any distinction of descent or quality, and first of all cease to have the trains of their gowns carried behind them. It is added that two celebrated Lawyers (38) were commanded to acquaint their brethren with this resolution; who being overjoyed at it expressed their gratitude, and resolved unanimously to give thanks to the first President for procuring them an order which was so just, so necessary, and so worthy of the King's wisdom; and to assure him at the same time, that they would take care to have it obeyed, each of them in their own families, with the utmost exactness; for they looked upon it as the most effectual method to spare him a thousand vexations, and to prevent the fruits they might reap from their painful labours, from being made a sacrifice to the boundless ambition of their wives. It is very probable that they spoke sincerely; for after all their weighty, noble, and profitable employments are attended with a great deal of trouble. They envy sometimes the happiness of a country-man, who is at liberty to sleep all the night long.

(39) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 1. ver. 9.

*Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi officia pulsat* (32).

"The Lawyer waked, and rising with the sun,
"Cries, happy Farmers that can sleep till noon."
Creech.

Are they not in the right to wish, that a profit, which cost them so much pains, should not be squandered away in superfluous expences, and that the sovereign power should afford them a method to prevent it, since they have not the courage to do it themselves without such an authority?

[M] I shall quote some verses of Monsieur de la Fontaine, which shew that people wrote very freely at Paris against Innocent XI.] There is amongst his posthumous works a Letter, some part of which I shall here transcribe.

(40) He speaks to the Prince of Conti.

*Pour nouvelles de l'Italie,
Le Pape empire tous les jours,
Expliquez, Seigneur (40), ce discours
Du costé de la maladie.
Car aucun Saint-Pere autrement
Ne doit empirer nullement.*

JOACHIM, St. Ann's husband [A], and father of the Virgin Mary. He continued a long while with his spouse without having any children, and for that reason his oblations were rejected by the High-Priest Isachar, who also reproached him severely with his infecundity. Joachim was so ashamed to be treated after this manner by the High-Priest, that he had not the courage to return home. He went and hid himself in the country amongst the shepherds. He was comforted there by an Angel, who told him that he would have a daughter named Mary by his wife Ann. This Angel went immediately to acquaint Ann with the same news, who was crying bitterly, not knowing what was become of her husband. This piece of news, which the Angel told her, was doubtless

(1) Joan. Damasc. de Fide Orisod. l. 4. cap. 15. apud Baron. in Apparatu, num. 42.

[A] Joachim St. Ann's husband.] His genealogy was as follows. Levi of the tribe of David was Panther's father, who was Barpanther's father, and Joachim was the son of this last (1). Some have asserted that he was

not descended from David, but from the tribe of Levi, and that he was a Priest; upon which the Manichees grounded an objection, which St. Augustin has examined (2).

(2) *Contra Faustum Manich.* lib. 23. cap. 9. See the remark [D] quotation (1).

*Celui-cy veritablement
N'est envers nous ni Saint ni Pere.
Nos soins de l'erreur triomphans
Ne font qu'augmenter sa colere
Contre l'Ainé de ses Enfans.
Sa santé toujours diminuë,
L'avenir m'est chose inconnuë,
Et je n'en parle qu'à tâtons;
Mais les gens de delà les Monts
Auront bien-tôt pleuré cet homme;
Car il deffend les Jannetons,
Chose très-necessaire à Rome* (41).

(41) See Fontaine, *Oeuvres Postumes*, p. 182. of the edition printed in Holland.

"If you desire to hear some news from Italy, I shall tell you that the Pope grows worse and worse every day: Your Highness must understand this of his health; for otherwise an holy Father ought never to grow worse. Indeed this Pope is neither holy nor a father with respect to us: the care we take to triumph over Heresy, does only exasperate him more against the eldest of his children (*). He decays daily in his health. I am perfectly ignorant of future events, and speak of them only by guesses: but I dare say, that the people beyond the Alps will soon have done lamenting this man, for he will not suffer them to keep company with Ladies of pleasure, which yet is a very necessary thing at Rome."

(*) The King of France, who is styled the eldest son of the Church.

Here follow some lines which are more free still, they are transcribed from the same work.

*Je vois ces Heros retourner
Chez eux avec un pied de nez.*

*Et tout le parti Protestant
Du Saint Pere en vain très-content.
J'ay là dessus un conte à faire.
L'autre jour touchant cette affaire
Le Chevalier de Sillery,
En parlant de ce Pape-cy,
Souhaitoit pour la paix publique,
Qu'il se fust rendu Catholique,
Et le Roy JAQUES Huguenot.
Je trouve assez bon ce bon mot* (42).

(42) *Ibid.* pag. 171.

"I see these heroes now returned home very much disappointed . . . and the whole Protestant party very well pleased with the Holy Father, though to no purpose: whereupon I have a little story to tell you. The Knight de Sillery speaking of this affair the other day, and mentioning this Pope, said he wished, for the sake of the public tranquillity, that the Pope had turned Catholic, and King James Protestant. I think this a pretty good jest."

Monsieur Racine (43) took off the edge of this jest, (45) See the Prologue and wrapped it up much better. But still it was a smart jest.

Monsieur de Vizé says a great many things to the disgrace of Innocent XI, both in his *Mercurie Galant aux Refugiez*, and in his volumes upon the transactions of those times. pag. 343.

doubtless very acceptable to her, for she was very sorry that she had no children [B]. Several persons imagine, that only a kiss from her husband made her pregnant ; but others assert it was necessary to go the common way to work [C] ; otherwise, say they, the birth of Jesus Christ would not be so wonderful as we hold it to be. But what is really surprising is, that though we know nothing with certainty either of the names, or of the qualities, or of the history of the Virgin Mary's father and mother [D], yet all that

[B] *She was very sorry that she had no children.* She was upon that account deprived of a certain honour, which, according to the laws, was paid to mothers. She had therefore her recourse to God, and applied to him in extraordinary prayers, that she might enjoy that honour. She entered into the most holy place, and made fervent application to God, representing to him that she had committed nothing against the law, and that therefore she ought not to be deprived of the privileges which the law allowed to the women who had had children. Her prayer was heard. God gave her to understand that she should have children (3). St. Gregory of Nyssa relates this story, which he had read in an apocryphal work. They who know that none but the high-priest could enter into the most holy place, and that he was not to enter it but once a year, want no other proofs of the falsity of this story. If St. Ann was taking measures on her side, her husband was not behind hand with her : for he fasted forty days upon a mountain, in order to obtain from God the posterity he wished for (4). See St. Epiphanius's words in the following remark.

[C] *Others assert it was necessary to go the common way to work.* St. Bernard asserts that this is the opinion of the church. *Si licet, says he (5), loqui quod Ecclesia sentit, (Et verum ipsa sentit) dico gloriosam de Spiritu Sancto conceptisse, non autem conceptam fuisse: dico peperisse virginem, non tamen partam à virgine. Alioquin ubi erit prerogativa matris Domini qua singulariter dicitur exulare Et munere proles Et integritate carnis, si tantundem dederis Et matri ipsius? non est hoc Virginitatem honorare, sed bonori detrabere.* i. e. " If I may speak the opinion of the church (and the church believes nothing but what is true) I maintain, that the blessed Virgin conceived indeed from the Holy Ghost, but was not begotten by him : I maintain that she was delivered being a virgin, but not brought into the world by a virgin. Otherwise what would be the prerogative of the Lord's Mother, who is said to rejoice in a most particular manner, both on account of the favour she received of bringing a child into the world, and on account of her keeping her body undefiled, if you ascribe the same privileges to her mother? This is lessening the Virgin's glory, instead of doing her honour." Pelbart of Temelwaer, though he was superstitiously credulous, admitted however St. Bernard's opinion. *Simplicibus quibusdam tribuit hanc opinionem quod Anna conceperit per solum osculum Joacim. Agnoscit tamen eam de viro concepisse concubitu matrimoniali (6).* i. e. " He ascribes to some foolish persons this opinion, that St. Ann conceived only by a kiss from Joachim. But he acknowledges that she conceived from her husband in the common way." The error of St. Ann's pretended virginity is very antient ; for St. Epiphanius was obliged to refute it. *Ἐπιφάνιος ἀποκρινόμενος εἰς διόλου, πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰωακὴμ γέννησιν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰωακὴμ ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ ἀνδρός, καὶ πᾶσι τῶν ἐπισημοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρῆναι, καὶ μηδὲν δοξάζειν, εἰ μὴν τὴν ἀπὸ ἁγίου πνεύματος παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός, καὶ μήτρας γυναικὸς ; οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἱστορία, καὶ παραδόσις ἔχουσι, ὅτι ἱερῆθαι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωακὴμ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ σου συνεληφθῆσα, ἐχ' ὅτι ἀνευ συζυγίας εὗρετο ἰγνήσει, εἰδὲ ὅτι ἀνευ σπέρματος ἀνδρός.* i. e. " If God does not suffer us

" of a man." The Cavalier Borri had a strange notion about the Virgin's conception. He imagined that St. Joachim was impotent, and that the Holy Ghost took flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary's mother, so that by this means St. Ann continued a virgin after she was delivered. *Cadde in proposizioni più ridicole, insegnando che la Vergine non era stata concetta con seme umano, mà per opera divina, avendo lo Spirito Santo pigliato carne nel ventre di S. Anna, e partorita dalla medesima, che asseriva che nel parto era rimasta Vergine, e tale essere stata avanti il parto, e assicurando che S. Gioachino fosse stato impotente alla consumazione del matrimonio (8).* i. e. " He had a more ridiculous opinion still ; for he pretended that the Holy Virgin was not conceived by the seed of a man, but by a divine generation, the Holy Ghost having taken flesh in St. Ann's womb, and thus brought her into the world, whence it happened that St. Ann continued a virgin after her delivery, as she had been before : for he maintained that St. Joachim was impotent and could not consummate his marriage."

[D] *Though we know nothing with certainty, neither of the names, nor of the qualities, nor of the history of the Virgin Mary's father and mother. . . .* St. Epiphanius, who flourished in the year 370, is the most antient author that mentions the names of the Holy Virgin's father and mother. He pretends indeed, that what he relates concerning Joachim and Mary's prayers, and concerning the angel's revelation (9), is borrowed from tradition and from the history of the Virgin Mary. But does he not confess himself that there were very absurd traditions spread abroad concerning Mary's birth? Does he not quote a book upon this subject, which contained abominable things (10)? Does he not observe, it was reported that Zacharias was struck dumb in the temple, because he had seen there a man in the shape of an ass? He was going to leave the place, and to cry out, *Wo to you, what Deity do you worship?* But this Deity prevented him by striking him dumb. When he had recovered his speech again, he declared what he had seen, upon which they killed him. St. Epiphanius adds, that it was related in the same book, that the reason why the law-giver had ordered the High-Priest to wear little bells, was to give this Deity time to hide himself, that its ass-like figure might not be seen : and that it might not be surprized unawares, it was ordered that the sound of the little bells should give it notice of the High-Priest's arrival. I know very well that all sorts of traditions ought not to be exploded like these : but after all, there is not one good reason to persuade us, that those, which St. Epiphanius admitted, were well grounded. This is so true, that St. Augustin makes no scruple to take for an uncertain and apocryphal tradition, the opinion that was spread abroad concerning the Virgin Mary's father, that he was called Joachim, and that he was a Priest. *Quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia Canonium non est, non me constringit (11).* i. e. " What Faustus has asserted concerning Mary's birth, namely, that her father was a Priest, of the tribe of Levi, and named Joachim, is no argument against me, because it is not canonical." He adds that it is impossible for the same person to be descended from two tribes, and concludes, that he would thus solve the objection of the Manichean, if he were obliged to have any regard for apocryphal writings. *Hoc ego potius vel tale aliquid crederem, si illius apocryphæ scripturæ, ubi Joachim pater Mariæ legitur, auctoritate detinerer, quam mentiri Evangelium in quo scriptum est, &c.* i. e. " I would rather believe this, or something like it, if I was to lay any stress on these apocryphal books, which mention Joachim as Mary's father, than that there is a lye in the Gospel, where it is written, &c."

(3) Gregorius Nyssenus, Orat. in Natal. Domini, apud Baron. Ap. parat. num. 44.

(4) Sophron. apud Rivet. Apolog. pro sanctiss. Maria, cap. 3. Oper. tom. 3. pag. 606. col. 2.

(5) Bernard. Epist. 174. ad Can. Lugdun. apud Rivetum, ibid. pag. 608.

(6) Stellarii Corona, lib. 4. Part. 2. Artic. 1. apud Rivetum, ibid.

(7) Epiph. adversus Collyridianos, pag. m. 1062.

(8) Relazione della Vita del Cavagl. Borri, pag. 351.

(9) See his words in the preceding remark.

(10) Γίναν μὲν γὰρ Μαρίας εἰβ- λιοὶ τὶ βασὶν ἰσχυρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὴν ἀποκρίσασθαι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνην ἀποκρίσασθαι τῶν λόγων. Epiph. adv. Hæres. pag. 94. i. e. " There is a book which treats of Mary's birth, and which contains horrible and abominable sayings of them."

(11) Augustin. contra Faustum Manich. lib. 25. cap. 9. apud Rivetum, Operum tom. 3. pag. 604. 605.

that I have been observing, has been asserted, and festivals have been appointed to St. Joachim, and to his wife [E]. Some (a) have imagined that he had three daughters by her; but others think that St. Ann was married three times, and had one daughter by each of her husbands.

(a) See Baronius, in Apparatu, num. 41.

If you want other proofs of the uncertainty of these traditions, do but consider Baronius's conduct. He has exploded part of these things which are reported concerning the blessed Virgin's father and mother: he has expressly observed that the book ascribed to St. Jerom, is the work of some unknown and ignorant author, who was not capable to avoid the most palpable falsities. *Non tantum eam Hieronymi non esse dixerimus, sed auctoris plane ut ignoti, sic prorsus imperiti, qui in ea condenda & conscribenda non novit aperta vitare mendacia, dum ait illis temporibus quibus ea acciderunt fuisse Isachar summum pontificem* (12). He has declared that though this book contains several true facts, yet he will not lay any stress upon it. *Nec innitimur scriptioni illi, quæ hæcenus Hieronymi nomine ad Cromatium & Heliodorum scripta vulgata est, nam licet in ea complura veritate constantia conscripta reperiantur, quæ à dictis auctoribus sibi vindicent auctoritatem & fidem, tamen, &c.* (13). i. e. "Nor do we lay any stress upon that writing, which has hitherto been published under St. Jerom's name, addressed to Cromatius and Heliodorus; for though it contains several true particulars, grounded on the testimony of the said authors, yet, &c." Thus he ruins one part of the foundation. You will see now how Casaubon overthrows the other. He shews that the book *De Nativitate S. Mariæ* (Of Mary's Birth) falsely ascribed to St. Jerom, is the work of a Manichee, and abounds with impertinences, and blasphemies. *A pestilentissimo hæretico profectum, postremo nugarum & impietatum esse plenum* (14). He wonders that the Jesuit Christopher de Castro should have dared to maintain that such a book was genuine, the supposition of which appeared so plainly to Erasmus, to Melchior Canus, to Sixtus Senensis, and to Baronius. Casaubon quotes a passage from it, which affords me a strong proof. *Illud libere dico quod fidelium neminem negaturum puto; si hæc vera sunt, si hæc ab aliquo conficta sacro-sancta S. Mariæ miracula præcessisse; maxima consecuta fuisse; & idcirco salva fide, ab iis, qui Deum facere ista posse credunt, sine periculo animæ suæ credi & legi posse* (15). i. e. "This I can say freely, which I imagine none of the faithful will deny; whether these things be true, or invented by some person, there were holy miracles performed before the blessed Virgin's birth, and greater still after it; so that they, who believe that God can do such things, may safely believe and read them without any danger to their soul." These are not the words of the Manichee Seleucus (16) the author of the work, but of the person who translated it into Latin; and it is proper to observe that this translator owns, there are a great many falsities in the book he translates. *Impietas istius Pseudohieronymi, excusari salvo pudore non potest: nam quum fateatur, Seleucum, si hæc Lucium de doctrina Apostolorum multa esse mentium; ea tamen defendit, quæ sunt ab eodem hæretico scripta de virtutibus & miraculis eorum. Poterat-ne hic planius apertius ostendere, nullam sibi esse curam veritatis, neque ullum se inter falsum & verum statuere discrimen? Adit de eo ipso libro quem vertebat: ita & his multa non vera de corde suo confingit* (17). i. e. "This false Jerom's impiety cannot without shame be excused: for though he confesses himself that Seleu-

(12) Baronius, in Apparatu, num. 44.

(13) Idem, ibid.

(14) Casaub. Exercit. ad Baron. I. num. 15. pag. m. 90.

(15) Casaub. ibid. pag. 91.

(16) Others call him Leucius, or Leontius. Casaub. Exercit. ad Baron. I. num. 15. pag. 91.

(17) Idem, ibid.

cus or Leucius told a great many falsities concerning the doctrine of the Apostles, yet he vindicates what the same Heretic wrote concerning their power and miracles. Could this impostor shew more plainly that he had no regard for the truth, and made no distinction between truth and falsehood? He said of the very book he was translating, *that the author of it invented a great number of falsities from his own head.*" Is not this sufficient to satisfy any reasonable person of the uncertainty of all these traditions? That which St. Gregory of Nyssa relates is evidently false (18). As for Nicephorus Callistus, Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople, John of Damascus, &c. they do not deserve the least credit, because they lived so long after the time when these things happened, that the traditions concerning them could not be handed down to these authors, but with a great many alterations. And besides it is well known that Nicephorus is a fabulous and injudicious writer (19). So that we have no reason to believe that he quoted Hippolytus, Bishop of Porto, accurately; and after all, what he quotes from him contains some falsities, as Casaubon shews. See the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (20). Rivetus was in the right to think it strange that Richard Montague should have believed most of the stories, which such people as Bernardine of Busti, Pelbart of Temelwar, Coserus, and other writers of the same rank admit concerning our Joachim (21).

(18) See above, the remark [E].

(19) Nicephorum hunc fabulosissimum esse scriptorem & judicium in literis nullius, satis notum est eruditiss. Casaub. Exercit. ad Baron. num. 15. pag. 91.

(20) Pag. 143, &c. of the 11th volume.

(21) Rivet. Apolog. pro SS. Virg. Mariæ, cap. 3. Oper. tom. 3. pag. 607.

I wonder that the Abbot de Marolles had so much regard for the traditions I have mentioned. See page 235 of his Memoirs.

[E] Yet festivals have been appointed to St. Joachim, and to his wife.] The husband obtained that honour much later than the wife, for he enjoys it only since the 2d day of December 1622. The day appointed for his festival is March the 20th (22). But St. Ann's festival was instituted in the year 1584. It was not at first absolutely necessary to keep that holy-day upon pain of Damnation; it is but since the year 1622 that St. Ann was promoted to that honour (23). In every other respect the worship that is paid to St. Joachim is much inferior to that which is paid to his wife. She is the Patroness of an order of Nuns, called the Maidens of St. Joseph (24), and her miracles are very much celebrated. The village of Ker-Ann in the diocese of Vannes in Britany is wonderfully famous on that account, and particularly since they have dug up there an old image of this Saint, which had been buried very deep under ground. In the year 1625 it was revealed from heaven to a ploughman where this image was to be found. The moment it was dug out of the ground it performed several great miracles. The alms of a vast number of devout persons, who flocked there from all parts, amounted soon to a sum of money large enough to build a beautiful church to that image. The Bishop of Vannes obtained from Rome the necessary indulgences for those who out of devotion would visit it: he charged the reformed Carmelites with the doctrine of this new church, and gave brother Hugo of St. Francis leave to publish an account of the miracles, which had been lately performed in those parts (25).

(22) Spond. Annot. ad ann. 1622, num. 1.

(23) Idem, ibid.

(24) See the book intitled, Les Grandeurs de Saints Anns. It is mentioned in the Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. 11. pag. 141.

(25) Taken from Spondanus, ad ann. 1625, num. 3.

JOAN Queen of Naples. See NAPLES.

JOB, whose patience has been described in one of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. That I may not repeat here what the reader may find in Moreri, I shall only take notice of some errors. They are mistaken who assert that the Turks have a great veneration for this holy man's tomb [A], the chief Judge at Solomon's Court.

[A] They are mistaken who assert that the Turks have a great veneration for this holy man's tomb.] Let us quote a passage from Sir Paul Ricaut (1). "Whenever there is a new Emperor of the Turks, it is their custom to conduct him with all the pomp imaginable to a certain place in the suburbs of Constantinople, which is called Job. There is to be seen at that place an ancient tomb of a certain Prophet or holy man,

(1) Ricaut, Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman, translated into French by Bessier, B. 1. p. 16.

whom the Turks, who are not in the least acquainted with Antiquity, nor with History, pretend to be Job, who for so many ages past has been a pattern of patience and constancy." Sir Paul Ricaut's translator makes an observation upon these words, which deserves to be transcribed. "I believe indeed, says *marquis Curieus* he (2), that some ignorant Turks, unacquainted with History and Chronology, may take the tomb

(2) Bessier. Recherches sur l'Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman, pag. 4.

Court [B]. It is a scandalous piece of impudence to assert, that Job's distemper was the foul disease [C]. I confess that in the Church of Rome he is the Patron of them that labour under that disease [D]; but nothing can be inferred from thence to support the other assertion. He was worshipped in that Church before the pox was known in Europe [E]. Tertullian was in the wrong to assert that Job left no children behind him. Upon which see Spanhemius's (a) *History of Job*, which is a very good work.

(a) Frederic. Spanheim. F. *Hist. Job*, cap. 25. pag. 481.

" of Job, which is at Constantinople, at the foot of the walls of the city, for the tomb of that holy man, whose history is related in the Old Testament. But the Turkish Historians tell us themselves, that this tomb was built for another Job, who was a Mahometan, and had been one of Mahomet's followers. He was killed at the siege of Constantinople, which was attacked by Jezid, the son of the Kaliff Moawias, in the 52d year of the Hegira, or 672 since the birth of Christ. This is what Elmacin observes in his History of the Sarracens, Book 1, Chap. 7. and though Elmacin was a Christian, yet he relates what he met with in the Mahometan Historians, whose accounts he only abridges, as he confesses himself." One of the most learned Rabbies in the XVIIth Century held the same error with those ignorant Turks; for he asserted (3) " that the Mahometans have still at this time a great veneration for Job's tomb which is at Constantinople (4). He did not know, to be sure, that this is the tomb of another Job, different from the person mentioned in the Old Testament, and he imagined erroneously, that all the Mahometans take it to be the tomb of that holy man."

(3) Menassch-Ben Israel, de *Resurrect. mortuor.* lib. 1. cap. 16. quoted by Bepier, *ibid.* pag. 5.

(4) Bepier, *Remarques Curieuses sur l'Etat de l'Emp. Ottoman*, pag. 5.

(5) Ricaut, *Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman*, pag. 26.

(6) Bepier, *Remarques sur l'Etat de l'Emp. Ottoman*, pag. 6.

(7) Borremannus has transcribed it in his *Varia Lectiones*, pag. 260.

(8) Patin, *Lettre* 388. pag. 102. of the 3d volume.

[B] . . . the chief Judge of Solomon's Court.] Let us again quote Sir Paul Ricaut. " The Turks, says be (5), do so much blend together all Histories, for want of knowing Chronology, that they assert Job was the chief Judge at Solomon's Court, and Alexander the Great was General of his armies." Here follows a pretty good critical observation upon these words (6). " The English author borrowed this from *Buſbequius*, but he mistook his meaning. For *Buſbequius* does not say, the Turks believe that Job was the chief Judge at Solomon's Court, nor that Alexander was General of his armies. He only observes, that the Turks are so unacquainted with Chronology and History, that if they took it into their heads, they would not in the least scruple to assert, that that Job was the chief Judge at Solomon's Court, and Alexander General of his armies. These two assertions differ widely. See *Buſbequius*, *Epist.* 1." Sir Paul Ricaut's mistake has already been transcribed in some books (7).

[C] It is . . . impudence to assert that Job's distemper was the foul disease.] Guy Patin quotes two celebrated authors, who have asserted it. His words are as follow (8). " In answer to what you wrote to me, I must tell you that Bolduc, a Capuchin, and Pineda, a Spanish Jesuit, have both written that Job had the Pox. I am inclined to believe that David and Solomon laboured also under that distemper." Observe that it can by no means be pretended that Job got that foul disease by an impure action.

[D] He is the patron of them that labour under that disease.] Consult Molanus's *Diarium Medicorum Ecclesiasticum*; you will meet there, upon the 10th of May,

which is Job's festival, with these words. *Volunt nonnulli Sanctum Job peculiarem patronum esse eorum qui lue venerea laborant aut eam curant* (9). i. e. " Some pretend that Job is in a particular manner the patron of those who have the foul disease, or who make it their business to cure it."

(9) Molan. in *Diario Medicor.* pag. 68.

[E] He was worshipped before the pox was known in Europe.] The same Molanus warns us not to admit Agrippa's error, who dares to assert that the pox was the occasion of Job's canonization. Before that time, says Molanus, there was a church and a festival appointed at Venice to this holy man; who was also interred into the Martyrology as early as the reign of Charles the Great. *Cavendus est H. Cornelius Agrippa, qui vane scripsit lue veneream Job in divos retulisse. Quasi non multo ante Veneti memoriam ejus & templo & festo die celebrarint, constet quoque Usuardum Caroli Magni etate, & Wandelbertum non multo post, Martyrologiis suis eum inseruisse. Et à Græcis ad sextum diem Maii notatur sanctus & justus Job qui multa contra Satanam certamina sustinuit* (10). i. e. " Beware of H. Cornelius Agrippa, who wrote without reason, that the venereal disease placed Job amongst the saints; as though his memory had not been celebrated at Venice a long while before, a church and a festival being appointed there to him: it is also certain that Usward in Charles the Great's time, and Wandelbert soon after, have inserted his name in their Martyrology. And the Greek Martyrologies, under the sixth of May, mention the holy and just Job, who struggled a long while with Satan." A celebrated Protestant Divine, who in some measure took Agrippa's part on this occasion, observes that there is at Utrecht an Hospital, in which those that have the foul disease are taken care of, and which is called *Job's Hospital*. *Dicit potest ad defensionem Agrippæ, Jobum inter divos tutelares & quidem sædi istius morbi, post ejusdem morbi exortum, demum fuisse relatum. Quidquid sit, tanquam divus alexicacus ab hujus morbi mystis, annuente Romana Ecclesia, salutatur. Hinc in hac urbe Xenodochium S. Jobi olim dominante papatu constitutum, ubi illo morbo laborantes curari solent* (11). i. e. " It may be observed, in Agrippa's defence, that Job was chosen amongst all the Saints, for the particular patron of those that have the foul disease, after it had began to rage. However it be, he is worshipped by them, with the church of Rome's consent, as a Saint that is particularly proper to cure them. Hence it is that we have in this city (of Utrecht) an Hospital of St. Job, which was built formerly in the time of Popery, and in which those that have the venereal disease are taken care of." It is not long since they examined at Rome this question, whether Job, and the other Saints of the Old Testament, deserve the same worship which is paid to those that are canonized, and whether it be proper to build altars to them. Upon which see the *Acta Sanctorum Maii* (12). Baillet.

(10) *Ibid.* pag. 69.

(11) Giff. *Voc.* *Disputat.*

(12) There is in the *Appendix* to the 6th and 7th volumes a *Dissertation* upon this subject. See also the *Journal des Savans* for March 5, 1703, in the account of a book written by *Moan.* Baillet.

JODELLE (STEPHEN) a French and Latin Poet in the sixteenth Century, was born at Paris (a). He was one of the Pleiades invented by Ronfard (b). Some ascribe to him the invention of those French verses composed after the manner of the Latin verses, that is to say according to the quantity of the syllables; but others pretend that Baif was the first who published that kind of verses in French (c). It does but little concern their reputation, whether or not the truth of this fact be clearly stated, for this invention fell soon into contempt. Men have much more reasons to pretend, that Jodelle was the first of all the French who published Comedies and Tragedies in his own tongue in the ancient form (d). He wrote verses with an incredible readiness [A]; and he had also several other

(a) La Croix du Maine, and Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Française*.

(b) Baillet, *Jugemens sur les Poetes*, Art. 1342, Menage, chap. 10. of the *Anti-Baillet*.

(c) See the *Anti-Baillet*, ch. 111.

(d) Du Verdier, *Biblioth. Française*, p. 285. See also Pasquier, *Recherch.* liv. 7. chap. 7.

[A] He wrote verses with an incredible readiness.] Du Verdier Vau-Privas (1) acquaints us with this in the following words. " He was admirable in one thing, which is almost incredible; it is, that all that Jodelle ever composed was done readily, with-

(1) *Biblioth. Française*, pag. 286.

out any study, and without any labour: and we can witness, with several persons of this time, that he never spent above ten mornings in composing and writing his longest and most difficult Comedy or Tragedy; and even his Comedy of *Eugene* was completed

other accomplishments. He was an Orator; he was skilled in Architecture, in Sculpture, in the art of Painting, and he could fence very well (e). He used to wear a sword (f), and by his birth he had a right to it [B]. He died in July 1573, at the age of forty one. See the margin (g). The next year his friends published a Collection of his Works (h). They are in the wrong, who assert that he died for want, and that it was a judgment of God upon him for his prophaneness [C], and who cry out, Heathenism! on account of a certain carnival-entertainment, in which his friends consecrated a goat to him [D] (a).

I dare

(g) Mr. Varilles is mistaken, who supposes in his *Histoire de Henry III.* B. 12. pag. m. 267. that Jodelle was still living under the reign of Henry III. He asserts that the seven French Poets, who were called Pleiades having been entertained a whole month at that Prince's expence in a Tavern near the gate of Nesle, went out singing, *Long live Tyranny, we have just now spent thirty six thousand livres.* (b) Du Verdier, *Bibliob. Française*, pag. 284, 285.

“ completed in four mornings. When he was but a youth he has been seen to compose and write down for a wager in one night only, five hundred good Latin verses, upon a subject that was proposed to him *ex tempore*. All his Sonnets, even those that were made upon given rhymes, were composed by him in his walks, whilst now and then his thoughts run upon other things, and he finished them so quickly, that when he recited them, it was thought he could hardly have begun them.” We ought not therefore to wonder that he composed such a vast number of them. It is reported that he wrote about ten thousand verses on Cæsar's passing the Rubicon (2). If his friends had published all his works, to how many thousand of verses would they not have amounted? He attempted all sorts of Poems, as Elegies, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, Inscriptions, Canticles (3). He wrote a Poem against preposterous Venery, or the sin of Sodomy (4).

[B] By his birth he had a right to it.] He was a Gentleman possessed of a Lordship; for he used to take the title of Lord of Limodin (5). I believe it was a patrimonial estate.

[C] They are in the wrong, who assert that he died for want, and that it was a judgment of God upon him for his prophaneness.] Voëtius relates (6), that having read in *Honfdorf's Theatre*, that Stephen Jodelle, a French Poet, an Epicurean, and an Atheist, spent his whole estate and died for want (7), he made diligent enquiries to know whether the fact was true or not. But as his library did not afford him sufficient means to clear up this matter, he resolved to consult Rivetus, who told him, that one could not meet with the least sign of Atheism in Jodelle's works, and that on the contrary they contained several proofs of his orthodoxy; and that the charge of prophaneness, laid to Jodelle, had perhaps no other foundation than the sacrifice of a goat (8), which was offered to him as to the chief amongst the Tragic Poets; which was done only out of a frolick, if we may believe the author of *Ronsard's Life*. And yet Rivetus did not dare to determine whether for this single action Jodelle deserved to pass for an Atheist or not. Voëtius submits to his opinion. Like his friend, he would nor have us declare Jodelle guilty of Atheism, if we have no stronger proofs of it; but at the same time he is far from acquitting him, and suffers the question to continue problematical. *In medio relinquit (Rivetus) an ob idem factum Atheus sit dicendus, nisi aliunde alia authentica testimonia suppetant. In cujus sententia & nos acquiescimus* (9). It is not at all probable that the compiler *Honfdorf* grounded his assertion on the pretended sacrifice. He gives Jodelle the character of a dissolute man, who squandered away his whole estate; and therefore he argues from a continual course of sin, and not from the farce of a pretended sacrifice, an action which was committed but once, and in which several other wits, of whom *Honfdorf* does not say a word, were concerned as well as Jodelle. Let us say therefore that that honest compiler of instances of God's judgment has been grossly mistaken; and yet here we have two famous Divines, who do him the honour to lay as much stress upon his accusation void of all kind of proofs, as upon the testimonies of orthodoxy which the very books of the accused afford. They imagine, they are sufficiently equitable and just, if they do but determine nothing either for or against the accused. Is this acting according to these maxims, *Qui libet præsumitur bonus, donec probetur malus*; i. e. “ All men must be esteemed to be good, till it be proved they are bad.” *Actore non probante absolvitur reus*: i. e. “ When the prosecutor does not prove his charge,

“ the accused is acquitted.” It must be observed, that those who transcribed from *Honfdorf*, or those from whom he transcribed himself, do not come up altogether to the authority of one single witness, whilst they quote no vouchers, or whilst they only quote each other (10). Upon the whole, I do not pretend to deny that Jodelle died poor (11). I do not know whether Gentillet was not the original author, that was followed by all the compilers, who mention Jodelle as a particular instance of God's judgments on the prophane. “ One might quote, says he (12), an infinite number of instances of God's judgments and punishments on the Atheists, despisers of God and of religion, even in our days; as that of the tragic Poet Jodelle, whose end was really tragical: for having spent and squandered away his whole estate, like an Epicurean, he died miserably for want.” I have met with part of these words in a book printed at Morges in the year 1581, and intitled *Punitions & Jugemens de Dieu, &c.* i. e. “ God's judgments and punishments, &c.” and in a book printed in the year 1586, and written by John Chastanion of Monistrol, in the country of Vellay, with this title, *Histoires memorables des grands & merveilleux Jugemens & Punitions de Dieu, &c.* (13). i. e. “ Remarkable Histories of the great and wonderful judgments and Punishments, inflicted by God, &c.”

[D] His friends consecrated a goat to him.] Claudius Binet (14) will tell you how this farce was acted. “ They (15) blame him amongst other things for having sacrificed a goat to Jodelle in the village of Hercueil (16); but he answers this charge sufficiently himself, and the matter of fact was thus: Jodelle had caused his tragedy of Cleopatra to be acted before the King; it met with so general an applause, that some days after the whole band of Poets meeting in that village, to divert themselves and be merry during the holy-days of Shrove-tide, there was none of them but made some verses in imitation of the antient Bacchanals: they chanced to meet with a goat in the streets, which gave them an opportunity to make a frolick on this occasion, because this animal used to be offered to Bacchus; for they made a shew of presenting it to Jodelle as a reward for his tragedy, according to the custom of the antients, which even the Christians, and especially the Poets imitate sometimes, not that they believe any of the Heathen stories, but by an allusion, which in itself is by no means unlawful: what made people believe, there was something more in this, were the verses and jokes of these Poets, which were published, and especially the Dithyrambi of Bertrand Berger, a Dithyrambic Poet, amongst which we read these lines . . . All this was only a shew, and a mere farce.” The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased to meet here with the answer, which *Ronsard* himself made, and which Binet hints at, without transcribing it: it is as follows.

*Tu dis en vomissant dessus moy ta malice,
Que j'ay fait d'un grand Bouc à Bacchus sacrifice:
Tu mens impudemment: cinquante gens de bien
Qui estoient au banquet diront qu'il n'en est rien.
Muses, qui habitez de Parnasse la croupe,
Filles de Jupiter, qui allez neuf en trope,
Venez & repoussez par vos belles chançons,
L'injure faite à vous & à vos nourrissons.
Jodelle ayant gagné par une voix hardie
L'honneur que l'homme Grec donne à la Tragedie,
Pour avoir en haussant le bas stile François,
Contenté docilement les oreilles des Rois:*

1

La

(e) Du Verdier, *ibid.*

(f) *ibid.*

(2) La Croix du Maine, *Bibliob.* pag. 78.

(3) Du Verdier, *Bibliob.* p. 286.

(4) La Croix du Maine, *Bibliob.* pag. 78.

(5) Du Verdier, *Bibliob.* p. 285. See also La Croix du Maine, *Bibliob.* pag. 78.

(6) Voet. *Disputat.* tom. 1. pag. 137.

(7) *Meminit. Honfdorf. dicitur libro exemplorum ad Decalogum, Lipsiæ in fol. ann. 1570. edit. . . Stephani Jodelli Gallici Poetæ, quem Epicureum & Atheum dilapidatis bonis inedia confectum dicit. Voëtius, ibid.*

(8) See the following remark.

(9) Voëtius, *Disputat.* tom. 1. pag. 137.

(10) You will meet in *Konig's Bibliothéque*, under the word *Jodellius*, with this passage, *Geo. Richterius Gorlicensis in Axiom. Ecclesi. numero 108. Ecq. habet: Memoria nostra Jodellius, tragicæ dramæ scriptor, tragicum exitum invenit: nam luxu, gæna, superbia, ex Epicureorum disciplina, patrimonium cum consumpsisset, miserrimo genere mortis fame perit.*

(11) See the article FINE, remark [D], towards the end.

(12) Gentillet, *Discours sur les moeurs de bien gouverner contre Nicolas Machiavel*, Part 2. pag. 179. edit. 1576.

(13) In book 2. chap. 24. pag. 170.

(14) In the *Vie de Ronsard*, pag. m. 139.

(15) He means two Ministers, who wrote against *Ronsard*.

(16) I think it should be *Arcueil*.

*La brigade qui lors au ciel levoit la teste
(Quand le temps permettoit une licence bonnesté)
Honorant son esprit gaillard & bien appris,
Luy fit present d'un Bouc, des Tragiques le prix.
Fà la nappe estoit mise, & la table garnie
Se bordoit d'une sainte & docte compagnie ;
Quand deux ou trois ensemble en riant ont pousté
Le pere du troupeau à long poil herissé :
Il venoit à grands pas ayant la barbe peinte,
D'un chapelet de fleurs la teste il avoit ceinte,
Le bouquet sur le oreille, & bien sur se sentoit
Dequoy telle jeunesse ainsi le presentoit :
Puis il fut rejezté pour chose mesprisée
Après qu'il eut seruy d'une longue risée,
Et non sacrifié, comme tu dis menteur,
De telle faulxse bourde impudent inventeur (17).*

(17) Ronfard, in his Réponse à quelque Ministre, pag. 92. of the 9th vol. of his Works, of the Paris edition, 1604, in 12mo.

i. e. " You belch out your wicked reproaches against me, and say that I have sacrificed a large goat to Bacchus! You lie impudently: fifty honest men, who were at the entertainment will declare, that there was no such thing as a sacrifice. Muses, who dwell on the top of Parnassus, daughters of Jupiter, ye that walk nine in company, come, and by your beautiful sons repel the injury that is offered to you, and to your Bards. Jodelle by his noble poem deserved the honour which the Greeks used to confer on Tragic Poets; for he exalted and raised the low stile of the French, and pleased thus the ears of Kings; whereupon the band of the Poets, who then lifted up their heads to the sky, at a time when they could lawfully indulge themselves in some honest freedom, to do honour to his lively genius, and to his learning, presented him with a goat, the usual prize of Tragedy. The cloth was already laid, dinner was upon the table, a sacred and learned company surrounded it ready to sit down, when two or three of the band, out of a frolick, drove in the fire of the rough-bearded flock. It walked in gravely, with its beard painted, a garland on its head, and a nosegay on its ear; it was very proud that such a company of young men should thus present it. It was afterwards rejected as a pitiful thing, when it had afforded the company a great deal of mirth for some time; but it was not sacrificed, as you a liar say, who have impudently invented this scandalous slander."

Of whatever party men be, they run upon extremes, and are but too often imposed upon by popular rumours. The Ministers did too rashly and easily believe the report that was spread concerning Jodelle's goat: and as Ronfard had set up for a persecutor both by his pen and by his sword, for he wrote against the Protestants, and fell upon them at the head of the militia, the Ministers reproached him with the ceremony of this goat, according to the worst construction that had been put upon it. They objected it to him as if it had been a heathenish sacrifice, and asserted that the goat was offered up to a false Deity. This was a calumny, but they were not the authors of it. We shall now quote Scaliger, who charges a Priest with giving rise to this imposture; and observe particularly that he explodes this pretended sacrifice as a mere fable. I do not know whether or not he remembered that some Ministers had accused Ronfard of it. But I know very well, that he imagined Scioppius, his adversary, pretended to involve him (Scaliger) in that affair. Here follow his own words.

" Ast illud, quod adjiciemus, omnia portenta amphitheatrica superat. Parisenses illos amicos tuos imitatis, quos Dionysia agitasse, & hircum immolasse fama est. Dionysia agitare, dicit esse hircum immolare. Hujus enim insimulati sunt illi, de quibus nunc agitur. Vespillonis filius, qui nunquam Lutetiae fuit, in media Suburra habitans Romae, unde hoc mendacium explicari potuit, nisi à quibus reliqua portenta didicit? Quos putat Dionysia agitasse, vel hircum immolasse, ut illi persuaserunt qui verum dicere, etiam si velint, non possunt, ii sunt, Petrus Ronfardus, M. Anton. Muretus, Janus Baifus, Remigius Bellaqueus, Stephanus Jodellus, Nicol. Denisotus, Joan. Auratus, alii, omnes Poetae, praeter Patoleum, qui in historiis conscribendis omne studium suum collocarat. Quos tam falsum est adeo execrandum, nefandum, impium facinus fecisse, quam certum est, impune illis futurum non fuisse,

" liquidem tam Christianae pietatis, quam existimationis suae obliti, tam detestabile scelus in se admiserunt. Si illi docti viri viverent, fur non inultum tulisset. Porro tam impudentis calumniae auctor fuit sacrificulus Gentiliaci vici, in quo illi doctissimi viri de constituto coierant, ut de symbolis essent. Totum drama exponerem, si opus esset, ut Josephus me docuit, qui illud ad unguem tenet (18)." i. e. " But what I have now to add, is more monstrous than any thing that can be imagined. You follow the example, says Scioppius to Scaliger, of your friends at Paris, who celebrated, they say, the Bacchanals, and sacrificed a goat. To celebrate the Bacchanals is, he says, to sacrifice a goat. For the persons here meant were suspected of this. This villain, who was never at Paris, and lives at Rome, from whom could he get that lie, but from those who told him the other monstrous stories? The persons, whom he imagines to have celebrated the Bacchanals, or to have sacrificed a goat, as they made him believe, who could not say the truth, even if they had a mind to it, these persons, I say, were Peter Ronfard, M. Anthony Muret, T. Baif, Remi Belleau, Stephen Jodelle, Nichol. Denisot, John d'Aurat, and others, all Poets, except Patolet, who applied himself entirely to the writing of history. It is as false that they committed such execrable, abominable and wicked actions, as it is certain that they would not have continued long unpunished, had they been so destitute of all Christian piety, and so little concerned for their own reputation, as to commit this horrid crime. Had these learned men been alive, the villain would not have escaped unpunished. Such a shameful slander was invented by a certain Priest of the village of Gentilli, where these most learned men had agreed to meet and be merry together. I would explain the whole farce to you, if it were necessary, as Joseph told it me, who was perfectly well acquainted with it." All this is very right; I wish that what follows was as reasonable as this. Sed ponamus verum esse. Quid haec ad Josephum, qui tunc puer Burdigalae primis rudimentis Latini sermonis initiabatur? An quia sexto post, septimo, & octavo anno omnes, praeter Jodellum, illos vidit, & familiariter novit, ideo ejusdem criminis postulandus erit? Hoc modo oporteret omnes, qui Muretum norunt, Dionysia agitasse, hoc est majorem partem eorum, qui hodie Romae agunt. Quanta invidia Josephum premerent, si verum crimen haberent, quod illi objicerent, quum aliorum facta, eaque falsa illi exprobrarentur (19). i. e. " But suppose it be true; what was this to Joseph Scaliger who was then but a boy, studying the first elements of the Latin tongue at Bourdeaux? Must he be charged with that crime, because he saw them all, except Jodelle, and was familiarly acquainted with them, six, seven, or eight years after the fact was committed? At this rate, all they that have known Muretus, that is to say, most part of those, who are now living at Rome, must also have celebrated the Bacchanals. How odious would they not render Scaliger, had they some true crime to charge him with, since they even reproach him with other men's actions, and such actions as are absolutely false?" The heat of the controversy did a little disturb Scaliger's mind: he clears himself of a crime with which he is not charged. He complains of being calumniated, when he is not, and thus he becomes a slanderer himself (20). To say that a man imitates the faults of his good friends, is not pretending to assert, that he was with them at such or such a place where they committed some crime: on the contrary, it is supposing that he was not there: for if he had been with them, one would stile him an accomplice, and not an imitator. It is not true therefore that Scioppius involved Scaliger in Jodelle's affair (21). Scaliger therefore ought not to have complained of it, nor had he any occasion to prove that he was at another place, when the fact was committed.

* (u) Consecrated a goat to him.] It was, say they, because Jodelle had carried the prize of Tragedy by his Cleopatra. But how does this agree with what we read in the Perroniana, under the word Belleau, where we find, that Cardinal du Perron placed none beneath Jodelle, in matters of Poetry, except because Remi Belleau, who in that Cardinal's opinion, was a very wretched Poet? CRIT. REM.]

(18) Scaliger, in Confutat. Fabulae Burdonum, pag. 338, & seq.

(19) Scaliger, ubi supra, pag. 340.

(20) See the 4th vol. of the Morale Pratique des Jesuites, chap. xviii.

(21) Parisenses illos amicos tuos imitatis. i. e. " You follow the example of your friends at Paris."

I dare not give any credit to what I read in Beza's Life [E]. You will meet with a great many particulars concerning this Poet, in the passage which I have quoted from Stephen Pasquier.

[E] I dare not give any credit to what I read in Beza's life. I have read there that Stephen Jodelle, one of the Poets of the French Pleiades, wrote a stanza of four lines upon Beza's (S) falling sick of the plague, whilst he was translating the Psalms into French verse. The stanza is as follows.

*Beza fut lors de la peste accueilli,
Qu'il retouchoit cette harpe immortelle.
Mais pourquoi fut Beza d'elle assailli?
Beza assaillit la peste à tous mortelle.*

i. e. "Whilst Beza was touching again the immortal harp, he was affected with the plague. But why did the plague assault Beza then? Why, Beza was assaulting that plague which proves mortal to all."

(22) Melchior Adam has inserted it almost entirely in the volume of the *Diwines*, who were not Germans.

Anthony la Faie, who wrote that Minister's life (22), gave Jodelle the surname of Modilin. *Stephanus Jodellus Modilinus*, says he, *non postremus inter poetas Pleiadis Gallicæ, &c.* i. e. "Stephen Jodelle Modilin, who was none of the least amongst the Poets of the French Pleiades, &c." One may easily think, that *Modilinus* was put instead of *Limodinus*, which title became Jodelle very well on account of his Lordship (23). But as this stanza is ascribed to one Stephin de Modelin in several editions of the Psalms, in which it is printed with Clement Marot's epitaph, composed by the same Modelin, I question whether it be Jodelle's. It is not on such an occasion that an author is called only by an anagrammatical name. I have another reason to question it, which is stronger still. Beza was at Lausanne when he fell sick of the plague. He was therefore looked upon in France as an apostate. The persecution raged terribly against the Protestants at that time. And can we imagine, that a Poet, who professed the Catholic Religion publicly, would have written an obliging stanza to Beza's

(23) He was Lord of Lymodin.

(24) *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Ecclésiastique*, tom. 7. pag. 910. Sec. of the Brussels edition in 12mo.

ST. JOHN the Evangelist. That I may not transcribe what may be found in Moreri or in Monsieur de Tillemont (a), I shall only make the following observations, I. There was in St. Augustin's time a ridiculous tradition concerning the state St. John was in [A]. II. Nothing is more absurd than the objection that was made against the author of the translation printed at Mons [B], with this false pretence; that it was not decent

(25) Augustin. *Comment. in Jo. an. in hac verba*, Discipulus hic non mortuus.

[A] There was in St. Augustin's time a ridiculous tradition concerning the state St. John was in. "There never were any nations more credulous with regard to traditions than those of Asia; and particularly the Ephesians. St. Augustin relates, concerning the subject we speak of, a very remarkable story, which shews very plainly the excessive credulity of that people, and the silliness of their traditions. He observes that the Ephesians (25), or persons who came to Ephesus, and who had a great deal of wit and merit, and who were not easy of belief, *non leuibus hominibus*, had assured him that St. John was not dead: that he was indeed buried at Ephesus, but that he lay in his grave like a man who is asleep in his bed; and that as one may observe the sheet and coverlets move up and down, as a man that sleeps in breathing; so one might perceive the earth of the grave, in which St. John was buried, moves up and down by intervals. Can there be any thing more impertinent than such a tale (1)?" I have just now read (2), that Monsieur de Tillemont's critic blames him for relating this story and several others of the same kind. He would deserve to be blamed if he related it as a matter of fact; but he does not give it for such (3); and therefore he is unjustly censured; for the compilation of errors is a very useful part of history. I confess that he seems to believe what is related concerning the Manna of our Apostle's tomb (4).

(26) The Abbé Faidit, *Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de St. Polycarpe*, p. 30.

(27) *Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans*, for May 1695, pag. 427.

(28) See Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. Eccles.* tom. 1. pag. 947.

(29) Ibid. p. 945.

(30) St. John's Gospel, ch. xix. vers. 27.

honour, which is so agreeable to the taste and style of the reformers? However it is certain that Anthony la Faie's opinion has been followed by Andrew Rivetus (24), and by Jeremy de Pours (25).

§ (B) A stanza... upon Beza. This stanza may very well have been composed by Jodelle in his younger days. He was then of the reformed religion, and at Geneva. And as to the wonderful readiness, even in verses extempore, which is ascribed to him in the remark [A] by Du Verdier, we may observe that one night he wrote at Geneva *ex tempore* an hundred Latin verses, in which he described the Mass with proper Sarcasms, as an Huguenot writer of those times relates. In all likelihood Jodelle was but indifferently paid for his Poems at Geneva; for all on a sudden he returned to Paris, and to that Mass, which he had so much cried down in his Latin verses (26). As the Roman Religion was not in the least become better, since Jodelle had thought fit to return to it, this may be the reason why the Huguenots called him an *impious man*, and even an *atheist*: which may also be owing in a great measure to thirty sonnets, which he made immediately after the massacre committed on St. Bartholomew's day, in order to charge the Ministers with being the cause of the executions, murders and wars, which had raged in France since the beginning of the reformation, and were occasioned by it. It is reported, continues the same author, that for these sonnets Jodelle received a large sum of money, which he mult then have spent in less than a year, if it be true, as it is pretended, that in July following he died for want. As for the name of *Modelin* or *Modilin*, Jodelle himself did perhaps turn thus, by way of Anagram, the name of his Lordship, that he might not plainly appear to be the author of a stanza, in which the Roman Catholic Religion was aspersed, and Beza commended. CRIT. REM.]

(24) He wrote to Voetius, that Stephen Jodelle had commended his version of the Psalms, and had even communicated to him the stanza.

(25) In Book 2. of the *Diwines Melodie*, p. 586. he cites the stanza, and ascribes it to Stephen Jodelle Modilin.

(26) *Mémoires de l'Etat de France*, tom. 1. fol. 178 verso.

Disciple took her into his house. This translation was criticized upon after the following manner. "It is certain that St. John, who lived in a state of poverty recommended in the Gospel, had no house of his own, where he could receive the mother of God; and tho' he had had one, yet there are several reasons of decency and modesty, which easily persuade us, that the Virgin would not have thought it proper to retire thither. Such a conduct might even have been attended with dangerous consequences with regard to future ages. For Ministers, who lead a scandalous life, would be very glad if they could justify their own conduct by so illustrious an instance of the youngest and chastest of all the Apostles dwelling under the same roof with the most prudent and most innocent of all the Virgins. Such a fear is not groundless; for St. Epiphanius, who seems to approve the opinion of the translators of Mons, had the same apprehension; and he tells us, that some dissolute persons had already attempted to justify their scandalous way of living, by the example of the holy Virgin's living at St. John's house. *Veror*, says he under the seventy eighth heresy, where he mentions the holy Virgin's dwelling with St. John, *ne hoc ipsum, quod dicimus, fraudi sit aliquibus, ut ad contubernales & dilectas, quas vocant feminas, retinendas, quod genus pessimo sibi errore animi, machinasti sunt, sicut in dicitur aliquem, & colorem arcessisse viduantur* (6)." i. e. "I fear lest what I observe here, be dangerous for some, who will take from thence some handle and excuse, to keep their companions and elect women, as they call them, which is a sort of cohabitation they have invented by a most dangerous error."

(6) Mallet, *Examen de quelques Passages*, p. 221. of the 3d edition.

decent this holy Apostle and the Virgin Mary should live together. III. The answer that has been made to Mr. Mallet upon this subject deserves to be transcribed [C], IV. There is a great deal of ingenuity in the answer, which St. John is said to have made, to justify his stroaking a Partridge [D]. V. Some persons pretend that the marriage in Cana, at which the water was turned to wine, was his marriage [E], and that the sight

of

(7) Nouvelle Défense de la Trinité, pag. 430

(8) It is in the 5th verse of the 9th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, and not of the 15th chapter, as Mr. Arnauld quotes it.

(9) See the Abbé Faidit, Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de S. Polycarpe, p. 37. that the blessed Virgin did not go to Ephesus with St. John; he proves it, I say, by observing, that Celsus who has slandered her very much, would certainly have bantered her on account of that journey, upon which however he does not pass one joke.

[C] ... The answer that has been made ... deserves to be transcribed.] For it contains some generous principles, very instructive to those who have a mind to judge of things according to their true differences. I shall not dwell upon the answer which relates to St. John's state of poverty; I shall only transcribe the refutation of the other part of the objection. It is very strange, says Monsieur Arnauld (7), that Monsieur Mallet should not have read what the commentators on the holy Scripture have observed upon a subject which ought to have appeared much more scandalous still. It is, that the Apostles always carried a Christian woman with them to take care of their maintenance. And yet St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 5. (8) they had a power to do it, and that they did it. Upon which Estius makes this very judicious reflection, which shows us the true principles, according to which we ought to judge of such things, and which Monsieur Mallet should have been acquainted with before he undertook to subject the Virgin to his false tales of decency. "If you ask, says that learned Divine, how the Apostles could without giving offence, lead about women, who were not their wives, I answer, that this was a custom so common among the Jews, that our Saviour himself did not take it ill that it should be praised even with regard to him. Nor was it practised but by such women, whose chastity and piety were so well known, and tried, that there was no room to suspect them in the least. To which may be added, that the Apostles led such an easy life, and had gained such a reputation of holiness, that though these women followed them, no man would have dared to judge ill of them, as the Jews never suspected any thing of that kind with regard to Jesus Christ, how inclined soever they were to speak ill of him, and to slander him." Nothing is more reasonable than this; and it is indeed by such principles we ought to judge, that an action, which otherwise might give offence, if it were not attended with such favourable circumstances as leave not the least room for bad suspicions, has nothing in it but what is really edifying, when it is attended with such circumstances. Now when shall the consideration of a tried holiness be capable to silence calumny, and to prevent all suspicions, even in the most inconsiderate persons, who suffer themselves to be easily swayed to the most trifling appearances, if the veneration which the faithful always had for the mother of Jesus Christ, and for his most beloved disciple was not sufficient to make them judge that these two persons behaved in the most holy and innocent manner, when they lived together, according to the express command they had received from the Saviour dying on the cross. ... Monsieur Mallet (9) is the first and only person, who entertained such a mean notion of the Virgin's holiness, and of the esteem the Church had for her, as to imagine that at the age of above fifty years she could not live with an Apostle without exposing her reputation, and that it was an instance attended with dangerous consequences, because it was proper to justify the suspicious cohabitation of Ministers with women, which was prohibited by the Canons. For thus far he carries his hyperbolic fancies against the reputation of the Virgin. But if the authors of those Canons had carried their suspicions as far as this man does, who pretends to blame the blessed Virgin and St. John, why did they except some persons in their prohibitions, as for instance, a mother, sisters, and nieces? Did they imagine that incests were absolutely impossible? By no means, but being directed by the Holy Ghost, and knowing that with regard to general laws, we ought to avoid all extremes, and keep within the bounds of a prudent moderation, which makes us have no regard for such cases as will hardly ever happen, they judged on the one hand, that the least virtue in the world was sufficient to prevent a man from being tempted at the sight of such persons, because natural modesty is generally strong enough to suppress all the motions of lust with regard to these persons. And on the other hand they considered, that men's disposition to judge ill of their neighbours, does seldom make them charge others with such odious crimes without very strong proofs: so that the au-

thors of the Canons did not think on these occasions there was any room either to dread some real evils from them, or to apprehend ill suspicions.

[D] There is a great deal of ingenuity in the answer St. John ... made to justify his stroaking a partridge.] A certain hunter seemed surprized to see, that this great Apostle, who was so venerable by his age and virtue, should stoop to so mean an amusement. The Apostle asked him, whether he always kept his bow bent. The hunter replied, that this would soon render the bow absolutely useless. If to avoid this you unbend it, said St. John, I do the same with regard to my mind, and for the like reason. I do not believe that this story is very certain, but I imagine, that they who never heard it mentioned, will not be displeas'd to know that it is reported. The author of the treatise De ludicra Dictione, i. e. "Of writing in a burlesque style," has inserted it in his work. His expressions being very strong will not be disagreeable to the learned; I shall therefore present them with the whole passage. Nec malus, ut opinor, interpret Christi confessorum & voluntatum Joannes discipulus, qui ad leves lusus atque oblectamenta puerorum descendit ipse jam senior, atque exemplo prævit, quatenus interjungere, & ex quotidianis occupationibus reficere ac recreare mentem liceret. Hunc, mansuetæ pernici blande & suaviter alludentem, quidam cum arcu & sagittis venator offendit. Quod eum facere cum vehementer miraretur, hominem id atatis, spectatum & cognitum diuturna virtute; sensit Joannes, & interrogavit, an illum ipsum, quem gereret, arcum haberet semper intentum. Cui ille, nequaquam vero, inquit: staciescat & enim arcus, & molliatur intentione perpetua, inutilisq; fiat. Tum Joannes, Tu, mi homo, arcum remittis ac relaxas, ne inutilis sit: ego animum, ne fit inutilis (10). i. e. "St. John, I think, was not a bad interpreter of Christ's advices and commands: who, when he was very old did not scruple to divert himself with the little plays and amusements of children, and shewed us by his own example, how we may intermix some diversions with our daily occupations, in order to unbend and refresh the mind. A hunter meeting St. John one day, whilst he was playing gently with a tame partridge, and coaxing of it, &c.

[E] Some persons pretend that the marriage in Cana ... was his marriage.] The curious and learned Thomasius will afford me all the materials of this remark. I wish I had the thesis which he caused to be maintained publicly (11) concerning St. John's glass: but I have only the preface of it (12), which acquaints me with a custom, that was unknown to me; namely, that in great entertainments the guests are obliged to drink a glass, which is called St. John's glass, or cup. This is not done without some mixture of superstition, which came originally from a legend, in which we find that St. John having swallowed poison, received not the least hurt from it. This is undoubtedly the reason why the painters drew him with a cup in his hand. But let us come to the marriage in Cana. The authors of the legends suppose, I. That St. John the Evangelist was the bridegroom, and Mary Magdalen the bride (13). II. That they both agreed not to consummate their marriage, but to oblige themselves to live in a perpetual virginity. III. That as soon as St. John had seen the miracle of the water turned into wine, he devoted himself entirely to Jesus Christ's service, and left his bride (14). IV. That Jesus Christ went on purpose to that wedding with a design to prevent the consummation of the marriage (15) One thing perplexes them, which is that St. John's virginity did not come up to the highest degree of perfection, if he once designed to marry. For it is requisite to a perfect virginity that a person should always have been determined to live in a state of continency. Videbatur ejus (virginitatis) laudem hæc fabula non tollere quidem, labefactare tamen, aut in gradum inferiorem detruere, cum ea demum numeris omnibus absoluta perhibetur virginitatis, quam perpetua incorruptionis nunquam corrupta meditatio pareat (16). To solve this objection, they

(10) Vavassor, de Ludicra Dictione, pag. 285.

(11) Printed with several others at Leipzig in the year 1681.

(12) See the Acta Eruditor. Lipsiæ, in which we find that St. John having swallowed poison, received not the least hurt from it. This is undoubtedly the reason why the painters drew him with a cup in his hand. But let us come to the marriage in Cana. The authors of the legends suppose, I. That St. John the Evangelist was the bridegroom, and Mary Magdalen the bride (13). II. That they both agreed not to consummate their marriage, but to oblige themselves to live in a perpetual virginity. III. That as soon as St. John had seen the miracle of the water turned into wine, he devoted himself entirely to Jesus Christ's service, and left his bride (14). IV. That Jesus Christ went on purpose to that wedding with a design to prevent the consummation of the marriage (15) One thing perplexes them, which is that St. John's virginity did not come up to the highest degree of perfection, if he once designed to marry. For it is requisite to a perfect virginity that a person should always have been determined to live in a state of continency. Videbatur ejus (virginitatis) laudem hæc fabula non tollere quidem, labefactare tamen, aut in gradum inferiorem detruere, cum ea demum numeris omnibus absoluta perhibetur virginitatis, quam perpetua incorruptionis nunquam corrupta meditatio pareat (16). To solve this objection, they

(13) Molanus, lib. 4. de Hist. Imaginum, cap. 20. pag. 228. apud Thomasius, Pref. LXXVIII pag. 511.

(14) Haymo, Part. biomal. Homel. pag. 207. Baronius, tom. 1. Annal. ad ann. 31. num. 30. apud Thomasius, ibid. pag. 512.

(15) Messret, de Sanctis, Serm. 30. folio 53. apud Thomasius, ibid.

(16) Thomasius, ibid. he quotes Pelbertus de Temeswar, de Sanctis, Serm. 30.

of this miracle made him renounce the use of marriage, and live in celibacy all his life time.

they observe amongst other things, that Divine Providence ordered things thus, with an intention to extol the merit of St. John's virginity, since by that means it is become entirely like that of the blessed Virgin, and has been consecrated, having been united with marriage, which is one of the seven sacraments. *Quin ergo potius ita cogitemus, deuisse, ut eodem virginitatis gradu collocaretur Apostolus, quo Virgo mater, que ipsi erat à Christo monituro commendanda? Quid, quod ita demum consecrari virginitas censenda est; si cum ceremoniâ matrimoniali conjugatur? Neque enim virginitas, sed conjugium est in numero sacramentorum* (17). i. e. "Why then should we think, that this was intended to place the Apostle's virginity in the same rank with that of the Mother Virgin, whom Christ dying recommended to him? Why, is not virginity then only to be esteemed sacred, when it is united with the matrimonial ceremony? For virginity is not of the number of sacraments, but matrimony." Let us not forget to observe that Baronius and Molanus explode these traditions of the writers of legends. Thoma-

sius quotes their words (18), and he observes with some probability, that Abdias's book was the first spring of all these fine stories. This fictitious Abdias asserts, that Jesus Christ dissuaded St. John three times from marrying. The authors of two prefaces prefixed to St. John's Gospel, do only assert in general that Jesus Christ made him alter the resolution he had taken to marry. These two prefaces (19) are falsely ascribed, the one to St. Jerom, and the other to St. Augustin. As there never were any authors more bold than they who compiled the lives of the saints, they would be more positive than the authors of those prefaces; and for that purpose they have supposed a time and place, that is to say, the marriage in Cana, wherein Jesus Christ freed his disciple from the marriage engagement. Thomafius does not in the least question this Apostle's virginity; it is grounded on a pretty good tradition; supported by the authority of St. Jerome, St. Augustin, St. Epiphanius, &c. But Baronius is in the wrong to quote also St. Ignatius, who speaks only of St. John the Baptist (21).

(18) Transcribed from the places quoted above.

(19) Quas conjugatas exhibet quarta pars Glossæ in Bibliâ ordinaria. Thomaf. ibid. pag. 516.

(20) See the proof of this in Thomafius, ibid. pag. 518.

(17) Thomafius, ibid. pag. 515. He quotes Pelbart. ibid. and Franc. Maro, Serm. de Sanctis, pag. 30.

(*) Thus he writes his name.

(a) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 608. 2d edit. London 1721.

(b) *Ibid.* and *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 273. and Fuller's *Worthies*, in *Westminster*.

(c) Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *Characters and Confutes of the most considerable Poets, whether antient or modern*, pag. 105. edit. London 1694 in 4to.

JOHNSON or JONSON (*) BENJAMIN) one of the greatest English Dramatic Poets in the 17th Century, was son of a Clergyman (a), and born at Westminster (b) about the year 1575 [A]. He was first educated in a private school in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields (c); and then removed to Westminster-school, where Camden was his master [B]. Thence his mother, who had married to her second husband a Bricklayer, took him home, and obliged him to work at his father's trade. At last being pitied by some generous Gentlemen, he received assistance from them; and by Camden's interest was recommended to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose son he attended in his adventures [C]; by which means gaining a knowledge of the world, his conversation was greatly desired. Upon their return home, Mr. Johnson and his pupil parted, not in cold blood; and thereupon our author went to the University of Cambridge, where he was statutely elected into St. John's College; but what continuance he made there, is uncertain [D]. This is Mr. Wood's account. But Fuller tells us (d), that he staid there but a few weeks for want of farther maintenance, being forced to return to the trade of his father-in-law; and worked at the new structure of Lincoln's-Inn, with a trowel in his hand, and a book in his pocket. Here he was taken notice of by some Gentlemen, who enabled him to prosecute his studies, which he did with such vigour and success, that he soon became eminent for his admirable dramatic writings. Wood affirms (e), that upon his leaving Cambridge, he entered himself in an obscure Play-house, called, *The Green Curtain*, about Shoreditch or Clerkenwell, but that his first action and writing there were both ill. Shakespear is said

(d) *Worthies*, in London.

(e) *Atb. Oxon.* col. 608.

(1) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 609.

(2) *Characters and Confutes of the most considerable Poets; whether antient or modern*, pag. 105.

(3) *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, pag. 305. edit. Oxford 1691.

[A] Born in the year 1575.] Mr. Wood (1), Sir Thomas Pope Blount (2), and Mr. Gerard Langbaine (3) assert, that he was in his sixty third year, when he died August the 16th 1637. [B] Removed to Westminster School, where Camden was his Master.] He dedicated his Comedy, intitled *Every man in his Humour*, acted in 1598, to Mr. Camden; and in the dedication he writes thus. "There are no doubt a supercilious race in the world, who will esteem all offices done you in this kind, an injurie, so solemn a vice it is with them to use the authoritie of their ignorance to the crying downe of poetry, or the professors. But my gratitude must not leave to correct their error, since I am none of those, that can suffer the benefits conferred upon my youth, to perish with my age... I pray you, accept this, such wherein neither the confession of my manners shall make you blush, nor of my studies repent you to have been the instructor." And our author's fourteenth epigram begins thus;

"Camden, most reverend head, to whom I owe
"All that I am in arts, all that I know;
"(How nothing's that!) to whom my country owes
"The great renowne and name wherewith she
"goes."

[C] By Camden's interest was recommended to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose son he attended in his Adventures.] This is the account of Mr. Wood (4); but there is some difficulty in it. For if this happened before Ben. Johnson applied himself to acting or writing of plays, as Mr. Wood asserts, then Sir Walter's eldest son, *Walter*, who was born in 1594, was scarce old enough to go to school, much less upon adventures.

(4) *Ubi supra*, col. 608.

Besides this son never made, that we can hear of, more than one adventure abroad, which was with his father to Guiana in 1617, in which he was killed; and therefore he could not part with his attendant or companion Ben. Johnson, in the manner Mr. Wood intimates he did after his return. If we suppose it the other brother, *Carew*, who was born in 1604, he never made any adventures at all, nor went out of England till six years after his father's death, and then only upon a short tour for about a twelvemonth; which was near thirty years after Ben. Johnson became a Dramatic Poet, and when he had written himself into a pension from the crown, or otherwise into easy circumstances, as render it unlikely, that he should attend even on Carew Raleigh in those sorrows and difficulties he was then under (5).

[D] Statutely elected into St. John's College.] This we are informed of by Mr. Wood (6). The reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Baker, author of the *Reflections on Learning*, has consulted the Register of the University of Cambridge, to see whether our Ben. Johnson's name appears in the list of those, who have been matriculated; but finds a neglect in the book for about ten or twelve years together, in which time he supposes him to have been admitted. In the books of St. John's College no account was kept for a long time of those who were admitted, but only of those who took scholarships; so that Ben. Johnson is not to be met with either in the public or private registers. Mr. Baker says, that there has been always a tradition handed down, that he was of St. John's College; that he was probably entered a Sizar; and that he made but a short stay. There are several books in the Library of that College with his name in them, and given by him to the College.

(5) See Mr. Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, pag. 172.

(6) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 608.

said to have first introduced him into the world; for Mr. Johnson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the public, having offered one of his plays to the Players, in order to have it acted, the persons, into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natured answer, that it would be of no service to their company; when Shakespear luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Johnson and his writings to the public (f). His first printed dramatic performance was a Comedy, intitled, *Every Man in his Humour*, acted in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. The year following his *Every Man out of his Humour* was acted [E]; as were his *Cynthia's Revels*, or, *The Fountain of Self-Love* [F], in 1600; his *Poetaster* [G] in 1601; his *Sejanus's Fall* [H] in 1602; his *Volpone*, or *the Fox* in 1605; his *Silent Woman* [K] in 1609 and his

(f) Mr. Rowe's Account of the Life of Mr. William Shakespear, prefixed to Shakespear's Works in 8vo.

[E] *The year following his Every Man out of his Humour was acted.*] It was acted by the Lord-Chamberlain's servants, with allowance of the Master of the Revels; and dedicated to *the noblest Nurseries of Humanity and Liberty in the Kingdom, The Inns of Court.*

[F] *Cynthia's Revels: or the Fountain of Self-Love.*] He styles it a *Comical Satyre*. It was acted by the children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel with the allowance of the Master of the Revels, and dedicated to *The special Fountain of Manners, the Court.*

[G] *His Poetaster.*] This *Comical Satyr* was acted by the children of her Majesty's Chapel, and dedicated to *The virtuous and his worthy friend Mr. Richard Martin*. Our author having under the character of *Crispinus* satyrized Mr. Thomas Decker, the latter wrote his *Satyrmafrix: or the untruffing the humorous Poet, a Comical Satyr, presented publicly by the Right Honourable the Lord-Chamberlain's Servants, and privately by the Children of St. Paul's*: printed at London, 1602 in 4to, and dedicated to the world. Mr. Johnson is represented in it under the character of *Horace Junior*. In the Epistle Dedicatory Mr. Decker says: "Horace trailed his *Poetasters* to the bar; the *Poetasters* untruffed Horace; how worthily either, or wrongfully leave it to the jury. Horace questionless made himself believe, that his Burgonian wit might desperately challenge all comers, and that none durst take up the foils against him. It is likely, if he had not so believed, he had not been so deceived, for he was answered at his own weapons; and if before Apollo himself, who is *Coronator Poetarum*, an inquisition should be taken touching this lamentable merry murdering of innocent Poetry, all mount Helicon to Bun-hill, would find it on the *Poetaster's* side, *se defendendo.*"

[H] *His Sejanus's Fall.*] It was acted by the King's servants, with the allowance of the Master of the Revels, and printed at London in 1605 in 4to, under this title, *Sejanus his Fall. Written by Ben. Jonson*. In this edition there is a Preface to the Readers, omitted in the other editions, in which he writes thus. "If it be objected, that what I publish is no true Poem, in the strict laws of time, I confess it; as also in the want of a proper chorus, whose habits and moods are such and so difficult, as not any, whom I have scene since the aunts, no not they who have most presently affected laws, have yet come in the way of. Nor is it needful or almost possible in these our times, and to such auditors, as commonly things are presented, to observe the ould state and splendour of *Dramatich Poemes*, with preservation of any popular delight. But of this I shall take more seasonable cause to speak in my observations upon *Horace his Art of Poetry*, which, with the text translated, I intend shortly to publish. In the meane time, if in truth of argument, dignity of persons, gravity and height of elocution, fulness and frequencie of sentence, I have discharged the other offices of a tragic writer; let not the absence of these formes be imputed to me, wherein I shall give you occasion hereafter (and without my boast) to thinke I could better prescribe than omit the due use, for want of a convenient knowledge. The next is, least in some nice nostril the *quotations* (7) might favour affected, I doe let you know, that I abhor nothing more, and have only done it to shew my integrity in the story, and save my selfe in these common torturers, that bring all wit to the

(7) These are omitted in the subsequent editions.

"rack, whose noses are ever like swine, spoyling and rooting up the Muses gardens, and their whole bodies, like moles, as blindly working under earth to cast any the least hills upon vertue . . . Lastly I would informe you, that this booke in all numbers is not the same with that which was acted on the publike stage, wherein a second pen had a good share, in place of which I have rather chosen to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a genius of his right by my lothed usurpation. Fare you well: and if you read farder of me, and like, I shall not be afraid of it, though you praite me out:

— *Neque enim mihi cornea Fibra est.*

"But that I should plant my felicity in your generall saying good or well, &c. were a weaknesse, which the better sort of you might worthily contemn, if not absolutely hate me for.

"BEN. JOHNSON, and no such,

"*Quem Palma negata macrum; donata reducit opimum.*"

To this edition are prefixed commendatory poems by George Chapman, Hugh Holland, Th. R. (8), John Marston, William Strachey, ΦΙΛΟΞ, Ev. B. [1] *His Volpone, or the Fox.*] It was acted by the King's servants, and dedicated to the two Universities in this form: *To the most noble and most equal Sisters, the two famous Universities, for their love and acceptance shown to his Poem in the presentation*, Ben. Jonson, the grateful acknowledger, dedicates both it and himself. It is written in imitation of the Comedy of the antients, and the argument is formed into an acrostich, like those of Plautus, which are said to be made by Priscian, or some other antient Grammarian.

[K] *His Silent woman.*] It was acted by the children of her Majesty's Revels, with the allowance of the Master of the Revels, and dedicated to *The truly noble by all titles, Sir Francis Stuart*. Mr. Dryden (9) has given us an *examen* of this Play, which he styles the *Pattern of a perfect Play* (10). He observes with regard to the length of the action, that it is far from exceeding the compass of a natural day, that it takes not up an artificial one. "It is all included in the limits of three hours and an half, which is no more than is required for the presentment on the stage. A beauty perhaps not much observed; if it had, we should not have looked on the Spanish translation of *five hours* with so much wonder. The scene of it is laid in London; the latitude of place is almost as little as you can imagine; for it lies all within the compass of two houses, and after the first act, in one. The continuity of scenes is observed more than in any of our Plays, except his own *Fox* and *Alchymist*. They are not broken above twice or thrice at most, in the whole Comedy; and in the two best of *Corneille's* Plays, the *Cid* and *Cinna*, they are interrupted once. The action of the Play is intirely one, the end or aim of which is the settling *Morose's* estate on *Dauphine*. The intrigue of it is the greatest and most noble of any pure unmixed Comedy in any language: you see in it many persons of various characters and humours, and all delightful. As first *Morose*, or an old man, to whom all noise but his own talking is offensive. Some, who would be thought Critics, say this hu-

(8) Probably See Thomas Roe.

(9) *Essays of Dramatich Poety*, pag. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 31.

“mour of his is forced : but to remove that objection, we may consider him, first, to be naturally of a delicate hearing, as many are to whom all sharp sounds are unpleasant ; and secondly, we may attribute much of it to the peevishness of his age, or the wayward authority of an old man in his own house, where he may make himself obeyed ; and to this the Poet seems to allude in his name *Morose*. Besides this, I am assured from divers persons, that Ben. Johnson was actually acquainted with such a man, one altogether as ridiculous as he is here represented. Others say it is not enough to find one man of such an humour ; it must be common to more ; and the more common the more natural. To prove this, they instance in the best of comical characters, *Falstaff*. There are many men resembling him ; old, fat, merry, cowardly, drunken, amorous, vain, and lying. But to convince these people, I need but tell them, that humour is the ridiculous extravagance of conversation, wherein one man differs from all others. If then it be common, or communicated to many, how differs it from other men’s ? Or what indeed causes it to be ridiculous so much as the singularity of it ? As for *Falstaff*, he is not properly one humour, but a miscellany of humours, images drawn from so many several men ; that wherein he is singular is his wit, or those things he says *præter expectatum*, unexpected by the audience ; his quick evasions, when you imagine him surprized, which as they are extremely diverting of themselves, so receive a great addition from his person ; for the very sight of such an unweirdy, old, debauched fellow is a Comedy alone.”

Mr. Dryden observes (11), that besides *Morose*, “there are at least nine or ten different characters and humours in the *Silent Woman*, all which persons have several concerns of their own, yet all used by the Poet to the conducting of the main design to perfection. I will not waste time in commending the writing of this Play, but I will give my opinion, that there is more wit and acuteness of fancy in it, than in any of Ben. Johnson’s. Besides, that he has here described the conversation of Gentlemen in the Persons of *True-Wit* and his friends, with more gaiety, air, and freedom, than in the rest of his Comedies. For the contrivance of the plot, it is extreme elaborate, and yet withall easy ; for the *novus* or untying of it, it is so admirable, that when it is done, no one of the audience would think the Poet could have missed it ; and yet it was concealed so much before the last scene, that any other way would sooner have entered into your thoughts. But I dare not take upon me to commend the fabric of it, because it is altogether so full of art, that I must unravel every scene in it to commend it as I ought. And this excellent contrivance is still the more to be admired, because it is Comedy, where the persons are only of common rank, and their business private, not elevated by passions or high concerns, as in serious plays. Here every one is a proper judge of all he sees ; nothing is represented but that with which he daily converses : so that by consequence all faults lie open to discovery, and few are pardonable. It is this which Horace has judiciously observed :

“*Creditur ex medio quia res arcessit habere*
 “*Sudoris minimum, sed habet Comœdia tanto*
 “*Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus.*”

“But our Poet, who was not ignorant of these difficulties, has made use of all advantages ; as he who designs a large leap, takes his rise from the highest ground. One of those advantages is that, which *Corneille* has laid down as the greatest, which can arrive to any Poem, and which he himself could never compass above thrice in all his plays, viz. the making choice of some signal and long-expected day, whereon the action of the Play is to depend. This day was that designed by the *Dauphine* for the settling of his uncle’s estate upon him, which to compass he contrives to marry him. That the marriage had been plotted by him long beforehand, is made evident by what he tells *True-Wit* in the second act, that in one moment he had destroyed what he had been raising many months. There is

“another artifice of the Poet, which I cannot here omit, because by the frequent practice of it in his Comedies, he has left it to us almost as a rule ; that is, when he has any character or humour, wherein he would shew a *Coup de Maître*, or his highest skill, he recommends it to your observation by a pleasant description of it before the person first appears. Thus in *Bartholomew-Fair* he gives you the pictures of *Numps* and *Cokes*, and in this those of *Darw*, *Lafoole*, *Morose*, and the *Collegiate Ladies* ; all which you hear described before you see them, so that before they come upon the stage you have a longing expectation of them, which prepares you to receive them favourably ; and when they are there, even from their first appearance, you are so far acquainted with them, that nothing of their humour is lost to you. I will observe yet one thing further of this admirable plot ; the business of it rises in every act : the second is greater than the first ; the third than the second, and so forward to the fifth. There too you see, till the very last scene, new difficulties arising to obstruct the action of the play ; and when the audience is brought into despair, that the business can naturally be effected, then, and not before, the discovery is made. But that the Poet might entertain you with more variety all this while, he reserves some new characters to shew you, which he opens not till the second and third act ; in the second, *Morose*, *Darw*, the *Barber*, and *Otter* ; in the third the *Collegiate Ladies* ; all which he moves afterwards in by-walks or under plots, as diversions to the main design, lest it should grow tedious, though they are still naturally joined with it, and somewhere or other subservient to it. Thus, like a skillful Chess-player, by little and little he draws out his men, and makes his pawns of use to his greater persons. If this Comedy, and some others of his were translated into French prose, (which would now be no wonder to them, since *Moliere* has lately given them plays out of verse, which have not displeased them) I believe, the controversy would soon be decided between the two nations, even making them the judges.”

Mr. Gildon having observed (12), that “a comic character can never be valuable, that is not general, and that those that are only particular yield no instruction ; tells us, that it was a very odd defence, that he heard a great Poet once give for the *Morose* of Ben. Johnson, which was that Ben. knew a certain person of that extravagant humour. But Ben. was too judicious a Poet to take the single extravagance of any one person to be a just character for comic representation.”

Mr. Congreve in his Letter to Mr. Dennis about humour gives a much better defence of our author upon this head, and shews, that *Morose* is not a particular, but general character. “The character of *Morose*, says he, in the *Silent Woman*, I take to be a character of humour, and I chose to instance this character to you from many others of the same author, because I know it has been condemned by many as unnatural and farce ; and you have yourself hinted some dislike of it for the same reason, in a letter to me concerning some of Johnson’s Plays. Let us suppose *Morose* to be a man naturally splenetic and melancholy ; is there any thing more offensive to one of such a disposition than noise and clamour ? Let any man that has the spleen (and there are enough in England) be judge. We see common examples of this humour in little every day. It is ten to one but three parts in four of the company that you dine with, are discomposed and startled at the cutting of a cork, or scratching a plate with a knife. It is a proportion of the same humour that makes such or any other noise offensive to the persons that hear it ; for there are others, who will not be disturbed at all by it. Well ! but *Morose*, you will say, is so extravagant, he cannot bear any discourse or conversation above a whisper. Why, it is his excess of this humour, that makes him become ridiculous, and qualifies his character, for Comedy. If the Poet had given him but a moderate proportion of that humour, it is odds but half the audience would have sided with the character and condemned the author for exposing a humour, which was neither remarkable nor ridiculous. Besides the distance of the stage requires the

(12) *Letter of Poetry explained and illustrated*, pag. 246. edit. London 1721, in 8vo.

(11) Pag. 35.

his *Alchymist* [L] in 1610; and his *Catiline's Conspiracy* [M] in 1611. The rest of his writings we shall give an account of in the note [N]. By the invitation of Dr. Richard Corbet, afterwards Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford, and Bishop of that See, and others of his friends, he resided for some time in that College, where he wrote several of his Plays (g); and on the 19th of July 1619 was created Master of Arts (*). Upon the death of Mr. Samuel Daniel in October that year, he succeeded him in the place of

(g) Wood, *Art. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 629.

(*) *Idem. Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 215.

Poet

“ figure represented to be something larger than the life; and sure a picture may have features larger in proportion, and yet be very like the original. If this exactness of quantity were to be observed in wit, as some would have it in humour, what would become of those characters, that are designed for men of wit? I believe, if a Poet should steal a dialogue of any length from the *Ex tempore* discourse of the two wittiest men upon earth, he would find the scene but coldly received by the town.

[L] *His Alchymist.*] It was acted by the King's servants, and dedicated to *The Lady most deserving her Name and Blood, the Lady Mary Wroth*. It is an excellent Comedy. Mr. Dryden supposes, that this Play was copied from the Comedy of *Albumazer*, as far as concerns the character of the Alchymist, as appears from his Prologue to *Albumazer* reviv'd at the King's House, where he says,

Subtle was got by our Albumazer,
That Alchymist by this Astrologer:
Here he was fashion'd, and we may suppose
He lik'd the fashion well, who wore the cloaths.

[M] *His Catiline's Conspiracy.*] It was acted by the King's servants, and dedicated to *The great Example of Honour and Virtue, the most noble William Earl of Pembroke*. He has borrowed very much from the antients in this Tragedy; as for instance, the part of *Sylla's Ghost*, in the very entrance of the Play, is copied from the Ghost of Tantalus in the beginning of Seneca's *Thyestes*. And he has translated a great deal of *Salust's History*, and inserted it into his Play.

[N] *The rest of his dramatic writings we shall give an account of in the note.*] I. *Case is alter'd; a pleasant Comedy, sundry times acted by the Children of Black-Fryars*. London, 1609, in 4to. II. *Bartholomew Fair, a Comedy acted at the Hope on the Bank side, October 31, in the year 1614, by the Lady Elizabeth's servants*. Dedicated to King James I. III. *Devil is an Ass, a Comedy acted in the year 1616, by his Majesty's servants*. IV. *Staple of News, a Comedy acted in the year 1625, by his Majesty's servants*. V. *The Magnetick Lady, or Humours reconciled, a Comedy, acted at Black-Fryars*. Dr. Alexander Gill, who succeeded his father, in 1635, in the Mastership of St. Paul's School, wrote a Satyr against this Play, in which are the following lines.

“ But to advise thee, Ben, in this strict age
“ A Brick-kiln's better for thee than a stage:
“ Thou better know'st a groundfil for to lay,
“ Than lay the plot or ground-work of a Play;
“ And better canst direct to cap a chimney,
“ Than to converse with *Clio* or *Polyphymny*.
“ Fall then to work in thy old age again;
“ Take up thy trug and trowell, gentle Ben;
“ Let Plays alone; or if thou needs wilt write,
“ And thrust thy feeble Muse into the light;
“ Let *Lowen* cease, and *Taylor* scorn to touch
“ The loathed stage, for thou hast made it such.”

Our author answered him thus:

“ Shall the prosperity of a pardon still
“ Secure thy railing rhymes, infamous *Gill*,
“ At libeling? shall no Star-Chamber Peers,
“ Pillory, nor whip, nor want of ears,
“ All which thou hast incur'd deservedly;
“ Nor derogation from the Ministry,
“ To be the *Denis* of thy father's school,
“ Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool?
“ Thinking to stir me, thou hast lost thy end;
“ I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tike; go, send
“ Thy blotant Muse abroad, and teach it rather
“ A tune to drown the balads of thy father.

“ For thou hast nought to cure his fame,
“ But tune and noise, the eccho of his shame:
“ A rogue by statute, censur'd to be whipt,
“ Cropt, branded, slit, neck-stock'd; go, you are
“ stript.”

VI. *A Tale of a Tub, a Comedy*. VII. *The Widow, a Comedy, acted at the Private House in Black-Fryars with great applause, by his late Majesty's servants*. This was written by our author, in conjunction with Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Middleton, and first published by Mr. Alexander Gough at London, 1652, in 4to. VIII. *Mortimer's Fall, a fragment of a Tragedy, left imperfect at his death*. IX. *The New Inn, or the Light Heart; a Comedy, as it was never acted, but most negligently played by some, the King's servants, and more squamishly beheld and censured by others, the King's subjects, 1629. Now at last set at liberty to the Readers, his Majesty's servants and subjects, to be judged of*. London, 1631, in 8vo. To the edition of this Play he subjoined the following Ode.

The just indignation the author took at the vulgar censure of his play by some malicious spectators, begat the following Ode to himself.

Come, leave the loathed stage,
And the more loathsome age;
Where pride and impudence, in fashion knit,
Usurp the chair of wit:
Inditing and arraigning every day
Something they call a Play.
Let their fastidious, vain
Commission of the brain
Run on, and rage, sweat, censure, and condemn:
They were not made for thee, lest thou for them.

Say that thou pour'st them wheat,
And they will acorns eat:
'Twere simple fury still thy self to waste
On such as have no taste.
To offer them a surfeit of pure bread,
Whose appetites are dead!
No, give them grains their fill,
Husks, drass, to drink and swill.
If they love lees, and leave the lusty wine,
Envy them not their palates with the swine.

No doubt some musty tale
Like *Pericles* (13), and stale
As the *Shrieve's* crust, and nasty as his fish-
Scraps out of every dish,
Thrown forth, and rack'd into the common tub,
May keep up the Play-Club.
There sweepings do as well
As the best order'd meal.
For who the relish of these guests will fit,
Needs set them but the alms-basket of wit.

And much good do't you then;
Brave plush and velvet men
Can feed on orts; and safe in your stage cloths
Dare quit upon your oaths
The stagers and the stage-wrights too (your Peers)
Of larding your large ears
With their foul comic stocks,
Wrought upon twenty blocks;
Which if they're torn, and turn'd, and patch'd enough,
The gamesters share your guilt, and you their stuff.

Leave things so prostitute,
And take the *Alcaic* lute;
Or shine own *Horace*, or *Anacreon's* lyre:
Warm thee by *Pindar's* fire;
And tho' thy nerves be struck, and blood be cold,
E'er years have made thee old,
Strike that disdainful beat
Throughout, to their defeat,

(13) A Play published under Shakespeare's name, tho' unworthy of it.

As

(b) *Idem, Alb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 447.

(i) *Ubi supra,* pag. 106.

Poet Laureat to his Majesty (b). Sir Thomas Pope Blount tells us (i), that “ he was generally esteemed a man of a very free temper, and withall blunt, and somewhat haughty to those, that were either rivals in fame, or enemies to his writings; otherwise of a good sociable humour, when amongst his friends in the *Apollo* (k) [O].” We shall give the rest of his character from several authors in the note [P]. He assisted

(k) A room in the old Devil Tavern near Temple Bar.

*As curious fools, and envious of thy strain
May blushing swear no falsity in thy brain.*

*But when they hear thee sing
The glories of thy King
His zeal to God, and his just awe o'er men;
They may blood-shaken then,
Feel such a self-quake to possess their powers,
As they shall cry like ours,
In sounds of peace and wars
No harp e'er hit the stars,
In tuning forth the acts of his sweet reign,
And raising Charles's Chariot 'bove his wain.*

Mr. Feltham wrote a severe reply to this Ode; the second stanza of which is as follows:

“ 'Tis known you can do well,
“ And that you do excell
“ As a translator. But when things require
“ A genius and a fire,
“ Not kindled heretofore by others pains;
“ As oft y'ave wanted brains
“ And art to strike the white,
“ As you have levell'd right.
“ Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,
“ You bellow, rave, and spatter round your gall.”

Mr. Thomas Randolph wrote an answer to Mr. Johnson's Ode to persuade him not to leave the stage; and Mr. Carew has another copy of verses to him on the same occasion. X. Entertainment of King James in passing to his Coronation; in prose and verse. XI. Entertainment of the Queen and Prince at Alibrope at the Lord Spencer's on Saturday being the twenty fifth of June 1603 as they came first into the Kingdom. XII. Entertainment in private of the King and Queen on May Day in the Morning at Sir William Cornwallis's House at Highgate, 1604: in prose and verse. XIII. Entertainment of the two Kings of Great Britain and Denmark at Theobalds, July the 24th 1606: in Latin and English verse. XIV. Entertainment of King James and Queen at Theobalds, when the house was delivered up with the possession to the Queen by the Earl of Salisbury, May the 22d 1607. XV. Entertainment of the King at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, a House of the Right Honourable William Earl of Newcastle at his going into Scotland 1633. Besides these he wrote several Masques; and a Pastoral intitled, *The sad Shepberd*, or *A Tale of Robin Hood*, which he left imperfect, there being but two Acts, and part of the third finished; and he assisted Mr. George Chapman, and Mr. John Marston in a Play called *Eastward-Hoe*. His other writings are, *Epigrams, Under-Woods; a Translation of Horace's Art of Poetry into English Verse; an English Grammar made for the Benefit of Strangers out of his observation of the English Language now spoken and in use; and Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter, as they have flowed out of his daily Readings, or had their Reflux to his peculiar notion of the times.* After his death there was printed *Ben Jonson's execration against Vulcan: with divers Epigrams by the same Author to severall noble Personages in this Kingdome. Never published before.* London 1640 in 4to. The *Imprimatur* is dated December the 14th 1639. *The Execration against Vulcan* appears to have been written upon the occasion of some of his writings having been accidentally burnt. It begins thus.

“ And why to me this, thou lame God of fire?
“ What have I done, that might call on thine ire?
“ Or urge thy greedy flames, thus to devour
“ So many my years labours in one hour!”

He afterwards writes thus.

“ But in my desk what was there to excite
“ So ravenous and vast an appetite?”

“ I dare not say a body, but some parts
“ There were of search and mystery in the arts:
“ And the old *Venusine* in Poetry,
“ And lighted by the Stagyrite could spy,
“ Was there made English, with a *Grammar* too,
“ To teach some that their nurses could not do,
“ The purity of language; and, among
“ The rest, my journey into Scotland sung,
“ With all the adventures: three books not afraid
“ To speak the fate of the Sicilian maid
“ For our own Ladies; and in story there
“ Of our fifth Henry, eight of his ninth year.
“ In which was oil, besides the succours spent,
“ Which noble Cotton, Carew, Selden sent:
“ And humble gleanings in Divinity
“ After the Fathers, and those wiser guides,
“ Whom faction had not drawn to study sides.”

He published an edition of his works at London 1616 in folio, reprinted there in 1640 in folio, with the addition of another volume in folio. His works were likewise reprinted at London 1716 in six volumes in 8vo. But in all these additions his Comedy intitled, *The Case is altered*, is omitted.

[O] *Of a good sociable humour, when amongst his friends in the Apollo.* In the marble over the chimney in that room, where he kept his club, there are the following laws engraven.

Leges Convivales.

Quod felix faustumque Convivis in Apolline fit.

- I. Nemo asymbolus, nisi umbra, huc venito.
- II. Idiota, insulsus, tristis, turpis abesto.
- III. Eruditi, urbani, bilares, honesti, adfiscuntur.
- IV. Nec lætæ sœminæ repudiantur.
- V. In apparatu quod convivis corruget naves, nil esto.
- VI. Epulæ delectu potius quam sumptu parentur.
- VII. Obsonator & Coquus conviviarum gulæ periti sunt.
- VIII. De discubitu non contenditur.
- IX. Ministri à dapibus oculati & muti, à poculis auriti & celeres sunt.
- X. Vina puris fontibus ministrantur, aut vapulet hospes.
- XI. Moderatis poculis provocare sodales fas esto.
- XII. At Fabulis magis quam vino velitatio fiat.
- XIII. Convivæ nec muti nec loquaces sunt.
- XIV. De feriis ac sacris poti & saturi ne differunt.
- XV. Fidicen, nisi accersitus, non venito.
- XVI. Admisso risu, tripudiis, eboreis, cantu, salibus, omni gratiarum festivitate sacra celebrentur.
- XVII. Joci sine felle sunt.
- XVIII. Inspida poemata nulla recitantur.
- XIX. Versus scribere nullus cogitor.
- XX. Argumentationis totus strepitus abesto.
- XXI. Amatoriis querelis ac suspiriis liber angulus esto.
- XXII. Lapidibus more Scyphis pugnare, Vitrea collidere, fenestras excutere supellectilem dilacerare, nefas esto.
- XXIII. Qui foras vel dicta vel facta eliminat, eliminatur.
- XXIV. Neminem reum pocula faciunt.

Focus perennis esto.

[P] *We shall give the rest of his character in the note.* Sir John Suckling in his *Sessions of the Poets* (14) writes thus.

“ The first, that broke silence was good old Ben,
“ Prepared before with Canary Wine;
“ And he told them plainly he detierved the bays,
“ For his were call'd *Works*, where others were but
“ *Plays*,

(14) *Fragmenta aurea.* A Collection of the incomparable pieces written by Sir John Suckling, pag. 7. edit. 1648 in 8vo.

“ And
“ Bid them remember how he had purg'd the stage
“ Of errors, that had laited many an age;
“ And he hop'd, they did not think the *Silent Woman*,
“ The *Fox*, and the *Alchymist* outdone by no man.

4

“ *Apollo*

Dr. John Hackett, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in translating the Lord Bacon's *Essays* into Latin. He died on the 16th of August 1637 in the sixty third year of his age, and was interred three days after in Westminster-Abbey, at the west-end near the Bellfrey, under the Escutcheon of Robert de Ros or Roos, with these words, *O rare Ben Johnson*, engraven on a common pavement stone over his grave, at the expence of Mr. John Young of Great Milton in Oxfordshire, afterwards knighted by King Charles II. There was a considerable sum of money collected among the men of wit and learning for the

" Apollo stopp'd him there, and bade him not go on ;
 " 'Twas merit, he said, and not presumption
 " Must carry't. At which *Ben* turn'd about,
 " And in great choler offer'd to go out.

" But

" Those that were there thought it not fit
 " To discontent so antient a wit ;
 " And therefore Apollo call'd him back again,
 " And made him mine Host of his own *New Inn*."

(15) *Lives of the most famous English Poets*, pag. 125. edit. 1687.

Mr. Winstanley (15) says, " that he was paramount in the Dramatic Poetry, and taught the stage an exact conformity to the laws of the Comedians, being accounted the most learned, judicious, and correct of them all, and the more to be admired for being so, for that neither the height of natural parts, (for he was no Shakespeare) nor the cost of extraordinary education, but his own proper industry and addition to books advanced him to this perfection." He observes afterwards (16), " that his Plays were above the vulgar capacity, (which are only tickled with downright obscenity,) and took not so well at the first stroke as at the rebound, when beheld the second time; yea, they will endure reading, and that with due commendation, so long as either ingenuity or learning are fashionable in our nation. And altho' all his Plays may endure the test, yet in three of his Comedies, namely, the *Fox*, *Alcbymist*, and *Silent Woman*, he may be compared, in the judgment of the learned men, for decorum, language, and well humouring parts, as well with the chief of the antient Greek and Latin Comedians, as the prime of modern Italians, who have been judged the best of Europe for a happy vein in Comedies; nor is his *Baribolomew-Fair* much short of them. As for his other Comedies, *Staple of News*, *Devil's an Ass*, and the rest, if they be not so sprightly and vigorous as his first pieces, all that are old will, and all that desire to be old, should excuse him therein, and therefore let the name of *Ben Johnson* shield them against whoever shall think fit to be severe in censure against them. Truth is, his Tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, seem to have in them more of artificial and inflate, than of a pathetical and naturally tragic height; yet do they each of them far excel any of the English ones that were writ before him; so that he may be truly said to be the first reformer of the English stage, as he himself more truly and modestly writes in his commendatory verses of his servant Richard Broome's Comedy of the *Northern Lass*;

" Which you have justly gained from the stage,
 " By observation of those Comic Lawes,
 " Which I, your master, first did teach the age.

" In the rest of his Poetry, (for he is not wholly Dramatic) as his *Underwoods*, *Epigrams*, &c he is sometimes bold and strenuous, sometimes magisterial, sometimes lepid and full enough of conceit, and sometimes a man as other men are." Mr. Dryden (17) styles him *the greatest man of the last age*; and tells us, " that he was not only a professed imitator of *Horace*, but a learned plagiary of all the others: you track him every where in their snow. If *Horace*, *Lucan*, *Petronius Arbitor*, *Seneca*, and *Juvenal*, had their own from him, there are few serious thoughts which are new in him." He afterwards thinks (18), " that if we look upon him, while he was himself, (for his last Plays were but his dotages) he was the most learned and judicious writer, which any theatre ever had. He was a most severe judge of himself as well as others. One cannot say he wanted wit, but rather that he was frugal of it. In his works you find little to retrench

or alter. Wit, and language, and humour also in some measure we had before him; but something of art was wanting to the *Drama* till he came. He managed his strength to more advantage than any who preceded him. You seldom find him making love in any of his scenes, or endeavouring to move the passions: his genius was too sullen and saturnine to do it gracefully, especially when he knew he came after those, who had performed both to such an height. Humour was his proper sphere, and in that he delighted most to represent mechanic people. He was deeply conversant in the antients both Greek and Latin, and he borrowed boldly from them. There is scarce a Poet or Historian among the Roman authors of those times, whom he has not translated in *Sejanus* and *Catiline*. But he has done his robberies so openly that one may see, he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades authors like a monarch, and what would be theft in other Poets, is only victory in him. With the spoils of these writers he represents old Rome to us in its rites, ceremonies, and customs, that if one of their Poets had written either of his Tragedies, we had seen less of it than in him. If there was any fault in his language, it was, that he weaved it too closely and laboriously, in his Comedies especially; perhaps too he did a little too much Romanize our tongue, leaving the words translated almost as much Latin as he found them; wherein tho' he learnedly followed their language, he did not enough comply with the Idiom of ours. If I would compare him with Shakespeare, I must acknowledge him the more correct Poet, but Shakespeare the greater Wit. Shakespeare was the Homer or Father of our Dramatic Poets; Johnson was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love Shakespeare. To conclude of him, as he has given us the most correct Plays, so in the precepts, which he has laid down in his *Discoveries*, we have as many and profitable rules for perfecting the stage, as any wherewith the French can furnish us." The

same author in another place (19) tells us, that " Ben Johnson is a most judicious writer, and that he always wrote properly, and as the character required; and I will not, *says he*, contest farther with my friends, who call that wit; it being very certain, that even folly itself well represented is wit in a larger signification, and that there is fancy as well as judgment in it, though not so much or noble; because Poetry being imitation, that of folly is a lower exercise of fancy, though perhaps as difficult as the other: for it is a kind of looking downward in the Poet, and representing that part of mankind, which is below him. In these low characters of vice and folly lay the excellency of that inimitable writer, who when at any time he aimed at wit in the stricter sense, that is, sharpness of conceit, was forced either to borrow from the antients, as to my knowledge he did very much from Plautus; or when he trusted himself alone, often fell into meannefs of expression. Nay he was not free from the lowest and most groveling kind of wit, which we call *Clenches*, of which *Every man in his humour* is infinitely full, and which is worse, the wittiest persons in the *Drama* speak them." Mr. Dryden in another place (20) writes thus: " Ben Johnson is to be admired for many excellencies, and can be taxed with fewer failings than any English Poet. I know, I have been accused as an enemy of his writings; but without any other reason than that I do not admire him blindly, and without looking into his imperfections. For why should he only be excepted from those frailties from which Homer and Virgil are not free? Or why should there be any *ipse dixit* in our Poetry, any more than there is in our Philosophy? ... To make men appear pleasantly ridiculous

(16) *Ibid.* pag. 126.

(17) *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, pag. 9.

(18) *Ibid.* pag. 32.

(19) Postscript to the *Conquest of Granada*.

(20) Preface to the *Mock Astrologer*.

(1) Wood, *Art.*
Dixon, vol. 1, col.
610.

(m) *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

the erection of a statue and monument to him; but this design was broken off by the civil wars, and the money was refunded (l). Mr. Wood was informed by Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, that our Poet had a pension of a hundred pounds *per ann.* from the King, a pension from the City of London, and the like from several of the Nobility and Gentry, and particularly Mr. Sutton, the Founder of the Chârtreux Hospital in London. Among his *Underwoods* there is a piece intitled, *The humble Petition of poore Ben, To the best of Monarchs, Masters, Men, King Charles*; in which he requests his Majesty, that as his Royal Father had allowed him an annual pension of an hundred Marks, he would make them Pounds. In 1629 he wrote an epigram to the King upon his sending him a hundred pounds in his sickness; and 1631 he wrote an *Epistle Mendicant* to the Lord Treasurer to sollicit him for some money, complaining, that he had laboured under sickness, and want for five years. When he was in his last sickness the Prelate abovementioned, who was then Master of Arts, frequently visited him among others of his acquaintance, and as often heard him repent of his profaning the Scripture in his Plays (m). It appears from a letter of Mr. James Howell (n) to Dr. Brian Duppa Bishop of Chichester, and tutor to King Charles II, then Prince of Wales, that the Bishop was preparing to publish a piece intitled, *Jonsonus Virbius*; to which Mr. Howell contributed a *Decastich*. This piece was published in 1638 under the title of *Jonsonus Virbius; or the Memorie of Ben Johnson revived by the Friends of the Muses* [2], London in 4to.

(n) Howell's *Familiar Letters*, vol. 1, Sect. 6. Let. 31. There is some mistake in the date of that Letter, for it is dated May 1, 1636, whereas Ben. Johnson did not die till Aug. 16, 1637.

He

“culous on the stage, was, as I have said, his talent, and in this he needed not the acumen of wit, but that of judgment. For the characters and representations of folly are only the effects of observation, and observation is an effect of judgment. Some ingenious men, for whom I have a particular esteem, have thought I have much injured Ben Johnson, when I have not allowed his wit to be extraordinary. But they confound the notion of what is witty with what is pleasant. That Ben Johnson's Plays were pleasant, he must want reason who denies. But that pleasantness was not properly wit, or the sharpness of conceit, but the natural imitation of folly; which I confess to be excellent in its kind, but not to be of that kind, which they pretend. Yet if we will believe Quintilian in his chapter *de movendo risu*, he gives his opinion of both in these following words: *Stulta reprehendere facillimum est, nam per se sunt ridicula; & à derisu non procul abest risus. Sed rem urbanam facit aliqua ex nobis adjectio.* And some perhaps would be apt to say of Johnson, as it was said of Demosthenes, *non displicuisse illi jocos sed non contigisse.*” Mr. Shadwell says (21) that our author was incomparably the best Dramatic Poet that ever was, or he believes, ever will be; and that he had rather be the author of one scene in his best Comedies, than of any Play the age had produced. Mr. Thomas Rytner (22) having observed, that in a Play *one should speak like a man of business, his speech must be πολιτικόν, which the French render agissante, the Italians negotiosa and operativa*; tells us, that it was then a strange imagination in Ben Johnson to go stuff out a Play with Tully's Orations. He afterwards observes (23); that our author knew how to distinguish men and manners; and that in his *Catiline*, the scene is Rome, and first on the stage appears Sylla's Ghost.

(21) *Dedication to his Virtuoso.*

(22) *A Short View of Tragedy*, cap. 1, pag. 5, 6. edit. London 1693.

(23) *Ibid.* cap. 8, pag. 159.

Dost thou not feel me, Rome? Not yet?

One would in reason imagine the Ghost is in some public open place, upon some eminence, where Rome is all within his view. But it is a surprizing thing to find, that this rattling rodomontado speech is a dark, close, private sleeping-hole of Catiline's. Yet the Chorus is of all wonders the strangest. The Chorus is always present on the stage, privy to, and interested in all that passes, and thereupon make their reflections to conclude the several Acts. Sylla's Ghost, though never so big, might slide in at the key-hole; but how comes the Chorus into Catiline's chamber? Aurelia is soon after with him too; but the Poet had perhaps provided her some truckle-bed in a dark closet by him. In short, it is strange that Ben who understood the turn of Comedy so well, and had found the success, should thus grope in the dark, and jumble things together without head or tail, without any rule or proportion, without any reason or design. Might not the Acts of the Apostles, or a Life in Plutarch, be as well acted, and as properly called a Tragedy, as any History of a Conspiracy? ... What is there material in this *Catiline*, either in the manners, in the thoughts, or in the

expression, (three parts of Tragedy) which is not word for word translated? Mr. Lewis Theobald (24) observes, that Shakespeare and our author “are professedly the greatest writers our nation could ever boast of in the Drama. The first, we say, owed all to his prodigious natural genius; and the other a great deal to his art and learning. This, if attended to, will explain a very remarkable appearance in their writings. Besides those wonderful masterpieces of art and genius, which each has given us, they are the authors of other works very unworthy of them; but with this difference, that in Johnson's bad pieces we do not discover one single trace of the author of the *Fox* and *Alchymist*; but in the wild extravagant notes of Shakespeare, you every now and then encounter strains, that recognize the divine composer. This difference may be thus accounted for. Johnson, as we have said before, owing all his excellence to his art, by which he sometimes strained himself to an uncommon pitch, when at other times he unbent and played with his subject; having nothing then to support him, it is no wonder he wrote so far beneath himself. But Shakespeare indebted more largely to nature, than the other to acquired talents, in his most negligent hours could never so totally divest himself of his genius, but that it would frequently break out with astonishing force and splendor.”

(24) *Preface to the Works of Shakespeare*, pag. 33, 34. ed. London 1733, in 8vo.

[2] *Published under the title of Jonsonus Verbius; or the Memorie of Ben Johnson revived by the Friends of the Muses.*] The *Imprimatur* is dated January the 23d 1637. It contains 74 pages. The Printer in his advertisement to the reader writes thus. “It is now about six months since the most learned and judicious Poet Ben Johnson became a subject for these *Elegies*. The time interjected between his death and the publishing of these, shews that so great an argument ought to be considered before handled; not that the Gentlemen's affections were less ready to grieve, but their judgments to write. At length the loose papers were consigned to the hands of a Gentleman, who truly honoured him (for he knew why he did so). To his care you are beholden that they are now made yours. And he was willing to let you know the value of what you have lost, that you might the better recommend what you have left of him to your posterity.” It contains a collection of Poems written upon our author's death by the Lord Falkland, Lord Buckhurst, Sir John Beaumont Bart. Sir Thomas Hawkins, Mr. Henry King, Mr. Henry Coventry, Mr. Thomas May, Mr. Dudley Diggs, Mr. George Fortescue, Mr. William Abington or Habington, Mr. Edmund Waller, Mr. James Howel, Mr. John Vernon, Mr. J. Cl. (25), Mr. Jaspas Mayne, Mr. William Cartwright, Mr. Jo. Rutter, Mr. Owen Feltham, Mr. George Donne, Mr. Shakerly Marmion, M. A. Mr. John Ford, Mr. R. Brideoak, M. A. Mr. Richard West, Mr. R. Meade, Mr. H. Ramsay, Sir Francis Wortley, Bart. Mr. T. Terrent, Mr. Rob. Waring, Mr. William Bew, and Mr.

(25) Probably John Cleveland.

(o) Winstanley, *Lives of the most famous English Poets*, pag. 127. edit. London 1687.

(p) *Ubi supra.*

(q) *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, cap. 5. pag. 58. edit. London 1694.

He had several children, but none survived him (o) [R]. He had a very strong memory [S]. His constant humour was to sit silent in learned company, and “suck in, says Fuller (p), their several humours into his observation. What was Ore in others, he was able to refine unto himself.” In his *Discoveries* he observes, that his innocence had often rescued him from the dangers, to which the malice of his enemies had exposed him [T]. Mr. Wotton (q) remarks, that our Author was the first, that he knew of, who did any thing considerable with regard to the grammar of the English language; but that “Lilly’s grammar was his pattern, and for want of reflecting upon the grounds of a language, which he understood as well as any man of his age, he drew it by violence to a dead language that was of a quite different make, and so left his work imperfect.” Our author had a very intimate friendship with Mr. Selden, who wrote a Latin Poem in praise of him, intitled, *Ad Virum Cl. Ben Johnsonum Car-men Protrepticon*, and wrote a letter to him, dated from the Inner-Temple, February the 28th 1615 (r), concerning “the literal sense and historical of the holy text usually brought

(r) It is published in Dr David Wilkins’s edition of Mr. Selden’s Works, vol. 2. pag. 1691, edit. London 1726 in fol.

Mr. Samuel Evans L. L. B. The Lord Falkland in his *Eclogue* upon Johnson’s death hath these lines.

“His learning such, no author old nor new
“Escap’d his reading that deserv’d his view;
“And such his judgment, so exact his test,
“Of what was best in books, as what books best,
“That had he join’d those notes his labours took,
“From each most prais’d and praise-deserving book,
“And could the world of that choice treasure boast,
“It need not care, though all the rest were lost;
“And such his wit, he wrote past what he quotes,
“And his productions far exceed his notes.
“So in his works where ought inserted grows.
“The noblest of the plants engrafted shews,
“That his adopted children equal not
“The generous issue his own brain begot.
“So great his art, that much which he did write
“Gave the wise wonder, and the crowd delight.
“How in an ignorant and learn’d age he sway’d
“(Of which the first he found, the second made)
“How he, when he could know it, reap’d his fame,
“And long outliv’d the envy of his name:
“To him how daily flock’d, what reverence gave
“All that had wit, or would be thought to have,
“Or hope to gain, and in so large a store,
“That to his ashes they can pay no more,
“Except those few, who censuring thought not so,
“But aim’d at glory from so great a foe.”

Mr. Jasper Mayne in his Poem writes thus.

*Scorn then their censures, who gav’t out, thy wit
As long upon a Comedy did sit,
As elephants bring forth; and that thy blots
And mendings took more time than fortune plots;
That such thy drougt was, and so great thy thirst,
That all thy Plays were drawn at th’ Mermaid * first:
That the King’s yearly Butt wrote, and his wine
Hath more right than thou to thy Catiline.
Let such men keep a diet, let their wit
Be rack’d, and while they write, suffer a fit;
When th’ have felt tortures, which out-pain the gout;
Such as wish less the state draws treason out;
Though they should the length of consumptions lie
Sick of their verse, and of their Poem die,
’T would not be thy worst scene.*

[R] He had several children, but none survived him.] His 22d Epigram is upon his first daughter, Mary, who died at six months; and his 45th on his first son, who died at seven years of age.

[S] He had a very strong memory.] “I myself, says he (24), could in my youth have repeated all that ever I had made, and so continued till I was past forty. Since it is much decayed in me. Yet I can repeat whole books that I have read, and poems of some selected friends, which I have liked to charge my memory with. It was wont to be faithful to me; but shaken with age now and sloth (which weakens the strongest abilities) it may perform somewhat, but cannot promise much. By exercise it is made to be better and serviceable. Whatsoever I pawned with it, while I was young and a boy, it offers me readily, and without stops: but what I trust to it now, or have done of later years, it lays up more negligently, and oftentimes loses;

“so that I receive mine own (though frequently called for) as if it were new and borrowed. Nor do I always find presently from it what I do seek; but while I am doing another thing, that I laboured for will come, and what I sought with trouble, will offer itself when I am quiet. Now in some men I have found it as happy as nature, who, whatsoever they read or pen, they can say without book presently, as if they did then write in their mind. And it is more a wonder in such as have a swift stile, for their memories are commonly slowest. Such as torture their writings, and go in to council for every word, must needs fix somewhat, and make it their own at last, though but through their own vexation.”

[T] In his *Discoveries* he observes, that his innocence often rescued him from those dangers, to which the malice of his enemies had exposed him.] “An innocent, man, says he (25), needs no eloquence: his innocence is instead of it. Else I had never come off so many times from those precipices, whither men’s malice hath pursued me. It is true, I have been accused to the Lords, to the King, and by great ones. But it happened my accusers had not thought of the accusation with themselves, and so were driven for want of crimes to use invention, which was found slander; or too late, (being entered so far) to seek starting holes for their rashness, which were not given them. And then they may think, what accusation that was like to prove, when they that were the engineers feared to be the authors. Nor were they content to feign things against me, but to urge things feigned by the ignorant against my profession; which though from their hired and mercenary impudence I might have passed by, as granted to a nation of barkers, that let out their tongues to lick others’ sores, yet I durst not leave myself undefended, having a pair of ears unskillful to hear lies, or have those things said of me, which I could truly prove of them. They objected making of verses to me, when I could object to most of them their not being able to read them, but as worthy of scorn. Nay, they would offer to urge my own writings against me, but by pieces, (which was an excellent way of malice, as if any man’s context might not seem dangerous and offensive, if that, which was knit to what went before, were defrauded of his beginning, or that things by themselves uttered might not seem subject to calumny, which read entire would appear most free. At last they upbraided my poverty: I confess, she is my domestic; sober of diet, simple of habit, frugal, painful, a good counsellor to me, that keeps me from cruelty, pride, or other more delicate impertinences, which are the nurse-children of riches. But let them look over all the great and monstrous wickednesses, they shall never find those in poor families. They are the issue of the wealthy giants, and the mighty hunters; whereas no great work, or worthy of praise or memory, but comes out of poor cradles. It was the ancient poverty that founded commonweals, built cities, invented arts, made wholesome laws, armed men against vices, rewarded them with their own virtues, and preserved the honour and state of nations, till they betrayed themselves to riches.”

(25) In his *Discoveries*.

* A famous Tavern in Bread-Street.

(24) In his *Discoveries*.

(s) Preface to the first edition of his *Titles of Honour*, London 1614, in 4to.

(t) *Titles of Honour*, Part 2. See his *Works*, vol. 3, pag. 466.

(u) Dated at the Great Mogol's Court, Wednesday Nov. the 8th 1615, printed in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Part 1, pag. 597. edit. London 1625, in fol.

(a) Some Memorials of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnson, communicated in a Letter to a Friend by one of his intimate Acquaintance, pag. 3, prefixed to *The Works of the late Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnson*, 2d edit. London 1713 in fol.

"brought against the counterfeiting of sexes by apparel." He styles Mr. Johnson likewise (s) his beloved friend, and singular Poet, whose special worth, says he, in *Literature, accurate judgment, and performance, known only to that few, which are truly able to know him, hath had from me, ever since I begun to learn, an increasing admiration.* And in another place (t) he calls him his beloved Ben Johnson, and speaks of his curious learning and judgment. About the year 1615 our author lived in Black Fryars, as appears from a letter of Tom. Coryat (u); tho' it is said, that he had afterwards an house in Aldersgate Street at the corner of Jewin Street, where it is reported he died. Mr. Pope observes (x), "that he getting possession of the stage, brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, may appear from those frequent lessons (and indeed almost declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his first plays, and put into the mouth of his actors; the *Grege, Chorus, &c.* to remove the prejudices, and inform the judgment of his hearers. Till then our authors had no thoughts of writing on the model of the ancients; their Tragedies were only histories in dialogue; and their Comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less implicitly than if it had been true history."

(x) Preface to his edition of *Shakespeare's Works*, pag. 6. 2d edit. London 1728.

JOHNSON (SAMUEL) was born in the year 1649 in Warwickshire, and educated at St. Paul's School in London, where he made such an extraordinary proficiency, that when he was fitted for the University, he was made Library-Keeper of that school; during which time he studied the Oriental Languages with such success, that they were afterwards of great use to him in his study of Divinity. He had his University education at Cambridge; and having entered into holy Orders (a), he was presented March the 1st 1669 (b) by Mr. Bidolph to the Living of Curingham in the hundreds of Essex, worth eighty pounds a year; which was the only Church-preferment he ever had (c). But the air of that place not agreeing with him, he was obliged to leave it for his health, and placed a Curate there, to whom he gave forty pounds a year; but visited his parishioners himself as often as his health would allow. His patron observing his inclination to the study of politics, advised him to read *Braetton* and *Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, &c.* that he might be acquainted with the old English Constitution; but by no means to make politics the subject of his sermons. Mr. Johnson religiously observed this advice. He soon became acquainted with those persons who opposed the measures of the Court in the reign of Charles II, and particularly the Lord Russel, who made him his domestic Chaplain; and when that Lord, in conjunction with others, carried on the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York, Mr. Johnson, to promote that design; wrote a book, intitled, *Julian the Apostate* [A]; against which Dr. Hickes having published by way of answer a book called *Jovian*, Mr. Johnson replied to him in a treatise intitled, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity, together with Answers to Constantius the Apostate and Jovian*; which was printed in 1683, and entered at Stationers Hall; but before he published it, the Lord Russel being imprisoned, and Mr. Johnson being told by some of his friends that it would not be safe for him at that time to publish his book;

(b) Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, pag. 194.

(c) Some Memorials, ubi supra.

[A] Wrote a book, intitled, *Julian the Apostate.* It was printed in 1682 under the following title: *Julian the Apostate: being a short Account of his Life; the sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession; and their Behaviour towards him. Together with a Comparison of Popery and Paganism.* In this book our author endeavours to shew, that there was a remarkable difference betwixt the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and ours, who had laws on our side. That when Christianity came to be established in the Empire, and Julian the Apostate's defection suspected, the Christians in those days did all they could to hinder his succession; and were so far from paying him a blind submission, when he came to the throne, that they opposed his proceedings to overturn their religion, upbraided him with his apostacy, and carried it towards him in such a manner, as discovered that they knew nothing of the doctrine of Non-Resistance. This book of our author was answer'd by several writers, viz. I. Mr. John Bennet of Christ Church Oxford, in his treatise intitled, *Constantius the Apostate; being a short Account of his Life, and the Sense of the Primitive Christians about Succession. Wherein is shewn the Unlawfulness of excluding the next Heir upon the account of Religion, and the Necessity of Passive Obedience, as well to the unlawful Oppressor as legal Persecutor. Being a full Answer to a late Pamphlet intitled Julian the Apostate, &c.* London, 1683, in 8vo. Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote the following note upon this book: "Many mistakes are in this book, but no medium or material argument at all to prove it unlawful for the King and Parliament to seclude a Popish successor." II. Mr. Thomas Long, B. D. Prebendary of Exeter, in his *Vindication of the Primitive Christians in point of Obedience to their Princes, against the Calumnies of a Book*

entitled, *The Life of Julian the Apostate, written by Ecebolius the Sophist.* London, 1683, in 8vo. III. An anonymous author, by some supposed to be Mr. Edward Meredith, who turned Papist, in *Some Remarks upon a late popular piece of Nonsense, called Julian the Apostate, &c. Together with a Vindication of his Royal Highness the Duke of York against many impudent Calumnies, foolish Arguments, false Reasoning, and Suppositions imposed upon the Public from several scandalous and seditious Pamphlets, especially from one more notorious and generally virulent than the rest, entitled, A Tory Plot, &c.* London, 1682, in a thin folio. IV. The author of *The Triumph of Christianity: or, the Life of Cl. F. Julian the Apostate: With Remarks contained in the Resolution of several Queries. To which are added Reflections upon a Pamphlet called, Seasonable Remarks on the Fall of the Emperor Julian; and on part of a late pernicious Book, entitled, A short Account of the Life of Julian, &c.* London, 1683, in 8vo. This is said to have been written by Mr. John Dowell, M. A. of Christ's College in Cambridge. V. Dr. George Hickes, in his *Jovian: or an Answer to Julian the Apostate.* London, 1683, in 8vo. The author is highly applauded for this book by Mr. John Dryden, the Poet, in his *Vindication: or, the Parallel of the French League and English, &c.* p. 39. Edit. London, 1683, in 4to. But there was published against it a pamphlet entitled, *A Letter of Remarks upon Jovian: By a Person of Quality,* London, 1683, in 4to. pagg. 15. in which the author undertakes to prove, that Dr. Hickes in his *Jovian* hath shewn himself neither a Logician, nor good Historian, nor a fair and equal Writer; but that he undermines the force of all that he would seem to say, by his concessions and contradictions.

book, he complied with their advice. However about two months after that Lord was beheaded, our author was summoned to appear before the King and Council, where he was examined by the Lord Keeper North [B], and on the 3d of August 1683 committed prisoner to the Gatehouse; whence he was bailed out by two of his friends. The Court having used all possible endeavours to discover and seize the copies of his book, but in vain [C]; they were obliged to drop the prosecution upon it, and lodged an information against him in the King's-Bench for writing *Julian the Apostate* [D], for which he was fined five hundred marks, and to be committed prisoner to the King's-Bench till he should pay it, which the Court knew was the same with perpetual imprisonment, since he was not able to raise that sum. Here he lay in very necessitous circumstances [E], and during his confinement published several pieces, which after the Revolution he collected into a volume, and intitled, *A Second Five Years Struggle against Popery and Tyranny* [F]. Among these one of the most remarkable was, *An humble and hearty Address to all the Protestants in King James's Army*, at that time encamped on Hounslow-Heath. The Court was so much incensed at this, that he was condemned at the King's-Bench to stand three times in the pillory, and to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, and ordered to be degraded from the Priesthood [G]. December the 1st 1686 his sentence was put in execution,

[B] Summons to appear before the King and Council, where he was examined by the Lord-Keeper North.] His examination turned upon these two points: 1. Whether he was the author of a book called, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity*? To which he answered in the affirmative. 2. Why after that book had been so long entered at Stationers-Hall, it was not published? To which he replied, *That the nation was in too great a ferment to have the matter further debated at that time.* Upon this he was commanded to produce one of those books to the Council, and was told, that if they approved it, it should be published; but he answered, that he had suppressed them himself, so that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any Power upon Earth. The Council dismissed him at that time, but sent for him twice afterwards, pressed the same thing upon him, and received the same answers, for which they sent him prisoner to the Gate-house (1).

(1) Some Memo-
rials of the Re-
verend Mr. Samuel
Johnson, pag. 5.

[C] The court having used all possible endeavours to discover and seize the copies of his book, but in vain.] Mr. Johnson had committed them to the care of a friend. A Messenger was sent to search the house, where the Court had information they were, but missed them; which was the more remarkable, because after the first search, his friends apprehending a further inquiry, and not thinking them secure enough, removed them; and when the messenger searched again, he found the first place, but missed the second; after which they were removed to a third place in the same house, and upon a fresh search, the Messenger found the second place, but missed the third (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 6.

[D] Lodged an information against him in the King's Bench for writing *Julian the Apostate.*] The prosecution was begun and carried on by the interest of the Duke of York. "The Papists about that Prince knowing there was no such effectual way to ruin Protestants, as to sow divisions among them, resolved to split them with a wedge of their own timber. To this end they run down the old Queen Elizabeth-Protestants, who began to grow out of fashion, and those of the *Laudean* stamp were the only men in vogue. One of that sort, who wore the Church's livery, was pitched upon to cull those passages out of Mr. Johnson's book, upon which the information against him was founded, and that Gentleman then made his boasts of it (3)." When Mr. Johnson was brought to trial, he employed Mr. Wallop as his Council, who urged for his client, that he had offended against no law of the land. That the book taken together was innocent; but any treatise might be made criminal, if dealt with as those, who drew up the information, had dealt with this. The Judges had orders to proceed in the cause; and the Lord Chief-Justice Jeffries upbraided Mr. Johnson for meddling with what did not belong to him, and scoffingly told him, that he would give him a text, which was, *Let every man study to be quiet, and mind his own business*; to which Mr. Johnson replied, that he did mind his business as an Englishman, when he wrote that book (4).

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. pag. 7.

[E] Here he lay in very necessitous circumstances.] When the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, all

the halls in London, as well as jails in the country were filled with persons, whom the court suspected to be averie to their measures. This proved some relief to Mr. Johnson, by affording him good company; for in those days it was reckoned criminal to visit or shew him any kindness, so that few had courage to come near him, or give him any relief; by which means he was reduced very low. About this time his mother, whom he had maintained for many years, sent to him for subsistence; and such was his filial affection, that though he knew not how to supply his own wants, and those of his wife and children, and was told on this occasion, that charity begins at home, he sent her forty shillings, though he had but fifty in the world; saying, that he would do his duty, and trust providence for his own supply. The event shewed that his hopes were not in vain; for the next morning he had ten pounds sent by an unknown hand, which he afterwards knew to have come from the reverend Dr. Edward Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester (5).

(5) Ibid. pag. 7;

[F] Collected into a volume, and intitled, (5) *A Second Five Years Struggle against Popery and Tyranny.*] This collection contains, I. *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall-Chapel, on Palm-Sunday, 1679, on Matth. xv. latter part of the 14th verse.* II. *The Church of England as by Law established: Being the very Doctrine and express Words of the Homilies against Popery.* III. *A short Dissuasive from Popery, and from countenancing and encouraging of Papists: Published immediately after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth.* IV. *A Parcel of wry Reasons and wrong Inferences, but right Observator.* V. *An Oration of John Hales to the Queen's Majesty, and delivered to her by a certain Nobleman at her first entrance to her Reign.* VI. *Several Reasons for the Establishment of a Standing Army, and the dissolving the Militia.* VII. A piece containing the following Chapters. Chap. 1. *Of Magistracy.* 2. *Of Prerogatives by Divine Right.* 3. *Of Obedience.* 4. *Of Law.* VIII. *The Grounds and Reasons of the Law against Popery.* IX. *An humble and hearty Address to all the English Protestants in this present Army.* X. *That Resistance may be used, in case our Religion and Rights should be invaded.* XI. *The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intitled, A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. With some Reflections upon the Additional Libel intitled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.* XII. *The absolute Impossibility of Transubstantiation demonstrated.* XIII. *The Way to Peace amongst all Protestants: Being a Letter of Reconciliation sent by Bishop Ridley to Bishop Hooper. With some Observations upon it.* Published in April 1688; and licensed in July following; but seized soon after by order from the Lord Sunderland. XIV. *A Letter from a Freeholder to the rest of the Freeholders of England and all others, who have Votes in the Choice of Parliament-Men.* Published in September 1688. XV. *Religion founded upon a Rock: Or, the Eternal Obligations of being Religious. In a Discourse on 1 Tim. i. 17.* XVI. *The true Mother-Church: Or, a short Practical Discourse upon Acts ii. concerning the first Church at Jerusalem.*

[G] Ordered to be degraded from the Priesthood.] This ought

cution, which he bore with great firmness [H]; and the King immediately gave away his Living [I]. He continued in prison till a quarter of a year after the Revolution; for though he might have been discharged upon the Prince of Orange's arrival, he was so just to his security, that he would not go out till he could get up a bond of a thousand pounds, signed by two of his friends for his true imprisonment, upon his being allowed the benefit of the rules. The Parliament taking his case into consideration [K] resolved, June the 11th 1689, "that the judgment against him in the King's-Bench, upon an information for a misdemeanor, was cruel and illegal." And a Committee was at the same time appointed to bring in a bill for reversing that judgment [L]. The House presented

ought to have been done, according to the Canons, by his own Diocesan the Bishop of London; but that Prelate was then under suspension himself, because he would not obey the King's orders to suspend Dr. Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, for preaching against Popery in his own parish church of St. Giles in the Fields. Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham, Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, Bishop of Peterborough, being then Commissioners for the Diocese of London, in the place of the suspended Bishop, were appointed to degrade Mr. Johnson; which they performed in the Chapter-House of St. Paul's, where Dr. Sherlock, and other Clergymen attended; but Dr. Stillingfleet, then Dean of St. Paul's, refused to have any hand in it. Mr. Johnson's behaviour on this occasion was observed to be so becoming that very character, which his enemies would have him deprived of, that it melted some of their hearts, and forced them to acknowledge, that there was something very valuable in him. Among other things, which he said to the Divines then present, he told them in the most pathetic manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that since all he had wrote was designed to keep their gowns on their backs, they should be made the unhappy instruments to pull off his.* And he begged them to consider, *whether they were not making roads for themselves.* When they came to the formality of putting a Bible in his hand, and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted with it with difficulty, kissing it, and saying with tears, *that they could not however deprive him of the use and benefit of that sacred Depositum.* It happened, that they were guilty of an omission in not stripping him of his cassock; which, as slight a particular as it may seem, rendered his degradation imperfect, and afterwards

(6) Ibid. pag. 8, saved him his benefice (6).

[H] December 1, 1686, his sentence was put in execution, which he bore with great firmness.] A Popish priest had made an offer for 200 l. to get the whipping part of the sentence remitted. The money was lodged by one of Mr. Johnson's friends in a third hand for the Priest, if he performed what he undertook. The man used his endeavours, but to no purpose; for the King was deaf to all intreaties. The answer was, *That since Mr. Johnson had the Spirit of Martyrdom, it was fit he should suffer.* He observed afterwards to one of his most intimate friends, that this text of Scripture which came suddenly into his mind, *He endured the cross, and despised the shame,* so much animated and supported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vain-glory, he could have sung a psalm, while the Executioner was doing his office, with as much composure and cheerfulness, as ever he had done in the church; though at the same time he had a quick sense of every stripe, which was given him, with a whip of nine cords knotted, to the number of 317. This was the more remarkable in him, because he had not the least tincture of Enthusiasm (7).

(7) Ibid. pag. 9.

(8) Tho. Berrow, M. A. who was presented to the Living, Feb. 4, 1686. See Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. 2. pag. 194.

[I] The King immediately gave away his living.] The Clergyman (*), who had the grant of it, made application to the three Bishops abovementioned for institution; but they being sensible of the omission in his degradation, told him, that he should have it, if he could get two common Lawyers and two Civilians to give it under their hands that Mr. Johnson was legally degraded, and thereby deprived. The Clergyman brought them the hand of one inconsiderable common Lawyer, that the degradation and deprivation were both good; but the Civilian, to whom he applied, was more modest, and only signed a paper with his opinion, that if Mr. Johnson was legally degraded,

he was *ipso facto* deprived. But this not proving satisfactory to the three Bishops, the Clergyman was obliged to give them a bond of five hundred pounds to indemnify them, before they would grant him institution. Having received it, he went to Curingham for induction; but Mr. Johnson's parishioners opposed him; so that he could never get entrance, but was obliged to return *re infesta*. This was extraordinary in his parishioners, at a time when the court carried all by violence; but it proceeded from their great respect to him, and experience of his goodness; for no Minister was more obliging to his people than he, who was so far from exacting upon them, that he would rather quit his own right than be any ways troublesome to them; of which there is one remarkable instance among many others. One of his neighbours owing him twenty pounds upon bond, and falling afterwards into low circumstances, Mr. Johnson was advised to put the bond in execution, while something was to be had; but he absolutely refused it, and chose rather to lose the money, saying, *that no man's ruin should lie at his door* (8).

(8) Ibid. pag. 9.

[K] The Parliament taking his case into consideration.] In the first Parliament after the Revolution, when the House of Commons was preparing an Act of Indemnity, Mr. Johnson was advised by his friends to get a clause put into it, that he might have his remedy at law against such as had been his illegal oppressors. They seemed to be sensible, that they were obnoxious, and could not justify what they had done. About that time the Bishop of Durham gave Mr. Johnson and his Lawyer a meeting, and made his peace with him to their mutual satisfaction. Sir Francis Withens, who pronounced the sentence against him, sent a relation of Mrs. Johnson's to tell him a feigned story, that Sir Francis lay dangerously ill, and could not die in peace, unless Mr. Johnson would forgive him. To which he replied, that he heartily forgave him what injury he had done to him. Some few days after the same person brought Sir Francis to Mr. Johnson as he was walking in Westminster-Hall, where Sir Francis saluted him, and told him, *that his Christian and kind answer had proved a reviving cordial to him.* To which Mr. Johnson replied, that he heartily forgave the injury done to himself; but as he had been an enemy to his country, he hoped he would be made accountable for it; it being a common saying with him, *That he was obliged to forgive his own enemies, but not the enemies of his country* (9).

(9) Ibid. pag. 10.

[L] A Committee was at the same time appointed to bring in a Bill for reversing that judgment.] The Committee was likewise ordered to enquire how Mr. Johnson came to be degraded, and by what authority it was done. Mr. Christy, the chairman, some days after, reported his case to this purpose: "That in Trinity-Term 1686, an information was exhibited against Mr. Johnson in the name of Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney General, for writing and publishing a scandalous and seditious libel, intitled, *An humble and hearty Address, &c.* That the same Term they forced him to plead, got a jury to find him guilty, and Sir Francis Withens pronounced the following sentence upon him: *To pay five hundred marks to the King, and to lie in prison till it was paid. To stand twice in the Pillory, in the Palace-Yard, at Charing-Cross, and at the Old Exchange: and to be whipped by the common Hangman from Newgate to Tyburn.* That the Judges then in court were the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, Sir Francis Withens, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Holway. That apprehending it would be a scandal to the Clergy to have so infamous a punishment inflicted

sent two addressees to the King in behalf of Mr. Johnson. But though his Majesty was inclinable enough to have complied with their request, our author could never obtain any Church preferment [M]. However he did not pass altogether without a reward; for the King gave him three hundred pounds a year out of the Post-Office for his and his son's life, besides a thousand pounds in money; and likewise bestowed a place of about an hundred pounds a year on his son. On Sunday November the 27th 1692, there was an attempt to murder him. To this end seven assassins broke into his house in Bond-street very early in the morning, and five of them with a lanthorn got into his chamber, where he with his wife and young son was in bed. He was fast asleep; but his wife being awaked by their opening the door, cried out *Thieves*, and endeavoured to wake her husband. The ruffians in the mean time threw open the curtains; three of them placed themselves on that side of the bed, where he lay, with drawn swords and clubs, and two stood at the bed's-foot with pistols. Mr. Johnson started up, and endeavouring to defend himself from their assaults received a blow on the head, which made him fall backward. His wife cried out with great earnestness, and begged them not to treat a sick man with such barbarity; upon which they paused a little, and one of them called to Mr. Johnson to hold up his face; which his wife begged him to do, thinking they only designed to gag him, and that they would rifle the house, and be gone. Upon this he sat upright; when one of the assassins cried, *Pistol him for the book he wrote*; which discovered their design, for it was just after the publishing of his book concerning the *Abrogation of King James II.* Whilst he sat upright in his bed, one of them

"sifted on a Minister, they desired Mr. Johnson
"might be first degraded; in order to which, being
"a prisoner in the King's Bench, in the Diocese of
"the Bishop of Winchester, he was summoned to ap-
"pear the 20th of November in the Convocation-
"House of St. Paul's in the Diocese of London, his
"living being within that Diocese, and brought thither
"by *Habeas Corpus*; where he found the Bishops of
"Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, Commis-
"sioners to exercise the jurisdiction of the Bishop of
"London during his suspension, with some Clergy-
"men and many spectators. A libel was exhibited
"against him, charging him with great misbehaviours,
"though none were specified nor proved. That Mr.
"Johnson demanded a copy of the Libel, and an Ad-
"vocate; both which the Bishops denied, and imme-
"diately proceeded to sentence; *That he should be de-
"clared an infamous person: That he should be deprived
"of his Rectory: That he should be a mere Layman,
"and no Clerk; and be deprived of all right and pri-
"vilege of Priesthood: That he should be degraded there-
"of, and of all Vestments and Habits of Priesthood.*
"Against which proceedings Mr. Johnson protested,
"as being against Law, and the 132d Canon, not
"being done by his own Diocesan; but his protesta-
"tion was refused, as was also his appeal to the King
"in Chancery. After which they proceeded to de-
"grade him, by putting a square cap on his head,
"and then taking it off; by pulling off his gown and
"girdle, which he demanded as his proper goods
"bought with his money; which they promised to
"send him, but he could not get them till he paid
"twenty shillings. Then they put a bible into his
"hands, which he not parting with readily, they
"took it from him by force. That on the 22d of
"November the judgment in the King's-Bench be-
"gan to be executed with great rigour and cruelty;
"that Mr. Roufe, the Under-Sheriff, tore off his
"caffock on the pillory, and put a frize-coat upon
"him. That he was whipped with a whip of nine
"cords knotted, which was shewed to the Committee:
"That Mrs. Johnson had also an information exhibit-
"ed against her for the like matter as that against
"her husband. On all which the Committee came
"to the following resolutions, which, on the report
"were all agreed to by the House: *That the judgment
"against Mr. Johnson was illegal and cruel: That
"the Ecclesiastical Commission was illegal, and conse-
"quently the suspension of the Bishop of London, and the
"authority committed to the three Bishops, null and ille-
"gal: That Mr. Johnson's not being degraded by his
"own Diocesan, if he had deserved it, was illegal.
"That a bill be brought in to reverse the judgment,
"and to declare all the proceedings before the three Bi-
"shops null and illegal: And that an address be made
"to his Majesty to recommend Mr. Johnson to some Ec-
"clesiastical Preferment suitable to his services and suf-
"ferings." The House likewise ordered, that in the
"said bill the proceedings upon the Ecclesiastical Com-
"mission should be declared void (10).*

[M] Our author could never obtain any Church pre-
ferment.] This may appear strange, when it is con-
sidered how well he deserved it; but Mr. Hamden, who
was his Fellow-Prisoner, and great friend, may help to
furnish us with some reasons for it in the account, which
he gave of Mr. Johnson's book about the *Abrogation of
King James*, to the Dukes of Mazarine. "The
"Bishops, says he, and Clergy of the Church of
"England, having abandoned King James, and owned
"King William and Queen Mary; such of them as
"had formerly maintained the doctrine of Passive Obe-
"dience and Non-Resistance in an unlimited sense,
"were upbraided with it, as having acted contrary to
"those principles, which they had imposed upon
"others to believe on pain of damnation. The mat-
"ter of fact being undeniable, several of them, rather
"than own their mistake, had recourse to subtleties
"to justify their practice, and at the same time to
"maintain their doctrine. To this end they published
"several books, one of which advanced, that King
"William had conquered the nation by his army and
"fleet, and therefore they were obliged to submit to
"him as a conqueror, but not as to a King set up by
"Parliamentary authority, it not being in the power
"of the nation to change or dethrone their Kings.
"Others not liking this way of arguing had recourse to
"another topic, viz. that God, for the fulfilling of Pro-
"phesies, and of his own Eternal Decrees, had, by an
"extraordinary Providence, and by virtue of his absolute
"power to dispose of Princes and people as he pleased,
"set up King William upon the throne by his own
"hand: Therefore they were obliged to submit to his
"will. Some again liking neither of these arguments,
"but still being willing to save their doctrine of
"Passive Obedience, said, that it was not the nation,
"either by themselves, or representatives, who had
"dethroned King James, but that he deposed himself,
"by deserting and abdicating the Kingdom. There-
"fore they were obliged to set up another in
"his place, lest the nation should fall into a republic,
"which would have been the greatest of all calamities.
"Others again endeavoured to justify themselves
"from the authority of St. Paul, who commands all
"Christians to submit to the powers that be; from
"whence they inferred, that it did not belong to
"subjects to enquire into the rights of Princes, but to
"submit to those who are in possession, without
"troubling themselves to examine whether their titles
"were good or not." *These several propositions, says
"the writer of Some memorials of our author (11), being (11) Ibid. pag.
"maintained by Divines of note, it is the less to be won-
"dered that Mr. Johnson, who opposed those principles,
"and particularly in his book about the Abrogation of
"King James, could get no Church Preferment, since he
"had such numerous and powerful enemies among the
"Clergy, who represented him as a republican, for main-
"taining that King William and Queen Mary were set up
"in his stead by authority of Parliament.*

(10) Ibid. pag.
10, 11.

them cut him with a sword over the eye-brow, and those at the bed's-foot presented their pistols at him; but upon Mr. Johnson's passionate entreaties they went off, without doing him further mischief, or rifling the house. A Surgeon was immediately sent for, who found two wounds on his head, and his body much bruised. However with due care he recovered, and afterwards died in peace, though in what year we have no certain account. His works were reprinted together at London in one volume in fol. (*) [N].

(*) The second edition was printed in 1713.

[N] His works were reprinted together at London in one volume in folio.] Besides his writings already mentioned, this collection contains the following tracts. I. *Remarks upon Dr. Sherlock's Book intitled, The Case of Resistance of the supreme powers stated and resolved, according to the doctrine of the Holy Scripture.* This book of Mr. Johnson's was written in the year 1683, and published in 1689. II. *Reflections on the History of Passive Obedience;* first printed in the year 1689. III. *An Argument proving, that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the regal throne, and the promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the royal family, to the throne of the Kingdom in his stead, was according to the constitution of the English Government, and prescribed by it. In opposition to all the false and treacherous Hypotheses of Usurpation, Conquest, Desertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon Consent.* First printed at London 1692 in 4to. Dedicated to the Commons of England in Parliament assembled. This book occasioned *A Letter from Oxford concerning Mr. Samuel Johnson's late book,* Oxford 1693 in 4to, page 31. The author of this Pamphlet observes (12), that it was reported at Oxford, "that Mr. Johnson's book is not well received at Court, where, of all other places, in our poor opinions, it ought to meet with the kindest entertainment, because it justifies his Majesty's proceedings, which were previous to the Revolution; and represents him, as the truth is, to be a King, who has a just and a legal right to the Crown by the laws of the land. By what logic it can be made ill doctrine to assert the lawfulness of removing bad Princes under the government of good ones, and those such, as upon a supposition of the unlawfulness of removing bad ones, can have no good title to the Crown themselves, is what we cannot easily comprehend. But I have ever thought, that Courtiers see farther into a mill-stone than other men, and that their way of reasoning differs from that of the rest of mankind, since I saw King Charles II heal. I took notice, that when the King put the gold about their necks that came to be touched, the Bishop repeated over and over these words out of St. John's Gospel, viz. *This is the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.* I asked a Courtier what relation the meaning of those words could have to such an occasion? And he told me, that I interpreted Scripture like a Peasant, and that I did not understand the Court-Interpretation of Scripture." He concludes with these words (13).

(12) Pag. 19.

(13) Pag. 30, 31.

"We could wish that Mr. Johnson had enlarged his book with what he does but hint at and barely mention: I mean the doctrine of the *Mirror*, the *Confessor's Law*, the *Curtana sword*, and the power of the *Lord High Steward*, and other great officers of the Kingdom; but particularly that he had given us an account of the authority of the *Lord High Steward*, concerning which great officer, we find but some few scraps here and there in any printed book; but they are such as give us good cause to believe that he was farther intrusted and impowered to redress misgovernment in the state, than our Clergy are generally aware of. And tho' there be no such standing officer at this day; yet there having been such an one, it would do well, if we were informed both wherein his office did particularly consist, and how it came to be difused." IV. *An Essay concerning Parliaments at a certainty; or, the Kalends of May.* V. *Notes upon the Phoenix Edition of the Pastoral Letter.* First printed in 1694 in 4to. VI. *A Confutation of a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Letter ballancing the Necessity of keeping a Land-Force in time of Peace, with the dangers that may follow on it.* First printed in 1697. VII. *The second Part of the Confutation of the Ballancing Letter; being an occasional Discourse in Vindication of Magna Charta.* In this tract he endeavours to shew, "first that *Magna Charta* is much older than King John's time, and consequently that its birth cannot be blemished with any thing that was done in his time, though his confirmation of it had been really extorted by rebellion. Secondly, that the confirmations, which were had and procured to it in King John's and Henry III's time, were far from being gained by rebellion." He concludes with observing, "that the plain notion of *Magna Charta* is this. It is a summary of the native and inherent rights of Englishmen, which the Norman Kings by granting afterwards by Charter, bound themselves not to break in upon and invade; so that it was only a Norman-fashioned security, that these rights should not be violated. But we do not hold these rights by Charter, no, not by the old dear-bought Parchment and Wax, for they are the birthright of Englishmen, which no Kings could ever give or take away. They are, as they are called 25 *Edward III. the Franchises of the Land*; and every Englishman by being born in the land is born to them." VIII. *Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects;* containing eleven Sermons. T.

JOHNSON (JOHN) was the only son of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Johnson Vicar of Frindsbury near Rochester in the county of Kent, and of Mary his wife, the daughter of the Reverend Mr. Francis Drayton Rector of Little Chart in the same county, but within the Diocese of Canterbury [A]. He was born December the 30th in the year of our Lord 1662, and was educated in the King's School at Canterbury, where he made such a progress in the three learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew under Mr. Lovejoy then master of that school, that when he was very little more than fifteen years of age he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted in the College of St. Mary Magdalen, under the tuition of Mr. Turner Fellow of that House March the 4th 1677. And in Lent Term 1682 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts as a Member of that College. Soon after he was nominated by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to a Scholarship in Corpus Christi (commonly called Bennet) College in that University, being of the Foundation of Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury after the Reformation was settled under Queen Elizabeth, to which he was admitted April the 29th 1682 under the tuition of Mr. Beck Fellow of that House. He took the degree of Master of Arts as a Member of Bennet College at the commencement

[A] Within the Diocese of Canterbury.] His father, having been married about four years, died, leaving his son and one daughter to the care of his wife, with a small estate; which lying at Barham near Canterbury, she settled in that city for the convenience of her children's education; where she continued near sixty

years, dying about the ninetieth year of her age, about two years after the death of her son, which was prudently concealed from her by her daughter, that she might not in her very old age be disquieted with the knowledge of such a loss, and thereby the little remainder of her life be made more uneasy to her.

commencement 1685. Soon after he entered into Deacons Orders, and became Curate to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Hardres Rector of both Upper and Lower Hardres near Canterbury. He was ordained Priest in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, by the Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Sprat Lord Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, December the 19th 1686. And July the 9th 1687, he was collated to the Vicarage of Boughton under the Blean, by the most Reverend Father in God Dr. William Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, and at the same time he was allowed by the same Archbishop to hold the adjoining Vicarage of Hern-Hill by sequestration: both which Churches he supplied himself, officiating one part of the day at one Church and the other at the other Church [B]. In the year 1689 October the 24th, he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Jenkin of the Isle of Thanet Gent. sister to the Reverend Mr. Robert Jenkin late Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, and to the Reverend Mr. Henry Jenkin Rector of Tilney in Norfolk. About the same time there was one Sale, a vile fellow (who had counterfeited holy Orders, having forged Letters of Ordination both for himself and his father) that came into this Diocese, and taking occasion from the confusion occasioned by the Revolution, during the time Archbishop Sancroft was under suspension, and before Dr. Tillotson was consecrated to the Archbishopric, he made it his business to find out what Livings were held by sequestration only, and procured the Broad Seal for one of these for himself, and another for his father [C]. Mr. Johnson hereupon thought it necessary to secure his Vicarage of Hern-Hill, that he might prevent Sale, or any such like fellow, from depriving him of that benefice: and Archbishop Sancroft being then deprived *ab Officio* only, but not *a Beneficio*, presented him to Hern-Hill, to which he was instituted October the 16th 1689, by Dr. George Oxenden Vicar General to the Archbishop, but at that time to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, Guardians of the Spiritualities during the suspension of the Archbishop. But as the Living had been so long held by sequestration, that it was lapsed to the Crown, he found it necessary to corroborate his title with the Broad Seal, which was given him April the 12th 1690. In the year 1697 the Vicarage of St. John in the Isle of Thanet, to which the town of Margate belongs, becoming void, Archbishop Tenison the Patron considering the largeness of the Cure, was desirous to place there a person better qualified than ordinary to supply it, and could think of no man in his Diocese so well qualified for such a town as Mr. Johnson, and therefore entreated him to undertake the pastoral care of that large and populous parish. And because the Benefice was but small and the Cure very great, the Archbishop, to induce him to accept of it, collated him to the Vicarage of Appledore (a good benefice) on the borders of Romney Marsh, on the first day of May 1697; but Mr. Johnson chose to hold Margate by sequestration only. And having now two sons ready to be instructed in learning, he would not send them abroad to school, but taught them himself; saying that he thought it as much the duty of a father to teach his own children, if he was capable of doing it, as it was of the mother to suckle and nurse them in their infancy, if she was able; and because he believed they would learn better in company than alone, he took two or three boarders to teach with them, being the sons of some particular friends. He was much importuned by several others of his acquaintance to take their sons, but he refused: for he was well known throughout the Diocese to which he belonged, and his ability in all parts of learning so much esteemed, that though he lived in the remotest corner of the country, he might have had a large house full of boarders if he had pleased. But finding he could not attend his little school, his great Cure, and his studies in such manner as he was desirous to do, he humbly entreated his Patron, the Archbishop, to give him leave entirely to quit Margate, and to retire to his Cure of Appledore, which, with some difficulty was at last granted him; but not till his Grace had made enquiry throughout his Diocese and the University of Cambridge for one

[B] *And the other at the other Church.* Although he entered so young on the cure of souls, yet by his first sermon he convinced his parishioners and all others who heard him (which were not a few) that he was well qualified for that charge. His text was *Heb. xiii. 17. Obey them that have the rule over you and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you.* From which words he took occasion to inform them what was his own duty to them, and that he purposed faithfully to discharge it: and likewise what he might reasonably expect from them, that his labour and care might not be vain. This he did in such a manner, as to convince all that heard him, that young as he was, he very well understood his office, and how he ought to execute it, and that he was a person whose youth they might not despise. And he proceeded answerable to this beginning: so that he was very much beloved and respected in both his parishes; and was also soon taken notice of by the neighbouring Clergy of the city of Canterbury, and the adjacent parts, as

one no ways inferior, except in age, to any Parish-Priest in the Diocese.

[C] *One for himself and another for his father.* Dr. Tillotson, during the three years he held the Archbishopric, never visited the Diocese: but Dr. Tenison in the first year of his translation to it, in the year 1695, made his visitation, at which time all persons that had cures were required to shew their letters of ordination. These letters of ordination being put into the hands of Dr. John Bateley, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, upon the perusal of those exhibited by the two Sales, he soon discovered them to be forged; and charged them with it. The son obstinately maintained that the letters were not forged, but the father soon confessed that he was never ordained; only that his son had brought him these two pieces of parchment, and told him that one of these made him a Deacon and the other a Priest. However they staid not to be prosecuted, but both fled immediately. What became of them afterwards I know not; only have heard that the son set up somewhere for a Preacher among the Dissenters.

one might be thought qualified to succeed him [D]. He settled at Appledore in the year 1703, and as soon as his eldest son was fit for the University (which he was, before he attained to be full fifteen years of age, in the year 1705) he sent him to Cambridge, and his other son to school till he was of age to be put out apprentice, and dismissed all the rest of his scholars. He seemed much pleased with Appledore at his first retirement thither, as a place where he could follow his studies without interruption. But this satisfaction was not of long continuance; for that marshy air, in a year or two, brought a severe sickness on himself and all his family, so that they were every one like to die; but it pleased God they all escaped at that time. Nevertheless, his constitution (which till then had been very good) was so broken, that he never afterwards recovered it in a degree like what he had before enjoyed. This made him desirous to remove from thence as soon as he could; and the Vicarage of Cranbrook becoming void, he asked the Archbishop to bestow it on him, which his Grace readily did, and accordingly collated him to it April the 13th 1707, where he continued till his death, holding Appledore with it [E]. In the year 1710, and again in the year 1713, he was chosen by the Clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury to be one of their Proctors for the Convocation summoned to meet with the Parliament in those years. And as the first of these Convocations was permitted to sit and act, and to treat of matters of Religion (though they brought no business to any perfection, by reason of the difference had been raised between the two Houses) he constantly attended the House of which he was a member whilst any matter was there under debate; whereby his parts and learning came to be known and esteemed by the most eminent Clergy of the Province, as they had been before by those of the Diocese where he lived; so that from this time he was frequently sought to for his opinion in particular cases, and had letters sent to him from the remotest parts of the Province of Canterbury, and sometimes from the other Province also, to consult him for his opinion in matters of learning, especially as to what concerned our Religion and our Ecclesiastical Laws. He continued at Cranbrook about eighteen years; and as he had been highly valued, esteemed and beloved at all other places where he had resided, so was he here also by all that were true friends to the *pure Catholic Religion of JESUS CHRIST*, as professed and established in the Church of England. But as there were many Dissenters of all denominations in that place, and some others, who (though they frequented the Church yet) seemed to like the Dissenters better, and to side with them upon all occasions, except going to their meetings for religious worship, I cannot say how they loved and esteemed him. However, he was so remarkably upright in his life and conversation, that even they could accuse him of no other fault, except his known hearty zeal for the Church of England, which all impartial persons would have judged a virtue. For certainly those that have not an hearty affection for a Church ought not to be made Priests of it. Some of those favourers of the Dissenters studied to make him uneasy, by endeavouring to raise a party in his parish against them, merely because they could not make him like themselves, a Latitudinarian in matters of Religion; but they failed in their design, and his friends were too many for them [F]. A little before he left Appledore, he began to discover that learning to the world, which till this time was little known beyond the Diocese where he lived, except to some particular acquaintance, by printing several Tracts; though his modesty was such, that he would not put his name to them, till they had, at least, a second edition. The first of these was a *Paraphrase with Notes on the Book of Psalms according to the Translation retained in our Common-Prayer Book* [G]. This he published in the year 1706. The next book he wrote and

[D] *One might be thought qualified to succeed him.*] Mr. John Warren, then Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, was with some intreaty prevailed with to accept the cure, and gave very good satisfaction to the parishioners, being a very good Preacher, and of a friendly disposition: but not voting for Parliament and Convocation men so as to please the Archbishop, and holding this living by sequestration only, his Grace required him to quit it after he had held it two years. But he soon after became Chaplain to Dr. Blackhall Bishop of Exon, by whom he was preferred to a living and a Prebend in that Church. He died in the year 1736.

[E] *Holding Appledore with it.*] He maintained a constant Resident-Curate at Appledore: and as Cranbrook was a very large cure, though but a small benefice, he for many years kept a Curate there also to assist him. Neither did he leave Appledore so intirely to his Curate, as not to make his parishioners there frequent visits, and to preach and administer the Holy Eucharist to them.

[F] *His friends were too many for them.*] Cranbrook and other parishes in the Weald of Kent have a great number of Dissenters of all sorts, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c. A certain Squire in the pa-

rish, being a Justice of the Peace, and a professed admirer of Dr. Tindal's book falsely intitled *The Rights of the Christian Church*, endeavoured to make himself Church-Warden, that he might be as troublesome to Mr. Johnson as he could. But notwithstanding he brought in all the Dissenters, and likewise the poor, blind and lame to vote for him, he could not carry his point. However he commenced a suit in the spiritual court on that occasion, wherein he was cast; and not paying his fees, and standing in contempt of the court, he was excommunicated. Upon which he first turned Presbyterian, then Anabaptist and Sabbatarian, amongst whom he is now a Preacher. This Gentleman was the only one, who endeavoured to give Mr. Johnson any disturbance in his parish, but according to the proverb, *Though he often shewed his teeth he could never bite.*

[G] *Translation retained in our Common-Prayer-Book.*] The book bears this title. *Holy David and his Old English Translators cleared and vindicated. Containing 1. Directions for the more devout using the Psalms, and a Short Historical Account of the Translation and Translators. 2. The Psalter or Psalms of David after the Translation of the great Bible, printed as they are to be sung or said in Churches. With large Explanatory Notes.*

3. A

and published was the *Clergyman's Vade Mecum* in the year 1708 [H]. And in the year 1709 the *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, Part 2. [I]. In the year 1710 the *Propitiatory Oblation in the Eucharist* [K]. In the year 1714 *The Unbloody Sacrifice* [L]. In the year 1717

3. *A general Defence of this Old Translation in Answer to all the Objections and Cavils that have been raised against it.* He chose to vindicate this translation, because the Clergy are obliged to give their assent and consent to it, as well as to the other parts of the book of Common-Prayer. And in this work he shewed himself a great master both of the Greek and Hebrew languages, especially with regard to the Holy Scriptures, and an excellent critic to judge when it might be more proper to follow the translation of the Septuagint than our present Hebrew copies as pointed by the Masorites.

[H] *Clergyman's Vade Mecum in the year 1708.* This book (as we learn from the title-page) contains *An Account of the Antient and Present Church of England, the Duties and Rights of the Clergy, and of their Privileges and Hardships. Containing full Directions relating to Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and most of the Difficulties which they commonly meet with in the Discharge of their Office.* Here he shews himself to be well skilled in all the laws of this Church civil or ecclesiastical. And this book was so well received by the public, especially by the Clergy, that about every third year there was a call for a new impression: for in about fifteen years there were no fewer than five editions of it; the first edition being in the year 1708, and the fifth in the year 1723.

[I] *Clergyman's Vade Mecum, Part 2.* This Part contains the Canonical Codes of the Primitive, Universal, Eastern and Western Church down to the year of our Lord 787. done from the Original Greek and Latin, omitting no canon, decree, or any part of them that is curious or instructive. With explanatory Notes, a large Index, or a Preface shewing the usefulness of the work, with some reflections on two books called *Moderate Conformity*, and the *Rights of the Church*. In this second Part he shewed himself to be no less skilled in the ecclesiastical laws and discipline of the antient Catholic Church, than in the former he had shewed it in the laws and discipline of his own particular Church. And of this book he lived to see three editions.

[K] *The propitiatory oblation in the Holy Eucharist.* This little piece, as likewise all that he had hitherto published, came out without a name. This, as to the former books proceeded from his modesty, he being willing to continue in the same obscurity he had done unto this time. But the books, when they had been read, gave so general a satisfaction, that people could not help enquiring who was the author of them: neither could his particular friends, to whom he had been so kind as to give them, forbear to let the world know to whom they were obliged for those valuable and useful treatises. But as to this *Propitiatory Oblation*, he has himself given us the reason, why he conceals his name, at the very beginning of that book: where he says, "The impartial reader will not entertain any prejudice against this treatise for coming abroad without a name, if he do but consider how dangerous it is for a man openly to plead on that side of the cause, for which I have declared in my title-page. A very learned Divine has been sometimes, in words at length, reproached for being inclined to Popery, because he had freely declared his mind to this purpose. His adversary is not content to hint his suspicion once or twice, but repeats it almost twenty times in a book consisting of little more than two hundred pages: and I do not think it necessary to give opportunity to such men to mark me out for destruction by loading me with that infamous character." And the then Bishop of Norwich (afterwards of Winchester) Dr. Charles Trimmel, having in a Charge to his Clergy (printed a little before the publication of this tract) made some reflections on a passage or two in the second Part of the *Vade Mecum* relating to this subject, Mr. Johnson added a Postscript to vindicate that passage from his Lordship's objections. But notwithstanding his endeavours to conceal himself, he was quickly known to be the author of this book, and he was soon after reflected on upon that account, and his book answered (I mean pretended

to be answered) by Dr. Thomas Wise, a Clergyman then beneficed at Canterbury, and some others, who thereby endeavoured to please the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Tenison, who did not approve the doctrine of the EUCHARISTICK SACRIFICE; and this put Mr. Johnson quite out of favour at Lambeth during the remaining part of that Archbishop's life, who till this time seemed at least to have a particular esteem for him. However this did not discourage him from going on to maintain what he believed to be the truth; which he judged he was obliged to adhere to, whomsoever he might displease by it, especially if it was what he believed this to be, an *Important Truth*. Therefore he resolved to examine and to handle the argument more thoroughly, and to set the *Christian Sacrifice* in its full light, and to prove the Holy Eucharist to be a Sacrifice truly and properly so called from the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the testimony of the Antient Fathers and Liturgies of the first four or five centuries after Christ. This was a work, which required time and labour to collect materials, and judgment to make a proper use of them. However in about three years he finished the first and most laborious part of this very useful work.

[L] *The Unbloody Sacrifice.* The whole title is, *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar unveiled and supported. In which the Nature of the Eucharist is explained according to the Sentiments of the Christian Church in the four first Centuries. Proving that the Eucharist is a proper material Sacrifice. That it is both Eucharistick and Propitiatory. That it is to be offered by proper Officers. That the Oblation is to be made on a proper Altar. That it is to be consumed by Manducation. To which is added a Proof that what our Saviour speaks concerning eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel is principally meant of the Eucharist. With a Prefatory Epistle to the Lord Bishop of Norwich. Animadversions on the Reverend Dr. Wise's Book, which he calls the Christian Eucharist stated. And some Reflections on a stitched Book intituled, An Answer to the Exceptions made against the Lord Bishop of Oxford's (Dr. William Talbot's, afterwards Lord Bishop of Durham's) Charge. At the end is a collection of the Testimonies of the Antient Fathers, Councils and Liturgies in the Original Greek or Latin, wherein they were written, which are referred to in several parts of the book, beginning with St. Clement of Rome, who was contemporary with the Apostles, and ending with Theodoret who flourished A. D. 423. With the Council of Toledo A. D. 400. The Sacramentary of St. Gregory A. D. 590. In the Prefatory Epistle to this book, addressed to the Right Reverend the then Bishop of Norwich, he uses a true English freedom with that Prelate, yet is in no wise wanting in the respect due to his character. At the beginning of this address he says, "My Lord, you are one of that Reverend Order, which has always been esteemed, till now, of very late, to have had the guardianship of the Altar in an especial manner committed to it by Christ himself. One Bishop and one Altar, has been the distinguishing motto of the Apostolical Church ever since the time of St. Ignatius, and to contend *pro Aris* (for the Altars) has ever been thought honourable in all men, but especially in those whose business is continually to attend them." And p. 10. he says, "I have reason to expect that all impartial men should believe what I now say, till our opponents can produce a proof of a Bishop without an Altar, or a Liturgy without a proper Sacrifice from the remains of genuine antiquity." And pag. 25. he says, "I doubt not but in the primitive Church, whatever Bishop had opposed or depraved the Sacrifice, he would have been immediately obliged to give place to an Orthodox Successor. For I have reason to believe, that the antient Bishops, Clergy and people were not more uniform in any point of doctrine or worship, than in the notions and practice concerning the Eucharistical Oblation." And at the conclusion of this Prefatory Epistle, pag. 59. he says, "I shall think it much more honourable in*

1717 *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, Part 2. [M].

In the year 1720 *A Collection of Ecclesiastical*

“ the fight of God and my ever blessed Redeemer, “ and of all truly judicious Christians, to be con- “ sidered as the last Priest of this Church that ever “ wrote in defence of the Sacrifice, than to have been “ the first Bishop that ever opposed it.” In the same Prefatory Epistle he also takes notice of the then Bishop of Oxford, Dr. William Talbot, and one or two more who had written against the sacrifice, and exposes the weakness of their arguments both with judgment and smartness. And the book itself gives full and satisfactory proofs of what is promised in the title page; in which he shewed himself so much an overmatch for all his adversaries in learning as well as reasoning, that none of them afterwards attacked him openly in a manner worthy of his notice. Indeed he had one great advantage over them, for he contended for the truth: and as he shews in his Prefatory Epistle, pag. 22, GREAT IS THE TRUTH, AND WILL PREVAIL AGAINST THE MOST POWERFUL OPPONENTS. In a word, he shewed himself a compleat master of his subject, while his adversaries appeared to have but a very superficial knowledge of it. However one Mr. Pfaff a German Divine of the Lutheran persuasion, and tutor to the young Prince of Wirtenburg, took upon him to be a kind of moderator in this controversy, and was pleased to express his dislike of some things in this first part of the *Unbloody Sacrifice*; and Dr. John Turner at that time Vicar of Greenwich, and afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury, made some reflections upon it in a pamphlet which he called *The Christian Eucharist no proper Sacrifice*, wherein he charges Mr. Johnson with assertions, that are not to be found in his book or any thing like them. The same was also done by another, who although he had been much obliged to Mr. Johnson, and had pretended great friendship, yet when he found he was out of favour at Lambeth, thought it proper to publish to the world that he was no longer his friend; for although we ought not to join with a friend in what we believe to be erroneous, yet common honesty will not allow us to charge even an enemy with what he has not asserted. Also his old antagonist Dr. Wise, in a *Letter of Advice to Dr. Brett* (as he called it, though he never sent it to him) under the borrowed name of *Exekiel Standfast*, made some scurrilous reflections on Mr. Johnson and this book of his. But not one of these said any thing that deserved a reply, since they did not invalidate one argument or authority in the whole book.

[M] *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, Part II.] The Printer by mistake has dated it 1718, but it was really printed and published in February 1717, the whole title is, *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar unveiled and supported. In which the nature of the Eucharist is explained according to the Sentiments of the Christian Church in the four first Centuries. Part the Second: Showing the Agreement and Disagreement of the Eucharist with the Sacrifices of the Antients, and the Excellency of the former. The great moment of the Eucharist, both as a Feast and Sacrifice. The Necessity of frequent Communion. The Unity of the Eucharist. The Nature of Excommunication. And the primitive Method of Preparation. With Devotions for the Altar.* In the Preface to this book he takes notice of the forementioned persons who had written against his former book. Mr. Pfaff he treats like a Gentleman and a Scholar, because he had shewed himself to be so, though his objections were easily answered, especially by one who was so great a master of the subject as Mr. Johnson. The other he just mentions, and treats them with contempt, as they deserved. These two books of the *Unbloody Sacrifice* deserve to be well read and considered by every Divine, and to have a place in every Clergyman's study: and the second part is very proper to be in the hands of every pious Christian. This was his design in writing these two books, as he informs us in his Preface to his Second Part, where he says, “ The first part of this work was composed for “ the use of them who had leisure and inclination to “ enter into the more abstruse parts of this controversy. “ Since my publication of it, I have been desired by “ persons of great worth and judgment to draw up “ a scheme of this doctrine, and in as narrow a compass and as plain a style as possible; for the information of such readers as do not care to concern

“ themselves with books which require long and “ earnest application. I have accordingly so contrived this second part, that though it be much less than the former, and be chiefly intended to compleat my whole design on this subject, yet the first view of the Sacrament of the Eucharist may be taken from this volume. To this end I have been obliged to repeat some things in the Introduction, which have been said in the first part; and yet I may call them improvements rather than repetitions: And that a middling reader might be capable of understanding the book, I have always endeavoured to express myself in the most known common words our language affords, or at least that I could find. The subject is seemingly new: For whatever is so old as to be out of use has no appearance of novelty in the eyes of the present generation. But in truth, the *Sacrifice of the EUCHARIST* is as old as Christianity itself, and sacrifice in general as old as mankind. Now to receive notions which have been long since out of date, and to express the opinions and practice of the antients in the language of the present age, and to do it in such a manner as to render their thoughts agreeable to the relish of common English readers, is no easy matter. However my end was to be understood by all. If I miss of my aim, the reader is to impute it to my want of words.” After the publication of this second part, Mr. Johnson had the satisfaction to find, that though this truly primitive doctrine of the Christian Church, which he endeavoured to revive in these two books, was not so heartily and generally embraced as he could have wished, yet it was less spoken against. His adversaries were so far silenced as to suppress their railing accusations of Popery, and durst no longer directly deny the doctrine to be true, though they would not acknowledge it to be so, only intimating as if they thought it a doctrine, which, though it might be true, yet was not necessary to be taught or known. This appears from the Preface of the next book of which I am to give an account; wherein, at pag. liii. he says, “ Our Right Reverend Fathers do, upon all occasions, “ hint to us their opinion of the necessity of reviewing “ the Liturgy of the Church of England. And I cannot but declare my opinion that there is no office in that book more needs a review, than the “ Communion Service. And I cannot but conceive “ some hopes this will be done, whenever our Convocation shall be permitted to enter on that great “ work. For I cannot but with satisfaction observe “ that Divines, of greatest note in our Church, do “ not speak such abhorrence, or express so zealous an indignation against the sacrifice, as they have formerly done. One of the most eminent of them, whom I “ should least of all hope to favour my sentiments, in “ a Sermon preached at the anniversary meeting of “ the Charity Schools, 1716, is content to say, *whether the Lord's Supper be a real Sacrifice, or only a “ commemoration of a real Sacrifice, Divines are agreed “ that the real effects are the very same.* And it is “ true, that Divines, who do not believe the Eucharist “ to be a Sacrifice, may, and probably do, propose to “ themselves the same ends in administering and receiving this Sacrament, with those who believe it “ to be a Sacrifice; but the true state of the question “ is, whether they, who do not believe it to be a “ sacrifice, nor administer it as such, do really obtain “ these ends? Or whether it can be that Sacrament “ which was instituted by Christ, if it be not consecrated in the manner Christ directed? Or whether “ it can be truly consecrated without being offered to “ God? Further, this great man thinks it much to “ be lamented, *That Divines should raise a dispute “ concerning that point (the Sacrifice of the Eucharist) “ at a time when it is openly denied that the Sacrifice of “ Christ was real and propitiatory.* Now, with submission, I know no time more seasonable for the confutation of this false doctrine, than that in which “ it was published and advanced. And by proving “ the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice, we do, by necessary “ consequence, prove Christ's natural body and blood “ to have been a Sacrifice. And if it was a Sacrifice, “ it must unavoidably have been propitiatory, because “ there

fastical Laws &c. [N]. In the year 1728, Mary his daughter, and only surviving child being his Executrix, published some posthumous Discourses of his which he had designed for the press, if it had pleased God to have continued him longer here [O]. And as no Priest was more careful and diligent to instruct those committed to his care in the knowledge of their duty by his Sermons and Discourses, so was he no less careful to instruct them by his example in a regular Christian life: and therefore none was better beloved

“ there never was a sacrifice offered to God in a due
 “ manner, but what was propitiatory. Propitiation
 “ is essential to Sacrifice duly offered. And I must
 “ humbly declare my opinion, that it is impossible
 “ to establish the doctrine of Christ’s body and blood
 “ being a real Sacrifice, by any other arguments but
 “ those by which we prove the Eucharist to have
 “ been instituted as a Sacrifice by our blessed Saviour.
 “ It would be a very great hardship upon the assertors
 “ of the Sacrifice, if they must be restrained from
 “ publishing their notions till after the Socinians are
 “ dead. And it would much better have become this
 “ Great Man, to have enjoined silence to the Socipi-
 “ ans, than to the defenders of the Apostolical Faith.
 “ And if we must be silenced till we have proved the
 “ reality of the Sacrifice of Christ, without proving at
 “ the same time the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, I am
 “ pretty sure we may stay till dooms-day, and yet neither
 “ be able to do it ourselves, nor to see it done by
 “ others.”

[N] *A Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws.* This book, as we are told in the title-page, contains, “ A collection of all Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons, Answers, Rescripts, with other memorials concerning the government, discipline, and worship, of the Church of England, from its first foundation to the Conquest, that have been published in the Latin or Saxon-tongues. And all the canons and constitutions ecclesiastical made since the Conquest and before the Reformation, in any National Council, or in the Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York, that have hitherto been published in the Latin tongue. Now first translated into English with explanatory notes, and such glosses from Lyndwood and Athon as were thought most useful.” But I must observe that he was mistaken in saying *now first published in English*, because Mr. Collier had some years before published the most of them in that language in his *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*. But this was more than Mr. Johnson knew. Besides Mr. Collier did not publish them entire as Mr. Johnson has done, but omitted many, and abridged some others. There are two volumes of this in 8vo. The first contains the Ecclesiastical Laws to the Conquest: The second from the Conquest to the Reformation. And if it had pleased God to have spared his life a little longer, he would have published a like collection from the Reformation to this time, much more full and complete than what we have in Bishop Sparrow’s Collection. But he had scarce begun the rough sketches of this work, when it pleased God to deprive us of him, and to take him unto himself. To the books, which he printed after his *Propitiatory Oblation*, he prefixed his name, and likewise to that later edition of his *Vade Mecum*. But some other little things he published without his name; as *Pastoral Advices to a person that intends to be confirmed by the Bishop*: and *Pastoral Advice to a person lately confirmed by the Bishop*: and some other little stitched books, which he printed at his own charge for the use of his parishioners, and distributed amongst them gratis.

[O] *Some posthumous Discourses of his &c.* The first of those treatises he had designed for the press is intitled, *The Primitive Communicant*, which consists of three Sermons or Discourses, together with *Devotions for the Altar*. The first Discourse is on Heb. x. 8, 9. *Above, when he said, sacrifice, and offering, and offering for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein, (which are offered by the law). Then said he, lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second.* The second Discourse is on Luke xxii. 19, 20. *And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me. Likewise the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my Blood, which is shed for you.* The third Discourse is on John vi. 27.

Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which endureth to everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give you. These we may call an Appendix to the Unbloody Sacrifice.

The next treatise he designed for the press, is *An Explanation of that Prophecy of Seventy Weeks, as related in the ninth Chapter of Daniel*. This prophecy has very much puzzled interpreters to make it agree with the Chronology of that time, from the beginning of it unto the coming of Christ: and different expositors have assigned different beginnings to these Seventy Weeks, although the express words of the prophecy appear, one would think, to fix the beginning of these weeks to the very time that it was delivered to Daniel, and so Mr. Johnson, as well as others, conceive they do. Now seventy weeks of years, that is seven times seventy years make but 490 years, and it is very certain that there were more than that number of years from the first year of Darius or Cyrus to the coming of Christ and completion of the prophecy, which has given the occasion for so many distinct methods taken to fix the time when to begin the computation of these weeks. Mr. Johnson therefore shews, that all these difficulties and various expositions arise only from following the Hebrew Text, as pointed by the Masorites: whereas it has been proved, and all the learned, or at least the greatest part, are agreed that the points are modern, and therefore not to be regarded. Mr. Johnson therefore rejecting these points, and reading the text according to the unpointed Hebrew letters, and comparing it with the old Italian version, as preserved in this place by Tertullian, and with the translators of Aquila and Theodotion, proves that the first seven weeks, (which the prophecy very plainly distinguishes from the 62 weeks following) are to be repeated; consequently those seven weeks being counted twice, make not 49 but 98 years: which being added to that 62 weeks or 434 years, make 532 years. Then he proves by Ptolemy’s canon (which contains the most certain indisputable Chronology of those times) that from the first year of Darius, (which was also the first of Cyrus) at which time Daniel expressly teaches that the decree went forth to build Jerusalem, to the birth of Christ, was just that number of 532 years. Then he shews that the last week was not, like the rest, to consist of 49 years only, but the length was to be discovered by the events, and that it continued from the birth of Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem, which, according to his account, contains 77 years. And the reason he gives why this week should be different from the rest as to its time of continuance, is because it is stiled the one single or eminent week.

The next Discourse contains two Dissertations or Sermons on *the Nature of God and his true Worship*. The text is John iv. 24. *God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.* In the first of these Sermons he shews what a spirit is, and then that God is such a spirit. “ A spirit, says he, signifies such a being as has the power of thinking, and God, angels, and the souls of men, are such beings. Therefore the only way to come at the knowledge of God as a spirit is, to contemplate our own souls, and observe what are the principal qualities belonging to them.” 1. Our souls, that being or substance within us, by which we think, that is apprehend, conceive, deliberate, judge, agree, conclude, remember, is what we call a spirit. 2. Another property of the soul is, that it feels whatever affects the body; for the body, without the soul can feel nothing. 3. Another property of the soul is, that it can move the body. There is nothing, perhaps, in nature more strange, than that bodies of such a bulk as ours should be moved by a thought. We need but will or resolve, and our hands will work, our feet walk, and our whole body be put into motion, and it bends and turns itself into as many postures as the

beloved by his parishioners in general in the several Cures he was placed in, and by all who had the happiness of his acquaintance; and what enemies he had were only such as were enemies to those Christian Doctrines which he taught and practised. And indeed, when we consider his Learning, and his Critical Skill in the Languages proper, not to say necessary for a Divine, his great and extensive Knowledge in the Canons, Constitutions, and Customs of the Catholic Church of Christ, as well as those of this particular Church of England, its Usages and Discipline in the several ages from the first planting of the Gospel downward, even to the present times, joined to his clear understanding in all Christian Doctrines, and his capacity to teach them, and likewise his exemplary life and conversation,

the business requires, except when the limbs are impeded by sickness, lameness, and the like, 4. It acts freely, has the power of choosing or refusing: and in this it differs from all things that consist of body or matter only. This property of souls makes us capable of virtuous actions, and of being rewarded for them. Then he shews that God is such a spirit as he has described our souls to be; but then he possesses all these properties in an infinite manner. 1. He thinks not in that defective manner we do, who can consider but one little object at once; for he, at one single view, discerns all things that are, were, or shall be. We are certainly ignorant of the inward essence of all things; and there is reason to believe there are more things hid from us entirely, than there are of those which come under our notice in any measure: But nothing is or can be hid from the knowledge of God. And whereas our memories contain only the imperfect footsteps of some few things done some years or some ages past, God's knowledge extends to all the greatest and most minute particulars; nothing is or can be hid from him. 2. God is a perceiving spirit. Our souls have a sense or perception of what is done to the body, and we can see and hear what is done at some distance from us. But the perception we have is liable to be taken from us, and often is by diseases. And while we enjoy it in the most perfect manner our natures will allow, it often gives us pain and disquiet. But God is an infinite spirit, conscious, and equally conscious to any thing done in any part of the universe. He feels without pain, he perceives without uneasiness; and this most perfect perception is not liable to be impaired by any infirmities. 3. God is a spirit that can move matter or body. We can, after a sort, move our bodies to do such things as are necessary for our subsistence. Our souls can at pleasure move our limbs, or command them to rest, while the body is in health and vigour; diseases or age, sooner or later disable our limbs from obeying the command of our souls. And while we are in our best state of health, youth and strength, our souls have no power over our stomach or other vitals. But God is that most perfect spirit, who is the first mover of all things, and in whom we ourselves live, move, and have our being. By his power of moving matter, and impressing what laws of motion he pleases upon it, he made this beautiful frame of things, which we now behold: and by continuing such laws of motion as are proper for every part of the world, he is its preserver; and by his power of suspending, varying, and revoking those laws at his pleasure, he is its governor: for every part of nature cannot but obey his almighty will, and move or stop at his irresistible sovereign command. 4. God is a spirit that acts with most perfect freedom. The soul of man is so far free that it cannot be forced to sin without its own consent; and the body cannot do any thing good or bad without its direction. And the soul, by using this freedom with discretion, is capable, by God's grace, of rendering itself eternally happy. But thro' our perverseness this freedom of will often becomes a snare to us. But the freedom of God's will, which is directed by the most perfect wisdom and purity, is indeed the perfection of the divine nature; because by this he is always determined to choose the best. And thus we see God to be an infinite, perfect spirit, who thinks most clearly, who perceives all things, who is the creator and first mover of matter, who acts freely, and always for the best. It must however be confessed that our idea of God is imperfect, and so is our knowledge of any thing else.

The second dissertation on the same text consists of the following heads: 1. To shew what is meant by

worshipping God in spirit and in truth. 2. To set aside a wrong meaning given by some to the phrase of *worshipping God in spirit*, as if it meant uttering of prayers or praises without premeditation. 3. To shew, how far spiritual worship excludes outward expressions of it, and the use of bodily things in the worship and service of God. 4. That in order to worship God in spirit, one very proper means is to worship him by stated forms of prayer. 5. The great excellency and acceptableness of spiritual worship.

The next discourse, which is the first in the second volume of Mr. Johnson's posthumous works, is his Sermon preached at Canterbury-School Feast: to which is prefixed a Preface to prove there were no alphabetical letters before Moses. The writing with hieroglyphical figures, as the ancient Egyptians did, or in such characters as are still used by the Chinese, where every character marks a word, he grants may be older than Moses, only maintains that to find out a means to express all words that may be spoken by little more than twenty characters is beyond the reach of human invention: And therefore he says Moses was taught this art by God, and that the first writing in alphabetical letters was the Ten Commandments written by God himself on two tables of stone. Neither was Mr. Johnson singular in this opinion. For Gale in his *Court of the Gentiles, Part 1, Book 1, Chap. 10, §. 4* observes that St. Augustin (*Lib. 18, cap. 39, de Civitate Dei*) says, "that the Hebrew letters (which he supposes to be the most ancient) began from Moses." And Ludovicus Vives, in his notes on those words of St. Augustin, says, "The vulgar opinion both of Christians and Hebrews is, that Hebrew letters had Moses for their author, which Eupolemus and other prophane writers do assert, who delivered that Moses was the most wise of men, and the inventor of letters." Gale also brings several other testimonies both from Christian and Heathen writers, to prove Moses to have been the inventor of letters.

The Sermon, which follows this Preface, has for its text, *Numb. xi. 29. Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets.* Here he shews the meaning of this wish of Moses, which depends upon the signification of the word *prophets*. All will agree, that whatsoever that exercise was, wherein the seventy, together with Eldad and Medad, were employed, it was prophesying. Then he shews there were Prophets in the highest sense, who received revelations immediately from God, and Prophets in a secondary sense, who received revelation from superior Prophets, in order to teach and instruct others; and such was the employ of these seventy Elders. But if this was their only business, what occasion for the particular effusion of God's spirit on them? For Moses expressly says, *when the spirit rested upon them they prophesied.* And indeed, if these Elders had before known to read, there had been no occasion for an extraordinary assistance of the divine spirit. But as Moses had but newly learned this excellent art, these Elders were ignorant of it as well as others. Therefore it is said, *God took of the spirit that was upon Moses, and communicated to the seventy Elders.* Thus this knowledge of letters, which by the spirit was conferred on Moses, was communicated to several others, that so they might read and write with uniform harmony: And it is not conceivable how this should be done by men wholly illiterate by mere human means in so short a time as the occasion required. And it most deserves our notice, that by taking prophecy in this sense, that is for reading exactly *ex scriptis*, what had been first written by a superior Prophet, there will be no occasion to disguise the last words of the 25th verse (as our English translation does) we may translate

conversation, we may justly say of him, what was said of the late learned Mr. Bingham, viz. *Qui Patriarchatum in Ecclesiâ meruit, obiit Parochus*. But I need say no more of his learning, the extensiveness of which is so visible in his works. His conversation was easy, and chearful, and very improving. If any one departed out of his company without learning something useful from him, it was his own fault. He was very diligent in the performance of all parochial duties. He read prayers every morning in his Parish Church, when he was at home. He preached twice every Sunday till within a few years before he died, that he kept a Curate to assist him, and then he seldom failed to preach once himself. He frequently instructed children in the Catechism, and administered the Holy Eucharist once a month. He was diligent in visiting the sick, or any other that needed his ghostly advice or prayers; and, in a word, used all that faithful diligence which he promised when he was admitted into the Order of Priesthood: so that considering how diligently and faithfully he discharged the parochial duties of a large and populous parish, for both Margate and Cranbrook were such, it is wonderful to think how he found time to write such learned and elaborate treatises as he has done. He was a very dutiful son, a loving husband, a careful and tender father, and obliging kind friend, who studied to do good to every one as he was able, and had opportunity, and to do injury to no man, always endeavouring conscientiously to discharge his duty in every relation. He had five children, of which only two were sons; but they all died in his lifetime, except his daughter Mary. The death of his eldest son was the most sensible affliction he met with in the whole course of his life. He outlived that son but two years, and died December the 15th 1725, having nearly completed the sixty third year of his age [P].

translate them as the Greeks do, and as the Hebrew clearly signifies, viz. *They prophesied and added not*. They read such lessons as Moses had assigned them without making any addition of their own. And Moses's wish is, that all the Lord's people were such Prophets, that is, able to read the Divine Law.

The next discourse is of the *Nature and Office of Angels*, for *Psal. ciii. 20. O praise the Lord, ye Angels, ye that excell in strength, and bearken to the voice of his word*. In this Sermon he proves that angels were before the Mosaic creation, from *Job xxxviii. 6, 7. When the foundations of the earth were fastned, and the corner-stone thereof laid, the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy*. By the sons of God we can understand no other than his holy angels, and they who expressed their joy at the creation of the earth, must have been created before that time. And that angels are not naked spirits, but are clothed with bodies or vehicles, he proves from *Luke xx. 35, 36*. when he tells us that *they who shall obtain the resurrection*, that is clearly a happy resurrection, *shall be equal to the angels*. If angels were naked spirits, good men would be more like them, or equal to them, during their state of separation, while they are absent from the body, than they shall be after the body and soul are again united. It seems therefore that good Christians shall be made more like the angels at the resurrection than before, by being reunited to their bodies. The spiritual substance of angels can no more be seen by bodily eyes, or be felt by hands, than our souls can be so; yet angels have appeared evidently to the sight of men, as we learn from many places of scripture. But though angels have bodies, yet it is not necessary to suppose they are of any determinate bulk or dimension, as ours are now, but that they can enlarge or contract, extend or draw close, as is most for their present convenience. And that their bodies are such as they can render themselves visible or invisible at discretion.

The last discourses among his posthumous works are

four Sermons. 1. On the death and resurrection of Christ, from *Act. ii. 31, 32*. 2. Of God's extraordinary grace to St. Paul, on *1 Tim. i. 14*. 3. Of the necessity, hardship, and mission of Christian Pastors, on *Matth. ix. 35*. And 4. the holiness of times and places, on *Lev. xix. 30*. We have been the more particular in the account of his posthumous works, because no more were printed than were subscribed for, they are not easy to be met with.

[P] He . . . died December the 15th 1725, having nearly completed the sixty third year of his age] He was buried in the Church-yard of the parish of Cranbrook, close to the wall of the Vestry. Over his grave is erected a handsome Altar-monument of grey Marble, with only this inscription, *John Johnson, Vicar*. But on the other side of the wall, within the Vestry, there is erected a Monument of white Marble affixed to the wall, with the following inscription.

Extra hunc parietem sub tumulo lapideo requiescit Joannes Johnson, A. M. per Annos octodecim hujus Ecclesie pastor; Morum Castitate, Ingenii Acumine, interioribus et reconditis Literis ornatissimus. Filius Reverendi Thomae Johnson de Frindsbury in Diocesi Rosensis Vicarii, et Mariæ Filiae Reverendi Francisci Drayton Chari parvæ hujus Dioceseos Rectoris. Uxorẽ habuit Margaretam Filiam Thomæ Jenkin in Insulâ de Tbanet Generosi. De qua quinq; suscepit liberos, quorum quatuor supervivunt; Vixit Margareta in Cunabulis mortuæ, Thomæ Loudini sepulto, alteri Margareta sinistra patris dormienti: Joanni S. T. B. de Standish in Comitatu Lancastriensi Rectori, Paternæ Virtutis, Ingenii et Eruditionis exemplari. Cujus post Mortem, cum ferè per Biennium ægre suspiria duxisset, Animam Spei beatæ Immortalitatis plenam Deo restituit 15^o die Decembris, A. D. 1725. Ætatis 63^o. Ecclesie Anglicanæ Pugil, Schismatis debellator occidit. Si plura quæris, scripta Mortui versato. Pientissima Filia Maria Johnson posuit.

JOLY (CLAUDIUS) Chanter and Canon of the Church of our Lady at Paris, and Official to the Archbishop, was a man of great merit and learning. He obtained a Canonship in the year 1631, on the resignation of Monsieur Loisel, his uncle by the mother's side, and Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris. The Duke of Longueville, Plenipotentiary from the French King for negotiating a general peace through all Europe, took him with him to Munster, and Joly assisted the Duke faithfully with his advices and counsels. He took a journey to Rome during the commotions at Paris. He was appointed Official, first by Cardinal de Retz after the death of John Francis de Gondi Archbishop of Paris; secondly by the Chapter whilst the See was vacant; and thirdly by the present (a) Archbishop. He died at Paris January the 15th 1700, at the age of fourscore and thirteen (b). He enjoyed a very good health in his old age, and had the use of all the faculties of his mind.

(a) I write this in the year 1700.

(b) Taken from the *Mercurius Hist.* for Feb. 1700, pag. 205.

(a) That of Moreri, and the Dictionary of the Bible written by Monsieur Simon a Priest.

(b) Solomon Jarchi, apud Martinum Lipenium, in *Jonae Periplo tbalaffio*, folio B verso edit. 1678, in 4to.

(c) Idem, *ibid.*

JONAH one of the Prophets of the Jewish Nation. As there are two Dictionaries (a) which may acquaint the reader with most of the particulars relating to him, I shall confine myself only to a few. There are some Rabbies (b) who are silly enough to assert, that Jonah being first swallowed up by a male fish, was afterwards vomited into the body of a female fish. As he did not find himself much strained in his first prison, say they, he did not think of praying to God; who therefore ordered the male fish to cast him up into the stomach of a female fish, which was with young. *Ut ex impregnatione & alvi tumore in angustias virum Dei redigeret* (c). i. e. "That the Man of God might be straitened by the swelling of the animal's womb, occasioned by its being big with young." There he found himself very much straitened, whereupon he pronounced that beautiful Canticle, which is still extant (d), and by which he appeased God's wrath. They who pretend to refute this story by observing that Jonah would not have been squeezed in a whale big with young, unless he had been placed in its womb, do not make a good objection [A]. We have seen in another place (e) that the heathen Poets related a particular concerning their Hercules, which is somewhat like this. They had borrowed it from the Sacred History, and had falsified and dressed it up after their own fancy. This at least is the common opinion of our authors (f). The antient Fathers thought it strange, that the Heathens should explode this history of Jonah [B], though they

(d) It is in the 2d chap. of the book of Jonah.

(e) In the remark [O] of the article HERCULES.

(f) See Vossius, de Origin. le Progreff. Idolatriæ, lib. 2. cap. 15. pag. 381, 382. edit. Francof. 1675, in 4to.

(x) Martinus Lipenius, in *Jonae Periplo tbalaffio*, folio B 2.

[A] They who... observe that Jonah would not have been squeezed in a whale big with young, unless he had been placed in its womb, do not make a good objection.] We shall here quote a man, who imagines he holds the Rabbi Jarchi very fast, by asking him, *Namquid arbitraris in uterum quoque impregnatae Balænae immissum esse Propbetam, ut ex fetus piscini multitudine coangustaretur? In stomachum cæci credo descendisse Jonam, non in matricem ejusdem. Quomodo itaque Jonæ in ventriculo latentis plus angustiarum ex utero intumescencia poterat surgere* (1)? i. e. "Do you think then, that the Prophet was taken into the womb of a whale big with young, so that the number of the young ones straitened him? For my part, I think that Jonah descended into the stomach and not into the womb of the whale. How then could Jonah, who was hid in the stomach, be more pressed by the swelling of the womb?" These questions spoil the good cause which Lipenius had to maintain, and give the Rabbies an opportunity to recover themselves from the ridicule which he designed to cast on them: they might in their turn ridicule him, if they should ask him how he came to be ignorant of a thing, which all the world knows: namely that the uterus by its dilatation presses upon the bowels and ventricle, and often considerably hinders the respiration.

[B] The antient Fathers thought it strange, that the Heathens should explode this History of Jonah; though they admitted the Fable of Hercules.] Here follows a noble passage from Theophylact. *Devoratur ergo a cæto Jonas, tresque dies ac totidem noctes in eo permanet wates: quæ res omnem excedere fidem audientibus videtur, maxime iis qui ex Græcorum scholis sapienterque Strina, ad hanc historiam accedunt. Quos equidem non satis demirari possum, qui fiat quod hæc non intelligant, cum suis ipsorum alii capiantur. Apud ipsos enim nonnihil tale de Hercule narratur: nempe quod & ipse a balæna devoratus, incolumis remanserit, nisi quod tantummodo depilatus redierit, idque ob ingenitum & internum bellum calorem. Aut igitur nostra suscipiant, aut sua rejiciant* (2). i. e. "Jonah then was swallowed up by a whale, and continued three days and three nights in its belly: a story, which seems incredible to them that hear it, particularly to them that come from the schools of the Greeks, and have studied their Philosophy. But I wonder, why they should pretend that they cannot comprehend this, since they very well understand other stories of their own, which are of the same kind. For they relate something like this of their Hercules, namely that he was also swallowed up by a whale, from which he received no hurt, having only lost a little hair, which was occasioned by the natural heat of the animal's bowels. Let them therefore admit our Histories or explode their own." I do not doubt but Theophylact might have met with several persons amongst the Greeks, who would have taken him at his word. We accept the conditions, would the Philosophers and learned men of Greece have answered; you will have us either explode the story of Hercules, or admit that of Jonah: well, we explode them both. But as an infinite number of persons amongst the Heathens would have condemned these con-

ditions; and maintained that though they continued to believe what the Poets had related concerning Hercules, yet they had a right to ridicule the Jewish story about Jonah, it is certain that Theophylact's reflection is very well grounded, and shows admirably well how ridiculously the Heathens were prepossessed. Let us come now to St. Augustin. He had a great friendship for a certain Heathen (3), and had wrote several letters to him, some of which remained unanswered. He inferred from his friend's silence that he would not continue that correspondence any longer. *Non inconvenienter arbitror eum quem video mihi rescribere noluisse, nihil sibi a me scribi voluisse* (4). i. e. "I had reason to think, that since he did not answer me, it was a sign he did not care that I should write any more to him." As he designed therefore to answer some objections, which that Heathen had made to the Priest Deogratias, he directed his answer to that Priest. It appears by his answer, that the Heathens very much ridiculed the History of Jonah. *Postrema quaestio proposita est de Jona, nec ipsa quæstio ex Porphyrio (5), sed tanquam ex irrisione Paganorum* (6). i. e. "The last question, which is proposed relates to Jonah; nor is it as it urged as though it were from Porphyry, but it is a banter of the Heathens." The method St. Augustin pitched upon to answer this objection of his friend is very judicious. We ought, said he, either to explode all God's miracles, or to acknowledge that there are no reasons to explode this. Should we believe the resurrection of Christ, if we were awed by the raileries of the Infidels? *Si fides Christianorum cæcinnam menter paganorum* (7). And since our friend made no objections against our believing the resurrection of Lazarus and that of Jesus Christ, I wonder very much that he should think the story of Jonah to be incredible. It is more difficult to raise a dead man from his grave, than to keep a man alive in the belly of such a large fish (8)? Will they assert, that the digestive faculty of the stomach cannot be suspended for a while? But they would make a more considerable objection, if they were to urge against us the instance of the three men, who received no hurt in the furnace at Babylon. If they will also reject that suspension of the activity of the fire, and all the other miracles recorded in the Scripture, we shall be obliged to make use of another method to refute them: for the Infidels ought not to raise difficulties against one particular fact only; they must either wave such difficulties, or reject absolutely all other facts of the same kind, and which are even more incredible still. They would not be so scrupulous with regard to such men as Apuleius, or Apollonius of Tyana. They would not banter; they would on the contrary insolently boast of their triumphs, if what we relate of Jonah were ascribed to the power of one of these two Heathens. I have not translated here St. Augustin's words exactly, I have only given a general notion of his argument. But that they, who understand Latin, may not be deprived of any part of his reasoning, I shall transcribe here the most considerable passage of the original. *Sed habent verba, quod non credant in divino miraculo, vaporem ventris quo cibi madescunt, potuisse ita temperari, ut vitam hominis*

(3) See St. Augustin's 49th Letter, towards the beginning.

(4) Aug. Epist. 49. pag. m. 195.

(5) Lipenius is then mistaken, when he asserts (in *Periplo tbalaffio Jona*, folio A 3 verso) that St. Augustin argues there strongly against Porphyry.

(6) August. Epist. 49. pag. 207.

(7) August. *ibid.* pag. 207, 208.

(8) *Nisi forte facilius putat mortuum de Sepulchro resuscitari, quam vivum in tam vasto ventre belluæ potuisse servari.* Idem, *ibid.* pag. 208.

(2) Theophylact. in *Jonam*, cap. 11.

they admitted the fable of Hercules. They who have asserted that this Prophet was cast up by the fish at the Port of Niniveh [C], had but little skill in Geography; and it is not at all probable that he came out of the fish's belly on the coast of the Euxin or Black Sea [D], or on that of the Red Sea [E]. It is much more probable that he was cast on shore near the city of Joppa, where he had embarked. Some confirm this conjecture by

hominis conservaret! Quanto incredibilis ergo proponerent tres illos viros, ab impio Rege in caminum missos, deambulasse in medio ignis illasos? Quapropter si nulla isti divina miracula volunt credere, alia disputatione refellendi sunt. Neque enim debent unum aliquid tanquam incredibile proponere, & in questionem vocare; sed omnia, quae vel talia, vel etiam mirabiliora narrantur. Et tamen si hoc quod de Jona scriptum est, Apuleius Madaurensis, vel Apollonius Tyaneus fuisse diceretur, quorum multa mira, nullo fideli auctore jactitant; [quamvis & Demones nonnulla faciunt Angelis sanctis familia, non veritate, sed specie, non sapientia, sed plane fallacia]: tamen si de istis, ut dixi, quos Magos vel Philosophos laudabiliter nominant, tale aliquid narratur, non jam in buccis creparet risus; sed typhus (9). Several persons will judge, that this method of refuting the Heathens is much more reasonable than that which St. Augustin followed in another book, where after he had observed that the very same men who laughed at the history of Jonah, did not in the least question the story of Arion, he proposes this objection to himself, namely, that the story of Jonah is more incredible. Certainly, replies he, but it is because it is more miraculous; and it is more miraculous because it shews a greater power. Verum illud nostrum de Jona incredibilis est; plane incredibilis, quia mirabilis, & mirabilis, quia potentius (10). These are witty conceits, some will say, and pretty fancies, but not good arguments: for it would follow from thence, that the more a thing seems to be impossible, the more it deserves to be credited: The fable of Arion was this, it was reported that in order to save his life he had been obliged to throw himself over board out of the ship in which he was sailing from Italy into Greece, and that he leapt on the back of a dolphin, which carried him to land. I do not observe this for the sake of those who never heard it mentioned, for there are but few such persons, but for the sake of thousands and thousands of persons, who do not remember it, and who would be sorry if they could not see immediately the difference there is between the story of Arion, and that of the Prophet Jonah.

(9) Aug. Epist. 49. pag. 208.

(10) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 2. cap. 14.

A REFLECTION upon one of the effects of prepossession.

Let us reflect a little on the inconsistent conduct with which St. Augustin charges the Heathens. One cannot but observe here one of the most ridiculous effects of prepossession. The managers of the Heathen Religion had sed the people's mind with a thousand fables for several ages; they would not have suffered any person to examine whether they were possible or not, nor to stile them incredible. But when the miracles of the Christians were proposed to them, they set up for Philosophers, they urged the impossibility of those miracles, they alledged all the arguments that can be urged to prevent a foolish credulity, and pretended scornfully to ridicule those that believed. What an impertinency is this! What an odd way of acting! What an inconsistency! What a fantastical humour! The several Christian societies shew almost the same disposition against each other. If the Greek Church boasts of some miracles, proper to shew that God is displeas'd with the schism of Nestorius, the Nestorians will make a thousand shifts, and invent all possible arguments to evade that objection. But as for such miracles as are proper to convict the Greek Church of injustice, they believe them blindly, without any examination, and think it strange that their adversaries should scruple to admit them. All the world knows how easily the Roman Catholics suffer themselves to be led into a persuasion of an infinite number of miracles. They make it a matter of conscience to believe innumerable stories, that are daily spread abroad, and they look upon the most plausible argument of those who pretend to call them into question, as mere cavils of obdinate Heretics. But if they happen to hear that some miracle or another is pretended to be performed amongst the Protestant Party, then they argue from quite different principles: they have recourse to all the common topics which the unbelievers urge in their own defence. They deny the fact, they raise ob-

jections against the witnesses, and charge them either with imposture, or with being crack-brained: If the fact be such as it cannot be denied, they explain it away by natural causes; they compile from the writings of the natural Philosophers and from the accounts of travellers, a thousand instances of the same kind. In a word, what they used to stile obstinacy, cavilling, contradicting reason and good sense, becomes a very solid and reasonable refutation of a falsity; for they insist upon the very same common topics, which the Protestants had urged against the Monks. There are every where persons who believe very easily what pleases them, but who are the most difficult in the world to be persuaded when they do not like a thing. When they alledge arguments to justify their unbelief, they cannot bear that you should take them for bad arguments; but if at another time the same arguments are urged against them, they are angry, if you will not give them leave to slight and ridicule them. Thus men pass away their life; this is an effect of prepossession, which is almost unavoidable; divers weights and divers measures: if men could not avoid this but by divesting themselves of all prejudices, the remedy would perhaps prove worse than the distemper.

[C] It has been asserted that he was cast up at the port of Niniveh.] Sulpicius Severus fell into this geographical error. *Exceptus a ceto, marino monstro, ac devoratus post triduum fere Ninivitarum littoribus ejectus, jussa predicat* (11). i. e. "Being swallowed up by a whale, a sea-monster, he was about three days after cast up on the coast of Niniveh, where he preached as he was commanded to do." The learned Druſius did not observe any blunder in these words, when he was commenting upon them; he only tells us, that it is not mentioned in the Holy Scripture on what coast the ship cast Jonah up (12). The other commentators on Sulpicius, and amongst them Hornius, have been very well apprized of this blunder. Lipenius did also observe it; but he has been strangely mistaken with regard to Chronology, for he imagined that Sulpicius Severus borrowed this from St. Gregory's Ethicks (13), who yet was a Pope that flourished 150 years after Sulpicius. The blunder of this last writer has been transcribed by Monsieur Simon. *A whale, says he* (14), *received Jonah in its bowels . . . and served him instead of a ship much safer than that on board of which he had been, and put him ashore, or rather cast him up the third day at the port of Niniveh.* Observe that Niniveh was built on the river Tigris, which has no immediate communication with the Mediterranean Sea. And besides, that river is not deep enough to carry such a large fish to the port of Niniveh. This reason, together with the surprising miracle, which we must suppose, if we assert that the whale went into the ocean, doubled the Cape of Good-hope, and entered the mouth of the Tigris, and performed that immense voyage in three days, all this, I say, cuts off all evasions to those, who would attempt to justify Sulpicius Severus. Never did such a fancy come into his head: he imagined innocently that Niniveh was situated on the Mediterranean Sea. His blunder was owing to his ignorance in Geography.

(11) Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sacrae, lib. 1. pag. m. 79. cap. 48.

(12) Druſius in Sulpic. Severum, pag. 279.

(13) Sulpicius Severus . . . ex S. Gregorio I. vi. Moral. cap. xii. arbitratu Jonam esse expositum in littoribus Ninivitarum. Lipen. in Jona Periplothalasso. cap. 3.

(14) Simon, *Dict. de la Bible*, pag. 432, 433.

[D] . . . it is not at all probable that he came out of the fish's belly on the coast of the Euxine sea.] Josephus (15) relates this tradition, which several modern authors (16) have followed, though it be against all probability, and supposes a multiplication of miracles: for such a large fish could not, according to the laws of nature, pass in so short a time from the Phœnician Sea into the Black Sea. And besides, Jonah would have had too long and too difficult a journey before him, either to return into Judea before he went to Niniveh, or to go directly to that city.

(15) Joseph. *Antiquit. Judaic.* lib. 9. cap. 18. folio m. 355 verso.

(16) See Lipenius, in *Jona Periplothalasso*, cap. 3.

[E] . . . or on that of the Red Sea.] Lipenius (17) ascribes this opinion to Eineda, and to the Rabbies; and it is not a difficult task for him to refute it. The whale must have entered into the ocean, and swam round Africa. See above, the remark [C], towards the end.

(17) Lipen. *ibid.* fol. C verso. He quotes Eineda, lib. 4. de Rebus Salomonis, cap. 12.

(g) See Lipenius, in *Jona Periplo* tbalaffio, folio A 3. (h) Apud Lipenium, in *Jona Periplo* tbalaffio, folio C 1 verso. (i) That is to say at Gbatb-Cbe- pber, near Mount Tabor. Lipenius, in *Jona Periplo* tbalaffio, folio preced. He quotes S. Jerom. Proem. in *Jonam*. (k) Apud Lipenium, in *Jona Periplo* tbalaffio, folio C 1 verso. (l) That is to say at Gbatb-Cbe- pber, near Mount Tabor. Lipenius, in *Jona Periplo* tbalaffio, folio preced. He quotes S. Jerom. Proem. in *Jonam*. (m) Simon. Dic- tion. de la Bible, pag. 433. (n) In the Tribe of Zebulun. (o) D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* pag. 495.

by the fable of Andromeda; for they pretend (g) that the story of Jonah was the ground- work of the poetical narrations concerning Andromeda's being exposed to the rage of a sea-monster, and she was exposed to it near Joppa (b). See the margin (i). Here fol- lows another fancy of the Rabbies, which is very whimsical. They assert (k), that the fish, which swallowed Jonah, had seven eyes, which were as so many windows, through which the Prophet could behold all that was in the Sea, and amongst other things the road which the Israelites followed when they crossed the Red-Sea. They who take him for the same young man, who was sent by Elisha to Jehu [F] to anoint him, do not deserve any credit. Jonah's tomb was still shewed at his native place in St. Jerom's time (l). Monsieur Simon (m) asserts, that the *Turks have built a very noble Mosque to the honour of Jonah, in which there is a miraculous lamp, which burns continually, though neither oil nor any other liquor be ever poured into it, if we may lay any stress upon their idle fancies.* He observes, that this Mosque is in a little village (n) built to this Prophet's honour, and under his name. Monsieur d'Herbelot (o) does not say a word of all this, though he tells us several things which the Mahometans relate concerning Jonah. I shall name the modern author, who, according to Moreri, has made a very ingenious Poem on this Prophet's history [G].

(18) 2 Kings ix. 1. (19) Hebraei in Sedar Olam, & ex iis Jo. Mariana in Scholiis Bibl. & D. Job. Tarnovius, Comm. Jon. p. 2. Lipen. in *Jona Periplo* tbalaffio, folio B.

[F] They who take him for the same young man who was sent by Elisha to Jehu (18).] This is what the Rab- bies do, and after them Mariana and Tarnovius (19). But if this were true, he must have been then above an hundred years old. These are Monsieur Simon's words in his Dictionary of the Bible; but they are very dark, for we do not know to what the word *then* must be referred. Is it to the time when Jehu was anointed? The Grammar requires it; but this sense would be absurd. Is it to the time of Jonah's journey to Nini- veh? Is it to the time of Jeroboam the second of that name? guess it if you can.

(20) One upon Jonah, one upon David, one upon Joshua, and one upon Samson.

[G] I shall name the modern author, who, according to Moreri, has made a very ingenious Poem on this Prophet's History.] He was a Gascon Minister, nam- ed Coras. He had been Chaplain to M. de Tu- renne in some campaigns; he was afterwards appointed Pastor to a congregation in Lower Gascony; but he soon turned Papist, and obtained a considerable em- ployment in the Presidial Court at Montauban. Be- fore he forsook his religion he published a book, in which, if I remember it well, he asserted that the Protestants could not unite themselves with the church of Rome. After his abjuration he wrote another book to refute this. His four Poems (20) on some Histories

taken from the Bible, sold pretty well, notwithstand- ing what Monsieur Boileau Despreaux asserts in his IXth satire,

*Le Jonas inconnu seche dans la poussiere,
Le David imprimé n'a point veu la lumiere.*

"Jonas, unknown, lies buried in the dust;
"David, though printed, never saw the light.

Coras's enemies sent him by the post to Montauban a letter supposed to come from his Bookseller at Paris, who desired him to defend himself against Boileau, because none would buy his Poems, since that IXth sa- tire had been published. This affront exasperated him very much, and he published a very abusive pamphlet against his Critic. In the year 1675 he wrote some verses against Monsieur Racine. You will find in the *Menagiana* (21) a very pretty epigram written by Monsieur Racine against him. Observe that he was descended from the celebrated Civilian John Coras, Counsellor in the Parliament of Toulouse, and one of the Protestant Martyrs: for he was hanged for his religion at Toulouse, dressed in his Counsellor's robes, in the year 1572 (22).

JONAS (ARNGRIMUS), an Iselander by nation, gained a reputation in the 16th and 17th Centuries, by the works which he published. He was still living in the year 1644, and was then above fourscore and ten years old (a). Four years before, he had married a young girl to his second wife. He was a learned and honest man, and very much esteemed by all the learned. He had been Coadjutor to Gundebbrand of Torlac Bishop of Hola in Iseland (b). This Gundebbrand was an Iselander, and a man of great learning and probity (c). He had been a disciple of Tycho-Brahe, and under- stood Astrology (*) very well. After the death of this man Arngrimus refused the Bi- shopric of Hola, to which the King of Denmark designed to promote him (d). He de- sired that Prince to excuse him, both that he might not expose himself to envy, and that he might apply himself more quietly to his studies. Most part of the books which he published [A] are either Histories and Descriptions of Iseland, or Apologies for his own

(a) La Peyrere, *Relation de l'Is- lande*, pag. 55, 56. (b) *Ibid.* pag. 55. (c) *Ibid.* pag. 5, and 15.

[A] The books which he published.] Here follow the titles of all that I met with in Albertus Bartho- linus's Catalogues. *Idea veri Magistratus*, i. e. "The Character of a true Magistrate," printed at Copen- hagen in the year 1589, in 8vo. *Brevis Commenta- rius de Islandia*; i. e. "A short History of Iseland," printed in the same city in the year 1593, in 8vo. *Anatome Blefkeniana*, i. e. "The Anatomy or Dif- section of Blefkenius;" at Hola in Iseland, in the year 1612, in 8vo, and at Hamburg in the year 1618, in 4to. *Epistola pro patria defensoria*; i. e. "A Letter in Defence of his Native Country," printed also there in the year 1618. *Apologia Calumniae*; i. e. "A refutation of Slander," printed at the same place in the year 1622, in 4to. *Chrymogæa* (1) *seu Kerum Islandicarum libri tres*; i. e. "Three Books of the History of Iseland," printed also there, in the year 1630, in 4to. *Vita Gudbrandi Thorlacii*; i. e. "The Life of Gundebbrand Torlac," at the same place in the year 1630, in 4to. *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum,*

& magna ex parte Chorographicum; i. e. "An His- torical and chiefly Geographical Essay relating to "Iseland," printed at Amsterdam in the year 1643, in 4to (2). A learned man, who has published Albertus Bartho- linus's treatise with historical and critical additions, tells us, that the *Anatome Blefkeniana* is a refutation of a book printed at Leyden in the year 1607, and intitled *Islandia seu Descriptio populorum & memorabilium hujus Insulae*; i. e. "Iseland, or an Account of the People and remarkable things of that Island;" and that the *Crymogæa* was written in the year 1603, and printed at Hamburg in the year 1609, with a map of Den- mark, and in the year 1610 without that map; that the *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum* is a vindication of the author's opinion against the arguments of John Isaacus Pontanus. Our Arngrimus Jonas maintained that Iseland was not peopled till about the year 874, so Mollerus, *Hy- pomn. ad Bartol. de Scriptis Danorum*, pag. 12. (3) Taken from Mollerus, *Hy- pomn. ad Bartol. de Scriptis Danorum*, pag. 12. that it cannot be the antient *Tbule* (3). Pontanus thought it somewhat strange, that Arngrimus Jonas should un- dertake

(2) It should be *Crymogæa*.

(e) See Mollerus, *own Nation*. Blefkenius had published several dishonourable particulars of it, both with regard to witchcraft [B], and with regard to dissoluteness [C]. Arngrimus refuted him.

(f) *Idem, ibid.* He died in the year 1649 (e). He had been Pastor of the Church of Melstad, and Intendant of the neighbouring Churches of the Diocess of Høla (f).

undertake to vindicate an opinion which was less glorious to Iceland than the contrary opinion; yet he spoke very civilly of this learned Islander, and with a great deal of regard. See the letter which he wrote to Stephanus July 1, 1638 (4). You will meet in Mollerus (5) with the titles of some other works of our Jonas, which had been omitted by Albertus Bartholinus, and some of which have been printed, and the other are only manuscripts.

(4) It is the 122d of those which Mathæus published at Leyden in the year 1695. See page 325. of that Collection of Letters, as also pag. 210.

(5) Moller. *Hypomn. ad Barthol. de Scriptis Danorum*, pag. 166.

(6) La Peyrere, *Relat. de l'Islande*, pag. 28.

(7) See the story which Charles Ogier relates in pag. 433 of his *Iter Polonicum*.

(8) La Peyrere, *Relat. d'Islande*, pag. 31.

(9) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for Feb. 1685, pag. 135.

[B] *Blefkenius had published several dishonourable particulars of Iceland, both with regard to witchcraft . . .* Blefkenius asserts, that the Icelanders sell the wind, and that he knew it by his own experience (6). Arngrimus laughs at this; for says he, "a seaman of Iceland knew in the evening by the disposition of the air, how the weather would be the next day, and from what corner the wind would blow: and when he supposes that the wind would be such as a stranger waits for to sail away, he goes and meets him, and engages to sell him the wind he wants; which he does after this manner. He asks the stranger for his handkerchief, and makes a shew to mutter a few words in it, and immediately ties up the handkerchief (7), as though he feared lest the words he had pronounced should fly away; he then returns it thus tied up to the stranger, and charges him to keep it very carefully just as he receives it, assuring him that he shall have a fair wind as long as he shall be on board. Now it happens sometimes that the wind blows really from that corner the next day; but it changes generally after the stranger is sailed, and has reached the main sea. . . . If it happened once in an hundred times, that the wind continued fair till the stranger arrived at the place he intended to sail to, this one success alone will give credit to the common error more than a thousand contrary experiences will invalidate it. It is dispersed by the person, who publickly declares, that he bought the wind in Iceland, because he imagines it, and that with that wind he sailed safe home." The same Blefkenius relates (8), "that there are Conjurers in Iceland, who have it in their power to stop ships that are under sail in the main sea: he also asserts, that they who are thus stopt make use, for a countercharm, of certain stinking suffumigations (9), of which he gives us a description; with these, says he, they who are stopped drive away the devils that stopped them, and the ships thus disincharmed continue again to sail."

[C] . . . and with regard to dissoluteness.] "Blefkenius asserts, that the Germans who trade in Iceland, set up tents near the Ports at which they land, and there they expose their wares to sale, which consist of cloaks, shoes, looking-glasses, and a great many trifles, which they change for what the Icelanders bring them. Some girls, who are very handsome in that island, but very indifferently dressed, go and visit these Germans, and offer to those who have no wife, to lie with them for some bread or biscuit, or for some other trifling reward. Even the fathers present their own daughters to the strangers, and if their daughters become pregnant, it is a great honour to them, they being more esteemed and more courted by the Icelanders on that account, than the other maidens, and they have a great many suitors. When the Icelanders have bought (that is to say exchanged something for) wine or beer of the foreign Merchants, they invite their relations, their friends and their neighbours to come and drink it with them, nor do they part as long as there is one drop left. Whilst they are drinking together, they sing the heroic deeds of their Captains

"It is a piece of rudeness amongst them to rise from the table in order to make water, whilst they are drinking. The girls, who are not unhandsome in that country, as I have already observed, present them with chamber-pots, which they convey to them under the table. Arngrimus Jonas calls this raillery an imposture, and is in a very great passion against Blefkenius, for the injury which that author, says he, did to the reputation of the girls of Iceland. This good man cannot bear to see his countrymen treated with contempt, and stiled barbarians (10)." If it was ever lawful for an apologist to fly into a passion, Arngrimus's anger cannot be blamed; for it is not at all probable, that the Gospel, which has been known in Iceland for so many ages, would have left that nation in a state of such a wicked brutality; nor is it likely that if the Christian religion had been so ineffectual with regard to the reformation of their manners, the King of Denmark would suffer them to have so little regard for public decency. The custom that prevails in their entertainments, is not, I think, faithfully related: the fact has been exaggerated to entertain the reader. Was there ever such an office as that of these girls mentioned, or did any one ever hear of such a ridiculous laziness? Here you have men, who not only will not take the trouble to rise from table in order to make water, but who even will not be at the pains to make the least motion with their hand: for this is the notion which this story gives us: otherwise, why should we be told, that the girls convey the chamber-pots under the table? They might give them to the guests after another manner, if the design were only to spare them the trouble of getting up. If all that Blefkenius has told us here were true, we should be obliged to confess, that jealousy is not useless in this world (11).

(10) La Peyrere, *Relat. d'Islande*, pag. 23, 24.

(11) See the *Nouvelles Lettres contre le Calvinisme de Maimbourg*, pag. 542, &c.

If it were lawful to tell lies for the sake of religion, we should deny all that is related concerning the imprudence of some nations. For it is said, that the Free-thinkers pretend to draw an inference, which is very much in their favour, from the practice of some nations, amongst whom, as it is reported, the prostitution of women is not attended with any infamy. This would be the case of the Icelanders, if we were to credit Blefkenius's account; nay they would go farther still, for they would look upon it as a great honour for a girl to be got with child by a stranger, to whom she had prostituted herself; and the fathers would think themselves happy, if the offer they made of their daughter's maidenhead were accepted by strangers. Where then, would the Free-thinkers ask, is that impression of nature, which makes all men distinguish between good and evil? Here are Christian nations, who not only have not the least regard for chastity in their practice, but who have even lost the theory of it: whence it follows that in this respect their conscience is intirely void of all sense of the law of nature. And does not this prove, that the notions of virtue depend on education and custom, and not on an impression of nature? How can these people be reclaimed, since their conscience is entirely seared in this respect? For if it be possible for a man to live in a wretched security, though he has a notion of good and evil, this must infallibly happen when these notions are absolutely rooted out. There is no occasion to answer this objection, since Arngrimus Jonas denies the fact on which it is grounded. We must refer to him all those, who pretend to make an advantage of his adversary's account. And if they should quote unquestionable facts, in such a case, we should not be at a loss for an answer.

An objection concerning the imprudence of some Nations.

☞ JONES (INIGO), an eminent English Architect in the seventeenth Century, was son of Ignatius Jones [A], a Citizen and Cloth-worker of London. He was born about the

[A] *Inigo Jones . . . son of Ignatius Jones.* It is observable, that the son's name is in Spanish, and the father's in Latin; for which some have assigned this

reason, that as his father was a considerable dealer in the Woolen Manufacture, some Spanish Merchant might probably have assisted at his Baptism (1).

(1) *Life of Inigo Jones*, prefixed to the edition of his *Most notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Flange, restored*, printed at London 1735 in fol.

(a) *Life of Inigo Jones*, prefixed to the edition of his *Most notable Antiquity of Great Britain*, vulgarly called *Stone-henge*, re-
stured, &c. London 1725, in fol.

(b) This was frequently related by Sir Christopher Wren.

(c) *Life of Inigo Jones*, ubi supra.

the year 1572 in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's in London (a). It is said, that he was at first put apprentice to a Joiner (b); but he was early distinguished by his inclination to drawing or designing, and was particularly taken notice of for his skill in the practice of Landskip-painting. This afterwards recommended him to the favour of William Earl of Pembroke, at whose expence he travelled over Italy and the politer parts of Europe, and saw whatever was remarkable for its antiquity or merit; and from those plans formed his own observations, which he perfected by study and application (c). He resided many years in Italy, especially at Venice; from whence he was sent for to be Architect-General to Christian IV King of Denmark, upon whose first coming into England, Mr. Jones attended him, and being desirous that his own native country, rather than a foreign, should enjoy the fruits of his studies, Queen Anne, wife to King James I, appointed him her Architect, and soon after he was honoured with the same place by Prince Henry, under whom he discharged his trust with such fidelity and judgment, that King James made him Surveyor General in reversion. Upon the Prince's death he travelled into Italy again, and returned to England when his place of Surveyor fell [B], which he enjoyed under King James I, Charles I, (unto whose confort he was also Architect General) and King Charles II (*); "though death, says Mr. Webb (+), through grief, as is well known, for the fatal calamity of his dread master, prevented him of doing his now sacred Majesty [Charles II] any actual service." By these degrees he rose to such eminence, that he was esteemed the *Vitruvius* of his age and country. We have a fine intermixture of fancy and judgment in his Decorations of Dramatic Entertainments, and the pompous Machinery of Masques and Interludes. Several representations of this nature are still extant by Ben. Johnson, George Chapman, Sir Will. Davenant, and the most eminent Poets of the age. The subject was set down by the Poet, but the invention, ornaments, scenes, &c. were the contrivance of Mr. Jones; and for these he received very considerable encouragement from the Court. In 1620, at the command of King James I, he drew up a Discourse concerning *Stone-Henge* on Salisbury-Plain, which was not published till after his death [C]. He formed the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, which was at first designed for the reception of foreign Embassadors. The ceiling was some years after adorned by the pencil of Sir Peter Paul Rubens; and draughts of these have been since published by Mr. Sim. Gribelin the Engraver. To Mr. Jones we owe the Church and Piazza of Covent-Garden. In this last performance he had in view the Piazza of Leghorn, but has vastly surpassed the original by the beauty and largeness of his pillars. In repairing of the Cathedral of St. Paul's [D], he having demolished part of the Church of St. Gregory adjoining to it, was brought into trouble about it at the opening of the Long-Parliament. For December the 10th 1641, he was obliged to appear before the House of Lords, according to their Order, to hear a Declaration read, which was brought up against him from the House of Commons, upon the complaint and in behalf of the Parishioners

(*) Webb's *Vindication of Stone-henge Restored*, pag. 119. 2d edit. London 1725 in fol.

(+) *Ibid*

(2) *Vindication of Stone-Henge Restored*, pag. 119 2d edit. London 1725 in fol.

[B] *When his place of Surveyor fell.* Mr. Webb tells us (2), that "the office of his Majesty's works, having through extraordinary occasions in the time of Mr. Jones's predecessor contracted a great debt, amounting to several thousands of pounds, he was sent for to the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, to give them his opinion, what course might be taken to ease his Majesty of it, the Exchequer being empty, and the workmen clamorous: when he of his own accord voluntarily offered not to receive one penny of his own entertainment in what kind soever due, until the debt was fully discharged. And this was not only performed by him himself, but upon his persuasion, his fellow-officers, the then Comptroller and Pay-master, condescended to do the like also, whereby the whole arrears were absolutely cleared."

(3) Wood, *Art. Usen*. vol. 1. col. 1113.

(4) *Vindication*, pag. 118.

[C] *Drew up a Discourse concerning Stone-Henge on Salisbury-Plain, which was not published till after his death.* It being left imperfect by him at his death came into the hands of Mr. John Webb of Burleigh in Somersetshire, who married the daughter of our author's cousin-german (3), at the desire of Dr. William Harvey, Mr. Selden, and other learned men (*), perfected and published that *Discourse* at London 1655 in folio under the following title, *The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-henge on Salisbury-Plain, restored*; and prefixed to it the author's picture, etched by Hollar from a painting of Van Dyke. In this *Discourse* Mr. Jones endeavours to shew, that *Stone-henge* was a temple built by the Romans, while they were in Britain, and dedicated by them to *Cælus* or *Cætrum*, from whom the Ancients imagined, that all things took their beginning. This book, of which but a few copies were printed, was generally approved of by the Antiquaries; but Dr. Walter Charlton being dissatisfied with it, sent it to Olaus Wormius, a learned man in Denmark, who returning his sentiments in se-

veral letters to Dr. Charlton, the Doctor drew up a *Discourse*, intitled, *Cborea Gigantum: or, the most famous Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-henge, standing on Salisbury Plain, restored to the Danes*. London 1663 in 4to. "This book, says Mr. Wood (4), though exploded by most persons, when it was published, yet some of the most noted Antiquaries of this nation, particularly Sir William Dugdale, did applaud it, and hath said in my hearing more than once, that he verily thought, that Dr. Charlton was in the right in what he delivered in the said *Cborea Gigantum*." But Mr. Webb abovementioned published in answer to the Doctor, *A Vindication of Stone-henge restored, in which the Orders and Rules of Architecture observed by the ancient Romans are discussed, together with the Customs and Manners of several Nations of the World in matters of Building of the greatest Antiquity; as also an Historical Narration of the most memorable Actions of the Danes in England*. London 1665 in folio. The three *Discourses* of Mr. Jones, Dr. Charlton, and Mr. Webb, were reprinted together at London 1725 in folio.

(4) *Ubi supra*

[D] *In repairing of the Cathedral of St. Paul's.* In a royal commission under the great seal of England dated November the 16th 1720 he was appointed with several others a Commissioner for repairing that cathedral (5); and in 1633 he, as Surveyor of that work, laid the fourth stone at the east end (6). Mr. Webb tells us (7), that "for the magnificence of St. Paul's all posterity will be grateful to Mr. Jones, who was sole Architect, and solely; by that ever glorious Monarch K. Charles the Martyr, entrusted with the repair thereof; and who in faithful discharge of that trust, reduced the body of it from the steeple to the west end into that order and uniformity we now behold; and by adding that magnificent portico there, hath contracted the envy of all Christendom upon our nation for a piece of Architecture not to be paralleled in these last ages of the world."

(5) Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* London, pag. 135, 136. edit. London 1658 in fol.

(6) *Ibid*. pag. 159.

(7) *Vindication*, &c. pag. 274

(e) Nelson's *Im-
partial Collection*,
vol. 2. pag. 728.

(f) *Ibid.* pag.
729.

(g) *Ibid.* pag.
771.

(h) *Memoires*,
pag. 577. edit.
London 1668, in
fol.

Parishioners of St. Gregory's in London (e) [E]. The Declaration being read, he desired, that he might have some time to answer by his Council (f); and December the 21st he appeared before the Lords in Parliament and answered, "that he was not guilty of the offence charged in the said Declaration in such manner and form as therein was expressed;" upon which Friday fortnight was ordered for the day of hearing the cause (g). But what was the issue of this affair, we do not find. His adherence to the King's interest during the civil wars exposed him to considerable losses; and Mr. David Lloyd tells us (h), that he paid four hundred pounds by way of composition. He died about Midsummer Day 1652 (i), and was interred in the Chancel of the Church of Bennet near Paul's Wharf in London June the 26th, and his monument set on the North wall at some distance from his grave, was very much defaced by the Fire of London in September 1666 (k). Several of his designs have been published by Mr. Kent, Mr. Colin Campbell, and Mr. Isaac Ware. A Copy of Verses by him are published in the *Odombian Banquet* prefixed to *Tom. Coryat's Crudities*, printed at London in 1611 in 4to. Ben. Johnson, upon some quarrel with him, wrote a severe Satyr against him, in which he styles him *Sir Lantern Leatherhead*; but this Satyr was forbid by the King to be printed at that time, and is still extant in manuscript. Mr. Webb tells us (l), that *the Art of Design* was scarcely known in England, till Mr. Jones, under the protection of King Charles I, and Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, brought it into use and esteem among us here. Mr. Webb had in his possession *the chiefest Antiquities of all Christendom* designed by our author's own hand (m).

(i) Wood, *Atb.*
C. 207. vol. 2. col.
1113. But the
same writer, vol.
1. col. 423. tells
us, that he had
been informed by
letters of Mr.
James Webb, son
of Mr. John
Webb, who mar-
ried the daughter
of the cousin-
german of our
author, that he
died July 21st
1651, aged about
79 years.

(k) *Iidem*, vol. 1.
col. 1113.

(l) *U: supra*,
pag. 19.

(m) *Ibid.* pag.
119, 120.

[E] *Obliged to appear before the House of Lords, according to their order, to bear a declaration read, which was brought up against him from the House of Commons, upon the complaint and in behalf of the parishioners of St. Gregory's in London.* The declaration was as follows.

"The Declaration of the Commons upon the complaint, and in the behalf of the Parishioners of St. Gregory's, London, against Inigo Jones Esq;

"The Parish Church of St. Gregory's adjoining to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's in London aforesaid, is, and, from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, hath been the Parish Church for the Inhabitants of that Parish, lately computed to be 3000 persons, for the administration of Divine Service and Sacraments. The said Inigo Jones being Surveyor of his Majesty's Works, and particularly those to be designed for the re-edifying of the said Church of St. Paul's, would not undertake the work, unless he might be, as he termed it, the *sole Monarch*, or might have the principality thereof, conceiving the work would not well be done without pulling down the said Church of St. Gregory's, presented a plot to his Majesty accordingly. The said Inigo Jones having presented the said plot, his Majesty hereupon signified his pleasure, and in pursuance thereof, several orders were also made at the Council-Board, that the said Church should be taken down by the Parishioners for the more convenient repairing of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's; which the Parishioners refusing to obey, as was lawful for them to do, the said Inigo Jones, in execution of the plot and design by him presented as

"aforesaid, and of his Majesty's signification, and the orders at the Council-Board thereupon had, in or about March 1639, did pull down and caused to be pulled down part of the said Church, and did also threaten, *That if the said Parishioners would not take down the rest of it, then the galleries should be sawed down, and with screws the materials of the said Church should be thrown down into the street.* And the said Inigo Jones did further threaten the said Parishioners, *That if they did not take down the said Church, they should be laid by the heels.* Whereby the Parishioners being thus affrighted, and to save the materials, which not long before had cost them 1500 *l.* were enforced to take down some part of the said Church, inasmuch as it thereby was made altogether useless, and the said Parishioners to that great number have been wholly destitute of any place within their own Parish for the public exercising of Religion. The damages the Parishioners have hereby sustained is very great, and the charge of re-edifying the said Church and restoring it to as good plight as it was in, before it was so wrongfully taken down, will amount at least to 3000 *l.* all which the said Parishioners are ready to prove and maintain. For remedy therefore and redress herein, and chiefly to the end, that the said Church of St. Gregory's may be fully repaired and restored to the plight and condition, wherein it formerly was, by and at the charge of him and them, by whose undue means it was in part taken down, or caused to be taken down as aforesaid, it is desired, that such proceedings may be used and had against the said offenders herein, as to right and justice doth appertain"
T.

JORNANDES, a Goth by extraction, was Bishop of Ravenna towards the middle of the sixth Century.

His History of the Goths, translated into French, was printed at Paris in the year 1703, and dedicated to the King of Sweden (a).

JOUBERT (LAURENCE) Counsellor and Physician in Ordinary to the King of France and to the King of Navarre, first Doctor Regent, and Chancellor and Judge of the University of Montpellier, was born at Valence in Dauphiné December the 6th 1529 (a). He studied under Silvius at Paris, and under L'Argentier beyond the Alps (b). He gained a great reputation by the Lectures he read at Montpellier as a Professor, and more still by the books he published. People had so great an opinion of his knowledge, that Henry III, who passionately wished to have children, sent for him to Paris, being in hopes that this Physician's skill would remove the obstacles which rendered his marriage fruitless (c); but he was disappointed in his expectations. Joubert died at Lombez [A] October

(a) See the *Mé-
moires de Trevesaux*,
for Jan. 1704,
Art. 6. of the
edition printed in
France.

(b) La Croix du
Maine, pag. 285.

(c) Sammarthanus,
Elog. pag. m.
75.

(c) *Eum in Aula
vidimus à Rege
Henrico III con-
sultum, cum prin-
ciple Princeps pro-
lis in publ. am
utilitatem suscipi-
endæ cupidus, max-
imam voti sui
specem in ejus in-
dustria nequic-
quam collocasset.*
Sammarth. *Elog.*
pag. 76.

[A] *He died at Lombez*] La Croix Du Maine acquaints me with this particular. He adds that Lombez is seven leagues distant from Toulouse; and it is towards Languedoc and not towards Guienne, it follows certainly from this, that Sammarthanus is mis-

taken (1), who asserts that Joubert died on his return (1) *In Elog.* pag. m. 76. from Toulouse to Montpellier. The city of Lombez is very far from that road. Moreri is still more to blame than Sammarthanus, for the following reason: he asserts, as he read it in La Croix du Maine, that this

October the 29th 1582. He published a great many books [B], both in Latin and in French. That which he intitled *Vulgar Errors* raised great clamours against him, because he speaks in it too freely on several ticklish subjects [C]. It was particularly thought strange that he should have dedicated such a book to the Queen of Navarre, consort to Henry IV. But all these clamours were so far from preventing the sale of his book, that on the contrary, they contributed considerably to make it sell the more [D].

This

this Physician died at Lombez; and he adds to this what he had found in Sammarthanus, that Joubert died on his return from Toulouse to Montpellier. The blending together these two particulars, betrays in him an ignorance of Geography, with which Sammarthanus cannot be charged, since he did not mention Lombez. A writer is liable to commit a great many blunders, when he blends together the accounts of different authors, without altering and correcting such particulars as render those accounts inconsistent together. I do not mention the chronological blunder we meet with in Moreri. It is plainly an error of the press, or only an oversight. You will find in Moreri, that Joubert was born in the year 1629, that he became famous in the sixteenth century, that he died in the year 1682, and that Du Verdier Vau-Privas and La Croix du Maine mention him in their works (2) which they published in the year 1584, and which have never been reprinted.

[B] He published a great many books.] His Latin treatises make up two volumes in folio in the editions printed at Francfort in the years 1582, 1599, and 1645. One of the most considerable of these treatises is a collection of paradoxes, against which several Physicians (3) wrote, and to whom he replied.

I observe that his treatise of the *Paucreas* was composed French, tho' when he published it, he put in the title-page that John Paul Zangmaister a native of Augsburg, and a pupil of Monsieur Laurence Joubert had translated it into French from the Latin of the said Joubert. (4).

[C] He spoke too freely on several ticklish subjects in his *Vulgar Errors*.] The subject relating to virginity, and to generation had perhaps never been handled in French in such plain terms. He was even so free, that he produced three affidavits or certificates drawn up by sworn matrons, who at the Magistrate's command had examined whether some maidens, who complained that they had been ravished, had reasons to complain. The first of these affidavits was made in Bearn, the second at Paris, and the third at Carcassonne. It is declared in the first that the maiden, who complained, was still a virgin; in the two others it is asserted that the plaintiffs had been deflowered. Joubert compares together very exactly the expressions which these matrons made use of. In the year 1686 they printed in Holland a book intitled *Tableau de l'Amour considéré dans l'état du Mariage* (5). i. e. "A Description of Love considered in the Marriage-State." The author takes there the name of Salocini a Venetian Physician; but it is well known that his true name is Nicholas Venette, and that he is a Physician of Rochelle (6). He quotes also affidavits, and it is from him that Furetiere borrowed what he says upon that subject in his Dictionary, under the word *Pucelage*. But to return to Joubert, he was charged with having forged himself those affidavits. "He refutes this very well in his epistle to his friends and well-wishers, naming the person who communicated to him the affidavits from Paris and from Bearn. As for that from Carcassonne, I know very well that he had it from a person, who was principal Secretary to the Marshal Dampville, who used to repeat it often for his diversion. And Monsieur Joubert can hardly understand the words, which these midwives made use of, so as to apply them properly to every part of that member which distinguishes the sex. Not but that he can very well observe in it as many parts as these matrons reckon up; for in our public lectures on Anatomy we demonstrate sixteen or seventeen of them, which I shall rehearse here in their proper order, &c. (7)." La Croix du Maine observes, that some persons objected to Joubert, that he spoke too freely, and quoted too obscene passages in some of his works, and particularly in his learned books concerning *Vulgar Errors*. But, continues he, if he made use of some smutty expressions which give offence to scrupulous persons, he was obliged to express himself thus, if he designed to be understood, and for the sake of those readers who desire to be improved by his books. Seevola Sammarthanus is in the right to observe, that the author wronged his reputation by this work. *Futurus tamen cautior, si contentus iis, quæ in usum eruditorum sermone Latino componebat, à scriptiõibus Gallicis abstinere maluisset. Naturam enim pro concessa Medicis facultate liberius evolvens, temere se in plebis imperitiæ censuram atque risum objecit* (8). i. e. "He had been more prudent, if forbearing to write in French, he had been content to write in Latin for the use of the learned. For as he explained nature freely, according to the liberty which Physicians are allowed to take, he exposed himself to the censure and ridicule of the unlearned multitude." Joubert himself was sensible of it, for he did not continue his work; and as to what had already been published, he endeavoured to answer some complaints against it. He was blamed for dedicating his book to the Queen of Navarre, a very virtuous (9) and generous Princess, a true mirror and pattern of honour, since in the beginning of his work he was to treat of smutty subjects, as they call them, and of the privy parts, for he was writing of generation, conception, pregnancy, and delivery (10). He answered this objection in the second edition of his book; for besides the excuses, which he and Louis Bertravan alledged, he altered the dedication, and presented the whole work to Monseigneur de Pi-brac that Princess's Chancellor, that he might choose and point out such passages, as were proper to be presented to her Majesty, and of which she might judge with a safe conscience: the said Lord keeping the rest for himself as being more suitable to her condition (11). There was another complaint against him, *All this, it was said (12), would have been much better in Latin than in French; since such discourses do not sound so ill in a foreign language as they do in a vulgar tongue; nor would the women and maidens, who are more modest and bashful, have had any knowledge of them.* To which Cabrol makes the following reply (13). "Joubert has already given a full answer to this in his epistle to his friends and well-wishers, in which he observes very judiciously that the most chaste women in the world may very well read his work, in which they will meet with nothing but what leads to virtue, and which will acquaint them, and their husbands also, with their duty in the marriage-state. As to the maidens, they will not understand any thing in it relating to the works of the flesh, if they be true virgins both in body and soul, if I may say so. But further, to satisfy every one in this as in all the rest, he has since suppressed all that could give any offence to the most scrupulous persons, knowing very well that we ought to abstain not only from evil, but also from all appearance of evil." All these reasons are not solid, and some of them are wretched arguments.

[D] The clamours . . . that were raised against this book . . . contributed considerably to make it sell the more.] Let us transcribe the words of Joubert's Apologist. The Treatise of *Vulgar Errors*, says he (14), "has been printed at four different places within six months; namely at Bourdeaux, at Paris, at Lyons, and at Avignon: and they have not printed less than sixteen hundred copies in every one of these cities." This book has been so highly esteemed, that whereas it was sold at first only for ten pence or twelve pence, it was afterwards sold for a crown, and even for four livres, just as in a time of scarcity (which is a kind of famine) the price of wheat rises daily. And besides, the Booksellers and Printers are continually asked for the continuation of that work; and even the author is daily pressed to publish the remainder of it, or at least five books of it from time to time (if he does not care to print it all at once) according to the division he made of it; besides what he promised over and above it. But as he is a man

of

(2) Intitled, *Bibliothèque Française*.

(3) Thomas Jourdain, Francis Valleriola, Bruno Stedelinus.

(4) See La Croix du Maine, p. 255.

(5) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for Oct. 1686, pag. 1221. It has been translated into Dutch. See the *Boekzaal*, for Aug. 1695. It has also been translated into English.

(6) He is mentioned in the *Journal des Savans*, for May 13, 1686, pag. m. 188.

(7) B. Cabrol, *Épître Apologétique*, prefixed to the 2d Part of Laurence Joubert's *Erreurs Populaires*.

(8) Sammarth. in *Elogiis*, p. 76.

(9) She was very well skilled in these matters, if we may depend on d'Aubignés Satyrs.

(10) Cabrol, *Épître Apologétique*, prefixed to the 2d Part of the *Erreurs Populaires*, &c.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Cabrol, *Épître Apologétique*, prefixed to the 2d Part of the *Erreurs Populaires*, &c.

This work was to have contained six parts [E], each of them divided into five books; but the public never saw but the first, and part of the second. I shall relate a particular which shews that Joubert was a modest man [F], and knew very well within what limits human learning is confined.

I have observed, from La Croix du Maine, that he was born December the 6th 1520; but I must add here, that we read in an inscription which is round his picture, that in the year 1570 he was in his fiftieth year; whence it follows that he was born in the year 1530. Rondelet, whose favourite pupil he was, and whom he succeeded in the year 1567 in the post of Regius Professor of Physic at Montpellier, trusted him, when he died, with his manuscripts, and desired him to revise, correct, and publish them (d). Joubert gained that post of Regius Professor after he had held a public disputation for four days upon several theses, which have been printed, with divers other treatises, at Lyons, in the year 1571. There are amongst these treatises some observations, which serve to clear up certain passages in his Paradoxes [G]. He was an

“ of an high spirit, and very jealous of his reputation, “ he has been so much vexed and exasperated by all “ those complaints, that he had often a mind (I know “ it very well) to burn all that he had written upon “ those subjects. Oh, what a pity it would have been (a)!”

§ (a) There is a Latin translation of this book of the Vulgar Errors printed by Chr. Plantin with this title: *Laur. Jouberti de Vulgi erroribus Medicinæ & Medicorum dignitatem deformantibus, cum Notis Joan. Bourgesii*. i. e. “ Laurence Joubert’s work of the Vulgar Errors which “ tend to depreciate the dignity of Physic and of the “ Physicians, with John Bourgesius’s notes.” In 8vo, 1600*. Let us observe here that Mr. Bayle should have said a word of the orthography, which Joubert affected to follow in this work. It is almost the same with that, which Lewis Maigret, and James Pelletier attempted to introduce; but it was so little approved of, that it was absolutely altered in the edition printed at Roan, in the year 1601. CRIT. REM.]

[E] *This work was to have contained six parts.*] When he published the first part he added to it a table exhibiting the division of the whole work, and the titles of the chapters which every book was to contain. But as it was not he himself that sent the second part to the press, it did not answer the scheme which he had published. It was not divided into five books, and the twenty five which it contains do not answer those of his scheme, neither with regard to the number, nor to the subjects of these chapters. The following passage from Cabrol will acquaint you with the reasons of this. “ He could not yet be prevailed upon “ to consent that the other parts might be published. He “ keeps them so secret and hidden, that there is no “ possibility of having a sight nor the least communication of them. Finding therefore that such was his “ resolution (not to say obstinacy) I was determined to “ publish some chapters, which I received formerly “ from him; for he had done me the favour to explain some propositions to me, which I desired to understand from him, and of which I asked him his opinion. There is not a great number of them, “ but most of the chapters are very long, and contain “ several heads. So that whoever would take the “ pains to subdivide them, would find about thirty of “ them. Monsieur JOUBERT had composed them “ long before he published the first part of his Vulgar “ Errors: they treat of certain subjects, which have “ since been reduced to several heads in the general and “ particular division of the whole work, to be inserted “ some in the seventh book, others in the eleventh, “ the seventeenth, the twentieth, the twenty third, “ the twenty fifth, the twenty sixth, and in the following books to the thirtieth. I have not much minded in what order I placed them, since this is all we “ can have at present from the author, notwithstanding his promise (15).” The same Cabrol asserts (16), that whilst he was taking care to have this printed as it were by stealth, he was surpris’d at his Printer’s by Monf. JOUBERT, “ who was very angry with me, “ says he, because of my undertaking. However when “ he heard that I designed to make you a present of “ it, . . . he suffered . . . the Printer to go on, and even “ gave him two beautiful discourses extracted from his “ Latin paradoxes, and translated by his eldest son Isaac “ Joubert.” Let us observe here, that Gaspar Bachot Counsellor and Physician to the King, published in the year 1626 a book which he had composed a great

while before in order to compleat Laurence Joubert’s design with regard to the third part of the *Vulgar Errors* (17). He followed the chapters of the books, according to the scheme of them, which he met with in the table annexed to the first part. *But he drew up the whole after his own manner, and according to his particular opinions, without obliging himself to follow his master’s* (18). This book of Gaspar Bachot is entitled, *Erreurs populaires touchant la Médecine & Régime de Santé*. i. e. “ Vulgar Errors concerning Physic, and the Diet necessary to keep us in health.” This author is not mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus*.

[F] *I shall relate a particular, which shews that Joubert was a modest man.*] Gaspar Bachot, whom I have mentioned in the preceding remark, was admitted Doctor of Physic in the year 1592 (19). He boasted that he had maintained his thesis against all opponents, and he looked upon his *Doctorate as the trophy of his victory*. *But as soon as I had read your Answer*, says he in his letter to Monsieur de Lorme Physician in Ordinary to Lewis XIII, and first Physician to the Queen-Dowager (20), “ in which you “ write to me, that the late Monsieur Joubert, your “ colleague and your friend, used to say of himself, “ *Ter Doctor nunquam futurus doctus*. i. e. *I have been “ three times admitted a Doctor, and shall never be a “ learned man; that he being a Doctor, and having “ taken that degree in three different universities, could “ not be satisfied with himself, though he was admired “ by all the world; I began then to mistrust myself “ so, that I looked upon all my former studies as “ useless, without any hopes of ever becoming learned, “ since such a man, like another Socrates, confessed “ his own incapacity, or the fear he was in never to “ enjoy the desire of his heart.” Take notice, that he observes, that “ Joubert had learnt his profession at “ Montbrison (21) and in the neighbouring houses, “ and that he lived there, when his *Decades were dedicated to that celebrated Civilian, Papon, the ornament of that city* (22).”*

[G] . . . *Some observations which serve to clear up certain passages in his paradoxes.*] He had asserted in his second paradox, that it is possible for a man to live a long while without eating and drinking. This proposition was exclaimed against, as though the author designed to hint thereby that Moses, Elijah and Jesus Christ fasted forty days without any miracle. He made a very good answer to this objection, for his answer was approved by John de la Place, Minister of Montpellier. This Minister’s approbation is not printed in the French translation of this work of Joubert, but it is to be met with in the Latin edition of his *Opuscula* printed at Lyons in the year 1570 (23). This confirms what we have observed in another place (24), namely, that Joubert was of the reformed religion. It must be observed, that when he undertook to explain those passages which were exclaimed against, it was only for the sake of those pious persons, who either because they have a tender conscience, or because they are not sufficiently acquainted with Philosophy, are easily offended. But as for those, who out of malice pretended to find dangerous assertions in his works, he left them to the hardness of their heart. *Hujus enarrationis, vel solo argumento vel demonstrationibus commoveri posse hominum duo genera, facile præsentio. Unum est naturalis Philosophiæ & Medicinæ imperitum, simplicitatis & impietatis nomine venerandum: qualis*

* *Biblioth. Dreu-dii*, tom. 1. pag. 939.

(15) Cabrol, *Épître Apologetique*, prefixed to the 2d Part of the *Erreurs Populaires*.

(16) *Ibid.* in the Dedication to Monf. de Villeroi.

(17) At Lyons, for Bartholomew Vincent, in 8vo.

(18) See Bachot’s Preface.

(19) See his Letter to Mr. de Lorme, prefixed to his book of *Vulgar Errors*.

(20) *Ibid.*

(21) A City in the County of Forez.

(22) That is to say of Montbrison.

(23) In page 139 of the 2d Part.

(24) In the article VIRET.

(25) Joubert, *Opuscul. Part 2. pag. 136.*

an innovator with regard to the orthography of the French tongue [H].

qualis plebecula, & quicunque in æstimandis rerum causis studium non adhibent. Alterum διαβολικόν, quod etiam quæ bene dicta esse novit, impudentissimis calumniis infectatur. Hoc, quia explicationem non expectat, & quæcunque impura sua mente excipiuntur depravat, suoque veneno inficit, me nihil moratur. Alteri verò benignè satisfaciendum puto. i. e. "I am sensible that either the very subject of this treatise, or the arguments urged in it may give offence to two sorts of persons. "The one is of those, who are unacquainted with Natural Philosophy and with Physic, and who for their honesty and piety deserve to be regarded: such are in general the common people, and all they who do not apply themselves to study the causes of things. "The others are a devilish sort of men, who by their impudent slanders exclaim even against what they know to be well grounded. As they do not expect an explication from me, and are used to corrupt and infect with their venom whatever they conceive in their wicked mind, I shall have no regard for them. But I am of opinion that I ought to answer the others with kindness, and in a friendly manner." He must have been highly provoked by those men's imputations, since he wishes that God would give him that patience and meekness, which are necessary when a man is exposed to the rage of slanderers. His words, which shew that his heart was full of resentment, are at the same time a terrible invective against his adversaries. He concludes after this manner. *Hæc διαβολικὸς κακοδελιμονος ab istius enarrationis prophanatione avertant, quibus est peculiare etiam sacram paginam corrumpere, & in alienum pessimumque sensum detorquere, im-*

prudenter mentiri, & maledicere, animorum concordiam dissolvere, inimicitias colere, invidiam crepare, & nunquam non quibus nocere queant modos excogitare, piisque omnibus esse infestissimos. DEUS misericors parcat hominibus quicunque ab ejusmodi furis agitati, earumque veneno afflati & infecti, similem naturam induunt & referunt: quosque ab istis nequissime tractari patitur, patientia (quæ omnia vincit) & mansuetudine bene muniat. Amen (26). i. e. "Let this keep those devilish slanderers from prophaning this work, whose particular character is to falsify even the Holy Scripture, and to wrest the words of it to a wrong and most dangerous sense; to lye and slander most impudently, to sow dissentions and to keep up divisions amongst friends; to burst with envy, to be continually inventing some mischief, and to be most bitterly exasperated against all good men. I pray the most merciful God to pardon all those who, being persecuted by those furies, and acted upon and infected by their venom, happen to assume the same character; and if he suffers any to be injured by them, may he grant them the necessary patience (which overcomes all things) and that meekness they want; Amen."

[H] He was an innovator with regard to the Orthography of the French Tongue. For he used to write *jeantil, accian, parfes, amer*, instead of *gentil (gentile), action (action), parfait (perfect), aimer (to love)*. He also made a distinction between the *v* consonant and the *u* which is a vowel; and he would have the consonant (27) written otherwise than the vowel (28).

(26) Joubert, *Opuſcula*, pag. 156, 157.

(27) Compare this with the *Novelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for July 1704, Art. 3.

(28) Taken from Sorel, pag. 114. of his *Perfection de l'homme*.

JOVIAN, a Roman Emperor, obtained that dignity by the election of the army in the year 363, after the death of Julian the Apostate. He was more considered by the merit of his Father Count Varronian, than by his own (a), for he was still very young, and served in the troops of the Life-guards [A]. Most of the particulars that relate to him being set down in Moreri's Dictionary, I shall confine my self to two facts only, which are not to be met with there. The first is, that Jovian concluded a peace, which was so dishonourable and so prejudicial to the Roman Empire, that he exposed himself to the complaints and raileries of the public [B]. The other is, that he

(a) Suidas in *Ιοβιανῷ*. See also the words of Eutropius in the remark [A].

[A] He served in the troops of the Life-Guards. When I say this, it is chiefly with regard to these words of Eutropius. *Post hunc (Julianum) Jovianus, qui tunc DOMESTICUS MILITABAT, ad obtinendum imperium consensu exercitus electus commendatione patris quam sua militibus notior* (1). i. e. "After Julian's death, Jovian, who served then in the troops of the Life-Guards, was chosen Emperor by the army, though he was known to the soldiers by his father's merit rather than by his own." But I must also observe that this author's expressions are not sufficiently exact, and that we ought to correct them by those of another Historian, who does more distinctly tell us to what post Jovian had been raised. *Jovianus eligitur Imperator Domesticorum Ordinis primus, paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis* (2). i. e. "Jovian being Captain in the Life-guards was chosen Emperor; his father's merit was the only recommendation he had." As the military posts are not at present in the same order or disposition as they were at that time, it is very difficult to find a word in the modern languages, that answers exactly to the meaning of these expressions, *Domesticorum ordinis primus*, or *Prinicerius Domesticorum* (3). But we may with reason assert, that they do not signify that Jovian was the Chief or the Leader of those guards, which were called *Domestici*: for the true name of their Leader or Colonel, was *Comes Domesticorum* (4). It has been asserted in Moreri's Dictionary, that Jovian was Captain of the *Prætorian Guard*, when he refused to renounce the Christian Religion under Julian the Apostate. This is borrowed from Socrates the Historian, who though he made use of the word *χιλιάρχος* (5), a Captain of a thousand men, does not however justify Moreri's expression. Let us observe that Theodoret asserts (6), that Jovian had no employment in the army when he was made Emperor. Ammianus Marcellinus, who says the contrary, is more credited, since he was on the spot.

(1) Eutrop. lib. 10. pag. m. 123.

(2) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 25. cap. 5. p. m. 430.

(3) Hieron. in *Cbron.* makes use of this expression.

(4) See Valeſius, in *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. 14. cap. 10.

(5) Socrat. *Hist.* lib. 3. cap. 22.

(6) Theodor. *Hist.* lib. 4. cap. 3.

[B] Jovian concluded a peace which was so dishonourable and so prejudicial . . . that he exposed himself to the . . . raileries of the public. He yielded five Provinces to the Persians, with some places, which served as strong barriers to the Roman Empire. Amongst other places he gave up to them the important City of Nisibis, and that of Singara (7), and it was with difficulty he obtained leave for the inhabitants to retire to the territories of the Romans (8). He promised that he would no longer send any assistance to the King of Armenia, who had been constantly a true and faithful friend to the Emperors. This was, say the Historians, a kind of impiety, and proved the ruin of that faithful friend, and ended in the loss of Armenia. *Quibus exitiale aliud accessit & impium, ne post hæc ita composita, Arsaci poscenti contra Persas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis semper & fido . . . Unde postea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arsaces, & Armeniæ maximum latus Medis conterminans, & Artaxata inter dissensiones & turbamenta raperent Parthi* (9). i. e. "To which was added this pernicious and impious circumstance, that after the conclusion of this treaty of peace, no assistance should be given to Arsaces against the Persians, though he should ask for it; to Arsaces, I say, who always was our faithful and constant friend. Whence it happened afterwards that the same Arsaces was taken prisoner, and during the broils and troubles, the Parthians seized upon the greatest part of Armenia, which borders upon Media, and made themselves masters of Artaxata." It is impossible to read any thing more moving than the description of the condition, to which the inhabitants of Nisibis were reduced, when they were forced to remove to another place (10). Their humble supplications to Jovian, to desire him not to oblige them to leave their native country, are enough to make our hearts bleed; and yet the Emperor had no regard for them: he insisted upon his having given his word, and upon his fearing to forswear himself: but it was imagined, that he

(7) Vide Valeſium, in *Ammian. Marcell.* lib. 25. cap. 9. pag. 439.

(8) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 25. cap.

(9) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 434.

(10) See Marcellinus, *ibid.* cap. 9.

he did not approve of that violent means be made use of in order to suppress the Sects,

he did not mention the true cause of his fears. *Et hæc quidem suppliciter ordo & populus precabatur: sed verbis loquebantur incassum, Imperatore, ut fingebat, alia metuens, perjurii piacula declinante* (11). i. e. "The magistrates and the people did humbly entreat him; but to no purpose, the Emperor fearing, as he said, "to be guilty of perjury; though what he feared was quite another thing." It was imagined that he kept his word only because he feared lest he should meet with a competitor to the crown, if he should continue longer in those parts, and engage in a new quarrel with the Persians. They who imagined this were perhaps in the right; but after all, the Roman Historians are very much to blame for finding fault with his performing punctually the conditions of the treaty of peace. Let us quote a passage from Eutropius, in which he is censured for this, and in which his whole fault is made to consist in his observing that treaty; for it is acknowledged on the other hand, that he was under a kind of necessity to accept dishonourable terms, which were such as the Romans had never submitted to before. *Jam turbatis rebus, exercitu quoque inopia laborante uno à Persis atque altero prælio victus* (Jovianus) *pacem cum Sapore necessariam quidem, sed ignobilem fecit, multatus finibus, ac nonnulla Imperii Romani parte tradita: quod ante eum annis mille centum & duobus-de-viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, nunquam accidit. Quinetiam legiones nostræ ita & apud Caudium per Pontium Telesinum, ita & in Hispania apud Numantiam, & in Numidia sub jugum missæ sunt, ut nihil tamen finium traderetur. Ea pacis conditio non penitus reprehendenda foret, si fœderis necessitatem, cum integrum fuit, mutare voluisset: fecit à Romanis omnibus his bellis, quæ commemorarunt, factum est. Nam & Samnitibus, & Numantinis, & Numidis confestim bella illa sunt: neque pax rata fuit* (12). i. e. "The affairs being reduced almost to a desperate condition, and the army wanting provisions, Jovian, who had already been more than once vanquished by the Persians, made a treaty of peace with Sapor, which was indeed necessary, but very dishonourable; for the Emperor was obliged to give up the frontiers of the Empire, with part of its territories. This never happened before, since the first foundation of the Roman Empire, about eleven hundred and eighteen years ago. Nay, even when our legions were forced to undergo the yoke at Caudium by Pontius Telesinus, and in Spain near Numantia, and in Numidia, they never yielded one inch of ground. The peace, though made upon such terms, would not be altogether to blame, if, when it was in his power, he had endeavoured to mend what the necessity he was under forced him to accept, as the Romans did in those wars, which I have mentioned. For the Romans attacked immediately the Samnites, the Numantines, and the Numidians, nor would they keep to the treaty of peace."

You see here, that Jovian is blamed for not following the example of the ancient Romans, who without any delay fell upon those nations, which obliged them to submit to a disgraceful capitulation, but which had not made them lose one inch of ground. And since he had been censured for not resenting the shame and retrieving the loss of this treaty of peace, though he reigned but seven or eight months, it is plain that they wished he had broke through the articles of the treaty, a few days after they had been agreed upon, and as soon as his army was furnished with provision and in a secure place. But is not this policy too visibly unjust? Suppose it be lawful to retrieve the losses sustained by a disadvantageous peace made by an unavoidable necessity, does it follow from thence, that one must not let some time pass, and wait for those pretences and opportunities which seldom fail to offer in the course of a few years? Thus you see, that even according to the most loose maxims of politics, Jovian would have been guilty of a most horrid perfidiousness, had he done that which the Historians blame him for not doing. The three instances of the ancient Romans, which Eutropius quotes, are of a quite different nature. The Senate and the people might lawfully make void all the treaties which their Generals made. But Jovian, who had concluded the

peace had no superior: he was the sovereign master, all the power being lodged with him. Observe that what vexed the true Romans most, was the giving up of a country, which had been a part of their Empire; for they pretended, that this had never been done; and it was so much against their maxims to suffer the least diminution of their dominions, that they granted the honours of a triumph only to those, who had removed the borders farther back; and refused them to great Generals, who had done very noble actions, but without any other advantage to the State, but that of recovering what had been lost. Read the description of this grandeur of the Romans in the following words from Marcellinus. *Illud tamen ad medullas usque bonorum pervenit: quod dum extimescit amulum præstatis, dumque in animo per Gallias & Illyricum versat, quædam sæpe sublimiora ceptasse, famam adventus sui prævenire festinans, indignum imperio facinus amicum perjurii fugiendi commisit, Nisibi prodita: quæ jam inde à Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens à Persis occuparetur, viribus resistit maximis. Numquam enim ab Urbis ortu inveniri potest annalibus replicatis, ut arbitror, terrarum pars ulla nostrarum ab Imperatore vel Consule hosti concessa: sed ne ob recepta quidem quæ directæ sunt, verum ob amplificata regna triumphalis gloria fuisse delata. Unde P. Scipioni ob recuperatas Hispanias, Fulvio Capuâ post diuturna certamina superatâ, & Opimio post adversos exitus præliorum, Fregellanis tunc internecivis hostibus ad deditionem compulsis, triumphus denegati. Id etiam memoriæ nos veteres docent, in extremis casibus ista cum dedecore fœdera, postquam partes verbis juravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum illico dissoluta: ut temporibus præcis apud Furcas Caudinas sub jugum legionibus missis in Samnis, & per Albinum in Numidia scelestâ pace cogitata, & auctore turpiter pacis fœderis Mancino dedito Numantinis* (13). (13) Ann. Marcellin. cap. 90. i. e. "But what grieved all good Romans to the very heart was, that whilst Jovian was fearing a competitor, and calling to his mind; that in Gaul and in Illyricum several persons had often usurped the sovereign power, and designing to prevent the very report of his coming, he committed the most unworthy action under a pretence not forswearing himself; he gave up Nisibis to the enemy, the inhabitants of which had from the time of Mithridates bravely resisted the Persians, that they might not make themselves masters of the East. I believe it would be impossible to find in the whole series of our Annals and Records, that since the building of Rome any General or Consul ever yielded one inch of ground to the enemy: nay, the honour of a triumph was not granted to those, who had only retaken what had been lost, but only to those who had enlarged the dominions of the Commonwealth. And for this reason the triumph was refused to Scipio who had recovered Spain, to Fulvius, who after a long war had taken Capua, to Opimius, who after several battles forced the Fregellani to surrender, who were at that time our most bitter enemies. We also find in ancient Records, that when, even in the utmost necessity, a dishonourable treaty had been concluded, which both parties had sworn in form to keep, yet such treaties have been annulled, and the war was begun again; as when in former days our legions were forced to pass under the yoke at Caudium in the country of the Samnites, and when Albinus had wickedly formed the design of making a peace in Numidia, and Mancinus, who made too much haste to conclude it, was delivered up to the Numantines." Observe that the remark [D] must be considered as a part of this: for I examine there whether Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus were well grounded in their assertions or not.

If we do but ever so little consider the natural temper of the people in general, and the circumstances, which the Christians and the Heathens were in at that time, we shall easily believe, that Jovian became odious and contemptible, and was the subject of several satires. The people dread and hate war, and love and long for peace; and not without good reasons; for it is the people that suffer the greatest inconveniences of war: but yet that some people will grieve and be vexed at a treaty which disgraces the nation, and deprives her

(11) Marcellinus, *ibid.* See also the *Chronicle of Alexandria.*

(12) Eutropius, *lib. 10. pag. 123.*

(13) Ann. Marcellin. cap. 90. pag. 439, 440.

Sects [C], that differ from the established Religion. Some authors assert that before his time the Romans had never yielded one inch of ground by a treaty of peace [D]. Others main- tain,

of a barrier, which was her security, and made her formidable to her neighbours. Victories and conquests fill the hearts of the very countrymen with joy and content, and makes them bear patiently the weight of the war. Men will much easier forget the heavy duties and numerous taxes they pay, when they behold the happy success of the armies, and the advantageous terms of a treaty of peace : every one takes his share in the glory the nation has acquired ; but to think, that the enemies will become proud, scornful, and insulting, when they have put an end to the war by such a treaty of peace as they could wish, fills the heart even of the meanest amongst the people, with grief and vexation. Must so many expences, say they, and such heavy taxes be all to no purpose, &c. ?

See above (14) the complaints and murmurs of the French against the peace of Cateau. Never was the people more capable to shew such a resentment than under the Emperor Jovian. There was a great emulation between the Christians and the Heathens. The latter had just lost an Emperor whom they loved, and from whom they had great expectations ; they had flattered themselves with the hopes that his expedition against the Persians would be attended with considerable advantages, and with great glory ; and they found that when death had snatched from him those noble triumphs, he had a successor, under whom the affairs of the Empire were reduced to a miserable condition. To murmur against such an Emperor, to blame him, to ridicule him, was gratifying at once several passions ; it was raising Julian's glory, it was leading the Christians with confusion, it was making a sacrifice to the idol of political vanity, and to zeal for religion. Men were sure to act from all these different principles : they made verses and parodies to banter and ridicule Jovian (15). The wits at Antioch signalized themselves particularly on this occasion, they dispersed libels against him about the streets ; they posted others up ; they turned him into ridicule by applying to him some passages in the Iliad, and amongst others that in the third book (16), where Paris is so severely reproved by his brother Hector, and that in the second book (17), where Ulysses threatens Therites that he will strip him to the very skin, and drive him away with shame.

Ἐι μὴ ἰγὼ σε λαβὼν, ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἴματα δύσω
Χλαίωσάν, ἰδὲ χιτῶνα, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικάλυτον
Αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θεῶς ἐπὶ σφύρας ἀφῆσεν (18).

" If I do not take you, and strip you of all your cloaths, even of those that cover your secret parts, and send you thus crying immediately to the Persians."

An old woman seeing him tall and handsome, and hearing that he had neither genius nor good sense (19), cried out, *his madness is as great as his person is tall* (20). Suidas, who acquaints us with all these particulars, had already observed, that this Emperor knew nothing, that he had had no education, and that by his base laziness he lost those talents which nature had bestowed upon him. Ἀμαλύνει δὲ αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀγνοεῖται σπουδασίας, καὶ ἂν εἴχῃ φύσιν διὰ βιβλιομανίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἰφάνειαν (21). i. e. " He had no education, and not so much as the first principles of learning : and even the natural genius he had, he defaced and spoiled by his negligence." Neither Eutropius, nor Ammianus Marcellinus give him that character. *Vir alias neque iners neque imprudens* (22). i. e. " A man who otherwise wanted neither diligence nor wisdom." You will meet with Ammianus Marcellinus's words in the beginning of the remark [E].

[C] *He did not approve that violent means should be made use of, in order to suppress the sects.*] The Philosopher Themistius commends him after such a manner, as does not agree with the particulars we meet with in Church-History : he extols him for giving to all men the liberty of worshipping God according to their own fancy, by which means he had put a stop to the waverings of those flatterers, who had changed their

religion as the Imperial crown passed from one head to another ; he compares such men to the Euripus (23). (23) See *Penfées deverses sur les Comètes*, p. 244.

Θαυμάζω τὸν βασιλῆα, ὅς το ἰφῆνας ἑθνητικῶν ὡς ἰακῶτος βίβλους, κηρύσσοντα τὸν καλῶσαν τὴν τρέψαν. ἔς τὴν διασῶσαι πάντων γαλιῶν ἴφην, ἐλέγχουσαι αὐτὸς ἀλαργίαν, ἢ Θεῶν ἑθνητικῶν : μὴδὲ τε διαφῆσαι αὐτὸς Εὐρίπῳ, ὅν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰδ' οὐκ εἰς τῆσδε τῶν βύβλων μεταβάλλω. i. e. " He commends the Emperor very much, because he had granted to every one the liberty of worshipping as he pleased, by which he put a stop to the custom of those flatterers, of whom he says wittily, that they did not worship God, but the people ; and he adds that they are like the Euripus, which sometimes runs this side, and then quite the contrary way (24)." Themistius spoke thus in an oration which he delivered on Jovian's Consulship. The sense of his words is, that Jovian did not forbid the Heathens to worship their Gods, according to the ancient custom : and yet Socrates the Historian tells us (25), that all the temples of the Heathens were shut up, and that these idolaters hid themselves some in one place, some in another. That the Philosophers left off wearing the habit of their sects, and that the sacrifices, which used to be so frequently offered under Julian, ceased entirely. We must say therefore that Themistius spoke in an hyperbolical stile, which was grounded only on Jovian's moderation towards the Heretics, and which was perhaps an artful exhortation to use the same toleration with regard to all sorts of religions. However it is certain, that this Emperor finding himself courted by all the Christian sects, for every one of them would gain him on their side, he declared himself for the orthodox party as to the consubstantiality of the word (26), but he would not consent to drive from their churches those that were of a contrary opinion (27), and he answered that he hated controversies, and would love and esteem the promoters of peace and concord. He designed to suppress by his meekness and indulgence all the schisms that were in the church. He therefore gave the world to understand, that he would persecute no man, but that he would chiefly love and honour those, who should be very zealous for restoring the public peace and tranquillity. Ὁ μόνος βασιλεὺς πρόβουσι εἴχει, κολακίαν καὶ παῖδα τῶν διασῶσαν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκκόψει, φήσας μὴδὲ ὀχλοῦς τῶν ἰακῶτων αἰσῶντων ἵστασθαι ἀπαίτησιν δὲ καὶ ὑπερήμωσιν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆ ἰσότητος τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραβῆναι (28). i. e. " The Em-

peror was determined, to suppress by his meekness and persuasions the quarrels of those who differed in their opinions, and he said, that he would molest none, of what persuasion soever they might be ; but that he would love and distinguish those, who made it their business to restore the peace of the church." Let us observe that he made severe laws against those who should court Nuns with a design to marry them, or who looked lasciviously upon them : for he would have them be capitally punished (29). He resolved upon this severity, to refrain the audaciousness men had used under the Emperor Julian, in marrying Nuns, and debauching them either by main force, or by persuasions (30).

[D] *Some authors assert, that before his time the Romans had never yielded one inch of ground by a treaty of peace.*] The passages, which I have already quoted above (31) from Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus, are a plain argument that this was reported. Caesaron (32) pretends, that they who spoke thus, asserted a falsity : the ground of his opinion is that Hadrian gave up three Provinces (33), and that Dioclesian reduced his empire within more narrow bounds. *Dioclesianus . . . Augusti praeceptum, Hadriani exemplum secutus, imperii fines à meridie supra Aegyptum arctavit : auctor Procopius in Persici. Idem Imperator reliquit Daciam à Trajano constitutam, sublato exercitu Ἐθ provincialibus : desperans eam posse retineri, Vopiscus ait.* i. e. " Dioclesian . . . according to Augustus's advice, vice, and after the example of Hadrian, reduced the Empire within narrow bounds towards the south above Egypt, as Procopius tells us in his account of the affairs of Persia. The same Emperor abandoned also Dacia, of which Trajan had made a Province ;

having

(14) In the remarks [C], [G], [H] of the article HENRY II. See also the remark [P] of the article HENRY IV.

(15) Suidas, in Ἰφίαντιον.

(16) Versu 39.

(17) Versu 261.

(18) Idem, ibid.

(19) Idem, ibid.

(20) Ὅσον μῆκος, καὶ βύθος ἢ μωρία. Quanta longitudo ἔ profunditas est hominis corporis, tanta etiam est eius stultitia. Idem, ibid.

(21) Suidas, ubi supra.

(22) Eutrop. lib. 20. sub finem.

(23) See *Penfées deverses sur les Comètes*, p. 244.

(24) Socrates, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. 3. cap. 15. pag. m. 205.

(25) Idem, *ibid.* cap. 24.

(26) Idem, *ibid.* & cap. 25.

(27) Idem, *ibid.* cap. 25.

(28) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 204, 205.

(29) Sozomen. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 6. cap. 3.

(30) Idem, *ibid.*

(31) In the remark [B].

(32) Caesaron. *Not. ad Spartian. Vit. Adriani*, cap. 5. pag. m. 47.

(33) See above, the remark [G] of the article HADRIANUS (Publius Aelius).

tain, that they who speak thus are mistaken. I shall examine this in a note, and I shall also quote what the Fathers of the Church have said of this peace concluded by Jovian (b). Let us add, that he was a very tall man; zealous for the Orthodox Doctrine, but very much given to drinking and to lewdness [E]. We ought rather to believe those who

(b) See the remark [F].

- “having removed his army out of it, and all the Governors that were there, *not thinking that he could keep that country*, says Vopiscus.” But Valefius (34) shews, that there is a great difference between what these two Emperors did, and what Jovian consented to. The latter gave up provinces by a treaty of peace, and as a kind of ransom: whereas the other abandoned freely a country, the keeping of which cost too much money: this was acting according to the rules of prudence, and not receiving the law from the conqueror, as Jovian did. There was not therefore any reason to blame Marcellinus for his assertion, as Casaubon, Lindenbrog (35) and Le Cocq (36) have done; and it is certain that Jovian’s action was unheard of. It is a general opinion that this action was disgraceful (37). There was no dispute upon this between the Christians and the Heathens, they differed only with regard to this Emperor’s justification: the Christians endeavoured to clear him from the reproach of it, and the Heathens to load him with it. We have seen above (38) that an Heathen Historian blames him, not indeed for consenting to the treaty of peace, but for keeping to the terms of it. This censure is ill-grounded, and even horrid. If necessity forced him to conclude a peace, as these authors confess, he must be excused, for necessity has no law.
- Necessitas, cujus cursus transverso impetum Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerant* (39).
- “Many have endeavoured to avoid the force of necessity, but few have been able to do it.”
- When Jovian is once cleared in this respect, all the rest goes of course. The next observation of a treaty of peace confirmed by a solemn oath, does not deserve to be condemned, Ammianus Marcellinus is a much more dreadful Critic than Eutropius; he was an eyewitness, and he gives us such an account of those events, as to hint to us (40) that Jovian put himself in that dangerous situation, without any necessity, and that the perplexity to which the Persians had reduced him was not so great, but it had been much better for him to try the fortune of the war, rather than to submit to the disgraceful terms, which he accepted. He charges him positively with timorousness, and with hearkening to the flatterers, who dispirited him. *Et cum pugnari decies expediret, ne horum quidquam dederetur: adulatorum globus instabat timido Principi, Procopii metuendum subserens nomen, eumque adfirmans, nisi rediret, cognito Juliani interitu, cum intacto milite quem vegebat, novas res nullo renitente facile moliturum. Hac perniciose verborum ille adfuitate nimia succensus, sine cunctatione tradidit omnia quæ petebantur* (41). i. e. “And though it was ten times better to engage in battle, rather than to give all that up, yet the timorous Prince was surrounded with a croud of flatterers, who repeated to him continually the dreadful name of Procopius, and asserted, that unless Jovian returned very soon, Procopius hearing that Julian was dead, and being at the head of a fresh army, would be in a condition to revolt, and to seize the crown, having no man to resist them. Jovian being too much affected by these pernicious discourses, yielded up without delay, all that was demanded of him.” Agathias (42) charges him plainly enough with the same weakness. The Christians, in order to clear Jovian take care to observe that Julian the Apostate was the chief cause of all this misfortune, since he had been so rash and inconsiderate, as to order all the boats to be burnt, which might have carried provisions; for this occasioned that terrible scarcity, which forced Jovian to accept a shameful capitulation (43). *Cujus vanis deditus oraculis erat* (Julianus), *quando fretus securitate victoriae naves quibus vitæ necessarius portabatur, incendit. Deinde fervide instans immodicis ausibus, & mox merito temeritatis occisus, in locis hostilibus egenum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non posset evadere, nisi contra illud auspiciam Dei Termini, de quo superiore libro diximus, Romani imperii termini moverentur. Cessit enim Terminus Deus necessitati, qui non cesserat Jovi* (44). i. e. “Julian was addicted to their idle oracles, when depending upon a sure victory, he burnt the ships which carried the necessary provisions; and prosecuting earnestly his bold undertaking, he met soon after with death as a reward for his temerity, leaving his army in the enemies territories, whence it could not retire otherwise, than by removing the boundaries of the Roman Empire, against the auspices of the God Terminus, which we have mentioned in the foregoing book. For the God Terminus, who would not give way to Jupiter, was found to submit to necessity.” You see that in these words St. Augustin lays all the blame on Julian, and ridicules also the Heathen Religion on the immobility of the God Terminus, who on this occasion had been obliged to contradict his former conduct (45). The Heathen might have answered, that it was no wonder this Deity would not exert himself in Jovian’s favour, who had revolted from the Gods. But this evasion might easily be refuted, since after all it had been true, that the promise, which the Romans pretended the God Terminus had made them, proved deceitful, namely, that the boundaries of their empire would never move back. Now this is what St. Augustin designed to prove against the Heathens.
- Let us observe by the by, how prudently ancient Rome acted. She designed to conquer: and to compass such a design, there is nothing more necessary than never to yield up by a treaty of peace, what has been taken during the war, for take as many cities and provinces as you please, this will never enlarge your dominions, if by the articles of a treaty you are obliged to restore them. The Romans in order to succeed in their design of forming a very large empire, made it a point of honour and a matter of conscience for their Generals to conquer new countries, and never to suffer those conquests to be lost, that had been once made. They did not grant a triumph to those, who only recovered what the enemy had taken (46), and they gave out that it would be a sin against the God Terminus, and against his sacred Auspices (47), to move the limits of the empire backwards. The Turks, designing to make great conquests, and to lay the foundations of a very large empire, have made a more direct and immediate use of religion, for they asserted, that it was inconsistent with religion to restore to its former possessors a city, in which there had been a Mosque; and therefore they make haste to build one in all their new conquests. This they did, that they might be under an obligation to keep them, when they come to conclude a peace, and to make the Governors of cities defend themselves from a principle of conscience with a wonderful obstinacy (48). But they have found lately by experience, how ineffectual this artful policy proves. The treaty of Carlowitz, made in the year 1698, has exposed them to the same railleries, which St. Augustin levelled at the God Terminus, who gave place to necessity under the Emperor Jovian. The Sultan has been forced to yield to the Christian Princes, several places, in which there had been Mosques. It was to no purpose that they represented to him, that he sinned against the principles of his religion: he was obliged to stoop to this, and of two evils to choose the least.
- [E] *He was a very tall man, zealous for the orthodox doctrine, but very much given to drinking and to lewdness.* Here follows his character drawn up by an Heathen Historian (49). *Incedebat motu corporis gravi, vultu latissimo, oculis castis, vasta proceritate, & ardua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram ejus aptum inveniretur. Et æmulari malebat Constantium, agens seriva quædam aliquoties post meridiem: jocularique palam cum proximis adjectus. Christianæ legis idem studiosus, & nonnunquam honorificus, mediocriter eruditus, magisque benevolus, & perpensius, ut apparebat ex paucis quos promoverat, judices electurus: edax tamen, & vino Venerique indulgens: quæ vitia imperiali verecundia forsitan correxisset.* i. e. “He had a grave gait, but a cheerful countenance: he had grey eyes; he

(34) Valef. in Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 9. pag. m. 439. 440.

(35) Lindenbr. in Amm. Marcell. ibid.

(36) Leonardus Coquus, in Augusti. de Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 29.

(37) Post... pudentia pacis ista fœdera. Amm. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 12. See also Agathias, lib. 4. Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 22. Zonaras, &c.

(38) In the remark [B], citation (12).

(39) Laberius, apud Macrobius Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 7. See also Horace’s words quoted above, citation (11), of the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE.

(40) Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 7. pag. 433.

(41) Idem, ibid. pag. 434.

(42) Agathias, lib. 4.

(43) See Gregorius Nazianzenus’s 2d Oration against Julian the Apostate. See also Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 22. pag. 196.

(44) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 5. cap. 21. pag. m. 554. See also lib. 4. cap. 29.

(45) See Dionysius Halicarn. lib. 3. cap. 92.

(46) See the remark [B] quotation (13).

(47) See St. August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 29.

(48) Sir Paul Ricaut, Present State of the Ottoman Empire, B. 2. chap. 3. pag. m. 320.

(49) Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. sub fin. pag. m. 443.

(c) See the remark [B] towards the end.

(d) See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25. cap. 8.

(e) Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 5.

(f) See Valerius in Marcell. lib. 25. cap. ult.

who assert that he wanted neither activity, nor prudence, nor learning, than those who charge him with great faint-heartedness, great ignorance, and great stupidity (c); for he acted with a great deal of care and vigilance, in order to prevent the tumults and compositions, which he apprehended the news of his election would raise in the western Provinces of the Empire (d). The measures he took for that purpose proved very effectual; though he could not hinder the true news concerning the bad condition of the east from out-running the false news which he had ordered to be dispersed every where, with a design to conceal the advantages which the Persians had gained [F]. His father who had quitted the service that he might lead a quiet life in his own house (e), had not time to rise to that dignity which was designed him. He died before Jovian had executed the resolution he had taken to make him his colleague in the Consulship (f). This dignity was conferred on a child (g), namely on Varronianus, the son of Jovian and of Charis, Lucilian's daughter (b). Jovian's reign was very short, for it did not last full eight months.

(g) Amm. Marcell. ibid. cap. 10.

(b) Idem, ibid. cap. 8. pag. m. 436.

JOVIUS

“ he was very strait, and so tall, that it was long before they could find amongst the Imperial garments, one that was long enough for him. He chose to imitate Constantius, applying himself to something of importance in the afternoon: he also used to be sometimes merry with his near relations; he was zealous for the Christian Religion, and also sometimes an ornament to it: he was not very learned, but good-natured, and would have chosen Judges with deliberation, as appeared by a few he had appointed. But he was a great eater, and given to drinking, and the pleasures of love. However, the Imperial dignity would perhaps have made him forsake those vices as being a disgrace to it.” Zonaras, who was a Christian and a Monk, has copied the chief strokes in this picture in the character he gives us of this Emperor. Ο μόνος Ἰουλιανός, says he, εὐσεβὴς ἦν καὶ τὸ δόγμα καὶ ἀγαθοδιδάχτης. οὐκ εὐήγητος καὶ ἀφροδισίων. καὶ τῆν τε σώματος ἀισθησὶν ἡμιμικρῆς, καὶ γραμμώτατος ἐκ κριτικῆ. i. e. “ Jovian was a religious man with regard to the Christian doctrine, and good-natured, but given to drinking and to love-pleasures: he was very tall, and unacquainted with learning.” Here then we have an Emperor who was very religious as to the doctrines of religion, but a great drunkard, and a great whore-master. He gave too strong proofs of his zeal for the Gospel before he was raised to the Imperial throne: for in the first place, he shewed that he was ready to resign his place rather than forsake his religion (50), when Julian commanded all the Officers of the army to embrace the Heathen religion, or to lay down their employments. Secondly, he would not accept the empire, till upon his declaring that he was a Christian, and that he would not command over Heathens, the soldiers had also declared that they were Christians (51). He had then courage enough to quit, for the love of God, not only an inconsiderable employment, but even the most eminent dignity, that was then upon earth: he was capable to prefer his religion before the whole Roman empire. But that conscience which filled his heart with courage, and which was so tender and so scrupulous in that respect, had no power to make him forsake drinking and whoring. He could make a sacrifice to religion of every other thing but these two. What an odd thing is this! What a mixture of good and evil in the same heart. All ages furnish us with numberless instances of persons, who go into banishment for the sake of their Religion, who leave their estate, their employments, friends and relations, and who cannot forsake Bacchus and Venus. Do not imagine, that Jovian's Orthodoxy was imperfect; you may be sure that he knew perfectly well that drunkenness and impudicity are forbidden of God, and that the same Religion which condemned the heathen idolatry, also condemned the inclination to drinking and to sensual pleasures. Observe, that he was as great an eater as he was a drinker; it has even been asserted that he died of excessive eating. Multi examinatum opinantur nimia cruditate, inter cœnandum enim epulis indulserat (52). i. e. “ Several persons are of opinion that he died of an indigestion, having too much indulged his appetite at supper.” There were other reasons given of his death (53); as for instance, the steam in a room too hot and too close, poison (54), &c. But the first reason was given even by the Christians. Ἐτελεύτησεν, ἡ ἀφιδεστρον, ὡς τῶν λέγουσι, διαπληθῆς, ἡ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τῆ ἀκρίματος. i. e. “ He

died, either because he had eat too much at supper, as some say, or being smothered by the steam that was in his chamber (55). Have you taken notice of the Historian Marcellinus's conjecture? He observes that Jovian, out of regard for his Imperial dignity, would perhaps have forsaken his intemperance and his incontinency. This is speaking very sensibly: tho' if we consider things only in a general view, and according to some trials we have, the sovereign power does not seem to be a proper school of sobriety and continence with regard to those who are naturally fond of gross and sensual pleasure; it seems rather much more proper to encrease the evil than to suppress it, since the means of gratifying one's passions are both more numerous and more effectual. But if it be true that Jovian died of an excess in eating, and if what we read in Suidas be not a mere fable, Marcellinus's conjecture is very doubtful. Suidas relates (56), that Jovian, at his wife's instigation, caused a beautiful temple, which Hadrian had consecrated to Trajan, to be set on fire, together with the library, which Julian had lodged in that temple. He adds, that Jovian's concubines set fire to it themselves, and laughed heartily at it. Such an action is much like the debauchery of Alexander (57), and of the courtizan Thais.

(55) Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. cap. 6.

(56) Suidas in Ἰουλιανῶ.

(57) When he set the city of Persepolis on fire. See Quintus Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 7.

[F] He could not hinder the true news . . . from out-running the false news, which he had ordered to be dispersed every where, with a design to conceal the advantages which the Persians had gained.] It is one of the most useful and necessary artifices of politics, to impose upon the people by false accounts, when there are no good news to tell them (58). It is indeed a difficult task to stop the progress of bad news, when it is but too true; but one does all that one can. Jovian was sure to make use of this stratagem. *Fustum est autem ad implenda hæc perreçuris, extollere seriem gestorum in melius, & rumores quaquâ irent verbis diffundere, continentibus procinçium Parthicum exitu prospero terminatum. . . . (59). Hos tabellarios fama prægrediens, index tristiorum casuum velocissima, per provincias volitabat & gentes; maximoque omnium Nisibenis acerbo dolore percussit, cùm urbem Saporì deditam comperissent (60): i. e. “ They who were to perform these commands, and were going to set out, had orders to put the best construction upon what was past, that lay in their power, to disperse reports in all the places they passed through, to this purpose, that the expedition against the Parthians had had good success. But fame outran the messengers, and with the utmost dispatch spread the news of these unfortunate events through all the Provinces and amongst all Nations; but none were so much afflicted at these misfortunes, as the inhabitants of Nisibis, when they heard that their city was to be surrendered to Sapor.” These words of Marcellinus, *Fama index tristiorum casuum velocissima*, are very remarkable; they hint to us, that fame never runs swifter than when it has some bad news to report. If it be so, it deserves still better the character that is given it.*

(58) See at the end of this Dictionary, the Dissertation upon Liable, remark [B].

(59) Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25. cap. 8. pag. m. 436.

(60) Idem, ibid. pag. 437.

Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius altum, Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit tundo (61).

(61) Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 174.

“ Fame, the great ill, from small beginnings grows, “ Swift from the first; and every moment brings “ New vigour to her flights, new pinions to her “ wings.” Dryden:

(50) Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 22.

(51) Idem, ibid.

(52) Eutropius, lib. 10. sub fin. See also Amm. Marcell. lib. 25. pag. 443.

(53) *Alii odore cubiculi, quod ex recenti textorio calcis, grave quiescentibus erat; quidam nimietate pranarum, quas gravi frigore adoleri multas jusserrat.* Eutrop. lib. 10. See also Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 25. pag. 443.

(54) See Valerium, in Amm. Marcellin. ibid.

JOVIUS (PAUL) in Italian *Giovio*, was born at Como in Italy, and gained by his works a great reputation, and the Bishopric of Nocera (a); but he passed for a mercenary writer, so that his Histories are not much credited [A]. It is said that he did not much labour to clear himself of that bad quality [B], and that he ingenuously confessed, that

(a) Pope Clement VII promoted him to it.

[A] His histories are not much credited.] James Gohorri made no scruple to assert, that the adventures of Amadis would appear as probable as Paul Jovius's histories. *Illud certe ad sempiternam memoriam testatum reliquit Gorræus Parisiensis, qui quas finxit (1) Amadisi fabulas non minus veras ac probabiles quam Jovii scripta fore confidit* (2). i. e. "Gohorri of Paris has indeed

(1) Bodin does not express himself well, for Gohorri was only the Translator of Amadis. But see the critical remark (a).

(2) Bodinus in *Methodo Historiarum*, cap. 4. pag. m. 71.

(3) Thuan. lib. 11. sub fin. pag. m. 235.

"made in his writings this declaration for an everlasting memorial, that he was certain the stories of Amadis, which he invented, would not appear less true and probable, than the writings of Jovius (a)." Thuanus did not make use of this hyperbolical expression, but yet what he says is sufficient to let us know how little that writer is esteemed. *Cum aliqui homo gratis se passim obnoxium prodatur, eoque nomine ipsi in plerisque rebus fides derogetur, quod ad gratiam & in odium scripsisse, & venalem calamum habuisse fere omnibus persuasum sit* (3). i. e. "Jovius, though otherwise an agreeable writer, shews his partiality, so that the greatest part of what he relates is discredited, because most people are persuaded that he wrote to favour some, and out of hatred against others, and that he was a mercenary writer." Add to this a passage from Vossius, who acquaints us that Paul Jovius had, in a manner, set up a bank, and promised an ancient genealogy and immortal glory to every villain, that would give him a good sum of money for his pains; and that he used to slander and asperse all those that would not pay him for his falsities. *Quam fluxa etiam fidei patrum ævo fuit Paullus Jovius? quem constat in aula Henrici secundi quibusque terræ filiis bene de se merentibus generis claritatem ac perpetuum nomen pollicitum: contraque maledice eos traduxisse, qui venali historico morem non gererent* (4). i. e. "How little

(4) Vossius, de *Art. Hist.* cap. 9. pag. 48.

does Paul Jovius, who lived in our Fathers time, deserve to be credited? For it is certain that he used to promise he would find noble ancestors and give an everlasting reputation, to every obscure fellow at the court of Henry II, that deserved well of him; and on the other hand, this mercenary historian asperged and slandered all those who would not stoop to pay their court to him." We shall see in the following remark whence this is extracted. He offered to write in favour of Don Juan III, King of Portugal, and because his offer was not accepted, he would not mention a victory, which the Portuguese had gained. If he had been well paid for writing the History of Portugal, he would have been so far from omitting true victories, that he would have forged imaginary ones: his credit has therefore been very justly brought into question. Here follows the stroke which the writer of Emanuel's Life levels at him. *Victoria fuit præclara: quam tamen Paullus Jovius, cum de Sultani classe hac in Indiam contra Lusitanos delata narraret, silentio suppressit, iratus videlicet, quod cum Lusitanæ historiæ scribendæ munus Joanni, hujus nominis tertio, Lusitanæ regi venale proponeret, rex optimus non illum muneribus Indiciis ad res Lusitanorum virtute gestas monumentis illustrandas invitavit* (5). i. e. "It was a very

(5) Olorius, de *Rebus Emmanuelis*, lib. 6. folio m. 179.

great victory: and yet Paul Jovius did not say a word of it, when he mentions the fleet which the Sultan sent into the Indies against the Portuguese: For he was exasperated against Don Juan III, King of Portugal, because having offered him to write his history for a sum of money, that good Prince would not give him the treasures of the Indies to transmit to posterity an account of the noble actions of the Portuguese." He met with the fate of all liars, I mean, that he was hardly believed, even when he tells the truth. The misfortune is, that he reaped more benefit from his falsities, than the faithful Historians do from their love of the truth. This complaint of Bodinus is very well grounded. *Non quod multa non sint verè & eleganter ab eo scripta; sed hunc mendacii fructum tulit, ut etiam cum vera scribit, suspectus habeatur. Hoc tamen acerbius est ac indignius, quod cum historiæ æqualem prestitisset, uberioribus tulit mendacii fructum, quàm qualem aliis vera scribendo* (6). That man was not proper to write a good history; for when it was in his power to tell the truth, he had no mind to

(6) Bodin. in *Methodo Historiarum*, cap. 4. pag. 73.

tell it, and when he designed to be sincere, he could not; for he had no authentic memoirs but such as related to what happened in Italy. This is what Bodinus asserts (7), and he supports his assertion by observing, that Jovius never travelled abroad, that he was not a witness of the events he relates, but lived constantly at the court of the Popes during thirty seven years. But, in my opinion, he could, notwithstanding all this, have collected authentic memoirs concerning the other countries. And besides, Jovius boasts that he had seen sieges, battels, &c. (8). See in the remark [F] another passage of Bodinus, and the judgment which Justus Lipsius passes on our author, whom he charges with an excessive partiality.

§ (a) James Gohorri is as much an author as a translator with regard to the Xth, XIth, and XIIth book of Amadis, which are the only books he has translated (*), for he has inserted into them a great many things of his own invention. And this is what Bodinus hints at in the words above. REM. CRIT.]

[B] It is said that he did not much labour to clear himself of that bad quality.] Bodinus asserts, that Paul Jovius being asked why he related falsities, and concealed the true events, answered, that he did it for the sake of his friends; that he knew very well, that they who were then living, would not give any credit to his histories, but that he was also sensible, that in future ages men would not in the least question what he related. *Cum autem rogareretur cur simularet falsa, vera dissimularet, amicorum gratia id à se factum respondit: ac tametsi superstitibus intelligeret suis scriptis fidem derogaturos, attamen intelligebat infinitæ posteritati credibilia fore quæ sibi suisque popularibus laudem essent allatura* (9). Some persons suppose that he made this answer: *A hundred years hence there will not be one single proof extant to convince me of imposture; men will therefore be obliged to believe what I relate in my histories. Anzi mi vien detto, che essendo biasmato il Giovio della infedeltà della sua historia, egli li confessò, soggiungendo però, che si riconfortava, sapendo, che dopo lo spazio di centi anni, non vi sarà più alcuna memoria in contrario; onde veranno i posteri necessariamente à dare indubitata fede à suoi scritti* (10). Some assert (11) that he boasted he had a golden pen, and an iron pen; the former for those Princes, who bestowed favours upon him, and the latter against the Princes from whom he received none. It is also pretended, that he owned he had suppressed the three books in which he mentioned Anthony de

(7) Cum rariis-bus fidem habuerit, nec conciones, nec Epistolas, nec res gestas, nec alla publica monumenta vidit: sic tamen scribit, quasi rebus interfuisse, nec ullum dubitationis locum relinquit. Quæ igitur verissime scribere potuit, noluit; puta, res in Italia gestas; quæ voluit, non pauit, scilicet externa. Idem, ibid.

(8) See the Dedication of his History.

(9) See the Dedication of his Translation of the 13th book.

(10) Bodinus, in *Methodo Historiarum*, cap. 4. pag. 73.

(11) Stephano Guazzo, della *civile Conversazione*, lib. 2. pag. m. 242.

(12) Teiffier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 67.

(13) Paulus Jovius.

(14) Joseph Scaliger, *Epist. de Vaustr. Gentis Scalligeræ*, pag. 3.

Leva, because that famous warrior gave him nothing, and he would not suffer that the name of an ungrateful man should appear in his works. *Quis nescit quanta fuerit virtus Antonii Levæ Hispani ducis, ut solus dici, aut cum paucis Imperator appellari nostri temporis possit: tamen nequissimus historicus (12), seu potius fabulator, quod pecunias non dedisset, maluit totam corrumpere historiæ, tresque libros qui illi debebantur intermittere, ne (ut agebat) ingratum insereret historiæ* (13). i. e. "Who is there but knows what a great man Anthony de Leva was, who alone deserved the title of a General in our time, or at least, could share that glory with but a few: and yet that wicked Historian, or rather fabulous Writer, omitted him in his work, because that great man gave him no money: and he chose rather to falsify the whole History, and to omit three books, in which he was to give an account of him; because, said he, he would not mention an ungrateful man in his History." It is pretended, that he promised an illustrious genealogy to any person of Henry II's Court, who would pay him well, and threatened to traduce all those that opposed him in his trade. *Paulus Jovius, me puero, in aula Henrici secundi obscurissimo cuique claritatem generis mercede pollicebatur, maledicentia ulturus qui ejus mundinationi adversaretur* (14). For my part, I can hardly believe that Jovius ever confessed such things, as I have here observed. I find that he boldly asserts, that he published his work during the life of most of the persons concerned in it, because he did not fear lest they should convince him of falsity, as they might easily do, had he not been a faithful Historian. *Absolute tandem opere* quotation (4).

that he commended or blamed according as men took care or neglected to court his favour. No man ever asked for presents with less reserve than he did [C]. You will find in Moreri what Thuanus relates concerning this author's resentment against the Great Constable Anne de Montmorenci. Brantome gives a more full account of it [D]. It is pretended that the reason why Paul Jovius complained that he had lost some books of his History at the sacking of Rome, was only that the publishing of them was inconsistent with his own private interest. He was not much esteemed with regard to his morals [E], and he was charged with being very careless in saying his Breviary. His style is bright enough, but not sufficiently historical nor exact [F]. His partiality is not the only defect they

opere id in publicum edere non dubitem, magno verbe in-
corrupte veritatis argumento: quandoquidem plerique eo-
vum, qui hæc bello paceque gesserunt, adhuc vivunt, ac
idcirco gravi existimationis meæ cum periculo mentientem
refellere possint (15). i. e. "My work being now finish-

ed, I do not scruple to publish it; which is a strong proof that I relate the truth sincerely. For most of those, who have been concerned in these transactions both in peace and in war, are still alive, and would easily refute me, if I had told falsties; so that I should be in great danger of disgracing myself, and losing my reputation."

[C] No man ever asked for presents with less reserve than he did.] "His way of begging (16) calls to my mind that of Paul Jovius, who used to beg more openly and more basely still. I have read some of his letters, which are wonderful in that respect. In one of them he declares solemnly, that in case Cardinal de Lorraine does not take care to have his pension paid him, he will say, that the Cardinal is no longer defended from Godfrey, who promoted a Pedant to the Archbishopric of Tyre. In others he asks the Marquis of Pescara for two horses, and for that effect he desires him to strike the ground a little harder than Neptune did. In other letters he wishes that a certain Lady, who was his friend, would send him some sweetmeats from Naples, because he begins to be tired of new-laid eggs, &c (17)."

[D] Thuanus relates . . . this author's resentment against . . . Anne de Montmorenci. Brantome gives a more full account of it.] Though the passage from Brantome be pretty long, yet I shall transcribe it intire. "I have been told by a great man, says he, that he had read in the first Latin edition of Paulus Jovius (whether it be true or not I cannot tell) a passage, in which it is observed, that when the Grand Seignior Soliman turned his great favourite Ibrahim Bahaw out of his favour, and put him to death, King Francis did at the same time turn his great favourite the Constable Anne de Montmorency out of his favour. But why, says Jovius, did he not also put him to death, as the other did Ibrahim or Hibraun Bahaw? It was not, adds he, but that he had well deserved it: and hereupon he mentions some impertinent stories, which it was not proper to relate, and which are false: but because, continues he, this great King was good-natured and merciful, whereas the Grand-Seignior was a cruel tyrant. I do not know whether this be in the Latin edition, but that Gentleman told me so for certain. It is not in the French translation; nor ought we to credit it in the least, for if the said Jovius asserted it, he did it as a passionate man, who was exasperated against the Constable, who being again called to Court by King Henry, and settling the establishment of the King's household, which was part of his office, found that amongst the pensions granted by the late King, there was one of five hundred crowns to the said Paul Jovius, which he suppressed immediately, giving the King to understand that this money was ill bestowed, since Jovius was more addicted to the Emperor's party than to the French, and was besides a notorious liar. Jovius therefore knowing that his pension was suppressed, began to inveigh bitterly against the Constable, and to asperse him in the most outrageous manner. You see what it is to have to do with the venomous tongue and sharp pen of a writer, who when he is exasperated spares no body. Some say, that the Constable at the time he was out of favour had seen the stroke which that fellow had levelled against him, with a design to please the King,

rather than for any other reason, such writers being generally flatterers, because they always get something by it. And therefore when the Lord Constable came to King Henry's Court, he revenged himself on Jovius, and would have treated him more severely still had it been in his power; for a brave and generous man, as the Constable was, is deeply vexed, when he is thus slandered and traduced by a writer without any reason (18)."

(18) Brantome, *Elge de François*, in the 1st volume of his *Memoires*, page 228. Some assert that Jovius was exasperated against the Constable, because he had not obtained from him something, which he had asked impudently. *Quod equidem expertus est Annas Mommorantius Comes Stabuli Franciæ traductus à venali historico, non aliam ob rem quam quod nescio quod impudenter petens repulsum tulisse* (16). i. e. "This is what Anne de Montmorency Conitable to Francis II found by experience, being traduced by a mercenary Historian for no other reason, but because he had refused him I know not what, which he had impudently asked." I shall observe by the by that Francis I had no reason to repent of the pension, which he had granted to Paul Jovius; for he was represented by his pensioner under the character of a conqueror, rather than under that of a conquered Prince. And it is pretended that Charles V complained of this. *Cum aliquando Cæsar noster legeret victoriam quam de Gallis habuerat, dixit, profecto non meam, sed Gallorum Regis victoriam hic scripsit, indicans, ex pecuniis acceptis à Rege quanta mendacia inseruisset Historiæ* (20). i. e. "Our Emperor reading once an account of the victory he had gained over the French, said, this writer describes indeed the victory of the French King, and mine; hinting thereby how many falsties he had inserted in his History, because of the money he had received."

[E] He was not much esteemed with regard to his morals.] Cardanus charges him with lewdness. *Hic noster historicus, says he (21), admirandus profecto magis aliis (22) qui tametsi senex, parum absuit, quin pepereris* (*). *Sed & id testabilis quod cum esse etiam Antistes, gaudebat numerari* (23) *procos adolescentulos*. i. e. "This Historian of ours was indeed more wonderful still than the others; for though an old man, yet he was like to be brought to bed (see the margin *). But what is more still, is, that though he were a Bishop, yet he delighted to be reckoned amongst the young men, that made love to the women." Cardanus's marginal note contains a very strange particular, namely, that Paul Jovius was an Hermaphrodite. Imperialis (24) confesses that this author was charged with leading a dissolute life, and with great negligence in saying his prayers, and reciting his breviary.

[F] His style is bright enough, but not sufficiently historical nor exact.] Scaliger said of it what you will read in the following passage. *Paulus Jovius mendacissimus & Guicciardino inferior, nimis affectato & luxuriantie stylo, potius quam castigato utens* (25). i. e. "Paul Jovius is a great liar, and inferior to Guicciardini, has an affected and pompous rather than an accurate style." Roland des Marets speaks of it with the utmost contempt, and even asserts that it abounds with 95 barbarisms. *Quantum sentio, says he (26), non bonus est historiæ scriptor (Paulus Jovius) nec judicio satis vult: qui si vernaculè scripsisset, nullo in numero haberetur. Latinus enim sermo quasi fucus quidam labes illius multas contegit: qui prima specie elegans videtur, nam belle sonat, & quibusdam imponit, mihi non item. Vix enim Latinus est, certè minime purus, totusque idiotismi scatet; nihil fere proprie effert, sed plerumque confusè loquitur, nec pene ulla vox est sine epitheto*. i. e. "Paul Jovius is not a good Historian, in my opinion, nor does he distinguish himself by his judgment;

(15) Jovius, *Præfat. Historiæ ad Cosmum Medicum*.
(16) That is to say, the begging of a man whom Balsac calls *Jean Jaques*. He means the person who made Peirefkius's Funeral Oration at Rome.

(17) Balsac. *Lettre 9. to Cbaspelain*, liv. 3. pag. m. 114.

(18) Brantome, *Elge de François*, in the 1st volume of his *Memoires*, page 228.
(19) Joseph Scaliger, *Epist. de Vetuslate gentis Scaligeræ*, pag. 3.

(20) Cardanus, in *Apologia Neronis*.

(21) Idem, *ibid*.
(22) That is to say, than the Historians, whom Cardanus had just been mentioning, and whom he had charged with several vices.

(*) *Quippe Hermaphroditus*. i. e. "For he was an Hermaphrodite."

(23) Thus I read in my edition; I imagine that the word *inter* is omitted.

(24) In *Museo Historico*, pag. 7.

(25) Scaligerana *prima*, pag. m.

(26) Rolandus Maresius, *Epist.* 41. lib. 1. pag. m. 218.

(b) See the remark [F].

they blame in his History (b), which is the most elaborate of all his works [G]. However, it must be confessed that this writer had a great deal of wit, and that his books abound with a great many curious observations. He died December the 11th 1552 (c)

(c) Raufner, in *Diario Hist.*, pag. 185. at

ment; he would not have been esteemed in the least had he written in the vulgar tongue. But the Latin language, like a veil, covered many of his faults: his stile at the first sight seems to be elegant, for it sounds well, so that it imposes upon some readers, but not upon me; and indeed it is hardly Latin, and not at all exact; he seldom expresses any thing in terms that are proper, but generally uses periphrases; and there is scarce one word without an epithet to it." We have here two skilful judges. Who then would not wonder to find Lipsius speak so advantageously of our Paul Jovius's stile? Must we not infer from thence, that the most excellent critics differ in their taste, even with regard to such a subject on which they should all pass the same judgment. When men know the rules of eloquence, and those of the art of writing History, ought they not to agree in their commendation or censure of a writer's stile? But let us see what Lipsius observes concerning Paul Jovius (27).

(27) Lipsius, *Not. ad 1 lib. Politic. cap. 9. pag. m. 218.*

Paulus Jovius multorum judicia magis acerba quam libera experitur. Acriter valde in virum eunt. Ego de eo sic censo, stilo bonum graveque esse & plane ad historiam: judicio ac fide ambiguum. Ubi affectus non distrabunt, rectum, ubi illi adsunt, obnoxium. Ad gratiam scilicet se dat & auram. Laudationum nec causam sepe habet nec modum. Genti suæ, Vastio, Medicis nimis ex professo addictus. His quidem ita ut Laurentium Medicen parricidii reum velut apud judices agat. Orationibus quoque aut frigidus interdum, aut ineptus. Laudandus tamen legendusque ob multiplicem & variam rerum seriem, quas rodegis compositæ & dilucide in unum historiarum corpus (28). i. e. "Several persons judge more severely than freely of Paul Jovius; and inveigh very bitterly against him. My opinion of him is as follows. His stile is good and grave and perfectly adapted to History. His judgment and impartiality are justly questioned: when no passions sway him he relates the truth; otherwise he is suspicious. For he suffers himself to be sway'd by partiality and favour. He praises often without reason, and immoderately. He is too much devoted to his own nation, to Vastius, and to the House of Medicis. And to the latter to such a degree, that he speaks of Laurence de Medicis as though he was pleading against him before the judges. His orations are also sometimes either dull or impertinent. He deserves however to be commended and read, on account of the great number and variety of particulars, which he has collected into a body of History, in a proper order and in a clear light."

(28) La Popeliniere, *Hist. des Historiens*, liv. 7. pag. 403. giving his opinion of Paul Jovius does only translate this passage, without mentioning Lipsius. He did not even understand these words, *Laudationum nec causam sepe habet, nec modum*; which he translates thus; *Il observe ni les causes ni moyens au ses loanges*. i. e. "He observes neither the reasons, nor means in his commendations."

Lipsius's observation concerning the dull and impertinent orations, which Paul Jovius has inserted in his History, calls to my mind what Bodinus says, who ridicules him for making the soldiers speak like students of Rhetoric. *Præsertim in concionibus, epistolis, fæderibus, decretis, quæ Jovius pro arbitrato fingit, in quo tamen decorum ita confudit, ut imperiti milites, ipsius Alciati sui Laudatoris judicio, declamatores scholastici esse videantur (29). i. e. "Particularly in the orations, letters, treaties and decrees, which Jovius invents after his own fancy, in which however he does so little keep up to the characters of the persons he mentions, that, even in the opinion of Alciat his great admirer, he makes the unlearned soldiers speak like young students of Rhetoric." I am persuaded that the reader will not be displeas'd to meet here with Alciat's words, on which Bodinus grounded his assertion. *Id à te præcipue desiderabam, ut ad illud quod Græci *ἄριστον* vocant, non absurdè responderes. Sicuti in ea oratione animadvertēbam, quæ à Marconio gregario milite, ad legiones jam planè consternatas & ad seditionem spectantes babebantur, quum Solymano Pannoniæ finibus exedente, Carolus Cæsar Vienna profectus in Italiam rediret. In ea siquidem concione omnes artis nervos numerosque ita expressisti, ut ille Marconius nequaquam ab aratro Volaterrani agri ad signa vocatus, sed ex schola Ciceronis & Hermogenis ad suggestum raptus esse videatur, quum passim exacte eloquentiæ schemata intenteant, quæ peroranti turbam parère coegerint (30). i. e. "I wish'd chiefly, that you had not acted absurdly**

(29) Bodin, in *Methodo Histor.* pag. 72.

(30) Alciatus, *Epist. ad Paulum Jovium*, in *limine Historiarum Jovii*.

against what the Greeks call *ἄριστον*, decorum, or keeping up the true character of persons; as I observed you had done in that oration, which a common soldier named Marconius made to the army, which was already under a great consternation and ready to revolt, when Soliman being pass'd the frontiers of Pannonia (or Hungary) the Emperor Charles V went from Vienna into Italy. For you have so well expressed all the strength and elegance of the art of Rhetoric, that this Marconius does not seem to be lifted into the army from the plough, and from the fields of Volterra, but to be hurried from Tully's and Hermogenes's lectures to the pulpit; so much does his discourse abound with eloquent strokes, which made the multitude follow his direction when he had done speaking."

Observe that these words of Lipsius, *Laurentium Medicen parricidii reum velut apud judices agat*, have been thus translated by Monsieur Teiffier (31): *He clears Laurence de Medicis of the crime of parricide, as though he were pleading his cause before his Judges.* Paul Jovius does quite the contrary; he speaks as the Countess of this Laurence's accuser would have done (32). Monsieur Teiffier imagined, no doubt, that the great Laurence de Medicis was meant here, who was a great patron of the men of letters in the fifteenth century, whereas Jovius means another Laurence, who assassinated Alexander de Medicis in the year 1537.

[G] *His History is the most elaborate of all his works.* It is the first which he compos'd, and the last which he published. He formed the plan of it in the year 1515, and continued all his life-time to perform it. He chose for the subject of his work the events that happened in his own time over all the world, beginning with the year 1494, which was that in which the French conquered the Kingdom of Naples under Charles VIII. This History contains XLV books, and extends to the year 1544; but there is a considerable gap from the XIXth book to the XXIVth inclusive (33). These six books, which extended from the death of Pope Leo X, to the taking of Rome in the year 1527, contain only a short summary of the events. He lost, at the sacking of Rome, what he had already compos'd relating to that part of his History (34), and he would not compose it over again, nor complain what was wanting in them. He had two reasons not to do it: the first was, that he would have drawn upon him some people's indignation in a terrible manner; the other was, that he would not employ his pen upon a subject, which was so dishonourable to Italy. *Peritos medicos imitatus, carcinomata desperatæ curationis, quæ attraheret, & acri medicamine lacessas, in immensum furere, & pestifera edacique serpentine mortem afferre solent, naturæ relinquenda, neque his ullo pacto manum ad movendam judicavi. Quamobrem existimationi salutique meæ consulens, diræ tempestatis materiam, tamquam abominabilis impique operis, minime attingendam arbitratus sum, quando hæc adversæ fortunæ accepta vulnera, infansæque nostræ detrimenta, non modo non prodenda posteris, sed pro virili occultanda esse videantur: Ea siquidem, quæ Italicum nomen dedecent, neque memoria recoli sine dolore, neque sine uberrimis lacrymis scribi, nec sine flagitio pudoreque posteris enarrari queunt (35). i. e.*

(31) *Addit. aux Éloges tirés de Mém. de Tbon*, tom. 1. pag. 65.

(32) See book the 38th of Paul Jovius's History.

(33) Observe, that there is also a gap, from the 4th book to the 10th inclusive. See his Advertisement at the end of his fourth book.

(34) *Fatali illa sub Clemente VII urbis æternæ clade nonnulli libri in seditis tantum descripti illi deperierunt, bond sine suo dolore maximo. Basilus Joannes Armiolus, Epist. Dedicatoria Operum Jovii*

I have done like skillful Physicians: as for those desperate cancers, which if you pretend to touch them, and to apply sharp remedies to them, rage more, and spreading their venom farther and farther, occasion a certain death, I thought it proper to leave them to nature, without offering to apply a healing hand to them. Taking care therefore of my own reputation and security, I judg'd that I must not treat of the history of those dreadful times, which was an abominable and impious work; since the mistertunes we underwent, and the wrong we suffered by our own folly were not only improper to be transmitted to posterity, but were even to be kept secret as much as it was possible; I mean those events, which are a disgrace to Italy, which cannot be remembered without grief, nor written without a flood of tears, nor related without shame nor without "crime."

at Florence, to which City he retired, being very much dissatisfied with the Court of Rome, because he had not been able to obtain the Bishopric of Como [H]. He had a brother named BENEDICTUS JOVIUS, who wrote some books [I]. There was one PAUL JOVIUS, who in the Council of Trent voted in a very remarkable manner upon the question concerning residence [K].

Let

(35) In the remark [B].

"crime." We have observed above (26) that this gap in Jovius's History has been found fault with very much to his dishonour. It is remarkable, that though he had urged these two arguments as a very good apology, yet in the very next page he promised the public, that he would soon publish that part of his History which was wanting. *Quod si mihi quanquam pedibus capto, atque adeo graviter senescenti, Deus magnus fatalis horæ spatium extendat, perpetua procul dubio lucubratione enitar, ut totum id quod in clade urbis ereptum, vel à me postea contumaci quadam indignatione prætermisum fuit, non diu à bonis mortalibus desideretur* (37). i. e. Though I be lame, and grow very old, yet if Almighty God suffer me to live any longer, I shall certainly labour, by my continual study, that what I lost at the sacking of Rome, or what I afterwards omitted, through an obstinate indignation, be not long wanted by the honest part of mankind." He tells us besides, that he has supplied this gap by the particular lives he has published. The Preface from which I have extracted these particulars was written at Pisa May 1, 1552: It is the Dedicatory Epistle of the second volume of his History. The author died in December following, and had not the satisfaction to see the third volume of his work, which is the last, come from the press. He had it printed at Florence. Let us observe, that the author who tells us that this is the first book which Jovius composed, has been wretchedly mistaken in his calculations. He asserts, that Jovius first began this History in the year 1515, being then about thirty years old, that he died whilst he was still engaged in it, at the age of threescore and fifteen, and that he met with a very unsettled fortune during the thirty seven years he spent in composing that work. *Cum enim anno à nato CHRISTO qui numerabatur M. D. XV. ætatis autem suæ circa trigésimum, ea quæ post annum M. CD. XC. IV. per totum orbem terrarum gesta essent, atque se vivo gererentur, animo complexus fuisset, illud Historiæ opus omnium suorum primum exorsus fuit, licet omnium postremum illud ediderit, eique quinque ferme annis septuagenario major immortalus est. Triginta itaque illis ac septem annis quibus historiam concinnavit, varia et ipse fortuna (uti fieri solet) jactatus JOVIUS* (38). i. e. "In the year 1515, when he was about thirty, he formed the design to write a history of all that happened in the whole world from the year 1494, and in his own time; this is the first work he ever begun, though it be the last he published, and he died when he was near threescore and fifteen, being still employed in this history. He met with an inconstant fortune (as is usual) during the thirty seven years he spent upon that history." We may observe three blunders in this account. I. A man who applies himself to a work from his thirtieth year to his seventy fourth year, applies himself forty four years to it, and not thirty seven only. II. Since Paul Jovius died in the year 1552, he did not live above threescore and fourteen years, if it be true that he was but about thirty in the year 1515: at that rate, he would have lived but about threescore and seven years. III. It is observed in Jovius's Epitaph (39) that he lived 69 years; months, and 22 days: it is not true therefore that he lived near threescore and fifteen years; and to assert that he was about thirty in the year 1515, is speaking without any accuracy.

(37) Jovius, Prefat. tom. 2. Historiarum, sub finem.

(38) Basil. Joh. Heroldus, Epist. Dedic. Operum Jovii.

(39) Apud Paulum Freherum, Theatr. p. 1454. et apud Popo Blouant, Cens. Auteurs pag. 449. where instead of 22 days we read 22; Thuanus says 22.

(40) Herold, Epist. Dedic. Operum Jovii, which acquaints us with the chronological order in which this author's works were published.

(41) Jovius, Epist. Dedic. Libri de Piscibus.

I shall observe occasionally, that the book *De Piscibus Romanis* (Of Roman Fishes) is the first book which Paul Jovius published (40). He dedicated it to Cardinal Lewis of Bourbon. The dedication is dated from the Vatican March the 29th 1524. He had then a design, which he did not perform; it was to publish very soon the first Decad of his History. *Exibit in publicum propediem hujusmodi laboriosissimi operis prima decas, non sine aliqua spe immortalitatis* (41). i. e. "The first Decad of this laborious work will soon be published, not without some hope of an immortal reputation."

Alcyonius commends this Decad in a work, which was published in the year 1522. But it does not follow from thence that it had already been printed. He might have seen it in manuscript. Here follows what he says of it. *Quam etiam scribendi laudem felicissimè consecutus est Paulus Jovius tuus, in ea Decade, qua res omnes complexus est, quæ toto terrarum orbe gesta sunt; postquam Carolus VIII Rex Gallie, cum maximis copiis transgressus Alpes, tranquillum Italiæ statum perturbavit, et prima funestissimorum in Italia bellorum jecit semina. Historia enim hujus clarissimi scriptoris, omnes elegantie flores, omnia eloquentiæ lumina habet, et mira orationis claritate splendescit, (usque ad omnia ornate narratur,) et regiones aut pugne admirabiliter describuntur, et conciones hortationesque prudenter, et gravissimè interponuntur. Denique illius auctor, varietate, evagationibus, amplificationibus, digressionibus non minus præstantis Historici, quam eximii Oratoris laude, ab omnibus decorari debet* (42). i. e. "Which glory of writing your friend Paul Jovius has also most happily acquired in that Decad, in which he gives us an account of all that passed in the world, since Charles VIII King of France had passed the Alps with a numerous army, disturbing the peace of Italy, and sowing the first seeds of those most fatal wars. For the History of this most eminent writer abounds with all the flowers of Rhetoric, and with all the ornaments of eloquence, and is written in a most clear and perspicuous stile (so elegantly is every thing there related): the countries and battles are admirably well described, and the whole is wisely and gravely interspersed with orations and exhortations. Lastly, the author deserves justly the reputation both of an eminent Historian and of a distinguished orator, for the variety, applications, and digressions with which he has adorned his work."

[H] He had not been able to obtain the Bishopric of Como.] This appears from a letter which Andrew Alciat wrote to him (43). It is dated from Pavia October the 7th 1549, and is an answer to a letter, which Paul Jovius had written to him, to acquaint him with his discontent, and with his resolution to leave Rome, and to retire to Florence. *Scribis te gravi injuria permotum, Urbe (quod nunquam fieri possè putaram) propediem excessurum, ne diutius acceptæ contumeliæ deformis testis in ea aula specteris, in qua per multos annos (ut mihi videtur) cum aureæ mediocritatis bonis placè beatus, tum studiorum tuarum auctoritate clarus habitus fuisti. Mirum profectò videri potest, quod tibi doctrinæ ac ætatis honore majora promerito, in petitione Pontificatus patriæ tuæ Paulus Pontifex quendam prætulit. At quem hominem? qui Comi neque natus, neque unquam visus sit, et qui (sicut à multis audio) ex arcanis cubiculi sordibus in lucem repente sit productus.* i. e. "You wrote to me, that being highly incensed at the injury you have received, you design very soon to leave the city (which I should never have thought) that you may no longer appear a sad witness of the affront that has been offered you, at that Court, where (in my opinion) you lived many years happy in a golden mediocrity, and with reputation on account of your learning. It may indeed appear strange, that though you deserved a greater reward by your age, and by your reputation of learning, yet the Pope should have preferred another to you, in the Bishopric of your own native place. And what man! A man who was neither born at Como, nor ever seen there; and (as I have been told by several persons) who was from the low drudgery of a private servant all on a sudden raised to an high post." This is well enough! it is making pretty free with the holy Father's character. He is not treated much better in the following words. *Quis in hoc Pontificem non judicet: non enim hostis bonarum literarum et plane ferreus esse non potest, qui te gravissimarum rerum scriptorem intempestive contempserit. . . . Dices te indignè deceptum ab inveterati astus sene Principe, qui blandis promissis*

(42) Petrus Alcyonius, in Mædice Legato Posteriori, pag. 103. edit. Genev. 1624.

(43) It is prefixed to Paul Jovius's History.

Let us not forget to observe, that our Paul Jovius was blamed for giving too much credit to Astrological Predictions, and to other superstitions of the same kind [L]. His
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promissis vota tua honeste concepta inique sefellerit. i. e. "Who will not judge from this that the Pope is an enemy to the Mules? For whoever does despise you, who are a most grave Historian, must be an enemy to all kind of literature, and absolutely rude and ignorant. . . You will say that you have been unworthily imposed upon by an old Prince of an inveterate malice, who wickedly disappointed the hopes which you had conceived from his promises." I am much mistaken if Thuanus has not committed a blunder here; for he pretends that it was Clement VII, who refused to promote Paul Jovius to the Bishopric of Como, and who for that reason was ill treated in the petitioner's works. *Cum ad Novocomensem Episcopatum omnibus votis anbelaret, suaque erga Medicam familiam, in cuius laudes profusus fuerat, observantiae deberi id meritorum fiducia putaret, tamen ab eo obtinere non potuit: quod in causa fuisse plerique credunt, cur Clementem in Historiis avaritiæ & tenacitatis infamulet* (44). i. e. "He heartily wished to obtain the Bishopric of Como, which he trusted he had deserved by his great regard and respect for the house of Medices, on whose praises he had expatiated in his works; but he could not obtain it; which most people think was the reason why he charged Pope Clement in his History with avarice and niggardliness."

(44) Thuan. lib. 11. pag. 235.

[J] He had a Brother named BENEDICTUS JOVIUS, who wrote some books.] He was Paul's eldest brother, and was to him instead of a father: it was he that educated him; that instructed him, and encouraged him to become an author: for having shewed him two of his works, namely, the History of Como, and a treatise of the actions and manners of the Swiss nation, he raised in him a desire to write a general History. He led a very quiet and retired life in his native place, which he never left but to go to Milan to hear the lectures of a Greek Professor. He had learned that tongue by himself, but he wanted to learn how to pronounce it, and this was the reason of his journey to Milan. He lived to be threescore and thirteen years old, and always continued strong and sound both in body and mind. He intended to present the public with about an hundred letters, which abounded with learned observations: his sons were to take care to publish them, with some other pieces of his composing, with some translations from Greek authors, and with some Poems. *Sed hæc & Græcæ translationis non ignobilis opera cum lepidis poematibus eruditorum liberorum diligentia publicabit* (45). i. e. "But this, with his Greek translations, which are no inconsiderable work, and with his agreeable Poems, will be published by the care of his children." Their uncle expected this from their diligence (46); but I do not think there was any thing of this author's works printed, but his Latin Poems.

(45) P. Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 106.

(46) Taken from Paul Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 106.

We ought not to imagine, that PAULUS JOVIUS, Junior, of whom there are several Latin verses in the Elogies written by our Paul Jovius, was the son of Benedictus Jovius. He was nephew to JULIUS JOVIUS, who was made Coadjutor to his uncle (47) in the Bishopric of Nocera, August 21, 1551, and who enjoyed that Bishopric after him. Paulus Jovius, junior, a good Poet, was made Coadjutor to his uncle Julius Jovius in the same Bishopric, November 29, 1560, and was also his successor in it. He kept that see twenty five years, and died in the year 1585 (48). I have observed in another place (49), that Paul Jovius was no Poet.

(47) That is to say to our Paul Jovius.

(48) Taken from Ughelli, *Ital. Sacra*, tom. 7. pag. 746.

(49) In the article HADRIAN VI, remark [D].

[K] One PAUL JOVIUS, who voted in a very remarkable manner upon the question concerning Residence.] A friend of mine, who had heard me relate all that I remembered concerning our Paul Jovius, represented to me, that I omitted the most remarkable particulars. He was, said that friend to me, one of the Fathers of the Council of Trent; and as he was not in the least acquainted with Divinity, for he had been a Physician before he was promoted to be a Bishop, and never discontinued the study of the *Belles Lettres*, I imagine that he did not distinguish himself much in that assembly, when he was to give his opinion upon some point of doctrine. It concerned him very

much not to suffer the Council to determine that Bishops are obliged to residence by the law of God. This doctrine, which was strongly asserted by some of the members, could by no means be relished by him; this was

Aux Evêques de Cour prêcher la résidence.

"To preach up residence to Court Prelates."

He refuted that doctrine by arguments borrowed from the common practice: he shewed that there was no less dissoluteness in those Diocesses in which the Bishop resided, than in the others (50), and named particularly the city of Rome. But it is better to hear him speak himself. My friend referred me immediately to page 470 of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, where I met with the following words. "If these disorders were really occasioned by the absence of the Prelates, there would appear a less corruption of morals in those churches where the Bishops have resided in our time. The Popes have constantly kept at Rome these hundred years past, and have taken the utmost care to have the people instructed, and yet we do not find, that this city is better regulated for all that. The capital cities of kingdoms, in which the Bishops never failed to reside, are much more corrupted than those small and inconsiderable towns, which have not seen their Bishops for a whole century. And none of the ancient prelates who are here, and have constantly resided on their Bishoprics, (for there are some of them) will be able to shew us that their diocess are better regulated than those of their neighbours, who never resided. They who assert that such churches are flocks without shepherds, should consider, that the Curates have the cure of souls as well as the Bishops, and yet the latter only are mentioned, as though there could be no faithful Christians, where there are no Bishops. There are in the mountains some nations, who never saw a Bishop in their life, and who yet may be a pattern to episcopal cities. We ought to commend and imitate (*) the zeal and conduct of the Fathers of this Council under Paul, who have decreed penalties against the prelates, to oblige them to reside; and who have began to remove those obstacles, which keep them from their churches. And instead of flattering ourselves with the vain hopes, that their residence will occasion a reformation of manners in the church, we ought rather to fear, that whereas we now labour to find out some means to oblige them to residence, the inconveniencies (51), that may attend it, will oblige our successors to provide against them by obliging the prelates to be absent from their Bishoprics." I had not much trouble to undeceive my friend: I had only to make him observe, that the Historian of the Council speaks of a Paul Jovius, who was Bishop of Nocera in the year 1562, ten years after the death of Paul Jovius, who is the subject of this article.

[L] He was blamed for giving too much credit to astrological predictions, and to other superstitions of the same kind.] Martin del Rio having related some facts, which seem to prove that future events may be foretold by the means of astrology and chiromancy, adds, *Unus ista omnia narrat Jovius (*), nec usquequaque indubitata fæci historicus, nec satis à superstiosis & gentilitium ne dicam opinionibus, saltem locutionibus, alienus* (54). i. e. "Jovius alone relates all this; but he is not an Historian on whom we may absolutely depend; he was a little too much addicted to superstitions, and to the expressions, not to say, the opinions of the Heathens." He had already censured him for shewing too much regard for an observation of Amniomancy. Thus they call the art of divining by observing the membrane *amnios*, which was the fetus in the mother's womb. *Sed & Jovius, ne quid superstitionis omitteret, nimis hujusmodi vanitatibus pro Episcopo deditus, in Ferdinandi Davali natiuitate* (lib. 1. Piscarii) *hujusmodi pelle involutum ex utero prodisse consideravit* (55). i. e. "But Jovius also, that he might not omit any superstition, and who for a Bishop

(50) Compare this with what Brantome observes in the page which I have marked [N] of the article FRANCIS I, and add to it the following words from Mezerai's *Abregé Chronologique*, tom. 6. pag. 434. *The Parliament commanded the Bishops to go and reside in their Bishoprics to do their duty there, otherwise they should be forced to it, by the seizing of all their furniture and equipage. But considering the life most of them led, their absence gave perhaps less offence to their flocks, than their residence would have done.*

(*) I suppose it should be, but not to imitate, otherwise Jovius seems to contradict himself. ADD. REM.

(51) He pretends that if it were decreed, that residence is *Jure Divino*, the Bishops would no longer be subject to the Popes, nor the Priests, nor the Bishops.

(52) Fra-Paolo, *Hist. du Concile de Trente*, liv. 6. pag. 470. under the year 1562, of Amelot's Translation. See pag. 499. of the Italian edition in 4to.

(53) It is Paulus Jovius. I have mentioned him above in the remark [I] towards the end.

(*) In *Elogiis*. (54) Mart. del Rio, *Disquis. Magic.* lib. 4. cap. 3. Quest. 5. pag. m. 278.

(55) Idem, *ibid.* cap. 2. Quest. 7. Sect. 1. pag. 237.

(d) Balzac, *Dif-
fertat. à Dom.
André de Saint
Denys*, at the end
of his *Socrate
Chretien*, pag. m.
274.

(e) Henry Ste-
phen. See *Creni-
um, Animado*.
Part 5. pag. 163.

(56) See Mr.
Dreincourt's
Treatise, an ac-
count of which is
given in the
*Novvelles de la
Republique des
Lettres*, for July
1685, Art. 11.
pag. 815.

(57) Florimond
de Remond, *Hist.
de l'Herésie*, liv.
3. chap. 4. pag.
m. 24.

(a) Taken from
Valerius Andreas,
in *Topographia
Belgica*, pag. 43,
44.

Elogies of Illustrious Men are judged to be *too bitter and too slanderous* (d), but they are sometimes also too flattering. See the judgment which a learned Critic (e) has passed upon them in his Dialogue *De bene instituendis Græcæ Linguae Studiis*; i. e. "Concerning the best Method of studying the Greek Tongue." George Sabinus complains that Paul Jovius does not do justice in his Histories to the Protestants of Germany, and particularly to Sigismund II Elector of Brandenburg. Consult the Letter which George Sabinus wrote to John Sleidan September the 1st 1556 (f). It is necessary to make some additions to what I have observed concerning the first work he published [M].

(f) It is the last of them that have been printed with *George Sabinus's Poems*, pag. 419. & seq. edit. Lips. 1606. See also *Cr. niii, Animado*. Part 6. pag. 209.

"was a little too much addicted to these idle things, observed at the nativity of Ferdinand Daval, that he was born wrapt up in such a membrane." This membrane breaks generally when the child comes into the world; but sometimes it keeps whole, and in such a case it is taken for a sign of good luck; whence comes this proverb, *il est né coiffé* (56), properly, *he is born with a coif on*; that is, *he is born to good fortune*. Paul Jovius observed this circumstance very accurately in the nativity of the Marquis of Pescara, and you have seen just now, that he was blamed for it by Martin del Rio. Let us give here another proof of his credulity with regard to astrology. Having observed that there happened revolutions in religion over all the world in the beginning of the sixteenth century, he ascribes it to the influence of the stars. In the account of this particular I shall transcribe Florimond de Remond's words, because they acquaint us with a little artifice of a translator. "Very near the same time, says Jovius, when Ishmael became Emperor of Persia, and changed the religion of that country, mixing it with a new Mahometan superstition, there arose in Germany under Luther's direction that monstrous heresy, which was calculated to overthrow the Catholic Religion, and all that antiquity ever received, as the people had already done in Persia, being obstinate and mad with their new follies and superstitions. So that I am easily persuaded, adds he, that by a secret power from heaven, and by a malignant influence of the stars, all religions began at the same time to be altered through the whole world, since not only the Mahometans, but also the Christians, and even the Idolatrous nations the most remote from us, which worship Idols, in the East-Indies, and the countries newly discovered towards the West, have admitted new religions and opinions. This is what we meet with in Jovius's Latin words. But in the French translation of it you may observe the sincerity and honesty of the translator, who omits all that Jovius relates of these changes of religions, and of the monstrous Lutheran heresy, which sprung up in Saxony. With what impartiality and honesty do they handle the holy and sacred writings, since they are not ashamed thus to mutilate Histories which have but lately been published, in order to conceal from the reader a short passage, which relates to Luther, the father of all the heresies that have disturbed the Christian Church (57)? Florimond de Remond quotes the thirteenth book of Paul Jovius's History, where I met with the following passage, in folio 239 verso of the edition printed at Stras-

burg in the year 1556. *Nec multo post exarsit in Germania auctore Lusbero dira hæresis, quæ populis, ut in Perside acciderat, ad insaniam versis, Christiani dogmatis placita, & veteres sacrorum ritus vehementissimè conturbavit. Ita ut facillè crediderim ab occulta cæli potestate, malignoque syderum concursu provenisse, ut religiones toto terrarum orbe enatis factionibus, uno tempore scinderentur, quando non Mahometani modo Christianique, sed & remotissima gentes idololatræ, aut sydera aut potentia pro Diis venerantes, cum in India quæ ad Orientem vergit, tum in novo orbe ad Occiduum plagam reperto, novas sacrorum opiniones induerint.* I know no other French translator of Paul Jovius's General History, than Denis Sauvage. Was he a Protestant? And was he guilty of the artifice with which Florimond de Remond charges the reformed?

[M] It is necessary to make some additions to what I have observed concerning the first work he published. I have observed (58) 1. That it was the treatise *De Piscibus Romanis*. 2. That he dated the dedication of it, March the 26th 1524. In the 3d place, that he designed then to publish very soon the first Decad of his History. With regard to the first of these three particulars I have quoted Heroldus, who says expressly, *illud (scriptum) quod omnium primum edidit de piscibus Romanis*. The second particular wants no proof; every one may see it at the bottom of the dedication; and I have proved the third by a passage from Paul Jovius. I have started an objection from Alcyonius's asserting in a work printed in the year 1522, that he had seen this Historian's first Decad, and I have answered that objection as well as I could; but here follows another difficulty. Calcagnini tells us in a letter written from Rome under the Pontificate of Leo X (59) that Paul Jovius's first Decad was printed. *Paulus Jovius... tam luculenter, tam doctè, tam eleganter scribit nostri temporis historiam, cujus decem libros JAM EDIDIT, ut pudeat me de homine tam disertò tam indifertè scribere* (60). i. e. "Paul Jovius writes the history of our time, of which he has already published ten books, with so much clearness, learning, and eloquence, that I am ashamed to speak with so little elegance of so elegant a writer." If Calcagnini means here that this first Decad was printed, and if it be really so, Paul Jovius is guilty himself of the mistake which one would charge me with. It would be to no purpose to urge, that the date of the dedication of the treatise *De Piscibus Romanis* has been altered by the Printers; for it is certain, after all, that this dedication was composed under Clement VII, who was chosen Pope in the month of November 1523.

(58) See the remark [G] towards the end.

(59) He died in the year 1521.

(60) Calcagninus *Epist. ad Jacobum Zieglerum*, in *Collectione Colomnesiana Clarorum Virorum Epistol.* pag. 234.

JOURS (in English, *the Day*). This article, which was printed in our proposals, will be inserted at the end of this Dictionary, in the form of a Dissertation. See HIPPOMANES.

IPRES, or YPRES, an Episcopal City in the County of Flanders, borrows its name from a River which runs through it: it was at first but a Castle. The Normans having ruined it, Count Baudouin or Baldwin, the second of that name, had it repaired in the year 880; Count Arnoul added fortifications to it in the year 901; and Count Baudouin III made several additions to it some years after. New additions were made to it from time to time, so that in the year 1473 the City of Ipres contained already within its walls 1173 *Verges of Land* (or *Perches*) of fourteen geometrical feet each. It was besieged by those of Ghent and by the English in the year 1373, during nine weeks. Its stone walls were built in the year 1388 by Philip the Bold's consent (a). The woolen manufactures and the art of dying them were in a thriving condition there at the end of the twelfth Century, as it appears from William Brito's testimony (b). The French took that city in the year 1648, and lost it again the next year. They took it a second time in the year 1658, and restored it to the Spaniard by the treaty of the Pyrenees. They took it a third time in the year 1678, and it was yielded to them by the Spaniards in the

(b) *Ipra colorandis gens prudentissima lanis*. i. e. "The people of Ipres are very skilful in dying of wool." Wil. Brito, *Pbilippid.* lib. 2.

the treaty of peace, concluded at Nimeguen that same year. The Controversies about Janfenism have made the name of the City of Ipres very famous; for Janfenius is seldom mentioned, but it is observed at the same time that he was Bishop of that City. Thus the connection there is between that City and the Controversies of the Janfenists has been known to all the world; and to this is owing, undoubtedly, the jest of a pretended letter which was handed about as though it had been written by the King of France to Monsieur Arnauld [A], dated from the camp before Ipres in the year 1679. There were a great many transcripts taken from this letter, and I remember, that several persons, who were reckoned to have a very good taste, found it ingenious; it is ascribed to Monsieur Roze private Secretary to the King. I do not believe it was ever printed; which determines me to publish it here.

[A] A pretended letter . . . of the King of France to Monsieur Arnauld.] Here it follows according to the copy I took of it, when it was handed about as a piece quite new.

“ Lettre du Roi à Mr. Arnaud sur le Siege d’Ypres.

“ Monsieur Arnaud. Nous allons commencer un siege où vous pourriez nous servir beaucoup de votre credit. J’ay 5 Propositions à faire à Messieurs d’Ypre: la 1, que je suis venu en Flandre pour faire du bien à tout le monde. La 2, que le commandement que je leur fais de rendre la ville n’est pas impossible. La 3, qu’il est en leur pouvoir de meriter ou de demeriter mes bonnes graces. La 4, que j’ay des leçons avec moi plus que suffisans pour les faire obéir à mes ordres: & la 5, que quelque nécessité qu’ils soient de se rendre, ils ne le feront qu’avec une entière liberté. Il s’agit donc, Monsieur, de leur faire signer ces 5 Propositions, qui renferment tout le Traité de la Grace que j’ay à leur faire. Je ne crois pas qu’ils puissent éluder mes ordres par la distinction du Droit & du Fait; car pour le Droit, il y a si long-tems que je suis en possession de prendre des villes, que le tems seul pourroit me servir de prescription dans le Pays-Bas, quand je n’aurois pas d’aillieurs tant de droits incontestables. Ils ne peuvent donc se retrancher que sur le Fait, & c’est dequoy je les veux convaincre par une trentaine de canons auxquels de les desie de répondre efficacement, car ils percent toutes les difficultez à jour. Par là vous jugerez bien que je ne serai pas si long-tems à leur faire signer mes 5 Propositions, que vous avez été à signer celles du Rape. C’est pour-quooy je vous donne ordre de convoquer le ban & l’arriereban des Janfenistes, & de partir incessamment de Paris pour venir à leur tête chanter le *Te Deum*, sur le tombeau de Janfenius, pour rendre graces à Dieu de l’heureux succès de mes 5 Propositions. Vous pourrez apporter pour le feu de joye une centaine d’exemplaires du Miroir de la Piété Chrétienne, pour jeter ces bons Flamans dans un saint desespoir d’être à jamais à l’Espagne. Ensuite vous passerez en Angleterre pour y diriger la Chambre basse qui a de grandes indispositions d’esprit & de cœur à la paix. Au reste, je goûte fort votre politique & plus encore votre argent, dont vous vous servez si avantageusement pour persuader aux gens tout ce que vous voulez. Avec cela je suis seur que nous aurons la paix avec l’Angleterre & l’Espagne, avant que vous l’ayez avec les Peres Jesuites. Au Camp devant Ypre le 17 Mars 1678.”

The King of France’s Letter to Monsieur Arnaud upon the Siege of Ipres.

“ Monf. Arnaud. We are going to begin a siege in which you can be very serviceable to us by your

(a) He is also called *Wernerus*, or *Guarnerius*.

IRNERIUS (a), a German Civilian, lived in the twelfth Century. He is reckoned to be the first that revived the study of the Roman Law, which had been interrupted since the invasion of the Barbarians. He had great credit in Italy with Princess Mathildis, and having persuaded the Emperor to order that the Code and the Digests should be read in the schools, he was the first Professor that explained them in Italy. His method was to reconcile the determinations of the Civilians, and those Laws, which seemed to be contrary to each other. He died about the year 1190 [A], and was buried

[A] He died about the year 1190.] I can hardly believe that he lived till that time; for in the first place

“ credit. I have five propositions to offer to the Gentlemen at Ipres. The first, that I came into Flanders with a design to do good to all the world. The second, that the command I give them to surrender their city to me is not impossible. The third, that it is in their power to deserve or not deserve my favour. The fourth, that I have brought such assistance with me, as is more than sufficient to make them obey my orders. The fifth, that though they be never so much necessitated to surrender, yet they will not do it but with a perfect liberty. Now, Sir, the question is, to make them subscribe to these five propositions, which contain the whole treatise of the Grace (a) which they have to expect from me. I do not think that they can evade my commands by a distinction *de jure* and *de facto*: of what is *right*, and of what is *fact*. For as to right, it is so long since I have assumed to me a power of taking cities, that time alone might be to me a title by prescription in the Low-Countries, if I had not so many indisputable claims besides. They can therefore confine themselves only to the matter of fact; but here I will convince them by about thirty Guns, to which I defy them to make an effectual answer, for they pierce all oppositions through and through. You may easily judge by this, that I shall not spend so much time to make them sign my five propositions, as you have spent, before you would sign those of the Pope. I command you therefore to summon together the *Ban* and *Arriereban* of the Janfenists, and to set out immediately from Paris, to come and sing *Te Deum* at their head on Janfenius’s tomb, to give thanks to God for the good success of my five propositions. You may take with you an hundred copies of the *Mirror of the Christian Piety*, to make a bonfire in order to strike these honest Flemings with a sacred despair ever to be again under the government of the Spaniards. Hence you may go into England to direct the Members of the House of Commons, who both in their minds and in their hearts are very ill-disposed towards a peace. To conclude, I must tell you that I like your policy very well, and more still your money, of which you know so well how to make a good use, to persuade people whatever you please. By this means I am certain that we shall have peace with England and Spain, before you have it with the Jesuits. From our camp before Ypres, March the 17th, 1678.”

§ (a) The whole Treatise of the Grace.] The French words are *Tout le Traité de la Grace*, in which words there is a double allusion, which it is impossible to preserve in the translation; it is grounded on the double sense of the word *Traité*, which signifies both a *Treatise* and a *Treaty*; and of the word *Grace*, which signifies both the *Grace of God*, which assists us in the work of our salvation, and *Favour or Mercy*. ADD. REM.]

Lotharius II lived at most only till the year 1138; which is an evident proof that Forsterus was not very accurate;

(b) *Ex Forstero*, at Bologna, where he had been Professor (b). Some authors go farther still; for they say, that Lotharius, repealing all other Laws, ordered that the Laws of Justinian should have again their ancient authority at the bar [B]. The famous Calixtus, Divinity Professor at Helmstad, has maintained (c) that this is false, and has been followed herein by the learned Conringius, his colleague (d). But Bertold Nihufius wrote in favour of the contrary opinion (e), and silenced Doctor Calixtus. It is certain that tradition is not for the latter, and that it gives Irnerius the title of first restorer of the Roman Law [C]. It is he also, say they, who persuaded the Emperor Lotharius, whose Chancellor he was, to bring into the University the custom of making Doctors, and who drew up the form of it; whence it came that even at that time Bulgarus, Hugolinus, Martinus, Pileus, and some others, who began to explain the Roman Laws, were promoted to the Doctor's degree in a solemn manner. These noble ceremonies had their first beginning at Bologna; whence they spread into the other Universities, and passed from the Faculty of the Law to that of Divinity. It is pretended that the University of Paris having admitted these ceremonies, used them for the first time with regard to Peter Lombard, whom that University promoted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity (f).

(1) *Incidit hoc revocatio & restitutio Juris Civilis in annum Christi 1150.* Forsterus, *Hist. Juris Civil.* lib. 3. cap. 6.

(2) See the following remark.

(3) Mathias, *Theatr. Hist.* pag. m. 902.

(e) See the work which he intitled *Irnerius*, and published in the year 1642.

(f) Mathias, *Theatr. Hist.* in *Vita Lotbarii II.*

accurate; for he has asserted that this restoration of the Roman laws happened about the year 1150 (1). Why should we think that he was more accurate in his calculation with regard to the death of Irnerius? Secondly, these transactions are placed under the year 1133 (2). Now who could believe that an affair so important as that was, had been resolved upon, and put in execution by the advice of a young man. It is an hundred times more probable, that Irnerius's advice was followed, only because he had already gained great credit by his learning and prudence; so that we cannot suppose him much less than forty years old at least. If then he had lived till the year 1190, he would have been near an hundred years old, in which case Forsterus had been inexcusable for taking no notice of such an unusual old age. Add to this that generally speaking a Chancellor to an Emperor must be pretty old. But we should make an unanswerable objection against Forsterus, if we should assert that the Princess Mathildis, with whom he supposes that Irnerius had so great credit, was that Countess, who was so liberal towards the Popes, and who died in the year 1115, or that Queen of Italy, who died in the year 1101 (3) and who was married with Conrad, the son of the Emperor Henry IV. She was Roger King of Sicily's daughter.

During the controversy, which arose between Doctor Calixtus, and Bertoldus Nihufius, upon this question, whether our Irnerius revived the study of the Law by the Countess Mathildis's authority, or by that of the Emperor Lotharius II, the University of Bologna being consulted, made such an answer as agreed with Nihufius's assertion. We find in that answer, that it is a constant tradition that Irnerius began to teach the Law at Bologna in the year 1128. This tradition is supported by an inscription on Irnerius's picture, which is to be seen amongst several others in the college of Bologna. *Irnerius omnium primus leges commentatus est MCXXVIII.* i. e. "Irnerius is the first that began to explain the Law in the year 1128." Such is the inscription. Nicholas Alidofio, in the preface to his book intitled *Li Dottori Bolognesi di legge Canonica e Civile*, i. e. "The Doctors of the Civil and Canon Law at Bologna," asserts, that whilst this Doctor was teaching Philosophy at Bologna, the Emperor Lotharius commanded him to teach the Law, and that he began to read lectures upon it about the year 1128. However there are reasons to think that he did it of his own accord for some years, and that he was not impowered to it by the Emperor's command till

the year 1137 (4). It is certain that he died before the year 1150, and not in the year 1190: for it is well known (5) that James de Porta Ravegnana was Irnerius's successor in the chair of Professor of Law, and that he taught the Law publicly at Bologna as soon as the year 1150. See the author I quote (6).

[B] *It is said that Lotharius... ordered that the laws of Justinian should have again their ancient authority at the bar.* Here follows what Monsieur Heifs observes in his History of the Empire, under the year 1133. *This solemnity being ended the Emperor returned into Germany, where by the advice of a certain man named Werner Ursperg, otherwise Irnerius (7), who was very learned in the ancient laws of Justinian, he ordered that justice should be administered for the future in the empire according to the Digests and the Code, which had been five or six years out of use. So that these laws were introduced into Italy, and Germany, and afterwards into France and Spain, which nations were governed before by such laws as were peculiar to them, and by their own particular custom. Antea homines Jure incerto utebantur, Jure nempe Romanorum corrupto, Jure item Longobardico & Lege Salica (8).* i. e. "Men had but uncertain laws before, namely those of the Romans, but corrupted those of the Lombards, and the Salic Law." Calvisius, without mentioning our Werner, observes under the year 1137, that Lotharius found the Roman Laws in Apulia, that he gave them to the people of Pisa, and ordered that they should be explained; and that all the Courts of Judicature in the empire should judge according to those laws. He adds that this book was afterwards lodged in the library of Florence. Another Historian (9) applies this to the time when that Emperor marched against Roger King of Sicily, about the year 1135, and observes that the manuscript of the Roman laws wanting an interpreter, Irnerius was ordered to explain them.

[C] *Tradition... gives Irnerius the title of the First Restorer of the Roman Law.* An author whom I have already quoted, speaks thus (10). *Irnerius primus legibus glossas apposuit; & suo exemplo ceteris illuminandi juris exemplum dedit; unde LUCERNA JURIS dictus fuit: & instaurator legum Romanorum cognominatus.* i. e. "Irnerius is the first that wrote explanatory notes on the Laws, and by his example encouraged others to clear up the Laws; whence he was called, the LIGHT OF THE LAW, and surnamed the Restorer of the Roman Laws." An infinite number of writers make the same observation.

(4) See Nihufius, in *Irnerio*, pag. 13.

(5) Otto Murena in *Chronologia Laudensi*, apud Baronium, ad ann. 1158.

(6) Nihufius in *Irnerio*, where he has inserted the whole answer of the University of Bologna.

(7) In the edition printed in Holland they have put *Irnerius*.

(8) Christ. Mathias, *Theatr. Hist.* pag. 921.

(9) Christ. Mathias, *ibid.* pag. 920. He quotes Chytræus in *Chronol.* pag. 309.

(10) Mathias, in *Theatr. Hist.* pag. 920.

ISAACITES (a). Rabbi Solomon Jarchi is mentioned under that name in Bartolucci's Rabbinical Library. I may therefore place under this name what is wanting in the article JARCHI. Let us then observe here, that the surname of *Raschi*, which was given to this Rabbi is composed of the initial letters of his names (b). Father Bartolucci acquaints me with this (c). He adds that this Rabbi was born at Lunir, a City in the province of Aquitain [A], but that some persons make him a native of Troies in France, and

(a) Constantin. L'Empereur, *Not. in Itinerar. Beniam. Tatal.* pag. 149. says, that Solomon Jarchi was called *Isacides*, because he was the son of Rabbi Isaac.

(b) R. Salomon Isaacites.

(c) Bartol. *Biblioth. Rabbinica*, Part 4. pag. 378.

(1) Bartol. *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378.

[A] *Bartolucci says that he was born at Lunir, a city in the province of Aquitain.* Bartolucci adds that it is a city where several Jews lived, as St. Gregory witnesses it in the twenty first Letter of the third book (1).

All this abounds with errors: for in the 1st place, he should have said *Lunel*, and not *Lunir*. 2. *Lunel* is not situated in the province of Aquitain. 3. Pope Gregory speaks neither of *Lunel* nor of *Lunir*, but

and place his birth under the year 1105. Isaacites began to travel when he was thirty years of age. He visited Italy, and afterwards Greece, Jerusalem, and all Palestine; he went afterwards into Egypt where he saw Rabbi Maimonides. He travelled into Persia, Tartary, Muscovy, and into other northern countries, and afterwards into Germany, whence he returned into his own country. He took a wife and had three daughters by her, who were married to very learned Rabbies, authors of a great many books. Some of his Commentaries on the holy Scriptures have been translated into Latin, by Christians [B]. It is said that he understood Physic, Astrology, and several other Languages very well, and that he died at Troies at the age of threescore and fifteen years. His corps were carried into Bohemia, and buried at Prague in the year 1180 (d).

(d) Taken from Bartolucci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378, & seq.

(2) In the remark [A] of the article JARCHI.

(3) Bartolucci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378.

(4) See above, quotation (1) of the article JARCHI.

(5) Benjamin. *Tutel. Itiner.* pag. m. 6.

(6) *Const. L'Empereur, Notis in Itinerar. Benjam. Tutel.* pag. 149.

of Luna, an episcopal city in Italy: see a blunder of Hornbeek criticized upon above (2). Here follows another mistake. *Ibidem* (that is to say in the *Catena Cabala*) Rabbi Joseph Jachija *Autor dicit quod natus fit anno ab Orbe condito . . . 4865. Cbr. 1105. in Urbe Trevis, seu Trevis (2) in Gallia in provincia Narbonensi, vel in Linguadoca* (3). i. e. "Rabbi Jachija asserts, that he (Isaacites) was born A. M. 4865, and 1105 of Christ, in the city of Trevis, or Trevis (Troies) in France, in the province called Narbonensis (an- tiently) otherwise Languedoc." This is pretending that Troies is in Languedoc, than which nothing is more ridiculous. Observe that according to some Rabbies the death of our Isaacites happened in the year 1105 (4); but we have seen just now, that according to other authors this was the year of his birth. The Jewish writers never distinguished themselves by any accuracy in Chronology; and it is a strange thing that they should have been so careless in observing the time when their most famous Doctors lived. Benjamin of Tudelle (5), who died in the year 1173, commends very much the Jews of Lunel, and names some of their learned men, and amongst others Rabbi Solomon. Some persons pretend (6) that he means our Solomon Jarchi. And if you object to them, that this Solomon died in the year 1105, they answer, that Benjamin of Tudelle does not assert, that all the Doctors he mentions in the account he gives us of what he did at Lunel, were living then. I do not like this answer. It seems to me, that Benjamin of Tudelle speaks of a Solomon, who was still living: it must therefore be supposed, either that we are mistaken, when we place Solomon Jarchi's death under the year 1105, or that the Solomon mentioned by Benjamin of Tudelle is not our Isaacites. I am apt to believe, that Constant L'Empereur was in the wrong to imagine, that this Benjamin mentioned Solomon Jarchi. If he had mentioned so famous a Doctor as this was, he would have commended him very much, whereas

he does not at all commend the Solomon he speaks of. If you have a mind to see an instance of the bad Chronology of the Jewish writers, do but consider, that in the same book (7), in which it is asserted that Rabbi Solomon Isaacites was born in the year 1105, it is also asserted, that Maimonides was born in Spain in the year 1135, and that these two Rabbies met in Egypt, whither Solomon went when he was about thirty two years old (8). Observe that some persons (9) maintain that Rabbi Solomon Isaacites is not surnamed Jarchi in the books of the Jews, and that it would be a difficult matter to find out the time when this false name was given him, for what reason, and on what occasion, and that the Jews ridicule the Christian authors, who call him by that name.

§ (2) *Treca*, in Bartolucci's Latin words, do not signify Troies in Champagne, but Treys in Provence (2). It is true that the former is named *Treca* in Gregorius Turonensis; but Thuanus, who calls the latter *Treca*, always calls the inhabitants of Troies in Champagne *Tricoffes*. REM. CRIT.]

§ (3) But this would still be a mistake, since Isaacites was born at Troies in Champagne, and not at Treis in Provence. However I am apt to think, that Bartolucci imagined Troies was in Languedoc: he does not mention Provence; for the general expression of *Provincia Narbonense*, which contained *Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc*, is by him explained of *Languedoc* only. ADD. REM.]

[B] Some of his Commentaries have been translated into Latin by Christians.] His Commentaries on Joel, and Solomon's Song, have been translated into Latin by Genebrard. He published his translation of the Commentary on Joel at Paris in the year 1563, and that of the Commentary on Solomon's Song in the year 1570. Arnaud de Pontac has translated the Commentaries on Obediah, Jonah and Zephaniah into Latin (10). Henry Aquinus published the Commentary on Esther with Notes at Paris in the year 1522 (11).

(7) *Catena Cabala*. See Bartolucci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 378.

(8) See Bartolucci, *ibid.*

(9) Andreas Acoluthus, in *Tractatu de Aquis amarum maledictionem inferentibus*, pag. 3.

(10) Printed at Paris in the year 1566, in 4to.

(11) Taken from Bartolucci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* Part 4. pag. 380, 381.

ISLEBIANS. This is the name that is given to those who followed the opinions of a Saxon Divine named John Agricola, a native of Islebe, and a disciple and countryman of Martin Luther. I have given a large account of this JOHN AGRICOLA (a). He taught for some time a very false doctrine concerning the use of the ancient Law. He had misunderstood St. Paul's controversies with the Jews, and the opposition which this great Apostle and Preacher of Grace makes so often between the Law of Works, and the Law of Faith. Luther opposed Agricola's errors so vigorously, that he obliged him to retract them. It is an easy matter to understand why this man's followers were called *Antinomians*. Their opinions have not been fairly represented by their adversaries, nor ought we to question but there are a great many exaggerations in what Prateolus has said of them [A]. But that is nothing if compared with Father Garasse's silly

(a) See his article under the letter A.

[A] There are a great many exaggerations in what Prateolus has said of them.] He has not consulted the original, he has only transcribed Staphylus, Hofius, and Lindanus. Here follows the substance of what he borrowed from Staphylus (1): according to John Agricola the law of God is absolutely useless, it is not necessary neither before nor after our justification; under the gospel men are not obliged to do good works. What he took from Lindanus is much more harsh still; namely, that according to Agricola men may be righteous even against their own conscience; that an adulterer, a usurer, a fornicator, or any other great sinner shall be saved, if he does but believe. *Antinomi à Joanne Islebio Lutheri civis ac discipuli exorti. Hi dogma sequuntur legibus divinis contrarium, (ait Querela Lutheri) legem operum rejicientes, finguntque homines, contra*

conscientiam justos esse. Ajunt enim, teste Lutero lib. de Conciliis; Si es adulter, scortator, usurarius, avarus, aut aliis pollutus peccatis, si tantum credis, salvus es. Haec tenet Lindanus (2). i. e. "The Antinomians sprung up from Islebius, a fellow-citizen and disciple of Luther. They maintain a doctrine contrary to the laws of God (says Luther in his complaint) for they reject the law of works, and imagine that men may be righteous against their own conscience: for they say, according to Luther in his book about Councils, be you an adulterer, a fornicator, an usurer, a covetous man, or given to any other wicked habit, if you have but faith, you are safe." I cannot imagine that this is giving a faithful account of Agricola's opinions.

(2) Prateolus, *ibid.*

(1) Prateolus, in *Elenco Hereticorum*, under the word *Antinomi*, pag. m. 41. He observes that Staphylus extracts this from Agricola's Notes on St. John's Gospel, and from Luther's *Antinomian Disputations*.

filly jests in his account of the pretended heresies of the Isebians [B].

[B] *Father Garaffe's filly jests in his account of the pretended Heresies of the Isebians.* It is an advantage for the readers that we should lay before them notorious instances of the impudence with which some persons dare to asperse their neighbours; and therefore the length of the following passage will not prevent me from transcribing it at large. "The Isebians or Antimonians, who are otherwise called *Nomomachi*, because they oppose the law of Moses, saying in their articles of belief, that it is a constraint upon our souls, are the followers of a certain ploughman, named John Isebius, who coming from behind his plough, *Triduo se Theologum professus est*, set up for a Divine in three days time, as Melancthon speaks, writing against him. The chief fancies of these upstarts are accurately set down in the book intitled *De Libertate Christiana*, (Of Christian Liberty) written by Dr. Paul Crellius, one of the most considerable assertors of that cursed sect. I shall mention but three of their tenets, but these the most notorious, which I shall transcribe word for word from their articles of belief. The first is, that the whole Gospel, and all the Old Testament, if they be not preached by word of mouth, *sunt veteres calcei in angulo derelicti*, are like an old pair of shoes, which are left in a corner, when they are worn out: but when the Gospel is preached, then there is, as it were, a new pair of shoes made, of which it is said in Solomon's Song; *Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui in calceamentis tuis, filia principis*. i. e. "How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O Princes daughter (*)!" and in the CVIth (+) Psalm, *In Idumeam extendam calceamentum meum*: that is to say, according to Beza's translation:

"*Contre Edom peuple glorieux
Je jetteray mes souliers vieux,*

i. e. [according to Sternhold's translation,]

"*My shoe on Edom will I throw.*

"So that according to their saying, the Preachers are Coblers, the Holy Scriptures are old Shoes, the Pulpit is a Cobler's Stall, the time of Lent and Advent is the fair for old Shoes. "The second proposition of the Antimonians is more horrid still, and I am very sorry that I cannot find words proper to express the whole indignation of my heart. That proposition is thus laid down by Dr.

Crellius. *Qui querit salutem in veteri lege, querit PEDICULUM IN SCABIE*, whoever looks for salvation in the law of Moses, looks for a LOUSE in a scab. That is to say, that the salvation of our souls is like lice, and that God is like a scab. "There are no words that can express my astonishment . . . (3). "The third maxim of the *Nomomachi* (or fighters against the law) is quoted by Dr. Crellius in these words. *Moses ad corvos abeat cum lege sua, nam si non respicit, est damnatus ad omnes Diabolos*. i. e. *Let Moses go to the gallows with his Law, for if he did not repent, he is damned with all the Devils in hell*. For my part I lodge an appeal against this sentence of the Antinomians, as having Moses's Letter of Attorney for it; and I find that the blindness of these *Nomomachi* is much greater than that of the Manichees was: for when they sent Moses a packing, they pretended to have some honourable reasons for it, as St. Augustin tells us in his XVth book against Faustus: and being asked, why they rejected the Old Testament, and the whole Law of Moses, they answered in plausible words, and in an elaborate stile, that for their part, they obeyed Jesus Christ's command, who forbade his Apostles to put new wine into old casks, and that their church was like a young Lady, who would not receive any love-letters from her old lovers, who endeavoured to debauch her by fair promises: that is to say, that their church does not receive nor acknowledge the Old Testament, which is an old wine that is turned, an old piece of parchment all torn and useles; an old discarded lover; and then they add, boasting and insulting our church, *Vos quidem pergitte agere ut carpsistis, rudem pannum veteri vestimento committite, novum vinum veteribus utribus creditis, duobus maritis nulli placituri servite, Christianam fidem Hippocentaurum facite, nec equum perfectum nec hominem: nobis soli Christo servire permittite*. i. e. *As for you, go on as you have begun; put a piece of new cloth to an old garment, put new wine into old casks, serve two husbands to please neither; make a centaur of the Christian religion, neither a perfect horse nor a perfect man; but suffer us to obey Christ alone*. Would not such a cunning boldness, such enchanting words make us believe, that these people are perfect saints? But after all it appears that the Manichees are but poor beggars; but how ragged soever they may have been, they had not so many lice as the Antinomians (4)."

(3) Garaffe, *Doctrina Curieuse*, lib. 5. Sect. 16. pag. 557.

(4) *Ibid.* pag. 559.

(*) *Solomon's Song*, chap. vii. ver. 1.

(+) Or 108 according to the Hebrew.

ITALICA, a city of Spain, was thus called after Scipio Africanus had given it the form of a City (a). It became very considerable; Trajan and Hadrian were born there (b). It continued a pretty while (c) in the condition of those cities, which were called *Municipia*; the inhabitants desired afterwards to pass to the condition of those cities that were stiled *Colonies*. Hadrian wondered that they should desire such an alteration (d); for in his opinion the privileges of a *municipium* were more valuable than those of a Colony. There is nothing to be seen at present of Italica but its ruins (e). Some authors pretend that it was situated near Seville, in a place which is now called *Sevilla la Veja* (f). I have observed above (g), that I do not think it possible to prove, that there ever was in Italy a city called Italica; I have not altered my opinion, though I know one may make a plausible objection against it [A].

JUBA.

[A] *I know one may make a plausible objection against my opinion.* It is grounded on a passage in Strabo, who tells us, that certain nations in Italy having revolted against the Romans and entered into a conspiracy against them, chose Corfinium to assemble their army there, and called it Italica. *Μετ' ὀνομασθησάν Ἰταλικήν, Italicae nomen indiderunt* (1). Observe that Corfinium was the capital city of the Peligni, and that the war we mention was called *Sociale*, or *Marsicum*, or *Italicum*, and began in the year 662 since the building of Rome (2). It is very probable that in the following words of Diodorus Siculus, *τῆν κοινὴν πόλιν Ἰταλίας ὀνομάσαντες*; i. e. "They called their common city Italica (3)," we must read *Ἰταλικήν* (Italica) (4) instead of *Ἰταλίαν*; so that we have here two authors, who assert that the city of Corfinium was called Italica,

when those nations confederated against the Romans. Velleius Paterculus may be considered as a third witness, *caput imperii sui Corfinium legerant*, says he (5), "They chose Corfinium for the capital city of their Empire which they called Italica." Some Critics (6) correct the words thus, *quod appellarunt Italicam*, which they called Italica. Others (7) keep the word *Italicum*. It signifies very little to me, the answer I have to make does not require that I should choose the reading, which is the most favourable to my opinion; for here follows what I have to offer. The name of Italica, which the confederated nations give the city of Corfinium, continued no longer than the war. They had given it this new name when they chose it for their common metropolis, and had established there a civil government exactly

(e) See Ludovicus Nonnius, in *Hisp. panis*, cap. 17. pag. m. 64.

(f) *Ibid.* pag. 65.

(g) See the remark [A] of the article HADRIAN (Publius Aelius).

(a) Appian, in *Ibericis*, pag. m. 464.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Aulus Gellius, lib. 16. cap. 23.

(d) *Ibid.*

(1) Strabo, lib. 5. pag. m. 167.

(2) See Sigonius, in *Faustis*, ad ann. 662.

(3) In *Excerptis*, lib. 37. apud Photium.

(4) See Casaubon, in *Strab.* lib. 5. pag. m. 94.

(5) Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 16.

(6) Gerardus Vossius, *Not. in Patercul.* *ibid.*

(7) Sigonius, *de Ant. Jure Italicae*, lib. 3. cap. 1. folio m. 100. Boecler, in *Patercul.* *ibid.*

JUBA. Two Princes of that name are mentioned in history, one of which was the father of the other. Moreri has given an account of them, but he has committed some errors [A], which it will be proper to observe. We shall take notice of but very few blunders of other authors [B].

(8) See Sigonius, ubi supra.

exactly like that of Rome (8). They had shewed by this not only their emulation for the capital city of the Romans, but also the resolution they had taken to make themselves independent. Since therefore the new name of *Italica* was a consequence and a memorial of their conspiracy, we ought not to think that the Romans suffered it to remain. Corfinium took its old name again as soon as the war was finished, which was in the year 664 since the building of Rome, nor do we find that since that time it was ever called otherwise than Corfinium. Whence it appears how much they are mistaken, who pretend that the Post Silius Italicus was born at Corfinium, and was for that reason surnamed *Italicus*.

(1) See the proofs of all this in Father Noris, *Cenotaph. Pisana*, pag. 235.

(2) Lib. 53. ad ann. 729.

(3) Lib. 17. pag. 570.

(4) See Father Noris, *Cenotaph. Pisana*, pag. 235.

(5) Plin. lib. 25. cap. 7. pag. m. 400.

[A] Moreri . . . has committed some errors.] I. He asserts that Juba the father was King of Mauritania, which is false. In Juba's time the *Mauritania Casariensis* belonged to Bocchus, and the *Tingritana* to Bogud. Some time after, that is to say in the year of Rome 716, Bocchus made himself master of the *Mauritania Tingritana*. After his death his Kingdom was made a province of the Empire in the year 721, as Numidia had been under Julius Cæsar (1). II. Moreri says, that Juba the son was restored to his father's Kingdom, that is to say, to that of Numidia by Augustus. He should have said, with Dion Cassius (2), that Augustus gave him some parts of Getulia, and the two Mauritania's, and the greatest part of Numidia was left in the condition of a Roman province. Strabo indeed asserts (3), that Augustus restored Juba to his father's Kingdom, and granted him Mauritania besides. But if we consider how this Geographer places the limits of the Roman province, and of this Juba's Kingdom, we shall find that Numidia belonged to the Romans (4). III. He charges Pliny with saying, that Juba the son found a plant, which his Physician *Euphorbus* called *Euphorbia* after his own name. This is not what Pliny says. Let us transcribe his words (5). *Juvenit & patrum nostrorum ætate Rex Juba, quam appellavit Euphorbiam Medici sui nomine* (a). That is to say, that Juba found a plant which he called *Euphorbia* after his Physician's name. It would be somewhat strange that a Prince's Physician should be so bad a Courtier as to give his own name to a plant, which his master had found: and yet this is what Pliny asserted, if we believe Moreri. It would be much less strange that a King having found out a plant, should choose to give it his Physician's name rather than his own. This is what Juba did, if we must rest satisfied with Pliny's authority in the words which I have quoted. But we have reason to think that Pliny was not on this occasion so accurate as he should have been. What he observes in another place is more probable: namely that the *Euphorbia* was thus called from the name of the person who found it first, and who was King Juba's Physician. He adds a particular, which was well worthy to be transcribed by Moreri; namely, that Juba wrote a particular treatise on this plant, in which he commended very much the remarkable qualities with which it is endowed. *Juba Ptolemæi pater, qui prius utrique Mauritanie imperavit, studiorum claritate memorabilior etiam, quam regno, similia prodidit de Atlante:*

præterque gigni ibi herbam Euphorbiam nomine ab inventore medico suo appellatam. Cujus laetum succum miris laudibus celebrat in claritate visus, contraque serpentes, & venena omnia, privatim dicato volumine (6). i. e. "Juba, Ptolemy's father, who reigned over both the "Mauritania's, a Prince more eminent still for his "learning than by his Kingdom, wrote something "like it of mount Atlas; and adds that the plant *Euphorbia* grows there, which was so called from the "name of *Euphorbus* the King's Physician, who "found it. Juba composed a particular treatise on "this plant, which he greatly extols on account of "its milky juice, which is good for the eyes, and "against serpents, and all sorts of poisons." IV. I might place amongst Moreri's blunders his wrong way of quoting (7).

§ (a) Rabelais, l. iii. ch. 48, admits this last opinion of Pliny. CRIT. REM.]

[B] We shall take notice of but very few blunders of other authors.] Josephus seems to have asserted, that Juba the son married *Glaphyra*, the widow of one of Herod's sons. See the article of that woman (8), in which I refute that assertion. Father Sallian imagined that Juba died in the year 759 since the building of Rome. Father Noris (9) has refuted this unanswerably by the following observation. Strabo wrote his fourteenth book soon after the year 771; now in his seventeenth book he mentions Juba as a Prince who was but lately dead. Whence it follows that Juba did not die before the year 772 or thereabout. The same Strabo observes in another place (10) that Juba lived under the Emperor *Tiberius*; now *Tiberius* did not begin his reign before the year 767. It seems one might infer from a passage in *Tacitus* that Juba was still living in the year 776 (11). *Noldius* is mistaken, who supposes that *Dion Cassius* asserts, that Augustus gave Egypt to Juba besides his father's Kingdom (12). There is nothing in *Dion's* words, that obliges us to refer τῶν τῶν to Egypt, and it is certain that it must be referred to *Cleopatra*. The translator has blundered here wretchedly. Ἡ τῆ ΚΑΙΣΟ-ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ Ἰουβᾶ τῆ τῆ Ἰουβᾶ πατρὸς συνώκιστος τῆ τῆ γυναικὸς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουβᾶ τῆ τῆ Ἰουβᾶ, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν Ἰουβᾶ τῆ τῆ Ἰουβᾶ, ἡ συνωκιστικὴ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουβᾶ τῆ τῆ Ἰουβᾶ, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν Ἰουβᾶ τῆ τῆ Ἰουβᾶ. *Cleopatra autem Juba, Juba filio, in matrimonium tradita est.* (12) *Noldius, de Hunc Jubam Casar in Italia educatum, ac suam militiam secutum, hoc regno* (read ea, *Cleopatra scilicet*) *& Herodum, pag. 176.* i. e. "*Cleopatra* was married to Juba, Juba's son. The Emperor, who had him educated in Italy, and had taken him with him in the armies, gave him that Princess, and his father's Kingdom." *Noldius* having quoted the passage in which *Dion Cassius* asserts (14) that Juba, instead of his father's Kingdom, received from Augustus some parts of *Getulia*, and the dominions of *Bocchus*, with those of *Bogud*, observes that Pliny is in the right to mention the two Mauritania's instead of those dominions. *Pro quibus videt Plinius, hist. nat. V. c. I. utramque Mauritaniam substituit, hoc est Casariensem & Tingitanam.* This is plainly insinuating this falsity, namely that the two Mauritania's and the dominions mentioned by *Dion Cassius* were not the same thing.

(6) Plin. lib. 5. cap. 1. sub fin. pag. m. 527.

(7) He quotes *Dion* lib. 41, & seq. he should have quoted particularly lib. 43. He quotes *Plin.* cap. 1. lib. 25. must be cap. 7. He quotes the 8th book of *Athenæus*, where there is only a Greek Epigram of Juba mentioned. He should have quoted lib. 3 and 4. He should also have quoted *Strabo*, lib. 17. and *Vossius*, lib. 2.

(8) In the remark [B].

(9) *Noris, Cenotaph. Pisana*, pag. 238.

(10) Lib. 6. circa finem.

(11) See the article *GLAPHYRA*, grand-daughter, &c.

(12) *Noldius, de Vita & Gestis Herodum*, pag. 176.

(13) *Dion*, lib. 51, pag. 520. *Leucoclavius* has taken notice of this blunder of *Xylander*, in his edition of *Dion*.

(14) *Idem*, lib. 54. pag. 589, ad annum 729.

JUDEX (MATTHEW) one of the chief authors of the Centuries of Magdeburg,

(a) That place is two German leagues distant from Dresden.

was born at *Tippolswald* (a) in *Misnia* September the 22d (b) 1528. He shewed great inclination for Literature, wherefore his father gave him leave to go and study at *Dresden*. He did not continue long there, choosing rather to study in the College of *Wittenberg*, and afterwards in that of *Magdeburg*. He was in a sad condition when he arrived in this last city, being all over covered with scabs, and having no money in his pocket. The method he took to get some, was by begging and singing from door to door. But at last it being found that he was a hopeful youth, they procured him a tutor's place at a Lawyer's, who sent him with his son to *Wittenberg* in the year 1546. He took his degree of Master of Arts there in October 1548. After which he returned to *Magdeburg*, and taught the second form there for some years, and was afterwards chosen Minister of *St. Ulric's Church* there, in which post he continued till the year 1559. He left it only to be *Divinity Professor* in the University of *Jena*; but he did not perform the functions of it above eighteen months, for he was deprived by the orders of *John Frederick*

(b) *Andrew Schoppius* below, quotation (c) observes, that it was *St. Matthew's day*; he should then have said the 21st, and not the 22d.

deric Duke of Saxony, in the beginning of October 1561. He continued six months longer at Jena, and having staid about as long at Magdeburg he retired to Wismar. He died May the 15th 1564 [A] at Rostock, whither he had been a few days before, to be present at the promotion of the scholars. He was a man of good morals, laborious, zealous, learned, and wrote a great many books [B]. He had suffered many persecutions

[A] He died May the 15th, 1564.] I would not make any remark upon this, if I had not to observe, that most authors are but too apt to be inaccurate with regard to the dates of men's death, and in their calculations. I find in Paul Freher's Theater (1) that our Judex died June the 11th, 1564. This date is put down on the credit of the *Nomenclator Professorum Jenensium*, i. e. "A List of the Names of the Professors of Jena," written by Hadrian Beyer. Sagittarius (2), quoting the same *Nomenclator*, places Judex's death on the same day as Paul Freherus does: but I find that in Micraelius (3), this death is placed under the year 1587, which was the seventy ninth of the deceased's life. There is this reference in the margin, *Freher. p. 202*. It is a difficult thing to guess, how so false a quotation could creep into that place: and observe, that Judex would not have lived seventy nine years, though he had lived till the year 1587; for he was born in 1528. It is asserted in his life (4), that his death was so much the more lamented, that he was not yet past his thirty seventh year. This account is not exact; for since his birth was fixed on the 22d of Sept. 1528, and his death on March 15, 1564, it should have been said, that he was not yet thirty six years old.

[B] He was a man of good morals... and wrote a great many books.] He was so sober, that he did not eat so much in a whole week, as other people, who have but a moderate stomach, eat in two days, and his best friends could never prevail upon him to be so complaisant as to drink more than to satisfy his thirst (5). He abhorred all pomp and luxury so much, that even on his wedding-day he would not suffer his bride to dress fine, and obliged her to be satisfied with a very indifferent gown (6). His chastity was so great, that before he was married, some persons imagined, that there was a kind of frigidity or insensibility in the constitution of his body; and he confessed as a secret to his intimate friends, that he imagined, his staying too long to take a wife was the cause of the ill state of his health, or had at least greatly added to his infirmities. *Ante legitimum conjugium adeo pudice vixit, ut à nonnullis frigidus sit judicatus, ac ipse intimis sit confessus, se judicare originem aut certe non leve suae adversae valetudinis incrementum inde existere, quod non prius duxisset uxorem* (7). And yet he married at the age of twenty six (8), when he was chosen Minister of St. Ulric's Church at Magdeburg. He married a maiden of fifteen or sixteen, who had no fortune. Some of his friends were sorry, that he should take a wife, who was neither old enough nor rich enough: but he answered them, that he had always prayed to God, to give him a wife unacquainted with wickedness, who was good-natured, and had no pride, &c. *Agrius tulere amicorum quidam, quod juvenulam & minus dotatam sibi jungeret virginem, sed iis respondit, se ab adolescentia assidue petiisse à Deo, ut puellam bonis prognatam, honestè educatam, virtutibus & pietate ornatam, malarum rerum etate adhuc imperitam, & morigeram potius, quam natalibus elatam, delicatâ & blandâ educatione ac conversatione malâ depravatam, ac dotibus & ornamentis fortunæ proterviam, sibi dare dignaretur, ac se voti sui compotem factum, in Dei providentia acquiescere* (9). i. e. "Some of his friends being sorry that he should take for his wife a virgin who was so young, and had no fortune; he answered them, that from his youth he had always prayed to God, to give him for his wife a young girl, of a good family, honestly educated, adorned with virtue and piety, on account of her tender age, unacquainted with wickedness, and tractable, rather than a woman proud of her family, nicely and delicately educated, and haughty on account of her fortune. And since he had his wish, he submitted and trusted to Providence." He lived a little above ten years with his wife in an agreeable and religious manner, and had six children by her (10). She married to her second husband Andrew Schoppius (11).

translated out of German into Latin Luther's book concerning the literal sense of these words, *This is my Body*. He dedicated this work to the senate of Ratibone, and refuted in his dedication the fifteen most considerable arguments of the Zwinglians. Here follows the title of a book which he published in the year 1559; *Quod arguerit peccata, seu concionari penitentiam sit proprium Legis & non Evangelii proprie dicti, Rationes & Argumenta*. i. e. "Reasons and Arguments to prove; that to reprove men for their sins, or to preach repentance belongs to the Law, and not to the Gospel properly so called." His treatise *De Typographia inventione, & de praeorum legitima inspectione*, i. e. "Of the invention of Printing, and of a lawful Inspection over the Press," was printed in the year 1566. His *Enarrationes Epistolarum Dominicalium*, i. e. "Expositions on the Epistles read every Sunday," were published in the year 1578. The public has seen six works of his in the German tongue. He and Wiganthus published jointly some works. As for instance (12) *Responsio ad Confessionem Majoris de Justificatione & bonis operibus*. i. e. "An Answer to Major's Confession concerning Justification, and good Works." *Responsio ad scurriles & blasphemos versos Rambocchii Rythmos Wittebergæ impressos*. i. e. "An Answer to the scurrilous and blasphemous Verses of the wicked Ramboch, printed at Wittenberg." *De Adiaboricis corruptelis in magno libro Altorum Interimisticorum, sub conficta titulo Professorum Wittebergensium edito, repertis, Admonitiones*. i. e. "Admonitions concerning the indifferent falsifications observed in that great Book of the Acts of the *Interimists*, published under the false name of the Professors of Wittenberg." *Corpus Doctrinae ex Novo Testamento*. i. e. "A Body of Divinity extracted from the New Testament." *De Victorini Strigelii declaratione seu patiens occultatione*. i. e. "Of Victorinus Strigelius's declaration or rather concealment." Andrew Schoppius adds this. *Item cum Illyrico, Musæo, & Wigando misit Epistolam ad quosdam pios fratres de causa Victorini*. i. e. "He together with Illyricus, Musæus, and Wiganthus wrote a Letter to some of the pious brethren, concerning the affair of Victorinus." *Et cum iisdem se purgavit de factis rationibus demissionis Jenensis, quas echarta iniquè reserebat* (13). i. e. "And with the same persons he cleared himself of the false reasons, for which it was asserted in an anonymous piece that he had been deprived at Jena." He gives us afterwards the title of some German books, and those of some Latin pieces which have not been printed. He observes (14) that Judex understood Music very well, and had some knowledge of Mathematics. He was not unacquainted with Astrology, and even drew up some Horoscopes. *Judicia nativitatium sibi, liberis suis & Embdenis* (15) *nonnullis composuit, atque figuras casti, quas vocant, aliis rebus accommodatas erexit*. i. e. "He cast up Horoscopes for himself, for his children, and for some of Embdenus's: and made astrological schemes, as they call them, adapted to some other things." He had studied the Law for some time; at Wittenberg; he could write verses, both in Latin and in Greek; and he designed to write an Ecclesiastical History of his own time (16). All the world knows what share he had in the two first centuries (17) of Magdeburg; and that it was a very heavy task: since therefore it is known that Judex died very young, and that he was for fifteen years in a very ill state of health (18), it cannot be questioned but that he was a very studious and laborious man.

Let us take this opportunity to relate a particular, which will serve as a supplement to what we have observed above (19) concerning the centuries of Magdeburg. The three last have never been published, though the centuriators had forwarded them very much, and the Marquis of Brandenburg Duke of Prussia had commanded Andrew Stangewald to put the finishing hand to them in order to their being published. *Andreas Stangewaldus... sibi ab inclito Marchione Brandenburgensi,*

(1) In page 202.

(2) Sagittar. In-
troduct. in Hist. Ec-
clesi. pag. 247.

(3) Micraelius,
Hist. Ecclesi. pag.
770. edit. 1699.

(4) Andr. Schop-
pius, Orat. de
Vita Matth. Jen-
ensis, apud Cre-
nium, Anim.
Phil. & Hist.
Part 4. pag. 71.

(5) Schopp. Ibid.
pag. 58.

(6) Ibid. pag. 58,
59.

(7) Ibid. pag. 57,
58.

(8) Ibid. pag. 58.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid. pag.
50.

(12) In the year
1558.

(13) Taken from
Andrew Schop-
pius, pag. 63, &c.

(14) Ibid.
pag. 56.

(15) He was tu-
tor to Levin
Embdenus's chil-
dren, a Civilian
at Magdeburg.

(16) Andr. Schop-
pius, pag. 56.

(17) Observe,
that he had a
share in the Ger-
man translation
of the three first
Centuries.

(18) *Annis quin-
decim valetudine
afflictiſſima*. Andr.
Schoppius, pag.
56.

(19) Remark
[H] of the arti-
cle ILLYRI-
CUS.

secutions and vexations during the time he was a Minister (c) [C].

(c) Taken from Andrew Schoppius, in *Oratione de Vita Matthæi Judicis*; it is to be found at the end of the second Part *Enarrationis Epistolæ Dominicæ Matthæi Judicis*, in the edition of *Illele*, 1578, in 8vo. Crenius has inserted this *Oration* in the 4th Part of his *Animadversiones Philol. & Histor.* pag. 49, & seq.

burgensi, Duce Borussia, tum temporis negotium datum esse confirmabat, ut reliquas tres centurias Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Magdeburgens. ab auctoribus affectas jam penitus perfectas, perpoliret, atque ad editionem accuratè præpararet. Crenius (20) transcribes the letter from which I have extracted this passage. He met with it in a posthumous work of Conrad Schluffelburgius printed at Rostock in the year 1624. He wonders that Sagittarius omitted this particular. He acquaints us with another, which he read in a work of Francis Baudouin the Civilian (21): namely, that they printed at Geneva a French translation of the Centuries of Magdeburg, with such falsifications as had been observed in the French translation of Luther's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (22).

(20) Crenius, *Animadv.* Part 4. pag. 72.

(21) His Answer to Beza, under the name of Michael Fabricius.

(22) Crenius, *Animadv.* Part 4. in *Addendis*, pag. penult.

(23) *Ipsi verbera & conculcationem sedissimam minati sunt, quod eos ad Baptismum & usum Cœnæ non admiserat.* Andr. Schoppius, apud Crenium, *Animadv.* Part 4. pag. 62.

(24) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 63.

(25) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 67.

(26) That of the Duke of Weimar.

[C] He had suffered a great many persecutions and vexations during the time he was a Minister.] He was one of those who drew up a form of discipline for the church of Magdeburg, which was printed in the year 1554. He took care to have it observed very punctually, and he refused the Sacraments to some impenitent persons. For which reason they threatened to beat him, and to tread him under foot (23). He was severely abused in the libels which were made at Wittenberg against the Centuriators. *Scurriles Neministæ & Acolasti Wittebergenses in famosa illius laboris reprehensione & acerba invectiva D. Judicem vocabant Judam & pullum filium asinæ subjugalis* (24). i. e. "The anonymous and incorrigible slanderers of Wittenberg, in their abusive censure of that work, and bitter invective against it, called Judex a Judas, and the son of an ass accustomed to the yoke." Whilst he was Professor of Divinity at Jena, he strongly opposed those, who maintain that man co-operates with God's grace. Their party was very numerous, and they dispersed pasquils against him in the most impudent and slanderous manner. They also made use of stones; for there was a parcel of wicked fellows, who committed great disorders about his house, during a whole night, and threw stones at his windows. He was turned out of his post, after he had performed the functions of a Professor during eighteen months amidst great disorders and confusions. The pretext that was used was the publication of a book in the German tongue *de fuga Papatus, Of avoiding Popery* (25): but one of the true reasons of his deprivation was his opposition to that party, which the court (26) favoured. It was the party of Professor Strigelius, one of the heads of the *Synergistæ*, or assertors of man's free-will. They dis-

perfed abroad several reasons or rather pretences for Matthew Judex's deprivation, which were all refuted. He was charged amongst other things, with dispersing several copies of Balthazar Winter's Life; and it was demanded of him to name the author of that satire, and to call in all the copies of it, and to deliver them up to the court. He answered, that this work was no libel, that it was only a true account of the life and death of a faithful servant of God, that it had been necessary to publish it in order to refute the calumnies which the enemies of that pious man had spread abroad, and to communicate it to his widow and some other persons, in order to comfort them. He did not think himself under any obligation to name the author of it: but he offered to give an account of this whole affair before impartial judges, partly laymen, and partly ecclesiastics. His adversaries did not care for such a tribunal (27). When he left Jena he retired to Magdeburg with his friend Wigandus, but he did not enjoy long the liberty which the Senate had granted him to continue there. Some Ministers were arrested; others were turned out of the city in the night time. Judex did not approve this conduct of the Magistrates, and exhorted those Ministers to patience. By this behaviour he exposed himself to all sorts of opprobrious language, and outrages, and there was a citizen who was forbidden to let out his house to him. His father-in-law had his share of this ill treatment, because he had given him a lodging in his house. Lastly, the Senate commanded Judex to leave the city immediately. His wife all in tears went to the first Burgo-master, and begged of him most earnestly, that she might have leave to continue at her father's, with her five children, till the sharpness of the winter should be a little abated. She represented to him, that her eldest son was but eight years old, and the youngest but three months, and very ill. All her prayers and representations proved ineffectual: they were obliged to set out, and retire to Wismar through frost and snow (28). The Roman Catholics have triumphed on account of this treatment which the Centuriators of Magdeburg have met with. I shall only quote the reflection of a Jesuit. "The four first authors of the Centuries, says he (29), met with a fate very different from that of Baronius; for soon after they had published their work they were banished by the Lutherans themselves, who could not suffer such wicked men to live amongst them."

(27) Andr. Schoppius, apud Crenium, *Animadv.* Part 4. pag. 68.

(28) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 69.

(29) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Luth.* tom. 2. pag. 179. of the edition printed in Holland.

JUDITH, a Jewish woman, who delivered her native place which was besieged by Holofernes. You will meet with this History in Moreri, where you will also find some observations on the perplexity into which it throws the Commentators. Of all the books which the Protestants have exploded as apocryphal, there is none that deserves this disgrace more than the book of Judith; for all that can be said of it at best is, that it is a religious romance [A]. A few years ago a learned Benedictine wrote a book to solve the objections that are made against this story [B]. If he has not removed the difficulties,

[A] *It is a religious romance.*] Don Bernard de Montfaucon (1) observes, that the Protestants, in order to remove all objections (against the History of Judith) have said that it is only a fiction or a parable, and that some of them have asserted that it is a Tragedy. I think that the Protestants do not much care whether these objections be removed or not: on the contrary, it is their interest that they should subsist, and be more and more multiplied in the most perplexing manner. This shews that they are in the right to explode that History, and that the church of Rome admits a book as canonical, which is not so. I imagine therefore, that when that author spoke this, he did not call to mind the system of the Protestants, and thought that it was theirs as well as the Roman Catholic's interest to vindicate the honour of the Holy Ghost with regard to that book. When it cannot be vindicated by reconciling the particulars mentioned in a book with the truth of History, men have recourse to allegories, to parables, to a mystical sense, &c. This is what the

(1) Preface de la *Vérité de l'Hist. de Judith.* At Paris 1690 in 12mo. The 2d edition was printed in the year 1692.

Protestants would do, if they believed that the History of Judith was inspired by God; but as they do not believe it, it does not concern them much to say, it is or it is not a parable.

[B] *A learned Benedictine wrote a book to solve the objections that are made against this story.*] You may see his name and the title of his work in the foregoing remark. The method he follows to assert the truth of the History of Judith, which the Roman Catholics believe to be canonical, is more instructive, and at the same time more edifying, than that of the other Roman Catholic writers on controversy. The latter do, generally speaking, but return the objections: they endeavour to shew that the difficulties of the Protestants against the Apocrypha may also be urged against the canonical books. But Don Bernard de Montfaucon only glances upon this subject, and applies himself entirely to make a direct answer. His whole recrimination is contained in these words. "Are there not several Histories in the Bible, in which we meet with these

culties, he has however furnished us with several useful hints. I remember to have seen a dissertation (a), in which amongst other arguments the author urges the following one, namely, that we ought not to look upon a book as canonical, in which private murder is justified. This calls to my mind a particular concerning the assassin of William I Prince of Orange [C]. Some body has observed, that it is commending Judith in the most significant manner, to say that she has never been the object of slander [D].

JULIA,

(a) Intituled, *Ficta Juditha, &c.* printed at Verona in the year 1614, and written by *Mirabilis de Bonacasa*; it is proved there, 1. that the book of Judith is Apocryphal; 2. that Judith's action was criminal; and Rosæus, Mariana, and other opposers of Monarchy are in the wrong to make an advantage of it. The true name of this *Mirabilis de Bonacasa* was *Eberhart de Weibe*: he was Chancellor to Prince Julius Duke of Brunwick. See *Placcius, De Pseudonym.* pag. 166.

“ and even with greater difficulties? and did ever any person deny for that reason that they are true in the literal sense? Does not the History of Esther abound with difficulties, which it is almost impossible to solve? Could it ever be determined with certainty who the Ahasuerus is, who is mentioned in that book, and to what time that History must be referred? Is it not as difficult to determine the time of the History of Ruth, and of the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin? But would any person, for these reasons, dare to assert that these histories are only parabolical, or enigmatical (2)?” I do not know whether he had read Rainolds's objections, who has handled this controversy of the apocryphal books with more accuracy and strength of argument than any other Protestant author.

[C] This calls to my mind a particular concerning the assassin of William . . . Prince of Orange. I mean that villain, Balthazar Gerard, who killed him; for there have been other assassins, who only wounded him. “ Though a sincere Catholic, yet he personated the Protestant. He heard Sermons; he was at the Evening Prayers; he had always Marot's Psalms, or some other Huguenot Book in his hands: he used also to read du Bartas's Poetical Week; and it was observed that that part of the Book was most worn out, which contained the History of Judith cutting Holofernes's throat (3).” This woman's example is certainly very proper to persuade us that it is a very holy action for a man to introduce himself under a thousand false pretences into the Court of a Prince, who is an enemy to liberty and to religion, in order to stab him, the first opportunity that offers. In a word, this History being once looked upon as Canonical, is an encouragement for all assassins to venture any thing against the lives of those Princes, that are reckoned enemies; and affords the orators a crown of glory to put on the heads of all the Clements and the Ravalliacs. Here follows a passage from Father Maimbourg. The Leaguers “ did even publish in their writings printed at Paris and at Lyons, that an Angel had declared to James Clement, that the crown of a Martyr was ready for him, when he would have delivered France of Henry of Valois, and that Clement having acquainted a learned Monk with this vision, the latter approved his design, and told him for certain, that by that attempt he would make himself as acceptable to God, as Judith was by killing Holofernes. And as his Prior, named Father Edme Bourgoing, was of all the Preachers of the League, the most forward and zealous in commending this abominable murder, directing his discourse to him from the pulpit, styling him a blessed child of his Patriarch, and a holy Martyr of Jesus Christ, and comparing him with Judith, it was no longer doubted but he was the Monk whom that young man, who was under his direction, had asked for advice, nor was it questioned but he confirmed him afterwards in his abominable design (4).”

[D] To say that she has never been the object of slander. The reflection I hint at is to be met with in the extract from a panegyrick (5). The Abbé de la Chambre being to deliver a funeral oration on the death of the late Queen of France (6) “ took for his text these words from the book of Judith, *She made her self commendable, famosissima, in every thing, because she greatly feared the Lord, and there was none that gave her an ill word.* This is perhaps the greatest commendation that ever was past on a woman. For though in spite of that terrible disposition to slander, which prevails in the world after so many ages, there are some women, whom that

“ cruel and insatiable monster never touches, yet those women who have gained a great reputation, and who are, as the text expresses it, *famosissima*, greatly renowned, seldom meet with that happiness; so that we may boldly challenge all the Greeks and all the Romans to shew us one single passage in all their books, which in so few words gives so great a character of a person, as that which is given us in the book of Judith, in the words we have quoted. Homer's artifice, to give his readers a most exalted notion of Helena's beauty (7), comes infinitely short of the natural simplicity of the Jewish author: and what is still more beautiful in his way of commending is, that he acquaints us in his elogy with the real cause and true spring of the virtue he describes. *She had, says he, a great reputation in every thing, and was secure against slander, because she feared the Lord from her heart.* It is upon this happy expression of Judith's panegyrist, that Mr. de la Chambre has formed the plan of his funeral oration on the Queen.”

Ausonius mentions among the sentences of one of the seven wise men of Greece, that a chaste woman frightens calumny away.

Quæ dos matronæ pulcherrima? Vita pudica.

Quæ casta est? De qua mentiri fama veretur (8).

He supposes that Bias had two questions to answer. The first was, *What is the most agreeable portion of a woman? A chaste life*, answered he. The second was, *What woman is chaste?* She against whom even fame dares not to disperse falsities, answered he. These rules are too severe, will some say; for by them you must condemn all women that have been exposed to the strokes of calumny; and yet it is certain that there have been some very virtuous women, who could not escape them. It must be confessed, that Bias's maxim ought not to be taken for a general rule, without any exception. But yet, when a woman has the reputation of a chaste woman, without any opposition, without any report to the contrary, it is, generally speaking, an argument that she has behaved herself modestly both in her public and private conduct. *Magnus est pudicitiae fructus pudicam credi; & adversus omnes illecebras atque omnia delinimenta muliebris ingenii est veluti solum ac firmamentum in nullum incidisse fabulam* (9). i. e. “ One of the great advantages of chastity for a woman, is to be reputed chaste. And when she never was the talk of the town, it is a strong argument, that she was always proof against all the alluring pleasures and temptations, to which the fair sex is exposed.” This is what the orator Porcius Latro observed when he pleaded for an husband, who had brought in an action of adultery against his wife, because a rich foreign merchant had made her his heiress, giving this reason for it, that he had not been able to debauch her. The Counsel for the husband grounded one of his arguments upon that particular: he maintained that a woman was justly suspected as soon as a man undertook to debauch her; for if she were very chaste, one might read a refusal in her very face, and her countenance alone would put a lover out of all hopes, so that he would not dare to be so bold as to make a declaration. Or if he did, she would at least refuse him with so much severity, that he would never venture to ask her the question a second time. If she does not mind whether or no people think her capable to commit the fault, she will not scruple to commit it. *Matrona quæ se adversus sollicitantes aviam vult, prodeas in tantum ornata, ne immunda sit: babeat comites ejus ætatis, qui impudicos, si nihil aliud, verecundia annorum remouant:*

(7) See the article of HELENA, quotation (7).

(8) Auson. in *Septem Sapientium Sententiis septenis versibus explicatis*, pag. m. 288.

(9) Seneca, *Centon. 7. lib. 2.* pag. m. 187.

(2) Pag. 283.

(3) *Hist. d'Alexandre Farnese Duc de Parme*, liv. 3. pag. 205. printed in the year 1692.

(4) Maimbourg, *Histoire de la Ligue*, pag. 358.

(5) In the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for Dec. 1684, Art. 8. pag. 1041.

(6) I write this Aug. 20, 1695.

removeant: ferat jacentes in terram oculos: adversus officiosum salutatorem inhumana potius quam invero recunda sit etiam in necessariam resalutandi vicem multo rubore confusa longe ante impudicitiam neget ore, quam verbo: in hac servandæ integritatis custodia, nulla libido irrumperet. Proditis mihi fronte in omne lenocinium composita, paulo obscænius quam posita veste nudæ, exquisito in omnes faciatis sermone, tantum non ultro blandientes, ut quisquis vicerit, non metuat accedere. Deinde miramini, si cum tot argumentis pudicitiam proscripserit, cultu, incessu, facie, aliquis repertus est qui incurreret, & reti adulteræ se non subduceret. Internuntium, puto sollicitantis se, arripit, & denudari jussit, & flagella & verbera, & omne genus cruciatu poposcit in plagas deterrimi mancipii; vix imbecillitas muliebris manus continuit. Nemo sic negantem iterum rogat. . . (10). *Quæ potest non timere opinionem adulteri, potest non timere adulterium* (11). i. e. "A matron, who would be inaccessible to all inticing lovers, must appear in public dressed only so as not to be sluttish; let her be attended with such companions, whose age, if nothing else, might awe the lovers away; let her walk modestly, casting her eyes downwards: if a man offers officiously to salute her, let her be unpolite rather than immodest; and if she must salute him again, let the blushes in her face deny his wicked request long before she denies him by word of mouth. If she thus takes care to keep her chastity, nothing that is lascivious will ever break in upon her. But if a woman has a wanton and enticing air, if she be dressed so as to appear a little more immodest than if she were quite naked, if she be gay and free in all her discourses, and almost courting the lovers herself, so that the first that sees her makes his addresses to her, it is no wonder that being so many ways lost to all sense of modesty, by her dress, her countenance, and by her looks she should meet with some man who would be sure to make an advantage of it, and not avoid the snares of adultery, that are thus laid before him. . . She ordered the messenger (sent, I suppose, by the man who would debauch her) to be taken, stript and severely whipt, and would have him afterwards tortured most cruelly; and though weak as a woman, she could hardly forbear striking him herself. No man will ever ask a woman a second time, who denies him after that manner. . . She who is not afraid to have the reputation of committing adultery, may also not scruple to commit it." These maxims are too severe, and carried too far (12); and would often be unjust, if we were always to judge according to them. But yet the advantage, happiness and glory of our Judith are a prejudice in her favour, which gives us the most exalted notion of her virtue and prudence. I shall observe here by the by, that some Heathens had such strict and severe principles of morality, that they would have a woman give occasion neither to slander nor to commendations; that is to say, they pretended that the true merit of a woman consisted in her being not in the least talked of, nobody speaking well or ill of her. Plutarch did not like this maxim, for he speaks thus in the preamble of one of his works (13): "I am not of Thucydides's opinion. . . concerning the virtue of the women: for he believes that she is the most virtuous and the best, who is the least talked of, and of whom neither good nor ill is said, imagining that the name of an honest woman ought to be kept as secret as her person, and never to come abroad. As for my part, I think that Gorgias was more reasonable, who would have a woman's reputation but not her face to be known to several persons; and I do very much approve the law or custom of the Romans, which is that the women as well as the men received publicly at their funeral after their death the praises they deserve." St. Gregory of Nazianzen was of Thucydides's mind. *Dread the praises of men, said he to a woman, but fear is the ornament of your sex.*

(10) Seneca, *ibid.* pag. 186.
 (11) *Idem, ibid.* pag. 187.

(12) See above, the remark [O] of the article BLONDEL (David).

(13) Plutarch, *de Mulier. Virtutib.* pag. 242. Mr. Bayle quotes Amyot's French Translation.

(14) Gregorius Nazianzenus.

(15) Synesius, *Orat. 1. de Providentia.*

i. e. "Leave these vanities to others; fear those commendations that come from the lips of men; that fear is the glory of your sex."
 Add to this these words of Synesius (15). *Μίση ἀρετὴν Ὀσφίς ἔπειτο γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ μᾶλλον τὸ σῶμα*

αὐτῆς, μᾶλλον τὸ σῶμα διαβῆναι ἐπὶ αὐλίου. i. e. "Ofiris was of opinion that the only virtue of a woman is, that neither her body nor her name pass the threshold of her house." The opinion which Synesius ascribes to Ofiris is upon the whole the same with that which Plutarch ascribes to Thucydides. Some have given it as an opinion of Pericles. See the following words of John de la Casa. *Cujus quidem mulieris (Victoriæ Farnesiæ) modestia ac pudor ingenuus illud profecto præstiffet, quod Periclem ajunt dixisse, primam in muliere laudem esse, ut ne de virtute quidem illius ulla ad viros fama emanet: sed nulla ratione occultari tantæ primariæ fæminæ virtus potest, ad viros quoque emergat, ac suo ipsi splendore se prodat* (16). i. e. "This woman's (Victoria Farnese's) modesty and unaffected bashfulness would have produced that, which Pericles, they say, maintained was the chief glory of a woman, namely, that the men hear not the least report of their virtues. But the virtue of this noble woman was so great, that it could by no means be kept secret from the men; it betrayed itself by its own brightness." But though an hundred persons as illustrious as these three (17), had asserted this maxim, we would not be obliged to approve it. It would be condemning the women to a more austere life than that of the Carthusians; it would be requiring of them to keep themselves shut up and to be silent like these Monks; it would be forbidding them to receive any visits in their cells, which yet the Carthusians are suffered to do.

I shall close up this remark by the following observation. Judith's reputation, that reputation, I say, which was entire, free from all suspicions, and proof against all manner of ill reports, is an unquestionable argument of virtue and prudence; but it does not follow from thence, that every woman, who does not meet with the same happiness, and of whom some reports are spread, is guilty at least of imprudence. A woman may have really led a very regular life, and yet because for some good reasons she turned away her woman, or her chamber-maid, or her cook, there will be very soon a thousand reports spread against her reputation. The person that is turned out may be malicious and revengeful; she will go and meet her mistress's enemies; and mysteriously hint to them what a spirit of calumny inspires her with. These slanders will soon be revealed to other people, they will be told as secrets, they will be commented upon and improved with a thousand aggravating circumstances, they will even be printed; and thus a woman who is really innocent, will not have the reputation of being so; so true is it, as I have observed in another place (18), that it is sometimes easier to be honest than to appear so. The former is in our power, but not the latter. The Poet Plautus has expressed this thought very naturally in a scene in which two old men Callicles and Megaronides are introduced talking together,

ME. Quia omnes bonos, bonasque accurare, addeces. Suspicionem, & culpam, ut ab se segregent. C.A. Non potest utrumque fieri. ME. Quapropter? C.A. Rogas?

Ne admittam culpam, meo sum promus peccatori: Suspicio est in peccatore alieno sita. Nam nunc ego si te surripuisse suspicor, Jovi coronam de capite, è Capitolio, Quod in culmine astat summo: si id non feceris, Atque id tamen mihi lubeat suspicariet: Qui tu id probibere me potes, ne suspicet (19)?

C.A. Exspecto, si quid dicas. ME. Primum dum omnium,

Malè dicatur, tibi vulgò in sermonibus: Turpilucricupidum te vocant civis tui. Tum autem sunt alii, qui te volturium vocant: Hostesne an civis comedis, parvi pendere, Hæc cum audio in te dicier, excrucior miser.

C.A. Est, atque non est, mihi in manu, Megaronides. Quid dicant, non est: merito ut ne dicant, id est (20).

The sense is,
 "ME. It becomes all honest men and women not only to abstain from evil but even to keep themselves free from the very suspicion of it.
 "CA. It is impossible to do both.
 "ME. Why to?
 "CA. Why! Because it lays in my power to abstain
 "from

(16) Joh. Casa, *in Vita Petri Bambi,* pag. 143. *Collect. Buteji.*

(17) Ofiris, Thucydides, Pericles.

(18) Above, towards the end of the remark [H] of the article AMPHIASCENE in which two old men Callicles and Megaronides RAUS.

(19) Plaut 15, in *Trinumm.* Act. 1. Sc. 2. ver. 41. pag. m. 732.

(20) *Idem, ibid.* ver. 61, p. 733.

JULIA, wife to Septimus Severus the Roman Emperor, and daughter of Bassianus Priest of the Sun [A], was born in Syria. The Astrologers had foretold her that she should marry a sovereign Prince [B], for which reason Severus, before he came to the Empire, made his addresses to, and married her. He had a mighty opinion of Astrology, and thence was induced to think that such a marriage would one day insure the throne to him. She was possessed of great talents, and had abilities for conducting of affairs of importance (a). According to some writers, her husband, though he had little affection for her, let her have a great share in the administration [C]. She applied herself to the study of Philosophy [D], and employed a great deal of time in hearing the

(a) See the close of the remark [1].

“ from evil. But the suspicion of it is in the breast of another. If, for instance, I should now suspect you to have stolen the crown from the head of the statue of Jupiter, which stands on the top of the capital, though you had not done it, yet if it pleased me to suspect you of it, how could you hinder it? ”

“ CA. I wait to hear what you have to say? ”
“ ME. Men speak commonly very ill of you. Your fellow-citizens call you covetous of dishonest gain; others stile you an extortioner, and say that you do not care whether you devour a citizen or a stranger. I am vexed to death when I hear such things of you. ”
“ CA. It is, and it is not in my power, Megaronides. What they say of me is not in my power; but that they may not say it justly, that is in my power to prevent.”

This conclusion is very good. I cannot prevent people from speaking ill of me, answered Megaronides, I can only take care that they do it not with reason. Observe that there are a thousand accidents, that may be attended with the same consequence, as the malice of a servant who is turned out of doors.

[A] She was . . . daughter of Bassianus, Priest of the Sun.] This may be inferred from the following

- (1) Aurel. Victor, in Epitome, pag. m. 211.
- (2) Idem, ibid. pag. 212.
- (3) Or rather Soemis according to Herodian, lib. 5. cap. 3.
- (4) Herodian, ibid.
- (5) Herodian, ibid. Julius Capitolinus, in Maxerino, cap. 9. pag. m. 759.
- (6) Dio, lib. 78. pag. 902.
- (7) Lampridius, in Alexandro Severo, cap. 5. pag. 890.
- (8) Dio, lib. 78. pag. 899. edit. 1606.
- (9) Spartian. in Septim. Severo, cap. 3. pag. m. 594. tom. 1. See also Lampridius, in Alex. Severo, cap. 5. pag. 890.

words of Aurelius Victor (1) : *Caracalla Severi filius . . . Bassianus ex avi materni nomine dicitur . . . Hujus (Heliogabali) matris Semeæ avus Bassianus nomine, fuerat solis sacerdos, quem Phœnices unde erat, Heliogabalum nominabant* (2). i. e. “ Caracalla, the son of Severus . . . called Bassianus from his grandmother by the mother’s side . . . Bassianus, grandfather of Semea, mother of this Heliogabalus, was Priest of the Sun, whom the Phœnicians, whence he was descended, called Heliogabalus.” Semea (3) was the daughter of Mæsa; now Mæsa was Julia’s sister (4); and consequently Bassianus, Priest of the Sun, was Julia’s father. One cannot positively affirm whether Julia was born in Emesa or Apamea; for, according to some authors (5), her sister Mæsa was a native of Emesa; but according to others (6) she was born in Apamea. Lampridius (7) says that Julia was a noble woman of the East, *nobilem Orientis mulierem*: but Dion (8) says that she was of Plebeian extraction, *ἐκ δημοτικῆς γένους*.

[B] The Astrologers had told her that she should marry a sovereign Prince.] I will transcribe Spartian’s words, in order that the reader may know, what it was that Severus enquired chiefly about, when he was resolved to marry again. He did not enquire into the merits of the person, but the promises of the horoscope. *Quum amissa uxore aliam vellet ducere, genituras sponjarum requirebat, ipse quoque matheos peritissimus: Et quum audisset esse in Syria quandam, quæ id genituræ haberet ut regi jungeretur, eandem uxorem petiit, Juliam scilicet: Et accepit interventu amicorum: ex qua statim pater factus est* (9). i. e. “ When having lost his wife, he was desirous of marrying another, and being extremely well skilled in Astrology, he calculated the nativity of those whom he made choice of as a wife: and hearing that there was a certain woman in Syria, whose horoscope declared that she should be married to a King, he sought her in marriage (this was Julia) and obtained her by the good offices of friends, and she soon made him a father.”

[C] According to some writers, her husband . . . let her have a great share in the administration.] “ Dion informs us in the Life of Caracalla, that she had in

charge his Memorials, Letters, and Petitions, tho’ of the utmost consequence. This shews her great capacity, for she gave her advice on all affairs of importance: and yet they had little affection for one another, as we find by Dion and Herodian, though she commonly used to receive this honour from him, viz. that he always named her with applause in his letters; and even when he wrote to the Senate, inserting her name with his and that of his armies, according to the style of that age; and indeed she maintained her state very well, she not paying more honour, and not saluting with greater respect, persons of the highest distinction in the Empire, than Severus or Caracalla. However when Caracalla came to the empire, he so far lessened her authority, that he never followed her counsel, particularly when he took it into his head to put any person to death: but with regard to Severus her husband, he was very much swayed by her advice and good sense (10).” This is what we are told by Trifan, but it is certain that he is mistaken, by taking the father for the son; for what he relates does not refer to Julia under her husband’s reign, but ought only to be understood of her, under the Empire of Caracalla. There is no great difficulty in the thing, if we do but read Xiphilinus’s words with some attention (11). *Οὐδὲ ἐπιβίβησθε ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆ μητρὶ πολλὰ καὶ χρηστὰ παρανομήσῃ. καίτοι καὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἐκάλειρον, πολλὴν τῶν πάντων ἀναγκαίων, διοίκασιν αὐτῇ ἐπέβλεψας. καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὴν βασιλὴν ἐπιστολαῖς ὁμοίως τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, ἐπεὶ σάξῃσαι, μετ’ ἐκείνων πολλῶν ἐγγράφων. Τί γὰρ δι’ ἡμῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὑπεβίβησθε δημοσίᾳ πάλαι τὰς ἀρχαίας, καθέπερ καὶ ἐκείνῳ. i. e. “ In which affair, and in all others, he was far from complying with the just and prudent advice which his mother gave him, although he entrusted her with the petitions and letters of both kinds, those excepted which were of great importance (12); and joined her name to his, and that of his army (with the highest encomium) in the letters he used to write to the Senate, acquainting them that all were well; nor is there occasion for me to relate, that all persons of the highest distinction used to pay their compliments to her, in the same manner as to the Emperor himself.” I shall observe that it was at the request of our Julia, that her husband engaged in the war against Pescennius Niger and Claudius Albinus (13).*

[D] She applied herself to the study of Philosophy.] Xiphilinus, immediately after the words just read, affirms that Julia, in the midst of her numberless affairs, devoted some of her hours to Philosophy. *Ἄλλ’ ἢ μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβιβῶν ἰφιλοσόφου. Sed ea nihil minus philosophabatur.* He had said elsewhere (14), that upon her being persecuted by Plautianus, who had prodigious interest, she began to cultivate Philosophy, and to spend whole days with the Sophists. *Καὶ ἢ μὲν αὐτῇ τε φιλοσοφῆν διὰ ταῦτ’ ἤρξατο, καὶ σεφισταῖς συνήμιχεν. Quæ dum ob eam causam philosophabatur, Et tempus cum Sophistis transigeret.* Philostratus gives her the name of Female-Philosopher: *Ἀντιανθῆ*, says he (15), speaking of Caracalla, *ἦν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας πατρὸς Ἰουλιανῆς. i. e. “ Antoninus was the son of Julia the Female-Philosopher:”* In this manner it ought to be read, pursuant to the learned Salmasius’s happy conjecture (16). He has corrected another passage of Philostratus, where we are told that Philiscus the Sophist obtained a Professorship in Athens by Julia’s interest. It was she who ordered Philostratus to write the Life of Apollonius; a circumstance which Philostratus himself tells us (17), who observes at the same time that this Lady was very fond of Rhetoric. Tzetzes takes notice of the society of learned men who used to attend upon

(10) Trifan, *Comment. Histor. tom. 2. pag. 110.*

(11) Xiphil. in *Epitome Dionis, in Caracalla, pag. m. 553.*

(12) Trifan should not therefore have said, that she was intrusted with the petitions tho’ of the utmost consequence. He should have made the following exception (as Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 3. pag. m. 189. does, unless it was an affair of very great importance.

(13) Capitolinus, in *Clodio Albino*, cap. 3. pag. 689.

(14) In *Sept. Severo*, pag. 330.

(15) Philostratus, in *Vitis Sophistarum*, in *Philisco*.

(16) Salmas. ad Spartian. in *Vita Severi*, cap. 18. pag. m. 625.

(17) Philostrat. in *Vita Apollonii*, lib. 1. cap. 3.

the discourses of those wits who used to make their court to her. It is a great pity we cannot justly affirm, for the glory and advantage of the Sciences, that her virtue equalled her capacity ; for Historians relate that her adulterous practices reflected ignominy on her husband [E]. It is related by some authors that Julia, after Severus's death, contracted an incestuous marriage, by marrying Caracalla her husband's son [F] ; but this is a falsity.

(18) Tzetzes, Cbil. 6. Hifl. 45. upon Julia. Εἰς τῆ χορῆ Ρητορικῶν τε καὶ Γραμματικῶν τῶν Ἰουλαίᾳ τῆ πρώτης τελευτῆ Βασιλίδι (18). i. e. "One of those Rhetoricians and Grammarians who used to wait often on the Empreſs Julia."

Mr. le Moyné has made two observations that deserve to be mentioned. I. He is surprized that Scaliger, who was so bold in his conjectures, durst venture none with regard to Antoninus the son of Julia, spoken of by Philostratus. II. He has confirmed by Tzetzes's words the correction of Salmaſus, which he yet seems to have never heard of. Here follows what he says with regard to Scaliger : " Sic Philoſtratus in vitis Sophiſtarum, in Philoſo, Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἢ ὁ τῷ φιλοσοφῶ πατρὶς Ἰουλαίᾳ. Antoninus erat Filius Philoſophi Juliae. Ad quæ verba hærens ἔσ attonitus Scaliger, " Antonino Philoſopho alius filius quam Commodus, alia uxor præter Fauſtinam ? Nifi legamus ὁ τῷ Σεβέρῳ πατρὶς καὶ Ἰουλαίᾳ. Hoc etiam tenuit ancipitem " Tzetsem, nec mihi minorem movit admirationem. " Quæ nos proponimus Chronologis eruditus, & Antiquitatis investigatoribus, ut quærant, & nos doceant, quæ ingenue nos nescire profiteamur. Sed mirum hic retulimus Scaligeri acumen, ἔσ moratam istam felicem " audaciam, quæ loca, hoc multo difficiliora, tam strenue " ἔσ alacriter superaverat (19)." With regard to the passage of Tzetzes, he makes use of it to shew that Philostratus did not write τῷ φιλοσοφῶ ; for if Tzetzes had read this in Philostratus, he would not have said that this author does not specify the person to whom the Empreſs Julia was married. Συζῶσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ ἢ φησὶ τῷ Σεβέρῳ βασιλεὺς. Non dicit vero cujus Imperatoris illa fuerit conjux (20). He might have easily perceived that Julia's husband was either Marcus Aurelius, furnamed the Philosopher, or Septimius Severus, who, in imitation of Marcus Aurelius, was extremely fond of philosophical studies. Amore Marci, quem fuisse vel fratrem suam dicebat, ἔσ cujus Philoſophiam literarumque institutionem semper imitatus est (21). Philoſophicæ, declamandi, cunctis postremo liberalium deditus studiis (22). Philoſophicæ ac dicendi studiis satis deditus ; doctrinæ quoque nimis avidus (23). By the way, le Moyné generally gives our Julia the surname of Severa, for which he is authorized by some inscriptions (24).

(19) Stephanus le Moyné, in Prolegomenis Variorum Sacrorum, folio * 25.

(20) Tzetzes, Cbil. 6. Hifl. 45. perceived that Julia's husband was either Marcus Aurelius, furnamed the Philosopher, or Septimius Severus, who, in imitation of Marcus Aurelius, was extremely fond of philosophical studies. Amore Marci, quem fuisse vel fratrem suam dicebat, ἔσ cujus Philoſophiam literarumque institutionem semper imitatus est (21). Philoſophicæ, declamandi, cunctis postremo liberalium deditus studiis (22). Philoſophicæ ac dicendi studiis satis deditus ; doctrinæ quoque nimis avidus (23). By the way, le Moyné generally gives our Julia the surname of Severa, for which he is authorized by some inscriptions (24).

(21) Spartian. in Vita, cap. 2.

(22) Aurelius Victor, in Cæſaribus.

(23) Spartianus, in Severo, cap. 18. pag. 625, 626.

(24) See Trifſtan. Comment. Hiſtor. tom. 2. pag. 121.

(25) Aurelius Victor, in Cæſaribus. Trifſtan, pag. 110. has not translated the passage justly ; he imagines that it signifies that Julia's debaucheries threw a deep shade on the glory of Severus, both at home and abroad.

(26) Spartian. in Severo, pag. 626, 627.

(27) Comment. Hiſtor. tome 2. pag. 100.

(28) Xiphilin. in Severo, pag. m. 329, 330.

Ἄρα καὶ τὴν Ἰουλαίαν τὴν Αὐγούſταν πρὸς τὸν Σεβέρῳ ἑσὶ διὰ Καλλίαν, ἐκζητήσας τε κατ' αὐτῆς, καὶ βαſάνου; κατ' εὐſινῶν γυναικῶν ποιῶμεν (29). Ut etiam apud eum Juliam (29) Idem, ibid. Augustam semper calumniatus sit, ἔσ in eam ac de matronis nobilibus tormentis quaesiverit (30). The Historian (30) Caseneuve, an who informs us of this, does not say that the Empreſs sought to free herself by engaging in a conspiracy against her husband ; he only observes, that this was the cause that she applied herself to the study of Philosophy. We cannot but applaud Julia for having recourse to that consolation : the misfortune is, that whilst the favourite made too insolent an abuse of his power, she perhaps furnished him with but too many reasons to impeach her for her adulterous practices. Let us here insert the answer that was made her in Great Britain. She had followed her husband into that island (31) ; and observing that the women of this island indulged their favours to many men without the least sense of shame, she rallied very severely the wife of Argentocoxus on that account, who made her the following answer ; We satiate the cravings of nature in a better manner than your Roman Ladies ; for we dally publicly with the most worthy men ; whereas the women of your country secretly commit adultery with the most wicked wretches. Μαλὰ ἀσπίως Ἀρσινόκοζου τῆς ἑσὶ γυνὴ Καληδονίᾳ πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλαίαν τὴν Αὐγούſταν ἀποσάπλισσάσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τῆς σπονδῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνίσει σφῶν πρὸς τῆς ἀρρίνας συνουσίᾳ, ἐπὶ τὴν λέγειναι, ἔστι πολλὰ ἄμεινον ἡμῶς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίᾳ ἀποσάπλισσασθαι ἡμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡμῶς γὰρ φανερῶς τοῖς ἀρρίστοις ὀμιλοῦμεν, ἡμῶς δὲ λάβρα ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μετὰ χυμῶν.

Urbane imprimis Argentocoxi Caledonii uxor, Julia Augustæ quæ ipsam mordebat, initis fœderibus, quod ipsæ impudenter cum maribus versarentur, dixisse fertur, Nec (inquirit) multo melius explemus ea, quæ naturæ postulat necessitas, quam vos Romanæ. Nam apertè cum optimis viris habemus consuetudinem : vos autem occultè pessimi homines consuprant (32). If any one should ask on what occasion the Historian mentions this answer, I say it was on account of a law which the Emperor had enacted against adultery ; the execution whereof he was forced to neglect, because such multitudes (33) were impeached, that the courts did not care to concern themselves any more with those trials. It must be confessed that this female Barbarian made a very arch answer to the Empreſs's railleries ; but then we must not think, that the impudence of these islanders was less criminal than the secret adulteries which were carried on in Rome. Those who commit evil secretly retain the ideas of virtue, and pay some homage to it ; but such as sin without the least sense of shame, have no regard to justice either in theory or practice (34). Brantome relates a particular which I have not read in ancient Historians, in giving the reason why Severus bore so patiently his wife's lewdness. Brantome's words are as follow (35). " The Emperor Severus was not under much concern with regard to his wife's honour, she being a public prostitute ; and yet he did not even take the least pains to reform her, saying that her name was Julia, and therefore he ought to excuse her, in as much as all the women, from the most remote antiquity, so called, used to be very great whores, and to cuckold their husbands ; I know many Ladies, bearing certain Christian names (36), which I forbear to mention out of the reverence I bear to our holy religion, who are more subject to be prostitutes, and to &c. more than women who go by other names ; and few have been seen that have escaped it."

(31) Anno 208. (32) Xiphilin in Severo, pag. 343.

(33) Three thousand persons had been impeached for adultery.

(34) We may here apply the two verses following of Rutilius Numatianus : Nominibus certos credam decurrere mœres, Maribus an potius nomina certa dari.

(35) See remark [B] of the article JONAS (Arngimus).

(36) Brantome, Dames Galantes, tom. 1. pag. 33.

[F] It is related by some authors that Julia married Caracalla.] This is not a story lately invented, but is found in Spartian and Aurelius Victor. Brantome tells it as follows. " It is farther related of Julia the Emperor Caracalla's step-mother, that being one day, as though it had been inadvertently, half naked, and Caracalla spying her, said only these words : how gladly would I, if I might ! Julia replied that instant, you may if you please ; do not

falsity [G]. She was no less the true mother of Caracalla than of Geta. Julia was so unhappy as not to be able to maintain unity and concord between her two sons (b); her endeavours, though so very industrious, not being able to compass such a work. Geta was

(b) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 3.

"you know that you are Emperor, and as such impose laws, and not receive them from others? Finding she had such an inclination for him, he married, and lay with her (37). She must needs have been a prostitute, to love and marry that very man who some time before had killed her son in her arms. She must have been an arrant prostitute, and very mean spirited; and yet it is a great thing to be an Empress, and so exalted an honour atones for all imperfections. This Julia was very well beloved by her husband, though she was far advanced in years, notwithstanding which her beauties were not lessened in any manner, she being extremely handsome and courteous, as is manifest from her words which greatly increased her grandeur (38)." That the reader may see whether the circumstances are heightened here, I shall cite the very expressions of the Latin authors who have mentioned this incident. *Interest scire, says Spartian (39), quemadmodum novercam suam Juliam uxorem duxisse dicatur. Quæ quum esset pulcherrima, & quasi per negligentiam se maxima corporis parte nudasset, dixissetque Antoninus, Vellem, si liceret: respondisse fertur, Si libet licet. An necis te imperatorem esse, & leges dare, non accipere? Quo audito, furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus est: nuptiasque eas celebravit quas si sciret se leges dare, vere solus prohibere debuisset. Matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem, ad parricidium junxit incestum: squidem eam matrimonio sociavit, cujus filium super occiderat. Aurelius Victor exhibits the same the emperor a little more clearly. She was not so impolitic as to undress herself at once before Caracalla; so loose and impudent a behaviour might have shocked the young man: she so ordered matters, that the whole passed for a surprize; she pretended not to know that Caracalla could see her that time, and feigned being ignorant of his being in the place where she was naked. *Pari fortuna, & eodem matrimonio, quo pater: namque Juliam novercam . . . forma captus, conjugem affectavit: cum illa factiosior, aspectui adolescentis, presentie quasi ignara, semet dedisset, intecto corpore, asserentique, Vellem si liceret, uti: petulantius multo (quippe quæ pudorem velamento exuerat) respondisset: Libet? plane licet (40).* I know not where Vigenere found what he specifies with respect to the circumstance of the place. The Empress Julia, says he (41), was doubtless the wife of Severus; for Antoninus Caracalla married her afterwards though she was his mother-in-law: and this incestuous commerce rose from his spying her one day naked in the hot bath, through a private window that looked into it; he revealed himself: and she asking Caracalla how he liked her, he answered, Were it lawful, I should desire you above all other women. How! replied she on a sudden, are you still so ignorant as not to know, that all things are lawful to you, who are the sovereign of the whole earth? Saying which they immediately proceeded to their guilt."*

(37) Brantome, *Damus Galantes*, tom. 2. pag. 205.

(38) Ibid. pag. 206.

(39) Spartian. in *Caracalla*, cap. 10. pag. 730.

(40) Aurel. Victor. in *Cesarib.* pag. m. 144. See also Eutropius, Book 8. and Orosius, lib. 7. chap. 18. who speak of this incestuous commerce.

(41) Vigenere's *Preface to Philostrata's de Pictur.*

"The second proof is borrowed from the age of our Julia. Tristram supposes (43), that at the time those authors represent her as so beautiful, that Caracalla was so captivated by it, that he was desirous of marrying her, she must be 45 at least; for she must have been seventeen or fifteen years of age when she married Severus; and as she brought Caracalla into the world the first year of her marriage, and as Caracalla was 27 when it is supposed he saw her naked, it follows that she was 44 or 45. This author had reason to say, that Julia was not Caracalla's mother-in-law, but his own mother. He need not fear any strong objection on that occasion; those which might be made to him, in order to lessen Julia's age, and against the consequences he draws from her being 45, might puzzle him still more. Nothing hinders, will it be said, but that Julia might be no more than fifteen when she married Severus; and it is probable that Caracalla married her a year after he had killed Geta (45). Now Caracalla reigned six years since his brother's death (46), and lived but 29 years in all (47). He therefore might have married Julia when he was but 24, which added to sixteen (his mother's age when she brought him into the world) make but forty in all. According to Tristram the age of 44 or 45 years is not a period of life in which Julia's lustre, gratefulness and vigour would be so great, as to incant Caracalla to such a degree, that he was forced to marry her in order to possess her. This might be objected the example of some women, who at that age, or even in a more advanced one, have fired Princes with a very strong passion; but Tristram might answer, that the women in question did not achieve such conquests on a sudden by displaying their beauties naked. The charms of conversation, the stratagems of love, and a thousand pretty ways were the strongest arms by which they gained their conquests; and then I know not what cast or turn of body or mind enabled them to preserve their conquests. The bare revealing of a body, which has been subject to the influences of above forty years, is not an object fit to gain victories; on such an occasion a woman does not shew herself to the greatest advantage. It is therefore no ways probable, that so artful a woman as Julia employed the expedients we are told in history, in order to captivate Caracalla; or that, in case she did, she was successful in her attempt. I go no farther, I believe a reply might be made to this; the reasons given here are not of a nature to admit of no room for doubting. Let us see the third proof. Dion (49) observes, that when Julia "knew of the death of her son, she struck her breast (50), in order to occasion her own death by reviving and irritating a cancer, which had been troubled with for a long time, and that it contributed very much to her death afterwards. This shews how ridiculous they made themselves, who have forged this pretended history, that Julia shewed herself naked to Caracalla, and that the sight of her, when she was naked, inspired him with a desperate passion for her. For is it probable that this woman would have shewn herself naked, when she was thus full of ulcers: and that Caracalla, a young Prince, Monarch of the world, who had the option of all that was beautiful in so extensive an empire, could have been captivated by such an object as they represent?" As there is nothing too difficult for a sophist, some caviller might be found, who would object to Tristram, that Julia did not expose her whole body (51). Spartian says, that she only shewed above half of it. We may then suppose, that the part concealed by her was her breast, and so her cancer did not appear. Mr. Chevreau would not be a proper person to make this objection; for he says, that Julia appeared before Caracalla, in a negligent manner, and with her breast naked (52). It would be in vain to examine, whether it is likely, that a woman, who would expose herself naked, except some part, would determine to hide her breast before all others. This, I say, would be in vain, since, by supposing the cancer, there were particular reasons to induce her necessarily not to shew her breast. Let us proceed therefore to a third remark, which

(43) Ibid. pag. 114.
 (44) This in all probability is an error of the press for 18.

(45) He put to death his wife who was Plautian's daughter, after he had got rid of Geta. Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 6.

(46) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13. in 10th.

(47) Tristram, *Comment. Hist.* tom. 2. pag. 119, 148.

(48) Ibid. pag. 114.

(49) Ibid.
 (50) See the remark [I].

(51) See *maxima corporis parte nudasse.* Spart. ubi supra.

(52) Chevreau, *Hist. du Monde*, tom. 2. pag. 3-6. Dutch edit. 1679.

[G] . . . but this is a falsity.] It has been proved so manifestly, that Moreri is inexcusable for relating this story as a certainty. Had he read Tristram's commentaries, he would have seen sufficient proofs of the falsity of it; though it must be owned that all the arguments of this author are not demonstrative.

His first proof (42) is drawn from the silence of those Greek authors, who have given a faithful account of Caracalla's actions, without employing the least flattery. Dion Cassius lived in that age, and had exercised very high employments: he consequently could not be ignorant whether Caracalla had married Julia or not; and had he known of such a marriage he certainly would have spoke of it, to throw the greater odium on that Emperor, whom he seems not to spare in any manner; since then he does not speak of it, it is a certain proof of the falsity of that marriage. The same circumstance is confirmed by Herodian's silence; Herodian, I say, who relates many particular and blackening incidents; and who lived much nearer that period than they who vouch the truth of this pretended marriage.

was killed by Caracalla in the arms of Julia, who received a wound on that occasion, but durst not afterwards discover the least uneasiness on that account (c). If I mistake not, the best expedient which Caracalla employed, in order to comfort his mother, was to let her enjoy a considerable share in the Government [H]. The Lady found infinite charms in this; and if she attempted to kill herself when news was brought her that Caracalla had been assassinated, it did not proceed so much from grief at her son's death, as from the fear of being soon reduced to the condition of a private person (d); and accordingly she laid all thoughts of dying aside, the instant she perceived that Macrinus, Caracalla's successor, used her well: but as soon as she was informed that he intended to resent the injurious expressions she had vented against him, upon her being told of Caracalla's murder, she starved herself to death [I]. The title of *Domna* that was given

(c) Xiphilin. in Caracalla, pag. 346.

(d) Xiphil. in Macrinus, pag. 362.

which weakens the proof of Trifan. Let us observe, that the cancer was formed after Julia married Caracalla. If it was formed after marriage, she might have had it four years, when Caracalla was killed; and so Dion might say, that she had been troubled with it for a long time (53).

(53) Έκ πάνυ πολλού χρόνου: jam multo tempore, Dio, in Macrinus, pag. 362.

The fourth proof of Trifan is, that Dion, who was perfectly well acquainted with Caracalla, observes, that he had been prodigiously enervated for a long time, and extremely incapable of that sort of exercise, having reduced himself to that condition by his debaucheries, ὕψιστον γὰρ ἐξουθενώσαν (54) αὐτῶν πάντων ἢ παρὰ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἰσχυρῶς; for,

(54) It should be ἐξουθενώσαν.

says he, the natural vigour necessary for the service of the Ladies was exhausted in him during the last years of his life (55). It is not true that Dion observes, that Caracalla was enervated in that point for a long time; and therefore the fourth proof lies exposed to the same objection as the preceding; for it may be answered, that this Emperor exhausted his vigour by his debaucheries after his marriage with Julia. The reader will perhaps be pleased to know upon what occasion Dion makes this observation. He had said, that Caracalla put four Vestals to death, and that he enjoyed one of them as much as his strength would give him leave. The Historian afterwards says what is cited by Trifan, and adds, that this Vestal cried out when she was conducted to the place of execution, *The Emperor himself very well knows that I have kept my virginity.* Τίσσaras δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν παρθένων ἀπέβλεπον, ὡς μίαν βίαν, ὅσα γὰρ ἢ ἡδύατο, ἡσχύνετο ὕψιστον γὰρ ἐξουθενώσαν αὐτῆς πᾶσαν ἢ παρὰ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἰσχυρῶς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἐκ τῶν τῶν ἀσχετηγῶν ἰλιγύτο ἢ διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐξ ἡλίου, Κλαδία Λαίτια ἀνομάζοντο ἢ τις καὶ μέγα βούσα. Ὅϊδιν αὐτὸς Ἀρλωνῶν ὅτι παρδίνῳ ἡμῖν, ζῶσα κατωρύγη. Vestales occidit quatuor, ex quibus unam, quantum in ipso fuit, vitiaavit: nam eum ad extremum vis in rebus Veneriis defecerat, qua ex re dicebatur flagitia obscena alterius defecerat, qua ex re dicebatur flagitia obscena alterius defecerat, qua ex re dicebatur flagitia obscena alterius defecerat.

(55) Trifan, ubi supra, pag. 114.

It is certain, that if Julia had been his wife, when she died, her body would not have been deposited first in the monument of the two brothers, Lucius and Caius Cæsars, and afterwards in that of the Antoninus's with the bones of Geta, but with him (57). This proof is a very bad one, and shews, that Trifan did not know, that Caracalla and Geta were in the same tomb. Geta was laid in the sepulture of Severus (58), that is to say, in that of the Antoninus's (59), and Caracalla was laid there likewise. *Corpus ejus Antoninorum sepulchro illatum est, ut ea sedes reliquias ejus acciperet que nomen addiderat* (60). His corps was sent to Rome by the order of his murderer himself (61). Others affirm, that Macrinus caused it to be burnt, and put the ashes in an urn, which he sent to Julia (62).

(56) Xiphil. in Caracalla, pag. 352.

(57) Trifan, ubi supra, pag. 115. He quotes no body. This is to be found in the fragments of Dion, pag. 899. of the edit. of 1666.

(58) Funus Getæ accuratus fuisse dicitur quam ejus qui à fratre videretur occisus. Illatusque est majorum sepulchro, hoc est Severi. Spartianus, in Geta, cap. 7. pag. m. 744.

(59) Urnulam auream . . . Severi reliquias continentem eandemque Antoninorum sepulchro illatam. Idem, in Severo, cap. ult. pag. 640.

(60) Idem, in Caracalla, cap. 10. pag. 730.

(61) Capitolin. in Macrinus, cap. 5. pag. 753.

(62) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13.

The sixth proof is a very good one, and is founded upon Julia's being the mother, and not the mother-in-law of Caracalla. This is evident from the testimony of Dion, a person of eminence in the Empire, who had seen Severus, Julia, Caracalla, Geta, &c. an hundred and an hundred times. Herodian affirms the same, and what can be more convincing upon this point, than these words of Oppian? τὸν μεγάλαν βασιλέα φησὶ σάτω Δόμνην Σεβήρω. Since Oppian, in a book, which he dedicated to Caracalla, asserts, that Julia brought forth Caracalla, can there be the least doubt concerning it? Can a contemporary writer be mistaken in such a thing? And would he venture to

assert a falsity in the face of the whole court about a thing, which every body knew? Can any body be ignorant in a Prince's court, whether his wife is the mother or the mother-in-law of his sons? I say nothing of the inscriptions, in which Julia is stiled the mother of Caracalla (63). Now all those writers, who mention the pretended marriage of Julia and Caracalla, suppose that she was his mother-in-law, and therefore deserve no credit, as building upon a mistake. Observe likewise, that they even fall into a contradiction. Does not Spartian somewhere say, that Geta was better beloved by his mother than Caracalla? *Fratri semper invidus, matri amabilior quam frater* (64). Would a person, who should make this observation, while he believed that Julia was Geta's mother, and Caracalla's mother-in-law, have common sense? This is not the only argument which Spartian furnishes us with against himself (65). Aurelius Victor (66) asserts, that Caracalla died when he was near thirty years of age; which cannot be true, if this Emperor was not Julia's son. See the remark [L]. The same Historian observes, that Caracalla having secretly lain with Semea, his cousin, had a son by her, who was the Emperor Heliogabalus (67). If Caracalla was Semea's cousin, he was Julia's son. I shall observe by the way, that Mammea, Semea's sister, and Alexander Severus's mother, is called by Ulpian Caracalla's cousin (68). Here then is a contemporary writer, who says, that Julia was Caracalla's mother.

(63) See Salmasius in Spartian. cap. 20. pag. 633. and Spanhem. de Præstant. Nominif. mat. pag. 628.

(64) Spartian. in Geta, cap. 5. pag. m. 740.

(65) See the remark [L].

(66) Aurel. Victor. in Epitoma, pag. 212.

(67) Heliogabalus dicitur Caracalla x Semea CONSOBRINA occulte suprata filius. Idem, ibid.

(68) Ulpian. Leges ultima de Senator. apud Trifan, pag. 117.

[H] Her son . . . let her enjoy a considerable share in the Government.] See what has been cited from Dion, in the remark [C]; and add to it what that Historian tells us, when he gives an account of the tragical fate of Caracalla. He says, that during Caracalla's expedition against the Parthians, Julia staid at Antioch, and received all the dispatches, and communicated to the Emperor only such as were of importance. Thus all the affairs of State passed through her hands, and it was she who judged whether such or such letters written to the Emperor, deserved to be sent to him, or whether she might not spare him the time of reading them. This is at the same time a proof of the confidence which Caracalla reposed in her, and of his opinion of her capacity. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῆς πᾶσι τοῖς ἀφικνούμενοις διατάγμασι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτῆς ὄχλησθαι γραμμάτων ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ ὄντι σιωπήσῃ. Cui mandatum erat, cuncta que mitterentur, discernere, ne ad Antoninum occupatum in terra hostili frustra multitudo literarum mitteretur (69).

[I] As soon as she was informed that Macrinus intended to resent the injurious expressions she had vented against him . . . she starved herself to death.] Macrinus sent her Caracalla's ashes (70), and wrote her an extremely polite letter (71). He desired her to keep all her retinue, and the same guards as usual, which made him suppose that she had laid aside all thoughts of destroying herself. Ἐπειδ' ὡς ἔτι τε τῆς βασιλικῆς θρησκείας καὶ τῆς τῶν δημοφώνων παρὰ αὐτῆς φρονίας ἠλλοιωθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνη χρησάμενος αὐτῆ ἐπέμπετο, θρασυτάτα, τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιθυμίαν κατέδειξε. Sed postquam ille non modò nihil de regio famulatu ejus, aut de stipatoribus quos secum habebat custodia causa immutavit, verùm etiam multa ad eam percommode scripsit, cepit bona spe injectis desiderium mortis deponere (72). But when he was told that she had inveighed bitterly against him, and formed factions, in order to obtain the sovereignty in that country, after the example of Semiramis and Nitocris, he commanded her to leave Antioch immediately, and to retire whithersoever she might think proper. And now Julia was quite sick of life; she dreading the condition

(69) Xiphilin. in Caracalla, pag. 357.

(70) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13.

(71) Xiphil. in Macrinus, pag. 362.

(72) Idem, ibid.

(e) Trifan gives them in tom. 2. pag. 117, 118. of his Commentaires Historiques.

given her was the surname of a family [K]. The time of her marriage with Severus [L].

There are some difficulties with respect to There are extant some inscriptions (e) in which

(73) Herodian, lib. 4. cap. 13.

condition of a woman devoid of authority, more than death. Some authors (73) doubt whether she put an end to her life; but Dion does not speak of it in a doubtful manner, he affirming (74) that she starved herself to death; and that she effected this the more easily, as she had inflamed her cancer, by the blow she gave herself on the breast. Trifan fancies that she struck herself on the breast, in order to kill herself by inflaming her cancer; but I doubt very much whether this be the historian's meaning. I fancy Dion meant no more than this, that the Lady in question, by striking her breast, whilst she was bewailing her son's murder, inflamed the cancer (75). It was the usual custom of women, at the news of a loss like this, not only to weep, but also to strike their breasts. Julia did like other women; but in all probability she did not strike herself so hard, as though she intended directly to kill herself by those blows. Since she is compared to Semiramis, she must necessarily have been looked upon as a very ambitious and very artful woman. She did not want this last quality, if Dion may be credited. *Ἦτος δὲ τῶν αἰσίων εἶχε καὶ τὸ πανουργοῦν τῆς μητρός, καὶ τῶν Συρίων ὄδον ἐξείναι ἢ* (76) i. e. "She had the deceit of her mother, and of the Syrians from whom she sprung."

(75) See the Fragment, pag. 299. of Dion, edit. of 1606.

(76) Xiphilin. in Caracalla, pag. 349.

[K] The title of Domna . . . was the surname of a family.] Trifan (77) proves this very learnedly; and censures Rittershusius (78), who thought that in the following verse of Oppian, *Τὸν μεγάλην μεγάλην φουρίσσαν Δόμνα Σέβηρον*, the word *Δόμνα* is an epithet borrowed from the Latin *Domina*; and that the Poet, by giving it a Greek turn, had introduced it with the licence of the elision of the *iota*. He censures another error of the abovementioned Rittershusius, which is, his imagining that Oppian speaks of Marcia Severus's first wife. See Menage (79), who censures Gantilis (80), who had committed the same error as Rittershusius's first. See likewise Spanheim (81), who takes notice of the same error in the Notes on Nicephorus Brunnus.

(77) Comment. Hist. tom. 2. pag. 119, 120.

(78) Not. in Oppiani Cynegetica.

(79) Anonit. Juris, cap. 25. pag. m. 139.

(80) Lib. 2. Pa- rergorum Juris, cap. 22.

(81) Spanhem. de Praesant. Numismat. pag. 626.

(82) Xiphilin. in Severo, pag. 310.

(83) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. tom. 3. pag. 389.

[L] There are some difficulties with respect to the time of her marriage with Severus.] Dion (82) asserts that Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, prepared the nuptial chamber of Severus and Julia, in the temple of Venus that was in the palace. Now Faustina died in the East about the close of the year 175 (83). The marriage of Severus and Julia was not therefore after that year. Julia was soon made a mother. It is not known whether Caracalla was the eldest of all her children, but that might be, according to Spartian, who declares him to have lived forty three years. Caracalla was killed in the year 217; and consequently he was born in the year 174, in case he lived to the age we are told by Spartian. Should it be objected to this author, that Caracalla and Julia must have been married about the year 212, since it was after the beginning of Caracalla's reign, a reign that continued but six years; and should it be concluded from thence, that this marriage is a mere chimera, since Julia was then above fifty years of age; this author, I say, will answer that Julia was not Caracalla's mother: he will insist that she was not married to Severus till a long time after the year 174. Nevertheless Dion furnishes us with a strong proof that Julia must have been fifty years of age at least, when her naked charms are said to have enchanted Caracalla to such a degree. From what he says, we should suppose that she married before Faustina's death, and consequently that she was at least twelve or thirteen in 175. I will now shew, that Caracalla could not possibly have been born the first year of Julia's marriage, if it be true that this marriage happened before Faustina's death.

Spartian says, that Caracalla was but five years old when his father was Governor of Aegyptum (which cannot be fixed before the year 190) and that he put on the Toga virilis when he was nominated Consul (that is at the close of the year 201; and so he was then at most but in the beginning of his fifteenth year.) He says every where, that Caracalla was very young when Severus came to the Empire. He represents him as a child of two or three years old, at most, at Geta's birth,

i. e. the 27th of May 189 (84). All this is inconsistent with the forty three years of age which he declares this Emperor to be, he being killed in the year 217. He therefore contradicts himself. Dion affirms, that Geta lived but twenty two years and nine months (85), and that Caracalla lived but twenty nine years (86). Now Caracalla lived but six years (87) after Geta's death, and was killed in the year 217. Geta therefore must have been born in 189, and Caracalla (86) Idem, ibid. in 188. There then must have been a long interval between Julia's marriage, and Caracalla's birth, in case Faustina had prepared the nuptial bed, as Dion relates; and nevertheless, according to Spartian, Julia's marriage was quickly fruitful, and gave Severus a second son a few years after the birth of the first. *Ex qua (Julia) statim pater factus est. A Gallis obibat Caracalla severitatem & honorificentiam & abstinentiam, tantum quantum nemo dilectus est. Deinde Pannonias proconsulari imperio rexist. Post hoc Siciliam proconsularem forte meruit, suscepitque Romae alterum filium (88).* i. e. Dion, edit. of 1606.

"By whom (Julia) he was soon made a father. "The Gauls had a prodigious affection for him, "because of his severity, honour, and temperance. "He next governed Pannonia in quality of Proconsul; was afterwards Proconsul of Sicily, and "had another son in Rome." There is a great deal of confusion in all this. I know not whether the reader will approve of a conjecture I am going to venture at random. Methinks Dion does not say that Faustina really prepared the nuptial chamber; but that Severus imagined he had seen her, in a dream, prepare it. This historian relates, in that place several prelates of Severus's exaltation; and after speaking of the six first, he adds, that they appeared to him in his sleep. *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἰσθῆσαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴετα τὸν βασιλικὸν δόμον ἰσθῆσαν ἂν ἴτι ἀγνοία ἰσθῆσαν. Quae omnia quum ex somnis intellexerit Severus, tam id revera evenit, quod quum adhuc ephebus esset, confedit in sella principis per imprudentiam (89);* and then the Historian (89) Xiphilin. in question speaks of the seventh preface as of a fortuitous action done when he was awake. In relating the six first, he does not always observe, on each in particular, that it was a dream, but he does this three or four times. This must have misled the interpreters; for he does not observe it as to this action of Faustina, which is one of those six prefaces or omens; he tells it as a real thing, I mean without giving notice that it was a dream. Now since he does thus with respect to some of the other omens, which it is manifest were only dreams; and since, before he relates the omen that consisted in a real action, he gives notice that all the preceding omens appeared in his sleep; methinks we may conclude, that he gives this preparation of the nuptial bed by Faustina in the temple of Venus, as the vision of a man who sleeps. I know not whether a nuptial chamber was ever prepared for a particular person in a temple. It is easier therefore to come to the assistance of Dion than to disengage the other Historians; and nevertheless many contradictions are objected (but without much foundation) to the latter. This I will here examine, after observing that Mr. de Tillemont should not have preferred this passage of Dion, to the hypothesis which Spartian leads us to (90). This hypothesis is to say, that Severus married Julia, whilst he commanded in Gallia Lugdunensis, in the year 186. According to some Historians (91) Caracalla was born at Lyons.

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Trifan (92) alleges as a proof of the contradictions of Spartian, the following words of Caracalla's Life. *Hic tamen omnium durissimus, & ut uno complectar verbo, parricida, incestorum reus, patris matris, & fratris inimicus (93).* i. e. "He yet was the most hard-hearted of men; to say all in a word, he was guilty of parricide and incest, and an enemy to his father, mother, and brother." But methinks he cannot hereby be convicted of contradiction, and of forgetting his hypothesis: he might assert, that he takes the word *mater*, in the same idea which he explains two pages before; *Matrem enim (non alia dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem.* i. e. "He married his mother, "for this was the only name she could be called by." And we find that he does not omit the incest, in the

words

(90) See Tillemont, Hist. des Emperours, tom. 3. pag. 389. and Spartian, in Severo, cap. 3 & 4. pag. 594.

(91) Aurel. Victor. in Caesarib. pag. 211.

ENQUIRY into some contradictions objected to Spartian.

(92) Trifan, Comment. Hist. tom. 2. pag. 119.

(93) Spart. in Caracalla, sub fin. pag. 732.

which she is called the Mother of the Camps, the Mother of the Country, and Mother of the Senate.

(94) Trifan. *Comment. Hist. tom. 2. pag. 119.*

words related by Trifan (94). "The abovementioned Spartan mentions the just reason which Caracalla said he had to get his brother dispatched, viz. that he despised their mother, and did not pay her the veneration that was due; whence it is plain that Spartan, or the author from whom he borrowed it, was persuaded that she was their common mother; for he would not have had any reason to be so much exasperated at his brother's irreverence with regard to Julia, had she not been his mother; and the pretence had been as ridiculous as it was judged barbarous, notwithstanding all the other reasons he invented to palliate his cruelty and guilt." Here we have a very bad objection; for first, these words, *matri sum irreverentem fuisse* (95), signify only, that Geta did not respect his mother; and they must not be translated as if being spoken by Caracalla, they mean, *Geta does not respect our mother*. Nevertheless, Trifan understood them in this sense, which was his own fault. Secondly, it is a very specious pretence, in order to extenuate the guilt of a murder, to say that the person murdered used his mother ill. An usurer, who should have dethroned a Prince who had treated his mother with insolence, would not fail to accuse him of that crime, though he were not related

(95) Spart. in *Geta*, cap. 2. pag. 709.

to the family dethroned. Cromwell and his adherents would have exhausted all the common places of rhetoric, could they have reproached Charles I with so irreverent a behaviour: much more could this pretence be alledged, if a person was son-in-law to the Lady who had met with ill treatment from her own son. Such a man would say, that it was incumbent on him to defend all the rights of his father's widow against all opponents whatsoever; in a word, he would lay down an hundred very plausible reasons, such as might make the strongest impression; so that I do not know what Trifan was thinking of, when he called this a ridiculous pretence.

Here follows a more real objection against Spartan. He says (96) that Caracalla, being in his thirteenth year, was proclaimed as a partner of the Empire by the soldiers, on the taking of Ctesiphon. He adds that Severus, being returned to Syria, gave the *Toga virilis* to Caracalla, and appointed him his colleague in the Consulate, which they entered upon immediately. This Consulship was in 202, and Ctesiphon was taken in 198: and therefore it was not possible that Caracalla, who was killed in the year 217, should have lived so long as is affirmed by this Historian, that is, forty three years.

(96) In *Severo*, cap. 16.

(a) Strabo, lib. 10. Suidas, Stephanus.

JULIS, a town of the island Cea in the Ægean Sea. This city (a) gave birth to Simonides the Poet, Bacchylides the Poet his nephew, Prodicus the Sophist, Erasistratus the Physician, and a Philosopher called Ariston [A]. Valerius Maximus (b) relates a very singular thing whereof he was witness, when he passed by Julis, in the retinue of Sextus Pompeius, who was going to Asia to exercise his Proconsulship. I have spoke of this elsewhere (c). When the four cities in this island were reduced to two, Julis was one of the two (d). It was built on a mountain three miles from the sea. As it was the native place of so many great men, it should not have been omitted by Moreri, nor expunged from the Dictionary of Charles Stephens by Lloyd, who ought to have rectified that article [B] rather than quite suppressed it.

(b) Lib. 2. cap. 6.

(c) In the article ZIA, near the close of the remark [C].

(d) Strabo, lib. 10.

[A] A Philosopher called Ariston.] Thus we ought to say, and not like Moreri (1) *the Philosopher Ariston*; for this expression would induce me to think, either that there was but one Philosopher so called; or that the Ariston born at Julis, was infinitely more famous than all the rest of the Aristons. Now both these circumstances are false.

(1) Under the word *Cea*.

[B] Lloyd... ought to have rectified that article.] Charles Stephens had done well not to declare in so ab-

solute a manner, that the island of Cea was called indifferently Cia or Cos: and to examine better what he relates, viz. that there was a law in Julis which sentenced to death all persons that were above threescore; and that this law was enacted in order to keep the rest of the inhabitants from being in want of victuals. Read what we shall say on this subject in the notes on the article ZIA.

JULIUS II, created Pope the night between the 31st of October and 1st of November 1503, was nephew to Pope Sixtus IV, and his name was called Julian de la Ruvere (a). It is related that he had been a waterman [A]. There was a very singular circumstance

(a) So the Italians pronounce it.

[A] It is related that he had been a waterman.] Erasmus has inserted this tradition in his Adages. *Armo ad tribunal*, says he (1), *Dici solitum ubi quis repente ab infima conditione provebitur ad honesti muneris administrationem. Id quod haud scio an ulli contigerit feliciter quam Julio secundo. Nam fama est, hunc juvenem ad stipem scalum remo subigere solitum, & tamen à remulco non solum ad tribunal, verumetiam ad summum illud rerum humanarum culmen evectus est. Nec contentus hoc fastigio, pontificiæ ditionis pomeria multum protulit: longius etiam producturus, si per mortis inclementiam vitam illi producere licuisset.* i. e. "From the oar to the tribunal (*says he*) is said in a proverbial way, when a man is advanced from a low condition, to an honourable post. I do not know whether any man was more fortunate on this article than Julius II; for it is said that he, in his younger days, used to row for money: and nevertheless he was raised, not only from a boat to the tribunal, but even to the summit of all human honours. And not satisfied with this exaltation, he very much enlarged the authority of the Popes, and would have enlarged it much more, had he not been snatched away by death." Father Theophilus Raynaud is mistaken, when he says (2) that Erasmus mentions the same thing in his explica-

(1) Erasmus. *Adag. Chil. 3. Cent. 4. num. 86. pag. m. 725.*

(2) Theophil. Rainaud. *Hoplobeca*, Sect. 2. Serie 3. cap. 1. pag. m. 303.

tion of the proverb, *A scapha triumphalem quadrigam*: i. e. "From a boat to a triumphal chariot:" for it was not Erasmus but Hadrian Junius (3) who explains this adage, and says, *Efferrit potest de quovis è face hominum ad magnas opes dignitateque provecto, quemadmodum Julius Ligur post sedentariam operam in ducendo scalmu diu navatam, Sixti Pontificis beneficio insignibus Ecclesiasticorum honorum ornatus, tandem ad Pontificatum maximum emerfit.* i. e. "This may be said of any one who, from the dregs of the people, is raised to great wealth and honours, as Pope Julius, who, after having been long employed in rowing a boat, was by the indulgence of Pope Sixtus, raised to high honours in the Church, and at last ascended to the pontifical throne." Anastasius Germonius Archbishop of Tarantasia, has asserted, that whatever is related concerning the birth of Sixtus IV and Julia II is false; and that Leonard de la Ruvere, father to Sixtus, was a very noble Knight; and that the Ruvere family, before this Pope's exaltation, lived in great splendor. *Sixtus IV falso jactatus est à plebeis & piscatoribus editus, cum patrem haberet Leonardum de Ruvere, Equitem nobilissimum, ut observavit Anastasius Germonius, exponens indultum Hieronymi Cardinalis de Ruvere §. Sixtus num. 28. qui etiam § Magnis, de gentibus Ruveræ antiquo, (etiam ante Sixtum) splendore, agit diffusissimè* (4).

(3) Hadr. Jun. *Adag. Cent. 6. num. 43.*

(4) Theophil. Rainaud. *Hoplobeca*, pag. 304. Mr.

circumstances in his election [B]; for, strictly speaking, it was before the Cardinals entered into the Conclave. He had won over the Duke of Valentino's faction, by making this Nobleman believe that he was his father [C], and promising to treat him as his son. However, he did the very contrary afterwards. No man was ever formed with a more martial soul than our Pope Julius [D]. He used to be present at the siege of

(5) In a manuscript remark he favoured me with.

Mr. de la Monnoie (5) pretends that Anastasius Germonius, "who only copies Onuphrius, cannot stand against Philephus, Baptist Fregoso, Volateranus, Corio, Erasmus, Machiavel, Chaffeneuz, Bandello, du Ferron, Maffo, and so many others, many whereof are quoted by Spondanus in his Continuation of Baronius, in the year 1471. n. 10." Bandello affirms that Julius II used to boast that he had formerly rowed a boat. *Giulio secondo Pontefice, anteborche di bassissima gente fosse disceso, e non si vergognasse spesso fate dire che egli da Arbizuola, villa del Savonese, haveffe con una barchetta più volte, quando era garzone, menato de le cipolle à vendere à Genova, fù nondimeno buono di grandissimo ingegno, e di molto elevato spirito* (6). i. e. "Pope Julius II, although of very mean birth, was not ashamed to say often, that from Arbizuola, a village of the Savonese, he, when a boy, carried onions in a boat to sell at Genoa; he yet was a man of prodigious parts, and master of an excellent genius."

(6) Bandello, Novell. 31. of Part 1. fol. 219 verso. This passage was communicated to me by Mr. de la Monnoie.

[B] There was a very singular circumstance in his election. He was sure of it before the Cardinals entered into the conclave; so that Julian de la Ruvere was Pope at his coming into it. There was an exception to this pretty common proverb, that he who is a Pope at his entering into the conclave, comes out a Cardinal: *Cbi entra Papa, esce Cardinale* (7). He had made sure of his faction by so many promises, and was enabled, so many ways, to enrich those who should favour him, that it was not possible for him to miss the Pontificate; for besides the wealth he had already amassed, he had that of other people's, every one being eager to offer him money, and even benefices; so that by these means he was enabled to promise more than was desired of him. Such are the iniquitous steps by which he ascended to the Pontificate. It is not a Protestant who observes this; it is an Italian author. *Ma molto più ve lo promouono le promissioni immoderate, & infinite fatte de lui à Cardinali, à Principi, à Baroni, & à ciascuno, che gli potesse essere utile a questo negotio, di quanto seppono dimandare: & hebbe oltra ciò facultà di distribuir danari, e molti beneficii, e dignità Ecclesiastiche, così delle sue proprie, come di quelle d'altri: perche alla fama della sua liberalità molti concorrevano spontaneamente ad offerirgli, che usasse a proposito suo i danari, il nome, gli officii, & i beneficii loro: ne fu considerato per alcuno essere molto maggiore le sue promesse di quello, che poi Pontefice potesse, o dovesse osservare: perche haveva lungamente havuto nome tale d'buomo libero, & veridico, che Alessandro Sesto, nimico suo tanto acerbo, mordendolo nell'altre cose, confessava lui essere buono verace; laqual laude, egli sapendo, che NIUNO più facilmente inganna gli altri, che chi è solito, & ha fama di mai non gl'ingannare; non teme conto, per conseguire il Ponteficato, di maculare* (8). i. e. "But the circumstances which contributed so much more to his advancement, was, the extravagant and numberless promises he made to the Cardinals, Princes, Barons, and to all those who might be of service to him in that affair. Besides, he had an opportunity of distributing monies and a great number of benefices, and spiritual dignities, not only such as were his own, but also those of other people; for so great was the fame of his liberality, that many came to him spontaneously, and desired him to dispose at pleasure of their monies, their names, their offices and benefices. Nor were his promises thought by many to be much greater than he could or would fulfil, when he should be raised to the Pontificate; for he had so long enjoyed the reputation of being an ingenuous man, and true to his word, that Alexander VI, who was so bitter an enemy to Julius, and inveighed so sharply against him on other occasions, confessed that he was a man of his word; an encomium which he, in order to obtain the Pontificate, did not scruple to stain; well knowing, that no persons have a more easy opportunity of imposing upon others,

(8) Guicciardin. lib. 6. folio m. 165 verso.

"than those who are not used to cheat, and do not pass for deceivers." Had he not employed those simoniacal methods, how would it have been possible for him to prevail with the Cardinals to give him their voices; he who had ever discovered so turbulent, so dreadful a disposition, and had created so many enemies? *Il qualo era notissimo essere di natura molto difficile, e formidabile a ciascuno; & il quale inquietissimo in ogni tempo, e che haveva consumato l'eta in continui travagli; haveva per necessità offeso molti, esercitato odii, e inimicitie con molti buomini grandi* (9). i. e. (9) *Idem, ibid.*

"Who being universally known to be of a very severe and terrible turn of mind; who had ever been restless, and having spent his life in perpetual toils, must necessarily have offended multitudes, and exercised hatreds against many persons of high distinction." Money effects all things; it created a Pope before the Cardinals had met in order to elect one; a circumstance that had never happened before. *Il Cardinale di San Pietro in Vincola potente d'amici, de reputatione, e di ricchezze, haveva tirati a, e i voti di tanti Cardinali, che non havendo ardire di opporlegli quegli, che erano di contraria sentenza, entrando in Conclave gia Papa certo, e stabilito; fu con effempio incognito prima alla memoria de gli buomini, senza che altrimenti si chiudesse il Conclave, la notte medesima, che fu la notte dell'ultimo giorno d'Otobre, assunto al Ponteficato* (10). i. e. (10) *Idem, ibid. folio 165.*

"The Cardinal of St. Peter in Vinculis, who was powerful in friends, in reputation and riches, had gained the voices of so many Cardinals; that those who were against him not daring to make any opposition, he, at his entrance into the Conclave, was elected Pope that night, the last of October, a circumstance not to be paralleled in the memory of man."

[C] He making... the Duke of Valentino believe, that he was his father. I have read this no where but in a work of Varillas. This Historian (11) relates, that the French accused Julius II "of having ascended St. Peter's throne by two irregular ways, viz. those of simony (12) and knavery. To prove the simony, they specified the benefices and legateships promised in the Conclave, and bestowed after the election on such Cardinals as were chiefs of the factions; and mentioned the sums of money which other Cardinals had received as a reward for their voices. To prove the knavery, they remonstrated to the same Pope that the Spanish Cardinals having bound themselves by an oath, not to give their voices but to that person, who should be proposed by the Duke of Valentino; the Cardinal of St. Peter in Vinculis, who was that Duke's enemy, bribed some persons, who wrought so far upon that Duke as to make him believe he was his father; that he had kept his mother, at a time when she was thought to be enjoyed only by Cardinal Borgia, who was afterwards Alexander VI; that the jealousy which this Borgia had conceived on that account was the sole cause of his persecuting him for upwards of ten years; but that now since a new Pope was to be elected, he, provided the Duke would employ his interest for him, would treat him as a son. The Duke of Valentino gave credit to what was told him in confidence, so far as to consent, that the Cardinals of his faction should elect him of St. Peter in Vinculis, who did not fail immediately to divest him of all Romagna and Umbria, instead of acknowledging him for his son."

(11) *Anecdotes de France, pag. 229, 230.*

(12) With regard to the Simony, see what has been cited from Guicciardin, remark [B] above.

[D] No man was ever formed with a more martial soul than our Pope Julius. Here follows what John le Maire, Historiographer of Lewis XII says concerning this matter. "Let us farther observe another surprizing difference in the conclusion of that work; I mean the gracious treatment and tractable behaviour of the Soldan towards the Most Christian King, in comparison of the rigour and obstinacy of the present Pope, who quite martial and sour, in his armour, as though

of towns; and shewed greater ardour at them, than those who commanded his armies [E]. A vast number of writers affirm that he one day threw St. Peter's keys into the Tyber [F], in order that he might make use only of St. Paul's sword; but as those writers copy one another,

though he was desirous that his dreadful and warlike armaments should be spoke of, as those of the mighty Tamerlane, Emperor and Soldan of the Tartars, will always continue wars, which become him as much as it does a Friar to dance in his habit. He yet must not think of making a new world wholly monstrous, as he thinks to do; for hogs will always eat acorns. The oak shall be stript of its leaves in due time, and the wood applied to such uses as are proper for it. But the beautiful stelferous crown, and the eagle of Jupiter, which, as Astrologers declare, are bright celestial luminaries, fixed and immoveable, shall shine in the firmament so long as the world lasts (13). William Budæus calls him a sanguinary leader of gladiators, *Cum interim sub ipso lanista sanguinario* (14); and has represented in very strong colours the scandal that Pope gave, who, at the age of seventy, appeared publicly in a military habit, whilst the people were going in procession to beg a peace from the Almighty. *Cum*

(13) John le Maine de Belges, *Prologue to his Treatise of Schisms*, pag. 2. Lyons edit. 1549 folio.

(14) Budæus, *de sacerdos septuagenarius Christi, Pacis conditoris & parentis Legatus, Bellonæ sacris operaretur: cui cum gentium, cum profanum vulgus ad delubra pacis & concordie miserabili specie supplicationes inibat. Enimvero visendum spectaculum, Patrem non modo sanctissimum, sed etiam senio & canitie spectabilem, quasi ad tumultum Gallicum Bellonæ fama suos evocatos cientem; non trabea, non augustis insignibus venerandum, non Pontificis gestaminibus sacrosanctum, sed paludamenta & cultu barbarico conspicuum; sed furiali, ut ita dicam, confidentia succinctum, fulminibus illis brutis & inanibus lucidam, eminente in truci vultu cultuque spirituum atrocitate* (15). i. e. "When a Minister of Christ, aged seventy years, an Ambassador sent from the Prince of Peace, was busied in offering up sacrifices to Bellona, to whom vows were made in a great profusion of human blood, and that at a time when the vulgar were mournfully praying in the Churches of Peace and Concord, it indeed was a surprizing spectacle, to behold a most holy father, venerable for his old age and silver hairs, rousing his subjects to war; not dressed in kingly robes or in a pontifical habit, but in that of a dreadful warrior, girded as it were with furious confidence; glittering with vain and empty fulminations; and discovering by his air and dress the rage with which he was fired." This is but a small part of Budæus's violent exclamations against this Pope. The reader may see them more at large in Flacius Illyricus's twentieth book of his *Catalogus testium veritatis*.

(15) Idem, *ibid.* apud Hottinger, *ibid.* pag. 546.

(16) Du Pleffis, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 578.

(17) Du Pleffis cites Monstrelet in the new Additions, but it is an error; for Monstrelet died before the Pontificate of Julius II, and is not author of those Additions.

[E] He used to be present at the siege of towns, and shewed greater ardour at them than those who commanded his armies.] Du Pleffis Mornai does not make any additions to Guicciardin's expressions, when he says (16), "Being determined to attack Ferrara, he was advised to take Mirandola first; and being tired with the slow progress of the siege, which went not to his mind (a circumstance not expected, and that never happened before) Christ's Vicar upon earth, was there in person, against a Christian town, says Guicciardin, and though so old and sick, was so obstinate and impetuous, in a war, which he had raised against the Princes of Christendom, that nothing was done soon enough; he was ever crying aloud against the Captains, ever in a fury; and having his quarters so near the battery, that two men were killed in his kitchen, notwithstanding all the remonstrances his Cardinals could make with regard to the scandal he brought upon himself and the Roman Pontificate. Monstrelet (17) says as follows on this occasion; He abandoned St. Peter's chair, to assume the title of Mars God of Battle, to display his three crowns in the field, and to sleep in a watch tower; and God knows what a charming figure these miters, crosses and crosses made fluttering up and down the fields; the devil was not so silly as to be there, for benedictions were too cheap." Guicciardin represents in very strong terms the particulars relating to the siege of Mirandola; he observing that the Pope did not regard in any manner

the horrible feverity and coldness of the season which retarded the besieger's works. *Parò il secondo dì di Gennaio* (18) *da Bologna accompagnato da tre Cardinali*, (18) *Of the year e giunto nel campo, alloggiò in una casetta d'un villano*, 1511. *sottoposta a' colpi dell' artiglierie de' nimici: perche non era più lontana dalle mura della Mirandola che tiri in due volte una balestra commune: quivi affaticandosi, & esercitando non meno il corpo che la mente, e che l'Imperio, cavalcava quasi continuamente hora quà, hora là per il campo, sollecitato che si desse perfezzione al piantare dell' artiglierie, delle quali infino a quel giorno era piantata la minor parte, essendo impedito quasi tutte l'opere militari da' tempi asprissimi, e dalla neve quasi continua* (19). i. e. "The Pope set out the second of (19) Guicciard. January from Bologna accompanied by three Car- lib. 9. folio 262 dinals; and being come to the camp, he took up verso. "his quarters in a country cottage that was exposed to the enemy's canon: it not being farther from the walls of Mirandola, than twice the distance of a common cross-bow shot. There toiling no less with his mind than his body, he was continually riding up and down the camp, in order to finish the planting of the cannon, the greatest part of which could not be employed till then; most of the operations of war being suspended by the very rigorous season, and the almost perpetual snows." Complaining of his Captains, he encouraged his soldiers by the hopes of plunder, he promising them not to capitulate with the city, but to permit them to sack it. *Stette alla Concordia pochi giorni riconducendolo all' esercito la medesima impatienza, & ardore; il quale non raffreddò punto nel camino la neve grossissima, che tuttavia cadeva del Cielo, nè i freddi così smisurati che a pena i soldati potevano tollerargli: & alloggiato in una Chiesetta propinqua alle sue artiglierie, e più vicina alle mura, che non era l'alloggiamento primo, nè gli satisfacendo cosa alcuna di quelle, che si erano fatte, e che si facevano; con impetuossime parole si lamentava di tutti i Capitani, eccetto che di Marc' Antonio Colonna, il quale di nuovo haveva fatto venire da Modena; nè procedendo con minore impeto per l'esercito, hora questi sgridando, hora quelli altri confortando, e facendo con le parole, e con i fatti l'ufficio del Capitano. Prometteva, che i soldati procedevano virilmente, che non accetterebbe la Mirandola con alcuno patto; ma lascierebbe in potestà loro il saccheggiarla* (20). i. e. "The Pope did not stay (20) *ibid.* folio long at Concordia, the same impatience and heat 263. "drawing him back to the army; nor was his fury lessened in any manner by the prodigious snows that fell perpetually in the road, nor by the cold which was so extreme that the soldiers could scarce bear it. He himself was quartered in a little Church near to his artillery, and nearer the walls than his former quarters were; and not being satisfied with any thing that had been done or was then doing, he vented the most bitter complaints against all his Captains, except Mark Anthony Colonna, whom he had lately sent for from Modena. He rode with great impatience about the camp; one moment crying out to one, and the next exhorting another, and acting as a Captain both in his words and actions. He promised that if the soldiers would signalize themselves, he would not suffer the citizens of Mirandola to come to any composition whatsoever, but suffer his army to sack it." Mezerai (21) re- (21) *Avérgi Chronol. tom. 4. pag. 455. ad ann. 1511.*

lates that the city having been surrendered upon articles (22) He should have said the 20th of January. (22) *the 19th of March* (22), the Pope would be, and was carried into it through the breach.

[F] A vast number of writers affirm that he one day threw St. Peter's keys into the Tyber.] I have not hitherto met with any other authority for this incident than the following Latin epigram of one Gilbertus Ducherius Vulto (23) of Aigueperre.

*In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tiberidis amnem
Projicit, & sævus, talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.*

(23) Du Pleffis, pag. 580. cites only this author, and calls him Gilbertus Ducherius. He was of Aigueperre in Auvergne. His Epigrams were printed at Lyons in 1538.

" Julius

another, without citing one original author of credit, I would not advise any person to warrant that incident. However this be, it may be said that if this Pope was not endowed with the qualities that form the good Bishop, he at least had those of a conquering Prince. Pope Julius was very courageous, and had a head that was well turned for politicks, by which he formed alliances, or broke them, accordingly as it suited his interest. He made a very formidable League against the Commonwealth of Venice; and employed, among other things, the thunder of his excommunications; but finding that the victory which the King of France, one of the Chiefs of that League, had obtained over the Venetians, weakened that Republic too much, he abandoned his allies, and joined those of Venice. The Emperor and King of France being equally disgusted at him, endeavoured to bring him to reason, by a method that was always formidable to the Popes, viz. by calling a Council (b). However, this did not intimidate our Julius in any manner, but he proceeded with severity against this Council; and called another which gained the superiority, and to which the King of France at last submitted, after a low and groveling manner [G]. Julius II was indeed not alive at that time. The sacred

(b) It was convened at Pisa, and afterwards transferred to Milan, and lastly at Lyons.

“ Julius, as fame reports, resolv'd to wage
 “ Fell war with Gaul, leads out a mighty army :
 “ Girt with his sword, he into Tiber throws
 “ The keys; and furious, loudly thus he cries ;
 “ Since, Peter, thy fam'd keys in war avail not,
 “ I'll now unsheathe, O Paul, thy mighty sword.

It must be confessed that this is a very weak foundation; for when a Poet has a pretty thought, but does not find a subject proper for him to apply it, he does not scruple very much to supply the want of it by amplifications and fictions; and will rather sacrifice the truth than lose a smart saying. *Poetae modo aliquid argute vel acute dicere audeantur, plerumque verumne sit an falsum, propemodum non curant* (24). Be this as it will, this action of Julius II, whether true or false, is related by a great number of authors. One of the latest writers where I have seen it relates it thus (25). *Percusso cum ipsis (Veneti:) foedere exercitum suum adversus Imperatoris confederatos Ferrariensem & Ludovicum XII, Regem Francorum, iniquissimus & perfidissimus bellator eduxit* (26), *cum ea voce, quae ipsum non S. Petri, sed perditissimi & sceleratissimi latronis successorem esse monstravit. Cum exercitu enim Roma egressus, Petri clavem furibundus in Tiberim jactavit, adeoque, uti ingeniose Bibliander conclusit, omne, quod à Sancto Petro se habere finxit jus, Tiberini fluminis resignavit; additis hisce verbis: Quia clavis S. Petri amplius nil juvat, (evaginato gladio) valeat gladius S. Pauli. i. e.*

(24) Pappo Maffio, in Vita Leonis X.

(25) Joan. Henric. Heideggerus, Hist. Papatus, pag. 192, 193.

(26) Du Pleffis, pag. 580. should not have fixed this expedition a little after his election to the Pontificate.

“ Having concluded an alliance with the Venetians, “ this most unjust and most perfidious warrior marched “ out his army against the Emperor's allies, viz. the “ Duke of Ferrara, and Lewis XII of France, employing such an expression as shewed him to be the “ successer, not of St. Peter, but of a most abandoned “ and most villainous robber; for leading his army out “ of Rome, he, in a fury, threw St. Peter's key into “ the Tyber; in this manner resigning, as Bibliander “ ingeniously concludes, all the right and power which “ he pretended to have received from St. Peter; adding the following words, *since St. Peter's key is now “ of no service, (saying which he unsheathed his sword) “ let's see what St. Paul's sword will do.*” I must not omit that Hotman relates the same incident on the credit of Arnould du Ferron a Catholic Historian. *Is est Julius secundus, says he (27), de quo & Arnoldus Ferronus, vir imprimis doctus, & Galliae nostrae historicus, & Burdegalenfis quondam Parlamenti Senator, itemque alii complures memoriae prodiderunt: quod cum exercitu comparato Roma in Galliam, infesto in Regem nostrum animo, contenderet, suasque armatas copias ipse loricator ex urbe per Tiberis pontem educeret, multis hominum audientibus haec pronuntiavit: Quando nobis claves Petri nihil profunt, age, gladium Pauli distingamus: simul claves, quas secum attuleras, in Tiberim projecit, gladiumque vagina eduxit. Qua de re notum illud vetus carmen est* (28).

(27) In Bruto Fulmine, pag. m. 110, 111.

(28) It is Ducherius's Epigram quoted above: Hotman gives it at length.

I could never have believed that Hotman could be guilty of the unfairness, of which I am going to convict him. I have looked into Arnould du Ferron, and do not find that he cites Ducherius's epigram, as Hotman seems to say. The verses he quotes are of a very different kind; and he has added to them the answer which John de Lascaris made in favour of Julius II. I do not deny but that he relates the incident concerning the throwing of St. Peter's keys into the Ty-

ber, but he questions whether it be not a fiction. *Quin vulgatum est, says he (29), JOCONE CONFICTO an vero, quando Romani pictores Petro claves, Paulo ensem tribuunt, illum in Gallos emissurum copias ense accinctum & clavibus ad Tybrim profectum in aquas amnemque projecisse claves, haec inferentem, quandoquidem nihil Petri claves prodesse, Pauli ensem (quem mox eduxerat) auxilio futurum. i. e.* “ It is reported, truly “ or jokingly, that whereas the Roman painters draw “ St. Peter with keys and St. Paul with a sword, our “ Pope being about to march out an army against the “ French, armed with the sword and keys, and passing “ by the river Tyber, tossed the keys into it, saying “ at the same time, that since St. Peter's keys were of “ no benefit, he would make use of St. Paul's sword “ which he immediately drew.” Now is it consistent with fairness and sincerity, to ground such a story on the authority of a great Catholic Magistrate, and to omit the declaration he made, viz. that he did not know but it might be an imposture? Most books are full of such quotations; and that person, who often takes the pains to verify whether those who quote authors act with candor and exactness on those occasions; any person, I say, who often takes that pains, must necessarily contract such a distrust as will prompt him to believe only his own eyes. If an author of so great a reputation as Hotman takes such a liberty, what will not the little fry of authors do, who have nothing to lose? We here must argue just contrary to him who cried out,

Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures (30)? (30) Virgil. *Æneid.* 3. ver. 16.
 The sense is,
 “ What wou'd not masters do, if servants take
 “ Such freedom?

[G] *The King of France submitted after a low and groveling manner.*] This confirms what I have said elsewhere (31), that Princes seldom or never ended their quarrels with the Popes but to their confusion. Lewis XII had convened an assembly of the Gallican Church at Tours in 1510, in order to enquire whether he could justly make war on Julius II. This assembly had told him, *that his cause was just, and that of the Pope was not so: and that he might proceed to the offensive part, in order to defend himself* (32). At his and the Emperor's request, and in execution of the decree of the Council of Constance (33), some Cardinals had convened a great Council at Pisa. He and the Emperor had approved by their letters patents (34) the calling of this Council; he had protected the fathers who composed it, and who had declared Julius suspended from the administration of the Pontificate, and forbid all obedience to him (35); he had protected them, I say, against this Pope, who excommunicated and degraded them in his Council of Lateran; and nevertheless the same King declared some time after, that he looked upon the assembly of Pisa as a pretended Council. “ His proxies, *these are the words of the instrument* (36), having in their hands the letters patents of the said Most Christian King, sealed with his seal, and signed by him, and dispatched by his command, after the reverence and humility required in such cases, have entirely departed from the pretended Council of Pisa, and fully renounced it: and “ entirely, freely and simply adhered to the most holy “ Council

(31) The end of the note [B] in the article GREGORY VII.

(32) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 453.

(33) Ibid. pag. 457.

(34) Dated in July 1511.

(35) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* tom. 4. pag. 462.

(36) It is found entire in *la Reponse de Coeffeteau au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1221, & seq.

(c) The 11th of April, being Easter Sunday of the year 1512.

sacred League which he formed in Italy received a dreadful blow by the battle of Ravenna (c); and if his enemies had known how, or been able, to make a proper use of that advantage, they doubtless would have humbled this haughty Pontif; whereas they gave him an opportunity to recover himself after this severe shock [H], by the little benefit they made of this victory, to which the powerful diversions made in his favour contributed greatly. The Swiss indulged him great succours; in return for which our Pontif bestowed, with great liberality, titles and a great many marks of honour on the Cantons [I]. He was snatched away by sickness, in the midst of the great designs he was meditating [K]; the twenty second of February 1513. He was a lover of

“ Council of Lateran, as the only true and lawful
 “ one. Farther, pursuant to their procuration aforesaid,
 “ they have promised, that henceforward the said
 “ most Christian King shall not shew any favour, or
 “ give any assistance, in any manner whatsoever, to
 “ the said pretended Council of Pisa: but rather, that
 “ all those who shall be in his city of Lyons, or in
 “ any other part of his Kingdom, Territories and
 “ Lordships belonging to him, persisting in their ad-
 “ herence to the said pretended Council of Pisa, shall
 “ be forced to quit those places in a month; and all
 “ those, of what state, degree, dignity or condition
 “ they may be, whether Laity or Clergy, who shall
 “ refuse obstinately to obey, he will drive them out,
 “ and consider them as Schismatics; and as such,
 “ on any order of the said holy Father, shall pursue
 “ them with an armed force in case it be necessary.
 “ Farther, the said proxies have promised as above,
 “ that the said most Christian King shall cause six
 “ Prelates, and four Doctors, or most eminent Gra-
 “ duates among those who were in the said pretended
 “ Council of Pisa, shall be deputed to our said holy
 “ Father the Pope, for and in the name of the said
 “ pretended Council of Pisa, and representing the
 “ body of all those who adhered to it, to appear in
 “ person, between this and the first of January, be-
 “ fore his Holiness, in order to renounce entirely and
 “ simply the said Council of Pisa, and abjure it, after
 “ having asked and received, humbly and in due
 “ form, forgiveness and absolution from his Holiness.
 “ And moreover, that they shall adhere and incorpo-
 “ rate themselves with the said Council of Lateran,
 “ as to the only true and undoubted one, both in
 “ their own name and in that of their adherents.
 “ But in case they shall refuse to do this, the said
 “ King shall not give any succour, assistance, or fa-
 “ vour against the authority of the holy, Apostolical
 “ See, to any of those that were present at, or fa-
 “ voured the said pretended Council of Pisa; on the
 “ contrary, he shall to the utmost of his power, cause
 “ to be executed the sentences, decrees, and censures
 “ of our holy Father, even by force of arms, in case
 “ it be necessary, without the least dissimulation or
 “ fraud.” This is what those Prelates gain who side
 “ with their Prince in the contests he may have with
 “ the Court of Rome; they are sacrificed to the Pope
 “ when the divisions are ended. It is surprizing that so
 “ great a number should prefer their temporal to their
 “ spiritual Prince.

[H] They gave him an opportunity to recover himself after this severe shock.] He recovered himself so well, that the French were forced to evacuate the Milanese that very year. Nothing did so much prejudice to Lewis XII as the superstition of Anne of Bretagne his queen. She filled her brain with so many scruples, with respect to the war which the French waged against the Pope, that she retarded all her husband's good designs (37).

[I] Our Pontif bestowed, with great liberality, titles . . . on the Cantons.] “ Whereas his predecessors gave privileges to the Mendicant Friars, this Pope bestowed them on the Swiss Cantons, who were then the chief executors of his high enterprizes, to whom he gave the perpetual title of *Defenders of Ecclesiastical Liberty*, with several *Bulls, Standards, a Sword and a golden Cap*, and other presents, to oblige them “ to obey all his commands (38).”

[K] He was snatched away by sickness, in the midst of the great designs he was meditating (39).] This we are told by Guicciardin (40). *In questi tali e tanti pensieri* (that is, to prompt the King of England to make war on France, and dethrone Lewis XII, and bestow his Kingdom on the first who should be able to conquer it) e forse an-

cora in altri più oculti, e maggiori (perche in un animo tanto ferace non era incredibile concetto alcuno, quantunque vasto, e smisurato) l'opresse dopo infirmata di molti giorni la morte. . . . Principe d'animo, e di costanza insuperabile, ma impetuoso, e di concetti smisurati, per i quali che non precipitasse, lo sostenne più la riverenza della Chiesa, la discordia de' Principi, e la condizione de' tempi, che la moderazione, e la prudenza: degno certamente di somma gloria, se fusse stato Principe secolare, o se quella cura, e intentione, che hebbe ad esaltare con l'arti della guerra, la Chiesa nella grandezza temporale, bavesse havuta ad esaltarla con l'arti della pace nelle cose spirituali: e nondimeno sopra tutti suoi antecessori, di chiarissima, e honoratissima memoria, massimamente appresso a coloro, uguali, essendo perduti i veri vocaboli delle cose, e confusa la distintione del pesarle rettamente, giudicamo che sia più ufficio de' Pontefici, aggiungere con l'armi, e col sangue de' Christiani, imperio alla Sedia Apostolica, che l'affaticarsi con l'esempio buono della vita, e col correggere, e medicare i costumi trascorsi per la salute di quelle anime, per laquale si magnificano che Christo gli habbia costituiti in terra suoi Vicari (41). i. e. “ In (41) See a passage of Mezerai, in the remark [O] citation (60).
 “ these mighty and various thoughts, and perhaps
 “ in others more secret and more important (for in so
 “ fierce a mind as his, no idea or imagination, how
 “ vast soever it might be, is incredible) he, after
 “ many days sickness, drew near his end. . . . he
 “ was a Prince of wonderful constancy and courage,
 “ but so impetuous and full of vast conceptions, that
 “ the reverence due to the church, the discord of
 “ Princes, and the state of the times, did more to
 “ prevent his ruin, than his own moderation or pru-
 “ dence. He doubtless would be worthy of the
 “ highest glory, had he been a temporal Prince; or
 “ if that care and attention he had to raise the tem-
 “ poral grandeur of the church by means of war, had
 “ been employed to raise it, by means of peace, in
 “ spiritual matters. Nevertheless he was bewailed
 “ more than any of his predecessors, though ever so
 “ worthy; and particularly by those persons, who
 “ having lost the true names of things, and confound-
 “ ed distinctions in such a manner that they were not
 “ able to weigh them rightly, thought it an office
 “ more duly belonging to the Popes, to increase the
 “ power of the See of Rome by arms and the blood of
 “ Christians, than to endeavour, by good examples
 “ of life, and a proper curing of corrupt manners, at
 “ the salvation of those souls, for which they glory,
 “ that Christ has appointed them his Vicar upon
 “ earth.” How judicious is this, and how admirable
 “ a censure is it of those impatient Doctors, who believe
 “ that every thing is just, provided it contributes to the
 “ temporal grandeur of the church! This strikes Cardinal
 “ Pallavicino in particular, who speaks so faintly of
 “ the faults of Julius II, and excuses them on account of
 “ the temporal advantages they brought to St. Peter's
 “ patrimony. *Fu dotato, says he (42), di spiriti eccelsi, (42) Istoria del
 “ a tal che se fosse stato principe di dominio sol tempo. Concilio, lib. 1.
 “ rale, meriterebbe d'esser contato fra gli Eroi . . . Certamente senza una tal ferocia non bavrebbe recuperato egli
 “ alla Chiesa il piu e' l meglio del suo dominio. i. e.* “ That
 “ Pope was endowed, says he, with a high spirit, in-
 “ somuch that had he been a temporal Prince, he
 “ would deserve to be ranked among the Heroes . . .
 “ Had it not been for that fierceness, he certainly
 “ would not have recovered to the church the
 “ most and best parts of its jurisdiction or patrimo-
 “ ny.”

Paulus Jovius (43) declares that Julius II, at his (43) Ibid. num. death, had meditated a grand design on the Kingdom of Naples. *Hæc ingenti animo, verum agro corpore co-*

gitantem, diuturnus sumentis alvi moribus intercept (44). Vita Alfonsi Ferraria Ducis, pag. m. 353, which 354.

(37) See Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* pag. 457, 460.

(38) Du Pleffis Mornai, *Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 580. See also Heidegger, *Hist. Papatns*, pag. 192, 193.

(39) Varillas, *Hist. de Louis XII*, liv. 10. pag. m. 217, & seq. specifies several.

(40) Guicciardin, lib. 11. folio 325.

of the fair-sex and the bottle [L]; and he is even accused of sporting with his own sex [M]; and there is not a single crime he escapes being accused of, in a dialogue which it is pretended he had with St. Peter at Paradise Gate. The hatred he conceived against France, where he had found so secure an asylum under the Pontificate of Alexander VI, was so excessive, that he gave orders for killing all the French that should

which he suffered himself to be flattered, was but an empty name, whilst the Spaniards were possessed of Naples: *If God will but enable me to act*, answered he, striking his staff against the floor, *it shall not be so long. Ad quod Pontifex quassato scipione quo innixus pavimentum infrendendo pertundebat, respondit brevi futurum, ut Neapolitani non iratis superis externum jugum excutierent* (45).

(45) Idem, *ibid.*

[L] *He was a lover of the fair sex and the bottle.* We are told that the Emperor Maximilian made the following exclamation: *Deus æterne! nisi vigilares quam male esset mundo, quem regimus nos, ego miser venator, & ebriosus ille ac sceleratus Julius* (46). i. e. "Eternal God! if thou didst not watch over the world what would become of it, under such an Emperor as I (a poor hunter) and so wicked and drunken a Pope as Julius II?" Some Historians observe, that this Pontif. invented a new name in order to accuse the French of drinking wine too copiously, and voiding it immediately by urine, and they add that this was his great vice. *Gallos in universonum novo nomine augens Romanam supellestem, Miscurivinos vocaret, quasi immodicos vini potores quod mox emittendum esset, quo vitio ipse maxime laborabat* (47). i. e. "He added a new word to the Roman tongue, giving the French the general name of Wine-Pissers, as though they drank wine immoderately, which was to be voided afterwards; a vice to which he himself was very much addicted." I proceed next to his lewdness. He had a daughter, who was married to John Jordan de Urfinis, and he is made to say in a dialogue he had with St. Peter (48), that he had had the foul disease.

(46) Du Pleffis, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 580. citing Joachim Curæus, *Preisdienfis*, in *Annalibus Gentis Silesiæ*.

(47) Arnoldus Ferronus, in *Ludovic. XII.*, fol. 52 verso.

(48) I speak of this Dialogue in the remark [N]

It is to be observed, that there is an error in the words of Arnold de Ferron above cited. He supposes that the Pope coined the Latin word *Miscurivinos* to denote the drunkenness of the French; but Julius II did not express himself in that language; he employing the Italian tongue, and the word *Pisciavini*. It is said that one of his officers, a Norman, said one day to him, alluding to this, *By my troth, holy Father, you are a true Frenchman then; for you are one of the greatest Wine-Pissers upon earth* (49).

(49) I am obliged to Mr. de la Moënoie for this remark.

[M] *He is even accused of sporting with his own sex.* It is certain that Julius II is accused of this abominable vice. *We read in a treatise of one of our Divines of Paris, of two young Gentlemen forced by him, whom Queen Anne, consort of Lewis XII, had recommended to Cardinal de Nantes, in order to carry them into Italy* (50). In all probability du Pleffis gives us here a translation of the following words of Wolfius. *Legitur in Commentario Magistrorum Parisiensium (2) de Julio secundo Papa, quod duobus nobilissimi generis adolescentibus, quos Anna Galliarum Regina Nantensi Cardinali informandos commiserat, & aliis multis diabolicâ rabie (prob facinus) suprum intulerit* (51). This quotation seems to me too vague and indeterminate; he should have told us where, and in what place, the treatise of the Paris Doctors was printed. John Crepin, has been guilty of an anachronism, in the relation he gives of this adventure. "We read, says he (52), in a certain commentary of the Doctors of Paris against the Lutherans, that this Julius, excited by a diabolical frenzy, forcibly enjoyed two youths of a noble family, whom Queen Anne of France had sent to Robert Cardinal de Nantes, to be instructed by him." The Doctors of Paris would have been far from inserting such a particular in a controversial piece against the Lutherans; if they had inserted it any where, it is in the pieces that were wrote against Julius II under Lewis XII.

(50) Du Pleffis, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 581.

(51) Wolfius, *Leſion. Memorab.* tom. 2. pag. 21.

(52) In his *Etat de l'Eglise*, ad ann. 1513, pag. m. 512.

§ (2) This citation of Wolfius is false. He should have said: *in Commentario super Articulos Magistrorum Parisiensium*: whence it would have appeared, that this *Commentary* being a composition of the new Lutherans, one might expect to find such facts in it, as could not be decently advanced by the Sorbonne. This

commentary, (to observe it transiently) is cited by John Bale in his Life of Clement VII; and it relates to the XXV articles of the Sorbonne, published by Peter Gallandius in 1543, and refuted by Calvin in his *Antidote*, &c. See Du Boulay, Tom. VI, pag. 384 and 385 of his *History of the University of Paris*. REM. CRIT.]

[N] *A Dialogue which it is pretended he had with St. Peter at Paradise gate.* This is a very satyrical piece. Wolfius has inserted it in his *Leſiones memorabiles* (53). Rivetus (54) affirms that it was printed at Paris with the King's licence in the year 1612, at the end of the acts of the Council of Pisa. The substance of this Satyr is as follows. "Paulo post ipsius mortem Vir quidam doctus in lucem emisit Dialogum, quem inscripsit, Julius, in quo Pontificem hunc horrendorum criminum infimulat, nim. quod fuerit hominem scelerosum, temulentum, homicidam, simoniacum, veneficum, perjurum, rapax, portentosis libidinum generibus undique confpurcatus, denique scabie, quam vocant Gallicam, totus coopertus (55). i. e. "Soon after his death, a certain learned man published a dialogue, to which he gave the title of *Julius*, wherein this Pope is accused of horrid crimes, viz. with being publicly a mischievous man, a drunkard, a murderer, guilty of simony, a poisoner, a perjured wretch, rapacious, defiled in every respect with lusts of a monstrous kind; in fine, quite covered over with what is called the French disease." Some declared that this sharp piece was wrote by Faustus Andrelinus (56), and some ascribed it to Erasmus. Placcius affirms that several authors declare this, in the two places he quotes of Melchior Adam (57). I have looked into those two places, and find no other testimony than that of Leo Juda. Thus Placcius imposes upon us. Erasmus was very angry that this piece should be ascribed to him, and he endeavours to clear himself, very seriously, of this imputation in a letter; wherein he observes, that the piece in question was wrote against Pope Julius during the schism, but that he could not tell who the author was. That he had just cast his eye upon it five years before; and had met with it in Germany, but under different titles. That some said it was composed by a Spaniard, others by Faustus the Poet, and others again by Jerom Balbus. That he was not able to guess who it was wrote by; that the author, whoever he was, must be silly; but that he who published it was much more in fault. That he is surprized that some persons should declare it to be his, merely from the style, he judging it to be vastly different from it, &c. *Dialogi cujusdam suspicionem mihi moluntur impingere. Is, ut ex argumento satis constat, scriptus est in odium divi Julii Pontificis maximi schismatis tempore, sed à quo incertum, ante quinque annos degustavi verius quam legi. Post reperi in Germania apud quosdam descriptum, sed variis titulis. Quidam testabantur Hispani cujuspiam esse, sed suppresso nomine, rursus alii Fausto Poeta tribuebant, alii Hieronymo Balbo. Ego quid de his conjeſsem non habeo, subodoratus sum quoad licuit, verum nondum perveſtigavi, quod animo meo faceret satis. Ineptiſſi quisquis scripsit, at majore supplicio dignus, quisquis evulgavit. Ac miror esse qui solo styli argumento mihi obtrudere parent, quum nec mea sit phraſis, nisi prorsus ipse mihi sum ignotus, nec mirum sit futurum, etiam si qui in oratione nonnihil referrent Erasmicum, quum verſer in manibus omnium, & referimus serè, in quorum assidua leſione verſamur* (58) (8).

(53) In the edition of Wolfius, it is in the title *F. A. F. Poeta Regii Libellus de obitu Julii secundi*.

(54) *A Desiderio Erasmo Rotodamo conscriptus esse diversorum testimoniiſ confirmatur apud Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theolog. Germ. pag. m. 96. (it should be 97.) and pag. 167. (it should be 197) in Vitis Medic. Germ. Placcius, de Anonymis, num. 299. pag. 72.*

(55) Erasmus, *Epist. 1. lib. 12. pag. 575, 576.*

§ (8) Notwithstanding these protestations of Erasmus, yet this dialogue has still been ascribed to him; and the late Mr. Baluze has left, at the beginning of his copy, a Preface in his own hand writing, wherein he asserts that Erasmus is certainly the author of it. See Num. 2656 of *Bibliotheca Baluziana*, printed at Paris; for Martin and Boudot, 1719, in three volumes in 12mo. REM. CRIT.]

should be met with [O], and promised a reward to all those who should execute his command. We must not believe that the wine and hams which he sent to the King of England, were the true cause of the war which the English proclaimed against France [P]. I don't know whether it be possible to find a certain speech wherein he was very much abused. Varillas who speaks of this, has exposed himself to censure [Q]. Cardinal Bembo's

[O] *The hatred he conceived against France... was so excessive... that he gave orders for killing all the French that should be met with.* "Pope Julius observed no bounds in his anger. He had drawn up a decree, in the name of the Council, to transfer the Kingdom of France, and the title of Most Christian to the King of England (56). As he was just going to make this public, heaven taking pity on him and of Christendom snatched him away the 23d of February. He died of a hectic fever, caused, as it is related, by the uneasiness he was under, at his not having been able to prevail with the Venetians to be reconciled with the Emperor; so furious were his passions, and more becoming a Turkish Sultan than the common father of the Christians (60)." As for his order to murder all the French, I have read it no where but in page 109 and 110 of Francis Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen*. *Si quæ patrum memoria, says he, in hoc regno contigerunt recordari volumus, primum hoc reperiemus: Ludovicum XII (at, quem Regem? qui Patris patriæ nomen summo bonorum omnium consensu adeptus est) urbes aliquot Italia, bello captas, Papæ Julii secundi ditioni adjunxisset. Papam intermissis aliquot mensibus hanc Regi pro accepto beneficio gratiam retulisset, ut non modo eum schismaticum et hæreticum pronuntiaret, proscriberet, diris suis excommunicationum fulminibus infestaretur: verum etiam Gallos omnes hostilem in modum cruciandos, interficiendosque curaret: præmium etiam percussoribus polliceretur, peccatorum omnium veniam, et impunitatem, si quis vel unicum Gallum quoquo modo trucidaret... Quo nuntio (61) Julius accepto tanto dolore atque iracundia exarsit, ut non modo Gallis omnibus aqua et igne interdiceret, verum etiam obvium quemque mactari, trucidarique imperaret: præmiis etiam, ut dixi, scarios ac percussores invitaret.* i. e. "If we would recollect those things which happened in this Kingdom in the memory of our fathers, the first incident that occurs is this: Lewis XII (but what kind of Monarch was he? One who obtained the title, by the universal consent of all good men, of father of his country) added some cities of Italy, that had been taken during the war, to the dominions of Pope Julius II. That this Pontif, some months after, rewarded the King in the following manner for the favours he had received; viz. that he not only pronounced him a schismatic and heretic; proscribed and excommunicated him; but even caused all the French to be tortured and murdered; and even promised all those who should kill, in any manner soever, but a single Frenchman, not only a reward, but likewise the pardon of all their sins... This news being brought Julius (61), he flew into such a passion, that he not only excommunicated all the French, but even commanded those who should meet with them to murder them; he also encouraged ruffians and murderers, as I before observed, by promising them rewards."

[P] *We must not believe that the wine and hams... was the true cause of the war which the English proclaimed against France.* Spondanus has been so unfair as to insinuate this, and to joke upon it; and he pretends that the only reason why Polydore Virgil suppressed such an incident, was, that he might have at one and the same time the honour both of Italy and England. This Polydore was an Italian, and he resided in England, for which reason he interested himself for the honour and glory of both nations. Now he thought it shame that Italy should win over people by such a lure, and a shame for England to let itself be caught by such a bait. Here follows the Annalist's words. *Festivum est quod refert Guicciardinus, appulisse hoc tempore in Angliam Pontificiam longam navem Falerno vino, caseis suminisque onustam; quæ nomine Pontificis Regi, ac Principibus, Antistitibusque donata, ab omnibus miro applausu accepta sunt: et plebem, quam plerumque non minus leviam quam graviam movent, ad eam navem videndam summam cum voluptate accurrisse, gloriantem antea nunquam in eâ insulam navim ullam cum*

Pontificis vexillis conspectam. Quibus bellam gentem nobis depingit Guicciardinus, et vini acutique gustus appetentem, quibus sciret Pontifex eam facile in partes suas trahi posse; scuti olim Narses fecisse dicitur (), ut Longobardos in Italiam alliceret; omnis generis poma, aliarumque deliciarum irritamenta, quorum Italia ferax esset, mittens, ut pauperrima sua rura desertentes ad occupandam regionem cunctis refertam divitiis venirent. Eam rem ad id insignem, et Regi, principibusque, et Antistitibus, ac populo maxime acceptam gratamque, cum Polydorus Virgilius suæ Historiæ Anglicanæ non inferuerit; existimamus, ut Italum et in Angliam commorantem, utriusque nationis gravitati parcere voluisse (62).* i. e. (62) Spondanus, ad ann. 1512, num. 3. pag. m. 289. where the following words are put by way of summary; *Quibus illicis Pontifex sibi Augusti benedictos reddiderit.* i. e. "The allurements employed by the Pope, in order to win over the English." Guicciardin tells a pleasant story, viz. that one of the Pope's ships, laden with Falernian wine, cheeses, and hams, came at that time to England; all which things being presented in the Pope's name to the King, the Lords and Prelates, were received universally with applause; and that the common people, who are generally as much affected with trifles as with things of a solid kind, flocked with the utmost pleasure to view this ship; boasting that they had never before beheld a ship in their island carrying the Pope's colours. Guicciardin says, that the fine nation in question was very fond of wine and high seasoned meats, by which the Roman Pontif knew he should easily prevail with them to side with him: as it is related that Narses did formerly, in order to entice the Lombards into Italy; sending them fruits of every kind, and other dainties of which Italy is fruitful, in order that they might be prevailed upon to leave their extreme poor rural cottages, and possess themselves of a country abounding with riches of every kind. Now Polydore Virgil has omitted, in his History of England, this remarkable incident, so highly acceptable to the King, the Lords and Prelates, and especially to the people; and the reason for his omitting it I take to be this: as he was born in Italy, and resided in England, he did not care to expose either of those nations." Mezerai comes much nearer to truth and good sense; he observing, that the Pope fired Henry VIII with the ambition of protecting the true Church. The English, says he (63), "were upon the point of breaking with the King: for the Pope had intoxicated them with the vain glory of defending the Holy See, and with the flavour of the delicious wines of every kind, whereof he had sent them a large ship-load, together with hams, sausages and spices, to make them relish the better." According to Varillas (64), it was from a religious motive, that an English Bishop founded an alarm for war the day after the feast (65), at which the chief men of the Parliament were regaled with the good wines and excellent cheeses, which the Pope's galley had brought to London. The Prelate in question represented, that Lewis XII was a persecutor of the Church, and that it would reflect eternal shame on the English nation, to live in peace with those who persecuted the Holy See. Varillas ought to have explained a little better the several reasons employed by this Prelate; and not have contented himself with hinting, that religious motives were blended with those of policy. There is no doubt but the English Prelate represented, that Lewis XII wanted to dethrone the Pope, in no other view but to elect another who might suffer him to conquer all Italy. This doubtless was the true spring that put Henry VIII in motion. He saw plainly that if this was not opposed, Lewis XII would have the glory of deposing Pope Julius II, the scourge of the Christian world; after which he would elect any man he pleased for Pope, and subdue all Italy. Neither human politicks nor jealousy will let a Prince consent to such an increase of the glory and power of his neighbour; and for this reason Lewis XII was attacked by England, Switzerland and Spain.

[Q] *Varillas who speaks... of a certain speech... has exposed himself to censure.* He says (66), that Pompeo Colonna and Antonio Savelli hearing that

(59) *Concitava il Re d'Inghilterra alla guerra: al quale aveva ordinato che per decreto del Concilio Lateranense se trasferisse, il nome del Re Christianissimo: sopra la qual cosa era già scritta una Bolla, contenendosi in essa medesimamente la privazione della dignità, e del titolo di Re di Francia, concedendo quel Regno a qualunque lo occupasse.* Guicciardi. lib. 11. folio 325.

(60) Mezerai, *Abreg. Chronolog.* tom. 4. pag. 464. ad ann. 1513.

(61) i. e. that he had been suspended by the Council of Pisa transferred to Milan.

(*) Paul. Diacon. de Gest. Longob. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(62) Spondanus, ad ann. 1512, num. 3. pag. m. 289. where the following words are put by way of summary; *Quibus illicis Pontifex sibi Augusti benedictos reddiderit.* i. e. "The allurements employed by the Pope, in order to win over the English."

(63) *Abregé Chronolog.* tom. 4. pag. 459. ad ann. 1512.

(64) Varill. *Histoire de Louis XII.* liv. 8. pag. 81.

(65) Henry VIII gave the entertainment.

(66) Varillas, *Hist. de Louis XII.* liv. 8. pag. 8. ad ann. 1512.

Bembo's History of Venice, is sufficient to shew the passion, the insincerity, and prodigious ambition of Julius II, though this Historian is not so prolix on this article as Guicciardin.

Our Pope was so tired of the plaisters which his Surgeon had put unsuccessfully upon an ulcer, that at last there was no possibility of prevailing upon him to let it be dressed. The Surgeon who had promised with an oath not to use such plaisters any more, had recourse to an artifice which wrought a cure [R]. Bandello relates a pleasant incident.

Pope was fallen " into a kind of swoon which lasted four hours, and made the persons present think he was dead . . . assembled (67) their friends, ran up and down the streets, stirred up the citizens to rebellion, and led them to the Hotel de Ville, where Colonna the best orator of the two, made the most satirical speech that is extant, against the Popes in general, and Julius in particular. He declared that most of them had abused the supreme authority ever since the time they had usurped it; and enumerating all the cities that had formerly been governed by Tyrants, he concluded that none of them had met with such ill treatment as Rome. He descended to the particulars of the conduct of the last Popes, and dropt some particulars on that subject which it is not decent to relate." Varillas adds (68) that " Guicciardin had drawn up this speech from the memoirs of two or three people who had heard it spoke, but it has been struck out of the body of his history. It is nevertheless printed separately in Italian; and his French translator who had recovered it, restored it to the place from whence it had been taken." I have occasion for another passage of this author, before I make my criticism; let us therefore see the beginning of his preface (69). " When I caused, says he, the eighth book of this history to be printed, I imagined that the speech of Pompeio Colonna to the principal citizens of Rome, to prompt them to shake off the Papal yoke, was a very scarce piece: and indeed I had seen it no where but in the King's library. But I have been informed since, that it had been reprinted, by the direction of the late Mr. de Wicquefort, in the beginning of the book published by him, entitled *Thuanus restitutus*, and consequently that it is not hard to be met with at present. It is nevertheless certain, that Mr. de Wicquefort has discharged, in this respect; only part of what he owed the public, since he has not mentioned the motives that occasioned this speech, which is the most insolent that can be read; and as Guicciardin has not related them, the curious will perhaps not be displeas'd if I should supply the defect of those two historians. " The first motive &c." I cannot affirm that this speech is in the King's library, nor can I say that it is not, but I may venture to declare that Guicciardin never inserted it in his history. He speaks (70) but transiently of the insurrection, which the two men in question endeavoured to raise; and does not say that Pompeio Colonna, being the best orator, made the speech. It is not true that his French translator has restored that speech to the place from whence it had been taken. If this was so, it would not be a scarce piece, the French translation of Guicciardin being easily met with. It was not reprinted by the direction of Mr. de Wicquefort at the beginning of the *Thuanus restitutus*: but doubtless what follows misled Mr. de Varillas. In Guicciardin's fourth book, a long discourse has been omitted with respect to the manner how the Popes made themselves temporal sovereigns of part of Italy. The Protestants have preserved this discourse, and published it separately a numberless multitude of times (71). It is (72) in Latin, in Italian, and in French, at the end of the *Thuanus restitutus* printed at Amsterdam in 1663; and it is inserted in its proper place in the French translation of Guicciardin, by Jerom Chomedey, and printed at Geneva in the year 1593 with summaries, and marginal notes that plainly seem to be writ with a true Protestant spirit (73). Varillas having been told something concerning the history of the discourse in question, and concerning the speech made by those who endeavoured to excite the Romans to rebellion in 1511, has confounded the one with the other (74).

true, as Bayle pretends, that Guicciardin never inserted Pompeio Colonna's speech in his history, and spoke only transiently of the popular insurrection that he and Antonio Savelli endeavoured to excite in Rome in the year 1511; it is also true that he has inserted an extract of their speech to the people on that occasion; and that this extract, after having been omitted in most of the editions of Guicciardin, has been placed, not in the beginning, as Varillas says, of Wicquefort's *Thuanus restitutus*, but at the end of it; and it is surprizing, that Mr. Bayle, not only did not perceive this, but even affirmed positively the contrary, since he speaks of three passages of Guicciardin collected by de Wicquefort; and that the third of these passages is the very extract of Pompeio Colonna's speech. It is true indeed on the other side, that Varillas should not have spoke of this, as tho' it had been the speech itself, nor as being " the most insolent speech that can be read, and " the most satirical extant against the Popes in general " and Julius in particular," nor that Colonna descended " to the particulars of the conduct of the last Popes, " and that he dropt some particulars concerning this " subject which it is not very decent to relate;" since, besides that there is nothing like this in the extract in question; that nothing is there said in particular concerning the last Popes, and that Julius II is not so much as named in it, there are but two small pages in 12mo, in which they content themselves with representing in general the inconveniencies and irregularities of Church government. Nor should he have said, that the French translator, who recovered it, restored it to the place, whence it had been taken; for it is not there; a circumstance that is pretty surprizing, since that the other two castrated passages of Guicciardin, and collected by Mr. de Wicquefort, are each fixed in their proper places in the translation just mentioned. It was therefore just in Bayle to affirm that the speech in question was not restored, and this is the only thing on which his censure is grounded; for with regard to what he adds, viz. that doubtless Varillas confounded a castrated passage of the 4th book of Guicciardin, with this which belongs to the 10th book; what has been said above, shews sufficiently that these assertions are not well-grounded; and it is a proof of what Mr. Bayle has himself said elsewhere with so much judgment, viz. that on matters relating to facts, a person ought to be very cautious in his conjectures; and that such a one had much better suspend his judgment till such time as he has perused several writings or memoirs (*). I am informed by Mr. Lieve of Leipzig, that this extract of the speech in question is in its proper place, in the Italian edition of Guicciardin *ap- presso Jacobo Storer 1636*; but as to the speech itself, which Varillas says he saw in the King of France's Library, his authority is so much suspected, that it is not safe to rely upon it. REM. CRIT.]

[R] His Surgeon . . . had recourse to an artifice which wrought a cure.] Naudé brings this as an example, in a Dissertation where he enquires whether a patient may be imposed upon. *Is (celeberrimus Chirurgus Joannes de Vigo) dum modum carnosum Julii secundi contumaciorem in dies fieri, & Pontificem omne genus remedium constanter respuere animadverteret, novam quamdam medendi rationem meditatus est: pannos siquidem veteres frustillatim conscriptos unâ cum panis filiginei mica molliore, & arsenici sublimati in aquis rosarum & plantaginis excepti fomento, ad tertias in vase aëneo decoxit, expressisque demum illis, & pulveris modo ulceri admotis, quod nullis deinceps unguentis se curaturum jurjurando receperat, brevi summa cum omnium admiratione Pontificem à gravi & molesto affectu liberavit* (74). in *Pentade Quæst. i. e.* " That celebrated Surgeon John de Vigo, observing that Julius the Second's ulcer grew more stubborn every day, and that the Pope constantly refused every kind of remedy, projected a new method of cure; for he boiled, to a third part, in a brass cap. 3.

(67) Ibid. pag. 10.

(68) Ibid. pag. 13.

(69) Of tome 3. of the Hist. of Lewis XII.

(70) Guicciardin. liv. 10. folio 230. See also Paulus Jovius, in *Vita Leonis X.* pag. m. 108.

(71) See the article GUICCIARDIN, remark [A].

(72) With two other passages that had been retrenched, the one of the 3d book, and the other of the 10th of GUICCIARDIN.

(73) Written by de La Noue.

(*) Bayle's article of SEYMOUR (Anne, Margaret and Jane.)

(74) Naudæus, in *Pentade Quæst. i. e.* " That celebrated Surgeon John de Vigo, observing that Julius the Second's ulcer grew more stubborn every day, and that the Pope constantly refused every kind of remedy, projected a new method of cure; for he boiled, to a third part, in a brass cap. 3.

incident [S]. I have just now read in a French author, that this Pope was so malicious, as to invent a fiction injurious to the memory of Gaston de Foix Duke of Nemours; and which might heighten the superstition of the people, to the prejudice of France. This fiction was, that a serpent had been seen to come out of the Duke de Nemour's sepulchre. The author who tells this story, inveighs very sharply against this Pope [T].

"brass kettle, old rags torn to scraps, with crumbs of the finest white bread, and a fomentation of arsenic sublimated in rose-water and plantain; then expressing or drying them, and applying them to the ulcer, to which he had sworn he would no more apply any salve or plaster, he speedily cured the Pope, to the admiration of every one, of a very troublesome disease."

[S] *Bandello relates a pleasant incident.* The Germans, says he (75), "having asked the Pope leave to eat flesh on St. Martin's day when it should fall on a fish day, Julius being unwilling to deny their request publicly, granted it them, but on condition that they should drink no wine that day." Now this was equivalent to a refusal, there being more to be lost than got by such an indulgence.

[T] *This Pope was so malicious, as to invent a fiction injurious to the memory of Gaston de Foix . . . The author who tells this story, inveighs very sharply against this Pope.* I will first relate the story: *Non desuere qui predicarent serpentem visum de Fuxensis tumulo sibilum exilire, & hi maxime sacrificuli; nam ab iissem sæpe aliquid spectri novi intelligimus, sed Physici mitiores* (76). i. e. "There were not wanting some who spread a report, that a serpent was seen to issue swiftly, hissing, from Gaston de Foix's monument, and those persons were chiefly trifling Priests; for these frequently entertain us with the account of some new phantom or prodigy; but natural Philosophers are more indulgent to us." The reader will observe by the way, that this author says that the Priests were the chief promoters of this tale, and that it is pretty much their custom to spread prodigies. I omit his quotations from Elian and Sozomen (77), and will take only those particulars which relate to our Julius II. *Tales nugas in vulgus emiserat malignitas Julii II Pontificis Rom. credulitas rudis dederat incrementum* (78). i. e. "Those trifling stories owed their rise to the malice of Pope Julius II, who spread them among the people, and which their credulity greatly increased." He afterwards relates in what manner this Pope imposed upon Cardinal George d'Amboise; made Rome to echo with the sound of arms; and how delighted he was with satyrical verses written against France. He pardoned a Poet who was guilty of several crimes; and ordered him a handsome sum of money, for a distich that will be seen below. *versiculis ad Gallorum ignominiam spectantibus mirè delibatur; adeo ut præter stateres aureos ducentos muneravit, præter delictorum abolitionem, qui bos vulgasset:*

(76) Forcatulus, de Gallor. Imperio & Philosphia, lib. 4. pag. m. 553.

(77) Book 9. chap. 17. concern two serpents found in the sepulchre of Zachariah the Prophet.

(78) Forcat. de Gallor. Imperio & Philosphia, lib. 4. pag. 554.

*Julius evulsi Gallis cythereis alas:
Martius hic prisco Cæsare major erit* (79).

(79) Idem, ibid. pag. 550.

"He was exceedingly pleased with verses that reflected ignominy on the French; inasmuch that he presented to a Poet two hundred pieces of gold, besides the pardon of all his offences, for publishing the following lines:

"Greater by far than Rome's immortal Cæsar
Shall Julius be, who pluck'd the wings of Gaul."

JULIUS III, elected Pope the 7th of February 1550, was named John Maria del Monte. He was of mean extraction, and a true soldier of ecclesiastical fortune. He had risen gradually till he came to be President of the Council of Trent [A]. Julius was

[A] *He had risen gradually till he came to be President of the Council of Trent.* To omit his first employments, I shall observe, in the first place, that he assisted in the Council of the Lateran, and made a solemn speech at the conclusion of it. He was Archbishop of Siponto, Auditor of the Apostolical Chamber, and twice Governor of Rome. He was given in hostage when Rome was sack'd by the forces of the Emperor

Forcatulus, my author in this remark, contrasts these two verses with a very satyrical distich that was made against this Pope. *Eminuit in contrarium non inelegans distichum, dignum, opinor, quod Catulli esset, non auctoris incogniti:*

*Fœx Ligurum Romam, ponti fœx concutit armis
Julius, huic Brutum Gallia fortis alit* (80).

(80) Idem, ibid.

"In opposition to this, there was handed about a pretty distich, worthy, in my opinion, of Catullus, not of an unknown author,

"Gaul nurtures a brave Brutus, who shall march
And crush this Julius, tho' he now shakes Rome."

Some persons, continues he, observed, that the times were come, when another Julius, by the profuse bestowing of monies he had borrowed, had obtained the Pontificate, and supplanted his competitors; but that the new Julius had nothing in common with the other, neither with regard to knowledge, to clemency, or honesty; nor any thing in common with the Apostle St. Peter, not even to the Fisherman's boat, since the Apostle just mentioned employed it only in a just and honest manner, whereas Julius (as it was said) made use of it only as a Pirate. A reader who understands Latin, will soon find that I do not add the least expression to Forcatulus (81). *Nonnulli adjiciebant rediisse pro certo Julii seculum, quo ille nimirum profusa largitione Pontificatum indeptus fuerat confiato nullo ære alieno, superatissime, ut Tranquillus ait (*), duobus competitoribus (**) In Julii cæp. 12.*

ætate & dignitate potioribus . . . Julius demum, qui nihil doctrinæ cum illo primo & perpetuo Dictatore commune habuit, nihil fidei & benevolentia, nihil cum Apostolo Petro sanctitatis & prudentia, nihil morum (nisi forsitan quod Petrus in mari innoxiam piscationem exercuit, ille aliquandiu, ut ajunt, piraticam) post novenne imperium, & si quid mensum excurrit, obstinatum in Galliam animum ad Manes tulit (d).

§ (d) In 1511 Julius II put the whole Kingdom of France, the Dukedom of Brittany excepted, under an interdict, which was levelled particularly at the city of Lyons, whose fair he removed to Geneva. This appears from the decree made by him in the third Session of the Council of Lateran, where we read the following words. Anno M. D. XI. die nono Calendas Novembris, & anno sequenti Idibus Augusti, Franciæ Regnum, Lugdunum præcipue, (Britanniæ Ducatu excepto) Ecclesiastico Interdicto subjecit, Nundinasque Lugduni solitus habere in Genebensium civitatem transiit, ut referret Pontificum Diploma in tertia Sessione Synodi Lateranensis, in qua etiam hæc leguntur: "Damnationis alumnos Bernardinum Carvajal, Guillelmum Briffonet, Renatum de Pria, & Fridericum de S. Severino, Cardinales, eorumque fautores sacro Concilio approbante damnandos, reprobamos & detestandos." Porro Julius Papa, qui antea Julianus, in hæc verba prorupit moriens, *Ut Julius Cardinalibus indulgeo Schismaticis, ut Julianus justitiæ rationem habendum judico:* id notatum est a Parisio Crass. Cæremoniarius Sacelli Pontificii Magistro (†). R. E. M. C. R. I. T.]

Charles V; and after his being Cardinal he was several times Legate in the chief provinces of the Ecclesiastical State, and in Bologna (†). "He assumed the name of Julius in memory of Julius II, who had raised his family, by promoting Anthony del Monte his uncle to the Purple, and from whom he had obtained the Archiepiscopal See of Siponto. He was born in the district of Rome called *del Parione*, but

(†) *Extracted from Palavicino, Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 2.*

was a very voluptuous man [B], and was passionately fond of a very ugly lad, who was very meanly descended [C]. As soon as he was elected Pope, he gave the youth in question his Cardinal's hat [D]; and made a whimsical answer when he was told how unworthy

his family came originally from *Monte-San-Savino* in Tuscany, whence he took the name of *Monte*, instead of that of *Giocebi*, by which he was called before (2). He obtained of the Duke of Tuscany the investiture of *Monte-San-Savino* for his brother. He could not deny himself the pleasure of seeing his family governing, in that place, those who once were their equals: *Impotens sibi temperandi ab ea voluptate qua suos aspiceret in illis dominantes, inter quos educati fuerant aequales* (3).

[B] *Julius was a very voluptuous man.* Thuanus speaks as follows on this subject. *Sub id tempus Julius III interperantia vitæ magis quam senio effectus fato concessit, qui Joanne Baptista Balduini fratris F. mortuo, cum non ita a Fabiano juniore Baptiste fratre sollicitaretur, totum se voluptatibus mancipaverat, parato ad delicias nobili illo secessu structura & operibus antiquis admirando, in quo fere reliquam vitam a negotiis vacuus cum amicis sui similibus inter ludos, aleam, comædiâs, & quæ solia comitari amant, sacro fastigio indigna oblectamenta, continuâ nocti diebus transiegit* (4). i. e. "Near that time Julius III left the world, he owing his death to intemperance rather than old age. This Julius, after the decease of John Baptist, his brother Baldwin's son, being not so much sollicitated by Fabian, Baptist's younger brother, abandoned himself entirely to pleasures, in that charming and elegant retirement, so wonderful for its structure and works of antiquity, wherein he spent most of the rest of his life, disengaged from all business, among friends of his own cast of mind; passing whole nights as well as days, in gaming, seeing of plays, and such like festivities, unworthy of his sacred dignity."

[C] *He . . . was passionately fond of a very ugly lad, who also was very meanly descended.* Some used to say that this was his son; whilst others denied this, and related how that Cardinal del Monte, having found this lad playing with a monkey in the streets, took him into his service, because no body but he had the courage to play with that animal. This was the foundation of a favour or kindness, which afterwards grew to be a wild passion. The lad in question was loathsome in every respect, except that he had got a knack of playing the buffoon. We are told these particulars by Thomas Erasmus, whose words are as follow. *Habet puerum quendam, nigram, turpem, arrogantissimam bestiam, ineptam, ignorantem, & plane inertem, nisi quod nonnihil eorum, quæ scurræ, deteriorum in ore habet. In summa, corpore & animo monstrum. Quis, unde, aut cujus ille puer sit, tam sunt variae hominum sententiæ & opiniones, ut nemo exploratum habere videatur. Animadverti ego quosdam, qui filium arbitrabantur; & qui filium negabant, ingeniose aliorum dicta refutare, atque in plateis repertum eduxisse e parvulo, propter simiam, cum qua, præter illam nemo hominum laedere auderet. Ea re Cardinalem (aut Episcopum tum) ita delectatum, ut pro suo haberet. Hunc puerum, miser, ita amat perditæ, ita deperit (dicitur autem alios omnes vincere in 17 ἀνδραγαθία) ut nihil possit dici vehementius* (5). i. e. "He has I know not what boy; a black, filthy, and most domineering brute, silly, ignorant, and quite devoid of all talents except that he can play the buffoon a little. In short, he is a monster both in body and mind. No one seems to have certainly discovered who he is, or whence he sprung. I have found some who think him Julius's son; and those who deny this, come off ingeniously by saying, that he met with him in the streets, and brought him up from a child, because he played with an ape, which no one but that boy had the courage to do. The Cardinal, (or Bishop at that time) was so delighted with this, that he took him for his own. He is distractedly fond of this boy, as he indeed is said to surpass all others in the unnatural vice." Thuanus says a thing, which confirms part of this; as first, that this boy was called the *Monkey* or *Ape*, even after he had been raised to the Purple. Secondly, that he bore this name, because his

employment, under the Cardinal his master, was to look after a monkey or ape. *Soluti ad omnem licentiam animi homo* (these are the words of this great Historian, which give a very ill character of Pope Julius III) *statim adepta dignitate qualis esset, omnibus manifestum fecit. Nam cum antiquæ consuetudinis sit, ut novus Pontifex galærum, cui velit, suum largiatur, cum juveni cuidam, cui Innocentio nomen, quique, quod in familia simiæ curam gereret, Simiæ etiam post adeptam dignitatem nomen retinuit, cognomine etiam suo atque insignibus attributis donavit* (6). i. e. "This man being addicted to licentious pleasures of every kind, was no sooner raised to the Pontificate, but he bestowed to every one his disposition: for it being a custom from time immemorial, for the new Pontif to bestow his hat on whomsoever he pleases, he gave it to a certain young fellow named *Innocentius*; and who on account of his looking after an ape in his family, retained the name of *Simia* after he was raised to the purple; in this manner bestowing on him a surname and marks of honours" See the notes on the *Confession Catholique de Sancy*, pag. 249, edit. of 1699.

[D] *He gave the youth in question his Cardinal's hat.* We just now heard from Thuanus, that Cardinal del Monte, upon his being elected Pope, immediately bestowed his hat, his name and his arms on a young man whose name was *Innocent*, and whose business it was to look after a monkey. Erasmus, whom I have already cited, will give us a more circumstantial relation of this matter. This lad had been left at Bologna; so that Julius III, who would not let him come to Rome before he had raised him to the Purple, and who wanted a little time in order to get this promotion approved, suffered all the rigours of absence, and sought for the best remedies possible. He was never cheerful and gay but when he heard of his *Innocent*; and he enquired about him of all persons, who were able to give him the least information. He caused him to come near to Rome, in order that he might have the conveniency of visiting him; and having once brought him secretly into the city, he waited for him at the window as impatiently as a lover does for his mistress, who had promised to pass the night with him. He was heard to say, that the chief reason why he rejoiced at being Pope was, that it gave him an opportunity of being a benefactor to *Innocent*; and that he thought himself less obliged to the Cardinals for creating him Pope, than for their consenting to honour *Innocent* with the purple (8). He appointed him his first Minister; and all those who wanted to intercede for any favours were ordered to apply themselves first to *Innocent*. Here follows the original of what I have now said. *Dum Romæ post electionem commoraretur (manserat autem Innocentius, id ei nomen, Bononiæ) dicitur nunquam lætus fuisse, nisi dum aliquis de Innocentio intelligeret. Et audiivi ego à gravibus viris, inter tam multos Bononienses, qui Romam sint profecti, neminem esse repertum, quem sciret cum Innocentio, aut suspicaretur fuisse, qui non interrogatus ab eo esset, quid, & quomodo Innocentius ageret. Post aliquot menses propius Romam accedere jussit, ut ad eum deambulatum aliquando Roma exire possit. Non enim potuit adduci, ut pateretur eum ingredi Romam, nisi galero rubeo esset ornatum turpe caput. Ab hac re plurimi Cardinales videbantur abhorre, minimeque passuri, ut in Cardinalium numerum cooptaretur, quem ne hominem quidem esse cognovissent. Accersivit igitur noctu aliquando in urbem clam, atque ita in festris expectabat, ut ii solent, quibus amica, qua nihil habent in vita charius, pollicita est noctem. Dicitur dixisse, se lætari, quod in amplissimam illam potestatem esset collocatus, non tam sua causa, quam quod posses bene de Innocentio mereri. Et tandem factus Cardinalis dixit, se pro beneficio magis Cardinalibus obstrictum esse, quam quod se Pontificem esse voluerint. Præterea, ut qui aliquid à se velint, id per Innocentium esse impetrandum. Quamobrem Legati Civitatum, Principum & Regum ad puerum concurrunt, illi sua negotia exponunt, ut is de rebus suis gravissimis etiam ad Papam referat* (9). Some satires were published at Rome, wherein it was said

(2) Amelot de la Hooft, in the margin of his translation of Fra-Paolo, pag. 280. ex Onufrio.

(3) Palavin. Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 8.

(4) Thuan. lib. 15. pag. 306.

(6) Thuan. lib. 6. pag. 121. vcl.

(7) See the remark [M], citation (30) in the margin.

(8) Compare what is said below, remark [M] citation (†)

(5) Thomas Lucrus, (qui Erasmus postea voce Græca appellari amavit) in Epistola ad Palliæm, apud Hottingerum, Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. 5. pag. 572.

(9) Erasmus, apud Hottingerum, Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. 5. pag. 572.

unworthy a choice he had made [E]. There was little gravity in his discourses, which is manifest from the reflection he once made on the answer of two Cardinals [F]. The want of gravity was not his greatest fault; for it is declared that he sometimes would be profane and blasphemous in his discourse, as, when he apologized for his fire and passion, by instancing the anger which God expressed against Adam for an apple [G]. During the Conclave in which he was elected, some of his letters were intercepted; whereby it

was

said that this favourite, though so very ugly, was a new Ganymedes. This the Pope did not make a mystery of; but would sometimes tell the Cardinals some stories of this boy's lascivious tricks. *Romæ fama erat & libellis quoque perscriptum fuit, à Jove Ganymedem foveri, licet deformem: sed nec ipse Pontifex hoc ad reliquos Cardinales dissimulare, & per jocos fertur aliquando commemorare, quam sit lascivus adolescens & impertunus* (10). I shall speak further of the adventures of this man in the remark [M].

(10) Sleidan, *Hist. lib. 21. folio m. 609, verso.*

[E] . . . and made a whimsical answer, when he was told how unworthy a choice he had made.] I will borrow the words of John Bodin. "A Prince who exalts an unworthy man above men of virtue and merit, or who ranks them with the greatest persons, in doing good to one does an injury to all the rest: as it was represented by the Consistory of Cardinals to Pope Julius del Monte, when he bestowed the Cardinal's hat he had worn on a young boy he loved; that it was a great dishonour to admit a person who had neither virtue, knowledge, nobility, possessions, nor any other quality, as these said, that deserved being raised to so exalted a station. But the Pope, who was a facetious man, directing himself to the other Cardinals; what virtue, says he, what nobility, what knowledge, what honour, did you find in me, to raise me to the Pontificate (11)?" Was not this laughing at the Sacred College? And might one not apply to this Pope the following exclamation of Cato; *What an odd sort of Consul have we! Adjungit Plutarchus eum (Ciceronem) cum Murænam Consul dederet, quem accusasset Cato, scite exagitasse sententias & præcepta Stoicorum in Catone; unde risus ingens à corona pervenerit ad subsellia, subrississe porro ipsum Catonem leviter, atque ad confessum dixisse, quam ridiculum, Judices, habemus Consulem* (12). Some relate Pope Julius's answer as follows, *What, pray, did you find in me, to do me the honour of making me Pope undeservedly? But let us raise this young man, and he'll deserve it* (13). These last words are a pretty smart jeer, and reprove a fault that is found every where. The instant a man is raised to an employment, a thousand flatterers start up, and say that he very well deserved it. Montagne says somewhere (*), that Antisthenes one day made the Athenians sensible of the abuses that were committed in the bestowing of public employments: He advised them to order, that their asses should be made to plough no less than their horses: it was answered, that the beast in question was not formed for ploughing: *No matter for that*, replied he, *all depends on your decree; for the most ignorant, and most unqualified persons, on whom you bestow the command in your wars, become nevertheless instantly extremely worthy of them, because they are employed by you.*

(11) Bodin, *de la Republique*, liv. 5. chap. 4. pag. m. 748.

(12) Vavassor, *de Ludicra Dictione*, pag. 329.

(13) Jean Crespin, *de l'Etat de l'Eglise*, ad ann. 1550, pag. m. 551. ex Paulo Vagerio.

§ (x) Liv. III. Chap. VI. See, on this occasion, in Feneste, Liv. IV. Chap. VII. a smart saying by la Renardiere, a native of Britany, to Henry IV. REM. CRIT.]

[F] *The reflection he one day made on the answer of two Cardinals.* They found him in the court of his palace in a very indecent posture; he having thrown off his clothes, and walking only in his drawers, because of the heat. He obliged them to do the same, and then asked what the people would say of them, should they go and shew themselves in the field of Flora and the streets of Rome? They would take us, said he, for so many rascals, and so throw stones at us. We therefore, says he, are obliged to our clothes, for preventing our being looked upon as rascals; are we therefore not prodigiously obliged to our clothes? *Cum aliquando exutis vestibus, diploide & caligis tantum indutus, in aula, quod ferretur tempestas, obambulare, venerunt Cardinales duo, collocuturi cum ipso. Quos ipse ad exuendas vestes suas, & deambulandum secum urgebat, mox autem nudos interrogabat: Quid si in Campo Floræ, aut per plateas nudi sic deambularem, quid oro populum existimatis de nobis judicaturum? Responderunt: Judicarent nos esse nebulones, & conjicerent*

in nos rudera atque lapides. Exceptit Pontifex: Ergo quod non habemus pro nebulonibus, id acceptum ferre debemus nostris vestibus. Quantum igitur, o fratres, debemus illis nostris vestibus (14)?

[G] He apologized for his fire and passion, by instancing the anger which God expressed against Adam for an apple.] This particular is related thus by John Crespin (15). "He loved, among other meats, hogs

(14) Bullinger, in *Vita M. S. Julii III. apud Heideggerum, Hist. Papas*, pag. 235.

flesh and peacocks; but as his Physician had earnestly advised him to refrain from eating of pork, because it was bad for the gout with which he was often afflicted, and yet he would not abstain from it, the Physician privately admonished the Clerk of the Kitchen, not to order any more pork for the Pope's table. As therefore it was omitted for some time, and the Pope took notice of it, he asked the Clerk of the Kitchen where was his dish of pork. The Clerk answered, that the Physician had ordered that none should be served up at his table; upon which the Pontif cried, bring, bring me my dish, in spite of God (*Ad dispetto di Dio*). . . . Seeing one day a peacock at dinner, and none of the guests having eat of it: keep, says he, this peacock cold for my supper; and let a table be spread for me in the garden, for I shall have company to night. As afterwards he saw, as he sat at supper, hot peacocks brought to table, but not the cold one which he ordered should be kept, he flew into a terrible passion, and uttered a most horrible blasphemy against God. Then some of the Cardinals who sat at table with him, saying, we beseech your Holiness not to be so much exasperated for such a trifle, Julius replied, If God was so angry about an apple, that he drove our grand parent Adam out of paradise on that account, why may not I be allowed (I who am his Vicar or Lieutenant) to be angry for a peacock, since a peacock is of much more value than an apple?"

(15) *Etat de l'Eglise*, ad ann. 1550, pag. 553.

Those who should be desirous of reading this incident in two languages, may gratify their curiosity by reading what follows (16). *Sapissimè nequissimus iste homo blasphemis illis usus fuit, quæ impurissimis lenonibus frequentè desperatæ malitiæ hominibus tunc temporis frequenter in ore fuerunt, ad quas animus totus quantus exborrescit, vid. Al dispetto di Dio, in contemptum Dei, & Potta di Dio, i. e. ad vulvam Dei &c. exemplum hujus rei proponit Auctor libri cui titulus, Lectura super Canonem de consecr. dist. 3. (3) ajens: "Intellexi, portatam fuisse in Civitatem Paduæ quandam historiam, impressam Latine, Italice, Germanice, & Gallice, in qua narratur, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa Julius III proximis diebus valde fuit iratus cum Episcopo Arimense, ejus Magistro domus, propter certum pavonem, & quum sua prælibata Sanctitas bis blasphemasset, primo dicendo, Potta di Dio, deinde, Al dispetto di Dio, quod fecit tanquam Johannes Maria de Monte, & sic tanquam homo, non tanquam Julius III Papa, & Vicarius Christi, de quo supra dixi. Et quum unus Cardinalis illi dixisset, quod non deberet irasci propter unam tam parvam rem, id est, propter unum pavonem, tunc sanctissimus D. Papa respondit: Si Deus fuit totus turbatus, & in magna ira & colera, propter unum pomum, & tanta mala fecit omnibus hominibus; quare non possum ego, qui sum suus Vicarius in terris, irasci cum meo Magistro domus propter unum pavonem?"*

(16) Joan. Zoin-blaspheemiis illis usus fuit, quæ impurissimis lenonibus frequentè desperatæ malitiæ hominibus tunc temporis frequenter in ore fuerunt, ad quas animus totus quantus exborrescit, vid. Al dispetto di Dio, in contemptum Dei, & Potta di Dio, i. e. ad vulvam Dei &c. exemplum hujus rei proponit Auctor libri cui titulus, Lectura super Canonem de consecr. dist. 3. (3) ajens: "Intellexi, portatam fuisse in Civitatem Paduæ quandam historiam, impressam Latine, Italice, Germanice, & Gallice, in qua narratur, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa Julius III proximis diebus valde fuit iratus cum Episcopo Arimense, ejus Magistro domus, propter certum pavonem, & quum sua prælibata Sanctitas bis blasphemasset, primo dicendo, Potta di Dio, deinde, Al dispetto di Dio, quod fecit tanquam Johannes Maria de Monte, & sic tanquam homo, non tanquam Julius III Papa, & Vicarius Christi, de quo supra dixi. Et quum unus Cardinalis illi dixisset, quod non deberet irasci propter unam tam parvam rem, id est, propter unum pavonem, tunc sanctissimus D. Papa respondit: Si Deus fuit totus turbatus, & in magna ira & colera, propter unum pomum, & tanta mala fecit omnibus hominibus; quare non possum ego, qui sum suus Vicarius in terris, irasci cum meo Magistro domus propter unum pavonem?"

§ (3) Two burlesque pieces, writ in the sixteenth century, bear this title. The first, intitled *Lectura super Canonem de Consecr. Dist. 3. De aqua benedicta, spectabilis viri, Lamperti de Nigromonte. Ad sacra Theologiæ Magistros nostros D. Job. Eckium, & Job. Cochleum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sincerissimos defensores* was published at Wittemberg in 1543 (*). The second, which is the piece in question, was published eleven years after, and the author D. D. Geraldus Bujdagnus de Luca, there styles himself Doctor in Decree, Bishop of Naples, of Romania, and Suffragan of Padua. REM. CRIT.

(17) The word contemptus, that is contempt, does not express the strength of the Italian dispetto: It should be invito Dom.

(*) *Antiqua Litterarum monumentorum autographa &c. Brunsvic. 1600. tom. 2. pag. 418.*

was conjectured that the Pope they were going to elect would be of a lewd disposition, those letters being filled with the most abominable obscenities [H]. It is thought that his money frustrated the election of Cardinal Pole, which had been concluded on, and the publication whereof had been deferred for no other reason than for fear that the notifying it in the night should be of an ill omen. *Post longam Cardinalium in conclavi disceptationem, cum, teste in Museo Historico Johanne Imperiali, ὁμοῦντος Papa jam electus esset Reginaldus Polus, eamque electionem promulgare nocte appetente inauspicatum duxissent idem; nocte transacta & mutatis rationibus aureis Julius Papa subito emerfit* (a). The medal which he caused to be struck after the death of Edward King of England, had for its motto a passage of Scripture, the application whereof soon proved false [I]. This Pope died the 20th of February 1555, being about sixty eight years of age (b). He had feigned an indisposition [K]; and the better to impose on the world, he had confined himself to a regimen, that brought a real distemper upon him of which he died. It is related, that there was so great an intimacy between our Pope and Cardinal Crescentio, that they had mistresses in common, and maintained the children they had by them at a common expence [L], for want of knowing who was the genuine father. Each of them also

(a) Heidegg. *Hist. Papatus*, pag. 233.

(b) Spondanus, *ad ann.* 1555, num. 43. *but Palavicin. Hist. Concil.* lib. 13, cap. 10. num. 10. *says he was seventy years old.*

[H] *Those letters being filled with the most abominable obscenities.*] They were writ the 26th of January 1550 to one Hannibal Contin, by Camillo Oliva a Conclavist of the Cardinal of Mantua, together with a little poem, in which the author described very obscenely his passion, and the burning desire he had to be again with his friend. It is John Sleidan who relates these particulars. *Dum in Conclavi res agitur, intercepte fuerunt literæ, quas ex Cardinalis Mantuani familiaribus, quidam, Camillus Olivus, ad quendam suum Annibalem Continum, Januarii die XXVI scripsisse ferebatur, & simul carmen lingua populari scriptum, ubi de sua locutus affectione, & absentis desiderio, tam pudendis utitur verbis, ut sine flagitio vix ea recitari liceat. Hinc jocus illorum, qui Pontificem dicebant aliquem obscænum prænunciari, qui proditurus esset ex eo Conclavi, quod ejusmodi literas daret* (18). An author before cited does not relate this passage without saying what follows. *Vir Doctus anonymus in Epist. ad amicum narrat, ex eo Conclavi, in quo creatus est Julius, interceptas fuisse literas alicujus ex Conclavistis, i. e. ex illis, qui solent affidere Cardinalibus, Papam electuris, quibus quidem literis non putet ulla memoria unquam scriptas fuisse ulla obscæniore, sceleratiorisque. Nudis enim nefandissimisque verbis illic agi cum cinædo, salvo honore. Has, fateri, ad se primum in Germaniam fuisse missas, sed dare typis excudendas (ut multi voluissent) nunquam quidem se voluisse. Paulo post addit, Julium III valde male audire in hoc obscæniissimo genere, (Sodomitici nim. criminis) ita ut neque a Cardinalibus abstineat* (19).

(18) Sleidanus, *Hist.* lib. 21. folio m. 609 verso. It is also in Thuanus, Frankfort edit. of 1625, lib. 6. pag. 121.

(19) Joan. Zuingerus, in *Tractatu de Festo Corporis Christi*, pag. 146.

[I] *The medal which he caused to be struck, had for its motto a passage of Scripture, the application whereof proved false.*] There was extraordinary joy at Rome for the death of young King Edward, because Princess Mary who succeeded him, restored England to the obedience of the Holy See; but the motives which occasioned that joy ceased in a little time; for Queen Elizabeth restored the reformation, and made that island one of the most flourishing Kingdoms in all Christendom, so that the prediction of the medal proved a mere chimæra. *Eo insanix Julius pervenit, ut in perpetuum rei memoriam excudi curaverit montem, cujus altera pars ejus imaginem tricorniferam ostentavit, altera inscriptionem ejusmodi habuit: Gens & Regnum, quod non fervierit tibi, peribit. Sibi solide vendicans; quod Christo Esaias. Sed diuturnum & stabile gaudium nequiquam fuit* (20). i. e. "Julius became so mad, that he caused a medal to be struck to perpetuate the remembrance of that particular. On one side of this medal was a figure with three horns, and the other the following inscription; *The people and Kingdom, which shall refuse to serve thee, shall perish, ridiculously arrogating to himself what Isaiah applied to Christ. But this joy was very short-lived.*"

(20) Heidegger. *Hist. Papatus*, pag. 233.

[K] *He had feigned an indisposition.*] The reason of this was, his discovery that the Cardinals would refuse to consent to the demand, which his brother urged him to make to them. His brother had a passionate desire to possess himself of a city, and was for ever importuning the Pope on that account. Julius therefore, in order that he might have a pretence not to hold a consistory, feigned to be sick. To carry on this trick with the greater art, he was obliged to eat little or nothing, and to make choice of such aliments as are fit for sick people: now it is said that this change of

diet brought upon him the sickness of which he died (21). This puts me in mind of Cælius in Martial.

*Discursus varios, vagumque mane,
Et fastus, & arve potentiorum,
Cum perferre patique jam negaret;
Cæpit fingere Cælius podagram.
Quam dum vult nimis approbare veram,
Et sanas linit obligatque plantas,
Inceditque gradu laborioso;
(Quantum cura potest, & ars doloris!)
Desit fingere Cælius podagram* (22).

(21) Spondan. *ad ann.* 1555, num. 4. pag. 556. *ex Onuphrio Panvinio. Thuanus relates this, lib. 15. pag. m. 306.*

(22) Mart. *Epig.* 39. lib. 7.

The sense is,
"Cælius quite tired with waiting on the great;
"Their haughtiness, and ever fruitless visits,
"Resolves to feign the gout, and feigns so well;
"So artfully anoints and swathes his feet,
"And limps so long, till he no longer feigns,
"But has the fell disease, and is a cripple."

Some say that his sickness was indeed owing to his change of food; but not that he grew abstemious purposely to impose on the world: they say that he hoped thereby to get rid of the intolerable pains of the gout. Others assert that his death was owing to an old distemper; and they own that he was very fond of pleasures, and that he was much more desirous of enjoying them than of exercising the Pontificate: he spending his whole time in building voluptuous recesses, therefore devoted himself more to luxury than to business. *Sunt etiam qui dicant, eum veterano interisse: cum, ut idem etiam auctor narrat, externa quæque parum curans, fruendo potius quam regendo Pontificatus incumberet, totusque esset in extruenda elegantissima ad voluptarios secessus extra portam Flaminiam Villa Julia; cujus insanire studio videbatur; in qua convivii potius quam publicæ procurationi vacabat* (23).

(23) Spond. *ad ann.* 1555, num. 4. pag. 556. *ex Onuphrio Panvinio.*

[L] *It is related . . . that our Pope and Crescentio . . . had mistresses in common, and maintained the children they had by them at a common expence.*] Thomas Erasmus informs me of these particulars. *Julius III Pontifex, says he (24), & Crescentius fere omnes meretrices communes habuerunt, propriisque sumtibus neuter, sed communibus aluerunt, atque ut breviter dicam, omnium scelerum socii extiterunt. Susceperunt ex quadam muliere, bonefi viri Viterbienfis, filiam, quam, quod neuter suam esse dicere credereque posset, ut matrem, ita filiam quoque communibus sumtibus educandam tradiderunt, nuptiisque dederunt nobilissimo hujus urbis adolescenti, & inter Principes hujus urbis, qui sunt 40, constitutum voluerunt.* i. e. "Pope Julius III, and Cardinal Crescentio had the greatest part of the prostitutes in common, and maintained them at a common expence; to say all in a word, they were companions in all kinds of wickedness. They had a child by a certain woman, the daughter of a gentleman of Viterbo, and as neither of them could say or believe that it was his, because they had enjoyed the mother in common, they brought up the daughter at a mutual expence, and married her to a most noble youth in this city; and would have ranked him among the Princes or chief men, who are forty in number, of this city." We here have a surprizing instance of a freedom from jealousy, and what is rarely seen in that country.

(24) *Apud Hottinger. Hist. Eccles.* tom. 5. pag. 574.

also paid his quota towards the support of those mistresses. Cardinal Palavicino extenuates to the utmost of his power the faults of this Pope; but he does not refute what Fra-Paolo says of him [M]. I forgot to take notice, that the Court of France offered this Pope's nephew a Princess of the blood, but that this alliance was refused [N].

[M] Cardinal Palavicino extenuates... faults of this Pope; but he does not refute what Fra-Paolo says of him.] He owns this Pope loved to divert himself; but adds, that he was as fond of applying himself to business. *Pronus ad laxamenta, sed æque etiam ad negotia* (25). He grants that he died without being much loved or esteemed. *Æstimatione tenui, nec majore benevolentia mortuus est* (26); but Palavicino pretends, that this was owing to his acting with a little too much freedom and familiarity; because, by his not attracting the veneration of the public, it was concluded that he was not a worthy Pontif. The author adds, that this judgment was not just; and that if the faults of Julius III were more conspicuous than his good qualities, they perhaps were not of so much consequence as his virtues: *Nihilominus, ut mea fert opinio, hæc de illo existimatio fuit iniqua: ipsius quippe vitia majora quidem ad speciem erant quam virtutis, sed non fortasse ad pondus* (27). With respect to the promotion of the

(25) Palavicin. *Hist. Concl. Trid.* lib. 13. cap. 10. num. 8.

(26) *Idem, ibid.*

(27) *Idem, ibid.*

(28) *Idem, lib. 11. cap. 7. num. 4.*

(29) *Idem, ibid.*

(30) Palavicin. lib. 11. cap. 7. num. 4. says that it appears by the *Journal of Masfariellus*, Secretary of the Council, that the young lad in question was adopted, as he was acting in a dramatic Pastoral, the 2d of March 1549.

(31) Palavicino, *ibid.* says that it was not at Bologna, as Father Paul will have it, but in Piacenza.

(32) Fra-Paolo, lib. 3. ad ann. 1550. pag. 281. of Amelot's Translation.

(†) *Qui occupatis totus inuentus Cardinalis, veluti furim, voluptates sequebatur, Pontifex factus, votorum jam annuum compis, abdicata rerum cura, bisaritati & genio suo nimium indulgit.* Onuphr. in *Vita.*

lad, he only says (28), that it reflected dishonour in the first days of his Pontificate. He acknowledged that the man in question was so meanly descended, that no one has yet been able to say from whence he sprung; but he pretends that the friendship which Cardinal del Monte had for him, was grounded on his considering him as the son of his judgment, the meaning whereof is this. Whilst the Cardinal was Legate at Piacenza, he was struck with the pretty pranks of a little boy, who was often about his table. The Legate looking upon this as an indication of genius and good sense, resolved to bring up this young plant at his own expence; and finding the boy made a great progress, he loved him more and more; was pleased with his happy conjecture: and considered him as a son of his judgment, a sort of creature whom we value more than a bodily child. *Obletatus ex eo berus, sibi que plaudens, quod sua quasi perspicacia plantam eximiam, adhuc minutulam & in luto, discreuisset, majori in puerum benevolentia incauit, qua illum prosequeretur veluti sui iudicii prolem, cujus filii pluris quam corporis soboles æstimantur* (29). He would have his brother adopt him; and the instant he was elected Pope he honoured him with the purple, the 30th of May 1550. He had made him reside till that day in a village a day's journey from Rome. He settled twelve thousand crowns a year upon him, but did not then intrust him with the administration of affairs. This new elected Cardinal was hardly seventeen years of age. He behaved in such a manner as shewed him to be altogether unworthy of the honour to which he was raised; inasmuch that the succeeding Pontiffs were obliged to punish him for his riotous excesses. This is all that Palavicino takes notice of. He cautiously forbore to animadvert on Fra-Paolo, who has shewn very plainly, that the public considered this creature of Julius as his catamite; prudence suggesting that it would not be proper to revive the memory of those ideas. For this reason Palavicino does not accuse Fra-Paolo of maliciously collecting slanders; but is content with saying, that he is mistaken with respect to the time of his adoption (30), and the place where this young man first captivated the Pope (31). Here follow Father Paul's words (32). "Julius soon gave a specimen

of what his future government would be, by spending whole days in walking in his gardens; in projecting the building of country-houses: in discovering a strong propension to pleasures, and very little inclination to business (†), especially those which were found difficult. Mendoza the Ambassador having observed this turn of mind in the Pope, wrote to his sovereign, and told him, that it would be an easy matter to succeed in negotiations of every kind with this Pope, who, as he was studious of nothing but joy and pleasures, might, by being put in fear, be made to turn any way. The opinion which was entertained, viz. that he would prefer his private interest and affections to the public welfare, was soon confirmed by the promotion he made

" the 31st of May of a Cardinal, on whom he bestowed his hat, pursuant to the custom of the Popes. When he was but Archbishop of Siponto, and governed the city of Bologna, he took into his house a young boy, born in Piacenza, whose original is not yet discovered. He took an affection for him, as though he had been his own son; and took him to Trent, where a grievous fit of sickness had like to have deprived Julius of him: but sending him, by the advice of Physicians, to Verona, for the change of air; Innocent (for so was this minion called) recovered his health there, and returned some time after to Trent. The day he was to arrive, the Legate came out of the city, as if to take a walk, accompanied by a great number of Prelates; and meeting him, received him with prodigious testimonies of joy and tenderness: which occasioned much speculation, whether it were an accidental meeting, or designed purposely to take him in the way. The Legate used to say, that he loved him as the author of his fortune (†), inasmuch as the Astrologers had predicted great wealth and exalted dignities to the boy in question, which could never happen but by his exaltation to the Pontificate. Scarce was he made Pope, but Baldwin del Monte, the brother, adopted him for his son; and after the Pope's bestowing many benefices upon him, honoured him with the Purple as was before observed. This occasioned Pasquinades, and gave courtiers an itch to speak out the real cause of so surprising an action, by several conjectures drawn from past accidents."

[N] The Court of France offered this Pope's nephew a Princess of the blood, but this alliance was refused.] The Pope answered, that marriages between persons of so different a rank could not be happy; and that as he acknowledged the Royal Family in France to be the noblest in the world, he acknowledged his own to be the meanest and most despicable upon earth. Nevertheless the Pope did not give the true reason of this refusal; for the circumstance which prompted him to refuse so glorious an alliance was, his desire of marrying his nephew to the Grand Duke's daughter; which would be of more advantage to him, in order for the putting in execution a project he had in view in favour of his family. Thuanus informs us of these artful particulars. *Julius, says he (3.), ad scurrilitatem usque festiuus, & alienam ab innata decessoribus Pontificibus ambitione mentem præ se ferens, cum tam interea Cosmi, ut proximi & suorum rebus utilissimi principis adfinitatem ultra modum expeteret, & Camertium principatum Fabiano destinaret, ut conditionem tam amplam eluderet, sic Lansacum urgentem dimisit, ut diceret, quam ex nobilissima omnium, quæ usquam fuissent, familia rex prognatus esset, tam se ac suos omnium, qui viverent, mortalium ignobilissimos agnoscere, proinde nuptias, quæ inter pares melius coirent, inter inæquales adeo personas commode contrahi non posse.* i. e. "Julius, who was

" facetious even to buffoonery, and of a cast of mind different from the ambition of his predecessors; as he ardently solicited the alliance of Cosmo, a Prince who lay nearest to him, and was most likely to be of service to his interest, and as he intended to make Fabian Prince of Camercio; in order to get rid of the importunity of Lansac, told him, that as the King sprung from the noblest family in the world, so he owned himself and his family to be the most ignoble among mortals; and therefore that marriage, which is best when contracted by equals, could not conveniently be solemnized between persons whose condition was so very unequal." It is to be observed that one of the daughters of Cosmo Duke of Florence was betrothed to Fabian del Monte, who was Baldwin's son, and not yet marriageable. See the thirteenth book of Thuanus. Palavicino, in the place above cited, observes that he was Fabian's bastard.

(†) Onuphris relates that Julius used to say, that he owed his exaltation to the Pontificate, for the good he had done that child. *Affirmans se ad tanti honoris decus evectum, ab eo beneficia quibus illum paucorum assessisset.*

JUNCTIN (FRANCIS) or rather GIUNTINO according to his Italian name, one of the most famous Mathematicians and Astrologers of the sixteenth Century, was born

(a) *See La Croix du Maine*, pag. 301.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Vossius, de Scient. Mathematicis*, pag. 194.

born in Florence, but spent a good part of his life in Lyons (a), and published many books there [A]. Though he was a Doctor of Divinity (b), he nevertheless was extremely fond of judicial Astrology in which he was extremely credulous. I know not the year in which he died. He was fifty six when he published a Commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco in the year 1557 (c); whence the reader may infer the year in which he was born. Junctin would sometimes descend from the skies to divert himself with human researches; he composing a discourse on the æra of Petrarch's amours (d). I have spoke elsewhere (e) of his Horoscope of Luther. The reader will find below the particulars of his life, as published by Possévin [B].

(d) See the title of it in the remark [A].

(e) In the remark [B] of the article LUTHER.

(1) *Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca*.

(2) This word refers to Commentaria.

(3) Printed at Lyons, apud Jo. Tornesium. Vossius mentions only this edition. Du Verdier Vau-Privas speaks only of that of 1578, apud Symphorianum Beauzad.

(4) *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 101.

(5) *Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Biblioth. Française*, pag. 404.

(6) *See Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibliotheca Française*, pag. 404, 405.

[A] He published many books at Lyons.] He there published in 1570 his *Traictatus judicandi revolutiones natiuitatum*, in 8vo. Three years after he published his *Speculum Astrologiæ quod attinet ad judicariam rationem natiuitatum atque annuarum revolutionum, cum nonnullis approbatis Astrologorum sententiis* (1). This work was in 4to, but in the edition of 1581 he swelled it to a folio by the Commentaries he added in duos posteriores *Quadrupartiti Ptolomæi libros innumeris observationibus referta* (2), & *certissimis Aphorismis (quatenus ex siderum positione liceat Christiano more aliquid conicere) ex probatissimorum Astrologorum scriptis depromptis, insignita*. His Latin Commentaries on John de Sacrobosco's *Sphere* were published in 1577 (3). There was printed at Colen in 1580, a book intitled, *De Divinatione quæ fit per astra diversum ac discrepans duorum Catholicorum sacre Theologiæ Doctorum judicium, scilicet Francisci Junctini ac Joannis Lensæi*. There are two French tracts of Junctin, viz. *A large Discourse on the things with which the Comet that appeared in November 1577 threatens many Princes, Countries and Nations of Christendom*. Printed in Paris by Gervais Mallot 1557 (4), and at Lyons by Francis Didier 1578, in 8vo (5); and *A Discourse on the Reformation of the Year made by our Holy Father Pope Gregory XIII's together with the Causes of his taking away ten days of the Golden Number*. At Lyons 1582, 8vo. He printed in the same city in 1580, 8vo, *Discorso supra il tempo dello innamoramento del Petrarca. Con la spositione del Sonetto, Gia fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella* (6).

[B] I knew him in France, says he (7), where he lived in exile, and devoted himself to the pernicious speculations of astrology. He was a fugitive apostate. He had been a Carmelite, and raised to the Priesthood, and even appointed Provincial; after which he forsook his vows, his profession, and the Romish religion; but by the charitable counsels of some devout persons he was brought back, in some measure, into the right path. He publicly abjured the heretical principles he had imbibed in the Church of the Holy Cross at Lyons; and gave people room, for some time, to think that he intended to labour for the advantage of the Catholic Church. However, he was far from retracting the works he had writ upon prognosticating impieties; *Non vidimus eum libros suos de impietate divinatrice retractasse* (8). He was one of those who putting their hand to the plough, and looking back, are not fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. He traded in bills of exchange; he put out money to interest, and by those methods gained sixty thousand crowns, no part of which could be found after his death. He had bequeathed a legacy of three thousand livres to the Junti, whose corrector of the press he had been. However, this testimony of his friendship proved of no service to them. *Juntis beneficissimis Typographis (in quorum ædibus sæpe librorum correctionibus operam Lugduni posuerat) mille aureos nummos cum moriens legasset, ii mihi facti sunt, eos uti reliquos evanuisse; nimirum omnia perditâ fuisse, que perditus ille anxie hinc inde corraserat* (9).

(7) Possévin. *Biblioth. Selectæ*, tom. 2. pag. m. 245.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.*

JUNGERMAN (GODFREY) made himself known by his learning in the beginning of the seventeenth Century. He was born in Leipzig, where GASPAR JUNGERMAN his father [A] was Professor of the Civil Law. His mother was daughter of the famous Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg (a), also Professor at Leipzig. Godfrey Jungerman was perfectly well skilled in the Greek tongue. The public is indebted to him for first publishing *Cæsar's Commentaries* in Greek [B]. He had already published his Latin Translation of the Pastoral of Longus with Notes (b). He printed in 1609 remarks on the Treatise *De Equuleo* [C], which Magius had wrote during his imprisonment. Some of his Letters have likewise been printed. He died the 16th of August 1610 (c) at Hanaw, where he had long been Corrector of the Press to the heirs of Wechel [D].

(a) *Bapenberger's*. I add this title, to distinguish this Camerarius from his son Joachim Camerarius, who is surnamed Norimborgensis.

(b) The reader will see in the remark [A] of the article LONGUS an error of Moseri with regard to Jungerman.

(c) *Diarium Biograph. Henning. Witten.*

[A] GASPAR JUNGERMAN his father.] It is he very probably who is the author of some disputations on certain points of the Civil Law, which Draudius (1) mentions: and of a poem *de Custodia Angelica*, mentioned by Draudius abovementioned (2) and by Simler (3). [B] The public is indebted to him, for first publishing *Cæsar's Commentaries in Greek*.] He added to that version, ascribed by some to Planudes, the manuscript whereof which was in Petavius's library, had been communicated to him by Bongarsius (4); he added to it, I say, not only his own remarks on the Greek translator, but also those of several learned critics on *Cæsar's Commentaries*. This edition printed at Francfort in the year 1606, in 4to is greatly esteemed. [C] He printed in 1609 remarks on the treatise *de Equuleo*.] The *Journal des Savans* (5) spoke contemptuously of those remarks; as though the greatest

part of them were upon trifles; as for instance, *ubæter nos ought to say equuleus or eculæus*; but we can assure our readers; that this censure is a little too hasty; for though Jungerman has enquired something too minutely into this little article of orthography, yet the Journalist ought not to have judged of all the remarks from this, which besides is not useless to the subject, and may please many. [D] He had been corrector of the press to the heirs of Wechel.] This we find by the letters he used to write to Goldast (6). We there see also that he was writing on Julius Pollux; but this was known before by the preface to his edition of Herodorus. He added a great many curious pieces to that edition, and among others several fragments of Ctesias. Chevillier might have put him in the catalogue of learned men who have been correctors of the press (7).

(1) *Bibliotheca Classica*, pag. 716.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 2507.

(3) *Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri*, pag. 256.

(4) See the French *Epist. wrote to Scaliger*, pag. 368.

(5) Of March 2, 1665, pag. m. 282. Dutch edit.

(6) See the *Collection of Letters to Goldast*, printed at Frankfort in 1688, and *Goldast's Letters*, published at Utrecht in the year 1697.

(7) *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, pag. 195, 196.

JUNGERMAN (LEWIS) born at Leipzig the 4th of July 1572, and brother of the foregoing, was an excellent Botanist. He applied himself early to the knowledge of Plants, and acquired so great a reputation, that he was offered, in England, the employment of the celebrated Matthias Lobel, who died in London in the year 1616; but he chose rather to live in Germany. He had already distinguished himself, by having a

great share in a work intituled, *Hortus Eystettensis*, comprehending the figure and description of all the Plants in the Bishop of Eichstet's garden; and he had drawn up a catalogue of all those that grow in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, which was printed under the direction of Gaspar Hoffman in 1615. He was appointed Professor of Physic at Gießen in the year 1622 [A], after having raised a garden there, which had greatly contributed to the improvement of the Students. He passed three years in this Professorship; and afterwards had such another bestowed upon him, together with that of Botany, at Altdorf in 1625. He continued in them till his death, which happened the 7th of June 1653; and during the twenty eight years he passed in those Professorships, he took so much care of the Physic Garden, that the fame of it spread even to foreign countries. He had the more time to spend in this employment, because he was never married, nor ever engaged in an amour; whence it was said that his continence could not be applauded, since he had had no occasion for women; for continence is a virtue, which, in the opinion of Aristotle, ought to occasion a conflict, of which there did not appear any signs in Jungerman's life. *In quo (coelibatu) non est necesse continentiam prædicari, qua nulla in ipso opus erat, virtus enim est cum lucta, Aristotele censore, conjuncta, cujus indicium nulla quæ unquam in hoc genere emicaret flamma, præbere animadversa est (a).* A man who was to write a Panegyric on a Friar, would have given quite another turn to this affair. This Professor bequeathed his Library to the University of Altdorf. I must not omit that he took an extreme pleasure in writing Anagrams [B]. I know not whether he devoted himself to judicial Astrology; but in the programma whence I extract this article, it is observed very seriously that the humours of a St. Anthony's Fire, stopping on a sudden when Mars was retrograde, occasioned a scorbutic gangrene in the extremity of his feet [C]. Godfrey and Lewis Jungerman had a brother named GASPAR who was a learned man. See Godfrey Jungerman's Notes on Chapter IV de *Equuleo*.

(a) Abdias Trew, Matbes. & Pbyf. Prof. & Rector Universitatis Altdorfinae, in *Programmate*, apud Henning. Witten, *Memor. Medicorum*.

[A] He was appointed Professor of Physic at Gießen in the year 1622.] The Rector or Principal of the University of Altdorf has perplexed the chronology a little in his *Programma*. He declares that Jungerman had gained so great a reputation, whilst he was Professor at Gießen, that he was invited into England, to be successor to Lobel that very famous Botanist. But this is confounding the times; for Lobel died 1616, and Jungerman was not Professor of Gießen but from the year 1622 till 1625. What likelihood is there, that the English should have suffered Lobel's employment to be vacant six or seven years? They doubtless nominated Jungerman to it soon after it became vacant. He therefore had acquired, before he was Professor at Gießen, the reputation that procured him those great testimonies of esteem, which the English had entertained for him. Paul Freherus, who has given (1) the substance of this *Programma*, has, on one hand, specified the dates better; but on the other, this serves only to shew more evidently the error of his calculation. He ranks the dates as follow. *Doctör Med. creatus, & ad Professionem Med. publicam promotus est A. 1622. Hinc (2) per triennium ea nominis celebritate præfuit, ut in Angliam quo celeberrimi Botanici Matthiæ Lobellii successor fieret invitaretur A. C. 1616; sed ille Germaniæ conditiones prætulit. Ad descriptionem etiam Horti Eichstettensis tota Germania celebris laudabilem nec vulgarem operam contulit. i. e.* He was created Doctor of Physic, and appointed Professor in that science in the year 1622. He ac-

(1) *Theatri*, pag. 138.

(2) One would conclude that the particle *Hinc*, which answers to the word *Cui* of the *Programma*, was, by an error of the press, put for *Hinc*. But this error of the Printer has not put the order observed by the author in a worse condition.

quired so great a reputation three years after, that he was invited in 1616 to England, to succeed Matthias Lobel that very eminent Botanist; but he chose rather to live in Germany. He gave an excellent description of the garden of Eichstet, so famous throughout all Germany." This *Hortus Eichstettensis* was printed in the year 1613; whence the reader may judge whether the particulars are ranked here according to their proper periods. It is supposed in Witten's *Diarium Biographicum*, that our Jungerman was Professor at Leipzig, and afterwards at Altdorf. The reader may not scruple to correct this, by putting *Gießens* instead of *Lipsiensis*.

[B] He took an extreme pleasure in writing anagrams.] He published a collection of these at Gießen in the year 1624, intituled *Anacram Academicum* in 4to. There are two other works of his, viz. the catalogue I mentioned in the body of this article, and such another catalogue entitled *Cornucopia Floræ Gießensis &c; Gießæ 1624* in 4to.

[C] It is observed... that the humours of a St. Anthony's Fire... occasioned a scorbutic gangrene.] Here follow the words of the *Programma*. *Cujus (erepselatis) fluxus consueti subito subsistentes, gangrenam scorbuticam ante trimestre (circa motum Martis in loco Lunæ natalitio opposito tardum & retrogradum) in extremitate pedum pepererunt.* The Physicians at that time used, in discoursing on distempers, to ascribe much to the influence of the stars.

JUNIUS (ADRIAN) born at Horn in Holland [A] the first of July 1511,

ERRORS of Moreti, and of a Translator of Thuanus.

[A] Junius... born at Horn in Holland.] Moreti, in the article of Adrian Junius, says, that vulgarly his name was *Jonghe* or *Du John*; and afterwards when he speaks of Francis Junius Professor at Leyden, he only makes his vulgar name to be *Jonghe*. But this is no ways accurate; for, in the first place he should have said *de Jonghe*, and have said it only with regard to Adrian Junius; since it is false that his name, in the Flemish tongue, could have been indifferently either *de Jonghe* or *du Jon*. Secondly, it is false that the vulgar name of Francis Junius was any other but *Du John*. It is asserted in the translation of Thuanus (1), that Horn the native place of Adrian Junius, is a village of *Gueldres*. This is a notorious blunder which I do not find in the Francfort edition of Thuanus, printed in 1625. If the translator made use of an edition in which was such an error, he may be excused; but here follows another particular that deserves censure. He says that Junius, having left Haerlem on account of

(1) *Apud Teisfieri, Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 1. pag. 479.

the siege, went to *Armuuden* near *Mildeburg*, where having employed, to no purpose, his utmost care and diligence, in order to give redress to the calamities of that besieged city, the change of air was so pernicious to him &c. It is pretty plain that this besieged city does not refer either to Middleburg, or to Armuyden, but to Haerlem. Now it is absolutely false to assert that Junius thought in any manner to relieve that besieged city, when he was at Armuyden; he not going thither till after the taking of Haerlem. *Ad Armuydam juxta Mildeburgum in Mattiacis se contulerat, ubi cum frustra consilio & diligentia sua concivibus laborantibus opem ferre conatus esset, ex cæli mutatione... in letalem morbum incidit (2).* Now Thuanus cannot be well excused for this mistake; for though a person who writes in Latin, is not obliged to clear a period according to the strictness of the French Grammar, he yet would never have expressed himself as he did, had he imagined that Junius did not go into Zeland, till after the taking

(2) *Thuan. lib. 62.*

1511 [B], was one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived. He was son to a burgomaster of great merit [C], and studied first at Haerlem, afterwards at Louvain and Paris, and lastly at Bologne in Italy, where he was admitted Doctor of Physic. After his return to his native country, he went to England in the year 1543 (a), and was Physician to the Duke of Norfolk there, and afterwards to a great Lady. He composed books in that country, and among others a Greek and Latin Lexicon, to which he had added above 6500 words. He dedicated it to young King Edward in the year 1548; and because he gave him the title of King, he was prosecuted for it a long time after at the Court of Rome. He was strongly affected with this prosecution; for we find by some of his Letters (b) to Lindanus Bishop of Ruremond, and to Cardinal Granvelle, that he passionately wished to be freed from the ignominy with which he found himself branded, ever since the Censors had put his works in the *Index expurgatorius*. For this purpose he wrote, by the advice of Arias Montanus, to the Pope; and prepared an apology, where, at the same time that he protested he had always been a good Catholic, he shewed that he was under an indispenfible necessity of bestowing the title of King on Edward (c). Being a very good Poet he published in 1554, an Epithalamium on the marriage of Philip II with Queen Mary (d). This perhaps would have been a considerable fortune to him, had England continued in a peaceable state; but he left it during the troubles [D], and confined himself in Horn; but the King of Denmark made him soon leave it, in order to make him tutor to the Prince his son (e). Junius not being able to reconcile himself [E] either to the climate or the genius of the inhabitants, left the country so very abruptly, that he did not so much as take leave of the King. It is very probable that this was in 1564 (f). He settled in Haerlem [F]; practised Physic there, married and was principal of the college or great school in that town. The States of Holland gave him a commission in order for writing the History of the Province; a task he would have performed worthily, and with greater accuracy than he has done, could he have given the finishing stroke to his work, which was published after his death under the title of Batavia (g). When the Spaniards had besieged the city of Haerlem, he found means to get out of it, in order to go to the Prince of Orange, who wanted to make use of his prescriptions. The city being taken in 1573, his Library

(a) See his Apology among his Letters, pag. 392, where he says that he went thither when Charles V besieged Landreci.

(b) Pag. 388, 469.

(c) See his Letter to Vulcanius, pag. 124, where he boasts that he despised this disgrace.

(d) Ibid. pag. 214.

(e) See the remark [E].

(f) See his Letters, pag. 385.

(g) Vossius, de Scient. Marbim. pag. 259. Pontus Heuter. lib. 2. de Vet. Belgii, cap. WAS 25.

of Haerlem. It cannot be said that he speaks there either of the siege of Middleburg or of Armuyden, since those two towns were not besieged whilst Junius lived in Zealand. Melchior Adam has copied Thuanus's error. These ought to have known that our Physician made some stay at Delft, after the taking of Haerlem, before he went into Zealand.]

[B] *The first of July 1511.* This we are told in the Life of Junius prefixed to his epistles; *vitam banc orditur Kalendis Junii, anni 1511.* Some pages after we read, that he died *die 16 Junii anno 1575, cum EXPLEVISSET annum etatis 63 qui magnus climactericus annus Medicis vocatur.* i. e. "He died the 16th of June 1575, when he had completed his sixty third year, which Physicians call the great Climacteric." By this we refute Thuanus and Melchior Adam, who say that he died in his Climacterical year: but as this Life of Junius is not very accurate, and as the edition of the epistles (3) to which it is prefixed, is said to have been printed in 1552, tho' it includes the author's epitaph who died in 1575, and some of his letters dated in 1574, I would not too rigorously condemn the chronology of Meursius, who fixes the birth of this learned man to the year 1512 (4). The reason why I say his life (5) is not accurate is, that besides the two dates abovecited, I there find his epitaph which says that he lived sixty three years. If the author of that life thought the epitaph was right, he did wrong to fix Junius's birth-day to the 1st of July 1511, and to assert that, the sixteenth of June 1575, he had completed the sixty third of his age. On the other side, when a man is full sixty four years of age within a fortnight, that writer would be extremely negligent who should say that he is sixty three of age, or is past his sixty third year. But whether there be much or little negligence in this, it is very certain, that Moreri, Freherus, Melchior Adam, Sir Thomas Pope Blunt, and those who fix Junius's birth to the year 1513, are thereby refuted. The edition of his letters is not very correct; and besides they are not ranked in the order in which they were writ; and no care has been taken to search for and supply the dates when they are wanting, which is very often the case. These two defects are but too common in collections of that kind.

[C] *He was son to a Burgomaster of great merit.* Our Junius's father had not only been Secretary, and

afterwards five times Burgomaster of Horn, but also twice deputed to the Court of Denmark, and once to Sweden and other places. He was a scholar; and wrote a Latin work which has not been printed, containing an account of the origin and increase of Horn (6).

[D] *He left it during the troubles.* I have followed, for want of a better guide, the Life of Junius prefixed to his Letters, although I am sensible that it will not be accurate to make this author live in England, from the first time he went thither, till the troubles that broke out after the marriage of Mary with Philip II; for I find some of his letters (7) dated from Haerlem or Horn in 1552, and the beginning of 1554, which speak of a man that led a pretty sedentary life. Many of those who have writ Lives were in great want of good advice.

[E] *Not being able to reconcile himself.* This appears from page 385 of his letters, where he speaks thus to Sambucus. *Liberet mihi Polydori exemplo erumpere in hæc verba, adsum profectus Danica & caligine, nisi longinquæ ac molesti itineris cum partus recordationem obliterasset jucundum amicorum reduci quotidie gratulationum... occurfus.* i. e. "I might, in imitation of Polydore break into the following words; I am here emerged out of Danish gloom; in case the grateful meeting of my friends, who are every day congratulating me on return, did not obliterate the remembrance of a tedious and troublesome journey, as of child-birth." He adds several reasons why he threw up the salary, which was considerable enough (8), and which he might enjoy at Copenhagen. He declares in another letter (9), that both himself and his wife abhorred that country. In another he desires to have his salary increased. I there find that he had been invited to be the King's Physician, but not to be tutor to the young Prince.

[F] *He settled in Haerlem.* The author of his life has not well distinguished the periods. He does not settle him in Haerlem or marry him till after his return from Copenhagen. Now I have proved (10) that he returned from thence in 1564; and it appears from a letter (11) which he wrote in 1559, that he had then been settled some time in Haerlem, and was married to a handsome young Gentlewoman, who had brought him a good fortune. The dedication of his treatise *de Anno*, that of the treatise *de Cama*, and that *Ani-madversorum*, are dated from that city anno 1556.

(6) Boxhornius, Theat. Holland. pag. 373.

(7) Pag. 339, 345, 348.

(8) It was a salary of four hundred Rix Dollars, pag. 409.

(9) Ibid.

(10) See citation (f) above.

(11) Pag. 179. See concerning his mistress, pag. 109.

(3) I make use of an edition printed at Dort, apud Vincentium Caimax, 12mo.

(4) Valerius Andreas, Bibliob. Belg. & Bullart, Academ. des Sciences has followed it.

(5) I know not whether it be that which Beverwyck promises in a Letter to Vossius, dated the 12th of June 1626. See Letters wrote to Vossius, num. 78. pag. m. 47.

was plundered, wherein he had left a great many works which had cost him much labour, and whereby he had hoped to eternize himself. A circumstance that added to his affliction was, they were almost fit for the press. He went to Zealand, where, by the Prince's recommendation, a public salary was decreed him, for practising Physic in Middleburg; but the air of the country did not agree in any manner with his health; and he there contracted some distempers which, added to the grief which he felt for the loss of his Library, brought him to his end the 16th of June 1575, he being threescore and four years old wanting a few days. His body was carried from Armuyden to Middleburg, where he was honourably buried by his eldest son, who also wrote his epitaph [G]. He is author of several books [H]. I shall make some mention of them in the last remark. There was a design to give him a Professorship in Leyden [I], the University whereof was but just rising when he died. I have not yet had time to examine fully whether he at last turned Protestant [K].

(6) Epist. pag. 387.

(i) Ibid. pag. 149. See also pag. 254.

It appears by one of his Letters (b), that he flew into a violent passion, upon his hearing that one of his pupils had accused him of ordering his boarders not to go to Church. So far from this, he protests that he obliged them to go on holidays; and laid a heavy forfeit on those who should neglect on these occasions. We see, in another place (i), that he complains of his poverty; and that being over head and ears in debt, and obliged to equip himself, he had not a penny in the world.

☞ We

[G] His eldest son . . . wrote his epitaph.] Boxhornius having added an appendix to his *Theatrum Urbium Hollandie*, for the omissions which he thought it necessary to supply, inserted, amongst other particulars, this epithet in great letters, but he let three faults creep into it, *velint* instead of *meruit*; 67 instead of 63, and 15 instead of 16: *Vixit ann. LXIII. obiit die XV. &c.*

(12) In the text of this article.

(13) The Bodleian Catalogue ranks this book among those of Francis Junius, Professor of Divinity in Leyden.

(14) Bishop Huët, *De claris Interpretibus*, speaks very contemptuously of these versions.

(15) See his *Life*, prefixed to his *Epistles*; and Melchior Adam.

(16) See his *Letters*, pag. 5, 6.

(17) *Epist.* pag. 173. See also pag. 116.

(*) It has borne three impressions, or more. See the remark [A] in the Additions to this article.

(18) Pag. 406.

(19) Pag. 116.

(20) Meursius, *Atben. Batav.*

(21) *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 12.

(22) *Opuscul.* pag. m. 132.

(23) It is wrote to a Bishop, pag. 460.

[H] He is author of several books.] The chief of these, exclusive of those I have already mentioned (12), are, *Animadversorum libri sex. Commentarius de Com. Adagiorum ab Erasmo omisso Centuriae octo cum dimidia* (13). *Appendix ad Epitheta Textoris. Copia cornu, sive Oceanus Enarrationum Homeriarum ex Eustathii Commentariis collectus in unum volumen. A Nomenclator. Commentarius de Anno & Mensibus. Latin verses* (poems) of several kinds. The translation of Eupapius de *Vitis Sophistarum*; those of Hesychius Milesius, of Plutarch's Table Talk (14); Cassius's *Iatro-sophista*, composed and printed at Paris in 1541, which I believe was the first of his works. I omit a very great number of authors which he has illustrated with notes, as Nonius, Marcellus, Plautus, Seneca, Pliny (15), Virgil, and Horace (16). He had employed a great deal of time on Suidas; and he even intended to dedicate it to the son of the Prince of Orange, as he tells an English Nobleman (17), whose good offices he implores with respect to the Prince, in order to get a present beforehand; for our Junius understood as well as any man, how to make advantages of a Dedication.

I have something to observe concerning three of his works. I. The author of his *Life* says, that the *Animadversorum Libri sex* was lost at the taking of Haerlem. I do not very well understand what he means; they being published by the author himself, and dedicated to Anthony Perenot, Bishop of Arras, in the year 1556. Gruterus has inserted them in Vol. IV of his *Theaurus Criticus* (*). II. With regard to the *Appendix ad Epitheta Textoris*, it may be affirmed that Junius treated this subject with much greater erudition than Textor, who committed some very gross faults in it, some whereof are found in Junius's Letters (18). He looked upon it as a most useful and at the same time a very laborious work (19). III. His *Nomenclator* is an excellent work in its kind. The choice of expressions and terms in eight languages, proves at the same time the learning and indefatigable patience of our Junius. It is said (20) that he was master of eight languages, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, English and Flemish. His travels had been of great service to him on that account. I find he had been in France, Italy, Germany, and England; but not in Spain, as is affirmed by Valerius Andreas (21), Moreri and Freherus. Colomescius has published (22) a little story that Isaac Vossius told him, which would prove that Junius did not neglect any thing that might contribute to the improvement of his *Nomenclator*, and that he condescended to drink with Carmen, in order to learn the terms used by them in their business. I believe it appears from one of his Letters (23), that Junius would not have thought it a great crime, to have drunk a great quantity, if he could do it without intoxicating himself.

When I say that Junius's *Nomenclator* is an excellent work in its kind, I will not deny but that there are some gross errors in it (24); all I mean is, that the good things in it very much exceed what is commonly published on that subject. Now in works of this kind, in which it is impossible not to commit some errors, perfection does not require an author to be free from all faults. It is in these as in man; the most perfect is he who has the least defects.

Nam vitium nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur (25).

(24) See what Crenius, *Animadvers. Phil. & Hist. Part 1. pag. 33. & seq. quotes Gronovius, &c.*

(25) Horat. *Sat. 3. lib. 1. ver. 68.*

[I] There was a design to give him a Professorship in Leyden.] It is Meursius informs me of this. *Sub mortis tempus*, says he (26), *Academiae nascenti inter primos Professores destinatus, sed inter ipsa initia morte abreptus inchoare manus non potuit.* Freherus (27), transcribing this without adding what University is meant, throws his reader into the dark, or misleads him; and as he had just before spoke of Middleburg, they may imagine that an University was newly risen there. I shall observe on this occasion, that nothing causes a greater obscurity in books, than the not taking the pains to add the proper supplements to what is taken out of other authors. A thousand particulars are clear in the originals, which become quite unintelligible, when jejunely transplanted into another place.

[K] I have not yet had time to examine fully, whether he last turned Protestant.] The circumstance which keeps me in suspense, is a Letter (28) which he wrote to the Bishop of Haerlem in 1573, to inform him of the endeavours he had used, in order to keep that Prelate's house from being plundered. He tells him that he preserved this tract as long as he possibly could; and that he would not have abandoned it to the plunderers, had he not been overpowered; a pistol having been put to his breast, and himself threatened with immediate death. He adds, that as these wicked attempts were carried on with impunity, he found himself obliged to desire leave to quit the city, which was granted him. It is certain that he complained in very strong terms to the Magistrates, of the violence that had been done to him (29); and told them, that the Spaniards would hardly proceed to such violent methods, were they masters of the city. What I do not very well understand is, his telling this Prelate, that, in order to preserve his house, he had been forced to drive the French out of it, who profaned all things with a cruel rage, *excludendo barbaram & crudelem Gallorum omnia profanantium rabiem* (a). I do not look upon his being called in the *Index Librorum prohibitorum & expurgandorum* (30) a Calvinist, and an author *damnatae memoriae*, as a convincing proof of his being a Protestant.

§ (*) These in all probability were some of the scattered remains of the Protestant troops, which being defeated in 1571, had followed Genlis into the Netherlands (*). These were no longer those Protestant soldiers who, in the first civil war, had appeared such enemies to vice and every kind of violence.

REM. CRIT.]

(26) Pag. 497.

(27) Pag. 381.

(28) Pag. 476. edit. of 1667, folio.

(29) Thuanus, lib. 51.

¶ We shall add some particulars to this article of Mr. Bayle [A].

[A] We shall add some particulars to this article of Mr. Bayle.] Adrian Junius had a great memory, which enabled him to treasure up a vast deal of learning; for besides his skill in Physic, which was his profession, he was an Historian, Poet, Philosopher; and understood perfectly eight languages, as has been seen (†). His works make up twenty four articles, as appears by the catalogue of them (†). Huetius speaks very unfavourably of our Junius's translations in general. "Although, says that learned writer, Junius was well skilled in Philosophy, he yet did little service to the public by his translations, most of which are bad: for he often mistakes his authors, and consequently translates them falsely. There are a thousand errors in his version of Eünapius de vitis Philosophorum & Sophistarum (*)." But here follows a work of our

author's which is very much applauded: *Animadversa & de Coma Commentarius*, Basileæ 1556 in 8vo. It. Francofurti 1604 in 8vo. eadem ab auctore innumeris in locis emendata & insignibus supplementis locupletata. Accedit Appendix Adriani Junii ad animadversa sua, nunc primum ex Cl. V. Autographo in lucem edita ex bibliotheca Cornetii Van Arckel. Rotterodami 1708 in 8vo. pp. 632. "The six books of Observations included in these volumes, relate to various points of criticism. Junius herein proves himself to be deeply skilled in antiquities both Greek and Roman; his criticisms are equally delicate and judicious, his diction is polite; and every part of this work speaks the candid and modest writer, who sincerely endeavours to find out truth. The treatise de Coma is very curious, and abounds with erudition (†)." (†) Idem, ibid. pag. 406, 407.

JUNIUS (a) (FRANCIS) Professor of Divinity (b) at Leyden, was born at Bourges the 1st of May 1545. He was of a noble family [A]. His father, who was of the long Robe, was exposed to many persecutions, on account of his being suspected to be a Lutheran [B]. He exposed his wife to most horrid calumnies, by her proving with child,

[A] He was of a noble family.] WILLIAM du Jon his grandfather, Lord of Boffardiniere near Issoudun, was ennobled for his good services in the expedition of Navarre, when endeavours were used to restore John d'Albret, dispossessed unjustly of his Kingdom by Ferdinand of Arragon. He also had been in the King's household (1). He left three sons, the youngest of whom named DENYS, or Dionysius, studied Civil-Law, and had a Diploma at Toulouse. He made no progress in his studies (2), for being very courageous, he always engaged in the quarrels of the students. In short, he was a mighty Duellist. He was appointed King's Counsellor at Bourges, by way of recompence for a bold action he had performed. This action will be seen in the following remark. He had nine children, one whereof was our Francis Junius (3).

[B] His father . . . was exposed to many persecutions, on account of his being suspected to be a Lutheran.] The Father Guardian or Superior of the Franciscans of Issoudun preached in so impudent a manner against Margaret Queen of Navarre, Duchefs of Berri, and sister of Francis I, as to say that, because she was a Lutheran, she deserved to be tied up in a sack and to be cast into the river. The Magistrates of the place exhorted him not to be thus wanting in the respect which was due to that Princess; but he laughed at their advice, and continued to sermonize in the same strain; upon which informations were taken out against him, and sent to the King. This Monarch being resolved to inflict on him the same punishment, to which he had judged the Queen, gave orders to have that Monk in question brought before him; but the Queen of Navarre, interceding for the guilty Friar, prevailed so far as to have the punishment mitigated. The difficulty was, how to seize upon this Friar, he having the common people on his side; so that the Magistrates of Issoudun were afraid of executing his Majesty's order. Denys du Jon, who was returning from the schools where he had fought so often, declared, that if the King would give him a commission to seize the person of the Monk, he would execute it punctually. Accordingly, such a commission having been issued in his name, he put himself at the head of the sheriff's Officers; and in spite of the opposition made by the common people, he forced out of his monastery the Friar, who was sent to the galleys for two years. Du Jon ingratiated himself indeed, by this action, into the favour of Francis I, and of the Duchefs of Berry; but he incurred the hatred of the people and the Franciscans, and drew upon himself a numberless multitude of calumnies, and menaces, and involved him in persecutions, which at last ended in the cruel massacre committed on his person. *Hæc prima fuit actio, quæ in gratiam Regis, sororisque Reginae insinavit patrem: sed apud illam inconsultam plebeculam & Franciscanorum ordinem odia perpetua conciliavit: indignissimaque calumnias, minas, criminationes, persecutiones, damna, cruentam denique cædem patri apportavit (4).* He was ac-

cused of being a Lutheran, and his servant-maid was suborned, to attest that he did not keep fast days. *Et Franciscanorum arte, & plebis imprudentia odioque maximo pressus est sub religionis specie & Lutheranismi . . . accusatus, subornata ad eam rem ancilla quæ domi serviverat. Ea patrem à se visum, quum diebus vetitis carnes ederet, pro testimonio dicebat falso, ut matrem sepe audivi confirmantem (5).* Junius fled away, being not willing to venture himself among people who were so much governed by their passions. His goods and chattles were all seized; and the Queen of Navarre was obliged to supply him, for almost a twelvemonth, wherewith to subsist. However, the accusations, by the King's authority, were at last brought to nothing, upon which du Jon got a Counsellor's place, &c. *Liberatus ab accusatione pater auctoritate Regis, patrium solum repetit, atque immigrat in Biturigum metropolin, ubi cum laude ad exitum usque vitæ Consiliarii Regii & pro Tribuno militum honoribus à Rege collatis defunctus est: præter alia commoda honoraria, quæ à Regina sorore illius & Biturigum Duce acceperat (6).* i. e. "His father being freed from the accusation by the authority of his Majesty, returns to the place of his birth, and goes to Bourges the capital of Berry, where he acquitted himself, till he died, with honour, in the employments of Counsellor and Colonel, which the King had bestowed upon him; exclusive of several other honorary advantages that were conferred on him by the Queen, that Monarch's sister, and the Duke of Berry." Here follows the manner of his being killed. On Corpus-Christi day the Roman Catholics of Issoudun, regardless of the treaty of peace that had been concluded just before, committed a thousand outrages against the Protestants. The King then issued out a commission to Denys du Jon to enquire into that sedition, and punish the authors of it. Du Jon went to Issoudun accompanied only by three Sheriff's Officers; and posted the rest in various places before he entered into the city, it being necessary to act with prudence in so delicate an affair. However, his precautions were of no service to him; the common people guessed the motive of his coming, upon which they seized the gates, and besieged the Commissioner's house. They entered it by force, killed du Jon, threw his body out of the window, dragged it through the streets, flung it to the dogs, and publickly forbid (7) it burial (8). The King's Council conceived a due indignation against this insolence, and gave orders for demolishing the walls of Issoudun; but Cipierre and some other Lords caused this arret to be changed; and that chiefly because the murdered Commissioner had been suspected of being a Lutheran above twenty four years. The widow of the deceased, by her attempting to revenge this murder, incurred the hatred of many persons, and consumed her estate. *Hæc cædes consilium Regis commovit plurimum: & decretum de labefactandis muris totius oppidi in eo factum propter atrocitatem sceleris, & periculosissimum exemplum illius. Sed postea con-*

(†) Nicéron, *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 7. pag. 401.
(†) Idem, ibid. pag. 401, & seq.
(*) Idem, ibid. pag. 404.

(a) The name he commonly went by was Du Jon, and not Jonghe, as Moreri supposes.

(1) *In custodia & equili . . . Ludovici XII, ministravit. Franciscus Junius, in Vita sua, tom. 1. Oper. pag. 6. col. 1.*

(2) *Hinc ab ævo solemniss. literarum quas Dionysio filio mittebat, & falsa inscriptio, Dionysio dilecto filio misso ad studendum, pro eo quod alii vulgo inscribunt studenti. Idem, ibid.*

(3) Extracted from Junius's Life.

(4) Idem, ibid. col. 2.

(b) And not a Civilian, as is said by Father Jacob, *Bibliotheca Perisifia*, pag. 460.

(5) Idem, ibid.

(6) Extracted from the Life of Junius, pag. 7. col. 1.

(7) Nevertheless a woman buried him in the night. Idem, ibid.

(8) Extracted from the Life of Francis Junius, pag. 14.

child, at a time when the world imagined that he had fled from his country [C]; and it was not known that he had come once secretly to see her. Our Francis Junius was carefully educated, and became a very learned man, to which his innate modesty, added to great ambition [D], did not a little contribute. He began to study the Law under Hugo Donellus at thirteen years of age. Some years after he was sent to Lyons, in order to meet the Ambassador whom the King of France was sending to Constantinople; but as the Ambassador was set out before Junius's arrival, he stopt at Lyons, and applied himself to study with incredible vigour. Bartholomew Aneau [E], who was principal of the College in that city, gave him excellent instructions with regard to the right method of studying (*). The young man saw himself exposed to two temptations of a very

(*) See note [A] in the additions to this article.

*versa est factionibus tota ratio consilii: tum propter Si-
pierrii Gubernatoris & nonnullorum ex nobilitate proce-
rum inveterata odia, tum propter religionis Pontificiæ
Zelum, cujus odio indefinenter flagravisse inde ab annis
amplius viginti quatuor criminabantur patrem. Itaque
cædem illam necesse habuit mater in Regis consilio perse-
qui ex eo tempore: quo factò, cum ipsa in se multorum
concitavit odia, tum omnia ferme commoda quæ ex bel-
lica licentia, furtis, rapinis, grassationibusque restabant
ipsi, in hac persecutione occupavit (9).*

(9) Idem, ibid.

An important reflection on the effects of false zeal.

I do not suggest to any one here, to wonder at the evil effects of a religious zeal. Those who are possessed with it, must approve of murders, and condemn the conduct of a woman, who desires to have the murderers of her husband brought to condign punishment. But I beg my readers to attend to one thing. Religion, which is universally looked upon as the firmest support of the Supreme Authority, and which would really be so, if it were rightly understood and well practised, is commonly the thing that most enervates that very authority. Nothing could be more just than the arrest of Francis I against the preacher of Issoudun, for his insolence in treating so ignominiously in the pulpit, his Sovereign's own sister. Nevertheless, not one Magistrate dares to execute the orders of his King against that seditious wretch; and when a Gentleman has the courage to put them in execution, he makes himself obnoxious to a thousand persecutions; and incurs such odium, that his murderers are openly protected. The Queen of Navarre was the first who advised the Gentleman in question to leave his country, since the putting in execution his Prince's very just orders would make him be the object of the hatred of bigots. *Felicius certe utiliusque politicos honores gesturo, & Remp. administraturo, si post tam forte ausum benefica & cauta migratione, quam sæpe fieri Navarrenæ Regina & nonnulli Proceres cupiverunt, ut alibi Reip. inseruiret pater, sibi prospexisset (10):* an evident proof that the Court did not believe itself powerful enough to protect its good servants when persecuted by the Ecclesiastics. It is generally said, that the Gospel Ministry *est ipsi Angelis tremendum*, (is formidable even to Angels); and we may add, *& ipsi quoque Regibus*, (and likewise to Kings themselves). Whoever reads the History of the Church of Rome attentively, will find that the greatest Princes in the world had more reason to dread the passions which devotees raise, than the arms of Infidels; thus that which ought to form the support of the State, and its grandeur and Majesty, is frequently the mightiest obstacle, which Sovereigns meet with in the execution of their orders (11).

(10) Idem, ibid. pag. 6. col. 2.

(11) Compare what has been said in the article ABDAS, remark [B].

[C] . . . he exposed his wife to most horrid calumnies, by her proving with child, at a time when the world imagined he had fled his country.] It is imprudent for a woman to venture the being so, when her husband is a fugitive; for if he should die in his absence, before her delivery, and without owning himself the father of the child (three things that might very easily happen) how could a woman clear her reputation with regard to the public? But farther, are we to consider as nothing the furnishing a handle to slander, as du Jon's wife did? It will be answered, that it is very easy for a person to say this, when he speaks of it coolly, and does not put himself in the place of persons in love. After some months absence, their flames rage to such a degree, that no consideration can check them. passion hurries them along, and they will not listen to the voice of reason:

(12) Virg. Georg. lib. 1. ver. 514.

Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas (12).

“ So four fierce couriers starting to the race,
“ Scower thro' the plain, and lengthen ev'ry pace;

“ Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threatening cries they fear,
“ But force along the trembling charioteer.

DRYDEN.

However this be, our du Jon's mother was slandered, which pierced her to the heart. *Profugus pater clam ad matrem semel redierat, hinc gravida facta mater proscindebatur à vulgo, tanquam si prostituta fuisset pudicitia illius. Utraque hoc incommodo sanæ illius semine animus oppugnabatur, objicientibus maligne quam plurimum tum Franciscani illius reverentem, tum graviditatem, ut agebant, impudicam (13).*

(13) Junius, in Vita sua, pag. 7. col. 1.

[D] His innate modesty, added to great ambition.] These two passions do not seem to be formed for one another, and yet they sometimes are united. Junius is an example of this. He confesses that, from his childhood, he had an immoderate desire of being honoured and applauded; and that it was intolerable to him to hear others praised. *Natura me puerum ad honoris & laudis appetentiam plus satis accendens. Sic enim mala radix illa vix quodvis in me germinabat, ut nec alienam laudem ista ætate æquo animo ferre possim miser, nec in mea existimatione illa conquiescere, quam mihi conciliabam pertinacissima diligentia.* On the other hand, he confesses that he was of so fearful a nature, and so bashful, that even when he was near fifty he could not speak to his own wife without blushing; and that he scarce dared to command his own servants. *Pudor summus, qui me ad hanc usque ætatem sic pressit, ut rusticus magis ad omnia quam urbanus meritis habere possim. . . . Quid dicam nisi impudentem ferme pudorem esse, qui me tantopere impeditum distinet, ut vix sine pudore uxori res vulgares enunciem, vix jam domi servitio imperem.* He declares that this bashfulness had been of great advantage to him; because the diffidence he had of himself made him apply with much greater assiduity, in order to improve by what he both heard and saw. *Ex pudore hæc consequuta sunt inde à puero quod mihi semper sum diffusus, quod aliorum factis audiendis, sermonibus observandis & advertendis in usum meum studuerim (14).* He declares, that he would not have informed his readers of his infirmity, had he not thought that it would be a most useful lesson, with respect to modesty, for youth. *Hoc eo libentiùs prædico de infirmitate mea, ut juventus ab exemplo meo præceptum bauriat ræσωφοσύνης atque modestiæ, ut certum fructum peritiæ certo judicio assequatur. Id enim testor, nihil mihi secundum benedictionem Dei tam commoda-visse in rebus omnibus, quàm illam de me ipso diffidentiam ex conscientia infirmitatis & pudoris mei, & studiosam aliorum, quibuscunque adfui, observantiam.* One cannot too much applaud the modesty, and that rare humility, which makes a man distrust his own abilities; but it is very certain that it is a very bad quality for one, who would make his fortune in the world; and I would advise any father, who is desirous that his children should attain to dignities, to inspire them with vanity and presumption rather than a distrust of their merit. Junius is perhaps the only man, who with respect to worldly advantages, was not the worse for his modesty. I don't pretend to establish it as a maxim, that arrogance is always useful; it sometimes ruining (15) young people, and preventing their rising in the world; I speak of this only in general, without having any regard to exceptions.

(14) Idem, ibid. col. 2.

(15) In the article ALCIATUS (Andrew) remark [A].

[E] Bartholomew Aneau.] I have spoke elsewhere (16) of his Commentary on Alciatus's Emblems. He was called in Latin *Annulus* or *Anulus*. He was born in Bourges and published several books (16). He lost his life in a miserable manner in the tumult on a religious account, wherein Junius had like to have lost his life. His wife would have met with the same fate, had not the Prevot of Lyons saved her, by throwing her into prison (17).

(16) See La Croix du Maine, pag. 35. and Du Verdier Vau-Privas, pag. 110. 111.

(17) See Junius's Life, pag. 10. col. 2.

a very different kind, that of love and that of impiety. He resisted the first with great vigour, he giving a stout box on the ear to a girl who offered to caress him [F]; but he was so far overpowered by the sophistry of a Libertine, that he became a perfect Atheist [G], after listening to him some days. However, he did not continue long in that unhappy condition; a tumult on account of Religion, which obliged him to fly to save his life, gave him an opportunity of returning to his first faith. His father recalled him to Bourges; and discovering some of the principles which his son had imbibed, he gave him excellent instructions; and brought him, in an easy and insensible manner, to the perusal of the new Testament. The first words (c), which Junius fell upon there, affected him so strongly [H], that he soon had a distaste for every thing wherein piety was not concerned. He went, in the beginning of the civil wars, to Geneva, to study the Languages there. As he had brought but little money with him, and did not receive any remittances, he was reduced to extreme necessity [I]. However, he at last got where-

withal

(c) The beginning of St. John's Gospel

(18) See remark (C) of the article HELIODO-RUS.

[F] He gave a stout box on the ear to a girl who offered to caress him.] This is an incident, that is much more to be wondered at than the action of Theagenes is a mere fiction. Junius was so much devoted to his studies that he little thought of making love, upon which he was censured for shewing so little gallantry, and asserted that he would never learn good breeding and politeness, unless he got him a mistress. But as these exhortations had no influence upon his conduct, some of his acquaintance exposed him to the caresses of three or four wenches, who attacked him in an impudent manner; slinging themselves upon him, and using their utmost endeavours to get the better of his modesty. At last he grew out of all patience, and gave one of them a box on the ear, which occasioned a great noise in the house. The girl who had been thus assaulted, perceiving by the air of our young man, that he had not given the blow in jest, began to cry and roar; which made the people laugh at her and at Junius also, a circumstance that made him odious to many. Here follow his own words: *Dies et noctes appetebant canes illos promiscue, nescium quid sibi vellet, et gravitatis honestatisque illius, quam in domo paterna videram, subinde recordantem. Neque id seorsim tentabant fugule, vermetiam ternas aut quaternas simul confertis manibus in me irruerant immodestissime, ut perducto ad suam impuritatem animo meo de spoliis pudoris mei triumpharent. Tandem vero adeo me puduit illarum impudentie, ut quum una multis spectantibus me amatorie esset adorsa palpo, ego contra colapbum gravem ei impegerim: quem illa addubitans utram in partem acciperet, defixis oculis attenta respexit ad me, aliquantisper observans aliquam mei animi significationem: ut autem rem seriam a me esse vidit, tum illa vociferationibus et ejulatibus implevit domum, omniumque risum imprudens in sese, stultorum odia in me contavit* (19). Junius was so tired with these temptations, that he a thousand times had formed a resolution to return to his father's, without taking leave of the people of the house, where his chastity met with such frequent attacks; but he was afraid of their resentment, and the slanders they might employ, in order to injure him with regard to his own family.

(19) Junius in sua Vita, pag. 9. col. 2.

[G] He was so far overpowered by the sophistry of a Libertine, that he became a perfect Atheist.] Junius, by the advice of Bartholomew Aneau, had read Cicero de Legibus, and made collections out of it. During this interval, he was visited by a certain person, who maintained with so many arguments what Cicero alleges concerning Epicurus's rejecting a Providence, that he gave way the more easily to that impious doctrine, as it was spoke of every day at table, [and all the house rung with it. *Ista horribili impietate conftrata erat quotidie mensa, personabat domus, circumstrepabant omnia aureis meas, adeo ut jamque ad alia omnia obsunderem. Nam quum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus, aut audimus, inquit Tullius, etiam qui natura mitissimi sumus, assiduitate molestiarum sensum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus: quum impie fieri aut dici, pietatis sensum* (20) ... *Memini, quum libros M. Tullii de legibus per illud tempus, auctore et suatore Anulo (de quo ante dixi) expenderem, et notas quasdam in eos animadversionisque colligerem, venire hominem ad me, et illa Epicuri verba, que libro primo exstant (21), nihil curare Deum nec sui, nec aliorum, multis quam diligentissime confirmare: ad qua ego non ratione judicioque certe respondebam: sed assensionem*

(20) Idem, ibid. pag. 10. col. 1.

(21) Here Junius's memory failed him, he mistaking the first book, De Natura Deorum.

paulatim adhibens, sentiebam venturam serpens, quod imberberam, confirmari in me: et cum auctoritate hominis, tum argutis dictorum ejus preceptis edeserebar, ut meus animus in isto malo haerens occallesceret, totisque fieret amarus (22).

(22) Junius in Vita sua, pag. 10. col. 1.

[H] The first words which Junius fell upon in the New Testament affected him.] This incident is so edifying, and so well adapted to imprint a due sense of the efficacy of God's word, that I must not retrench any part of it. *Hic ergo novum illud testamentum divinitus oblatum aperio: aliud agenti exhibet se mihi aspectu primo augustissimum illud caput Joannis Evangelistae et Apostoli, In principio erat Verbum, &c. Lego partem capituli, et ita commoveor legens, ut repente divinitatem argumenti, et scripti majestatem auctoritatemque senserim longo intervallo omnibus eloquentiae humanae fluminibus praecentem. Horrebat corpus, stupebat animus, et totum illum diem sic afficiebar, ut qui essem, ipse mihi incertus viderer esse. Recordatus es mei, Domine Deus mi, pro immensa misericordia tua, ovemque perditam in gregem tuum recepisti. Ex eo tempore, quum in me Deus tam potenter Spiritus sui virtute irruisset alia frigidius et negligentius legere et tractare cepi: de his vero qua ad pietatem pertinent cogitare amplius, et ardentius in eis versari* (23). i. e. "Here I therefore (23) Ibid. pag. 11. col. 2. "open the New Testament that was brought from "Heaven, and at first sight fall unexpectedly on that "august chapter of St. John the Evangelist, In the "beginning was the word &c. I read part of the "chapter, and am so struck with what I read, that I "infantly perceived the divinity of the subject, and "the authority and majesty of the Scriptures to surpass "greatly all human eloquence. I shuddered in my "body, my mind was confounded; and I was so "strongly affected all that day, that I hardly knew "who I myself was. But thou, my Lord God, didst "remember me in thy boundless mercy, and receive "a lost sheep into thy flock. From that time, when "the Almighty had granted me so great a portion of "his Holy Spirit, I began to read and treat other "books more coldly and negligently; and to reflect "more upon, and be much more conversant in such "things as are relative to piety."

[I] He was reduced to extreme necessity.] He gives a long detail of this, whereof I will observe only the two following things. Being possessed, at the approach of winter, of only a little doublet and a little cloak, he resolved to imitate Cleanthes, that is, to earn something by the labour of his hands. *Certum deliberatumque erat hebdomade proxima sequutura . . . alterius dies inegerenda terra ad fossam urbis, et in studiis consumere, Ckantis exemplo, ut levarem inopiam meam* (24). (24) Idem, ibid. He was resolved to put himself out to hire, and to work as a pioneer in the trenches of Geneva; but met with a young countryman of his, who gave him some assistance. However, as he stood longer in need of his friend, than he had flattered himself he should, he was afraid of growing troublesome, and thence was prompted to make but one slender meal every day. He continued this abstemious course four months, whereby he became so weak and thin, that he scarce was able to bear his shirt on, and would have died in a short time, had not his friends been urgent with him to eat a little more. *Utro ad menses quatuor jejunium ipse indixi mihi, et boram prandii in ambulatione, legere et memoriam colens, meditari, orari occupavi: vespere autem carna frugali usus sum, plurimum sorbens bina ova, et mediocre vini cyathum hauriens. Sed ex diuturna*

(d) See the remark [B].

(e) In the year 1565.

(f) *Scænovienfis Ecclesia.*

(g) Tremellius joined with him in writing that work.

withal to free himself from his misery, and to pay his debts; and hearing of his father's tragical end (d), he resolved to gain his livelihood by instructing youth. He accordingly followed that way of life in Geneva, till such time as he was sent into the Low-Countries (e), to be Minister of the Walloon Church in Antwerp. He discharged the ministerial functions in the midst of several dangers; for although he opposed the indiscreet zeal of those who, without any lawful authority, broke to pieces images, and plundered the Churches; he yet was considered as the fomentor on those occasions, for which reason attempts were frequently made to imprison him; but he always was so happy as to get timely notice, by which means he avoided being taken. It was thought proper that he should go into the territory of Limburg, where he continued his ministerial functions with great success; till such time as the dangers to which he found himself exposed, made the Magistrates resolve to advise him to retire into Germany. The curiosity of a silly old man deserves to be told [L], it being perfectly well adapted to shew the knavery of persecutors and the stupidity of the common people. Junius was received very graciously at Heidelberg by the Elector Frederic III, and went and visited his mother at Bourges, whence being returned to the Palatinate, he was there Minister of a small Church (f). Some time after the Elector sent him to the Prince of Orange's army, during the unfortunate expedition of the year 1568. He was Chaplain to this Prince till the troops had got back into Germany; when he returned to his Church in the Palatinate, and there acquitted himself of his ecclesiastical functions till the year 1573, after which the Elector Palatine sent for him to Heidelberg, to translate the old Testament (g). He was sent to Neustad in 1578, and at the end of fourteen months to Otterburg, where he staid eighteen months; after which he returned to Neustad, and read public Lectures, till Prince Casimir, Administrator of the Electorate, sent for him to Heidelberg, to be Professor of Divinity. He returned to France with the Duke of Bouillon, and paid his respects to Henry IV, who sent him back to Germany to execute some affairs. He thought proper to go through Holland, before he went to give an account of his commission to Henry IV; and being invited to be Divinity Professor at Leyden, he accepted of the offer, having first obtained the consent of the French Ambassador (b). He discharged the duties of that employment with great ability, till the year 1602, when he was snatched away by the plague. He had borne an aversion to women; but, as he himself confesses, heaven punished him for this, by his marrying four wives [L]. He

(b) Extracted from his *Life*, written by himself, and published by Merula in the year 1595, and afterwards prefixed to his works. Meichior Adam has given a large extract of it. Moreri is mistaken in citing Merula in *Descripti Vita Junii*.

diuturna ista & pernicace inedia paulatim me invasit, & ita exedit, graviter, ut vires omnes exhaustum corpus deficerent. Quod malum tum demum sensi, quum instantibus amicis & tabem meam ex vultu recognoscentibus, ad majorem cibi copiam sumendam veni, & vivere institui liberalius; nam vel indusit solius onere prægravati mihi esse humeri videbantur (25). i. e. "I enjoyed myself a voluntary four months fast, and past the hour of dinner in walking, reading, recollecting things, contemplating and praying. In the evening I eat a slender supper, which consisted generally of two eggs and a moderate glass of wine. But this long obstinate abstemiousness threw me into a consumption, which wasted me to such a degree that I lost all my strength. This I was sensible of, when at the urgent intreaties of my friends, who discovered my distemper by my aspect, I eat a greater quantity and lived more freely; for my shoulders seemed to be quite burthened with the single weight of my shirt."

[K] *The curiosity of a silly old man deserves to be told.* He had been made to believe that Junius an heretical Preacher had cloven feet; and was not undeceived till after he had surveyed him from head to foot. This was in presence of a great number of people, who were met in hopes of hearing a dispute between Junius and a Franciscan. The time and place for the conference had been pitched upon; but the Franciscan had gone back, upon pretence of his having forgot something. I had heard such stories a hundred times, but never found them supported by so authentic a testimony, and that too in print. For this reason I will here transcribe Junius's own words. *Ridiculum est quod dicam, sed tamen indicium horum simplicitatis, & mendacissimæ illorum impudentiæ. Quum in campo essemus, Franciscani illius adventum expectantes, vir quidam senex frequentiam illam maximam quæ tum aderat perumpens, copiam sibi fieri videndi mei postulavit. Audito strepitu rogabam quid rei esset. Cognito hominem esse mei videndi cupientem, monui ut daretur homini ad veniendum locus. Tum ille demisso vultu inde a pedibus ad verticem usque observans diligentissimè constitutionem meam, erupit in hæc verba: eho, jamjam video non esse id verum, quod mihi de te fuerat enunciatum.*

Me autem dicente, quid ergo illud est? tibi, inquit, pedes sfisos esse (26). i. e. "The incident I shall here relate is ridiculous, but it is an example of the simplicity and most lying impudence of those persons. When we were come to the place of controversy, waiting for the arrival of that Franciscan, a certain old man forcing his way through the great crowd, desired to see me. Hearing a noise, I enquired what the matter was; and being informed that one desired to have a sight of me, I bid the people make way for him. Then he, throwing his eyes to the ground, surveying me very diligently from head to foot, broke into the following words: I now have ocular demonstration, that what was told me concerning you is not true; and upon my enquiring of him what this was: I was told, replied he, that you had cloven feet."

[L] *He had borne an aversion to women; but, as he himself confesses, Heaven punished him for this by his marrying four wives.* I should be afraid of ill translating the following words, and I therefore will only transcribe them. *In conjugiiis varie me duriterque exercuit Dominus. Nam quatuor uxores duxi hætenus: adeo me (qui prius propter tantum impiarum scelera a sæminis abhorrebam, & functionis meæ studio conjugium refugiebam pernicacissime) castigavit Dominus, præposterum judicium meum tacite exprobravit, & perjuranda optimarum fidelissimarumque conjugum consuetudine evicit peccatum, indignamque de sexu sæmineo toto opinionem meam* (27). He observes that he lost his first wife by the ignorance of a midwife, who, in delivering her of twins, spoilt her uterus (28). *Hæram primam injuria obstetricis & vita sustulit, quum ita corruptus in obstetricatu fuisset illius uterus, ut annos amplius septem indefinente sanguinis defluvio afflicta sit atque exhausta, incredibili cruciata ipsius & labore meo* (29). The consequences of this delivery were very grievous, not only for the wife, but also for the husband, viz. she being continually afflicted with a bloody flux for above seven years. His second wife died, being with child, of a fever the fifth day. The third died of a dropsy; and the fourth was alive when he wrote this, about the year 1592, but afterwards died of the plague.

(26) *Ibid.* pag. 20. col. 2.

(25) *Ibid.* pag. 13. col. 2.

(27) Junius, in *Vita sua*, pag. 21. col. 2.

(28) Who did not live. *Ex prima*, says he, *gemelli vix viderunt lucem.*

(29) Junius in *Vita sua*, pag. 22. col. 1.

left some children [M], and published a great many books [N]. Thuanus is greatly mistaken in what he relates concerning him [O]. In all probability the Memoirs of Scaliger, who hated Junius, prejudiced that celebrated Historian [P]. Junius did not deserve

[M] *He left some children.* By his second wife, daughter of John Cornput, Secretary and Burgomaster of Breda, he had, among other children a daughter that was married to the learned John Gerard Vossius, and a son named JOHN CASIMIR JUNIUS (30), who studied Divinity, and was, by his father, designed for Hebrew Professor, but did not succeed. He quitted letters for the sword, at the solicitation of his uncle John Cornput (31), who made him lieutenant of his company. He died in Gertrudenberg. He had published, in the Flemish tongue, an apology for the speech of Sir Dudley Carlton, King James's Ambassador. This was writ by way of answer to James Taurin, an Arminian Minister at Utrecht, who had refused (32) that speech. He left a son named FRANCIS JUNIUS, born at Embden the 20th of September 1624, who was Law Professor in the university of Groningen (33). I shall treat in the following article of another FRANCIS JUNIUS, whom our Leyden Professor had by a third wife.

[N] *He published many books.* His Theological works, collected into a body make two volumes in folio, and contain among other things: I, a commentary on the three first chapters of Genesis; with an answer to the twenty two objections made by Simplicius (34) to that sacred book. II. An analysis of the Pentateuch: An explication of the prophecies of Ezekiel, Daniel and Jonas. III. Sacred parallels, and notes on the Revelations, and the epistle of St. Jude. IV. Observations against Bellarmine; and on the excommunication of Gebhard Truchses, Archbishop of Colen, by Gregory XIII. He also wrote criticisms on profane authors, he publishing notes on Manilius and Tully's epistles, as also on Tertullian, and a work on George Codinus Curopalates. He likewise gave some versions from the Latin; that of Bodin's Demonomania, John du Tillet, Arnauld's plea against the Jesuits, &c. He drew up an answer (35) in French to Francis Charron's *Trois veritez contre tous Athies &c.* i. e. "Three Truths, against all Atheists &c. I must not forget that he understood Greek and the Oriental tongues. He was the first who published George Codinus's book *de Officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani, & Officiis magna Ecclesie*, to which he added a Latin translation and notes. He published two editions of this work, the first in 1588, to which he prefixed his name in Hebrew, viz. *Nadabus Agmonius* (36), and dedicated it to the Magistrates of Francfort. He dedicated the second to Marquardus Freherus, who had procured him some manuscripts which enabled him to fill up several chafms of the former edition. He prepared a third, which would have been free from part of the faults that had escaped in the two former, and which have been criticized by Gretserus the Jesuit (37). The observations which Vossius makes on this critic are very just. He does not deny that Gretserus's work abounds with erudition; but he thinks that the good services which Junius had done to the Republic of Letters had not been sufficiently considered. Gretserus has applied himself to nothing but the pointing out his errors, which indeed, says he, is the epidemical distemper of the Literati. *Multa in iis sunt, quibus etiam doctissimus doceat* (Gretserus). *Nec pauca tamen, quae pro Junio possim reponere. Sed hic eruditorum morbus est epidemicus: ut non tam cogitent, quantum boni aliquis praestiterit: quale est hic, quod primus eum scriptorem Junius sua lingua ediderit, Latine verterit, etiam illustravit Nois; in quibus humani aliquid subinde, in tam arduo negotio, perpersum fuisse, nec ipsi negamus. Sed, ut diu solet, inventis aliquid superaddere; vel quando omnes sumus homines, etiam errores observare, non est usque adeo difficile* (38). i. e. "There are many particulars in them, wherein Gretser may teach those who boast the greatest learning; and not a few which I can return in favour of Junius. But this is the epidemical disease of the Literati, that they do not sufficiently reflect on the good things which a person may have done, such as, Junius's being the first who published that author in his own

language, translated it into Latin, and even illustrated it with notes; in which arduous undertaking I will confess he now and then commits errors. But, as is frequently said, to improve upon discoveries that have been made, and to point out faults to which all men are liable is no very hard task." Junius had translated the three books of Gelasius Cyzicenus, concerning the Council of Nice, and illustrated them with notes (39), all which Vossius promised to get printed (40). I do not say Junius translated out of Greek into Latin the books that are called Apocryphal; and from the Arabic the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. He translated, in conjunction with Tremellius, all the books of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew.

[O] *Thuanus is greatly mistaken in what he relates concerning him.* His words are as follow. *Vir de sultorio ingenio, qui multa conatus, an adsecutus sit quod moliebatur, doctorum erit judicium: Lugduno Bataavorum ubi diu professus est, ob rerum suspensionem ab Ordinibus Belgii exactus, novarum scuti suo loco diximus, & Altorf ubi defecit, a Norimbergensi Rep. honorifico stipendio invitatus* (41). i. e. "A man of a roving disposition, who attempted many things, but whether he succeeded in them, the learned will judge. Banished by the States from the city of Leyden where he had been Professor many years, upon a suspicion of engaging in factions, as I said in its place; and invited to Altorf, where he died, by the republic of Nuremberg, who at the same time offered him an honourable salary." I shall not examine, whether Thuanus had reason to say, that Junius was of a roving or fickle disposition and undertook too many things, Vossius his son-in-law having cleared him sufficiently with respect to that point (42): I shall observe after him (43), that Thuanus is strangely mistaken, in supposing first, that Junius was banished by the States of Holland upon a suspicion of his engaging in cabals. Secondly, That he accepted of an invitation made by the Magistrates of Nuremberg, and died in Altorf. Thirdly, That Thuanus has spoke of his exile under the proper year. To begin with this last error; I say that Thuanus has not spoke of Junius, but of Donellus, when he describes the cabal that was discovered in 1587 (44). Junius was then in the Palatinate, and did not come to Leyden till five years after. It is universally known that he was Divinity Professor of Leyden from the year 1592, till his death. It was Donellus who retired to Altorf, and died there (45).

[P] *In all probability the memoirs of Scaliger prejudiced Thuanus.* This is Vossius's conjecture (46), and it may very probably be true. Scaliger's hatred and passion against Junius appeared both in his conversations (47) and letters. But this is not so manifest to every one in his letters, because Heinsius (48) who published them in 1627, put stars in all those places where Junius was injuriously treated, and suppressed the proper names; but the invectives therefore are not the less real for it. *Hocce anno Heinsius noster in lucem edidit Epistolas Scaligeri, in quibus non urbanitatem sed rusticitatem Junium tanquam Camanum asinum tangit, homo caetera magnus, sed nimis malignus* (49). i. e. "Our countryman Heinsius published this year Scaliger's epistles, wherein that author, who otherwise is a great man but too spiteful, jokes, not in a polite but clownish manner, on Junius, whom he calls the Cumean ass." These are Vossius's words. He had said just before, that there were found in some of Junius's printed works, a great number of very injurious expressions, written with Scaliger's own hand. What are not those authors capable of who go such lengths? *Memor eram qualia superstes evomeret adversus Junium, cum totus in fermento jaceret. Et meminisse ipse potes. Adhuc in nostris, & aliorum manibus versantur codices Juniani, Scaligeri manu opplati bellis illis elogiis, simia, asinus, cojone, & aliis id genus convitiis, βομολόγῳ (scurra) non Scaligero dignis* (50). i. e. "I remember in how injurious a manner he treated Junius in his life-time, and with how much fury he wrote, and you

(30) Godson to Prince John Casimir, Administrator of the Palatinate.

(31) He was Governor of the Citadel of Groningen. Meteren speaks of him. *Vita Profess. Groning.* pag. 224.

(32) His piece is intitled, *Statera Oratorum Carletoni, &c.*

(33) See *The Lives of the Professors of Groningen*, pag. 224, 225.

(34) And not *Symmachus*, as is said by Melchior Adam, in *Vita Junii*, pag. 201.

(35) It was printed at Leyden, in 4to, in the year 1599.

(36) And not *Agmonius*, as Placcius, *de Pseudonymis*, says, pag. 229, who a little after puts *Cornelius* instead of *Codinus*, and apprehend it instead of *reprehendit*.

(37) See Vossius, *de Historicis Graecis*, pag. 368.

(38) Vossius, *ibid.*

(39) *Ibid.* pag. 264.

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) Thuan. lib. 127. sub fin. ad ann. 1602.

(42) Vossius, in *Praefat. de Historicis Latinis*.

(43) *Ibid.*

(44) Thuan. *Hist.* lib. 38. pag. 147.

(45) *Idem*, lib. 100. pag. 405.

(46) In *Praefat. de Hist. Latinis*.

(47) See the *Scaligerana*.

(48) See Vossius's *Letter to Grocius*, among those of the Arminians, num. 448. pag. 726.

(49) Vossius, in *eadem Epistola*.

(50) *Ibid.*

deserve to be treated in so contemptuous a manner by Scaliger; the injustice of it is very palpable; and when we consider the elogiums which a numberless multitude of great authors have bestowed upon him (i), we find our selves more inclined to pity than indignation with respect to that injustice. He was a learned and honest man; and so far from running into extremes, that it was his opinion people may be saved in the Romish Communion [2]. He never was more sensible of the deficiency of his knowledge, than when he knew most (k), which was an indication of a right understanding.

(i) See Colomesius, *Gallia Orientalis*, pag. 95, & seq.

(k) See the remark [2] citation (59).

☉ We

“ you yourself may remember it. There are still extant some of Junius's printed books, wherein are writ, with Scaliger's own hand, the fine elogiums following; ape, afs, scoundrel and such like scurrilous expressions, worthy of a buffoon and not of Scaliger.” It may be observed by the way, that Scaliger nevertheless bestowed very great elogiums on Junius's herse (51); so true it is that poems writ on the death of persons, are a scene of the grand farce that is playing in the world. I also observe, that Junius had drawn the hatred of this great man upon him, by his taking the liberty to contradict him sometimes in matters of chronology &c. Some young people threw a great deal of oil into the fire, by reporting after an invidious manner, what Junius used to say of the other, either in his lectures or conversation. *Scis quale fuerit illud maximi Scaligeri ingenium. Non ferebat dissentientem. Itaque semper eo nomine offensior Junio fuit, quod in quibusdam ad sacram chronologiam pertinentibus, ac credo in aliis etiam nonnullis a se discreparet. Offensam eam unus & alter discipulorum alebant, maligne interpretantes apud Scaligerum, quæ vel publice docuisset Junius, vel privatim dixisset* (52). However this be, this is what made Vossius (53) conclude, that Scaliger's letters had prejudiced Thuanus against Junius. This reflection kept him in suspense at first, whether or no he should draw up an apology for his father-in-law, in opposition to Thuanus: for he foresaw that the son of that great historian would justify his father, by producing those letters of Scaliger that were injurious to Junius; and in this case Vossius would have been obliged to write against Scaliger, but he thought it more proper to throw a veil over the faults of that great man, than to make them known. At last he took the method that may be seen in the preface (54) I have cited. *Si calamum adversus Thuanum stringam, periculum video, ne filius Thuanus, juvenis eruditus, & ut genere, atque opibus pollens, ita multis in Galliis carus, & maximis honoribus destinatus, quæ de imperitia Junii modeste Parens scripsit, ea aperte, & sine circumfusione prodita, ostendat a Magno Scaligero Reip. literariæ dictatore, cui doctior orbis lubens eruditionis fasces submittit. Hinc mihi nova cura, etiam tuendi sum adversus Scaligeri calumnias, incumbet. Quem ego virum laudavi semper, ac porro laudare decrevi: non quia ejus impotentiam animi, aut maledicentiam ignorem; aut quasi nesciam, quam multis in locis aliquid humanitatis patiatur: sed quia tantæ virtutes, præclaræque adeo merita sunt, erga historiam ac bonas literas, ut propterea, quæ peccavit, censam ei condonari, & æterna oblivione sepeliri oportere* (55). i. e. “ In case I should write against Thuanus, I am afraid lest Thuanus's son, a learned youth, and not only rich and well-born, but also beloved by many in France, and designed for the highest honours, should shew that the mighty Scaliger, Dictator of the Republic of Letters, whom the Literati willingly consider as their monarch, declared openly, and without disguising the matter, what his father observed only in modest terms with regard to Junius's unskilfulness. This will cut out a new task for me, even of defending him in opposition to the slanders of Scaliger, a person whom I have ever applauded, and will still applaud: not that I am ignorant of his violent temper or faculty of slandering, and that he himself mistakes on several occasions; but because I am of opinion that his great talents and deserts, with respect to history and polite literature, ought to atone for his faults, and bury them in eternal oblivion.” He spares Scaliger's name in the preface, but not his person; it is true indeed that he stabs him in a very respectful manner. His words are as follow. *Acerbe adeo ut summus vir (Thuanus) pronuntiaret, fecit amicus ejus, vir cætera egregius; sed, quod in aliis damnat, præfidens, planeque idiomatum, &*

(51) See in the Preface to Vossius, *de Hist. Latinis*, the Latin Verses made by Scaliger on Junius's death.

(52) Vossius, *Epist.* 65. pag. 105. edit. Londin. 1693.

(53) See his Letter to Gomarus, it is 65th.

(54) *Operis de Historicis Latinis*.

(55) Vossius, *Epist.* 65. pag. 106.

ad dicitur, sepe etiam turgens loliginis succo, ac si quis non per omnia assentiret, vehemens alieni nominis obtrektor: quo vitio non mediocriter sædabat egregias, imo admirandas animi dotes. Non me ariolari hic, sed certissima promere, multis possim indicis comprobare: sed ea sunt viri illius merita, ut quædam satius sit honoris causa taceri (50). i. e. “ So very bitterly, that that very great man (Thuanus) pronounced, his friend did it, otherwise an excellent man; but, what he condemns in other people, very confident, self-conceited, and severe; fired often with envy, and inveighing against those who did not assent to him in all things, a vice which threw a deep shade over his excellent parts. This is not conjecture, but strict truth, as I can prove by many marks; but so great is this man's merit, that the veneration I have for it obliges me to be silent with regard to some things.” No man could write with more moderation.

[2] It was his opinion that people may be saved in the Romish Communion. He nevertheless called her, as other Protestant Ministers did, the whore mentioned in the Revelations; but he said she still was the spouse of the son of God: a spouse whose infidelity Christ bears with, and has not yet divorced her. This did not please Theodore Beza, a mighty stickler for the monarchy of the Solipsi; a name by which I beg leave to distinguish those communions, which think that themselves only are in the right way of salvation; but Junius allowed a considerable extent to the true Church, a circumstance that perhaps was unknown to Mr. Nicole (57). *Doctissimus pater Junius cum nollet ab iis discedere, qui Romanam Ecclesiam censent esse meretricem Babyloniam, & tamen statueret salvari in ea innumera millia, ajebat esse vivum corpus, sed ulceribus obfitum: meretricem esse, sed adhuc sponsam Christi, vel conjugem, quia Christus necdum ei miserit libellum repudiæ. Sed non eo satisfecit Genevensibus: qui illam dicerent idolatricam, ac proinde neminem in ea salvari. Narrauit mihi aliquando doct. Antonius Thysius, cum primum Genevam venisset, & soceri mei nomine multam salutem diceret D. Beza illum continuo subjecisse; Et quomodo valet carissimus frater Junius, vir est egregie de Ecclesiis nostris meritis: quanquam in uno capite dissentiat a nobis. Id caput erat de Ecclesia, quam Junius negabat tam arctis limitibus concludi, ut multi volunt* (58). i. e. “ My most learned father-in-law Junius, when he did not care to dissent from those who look upon the Church of Rome as the whore of Babylon, and yet was of opinion that numberless multitudes are saved therein, said she was a living body, but quite full of sores; that she was a whore, but still the spouse or wife of Christ, because he had not sent her a bill of divorce. However, this did not satisfy the Genevois, who said that she was idolatrous, and therefore that no one should be saved in her. I once was told by the learned Anthony Thysius, that at his first coming to Geneva, when he had complimented Beza in my father-in-law's name, he instantly replied: *And pray how does my most dear brother Junius? He deserves exceedingly well of our Churches, notwithstanding that he dissents from us in one article.* Now this article related to the Church, which Junius was not for including in such narrow limits as many do.”

This is what Vossius relates. He says in another place, that Junius being much freer from prejudices than people generally are, said very frequently in his later years: the longer I live, the more I discover my ignorance. *Socer meus Fr. Junius tanti cum a multis retro annis nominis foret, postremis tamen annis crebro illud in ore habebat, magis & magis se in diis videre, quam multa se fugerent. Ita ille, qui cum novellis Doctoribus sociarat antiquos; qui etiam partium studio non paulo minus laborabat quam vulgo fieret solet* (59).

(56) Vossius, *Prefat. de Historicis Latinis*. See also his Letter to Gomarus. It is the 65th.

(57) See the Preface to his *Treatise Of the Unity of the Church*, wherein he speaks of some Protestant Ministers, who believed that the true Church is to be found in different communions.

(58) Vossius, *Epist. ad Hugon. Gratium*. It is the 57th in the *Epist. Eccl.* & *Theolog.* of the 2do edit. pag. 218.

(59) Idem, *apud Colomesium Gallie Orientalis*, pag. 96.

☞ We shall add some particulars to this article [A].

[A] We shall add some particulars to this article.] Our Junius was so very sickly in his childhood that his parents were often in danger of losing him. At five years of age his father began to teach him to read, but afterwards got a tutor for him. At twelve he was sent to the public schools, where he soon made a great progress. Junius was so unhappy as to meet with severe and unreasonable masters, who were for ever beating him; but what would have quite disheartened another made no impression upon him; his fondness for learning making him bear their cruel treatment with patience (*). The occasion of Bartholomew Aneau's counselling Junius with regard to his studies was this (†). Junius, abandoning himself to the inclination he had to gratify his curiosity, used to read all sorts of books that came in his way; and without fixing to any science in particular, was perpetually shifting from one science to another: when Aneau assured him that this was the way for him not to know any one well; and that he ought to have, in his studies, one fixed point to which every thing should be directed. This advice made such an impression on Junius, that he followed it, and found himself greatly benefited thereby (§). The reason of his leaving the Walloon Church at Antwerp (‡) was, upon an order being made there, that thenceforward only two Protestant Ministers should belong to it, who were born in that city, whereby our Junius was excluded, upon which he went to Limburg (¶). One of the reasons of Scaliger's hatred of Junius has been already told (‡); and the other was this: Scaliger insisting upon having the precedency over all the other Professors of Leyden, was opposed by them; and Francis Junius, who was the first, spoke against Scaliger, and by that means prevented his succeeding in his design (*). But notwithstanding the strong aversion, which Scaliger had for Junius in his life-time, he yet made the following panegyric upon him, after his death, wherein he observes, that Junius, who had so lately dealt his excellent instructions to crowded audiences, was unhappily snatched away by the plague. That his scholars bewailed his death; the widowed Church lamented him as her parent, and the whole world as its instructor. That they did not weep for him as the vulgar do, who are not sensible of the value of a thing till they have lost it: but that every one knew the great merits of Junius in his life-time; and therefore they were not more sensible of his value

by his death, but were the more grieved.

*Junii, quem modo literis potentem
Pleni Gymnasii frequenti cœtu,
Cœgebat docilis corona pubis
Docti pendula differentis ore:
At nunc, ô series iniqua rerum!
Tactus fidere pestilentis aaræ
Sol pallentibus occidit tenebris!
Te morrens scbola flet suum Magistrum,
Orba Ecclesia te suum parentem,
Doctorem gemit orbis Univerfus.
Flet, flet, non uti vulgus imperitus,
Quem morbus docet ipse, quid valere est,
Quanti est filius, orbitate discit,
Qui nec denique quid potius olim est,
Sed quid perdidit, solet putare.
In te longe alia est vicissitudo;
Nec quantum fueris, carendo discit,
Qui vivi meritum aestimavit olim,
Et nunc conscientia publicæ querelæ,
Postquam tristitia te tulere fata,
Et clarum Jubar abstulere mundo,
Nos quid perdidimus, quid est dolendum est,
Non scimus magis, at magis dolemus (*).*

(*) Vossius, de Historiis Latinis in Præfat.

The author who gives us these verses adds, that Scaliger writ under them, that he had composed them in bed, at two in the morning; a time in which the mind seems to have a greater ascendancy over the passions than in the day. Besides, it was a very mournful season, the plague having snatched away, in a month's time, two shining ornaments of the university of Leyden, Junius and Trimellius, and making dreadful havock in Holland; and the gloomy reflections which that calamity inspired, doubtless made Scaliger write the above-mentioned verses in the sincerity of his soul; and consequently we are not to believe all the injurious reflections he has cast on Junius, and at the same time we must subtract something from the extravagant encomiums that have been bestowed on him by others. "It will be doing justice, says du Pin (†), to acknowledge that he was a man of very extensive erudition, an able critic and most skilled in languages; and that his notes and reflections are pretty just: nevertheless he can pass for no more than a good Grammarian and but a tolerable Divine." His works consist of forty four articles, the particulars whereof may be seen in father Nicéron (‡).

(†) Biblioth. des Auteurs Hérétiques, tom. 1. pag. 596.

(‡) Tom. 16.

(*) *Hommes Illustres*, du Pere Nicéron, tom. 16. pag. 175.

(†) See the text of this article, a little after [E].

(§) *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 16. pag. 176, 177.

(‡) See the text of this article, between [I] and [K].

(¶) *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 6. pag. 179, 180.

(*) In the notes of this article, a little after citation (51).

(*) *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 6. pag. 186.

(*) By his third wife, Jane, daughter of Simon l'Ermitte, Lord of Betinart, Echevin of Antwerp, and a relation of Daniel l'ERMITTE, whom we shall speak of in his place.

JUNIUS (FRANCIS) son of the preceding (a) was born in Heidelberg in the year 1589. He at first designed to devote himself to a military life; but the truce that was concluded in 1609 for twelve years made him take a different resolution, which was to apply himself to study. He went into France, and from thence into England in the year 1620. He was taken into the Earl of Arundel's family, and continued thirty years in it; after which he returned to Holland, and there continued a study which he had very much cultivated in England, I mean that of the northern tongues [A], in which he made

[A] He continued the study . . . of the northern tongues.] Having met in England with several Anglo-Saxon books, he resolved to make an advantage of them; and perceiving, by the knowledge he acquired in the Anglo-Saxon language, that it would be of service to him for discovering many etymologies for clearing up the Flemish, English, and German tongues; he therefore devoted himself wholly to that study, and afterwards learnt the antient language of the Goths, Franks, Cimbri, and Frisons; whereby he discovered the etymology of several Italian, French, and Spanish words; for the Goths, Vandals, French, Burgundians and Germans spread their language in the provinces they conquered, of which some footsteps are left (1). He devoted himself entirely to the composing of Glossaries; *Totus erat in contexendis Anglo-Saxonici, Francici, & Cimbrici Lexicis ac Glossariis, & explanandis antiquissimis barum gentium scriptoribus* (2). And here follows the pedigree which he discovered *His omnibus linguis imbibendis cum satis diu infudasset, vidit, quod & privatim apud omnes, quibus cum agebat de hac doctrina, tam publice testatus est, Gothicam esse matrem omnium cæterarum Teutonicarum linguarum, ex qua profuxerit vetus Cimbrica, monumentis Runarum posteris tradita, nec non Suecica, Danica, Nor-*

wegica, Islandica, quibus illius plagæ homines isto tempore suas animi cogitationes explicant. Ex Anglo-Saxonica, quæ & ipsa aut propago est Gothica, aut illius soror germana, & ejusdem matris filia, manavit Anglica, Scotica, Belgica, Frisica vetus. Ex Gothica & Saxonica orta Francica, quæ Germanicæ superioris parens est: Harum veterimarum linguarum, & dialectorum, quæ ex illis ducta sunt, cognitionem invito studio, & incredibili assiduitate non primus tantum asscutus est, sed & solus, viam secutus nullius ante tritam vestigiis (3). That is, "After he had applied himself sufficiently for the learning of all these languages, he discovered, as he declared both privately to all those with whom he discoursed on this matter, and also publicly, that the Gothic was the mother of all the Teutonic languages; whence sprung the old Cimbrian, transmitted to posterity by the remains of the Runæ; as likewise the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, in which the inhabitants of that country expressed their thoughts at that time. From the Anglo-Saxon, which itself is either a branch of the Gothic, or its sister, and daughter of the same mother, sprung the English, Scotch, Belgic, and the old language of Friesland. From the Gothic and

(3) *Idem, ibid.*

(1) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Grævius, prefixed to the folio edit. de *Pictura Veterum*.

(2) Grævius, *ibid.*

made a very great and extraordinary progress. He was so passionately fond of this study, that being informed there were some villages in Friesland wherein the antient language of the Saxons was preserved, he went and lived two years in that country. He returned to England in 1675; and after spending two years in Oxford, he retired to Windsor at the house of Isaac Vossius his nephew, and died there within the space of a year. The University of Oxford, to which he bequeathed his manuscripts, erected a very handsome monument to his memory (b). We shall speak of the works he published [B]. He was not only master of very great erudition, but likewise led an excellent life. He was not observed to have any vicious passion. He did not thirst after worldly riches or honours; his books were his only care; and perhaps no man ever studied more without prejudicing his health [C]. I shall transcribe a passage from Colomæsius [D].

(b) Extracted from his *Life*, written by Grævius, and prefixed to his work, *De Pictura Veterum*, in folio.

When I spoke of his stay in Oxford, and of the time when he died, I followed the account given by Grævius, but it is not accurate. I rectify it here, by observing that Junius retired to Oxford in October 1676; that he left it in August 1677, in order to visit Vossius, in whose house, near Windsor, he died the 19th of November 1677. He lay ill but a few days, and was buried in St. George's chapel in Windsor (c).

(c) Extracted from *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

"Saxon languages sprung that of the Franks, which is the mother tongue of Upper Germany. Junius was not only the first man, but the only one, who, striking into a path never trod before, with invincible pains and assiduity, attained to the knowledge of those most antient languages, and the dialects that flow from them."

[B] We shall speak of the works he published.] In 1637 he published a treatise *de Pictura Veterum*, which abounds with admirable literature. He afterwards enlarged it so much, that the second edition of it (4) is a pretty thick folio; whereas the first is but in quarto, and consists of 318 pages. Very few particulars have escaped our Junius's researches, in the Greek and Latin authors with regard to painting and the antient painters. In 1655 he published remarks on the Francick paraphrasis (5) of the Canticles, written by Abbot Willeram, and first published by Paul Merula. Being returned to Holland after passing two years in Friesland, he met with the old Gothic manuscript called the Silver One, because the four Gospels are there writ in silver Gothic letters: *Qui argenteus dicitur, quoniam quatuor Evangelia literis argenteis Gothicis in illo fuerant descripta* (6): Junius devoted his whole study to the explication of it, which he completed in a little time. He therefore published this Gothic paraphrase of the four Gospels, corrected from good manuscripts, and illustrated with notes by Thomas Marshall or Marechal. This is but a very small part of his works; those which continue in manuscript being vastly more considerable. His Glossary in five languages, wherein he searches for and explains the original of the northern languages, contains eleven (7) vol. in manuscript, which Bishop Fell caused to be transcribed, in order for their being printed. His commentary on the harmony of the four Gospels by Tatian is very large. I take no notice of a great many other books which he illustrated with notes (8). Consult the catalogue of the manuscripts which he bequeathed to the university of Oxford, annexed to his *Life*.

(4) At Rotterdam, for Reinier Leers, 1694.

(5) *Francica Paraphrasis*.

(6) Grævius, in *Vita F. Junii*.

(7) There are 11 in *Junius's Life*; but it is 9 in the catalogue of the manuscripts which Junius bequeathed to the University of Oxford.

(8) Extracted from his *Life*.

(9) Grævius, in *Vita Francisc. Junii*.

[C] *No man ever studied more without prejudicing his health.*] He used to rise at four in the morning both winter and summer, and study till dinner time which was at one, and after dinner he used to employ himself, for his health sake, till three, in some bodily exercise, or walk or run. *Hora prima prandebat, sequente corpus exercebat vel in area subdivali ambulando contentius, aut etiam subsultim non nunquam currendo, aut, si id non ferret asperior tempestas, per omnes scalas in cœnaculum ascendendo valetudinis tuenda causa* [9]. He returned to his studies at three, and did not leave them till eight, when he went to supper, and then to bed. He very seldom went abroad, and that never but when affairs obliged him to it. Notwithstanding this

he enjoyed a perfect state of health, and was never once sick. *Firma fuit valetudine, ut prosperrima per omnem ætatem sine ulla corporis offensione uteretur, quamvis totos dies à summo mane usque ad noctem incumberet literis, & rarissime, nec unquam nisi negotiorum ratio id ei quasi imperaret, prodiret in publicum* (10). Tho' he spent so long a series of years in this solitary manner, poring upon barbarous books and wild words, and in making five Gothic or Teutonic lexicons, it yet did not any ways lessen the gaiety of his temper, not even in his extreme old age. He was ever free from peevishness; and affable to those who visited him, tho' he did not like to be interrupted. Grævius describes this in beautiful words. *In assiduitate tanta licet invitatus admodum avocaretur ab his, quibus insudabat, curis, tam longe tamen aberat omnis morositas ingenique tristitia, quæ solent esse propria iis, qui a luce hominum & celebritate alieniores omne tempus & operam domi suæ in doctrinæ & litterarum studiis consumunt, præcipue senes, ut nihil senes nostri fieri possent suavius & facilius* (11). People who do not love study cannot think but Junius must have been unhappy. These would choose as soon to be sentenced to the galleys, as to spend their lives, as he did, among his desks, without tasting the pleasures of conversation, wine, women, or gaming. *How will it be possible, say these, to pass the day without the bottle, and the night without the fair?* But they are in an error if they think themselves happier than he. He doubtless was one of the happiest men upon earth, unless he had the weakness which others have, viz. of being distressed about trifles. For as some people who, tho' they have no cause to be merry, do yet find out chimerical pleasures that amuse them (12); there are on the contrary, others, who tho' unmoved with the most just causes of discontent, are yet troubled from silly and ridiculous motives, which they would be ashamed to complain of.

(10) *Idem, ibid.*

(11) *Idem, ibid.*

(12) *Dem carum veris-gandia falsa juvenit.* Ovid. *Heroid.* Epist. 13. ver. 108. Compare

[D] I shall transcribe a passage from Colomæsius.] "I knew, at the Hague, the learned Mr. Junius, son to the famous Francis Junius, who was Divinity Professor in *Leyden*. He is about fourscore years of age, but still very vigorous. He studies thirteen or fourteen hours every day, and lately published the four Gospels in the Gothic language, with a very elaborate Glossary. He made me a present of that noble work; and said that he would soon reprint his work *de Pictura Veterum*, with the names and works of all the painters of antiquity. It will be dedicated to the present Earl of Arundel, who was his pupil when he was Librarian in England to his father. I must not omit, to the honour of our Junius, that Grotius bestows great encomiums on his book of painting, in a letter which you will find here (13)." This letter has been prefixed to the new edition of our Junius's works.

Dacier on *Horæc.* lib. 1. Epist. 8. pag. 406, 410, 411.

(13) Colomæsius in his *Opuscula*, pag. 116. Utrecht edit. 1669.

¶ JUNIUS (FRANCIS). We shall make some additions to Mr. Bayle's article of this learned man. After he came first to England, he made frequent excursions to the University of Oxford, for the advantage of the Bodleian and other Libraries, and conversation with the learned men there (a). In 1638 he published at London in 4to an English Translation of his book *De Picturâ Veterum*, with additions and alterations [A].

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 602. 2d edit. 1721.

[A] In 1638 he published at London in 4to an English Translation of his Book *de Picturâ Veterum* with

additions and alterations.] It was printed under the following title: *The Painting of the Antients in three books:*

(2) Dated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, Sept. 10, 1736.

A catalogue of the manuscripts, which he gave to the University of Oxford, may be seen in the note [B]. Proposals (b) for printing his *Etymologicon Anglicanum* have been lately published by Edward Lye, M. A. Vicar of Little Houghton in Northamptonshire [C]. Gerard John Vossius styles him (c) *omnifaria Doctrinâ & Generis splendore ornatissimus*. Several of his Letters are published in *Gerardi Joannis Vossii & Clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistolæ: collectore Paulo Colomesio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero.* London

(c) De Origine & Progressu Idæ. Latinit., lib. 3. cap. 5.

(1) The Countess of Arundel was daughter of Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury.

books: declaring by historical observations and examples the beginning, progress, and consummation of that most noble art; and how those ancient artificers attained to their still so much admired excellencie. Written first in Latine by Franciscus Junius, F. F. and now by him Englished, with some additions and Alterations. It is dedicated to the Right Honourable the Countesse of Arundell and Surrey, his singular good Ladie and Mistresse. The dedication is dated from Arundel House, March 28 1638; and in it he writes thus: "As the sweet and glorious harmony of your heroicall vertues in so high a birth (1), most happily conjoynd and matched with the most illustrious Lord your husband, the very patternne of true nobilitie, enforceth the world farre and neere with honour and admiration to behold and renouwe you: so doth my condition require, that I within this little Britain world, in which wee live, should unto your publick glory adde my particular testimony of your bountie and munificence, whereby I am engaged, above any of your servantes, to seeke any means both to intimate my humble dutie, and to professè my thankfull mind to your noble familie. Neither needed I goe farre to find my occasion and subject, but even to make use of that, which in your service, and within the walls of your own house, I had produced; I meane, my observations of the manner of painting in use among the antients. For seeing your Ladiship, upon the first sight of my Latine copie, was pleased to expresse your desire of having it Englished, there seemed a way to be opened unto me of effecting that my serviceable intent; and the rather, because some things having passed therein, which (as one day teacheth another) in the review and more mature cogitation I wished might be altered, I thought best to begin that correction in this present edition. Nor doe I so much overween, but that I see and confesse, that this translation befitte rather the native fluency of one in-bred, than the forced stile of a forrainger; &c."

[B] A catalogue of the manuscripts which he gave to the university of Oxford, may be seen in the note.] I. *Glossarium quinque Linguarum Septentrionalium*. This was caused to be transcribed in nine volumes, in order to have been printed by the care of Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford. II. *Notæ illustrantes totam Historiam Ecclesiasticam veter. Bedæ*. III. *Collatio Chronologie Saxonice cum MS. & Additione trium Schedarum auctior*. IV. *Guilelm. Lombardi Versio & Notæ ad antiquas Leges Anglorum & Saxonum correctæ, ac variis Notis illustratæ*. V. *Quædam in Seldeni notis ac Spicilegio in Eadmerum emendata*. VI. *Spelmanii Psalterium Saxonicum interlineare collatum cum MS.* VII. *Marginal Notes on Douglas's Translation of Virgil*. VIII. *Geoffrey Chaucer's Poems illustrated throughout with certain Notes*. IX. *Cædmonis Paraphrasis, cum conjecturis extemporaneis in Indiculo*. X. *Varie Lectiones ex MSS. in Gnl. Somneri Lexicon Saxonico*. XI. *Multi Scriptorum Anglo-Saxonorum veteres Codices, ut & multorum Apographa, quæ ipse Junius manu suâ ex veteribus membranis excerpti & descripsi, in Bibl. publ. Oxon. custodiuntur, quorum indices habes in Appendice clar. Hichesti ad Grammaticam Islandicam, p. 139. & sequentibus*. XII. *In Willeramii Paraphrasi Cantici Canticorum Notæ longè auctiores*. XIII. *Tatiani Monotesseron cum Præfatione Victoris Episcopi Capuæ, cum Annotationibus amplissimis Junii, in quibus comparantur cum Francicâ, Gothicâ, & Anglo-Saxonica*. XIV. *Vocabularius, qui inscribitur Teutonista, Edit. 1475. fol. interspersis per totam Notis Junii*. XV. *Ejusdem Auctarium Notarum in Tatianum, justum Volumen in 4to*. XVI. *Ostfridi Evangeliorum Liber, nitidissime scriptus, cum Indice Capitulorum à Junio parante novam Editionem*. XVII. *Annonis Archiepiscopi Coloniensis Vita, Rythmice*. XVIII. *Glossarium Theotisco Latinum, cum Notis secundum Literas Alphabeti in diversis Fasciculis, &c.* XIX. *Dic-*

tionarium Francicum mutilum, carens initio A. B. C. XX. *Dictionarium alterum Francicum. Hæc duo in Fasciculis sunt. Alterum etiam plenum*. XXI. *Plures alios veteres Francicos Libros manu suâ descriptos, & Frisicâ reliquit Junius Bibl. Oxon.* XXII. *Leges Frisiorum, Cod. MS. cum Notis quibusdam in margine Junii*. XXIII. *Liber Legum Frisicarum impressus, in sine mutilus, cui ex Ubbone Emmio Junius nonnulla præmisit, cum ejusdem Notis adpersis passim margini*. XXIV. *Jus comitatus Frisicæ ex Cod. Werheri Emmen, & aliæ Leges Frisicæ ex Simonis Gabbamæ MSS. cum Notis Junii*.

[C] Proposals for printing his *Etymologicon Anglicanum* have been lately published by Edward Lye, M. A. &c.] Mr. Lye observes, that "our Author's uncommon skill in the northern languages gave him a thorough insight into the English, and enabled him to set its original in so clear a view, that as this work of his cannot but give the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to the reader, so it may justly challenge the preference to any of the like kind, that hath ever yet been published: The ingenious Menage is very deservedly extol'd by his countrymen; but nevertheless I take the liberty to assert, that upon a just comparison he will be found to fall short of Junius; and indeed it could not be otherwise. For without a tolerable knowledge of the northern languages it is impossible to make a complete Etymologit either in English or French, since the greatest part of our words, and no small number of the French, have been derived down to us through those channels. This book, as it contains a Glossary of the English words, whether now in use, or by length of time grown obsolete, will be of great advantage to those, who are desirous to read our old authors; and by the many quotations interspersed from the Gothic, Saxon, and Francic writers of no less service to all such as shall study those languages: It will also be of use to explain great variety of words in the High and Low Dutch, Danish, Islandic, French, Italian, and Spanish, the true originals of which are in vain to be sought for in the *Etymologicum*, which have been hitherto published of those languages." Mr. Lye tells us, that there will be large Additions from Junius's other manuscripts, Dr. Hickes, Skinner, &c. which will be either put at the bottom of the Page, or distinguished from the text by the Authors names affixed to them; and that the abbreviations shall be explained, and the alphabets of the northern languages printed at the beginning of the book. Dr. Hickes speaks of this work of Junius in the following terms (2): *Certe egregium opus est Skinneri Etymologicon, quamvis in quibus lapsus clarissimus auctor, hic illic offenderint Matricium periti; qui e scripitis Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ jam avidissimè expedare ceperunt Fr. Junii Etymologicon Anglicanum, quod tandem aliquando editum morositate istorum plus jatis redarguet, qui se suaque studia nimium mirantes, (nescio sub quâ gravitatis specie) Glossographos & Etymologistas pland quasi pedagogastros sustidiosè contemnunt.* And the same writer in another place (3) writes thus: *Exemplum habentes, quod sequantur, Fr. Junium F. F. qui linguarum col. Anglo-Saxonice & Franco-Theotisce in primis gnarus, ad Scano-Gothicæ & Mæso-Gothicæ Studium adpulis animum, quibus omnibus præclare eruditus, erut sanè idoneus, qui ad linguæ Anglicanæ Etymologicum conscribendum linguâ Anglicanâ dignum accedet. In quo opere quidem id genus omnium longe præstantissimo, vocum nostrarum Etyma è propriis suis fontibus, scilicet Anglo-Saxonice, Dano-Saxonice, & Normanno-Saxonice, tam peritè & perspicuè hausit, ut non tam Etymologicum linguæ Anglicanæ, quam ejus ex causis scientifica motitia dici mireatur. Illius MS. codicem à se in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ diligenter versatum adeo miratus est doctissimus quædam Suecus, ut Dictionarium Menagii Etymologicum, quem adeo Galli prædicant, no comparandum quædam*

(2) Prefat. Grammat. Anglo-Saxon.

(3) Dissert. Epist.

London 1690 in fol. [D], and one to Mr. John Greaves, dated at Amsterdam May the 24th 1652, New Stile, is published in a late edition of Mr. Greaves's works (d), printed at London 1737 in two volumes in 8vo, which, as it was not published, when we wrote the article of GREAVES, we shall here give the title of, viz. *Miscellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves, Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford: many of which are now first published.* I. *Pyramidographia; or a Description of the Pyramids in Egypt. With a great many additions and alterations from a copy corrected by the author.* II. *A Discourse of the Roman Foot and Denarius; from whence, as from two Principles, the Measures and Weights used by the Antients may be deduced.* III. *Traëts upon various Subjects, Letters, Poems, and Observations in his Travels in Italy, Turkey, and Egypt.* IV. *A Description of the Grand Signor's Seraglio.* To which are added, I. *Reflections on the Pyramidographia, written by an anonymous author, soon after the publication of that book.* II. *A Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews, and the Cubits of the several Nations; in which, from the Dimensions of the greatest Egyptian Pyramid, as taken by Mr. Greaves, the antient Cubit of Memphis is determined. Translated from the Latin of Sir Isaac Newton, not yet published. Adorned with Sculptures. To the whole is prefixed, An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of the Author. Published by Thomas Birch, M. A. F. R. S. and Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London.*

(d) Vol. 2. pag. 468, 469.

(4) Catalog. Scriptor. Anglo-Saxon.

(c) Life of Mr. Will. Somner.

ad præstantissimum illud opus F. Junii vocem tollens dixerit. Mr. Humphrey Wanley (4) styles it *Opus elaboratissimum & utilissimum*; and Bishop Kenner observes (5), that "the want of a new edition of *Somner's Dictionary* would be superseded, could the world at last enjoy the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, completed by Fr. Junius in two volumes, and that author's incomparable *Lexicon* of five northern languages." [D] *Several of his letters are published in Gerardi Voffii & clarorum virorum ad eum epistolæ &c.*] The first letter of Junius in that collection is dated in 1608; the second at Middleburg Octob. 20th 1615; the third at Paris August 12th 1620; the fourth from that city Septemb. 18th 1620; the fifth from that city Decemb.

12th 1620; the sixth at London August 18th 1621 old stile; the seventh there Decemb. 18 1621 old stile; the eighth from the Bishop of Norwich's house at Ludham August 8th 1622; the ninth from Arundel-House at London April the 19th 1628; the tenth from the same place February 28th 1629; the eleventh April 17th 1630; the twelfth from Arundel-House May 6th 1630; the thirteenth from the same place November 15th 1634; the fourteenth from the same place the same year; the fifteenth is dated there April 1st 1635; the sixteenth is dated there May 22d 1635; as also the seventeenth dated May 12th 1636 and the eighteenth dated Feb. 18th 1637. T.

JUNO, sister and wife of Jupiter, was the daughter of Saturn and Rhea. Her father being fully determined to devour his children, for fear they should one day dethrone him, did not spare her any more than his two daughters (a) whom he had already swallowed; but he had been forced to disgorge them some years after; a potion having been given him, which forced him to vomit up all the children whom he had been so inhuman as to devour (b); and thus it was that Juno returned into the world. The particulars of her marriage with Jupiter are variously related. According to a tradition, they had a passion for each other, and lay together unknown to their parents [A]; and it does not appear that Juno kept her lover long in suspense; but others say that she withstood the solicitations of Jupiter, like a maid of virtue and honour [B]; and to free her self from him, flew into a cavern. They add, that she met with a man there, whose arguments swayed her so much in favour of Jupiter, that she consented to crown his

(a) *Vesta & Ceres, Juno's elder sisters.* Apollodor. lib. 1. pag. 4.

(b) Apollodor. *ibid.*

[A] *According to a tradition, Jupiter and Juno . . . lay together unknown to their parents.*] Those who desire an authentic proof of this incident, will find it in the following lines of the Iliad (1).

(1) Lib. 14. ver. 294.

Ὀς δ' ἴδεν, ὡς μὲν ἴρας πυκνὰς φέρας ἀμφικάλυψεν.
Οἷον ὅτε πρῶτισον ἰμῶσι τὸν Φιδότην,
Εἰς εὐνὴν φοιβάνη, φίλος λήθοις τοκάας.

"The God, whose lightning sets the heav'ns on fire,
"Thro' all his bosom feels the fierce desire;
"Fierce as when first by stealth he seiz'd her charms,
"Mix'd with her soul, and melted in her arms.

P O E T.

Homer speaks here of a time when Jupiter, who had been married many ages to Juno, felt, as he spied her by accident, the same passion and fire as when he enjoyed her secretly the first time. To the above testimony of the Greek Poet I will add that of a Latin Poet. It is a lover who speaks; a lover, I say, who had met his fair one in the critical minute (2); and who is vexed that many had been secretly indulged that pleasure before him.

(2) *Et mecum tenera gavisia est ludere in verba Purpureos flores, quos insuper accumbebat, Candida formos supponens brachia collo.* Valerius Cato, in *Dr.*, pag. 61. *Catalectorum veterum Pectorum.*

*Istius atque utinam facti mea culpa magistro
Prima foret: letbum vita mihi dulcius esset.
Non mea, non ullo moreretur tempore fama,
Dulcia cum Veneris furatus gaudia primus
Dicerer, atque ex me dulcis foret orta voluptas.
Nam mihi non tantum tribuerunt impia vota,*

*Auctor ut occulti noster foret error amoris.
Jupiter ante sui semper mendacia furti,
Cum Junone prius conjux quam dicitur uterque est,
Gaudia libavit dulcem furatus amorem* (3).

(3) Valer. Cato, *ibid.*

"I wish my crime had taught her first the joy,
"Then, in her arms, I could have died with rapture,
"My fame had been immortal, and late ages
"Had sung how I first stole the luscious bliss;
"First taught blest'd mortals the delicious pleasure:
"But oh my impious wishes were not crown'd,
"Nor I first fir'd her soul with the soft passion.
"Great Jove enjoy'd, in private, charming Juno,
"Before she was his consort.

[B] *Others say, that she withstood the solicitations of Jupiter like a maid of virtue and honour.*] According to some writers, Juno was so very virtuous, that had not Jupiter found out a remedy in the room of that which she refused to grant him, he would not have known what to do. But he used to go and seat himself on a mountain (4) whenever he was in the transport of his passion, and used to sooth it in that manner. Ὁ Ζεὺς αὖ ἴσων Ἴρας ἰρῶμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πετεινῇ ἐκάλειτο, καὶ ἀντιπαύειο τῷ ἴρωσι (5). *Jovem semper Junonis amore captum ad saxum hoc accessisse, atque ei insidendo amoris impotentiam sedasse.* The author who furnishes me with this incident, does not say whether Jupiter was married then to Juno. And indeed there was no occasion to specify any thing on that subject; for the most stupid readers will easily understand that he was not married, and that Juno refused to indulge his wishes.

(4) *Locato*
(5) Prol. He-phæst. apud Photium, Cod. 190. pag. m. 492.

(c) See the article
ACHILLES.

his wishes that moment (c). Others perhaps would own, that this was the first time that Jupiter enjoyed her, but not the first time she tasted the amorous bliss ; for they pretend that before Jupiter made his addresses to her, she had been enjoyed by Eurymedon, a fickle, lewd giant, who, by the same token, had a son by her called Prometheus [C] ; but Jupiter did not know this incident till after their marriage, and wreaked his revenge on this bastard on other pretences. There were some other occasions in which his wife's chastity appeared to him extremely dubious [D]. Jupiter well deserved this treatment, as his amours were so frequent. There are few animals whose form he did not assume in order to get maidenheads. It is universally known that he metamorphosed himself into a cuckoo, purposely to enjoy Juno [E]. This Goddess presided over marriages (d), but

(d) See the remark [Z].

[C] Eurymedon . . . had a son by her called Prometheus.] The reader may find this relation in the Scholiast on Homer. Ἦσαν τριφασίμην παρὰ τοῦ γούρου εἰς τῶν γυγιάων Εὐρυμέδων Βασίλειον· Ἰσχυον ἑποίσαν. ἢ δὲ Πρωμηθεὶα ἰγύνητος (6). Jupiter's resentment did not break out less against the father of the bastard than the bastard himself ; for as Prometheus was put in chains, Eurymedon was hurled down into hell. I know not upon what pretence it was that Jupiter treated Eurymedon in this manner ; but we may be persuaded that he concealed the true cause of his anger, he having too much sense to throw a disgrace upon himself by his revenge. The pretence he made use of was, that the bastard stole the celestial fire. The Scholiast (7) whom I quote borrows this from Euphorion.

(6) Schol. in Iliad. lib. 14. ver. 295.

[D] Juno's chastity appeared, to him, extremely dubious.] As a commentary to this text I will employ the words of a modern author, who in order to prove that Jupiter was a notorious cuckold, expresses himself as follows : " Eurymedon the Giant had first been favoured, in an amorous way, by Juno his wife (*) ; and not to mention the isle of Samos, which the unchaste amours of that Goddess rendered famous, is it not known that Jupiter, finding a few days after his marriage, that Juno would be delivered of a child which was not his ; she nevertheless wheedled him so well, that he was soon persuaded that it was possible for her to conceive without the assistance of a male, and had completely preserved her virginity. Another time she made him believe, that she had conceived by eating wild lettuce : so that, though the horns which were fixed on his statue in Lybia, had not signified that he was a cuckold ; did not he deserve that they should have this signification, and to give rise to those forms of speech, which, by the consent of all nations, have so long been used (8) ?"

(7) Idem, ibid.

(*) Didy. in Homer. II. 14. Eurasth. ibid.

(8) Girac, Réponse à la Défense de Voltaire, Sect. 64. pag. m. 545.

(9) Costar, Description des Ouvrages de Voltaire, pag. m. 116.

(10) Girac, Réponse à la Défense de Voltaire, Sect. 26. pag. 294.

(†) In Corinth.

(11) Costar, Suite de la Défense, pag. 382. refuses this by the following words : Aristotle relates some where in his Rhetoric, that Hegetippus, being returned from Elis, whither he went to consult the Oracle of Jupiter, would also consult that of Delphi, where he asked Apollo, in the most familiar manner, the following question ; Will you be of the same opinion with your father ? Dare you contradict him ? But Girac, in his Answer, pag. 551. complains that his words have been falsified. He proves that he knew very well that Jupiter gave answers in other places, but gave none through his statue, except in Egypt.

(†) Cic. I. de Natur. Deorum.

" Pan, the Satyrs, the Gods of Rivers, and many others, did not fail to imitate him. Juno herself did the same, to shew that she sometimes was compliant to her husband ; and there are seen to this day several medals of this Goddess with horns. Diana and Venus likewise wore horns, as being a very beautiful ornament to a handsome face." There is a great deal of learning in this answer, but it is false ; for we do not find any thing in it that proves the incident in question. The state of the question is this : whether Jupiter honoured the state and condition of those husbands whose wives had gallants ? Though it should be proved ever so fully, that he greatly honoured the bird which we call cuckoo ; that he would have horns fixed on his statues, and that the rest of the Gods imitated him in that particular ; yet this is nothing to the purpose, because in that age, the word cuckold and horns were not taken in the sense that has been since, and is to this day given them. Farther, for a person to disguise himself in the form of a cuckoo, in order to succeed in his enterprizes, would not be an indication, even in this age, that such a one was desirous of marrying a gay lady. My readers will naturally imagine, that Costar could not but perceive the insignificance of the answers that were made him : but should some persons doubt this, I will soon undeceive him by transcribing his words. They will see that the affectation of making too great a parade of his erudition, makes him intermix certain particulars in his answers that hurt his cause. He begins with the metamorphosis of Jupiter into the bird called Cuckoo, and says of it as follows (12).

(12) Costar, Suite de la Défense, pag. 380.

[§ * 'T would be to no purpose to seek for this tale in the writings of the antients. 'Tis told by Rabelais, book III. chap. xxxii ; but the foundation of it is in Plutarch, N. 17. of his consolation to Apollonius on the death of his son. REM. CRIT.]

" This old Woman's story, this ridiculous invention of a grammarian, who abuses his leisure (a great writer (*) speaking of him as follows : *Equidem vix (*) Erasmus credo hanc fabulam apud veteres inveniri, sed suspicor ab otioso quoniam grammatico fuisse confictam : adeo sapit anile quiddam.*) This story, I say, is borrowed from a scholiast on Theocritus, who relates that Juno having left her female companions, to meditate alone and undisturbed ; after walking a long way, laid herself down in a delightful part of mount Thronax. Jupiter, who saw her at that time, was so charmed with the Goddess that he was smit with a violent passion for her ; and being no longer able to live without soothing it, he assumed a cuckoo's form and plumage, and raising an extreme cold in the air, he flew trembling and frozen, into the arms of the Goddess, and then resuming his usual form, and promising her marriage, he obtained his wishes. The cold which Jupiter raised on that occasion, was not more intense than that of the insipid raillery of our learned author. And indeed it appears that it was not a love for cuckoldom that made Jupiter a cuckold ; since neither among the Gods, nor among men, the name of that bird signified then a husband, whose conjugal bed his wife violated ; at least we do not find any footsteps of this among the antients. So far from this, some women in Plautus call their husbands, whom they catch in adulterous acts, *cuckold* ; and Juvenal (**) gives the name of *hedge-sparrow* to a poor fellow whose wife was unfaithful to him, doubtless because the hedge-sparrow feeds the cuckoo's young ones, that bird laying them in the hedge-sparrow's nest." Costar proceeds afterwards

(*) Tu tibi vnum curruca places, secumque labellos Exorbe, Sat. 6. ver. 276.

but ought not to have had that province allotted to her. This was inauspicious, she leading a bad life with her husband ; and notwithstanding all the strong reasons which prompted him to bear with her, after the many just occasions she had given him to be jealous

wards to the consideration of the horns, and expresses himself as follows (13). *Has Mr. de Girac seen some old manuscript which proves very manifestly, that in those times horns were indications of cuckoldom? And you, SIR (14), who know all things, could you shew me that those forms of speech, to wear horns, and plant horns, in the sense wherein we employ them, were of much greater antiquity than Artimedorus who flourished under Adrian? The horns of Jupiter Ammon were not those of a cuckold, but of a great ram, prophecying on the sands of Lybia, to speak after our Ronsard. He examines very circumstantially the horns of certain deities whom Girac had mentioned; and plainly shews they bore no relation to the condition of those husbands whom we call cuckolds, and that they were not wore out of complaisance to Jupiter; and here follow his conclusions (15). If out of all this, Mr. de Girac can make any thing that may be serviceable to his design, I am not resolved to oppose him; but I am greatly mistaken if he will succeed in it; and shall force me to acknowledge that Jupiter, when he settled his household, did not forget cuckoldom which had always been of so much service to him. This is a good conclusion; for it is bringing back things to the state of the question and that is the center in which all the lines ought to terminate.*

(13) Costar, Suite de la Defense, pag. 381.

(14) He speaks to Menage.

(15) Costar, Suite de la Defense, pag. 386.

(16) Replique à Costar, Sect. 64 pag. 544.

(17) In the remark [D].

(18) Compare in the remark [C] of the article COLOMIES.

(19) Girac, Reponse à la Defense de Peitire, Sect. 26. pag. 190. See Costar, Suite de la Defense pag. 381.

(20) Girac, Replique, pag. 545.

of that bird signified a husband, whose wife was unfaithful to him. I promise and engage my word to satisfy him, when he shall have proved to me, by good authorities, that it was antiently reproached to Jupiter, viz. that in settling the affairs of his household he had not thought of cuckoldom. With regard to horns, that word, in the signification I have given it, is more antient than is generally thought! Nicetas informs us, that Andronicus the Emperor, to ridicule the inhabitants of Constantinople, and reproach them with the lewdness of their wives, used to cause to be set up, in the places of public resort of that great city the finest and largest stag's horns that could be met with; and Artimedorus, who lived above fifteen hundred years since, employs (†) the expression, (††) Liv. 2. to plant horns, as a proverb that was common, and did not begin in his time. (21). It would be trifling away time to search for the origin of it, and to enquire whether it was used in the time of Jupiter Ammon. However this be, my antagonist, who pretends to be so very subtle, did not perceive this time that I only laughed at him. It is plain from this passage, that Girac has lost his cause. He is not able to prove what is denied him, and without which a criticism is of no force; and he boasts that he designed to ridicule his adversary. There is no writer but may employ such subtrefuges when he is nonplussed. We shall now see Costar a little puzzled: his knowledge forsook him when he quoted the authority of Erasmus in a thing where Erasmus was in the wrong (22). What was it to him if Jupiter did not metamorphose himself into a cuckoo? How was it possible for him not to perceive that this metamorphosis is full as credible as so many others we meet with in Ovid? Does he not shew by his anger at those who have related it, that he considers it as an incident which may be of advantage to his adversary? And does not he grossly deceive himself to his enemy's advantage? Accordingly Girac did not fail to take advantage of it. Weigh well all the following passage which is copied from Girac (22). "Being unable to deny, that I very properly mentioned the metamorphoses of Jupiter into a cuckoo; he has taken it into his head to call this fable, an old woman's story, and a ridiculous invention; as though the metamorphosis of the same God into a swan, a bull and an eagle, had something in it more ingenious and like Girac, that better: as though all fables in general were not equally trifling; and that this, like the rest, had not its allegory and mythological application. But when Mr. Costar asserts, that it is the invention of a Grammarian who trifled away his time; that it is borrowed from a scholiast on Theocritus; and that he proves by the authority of Erasmus that it is not found in any author of ever so little antiquity; what does he but shew that he is ignorant with others; and that he reads authors with no other view but to learn their errors? And indeed, I do not find that any fable has been celebrated by a greater number of famous writers than this. And even the scholiast who is mentioned by Costar (so great is this man's stupidity!) affirms, that he borrowed it from a treatise () which Aristotle had made in the temple of Hermione. Plutarch likewise mentioned it in his book concerning rivers; Pausanias speaks of it in several places of his Corinthiaca; and Didymus, upon the fourteenth Iliad, relates it from Euphorion a very antient author; not to cite the scholiast on the Greek epigrams; nor a numberless multitude of others." I omit the other particulars on which Girac animadverts upon him in a just and learned manner, on the subjects of horns and the cuckoo. The great number of good authors, who have mentioned this metamorphosis of Jupiter, gives me pain out of kindness to Erasmus. It were to be wished that he, for his glory, had not touched the old scholiast. He had better have been asleep, than writ such a thing as this. Had he not read what Pausanias (24) says concerning mount Thornax (25), which was named Cocygius, or Cocyx, after that Jupiter, under the form of a cuckoo, had kissed Juno? It is a mountain of Laconia. The same author says, that the reason why*

(†) Liv. 2. chap. 2.

(21) See Menage's Origines Françaises, in folio, under the words Horns and Cuckold.

(22) The passage of Erasmus cited by Costar, is in the Explication of the Adage sic quomodo Jupiter duxerit uxorem. It is the 23d of the 4th Century of Châliad 4. pag. m. 914. He observes that the Scholiast on Theocritus, relates this on the authority of one Aristotele: Adyaniti fabulam quam retulerit Aristoteles nisi quis; whence it appears that he did not believe, like Girac, that Aristotle, the Tutor of Alexander the Great, related that incident. Several Aristoteles have wrote books. See Jonstus, de Hist. Philosoph. pag. 61.

(23) Girac, Replique, pag. 546.

(*) Αριστοτελης δε λεγει εν τῷ αρωπῆ Ἐρμιονικῆ ἱερῆ ἰδρυτησιν αρωπῆ τῷ Διῷ και τῷ Ἡρατι γαμή, &c. Schol. Theocr. in illum Vers. Eid. 15. Παντα γυναικας ἱρασι, και οἱς Ζευς ἱρασι.

(24) Pausanias lib. 2. pag. 78.

(25) So it should be called, and not Θρονας, Thronax, as it is in the Scholiast on Theocritus. We owe this correction to Meursius, Miscol. Lacon. pag. 310. Costar follows Erasmus exactly, who had said Thronax.

jealous, their quarrels rose to such a height that they ended in a divorce [F]; and I believe that Jupiter, before he carried matters to such extremities, had endeavoured to reform her by the cudgel. He once suspended her for some time between heaven and earth [G]. If, on one hand, she presided over marriages and nuptials; she had, on the other, the management of the natural consequences of them; I mean that she presided over child-births, and several things dependant on them [H]. Montagne was not well acquainted

(26) This is a work of Polyctus, Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 59.

the Juno of Argos (26) bore a scepter with a cuckoo upon it, was because Jupiter had assumed the form of that bird to enjoy Juno. I do not believe this, adds Pausanias, but I nevertheles, adds he, thought it would not be proper to omit it. Κέκλυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθίσθαι Φαει, λέγουσι τὸν Δία, ὅτι ἦρα παρθέ- νου τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τῆτον τὸν ὄρθον ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὴ παύσαι δέησαι. τῶν τὸν λόγον, καὶ ὅσα ἐπιπέσει ἔργαται ἀπὸ τῶν, ἐκ ἀποδείχονται γράφω, γράφω δὲ ἔδω ἦσαν. *Cuculum vero avem idcirco sceptru ajunt impostum, quod virginis Junonis amore captus Jupiter, in eam se avem verterit, quam puella tanquam ludicrum captavit. Hæc ego, & quæ his sunt familia de diis vulgata, est vera neutiquam existimo, non putavi tamen negligenda* (27).

(27) Idem, ibid.

[F] Their quarrels rose to such a height, that they ended in a divorce.] Pausanias (28) relates, that there were three temples of Juno at Stymphalum, a city in Arcadia. The first was called the temple of the virgin Juno; the second, the temple of Juno the wife; and the third of Juno the widow. These three temples had been built in her honour by Temenus, under whom she had been brought up. The last mentioned was built at the time that she lived in Stymphalum, whither she had retired after her divorce. The reader may see in the Dictionary of Charles Stephens augmented by Lloyd (29), in what manner, Jupiter caused Juno to return back to him. He made a report to be spread, that he was going to marry the daughter of Afophus, which made a stronger impression on the heart of that exasperated Goddess, than all the intreaties of Jupiter. See the remark [Q], in that part where I speak of the bringing forth of Typhon.

(28) Idem, lib. 2. pag. 253.

[G] He once suspended her for some time between heaven and bell.] It was because she had railed a storm against Hercules. Jupiter made her call to mind that time, when he was informed of the trick she had played him during the siege of Troy. Juno had the art of charming him to such a degree, and lulling him in her arms, that Neptune had all the time he wanted, in order to prejudice the affairs of the Trojans. I shall speak at large of this artifice in the following remark. Jupiter who had said so many tender things to her, and procured her such exquisite pleasures, no sooner heard of the prejudice which had accrued to the Trojans, whilst he was enjoying her, but he reprimanded her in very severe terms. He threatened to whip her (30); and asked whether she had forgot the time when he fastned an anvil to both her feet, and had suspended her between heaven and earth in the fight of all the Gods, who endeavoured, but in vain, to unloose her; he hurling from heaven to earth as many of them as he could catch.

(29) He cites Phylarchus, lib. 19. but Natalia Comes, Mytbl. lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. m. 133. cites Dorotheus in lib. 2. Narrationum fabuliferarum.

(30) Καὶ οὐκ ἔτι γῶσιν ἰμάσσου. Ἐκ τὴν ἑρβαρίβου ἑσάδαμ. Homer, Iliad. lib. 15. ver. 17.

Ἄ ἢ μὲν μὴ ὅτι ἐκρίμα ἰψόθεν, ἐκ δὲ σποδίου Ἀκμονας ἦρα δὴν, τερὶ χερσὶ δὲ δισμοῖν ἦλα. Χρυσῶν, ἄρρηκτον; σὺ δὲ σὺ μὲν καὶ πηφίλῃσιν Ἐκρίμα, ἡλάσσει δὲ Διοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον. Λύται δ' ἄκ ἰδναιῶν παρὰ σάδν; ὅν δὲ λαβῶμαι, ῥίπ' ἰασκον τεταγῶν ἀπὸ βαλῆ, ὄφρ' αὐ ἰκῆται Ἴνν ὀλυμπιδαίων.

(31) Ibid. ver. 38.

“Hast thou forgot when bound and fix'd on high,
“From the vast concave of the spangled sky,
“I hung thee trembling in a spangled chain,
“And all the raging Gods opposed in vain?
“Headlong I hurl'd them from the Olympian hall,
“Stunn'd in the whirl, and breathless with the fall.”

P O P E.

It was Juno's business to be submissive; she excused herself by false oaths, and promised to comply with her husband's desires. The quarrel was carried no farther at that time. I must not omit that Juno occasioned the wars of the Titans. She prompted them to dethrone her husband (32), and to restore Saturn whom Jupiter had dethroned. Jealousy was then more powerful than

(32) Hygin. cap. 350.

ambition; for the indignation she conceived when she found that a Kingdom was bestowed on Epaphus (33), made Juno choose rather to be a dethroned Goddess, than to reign with him. But perhaps she might propose to herself such a vengeance as might be no check to her ambition. She might flatter herself with the hopes, that in preferring the interest of her father, who had been unjustly driven from his throne, to that of her husband who was an usurper, she might share in the government under her father when he should be restored; and be separated eternally from Jupiter. The reader will see below (34) another plot in which she engaged against her husband.

(33) He was one of Jupiter's bastards. Hyginus, ibid.

(34) In the remark [F] of the article JUPITER.

I cannot think of Juno suspended between heaven and earth, without proposing to my readers a passage which I do not understand. Hyginus (35) relates that Vulcan having made golden shoes for Jupiter and the rest of the Gods, Juno was no sooner seated, but she found herself suspended in the air. Vulcan was told of this, in order that he might come and unloose his mother; but he answered, I have no mother. He had been hurled from heaven, and he was still exasperated at the treatment he met with on that occasion. Here follows Hyginus's Latin. *Vulcanus Jovi cæterisque diis soleas aureas ex adamante cum fecisset, Juno, cum sedisset, subito in aere pendere cepit. Quod cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem, quam ligaverat solveret, iratus quod de caelo præcipitatus erat, negat se matrem ullam habere.* I applaud those critics who have made such learned remarks on the first words of Hyginus (36); but I wish they would have informed me how, by the means of a pair of shoes, a woman the instant she sits down, finds herself suspended in the air. I do not see even how a chair or a throne can have such an effect, and especially with regard to a person who is bound. Methinks we might justly say that the historian wanted judgment on this occasion. Could he think that his readers would be satisfied with so mutilated and falsified a relation? Why did he not say, that as soon as Juno was seated, the celestial floor split asunder; and that her chair being thus unsupported, fell towards the clouds, and stooped in the spaces situated between heaven and earth? This would have presented an intelligible image to the reader. Scriver relates this incident better; he saying that Vulcan made a chair, on which Juno being seated, she could not rise from it notwithstanding all her efforts (37), till she had granted Vulcan's request, which was to know those, to whom he owed his life. *Alii dicunt quod atternumque sedebat Vulcanus parentes suos diu quaereret, nec inveniret: sedile fecit tale, ut cum eo qui sedisset surgere non posset; in quo cum adsedisset Juno, nec posset exsurgere; Vulcanus negavit se soluturum omnino, nisi prius parentes suos sibi reconstreret, atque ita factum est ut in Deorum numerum reciperetur* (38). i. e. “According to other writers, when Vulcan had long sought his parents, and could not find them, he made such a chair, that whatsoever fate in it could not rise up from it.”

(35) Hygin. cap. 166.

(36) To enquire whether we ought to read *soleas*, or *soleas*: if one can say *adamante* ex *adamante*; and whether it be not better to say *soleas aureas omnia adamante*, or *soleas ex auro & ex adamante*. See Hyginus, Amsterd. edit. of 1681.

(37) Compare what is said of Thecus, in the 6th book of the Æneid, *Sedit infelix Thecus us*; and what Commentators say of the seat wherein he was placed. See du Rondel on the *Cbenia of Pythagoras*, pag. 95, & seq.

(38) Servius, in *Ecol. 4. Virg. ver. 62.*

“her, unless she first shewed him his parents, and by this means he was received in the number of the “Gods.” The reader may consult Pausanias, who informs us that Vulcan, to revenge himself of Juno, sent her a golden throne, in which, the instant the Goddess had seated herself, she found herself fastened (39). Bacchus only was able to persuade Vulcan to return back into the heavens (40); and he was forced to make him drunk before he could prevail with him to undertake that journey. The Athenians had a picture representing Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven (41); and there was a piece of sculpture in Lacedæmonia, which represented Vulcan unloosing his mother (42).

(39) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 18.

(40) Idem, ibid.

(41) Idem, ibid.

(42) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 99.

[H] She presided over childbirths, and several things dependant

acquainted with the origin of an adventure which he takes from Plato, and expresses a little too wantonly [I]. Authors are not agreed concerning the place where Juno was brought

- (43) Terent. Andr. Act. 3. Scen. 1. dependent on them.] When Terence supposes that Glycerium the Courtezan, when just going to be delivered, makes use of the following prayer, *Juno, Lucina, fer opem, serua me obsecro* (43). i. e. "Help, Juno, " Lucina, save me, I beseech thee," he shews plainly that Juno was the Goddess who presided at childbirths. She was called (44) *Opigena* and *Lucina*, when in that character, *five te Lucinam quod lucem nascentibus tribuas ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupari* (45). i. e. "Whether we ought to call thee *Lucina* or *Lucetia*, because " thou givest light to those who are born." Other particular names were bestowed upon her, according to the various services that were expected from her in those conjunctures; for she was called *Fluonia*, because she could prevent too great a flow of blood. *Fluoniam Junonem mulieres colebant, quod eam sanguinis fluxum in conceptu retinere putabant* (46). She was called *Februa*, from her presiding at the ceremony of the purification of lying-in women. These are the limitations which *Martianus Capella* gives to the surnames *Fluonia* and *Februa*; for he introduces *Philology* who declares, that being a virgin, she has no need to invoke the Goddess *Juno* on those two accounts; *Nam Fluoniam Februalemque ac Februum mihi postere non necesse est, cum nihil contagionis corporeæ sexu intemerata pertulerim* (47). She might have had occasion for her in another respect, since *St. Austin* affirms that *Varro* had related, that *Juno* presided over the flowing of the menstrual blood. *Ibi est & Dea Mena, quæ mensuris fluoribus præest, quamvis Jovis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc provinciam suorum menstruorum, in libro selectorum deorum ipsi Junoni idem autor assignat, quæ in diis selectis etiam regina est; & hic tanquam Juno Lucina cum eadem Mena principia sua eidem cruori præsidet* (48). I am not ignorant that the Goddess who presides over child births, was, according to several authors, different from *Juno*; for some asserted that *Lucina* was her daughter (49), and others affirmed that *Diana* was appointed to assist women in labour (50). But without insisting on the hypothesis, that *Lucina*, *Ilithya*, *Diana*, *Luna* and *Juno* were the same Deity (51); I say it is very probable that *Juno* was looked upon as the principal in this function or office, and as having deputies and substitutes in various places (52). If therefore my readers will not acknowledge her directly and immediately for the Goddess *Levana*, who caused new-born children to be owned by their fathers (53); nor for the Goddess *Rumina*, who presided over the action of giving them suck; nor for the Goddess *Cunina*, who presided over their cradles; nor for the Goddess *Nundina*, who presided over the naming of them; nor for the Goddess *Vaticana*, who presided over their cries (54); nor for the Goddess *Fabulina* who presided over the first loosning of their tongues, that is, over the first words they spoke; let, I say, my readers believe, that all these Goddesses were so many subdelegates to *Juno*, the intendant-general. The same may be said with regard to the Goddess *Prosa* and the Goddess *Postverta*, who were worshipped, to prevent infants from throwing themselves into a disadvantageous posture, at their coming into the world. *Quando contra naturam forte conversi (pueri) in pedes: brachiis plerumque diducis retineri solent, ægriusque tunc mulieres enituntur. Hujus periculi deprecandi gratia aræ statua sunt Romæ duabus Carmentibus: quarum una Postverta nominata est, Prosa altera; a recti perversique partus & potestate & nomine* (55). i. e. "When infants lie " in an unnatural posture in the womb, women bring " forth with greater difficulty; to ward off which danger, there are two altars in Rome dedicated to the " two *Carmentas*, one whereof is called *Postverta*, and " the other *Prosa*, from the power and name of a right " birth, or such a one as is otherwise."
- [I] *Montagne* . . . expresses himself a little too wantonly.] "It was from some hungry poet, who was " very greedy of this sport, that *Plato* borrowed " the following story; that *Jupiter* being one day fired " with a very hot fit of love, and so very impatient, " that he could not hold till she was come into bed " to him, he threw her on the floor, and thro' " the extasy of the pleasure, forgot the mighty and

" important resolutions he had just before taken with " the rest of the Gods in his celestial court; boasting " that this bout was as agreeable to him, as when he " first disfloured *Juno* unknown to her parents (55)." (56) *Montagne, Essais, liv. 1. chap. 29. pag. m. 309.* These are *Montagne's* words. But he is mistaken in ascribing this idea to some poet, who was greedy of the amorous sport, since *Homer*, the author of this tale, has manifestly declared, that he did not believe it probable, that a husband could be fired with such a transport for his wife. 'Tis in this view he supposes (57), that *Juno* was not satisfied with putting on her best attire, but also had the policy to borrow *Venus's* girdle, an infallible charm, a philter, that never failed to produce its effect. 'Tis to this borrowed assistance that he ascribes the power, which *Juno* had to inspire her husband with so violent a fit of love. Several other things might be answered in the above passage of *Montagne* (58), had he not been so prudent as to cite *Plato*. We therefore must not impute to him the faults, which that *Philosopher* committed, but apply ourselves to *Plato*.

'Tis certain that it does not give a just and faithful Relation after *Homer*. His words are as follow. *Ἡ Δία καθυδρόντων τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τὴν καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὡς μάτος ἰγνηγοῦσας, ἀ ἐβελύσατο, τῆτον πάτηται ῥαδίας ἐπιλαύσασα νόμοι, διὰ τῆν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίαν; καὶ ἕτως ἐκπλαγίται, ἰδόντα τῆν Ἥραν, ὡς μὴδ' εἰς τὸ δωματίου ἐθέλειν, ἰλθού, ἀλλ' αὐτῆ ἐυλόμοισι χαρμῶν ἐγγυγινοῦσαι, καὶ λίγισται ὡς ἕτως ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἔχεται, ὡς οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἰφοῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους — Φίλις λήθοντε ταύτης* (59). i. e. " *Jupiter*, the rest of the " Gods as well as men being asleep, through a strong " desire for the lascivious pleasure, forgot all his resolution; and was struck so forcibly by the sight of " *Juno*, that he could not stay till he got home, but " would sport with her that instant on the ground, " saying that he was enamored with a yet stronger " gust, than when they used to embrace unknown to " their parents." *Plato's* meaning is, that one of the reasons for which *Homer's* Poems ought to be read is, that we there find, that whilst the other Gods and men are taking their rest, *Jupiter* tempted by loose thoughts, cannot sleep, and forgets all the resolutions he had taken; and that the sight of his wife fires him with so ardent a passion, that he is determined to enjoy her that moment, without staying till she can get to bed &c. I again repeat it, *Plato* alters the story, for *Homer* does not say that the rest of the Gods slept, nor that men were taking their rest: He says on the contrary, that the Greeks and Trojans fought with great vigour, and that *Neptune* was in action against the Trojans. Nor does he say that *Jupiter* forgot his resolutions. He supposes *Jupiter* had posted himself on the summit of mount *Idæ*; and that *Juno* spying him there, formed a design of firing him with a desire of lying with her. He supposes that, to execute her project in the best manner possible, he went and washed herself with *Venus's* girdle. By this he undertakes to describe *Jupiter* as a very amorous God, since the most powerful charms were contained in that girdle.

... "Εἶθε δὲ οἱ θεῶν κτήρια πάντα τίτυκτο.
 "Εἶθ' ἐνὶ μὲν Φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἰμῖρ. ἐν δ' ἰαρίδης,
 Πάσι φωνεῖ ἢ τ' ἐκλεψέ νοσὶ πικραπὴρ φρονεῖσσαν (60).
 That is,
 " In this was ev'ry art, and ev'ry charm,
 " To win the wisest, and the coldest warm;
 " Fond Love, the gentle vow, the gay desire,
 " The kind deceit, the still-reviving fire,
 " Persuasive speech, and more persuasive sighs,
 " Silence that spoke, and eloquence of eyes. POPE.

I don't pretend to excuse him, and I confess that *Plato* censures him very justly; for in short 'tis very scandalous, for an author to sport in this manner with the chief of all his Gods. By the way, *Jupiter's* eagerness and passion were not so violent, but that they allowed him time to repeat a long catalogue of his mistresses. Some critics are of opinion that *Homer* has not placed this story with propriety. It is not, say these, prudent in a husband who is addicted to gallantry, to inform his wife of the intrigues he may have had with other fair ones; this is not a good way to coax her.

(e) See the remark [K].

brought up; some say in Samos (e), and others in the Sea [K]. There was no city in which greater honours were paid her than in Argos [L]. She likewise was in high veneration

her. Others justify Homer, from this reflexion, that it must naturally give vast pleasure to a woman, to hear her husband declare, that he is fired with a stronger passion for her, than when he first enjoyed such and such mistresses. This is what Jupiter's declaration amount- ed to.

Νῶϊ δ' ἄγ' ἐν Φιλόπηλῃ τραπέζοισιν ἐνηθάλε,
Οὐ γὰρ πάπολι μὲν ἴδ' ἑὸς ἔργον ἐδὲ γυναῖκας
Θυμὸν ἐν ἐπίθροισι περιπροχυδαῖς ἰδάμυσσον,
Οὐδ' ὅπ' ἐτ' ἤρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο, &c. (61).

(61) Homer, Iliad. lib. 14. ver. 314.

That is,
" Let softer cares the present hour employ,
" And be these moments sacred to all joy.
" Ne'er did my foul so strong a passion prove,
" Or for an earthly, or a heavenly love;
" Not when I press'd Ixion's matchless dame &c.

POPE.

I add that Homer has observed a decorum with respect to Juno. He makes her represent to her husband the indecency there would be in case any God should happen to see them lying together on mount Ida, and go and inform the rest of it; however, says she to him, since you have a fancy for it, lets go up into the chamber. But Jupiter did not approve of this expedient, and found out another, which was, to raise so thick a cloud round his wife, that even the sun could not pierce it; and 'twas under this cloud that he indulged his fierce passion. He did not throw his wife on the floor, as Montagne says; but on the bare ground, in the open air. The earth indeed shot forth, instantly, grass and flowers (62), which served them very well for a quilt. Neither Homer nor Plato make Jupiter say, as Montagne does, that he had found that bout as transporting as when he first discovered her unknown to their Parents. Homer says only (63), that Jupiter spying Juno, was fired with as strong a passion for her as when he first enjoyed her beauties. I am willing it should be said, in order to excuse Montagne, that he did not think there was much difference between these two things.

(62) Idem, ibid. ver. 347.

(63) His words may be seen in remark [A] citation (1).

[K] Some say . . . Juno was brought up . . . in Samos, and others in the sea.] She herself affirms the latter in her speech to Venus when she borrowed her girdle (64). She tells her that she stood in need of it, to reconcile Ocean and his wife Tethys, who had not bedded together a long time. Her gratitude on account of the good education she had received from them, prompted her to take a voyage in order to reconcile them; and she does not doubt of being dear to, and revered by them eternally, in case she can persuade them to cohabit together again.

(64) See also what she says to Ocean and Tethys, in Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. when she desires them to exclude the constellation of the Bear.

Δός τῶν μοι φιλόπηλα καὶ ἕμμεν, ὃ τὸ σὺ πάντας
Δαμναῖ Ἀθναῖος ἠδὲ θνητῶν ἀνδράπων·
Εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρου περικτα γαίης.
Ὡ κείνους τε θεῶν γίνεσιν, καὶ μηλίφα Τηθύων,
Ὅ μ' ἐν σφοδαῖς δὲ μοισιν ἰούριφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλλον,
Τὰς εἶμ' ὀψομένη, καὶ σφ' ἀκρίλα νύκτα λίσσω,
Ἢ δὴ γὰρ δρόν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονται
Εὐνῆς καὶ Φιλόπηλα, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπισσι θυμῶ &c.

(65) Homer. Iliad. lib. 14. ver. 198. Juno repeats this on Mount Ida, when Jupiter asks her whither she is going. Ibid. ver. 301.

That is,
" Then grant me, said the Queen, those conquering
" charms,
" That power which mortals and immortals warms;
" That love, which melts mankind in fierce desires,
" And burns the sons of heav'n with sacred fires!
" For lo! I haste to those remote abodes,
" Where the great parents (sacred source of Gods!)
" Ocean and Tethys their old empire keep,
" On the last limits of the land and deep.

" For strife, I hear, has made the union cease,
" Which held so long that antient pair in peace,
" What honour, and what love shall I obtain,
" If I compose those fatal feuds again?

POPE.

Had Juno been allotted Venus's Girdle, that so very effectual charm to work a change in married people who

have separate beds, she had very justly been made to preside over marriages; but she has occasion to borrow the pacific method, and powerful instrument of reconciliation: Why was not this employment given to the Goddesses from whom the girdle was to be borrowed? I leave it to persons who have leisure to enquire into the reason of this.

With regard to her education in Samos, consult Pausanias, who says that the inhabitants of this island asserted, that Juno was born there under a little tree which they still shewed (66). The temple of that Goddess was very antient (67). There is no one but remembers the following words of the Æneid.

(66) Pausan. lib. 7. pag. 209.

(67) Idem, ibid.

Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabita coluisse Samo (68).

(68) Lib. 1. ver. 15.

" Beloved by Juno more
" Than her own Argos, or the Samian shore.

DRYDEN.

The island was named Parthenia, because Juno had also her nuptials with Jupiter were solemnized, whence she was represented in her temple as a maiden who is marrying, and the anniversary of her festival was solemnized as a wedding. Insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Juno adoleverit, ibique etiam Jovi nupsit: Itaque nobilissimum, & antiquissimum templum ejus est Sami, & simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum, & sacra ejus anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur (70).

(69) Scholiast. Apollonii, in lib. 4. He says, on ver. 187. of book 1. that the Imbrus, a river of Samos, was called Παρθένος, because Juno, when a virgin, had been brought up there.

[L] There was no city in which greater honours were paid her than in Argos.] The Argives pretended, that the three daughters of the river Alerion had brought up Juno. One of them called Eubœa, had her name given to the mountain on which Juno's temple was built; and Eupolemus a native of Argos was the architect of it. In the porch of it were the statues of all the Priestesses of the Goddesses (71): their office was very considerable, as I observed, when I spoke of the unhappy Priestess who occasioned the burning of the temple (72). Pausanias says (73) that she escaped to the altar of Pallas in Tegea; and that notwithstanding the indignation of the Argives, they nevertheless suffered her statue to stand. He says that the most antient statue of that Goddess was made of a wild pear-tree, and it was kept with great care. Pirafus the son of Argus had carried it to Tyrinthus; but the Argives having demolished that city, brought it back to the temple of Juno (74). See Benedicinus on Pindar (75), concerning the games that were solemnized at Argos in honour of that Goddess. See also the commentators of Horace on the following words of Ode VII. Lib. I.

(70) Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 17. pag. m. 54. See also St. August. de Civitate Dei; lib. 6. cap. 7.

(71) See Pausanias, lib. 2. pag. 59.

(72) See the article CHRYSIS.

(73) Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 159. See also lib. 3. pag. 86.

(74) Idem, ibid. pag. 142, 628.

Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicit equis Argos.

" To honour Juno, Argos some proclaim,
" Renown'd for horses."

Silius Italicus, speaking of the love which Juno has for the city of Carthage, says that she prefers it to Argos and Mycene.

Hic Juno ante Argos (sic credidit alta vetustas),
Ante Agamemnonium, gratissima tecla Mycenam
Optavit profugis æternam condere sedem (76).

(76) Silius Italic. lib. 1. ver. 26.

" Here Juno wish'd, as antient Bards relate,
" To fix the exiles in a lasting seat:
" A seat which she, to Argos and Mycene
" Preferred."

According to Homer (77) the three cities which Juno loved best were Argos, Lacedæmonia and Mycene. It is strange he should say nothing of Samos, the only place mentioned by Virgil, where he speaks of the preference which Juno gave to Carthage.

(77) Iliad. lib. 4. ver. 51.

Let us say something of the founder of the temple which Juno had in Argos; for thereby we shall discover the antiquity of the edifice. It was built by Phœronæus,

ration at Carthage [M], and in Olympia. In this last city sixteen Ladies were appointed as overseers over the Games which were solemnized in Juno's honour every five years. Three classes or bands of young maidens used to dispute there for the prize in the race; came down to run in the Olympic Games, and used to take up almost the whole time they lasted. Such Ladies as were victorious received an olive crown; and used to make a *Peplus* (f), which they consecrated to that Goddess every five years (g). By the way (g) Ex Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 16. pag. m. 417. the conjugal infidelities of Jupiter were so much the more inexcusable, as Juno had the secret of becoming a virgin every year [N]. The love she had for Jason has not been much talked of [O]; and she freed herself with honour from the snares which Ixion had laid

(f) A kind of robe or veil.

Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, and he was the first who gave arms to that Goddess, in recompence whereof he was the first who reigned. *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Junoni primus fecit.* Hyginus says this in his CCXXVth Chapter. *Phoroneus Inachi filius,* says he in his CCLXXIVth Chapter, *arma Junoni primus fecit, qui ob eam causam primus regnandi potestatem habuit.* Some critics will have us read, instead of *arma, aram* or *sacra*; but others insist on the common reading, and confirm it by a passage of Cassiodorus, in Chapter XVIII of Book VII *Variarum.* See the commentators of Hyginus in the Amsterdam edition of 1681. With regard to the antiquity of Phoroneus, see Scaliger's notes page 19 on Eusebius's Chronicon. It is sufficient to remember that Phoroneus was contemporary with Abraham, or wanted but little of being so.

[M] She likewise was in high veneration at Carthage. I imagined for a very long time, that Virgil made use of a poetical licence, without paying any regard to history, when he represented Carthage as Juno's favourite city (78); and I did not think myself obliged to change my opinion, on reading in Ovid and Silius Italicus, the confirmation of Virgil's assertion; for no one can reasonably doubt but that he was the occasion why Ovid makes Juno speak thus,

(78) *Æneid.* lib. 2. circa init.

*Pœniteat quod non fovi Carthaginis arces,
Cum mea sint illo currus & arma loco* (79).

(79) Ovid. *Fest.* lib. 6. ver. 45.

"I fore repented that I frown'd on Carthage,
That city where my arms and chariot lie.

(80) In the preceding remark, citation (76).

(81) *Apulei.* lib. 6. *Metam.* circa init.

and yet Silius Italicus asserted what was seen above (80): but having examined other passages of various authors, I began to think that Virgil's hypothesis was grounded on tradition. Psyche's prayer is not of the least force with me: *Magni Jovis germana,* says she (81), *& conjuga: sine tu Sami, quæ querulo partu vagituque & alimonia tua gloriatur, tenes vetusta delubra; sine celsæ Carthaginis, quæ te virginem vedura leonis caelo commeanthem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas: sine prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & reginam dearum memorat, inclytis Argivorum præfides mœnibus: quam cunctis oriens Zygiam veneratur, & omnis occidens Lucinam appellat: si meis extremis casibus Juno sospita, meque in tantis exantlatis laboribus defessam, imminenti periculi metu libera.* i. e. "Thou sister and wife of mighty Jove; whether thou dwellest in Samos, which glories in giving thee birth, and bringing thee up in thy infancy; or whether thou frequentest the blissful seats of lofty Carthage, which worships thee, as a virgin, drawn by lions from the skies; or near the banks of Inachus, who now commemorates thee, consort of the Thunderer, and Queen of the Goddesses, thou presidest over Argos's renowned walls; whom the whole east adores by the name of Zygia, and every part of the west calls Lucina: be thou to me, (O Juno) in the extremes to which I am reduced, a preserver; and free me, exhausted with these toils, from the fear of impending danger."

(82) It was pretended that her statue had been consecrated by Dido when she built Carthage. See Herodian, lib. 5. cap. 6.

(83) I shall take some notice in the remark [Y] of the temples she had in Italy.

thinking that there was mixed with it, I know not what impressions of the custom that is observed with respect to women. When a woman shares in the government, she is much more waited upon, honoured and respected, than a man is who has the like authority. Consider only how much court is paid to the wives of Governors of Provinces, when they are known to have great credit and authority. Greater honours are paid to them than to their husbands. This is the practice upon earth, and it is carried into heaven. Jupiter was attended upon and served as a King; and Juno as an ambitious, haughty, revengeful Queen, who shared the government of the world with him, and assisted in all his councils.

Οὐτέ ποτ' εἰς εὐνήν Διὸς ἔλυθε μητιόνησθε,
Οὐτέ ποτ' εἰς θάλασσαν πολυδαίδαλον; ὡς τεπέεσθε πηρ,
Αὐτῆ ἰφιζομίην πυκνῆς φραζέσασθε βυδαίς (84).

(84) See Homer's Hymn to Ap. lib. when he says that Juno, on account of Minerva's birth, left her husband for a year.

*Nunquam ad cubile Jovis venit consiliarii,
Nunquam ad thronum variarum, sicuti antea,
Cum ipso sedens, sapientia consultans consilia.*

I dare be so bold as to say, that the extravagancies into which Christians have run with respect to the Virgin Mary; extravagancies which surpass every thing the Heathens could invent in honour of Juno, flow from the same spring; I mean from the custom established of honouring women, and paying court to them with much more assiduity and respect than to the other sex. We cannot live without women, either in religious or civil life. Whoever should take from the Romish communion its devotion for the saints, and especially for her who therein is called Queen of Heaven, and Queen of Angels, would leave a dreadful chasm in it; the rest would fall to pieces, and be *arena sine calce, scopæ dissoluta.* Erasmus censuring the custom of saluting the Virgin Mary in the pulpit, after the opening or beginning of the sermon, says, "That it is contrary to the example of all the ancients, who ought rather to be imitated than I know not what people, who, perhaps to please women, have followed the Heathens in that particular (85)."

[N] Juno had the secret of becoming a virgin every year. For this purpose she needed but wash herself in a fountain (86). "Juno was very assiduous, says the author of a Dictionary (87) in washing herself annually in the fountain or spring of Canathus, near Nauplia, called at this time Napoli di Romania, where she always received her maidenhead, a circumstance that endeared her to Jupiter. *Pausan.* lib. 8." Now Pausanias does not observe, that this circumstance endeared Juno to her husband; all he says is, that the Argives spoke of this restoration of Juno's virginity, and grounded what they said on this occasion, on the practice of their occult ceremonies in the mysteries of that Goddess. Many writers, in quoting an author, commit this fault, viz. that they make him say all that, according to them, he ought to have said. Hence it was that the writer in question supposes Pausanias to say, what he really did not. The author who thus ascribes falsely, probably had his thoughts full on what he had before related. "Diego de Tourez, in his history of the Cherifs or Zeffirs, says, that among the felicities, which the Turks hope to enjoy in the life to come, they imagine that their wives will bring them new maidenheads, cap. 74." The virtue of the fountain of youth, so greatly celebrated by our old Poets, and writers of romances, was not to be compared to that of Canathus.

(85) Erasmus, in *Ecclesiasti.* apud Colomel. *Rome Protostant.* pag. 25.

(86) Called Canathus; it was in Peloponnesus. See Pausan. lib. 2. sub fin. pag. 80.

(87) *Cæsar de Rochefort, Diction. général. & curieux,* pag. 612, 613.

[O] The love she had for Jason has not been much talked of. According to some authors, Jason owed entirely

laid for that Goddess [P]. If some authors may be credited, she had no children by her husband ; and she never conceived but after a most extraordinary manner [Q] ; but she had milk as women usually have in those cases ; and this must necessarily be supposed, since she is said to have suckled one of her husband's bastards. He was forced to employ a stratagem in order to prevail with her to do it ; and then, as we are told, was formed in the skies, what was called the Milky Way [R]. Some of those authors who

tirely the kindness and protection which that Goddess indulged him, to the good service he had done her, without knowing who she was. Juno, disguised under the form of an old woman, desired him to carry her over a river ; which he accordingly did, and lost one of her shoes as he was doing her that office ; but others say that he was obliged to his beauty for the favour she shewed him. Juno, not being able to resist such a blaze of charms, fell distractedly in love with this lovely youth.

(88) Scholiast. Pindari in Pyth. Od. 4. apud Meziriacum, Not. in Epiph. Ovidii, pag. 540.

Ὀπίς ἡ ὑπερβλήσῃς ἢ ὁ Ἰάσονος δῆλον ἐκ τῆς κῆς τῆς Ἡρας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιμαρτυρίας (88). Jasonem fuisse perplebrum hinc patet, quod juxta quosdam ipsa Juno infans amore cum profecuta fuerit. These are the authors who speak of the other story. Pelias

forte vidit Jasonem nudo pede venisse, qui dum Junonem transmutatam in anus speciem credens mortalem petentem per vadum fluminis transferret, alteram ex caligis in limo amiserat (89). i. e. "Pelias by chance

(89) Servius, in Eclog. 4. Virgilio, ver. 34.

spied Jason coming with one foot bare, who, whilst " he was carrying Juno disguised in the form of an " old woman, and supposing her to be a mortal, over " a river, lost one of his buskins in the mud." The reader will find this incident related more at large in

(90) Hygin. cap. 22. See also cap. 13. Apollon. Rhodius, lib. 3. ver. 66.

Hyginus (90), with the testimonies of gratitude which Juno gave on that account. Valerius Flaccus supposes that it was extreme bad weather when she received this service ; and he adds, that Jason knew her to be a Goddess by the dread with which she was seized, because she knew that thunder to be the voice of Jupiter who called her. She was there flying away ; she had left her husband, and did not care much to return home to him.

Omnipotens regina, inquit, quam turbidus atro Eibere caeruleum quateret cum Jupiter imbrem, Ipse ego praecipiti tumidum per Enipea nimbo In campos & tuta tuli, nec credere quivi Ante deam, quam te tonitru nutaque reposci Conjugis, & subita raptam formidine vidi (91).

(91) Val. Flacc. Argon. 1. ver. 81.

" O Queen omnipotent, whom when stormy Jove " Descended from the gloomy skies, I bore " In a substantial cloud, thro' swift Enipeus ; " Nor did think thee a Goddess, till I saw thee " In dread dismay at thy dire consort's thunder.

[P] She freed herself with honour from the snares which Ixion had laid for her.] Ixion, guilty of a parricide (92), from the guilt of which he could not find any person to absolve him, at last received this good office from Jupiter himself. He retained so deep a sense of gratitude on that account, that he endeavoured to cuckold his benefactor ; he being inflamed with a passion for Juno, and earnestly intreating her to comply with his wishes. However, the Goddess refused, and complained to Jupiter, who resolved to try whether this accusation were justly grounded, formed a cloud in the exact shape of his wife, and left it to Ixion's discretion, who being strongly fired with love, made exactly the same use of it as he would have done of the Goddess, and hence sprung the Centaurs. He afterwards boasted his having had an affair of gallantry with Juno ; and it was then, as we are told, that Jupiter losing all patience, hurled him down to hell, and sentenced him to the punishment of the wheel (93). He did not behave like a jealous husband ; for what Italian would permit his wife's gallants to satiate their passion on her form or figure ? He would prevent, if possible, their diverting themselves with her in imagination or in a dream.

(92) He had killed his wife's father, in a treacherous manner.

(93) Extracted from Natalis Comes, Mytholog. lib. 6. cap. 16. A few circumstances excepted, all this is to be found in Diodorus Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 71. See also Lucian, in Deorum Dialogis, pag. 132, & seq. tem. 1.

[Q] She always conceived after a most extraordinary manner.] According to the most common opinion, she was mother only of three children, viz. Mars, Vulcan, and Hebe. As to Mars, she conceived him by touching a flower which Flora pointed out to her. She was endeavouring to revenge herself on her husband,

band, who had brought forth Minerva without her assistance ; and to shew him that she could do as much without the assistance of a male.

Protinus haerentem decerpfi pollice florem, Tangitur, & tacto concipit illa sinu. Jamque gravis Thracen & laeva Propontidis intrat, Fitque potens voti, Marsque creatus erat (94).

(94) Ovid. Fast. lib. 5. ver. 255.

" The flower I gather'd, when lo, so great its power, " She touch'd it, and immediately conceiv'd. " Then enters Thrace, and the Propontic coast ; " And, all her wish indulg'd, brought forth God " Mars.

As for Vulcan, she conceived him by the wind, by an influence directly like to that of the Spanish mares (95). (95) See the article HIPPOMANES, at the end of this work. " The like incident is likewise told of " Juno, viz. that having conceived by the wind, " without the assistance of man, she brought forth " Vulcan." She conceived of Hebe, by eating greedily of lettuces. This maiden was the Goddess of Youth, and served as Cup-bearer to the Gods till the following misfortune happened to her in a grand entertainment. She fell, and so disclosed to the Gods whatever was hid under her petticoats, by which accident she lost her employment (97). I am not ignorant that other authors declare her to be daughter of Jupiter and Juno, after the common way.

(95) See the article HIPPOMANES, at the end of this work.

(96) Lucianus, de Sacrificiis, pag. 352. tom. 1.

(97) Servius, apud Lloyd, voce Hebe.

I must here refute Natalis Comes, who probably has misguided some Lexicographers. He says that Juno, exasperated at the birth of Minerva, besought heaven and earth, and the celestial and infernal Gods, to cause her to bring forth without the conjunction of a male. She struck the earth with her hand, and at the expiration of a certain term the earth brought forth Typhon. Qua cum manu humum percussisset, sequenti postea tempore natus est ex ea terra Typhon, &c. (98). To prove this he quotes some Greek verses, which manifestly signify that Juno brought forth Typhon. How well does he understand what he alleges ?

Ὀν ποτ' ἀπ' Ἡρῆς ἴτιν' ἡ χολωσαμένη Διὶ πατρὶ Εὐρ' ἀρα δὴ Κρονίδης ἱκευδία γυνίωσ' Ἀθήνην Ἐν κορυφῇ.

(98) Nat. Comes, Mythol. lib. 6. cap. 22. pag. m. 644. The same is found in Lloyd's Dictionary.

" Offended Juno brought forth monstrous Typhon, " When, from Jove's head, renown'd Minerva sprung.

Homer, in the Hymn to Apollo, relates this story so clearly, that it is surprizing so many authors should have taken one for the other. He says that Juno having invoked heaven and earth, and all the infernal Gods, in order that she might bring forth a son without the aid of Jupiter, struck the earth and made it tremble, and took this earthquake for a good omen, and lived apart from her husband during a year, at the end of which she brought forth a son, who did not resemble either men or Gods ; and this was Typhon.

Ἡ δὲ ἴτεκ' ἔτι θεῶν ἰμελίχμιον ἔτε θεοῖσσι, Δαμόν τ' ἀρπυγίων τὸ Τυφάεωσ, αἴμασ θεοῖσιν (99).

(99) Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. ver. 351.

Hæc autem peperit neque diis similem, neque mortalibus, Gravemque difficilemque Typhaona, damnum mortalibus.

[R] Then . . . was formed in the skies, what was called the milky way.] She gave suck to Hercules ; but that child, whose strength was at that time prodigious, squeezed and pulled her nipple with so much violence, that she could not bear it ; whereupon drawing back her nipple in a forcible manner, some of her milk was spilt, and this it was that formed the circle that was called

(b) See the remark [U].

who put the word *regina* among the epithets bestowed on Juno, are guilty of a childish error [S]; though, under that name, she was protectress of the Veientes (b), and placed on one of the seven mountains in Rome. I question whether those who assert, that she did not begin to favour the Romans till the second Punic War [T], say true. She was honoured

(100) Achilles Tattius, in *Sphæge*, ex Eratosthene in *Catamerismo*, apud Lloyd, voce Juno.

called by the Greeks γαλαξία, and by the Latins *orbis lacteus*, *via lactea*, &c. (the milky way) (100). The Poet Manilius has touched upon this fable :

*Nec mihi celanda est famæ vulgata vetustas
Mollior; è niveo lactis fluxisse liquorem
Peñore Reginae Divum, cœlumque colore
Infecisse suo. Quapropter lacteus orbis
Dicitur, & nomen causa descendit ab ipsa* (101).

(101) Manilius, lib. 1, pag. m. 44.

“ Nor must I omit the fable, that a liquor,
“ Milk white, flow’d fait from Juno’s breasts, and
“ stain’d
“ The heavenly dome, whence milky way ’tis call’d;
“ The name arising from the fabled cause.

Some say that the milk which formed this way, fell from Hercules’s mouth, upon his seizing upon Juno’s nipple too greedily (102). These fictions suppose Juno to be at that time in heaven; but the Thebans did not allow this; they showed the place where that Goddess, deceived by Jupiter, gave Hercules suck (103).

(102) See Philoponus, in *I Meteor.* apud Philipum Cœsium in *Cælo Astronomico Poetico*, pag. 15.

[S] Some of those authors who put the word *Regina* among the epithets bestowed on Juno, are guilty of a childish error.] For they, as a proof of it (104), quote a passage from Virgil, where there is no particular epithet.

(103) Pausan. lib. 9. pag. 300.

(104) Francis Pomey, in *Pantheo Mythico*, pag. m. 92.

*Ast ego, quæ Divum incedo regina, Jovisque
Et soror & conjux* (105).

(105) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 46.

“ But I, who walk in awful state above,
“ The Majesty of heaven, the sister-wife of Jove.

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(106) Aristotle, lib. de *Morib.* 9. shews that Homer, by the following words, *σπάρτη ἀνδρῶν τῆς θεῶν τῆς*, which denote Jupiter, declares him King of Gods and Men. See the *Virgil Variorum* of Leyden 1680. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 65.

The father of the people, the magnificent, the great, the just, the wise, &c. are epithets or titles of distinction appropriated to certain Princes; but this cannot be said of the title of King of France: nor can it be said of the title of Queen of France. Now Juno in the above-mentioned verse of Virgil is called Queen of the Gods, in the same manner as Anne of Austria, wife of Lewis XIII, was called Queen of France. Juno was the wife of Jupiter, King of Gods and men, *Divum pater atque hominum Rex* (106), as she herself styles him in the *Æneid* (107). In another place (108) she tells him, that he reigns over all the Gods, *οὐδὲ πάρος μὲν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις*. Had proofs been sought for in Livy, good ones would have been found. See the following remark, where I relate what he says of Camillus, concerning the taking of Veii. The following words of Juvenal,

(107) *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 65.

(108) *Iliad.* lib. 4. ver. 61.

(109) Sat. 12. ver. 13.

— *niveam Reginae cœdimus agnam* (109).

(†) Juno.

“ A snowy lamb, in honour of the (†) Queen,
“ Will now be slain.”

These words, I say, would have furnished a much better proof, than these which are to be found in the first book of the *Æneid*.

[T] She did not begin to favour the Romans, till the second Punic War.] Camillus, preparing to storm the Veientes, offered the tenth part of the plunder to Apollo; and besought Juno, protectress of the besieged, to abandon them, in order to go to Rome, where a temple worthy of her should be built. *Tuo ductu, inquit, (Dictator) Pythice Apollo, suoque namini instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Vejos: tibi que hinc decimam partem prædæ voveo. Te simul, Juno Regina, quæ nunc Vejos colis, precor ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequere: ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat* (110). After the sacking of the city was ended, they proceeded to the removal of the Gods, and behaved with great respect on that occasion. Some one asked the statue of Juno, whether she was willing to come to Rome; whereupon she made a sign that she was; and it is even pretended that she said *yes*. It was no trouble to remove her; and one would have

(110) T. Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 5. cap. 21.

thought that she moved herself in order to follow the victors. Camillus consecrated a temple in her honour on mount Aventinus, pursuant to the promise he had made her. *Tum Junoni Reginae templum in Aventino locavit dedicavitque Matulae matri* (111). Livy’s words (111) Mem. ibid. are so beautiful and remarkable, that the persons who understand Latin, will be well pleased to read them, without having the trouble to stir out of their places. *Cum jam humanæ opes asportatæ egestæque à Veii essent, amoliri tum Deum dona ipsosque Deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo, cœpere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, pure lotis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam Regina Juno assignata erat, venerabundi templum inire, primo religiose admoventes manus: quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certæ gentis sacerdos attrectare non esset solitus. Deinde quum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus, seu juvenili joco, Viine Romam ire Juno? annuisse ceteri Deam conclamaverunt: inde fabulæ adjectum est, vocem quoque dicentis, Velle, audiam. Motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti admniculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem translatu fuisse: integramque in Aventinum æternam sedem suam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlata; ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit* (112). i. e. “ When the riches of Veii were

“ all carried away, they began to carry off the gifts of the Gods, and the Deities themselves, but in a manner that resembled worshippers rather than plunderers. For a band of youths selected out of the whole army, having washed their bodies, and being clothed in white garments, and whose employment was to carry the Goddess Juno to Rome, went into the temple in a reverent manner, first touching her religiously; for only a Priest of a certain family (according to the custom of Hetruria) was permitted to touch that statue. At last one of them, whether by inspiration, or out of a juvenile frolic, saying, *Juno, will you go to Rome?* the rest cried aloud that the Goddess nodded; whence a fable was added, that a voice was also heard, which said *yes*. It is certain, that the removal of her gave very little trouble, and that she was carried entire to mount Aventinus, her eternal seat or residence, to which the vows of the Roman Dictator had called her, and where the same Camillus afterwards consecrated a temple in her honour.”

Plutarch makes Livy say, that Camillus, upon his desiring Juno to come to Rome, touched the statue of that Goddess; and that some answered that she consented, and would willingly follow him. *Αἰεὶ δὲ φησὶν εὐχεσθαι μὲν τὸν Κάμυλλον ἀπὸ τῆς θεῆς εἶναι παρακαλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ τινος τῶν παρῶν ὅτι καὶ βεβαίως καὶ σὺγκραίνῃ, καὶ συνακαλεθεὶ προθύμως* (113). Livius (113) Plutarch. tradit inter precandum attrectasse Camillum Deam & invitasse: inde velle & annuere ac sequi libentem respondisse ex adstantibus nonnullos. Compare this with Livy’s words, and it will appear very evidently that Plutarch did not understand them in any manner; or rather that he cites them without looking into that author, and that he has adulterated the circumstances; and as he probably trusted to his memory on a numberless multitude of occasions, I am afraid that, with regard to a great number of incidents, we find in Plutarch’s writings, not what he had really read; but the idea which the histories he had read, left in his imagination. The prayers which Livy ascribes to Camillus, with respect to Juno, was before the taking of Veii; how then could he say that Camillus offered up his prayers, with his hands fixed on the statue? What follows comes nearer to my text.

Plutarch adds, that those who assert that Juno’s statue spoke, either by signs or by words, that she granted Camillus’s prayers, have a very powerful argument to alledge, I mean the prosperity of Rome; for that city, says he, having been so small, could not have raised itself to so exalted a pitch of power, had it not been perpetually favoured with the presence of a God. *Οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρίζονται καὶ τὸ παραδοξὸν βεβαίως, μάλιστα μὲν ἔχουσι συνέθερον τὴν τύχη τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ἀπὸ σμικρῆς καὶ ἀφροσύνης*

honoured at Rome, under other titles, as that of Moneta [U], of Sospita; &c. The Romans did not only join with the inhabitants of Lanuvium in the year 416, in worshipping that Goddess under this last title (i); but they also built a temple to her in the Forum Olitorium, or Herb Market, in 560. Caius Cornelius Cethegus, who had devoted it four years before, when, being Consul, he was engaged in war against the Infubres (k); consecrated it in quality of Censor (l). This temple was repaired in 663, and that on account of a dream which a woman had (m). The worship of Juno in Rome was of remote antiquity [X]. Very great honours were paid her in other cities of

(i) Livius, lib. 8. cap. 14. See the beginning of the remark [7].

(k) Idem, lib. 32. cap. 29.

(l) Liv. lib. 34. cap. 53.

(m) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 1. init. fol. 304. B. and folio 311. B.

καλαφρομενης αρετης επι της δεξης ης δεξιωνος αποσταθου; αχα δευ πολλων ης μεγαλης επιφανειας εκασου συμπαιονος, αμαχανου (114). Ceterum hoc miraculum adstruuntibus & defendentibus fortuna magnopere suffragatur urbis, qua ex parvo & humili exordio, sine numinis perpetuo ex multis & magnis signis presentis favore, evadere ad eam gloriam & potentiam baudquam potuisset. He therefore thinks that Juno, being removed from Veii to Rome, favoured the Romans, and procured them that series of victories which made them so formidable: and therefore Jupiter's prediction, viz. that Juno would at last favour the Roman people, must have been fulfilled the year of Rome 359 (115).

(114) Idem, ibid.

Quin aspera Juno,
Quae mare nunc terrasq; metu caelumque fatigat,
Conspicua in melius referret, metumque fovabit
Romanos rerum Dominos gentemque togatam (116).

(115) In which the town of Veii was sacked.

“ Ev'n haughty Juno, who, with endless broils,
“ Earth, seas, and heav'n, and Jove himself turmoils;
“ At length aton'd, her friendly pow'r shall join,
“ To cherish and advance the Trojan line.
“ The subject world shall Rome's dominion own,
“ And, prostrate, shall adore the nation of the queen.
DRYDEN.

And nevertheless, because some Poets have taken it into their heads to remove this æra to the (117) second Punic war (118), the Commentators depend on this fiction more than on the credit and authority of Historians. I here observe, that Juno, besides the temple which she had on mount Aventin, shared the temple of the Capitol with Jupiter and Minerva (119). The temple of Juno Moneta, which I shall mention in the following remark, furnishes me with a good proof.

(116) Virgil. Ænid. lib. 1. ver. 279.

(117) Who began to reign the year of Rome 535.

(118) Quia bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Juno cepit favore Romanis. Servius in hunc locum Virgilii. See Silius Italicus, lib. 12. pag. m. 520. Horace, lib. 2. Ode 1.

(119) See Daufqueius on Silius Italicus, lib. 10. pag. 435.

(120) Decretum est Junoni Reginae in Aventino Junoniamque Sospitam Lanuvii majoribus hostiis ut sacrificaretur. Liv. lib. 22. sus est. Jamque non simulacrum, sed ipsam caelo Junonem petentem portare se credentes, læti in ea partem Aventini, in qua nunc templum ejus cernimus, collocaverunt. i. e. “ Nor was the removal of Juno to our city, less voluntary; for Veii having been taken by Furius Camillus, the soldiers being ordered by the Generalissimo to convey the statue of Juno Moneta, to which particular adoration was there paid, to Rome, they accordingly set about removing it. One of the persons who were employed on that occasion, asking the Goddess in a joking way, whether she would go to Rome, she answered yes. “ The hearing her speak in this manner turned their jesting into admiration: so that now imagining they were not carrying a statue, but the Goddess herself, they placed her joyfully in that part of mount Aventine where her temple is now seen.”

(121) Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. num. 3.

Valerius Maximus's own words are sufficient to shew how strangely he confounds things; for he relates in

another book (122), that the temple of the Goddess Moneta was on the capitol, in that part where Manlius's house had stood. Now Livy says, that the temple which was built where the house in question had stood, was devoted to Juno Moneta during the war of the Arunci; and it was consecrated the year after, i. e. the year of Rome 413 (123). Ovid, in the sixth book of the Fasti, agrees exactly in that particular with Livy. The verses where he mentions this informs us, that this temple was devoted by Camillus; upon which a critic observes (124), that nevertheless Plutarch does not say in any manner that Camillus had made such a vow; and relates only, that Manlius's house was razed with the ground; and that the temple of the Goddess Moneta was built on the same spot where the house in question stood. Doubtless this critic thought that the Camillus whom Ovid speaks of is the same whose life is written by Plutarch; he, I say, who exerted himself so strenuously in order to get Manlius punished. I do not think that Ovid is so grossly mistaken. The person who devoted the temple of Juno Moneta was the younger Camillus. We therefore must not wonder that the historian of Camillus the father should take no notice of that vow; but he may be blamed for relating so of neglecting the fate of the house of this Manlius. He says (125), that the Romans having demolished it, built on the same spot the temple of the Goddess Moneta, and enacted that thenceforward no Patrician should live in the capitol. No reader but would conclude, from such relations, that these three things were done at the same time. Who would imagine that this temple was not devoted till above forty years after the execution of Manlius? There is a circumstance in Cicero which perplexes a little here, viz. that Juno, who had a temple on the capitol, was surnamed Moneta, because she had advised the Romans to sacrifice a sow big with young. Scriptum a multis, cum terræ motus factus esset ut sue plena procuratio fieret, vocem ab æde Junonis ex arca exiisse, quocirca Junonem illam appellatam Monetam (126). i. e. “ It is related by many authors, that an earthquake happening, a voice issued from the shrine in Juno's temple, commanding an expiation to be made by sacrificing a sow big with young, whence that Juno was called “ Moneta.” According to this, we should say that there was a temple of Juno on the capitol, before that the younger Camillus the Dictator devoted the temple of Juno Moneta; or we should say that he only devoted Juno Moneta to Juno; but that in after-ages the Goddess got the surname of Moneta, because of the counsel she gave in that temple. The first of these two hypotheses has no foundation in any authority; and the second would prove historians to be guilty of an extreme negligence, since they observe expressly that this Camillus the Dictator devoted a temple to Juno Moneta, which was built on the same spot where Manlius had lived. Perhaps this obscurity might be removed, if it were supposed that the place whence Juno gave the advice or counsel, was the chapel which had been built in her honour on the capitol (127). From that time she might have been (128) surnamed Moneta, without having a particular temple built to her under that epithet; but during the war of the Arunci, Camillus would have built a temple in her honour, under that surname which she had already. This would be a proof that she had advised the Romans before the year 413, and consequently that her favour for Rome preceded the second Punic war. Rosinus (129) makes Cicero say, that the earthquake which was the occasion of Juno's advising the sacrifice of a sow big with young, happened before the Gauls took Rome. But Rosinus is mistaken, Cicero not having writ any such thing.

(122) Lib. 6. cap. 3. num. 11.

(123) Livius, lib. 7. cap. 28.

(124) See Valerius Maximus Variorum published by Thyfius, lib. 1. cap. 8. num. 3. pag. 105.

(125) Plutarchus in Camill. pag. 148, C.

(126) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 1.

(127) See Dion. Halicarnass. lib. 4. cap. 69. Daufqueius, in Silius Italicum, lib. 10. pag. 435. cites several authorities.

(128) It appears by Livy, lib. 3. pag. m. 79. that the Juno of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was surnamed Regina.

(129) Antiquit. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 6.

[X] The worship of Juno in Rome was of remote antiquity.]

Italy [Y], and she used to work a great many miracles in them. She had a temple in Falerii before Rome was built. It was like that of Argos, and the same ceremonies were used

antiquity.] Tatius the colleague of Romulus had established the honours which were paid to Juno *Quiritia* or *Quiritis* (130). It appears that under the reign of Tullius Hostilius, the Pontifex being consulted with regard to the expiation of involuntary murders, caused two altars to be set up, and there performed the ceremonies which they thought requisite, in order for the purifying of Horace who had killed his sister. One of these altars was consecrated to Juno (131) and the other to Janus (132). It is related that (133) before this time there stood in Rome a temple of Juno built by Numa Pompilius; and that this Prince being desirous of gaining the favour of that Goddess, *forbid, by an express law, all loose women from entering into that temple... or even touching it. These are the very words of the law.* Pellex ædem Junonis ne tangito: si tangat Junoni agnum feminam demissis crinibus cædito. *This was the reparation they were obliged to make, by sacrificing a lamb in her honour, their hair hanging loose.* In a word it may be said, that it was not by too bold an hyperbole, that Virgil introduced Jupiter promising his wife, that the descendants of Æneas should serve her with greater devotion than any other nation. This dialogue is not the least beautiful passage in the Æneid; it contains Juno's resolution not to persecute Æneas any longer, and the favour she asked in recompence for her desisting on that occasion. I would advise my readers to consult Virgil; but I myself will only transcribe the four lines following:

*Hinc genus, Ausonio mistum quod sanguine surget,
Supra homines, supra i.e. Deos pietate videbis.
Nec gens ulli tuos æque celebrabit honores.
Annuit his Juno, & mentem lætata retorset (134).*

“ From blood so mix'd, a pious race shall flow,
“ Equal to Gods, excelling all below.
“ No nation more respect to you shall pay,
“ Or greater off'rings on your altars lay.
“ Juno consents, well pleas'd that her desires
“ Had found success, and from the cloud retires.”

DRYDEN.

[Y] *Very great honours were paid her in other cities of Italy* She was worshipped under the title of *Sospita*, with great devotion at Lanuvium, near Rome in the Via Appia. The Romans were so fond of this worship that the Consuls at the beginning of their consulships, were obliged to go and pay homage to that Juno. *Nolite à sacris propriis Junonis sospitæ, cui omnes Consules facere necesse est, domesticum & suum Consulem potissimum avocellere (135).* When the inhabitants of Lanuvium were made citizens of Rome, it was enacted, that this worship should be common to them with the Romans. *Lanuvinis civitas data, sacraque sua reddita cum eo ut ædes lucusque Sospitæ Junonis communis Lanuvinis Municipibus cum populo Romano esset (136).* There was a treasure in the temple of that Goddess, out of which Augustus took considerable sums, and promised to pay the interest (137). 'Tis thought that this temple was founded by the Pelasgi, who came originally from Peloponnesus; and this opinion is supported by Ælian's calling the Juno of Lavinium, *Juno Argolica (138).* Here follows a description of the Goddess's dress. *Nostram sospitam... tu nunquam me in somnis quidem vides, nisi cum pelle caprina, cum basta, in somnis quidem vides, nisi cum pelle caprina, cum basta, cum calceolis repandis (139).* i. e. “ You do not see Jupiter Sospita, our Goddess, even in dreams, without her goatskin, her spear, her shield, and her shoes bent backwards.” It is not observed in this passage, whether the goatskin had horns, but some very learned men do not doubt but it had. “ It is certain that the head of Juno of Lanuvium was veiled with a goat's skin, on which were real horns; and this is plainly seen in Goltzius's Roman medals, and in that mentioned by Vigenere, in his annotations on Livy.” These are de Girac's words in section lxx. page 556 of his reply. In the margin of his book are the following words. *Romani Junonem Sospitam colebant, cujus caput pellis caprina cum cornibus exornabat (140).* i. e. “ The Romans worshipped “ Juno Sospita, whose head a goat's skin with horns “ adorned.” Take particular notice of what follows.

The serpent of the temple of Lanuvium was something miraculous, it being able to tell whether a girl had lost her virginity or not. See Ælian (140).

Juno LACINIA, whose temple was six miles from Crotona, was prodigiously famous. This temple was twice as spacious as the greatest temple in Rome (141). It was covered with marble tiles, if I may use the expression, part whereof were carried to Rome, to cover the temple of Fortuna Equestris, which Quintus Fulvius Flaccus the Censor was building; but as he lost his life in a miserable manner, the Senate caused the tiles to be carried to the same place whence they had been taken (142). Hannibal did not execute the design that was formed, viz. of carrying off the golden column that stood in the temple of this Juno (143). Pliny relates that the ashes which were left on the altar of that Goddess, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, never moved from the place where they had been laid. *In Lacinia Junonis ara sub dio sita, cinerem immobilem esse perstantibus undique processis (144).* Servius relates another miracle; viz. that if any one carved or engraved his name on the tiles of this temple the engraving faded away the instant such person died. *In hoc templo illud miraculi fuisse dicitur, ut si quis ferro in tegula templi, ipsius nomen incidere, tandiu illa scriptura maneret, quamdiu is homo viveret qui illud scripsisset (145).* Livy also relates a miracle, viz. that the cattle of all kinds consecrated to the Goddess grazed in the meads belonging to the temple, without any person's looking after them; and used to retire voluntarily in the evening, for ever unmolested with wild beasts or robbers. *Læta in medio pascua babuit (Lucus) ubi omnis generis sacrum Deæ pascebatur pecus sine ullo pastore, separatimque egressi cujusque generis greges, nocte remanebant ad stabula, nunquam insidii ferarum, non fraude violati hominum (146).* He intimates plainly

enough, that he would not swear this was true; and that the story concerning the immovable ashes was no less doubtful. Some miracles, says he, are generally ascribed to these sorts of places. *Miracula aliqua assignantur plerumque tam insignibus locis. Fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi, cujus cinerem, nullus unquam moveat ventus.* No people understand this better than the Christian Monks. He adds that this temple was not only famous for its holiness but also for its riches. *Inclutum divitiis etiam non tantum sanctitate fuit (147).*

It is no wonder that opinions have been divided with respect to the founder of this temple, and the occasion of its foundation; for all nations are prompted to invent a thousand pretty particulars on those subjects. See Servius (148) who relates, among other opinions, that King Lacinus built it in honour of Juno, because she hated Hercules whom he had refused to entertain in his palace. But if we ought not to wonder at the variations in this respect, we nevertheless cannot but wonder that authors should not be agreed concerning the situation of this edifice. Livy fixes it at six miles distance from Crotona. *Sex millia aberat ab urbe (149) nobile templum ipsa urbe nobilitas, Lacinia Junonis sanctum omnibus circa populis (150).* i. e. “ At six miles distance from the city, was a noble “ temple erected to Juno Lacinia, which boasted “ greater magnificence than the city itself, and was “ held as sacred among all the people.” But Valerius Maximus fixes it at Locri, and this is not the only point in which he differs from Livy. Here follow his words: *Q. Fulvius Flaccus impune non tulit quod in censura tegulas marmoreas ex Junonis Lacinia templo in ædem Fortuna Equestris, quam Romæ faciebat, transfudit. Negatur enim, post hoc factum, mente constitisse: quin etiam per summam ægritudinem animi expiravit, cum ex duobus filiis in Illyrico militantibus, alterum decessisse, alterum graviter audisset affectum. Cujus casu motus senatus tegulas illico Locros reportandas curavit: decretique circumspiciatissima sanctione impium opus censoris retexuit (151).* i. e. “ Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who during his Censorship had carried “ away the marble tiles belonging to the temple of “ Juno Lacinia, and put them in that of Fortuna “ Equestris, erected by him in Rome, suffered greatly “ on that account; for it is said that he was for ever “ disordered

(140) Hist. Animal. lib. 11. cap. 16. See also Pliny. Elog. 8. lib. 4.

(141) See the following column citation (152).

(142) Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(143) Cicero, de Divinat. folio m. 307. D. See the article SILENIUS.

(144) Plin. lib. 2. cap. 107. Val. Maxim. lib. 1. cap. 8. in Exempl. extern. num. 18. says the same thing. See Livy below.

(145) Servius, in Æn. lib. 3. ver. 552.

(146) Liv. lib. 24. cap. 3.

(147) Idem, lib. 6. pag. m. 180.

(148) Servius, in Æneid. lib. 3. ver. 552.

(149) In Thybæus's Valerius Maximus, pag. 27. Livy is made to say, In urbe nobile templum, ipsa urbe erat nobilitas.

(150) Livius, lib. 24. cap. 3.

(151) Valer. Maxim. lib. 1. cap. 1. num. 20.

(130) Dion. Hal. lib. 2. cap. 52.

(131) Overseer of the sisters, says Dionys. Halicarn. but she is surnamed Sororia in Festus, quem vide pag. m. 262. Voco Sororium digillum.

(132) Idem, Dionys. lib. 3. cap. 28.

(133) See Du Boulay, Trésor des Antiquitez Romaines, pag. 149.

(134) Virgil. Æneid. lib. 12. ver. 838.

(135) Cicero, Orat. pro Muræna. sub fin.

(136) Liv. lib. 8. cap. 14.

(137) Appian. lib. 6. de Bello Civil. pag. m. 399.

(138) Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 11. cap. 16.

(139) Cicero, de Natur. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 29.

(*) Lud. Nonnius, in Goltzii Græc.

(*) *Quæ nobis natura informati- onem Deorum ip- forum dedit, eadem insculpsit in mentibus ut eos æternis & beatos haberemus.* Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 1. cap. 17. See also *Aristot. de Repub.* lib. 7. cap. 1. pag. m. 321, E. See also rem. [N] of the article SPINOZA, num. 5.

used in it as the Argives had consecrated to her worship. This we are told by Dionysius Halicarnassus in the twenty first chapter of his first book.

I should be glad to know, whether any of the Sages among the Heathens took notice of a circumstance, which methinks occurs very naturally, viz. that no one partici- pated less of a happy life, a state that is very essential to the Divine Nature (*), than the greatest of all the Goddesses. It is scarce possible to figure to one's self a more wretched state than that of Juno. I do not infer this from the nature of her employ- ments, how laborious and disagreeable soever they might be [Z]; and though they have

“ disordered in his senses after this action; nay, that
 “ extreme sorrow killed him, when news was brought
 “ that, of two sons who served in the wars at Illyri-
 “ cum, the one was dead, and the other very sick.
 “ The Senate being struck with this action caused the
 “ tiles to be carried back immediately to Locri; and,
 “ by the most circumspect sanction of a decree, took
 “ down the Censor's impious work.” I have fol-
 lowed the relation above with regard to the motive
 which prompted the Senate to restore the tiles; but I
 referred to my self the right of rectifying particulars,
 as occasion might require, from the account which
 Livy gives. The reader therefore is to know, that
 this grave Historian observes that Fulvius Flaccus the
 Censor used his utmost endeavours, in order that the
 temple which he was building might not be inferior
 to any temple in Rome, with regard to magnificence
 and grandeur. He imagined that a marble roof
 would greatly heighten the splendor of this edifice,
 and therefore he half uncovered the temple of Juno
*Lacinia. Profectus in Bratius, ædem Junonis Lacinia
 ad partem dimidiam detegit, id satis fore ratus ad
 tegendum quod ædificaretur* (152). This was enough for
 his purpose. Having removed those marble tiles to
 Rome, he was far from blabbing whence he had taken
 them; however, it was publickly known, which
 occasioned such murmurings, that the Consuls were
 forced to consult the Senate on that affair. The Senate
 then sent for Flaccus; and having suffered him to be
 some time exposed to the most bitter taunts of every
 kind, they made an unanimous resolution, that the
 tiles should be carried back to Juno's temple; and
 that the Goddess should be appeased by those things
 which the ceremonies prescribed. Livy's words have
 enchanted me to such a degree, that I fancy they will
 be very agreeable to most of my readers, the expressi-
 ons being charming, and the thoughts very elevated.
*Postquam censor rediit, tegulae expositæ de navibus ad
 templum portabantur: quanquam unde essent fletatur,
 non tamen celari potuit. Premittitur igitur in curia ortus
 est: ex omnibus partibus postulabatur, ut consules eam
 rem ad senatum referrent. Ut verò accersitus in curiam
 censor venit, multo infestius singuli universique præsen-
 tem lacerare: Templum augustissimum regionis ejus,
 quod non Pyrrhus, non Annibal violassent, violare
 parum habuissent, nisi detexisset foede ac prope diruisset.
 Detractum culmen templo, nudatum rectum patris im-
 bribus putrefaciendum. Censorem moribus regendis
 creatum, cui facta tecta exigere sacris publicis & loca
 tuenda more majorum traditum esset; eum per socio-
 rum urbes diruentem templa, nudantemque tecta ædi-
 um sacrarum vagari, & quod, si in privatis sociorum
 ædificiis faceret, indignum videri posset, id Deum im-
 mortalium templa demolientem facere, & obstringere
 religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum tem-
 pla ædificantem: tanquam non iidem ubique Dii im-
 mortales sint, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornan-
 dique. Quum, priusquam referretur, appareret quid
 sentirent Patres: relatione facta in unam omnes senten-
 tiam ierunt, ut hæc tegulae reportandæ in templum loca-
 rentur, piculariaque Junoni ferent.* (153). i. e.

“ it, and almost pull it down; that when the roof
 “ was taken from the temple, it was exposed to the in-
 “ clemency of the weather: that a Censor, elected in
 “ order to superintend the morals of the people; and to
 “ whom, pursuant to the custom of our ancestors, the
 “ care of repairing places devoted to public worship is
 “ committed; this Censor, I say, marched up and down
 “ the cities of the allies, uncovering and beating down
 “ their temples; and behaving with that indignity to-
 “ wards the temples of the immortal Gods, which, if done
 “ to the private houses of our allies, would be thought
 “ shameful: that he had laid a burthen on the consci-
 “ ences of the Romans, raising temples with the ruin of tem-
 “ ples; as if the immortal Deities were not the same in all
 “ places, but that some were to be adorned and embellish-
 “ ed with the spoils of others. The opinion of the
 “ Fathers being given before the question was put,
 “ they all unanimously declared, that the tiles in
 “ question should be carried back to the temple, and
 “ offerings made to Juno, in order to appease that
 “ Goddess.” The decree made by the Senate was
 not executed in all respects; for those persons who
 were commanded to see the roof repaired, declared,
 that no workman had been able to fix the tiles again
 in their places, and therefore they had been left in the
 court of the temple. *Quæ ad religionem pertinent cum
 cura facta: tegulae relictas in area templi, quia repen-
 dendarum nemo artifex inire rationem potuerit, redempto-
 res nuntiarunt* (154). Flaccus did not leave off
 building; he completed, consecrated it, and exhibit-
 ed the Ludi Scenici for four days, and the Circensian
 Games for one day. *Fulvius ædem Fortunæ equestris,
 quam Praeconsul in Hispania dimicans cum Celtiberorum
 legionibus voverat, annos sex postquam voverat, dedica-
 vit, & scenicos ludos per quatrduum, unum diem in
 circo fecit* (155). Here then is a notable difference
 between Livy and Valerius Maximus, and which
 shews that the latter of these two authors has done
 great injury to the Roman Senate; he supposes that
 they did not think of repairing the damage, till after
 they had seen the grievous punishment which heaven
 had inflicted on Flaccus the Censor. But Livy in-
 forms us, that the Senate was prompted to this action
 of piety and justice, from the bare consideration of the
 incident, and without having seen any traces of the
 wrath of heaven. He does not deny the fatal end of
 this Censor, and even represents it more fatal than
 Valerius Maximus has done; for he says that Fulvius
 Flaccus hanged himself; and adds, that it was a say-
 ing among the common people, that Juno had de-
 prived him of his senses. *2. Fulvius Juno pontifex,
 qui priore anno fuerat censor . . . facta morte periit.
 Ex duobus filiis ejus qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nun-
 ciatum alterum decessisse, alteram gravi & periculoso
 morbo ægrum esse. Obruit animum simul lætus, me-
 tusque: mane ingressi cubiculum servi, laqueo dependen-
 tem invenerunt. Erat opinio, post censuram minus compo-
 tem fuisse sui: vulgo Junonis Lacinia iram ob spolia-
 tum templum alienasse mentem ferebant* (156). The in-
 cident with respect to the taking away the marble tiles
 from the temple of Juno, is fixed to the year of Rome
 579.

(152) Tit. Liv. lib. 42. cap. 3. It was this made me say, above, after Cluverius, *Ital. Antiquæ*, lib. 4. cap. 15. that the temple of Juno Lacinia was twice as spa- cious as the great- est temple in Rome.

(153) Livius, *ibid.*

“ After the Censor's return, the tiles were carried
 “ from the ships into the temple; and though endea-
 “ vours were used to conceal the place whence they
 “ came, yet this could not be done. Upon this a
 “ murmur broke out in the Senate; all insisting to
 “ have the Consuls lay that affair before the Senate.
 “ But when the Censor, upon his being summoned,
 “ came in, all the assembly attacked him with still
 “ greater violence: *Was it not, said these, sufficient,
 “ that he did not scruple to violate the most august tem-
 “ ple in all that country, which Pyrrhus as well as
 “ Hannibal had spared; but he must shamefully uncover*

[Z] *The nature of her employments, how laborious and disagreeable soever they might be.* She superintended marriages, and the consequences of that State. See the Commentators on Virgil on the following words:

*Maestant lætas de more bidentis,
 Legiferæ Ceveri, Phæboque patrique Lyco:
 Junoni ante omnes, cui VINCLA JUGALIA CURÆ* (157).

“ A chosen ewe of two years old they pay
 “ To Ceres, Bacchus, and the God of day;
 “ Preferring

(154) *Idem, ibid.*

(155) *Idem, ibid. cap. 18.*

(156) *Idem, ibid. cap. 28.*

(157) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 4. vet. 57.

so justly given occasion for turning the theological system of the Heathens into ridicule [AA]; but I infer it from the necessity she was under of perplexing and infesting her

“ Preferring Juno’s power; for Juno ties
 “ The nuptial knot, and makes the marriage joys.”
 DAYDEN.

They mention a hundred such passages, and speak of the epithets *pronuba*, *jugalis*, *ζυγία*, *γαμυλία*, *σπαραγμοφῶς*, &c. which were appropriated to the consort of Jupiter, because she presided over matrimonial contracts. See the following remark. This office or employment required great care and assiduity; there were a numberless multitude of things to do, and it was exceedingly difficult to discharge it with honour. Had she had no other business but to join people together in wedlock, the difficulties would not have been so considerable; the disposition of the parties and the inclination which nature inspires, might have saved the superintendent-general much trouble; but a Goddess of the first rank was prompted from the motives of her honour and glory, to take care that people should marry happily; I mean that conditions and tempers should be so matched as to form an indissoluble bond of friendship and concord; and hence all marriages that were ill suited and unhappy, must necessarily give her uneasiness; they being as so many blots to her reputation, and so many just occasions of reproaching her, that the care which had been taken to invoke her, and to honour her on the nuptial day, was all lost labour. All those who should be inclined to slander her, had a fine handle; for in short, either Juno used her utmost endeavours to procure happy marriages, or she did not. If the former, people had reason to conclude, that she was very miserable, in having an employment wherein she exhausted all the efforts of her strength and industry, and yet could not help being unsuccessful on a thousand occasions. The numberless experiments, wherein the unsuccessfulness of her endeavours appeared, was a proof, either that the subject she had to work upon was very difficult, or that her power was greatly limited. In the first case, her ill fortune, or the deplorable rigour of her fate, or her imprudence were manifest; for, if she was not allowed to resign an employment, wherein, tho’ she used her utmost endeavours, she yet could not help being unsuccessful on a thousand occasions, her fate merited compassion. But on the other side, if she were allowed to resign her office, and yet she was resolutely determined to keep it, her judgment and prudence might justly be called in question (158); and she continued unjustly in an office, that was above her abilities, and which she discharged to her dishonour. It would have been a trifling excuse for her to say, that her good intentions were traversed by the whim and caprice of another Goddess.

(158) *Metiri se
 quemque suo mo-
 dulo ac pede ve-
 rum est.* Horat.
Epist. 7. lib. 1.
 ver. uk.

*Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impari
 Formas, atque animos sub juga abenea
 Sævo mistere cum joco* (159).

(159) Horat. *Od.*
 33. lib. 1.

“ Thus Venus sports, the rich, the base,
 “ Unlike in fortune, and in face,
 “ To disagreeing love provokes;
 “ When cruelly jocosely,
 “ She ties the fatal noose,
 “ And binds unequals to the brazen yokes.

CREECH.

This would have been to acknowledge the limitation and dependence of her power; a confession that would have been inexpressibly mortifying, with regard to a Goddess of so haughty a disposition as Juno. This is what might be said upon the supposition that she discharged the duties of her office to the best of her power; but if it had been supposed that she could have acquitted herself better in it, she would have been thought guilty of extreme negligence or malice; and consequently as very unworthy of the honours that were paid her, and the employment with which she was invested. Such are the reflexions which the heathens ought to have made naturally. Now the result of these ideas is, to judge that her condition was unhappy, either by reason of the great pains her employment required, or because of the ill success it was attended with. Her

rank and her sex made her extremely affected with contempt and disgrace; and it might naturally be supposed that she had sense enough not to be ignorant of what things might be censured in her administration; and to imagine that the rest of the Gods blamed her for it (160); and that if they had the complaisance not to do it in her presence, or not to inform her of the disadvantageous things which were said of her, they nevertheless aspersed her behind her back, or at least thought disadvantageously of her. This was enough to afflict a captious, haughty, ambitious person; and ’tis a sufficient mortification to such a one, to be sensible that her faults are known to the world.

All the reflexions abovementioned, might be made with regard to Juno, as the Goddess who presided over child-births. How troublesome must that office be! ’twas the way not to enjoy a moment’s rest, and to be obliged to labour in a thousand places at the same time. This employment is obnoxious to many displeasing accidents. In spite of all the art of the ablest surgeons, yet many children who, at their coming into the world, lie crosswise, some one way and some another, lose their lives with their mothers. These misfortunes were so many subjects of reproach for the censurers of Juno, who had been fruitlessly invoked under particular and specific names, according to the diversity of the cases (161). I am sensible it may be asserted with great probability, that we must not reduce to Juno singly, but variously named, all the Deities who preside over marriages, childbirths &c; but on the other side it is very probable, that those Deities ought to be considered as so many Substitutes or Deputies of the Superintendent-General; whence it follows that the disorders and misfortunes might very justly be imputed to the Goddess Juno, in like manner as the male-administration of the Governments of provinces is ascribed to a Prince when he does not apply a remedy to it. Besides, Juno’s having so many Substitutes shews, that her employment was thought too laborious. Now those several ideas or reflexions include such a judgment as is disadvantageous to her. We must add to all this, that the Goddess was divested of her two most glorious employments; for the care of reconciling married persons was committed to another Deity *Viriplaca* (162) by name; and the care of the conversion of wives, whose unchaste conduct had gained them the ill-will of their husbands, was committed to *Venus Verticordia* (163). Now was it not a signal affront to Juno, to divest her in this manner of part of her superintendance over marriage?

[AA] ... and though they have so justly given occasion for turning the theological system of the heathens into ridicule.] The surnames of *Pronuba*, *Jugalis*, &c. which the reader may have seen above (164), were not the only ones which were peculiar to Juno, as the Goddess who presided over marriages: she also had particular surnames, grounded on her presiding over the behaviour and conduct of brides, over their husband’s house... and over the anointing which the bride made on the door-posts of her husband’s house... and because she assisted the bridegroom in losing the virgin zone (165). The reader will find these surnames in the following Latin passage, extracted from a prayer offered up to Juno (166): *Interducam, or Iterducam, & Demiducam, Unxiam, Cincliam* (167) *mortales puellæ debent in nuptiis convocare, ut earum & itinera protegas, & in optatas domos ducas, & cum posses ungent, fastum omen affigas, & cingulum ponentes in thalamis non relinquis.*

(163) See Ovid, Book 4. of *Fast.* pag. m. 74.

(164) At the beginning of the remark [Z].

(165) Du Boulay, *Trois des Antiquités Romaines*, pag. 149, 150.

(166) Mart. *Capell. de Nuptiis Philologiae*, lib. 2. pag. m. 37.

(167) Here follows a passage of Festus Pompeius, pag. 35. *Cinclæ Junonis nomen sanctum babebatur in nuptiis, quod initio conjugii scilicet erat cinguli quo nova nupta erat cinclæ.*

(168) Augustin. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 6. cap. 9. pag. m. 599.

It was not expected that she should stop at the door of the nuptial chamber; her assistance was likewise desired in the nuptial bed, she entering it under the title of *Dea mater Prema*, and of *Dea Pertunda*, accompanied with *Deus pater Subigus*. It is upon this that St. Austin has ridiculed heathenism; and as it was scarce possible to employ only grave expressions on such a subject, he has shewed the impertinence of it after a pretty free as well as gay manner. I should expose myself to the censure of all those who set up for scrupulous judges of style, and of all readers of a serious cast of mind, should I translate exactly into French the words of that father, and for that reason I shall give them in Latin (168). *Cum mas & femina conjunguntur,*

her husband's mistresses and bastards, merely to sooth the jealousy with which she was tortured. She was as strongly affected with this passion as could be expected from her haughty and imperious humour, which her characters of sister and wife to the greatest of all the Gods inspired. This sensibility made her tortures less supportable, and prompted her to hurry over land and sea, to procure the pleasure that arises from revenge. She did not omit any thing to satiate it, and was restless; but she never had the satisfaction of a complete and perfect success [BB], and she was for ever obliged to begin

junguntur, adhibetur deus Jugalitus. Sit hoc ferendum. Sed domum est ducenda, quæ nubis, adhibetur deus Domiducus. Ut maneat cum viro, additur dea Manturna. Quid ultra queritur? Parcatur humana verecundia: peragat cætera concupiscentia carnis & sanguinis procurato secreto pudoris. Quid impletur cubiculum turba numinum: quando & paranympbi inde discedunt? Et ad hoc impletur, non ut eorum præsentia cogitata major sit cura pudicitia, sed ut sæmina sexu infirma, novitate parvula, illis cooperantibus sine ulla difficultate virginitas auferatur. Adest enim dea Virginitas, & deus pater Subigus, & dea mater Prema, & dea Pertunda, & Venus, & Priapus. Quid est hoc? Si omnino laborantem in illo opere virum ab diis adjuvari oportebat: non sufficerebatur aliquis unus, aut aliqua una. Nunquid Venus sola parum esset, quæ ob hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ejus vi sæmina virgo esse non desinat? Si ulla est frons in hominibus, quæ non est in numinibus? Nonne cum credunt conjugati tot deos utriusque sexus præsentem, & huic operi instantem, ita pudore afficiuntur; ut & ille minus moveatur, & illa plus reluctetur? Et certe si adest Virginitas dea, ut virgini zona solvatur: si adest deus Subigus, ut viro subigatur; si adest dea Prema, ut subacta ne se commoveat, prematur, dea Pertunda ibi quid facit? Erubescat, eat foras, agat aliquid & maritus. Valde inonestum est, ut quod vocatur illa, impleat quisquam nisi ille. Sed forte ideo toleratur, quia dea dicitur esse, non deus. Nam si masculus crederetur, & Pertundus vocaretur, majus contra eum pro uxoris pudicitia posceret maritus auxilium, quam Fœta contra Silvanum (169). Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit & Priapus nimis masculus, super eum immaniissimum & turpissimum fascinum federe nova nupta jubebatur more honestissimo & religiosissimo matronarum? These objections are prodigiously strong; and I do not see how it would be possible for the ablest apologists for the heathen religion to evade them well. The censure, which St. Austin grounds on the unnecessary multiplication of Deities, was alone sufficient to confound them. Was it not the utmost diffidence of human strength to imagine that Venus stood in need of the succour of three or four other Deities? We only conceive that an apologist might have answered, that St. Austin was in the wrong to object, as an useless circumstance, and which left nothing for the husband to do, the joining of the Goddesses Pertunda, and mater Prema; for according to this detestable system of theology, the one was not less or more necessary than the other, and neither of them excluded the efforts of the bride and bridegroom. There therefore was some little inaccuracy in this part of St. Austin's objections. Perhaps the common answer of the heathens at that time was to say, that the multiplication objected to, was only a multiplication of the names of the same Deity. But this would have been a poor answer; the books of the heathens themselves suggesting the refutation of it.

It may be observed transiently that those Philosophers who undertook to answer the Christian Doctors, had a very hard task. They were punished for the folly of others. The ancient Priests had committed the fault, by ridiculously transplanting the vile fictions of the Poets into the public worship; and the Philosophers were obliged many ages after, to bear all the ignominy of these sopperies; and to torture their brains day and night, to parry thrusts that pierced them through. If those who invented so ridiculous a worship, had been attacked by as dextrous and powerful adversaries as St. Austin, they would have been more circumspect, and not have given such a loose to their impurities; and this is one disadvantage that results from the unity of religion. It must be owned that the diversity of religions has also its inconveniences, and even such as may be very justly dreaded; but then it hinders depravity and corruption from making a certain progress, and obliges the members of the several reli-

gions to stand in awe of one another.

[BB] Her jealousy . . . prompted her to hurry over land and sea, to procure the pleasure that arises from revenge . . . but she never had the satisfaction of a complete and perfect success.] Consider the journey she took from heaven to earth, the instant she suspected that a cloud which she spied, might serve as a veil under which her faithless husband was clasped in the embraces of some damsel. Juno was not mistaken, Jupiter being at that time with Io. He transformed her into a heifer, to prevent his wife from catching him in the act. Juno requested to have this heifer, and had it watched by Argus; and afterwards tormented her with a fury which made her run up and down to every part of the earth; and at last was forced to let Io resume her first shape, and become the Goddess Isis (170). Consider also the supplications which Juno went and made to Tethys and Oceanus, after she had spied the same Calisto among the stars which she had changed into a bear. She had treated this mistress of Jupiter in a most outrageous manner; had taken her by the hair of her head, and thrown her upon the ground.

*Arreptam prensu a fronte capillis;
Stravit humi pronam (171).*

(170) See Ovid: *Metam.* lib. 1.

(171) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 2. vers. 477.

“ Her hand within her hair she wound,
“ Swung her to earth, and dragg'd her on the
“ ground.”

ADDISON.

But let us hear her doleful lamentations. Nothing can be more dismal. She is afraid of being hereafter the butt for all affronts, since the efforts she employs to satiate her vengeance, terminate only in the glory of her enemies.

*Est veto, cur quis Junonem ledere velit,
Offensamque premat, quæ profum sola nocendo?
O ego quantum ægi! quam vasta potentia nostra est?
Esse hominem vetui; facta est Dea: sic ego pœnas
Sontibus impono; sic est mea magna potestas (172).*

“ And who shall now on Juno's altars wait,
“ When those she hates grow greater by her hate?
“ I on the nymph a brutal form impressed,
“ Jove to a Goddess has transformed the beast.
“ This, this was all my weak revenge cou'd do &c.

(172) Idem, lib. 2. vers. 519.

ADDISON.

Juno was once in such extreme grief, because she could not satiate her vengeance; that she took a journey to the lowest abysses of hell, to request succour from the three furies:

*Nil poteris Juno, nisi inaltos stare dolores?
Idque mihi satis est? Hæc una potentia nostra est (173)?*

(173) Idem, lib. 4. vers. 426.

“ Yet shall the wife of Jove find no relief,
“ Shall she, still unreveng'd, disclose her grief?
“ Have I the mighty freedom to complain?
“ Is that my power? Is that to ease my pain?”

EVANS.

*Sustinet ire illic, cælesti sede relicta,
(Tantum odii iræque dabat) Saturnia Juno.
Quo simul intravit, sacroque a corpore pressum
Intremuit limen; tria Cerberus extulit ora,
Et tres latratus simul edidit: Illa sorores
Noctæ vocat genitas, grave & implacabile numen (174).*

(174) Ibid. vers. 447.

“ The Queen of Heav'n, to gratify her hate,
“ And sooth immortal wrath, forgets her state.
“ Down from the realms of day, to realms of night,
“ The Goddess swift precipitates her flight.

“ At

(169) St. Austin had observed just before, that some Deities were appointed to look after lying-in women, in order that the God Sylvanus might not come and torment them. *Mulieri facta post partum tres Deos custodes commemorat (Varro) adhiberi, ne Sylvanus Deus per noctem ingredietur & vexet.*

begin anew. We must consider as the least of her misfortunes with which her life was chequered, the misfortune she had to lose her cause in a dispute for the prize of beauty ;

“ At Hell arriv'd, the noise Hell's porter heard,
“ Th' enormous dog his tripple head uprear'd:
“ Thrice from three grisly throats he howl'd pro-
“ found,
“ Then suppliant couch'd, and stretch'd along the
“ ground.
“ The trembling threshold, which Saturnia prest,
“ The weight of such Divinity confest.”

EUSOEN.

(175) Others call her *Ætina*.

If ever she had reason to be satisfied, it was when she persecuted the nymph Thalia (175) whom Jupiter had got with child. The only way by which this nymph could possibly escape, was, to be swallowed up in the bowels of the earth; but when her reckoning was out, the two children she went with sprung forth nevertheless, and became afterwards two celebrated deities (176) to whom extraordinary veneration was paid (177); and thus Juno's joy was very shortlived. She discovered so much obstinacy in persecuting Hercules, that Porphyrius has compared her to such of the most wicked devils, who persecute persons of virtue and probity. Τῆς γὰρ Δαίμονος διαγράφει τῷ λόγῳ (ὁ Πορφύριος) λέγουσθαι, τὸς Φαυλοστάτης Δαίμονος τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀνδράσι λόγους ἢ ἐνδραῖς καθίζειν, ἢ ἐκείνης ἐπιτίθεισθαι, καθάπερ ἢ Ἡρα τῷ Διονύσῳ ἢ Ἡρακλῆϊ. *Dæmones enim oratione describens (Porphyrius) alibi ait: pessimos Dæmones bonis viris insidias & pericula tendere, æque eis insidiis aggredi, ut Juno scilicet Baccho atque Herculi (178).* But what did she gain by this? Nothing except toil, ignominy and confusion. She complained of this in the theatres, and in such a manner as might have moved the most flinty hearts. Read the following verses of Seneca; he therein declares that she banishes herself from heaven, since it is filled with nothing but her husband's whores and bastards. She expects to see Hercules ascend thither, whom she had so often attempted to destroy, and who by that means had made himself immortal.

(176) They were called *Palici*.

(177) See Servius in *Æneid.* lib. 9. ver. 585. Lucetius in *Statium.* Theb. lib. 12. ver. 157. Macrobius. Saturn. lib. 5. cap. 19.

(178) *Æneas* *Gæzus* in *Theophr.* pag. m. 43.

*Soror Tonantis (hoc enim solum mihi
Nomen relictum est) semper-alienam Jovem,
Ac templa summi vidua deserui ætheris;
Locumque, cælo pulsa, pellicibus dedi.
Tellus colenda est: pellices cælum tenent (179).*

(179) Senec. in *Hercule Furente,* ver. 1.

*Non sic abibunt odia, vivaces aget
Violentus iras animus, & sævus dolor
Æterna bella pace sublata geret.
Quid bella? quidquid horridum tellus creat
Inimica; quicquid pontus aut aer tulit
Terribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum;
Frædum atque domitum est, superat, & crescit malis;
Iraque nostra fruitur: in laudes suas
Mæa vertit odia, dum nimis sæva impero,
Patrem probavi: gloriæ feci locum (180).*

(180) Idem, *ibid.* ver. 27.

“The Thunderer's sister (that's the only name
“ Now left to me) obnoxious still to Jove;
“ From Heav'n repuls'd, I fly its widow'd temples;
“ Now leave to harlots my late glorious throne,
“ And go to earth, since strumpets rule the skies.

“ My hatred shall not cease, but rousing all
“ My fury, and inspired by deadly grief,
“ I'll wage eternal war... You ask what war?
“ Whatever is by air, by sea, or earth
“ Created fierce, wild, pestilent or horrid,
“ Is broken, conquer'd, and quite crush'd by Jove.
“ My anger he enjoys; my keen resentment
“ He turns to fame, and my imperious sway
“ Adds lustre to his glory.”

The satisfaction of seeing the ruin of Troy was a very inconsiderable consolation for the torments she had suffered during the long resistance made by the Trojans; and she soon was forced to toil anew in order to persecute *Æneas*, and prevent his landing in Italy. She exerted her utmost endeavours on that occasion; she went to *Æolus* to request a tempest from him; she cajoled him, and behaved

with great humility before him (181). Another time she placed herself on a very cold cloud (182), and exposed herself to the inclemencies of the weather, whilst a battle was fighting between the party she protected and the party she hated. But all this was lost labour. Read what despair extorted from her, before she had recourse to *Æolus*.

(181) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 1.
(182) *Qua spe gelidis in nubibus hæret?* Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 12. ver. 796.
Nec tu me ætria solam nunc sede videres Digna indigna pati. Idem, *ibid.* ver. 810.

*Cum Juno æternum servans sub pectore vulnus,
Hæc sæcum: Mene incepto desistere visam?
Nec posse Italia Teucerorum avertere regam?
Quippe vector satis. Pallasne exuvæ classem
Argivum, atque ipsos potuit submergere Ponto,
Unius ob noxam, & furias Ajacis Oilei (183)?*

(183) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 1. ver. 36.

*At ego, quæ Divum incedo regina, Jovisque
Et soror, & conjux, una cum gente tot annos
Bella gero; & quisquam nomen Junonis adoret
Præterea? aut supplex aris imponat honorem (184)?*

(184) Idem, *ibid.* ver. 46.

“ When labouring still with endless discontent,
“ The Queen of Heav'n did thus her fury vent.
“ Then am I vanquish'd, must I yield, said she,
“ And must the Trojans reign in Italy?
“ So fate will have it, and Jove adds his force;
“ Nor can my pow'r divert their happy course.
“ Could angry Pallas, with revengful spleen,
“ The Grecian navy burn, and drown the men?
“ She for the fault of one offending foe,
“ The bolts of Jove himself presumed to throw :

“ But I, who walk in awful state above,
“ The majesty of heav'n, the sister-wife of Jove;
“ For length of years, my fruitless force employ,
“ Against the thin remains of ruin'd Troy.
“ What nations now to Juno's power will pray,
“ Or off'rings on my slighted altars lay?”

DRYDEN.

This is only a specimen of the history of the Goddess in question, but it is sufficient to shew that the heathens must have been persuaded that she was one of the most unhappy Beings in the universe; and as fit to furnish a picture of extreme infelicity as Prometheus on mount Caucasus, Sisyphus, Ixion, Tantalus, the Danaïdes, and the rest of the mighty offenders delivered over to infernal punishments. No words can be truer than those of Horace :

*Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis.
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Majus tormentum (185).*

(185) Horat. *Epist.* 2. lib. 1. ver. 57.

“ The envious pine at th' fatness of their friend.
“ The fiercest tyrants never yet could find,
“ A greater rack than envy to the mind.”

CREECH.

This suits principally with the jealousy that breaks out between husbands and wives. What must it then be when it is joined to the uninterrupted toils occasioned from a fruitless desire of satiating one's vengeance? The being born immortal so far from softning the pangs of this sad condition, serves rather to increase it; for the hope of death's putting an end to a person's sorrows and uneasinesses administers some consolation.

*Nec finire licet: tantos mihi morte dolores,
Sed nocet esse Deum, præclusaque janua leti
Æternum nostras luctus extendit in ævum (186).*

(186) Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 1. ver. 661.

“ Oh, were I mortal, death might bring relief;
“ But now my Godhead but extends my grief;
“ Prolongs my woes of which no end I see,
“ And makes me curse my immortality?”

DRYDEN.

The pompous title of Queen of Heaven bestowed on Juno; her sitting on a splendid throne, holding a scepter in her hand, and her head crown'd with a diadem; all

(187) See Homer, *Iliad*, lib. 5. ver. 392, & seq. who says that this wound was extremely painful: Τὸν δὲ καὶ μὴν ἀ- νήκετον λάβειν ἀλγος.

beauty [CC]; for the resentment she discovered on account of the injury she imagined that Paris, the judge in that contest, had done her, was very violent, and attended with numberless fatigues and afflictions. This doubtless was a more pungent wound than that of the three-pointed arrows, which she received from Hercules in the right breast (o). It

all these things are of no service to the inward maladies of the soul. Persons in the most exalted stations are even more sensibly affected with these misfortunes. We may at least say, that discontent is like a fever, which is not sooner cured on a soft bed than on straw.

*Nec calida citius decedunt corpore febres
Textilibus si in picturis, ostroque rubenti
Jasaris, quam si plebeja in veste cubanda'st* (187).

(187) Lucret. lib. 2. ver. 34.

“Whoever heard a fever tamer grown
“In cloaths embroider'd o'er, and beds of down,
“Than in coarse rags?”

CREECH.

Treasures do not repel either fevers or uneasinesses from the mind.

*Non domus, & fundus, non aris acervus, & auri
Egroti Domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas* (188).

(188) Horat. *Epist.* 2. lib. 1. ver. 47.

“Nor house, nor lands, nor heaps of plate, or
“gold,
“Can cure a fever's heat, or ague's cold;
“Much less a mind with grief or care oppress, &c.
SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

It may be observed, that if the heathens did not make the reflections displayed in the preceding and present remark, they are quite inexcusable; for it was not only from the Poets that they were informed of this unhappy life of Juno; these stories were taken in as part of the public worship, and there were monuments of them in the temples; the consecrated statues, pictures of devotion, those objects which are called the books of the ignorant, informed every one of the jealousy of that Goddess &c.

[CC] *The misfortune she had to lose her cause, in a dispute for the prize of beauty.* Minerva and Venus were her two rivals. It is universally known that Jupiter (189) not being willing to sit as judge in so delicate a trial, caused these three Goddesses to be carried on mount Ida, in order to plead their cause in that place, and that Paris should decide the controversy. Juno dressed herself in the most splendid manner possible, and promised Paris mighty things, in case he would decree to her the apple, which was to be given to the most beautiful of the three Goddesses. Both Minerva and Venus dressed themselves to all the advantage in their power, and made the most lavish promises to their judge. But the pains they took to trick themselves up, and make speeches were all lost; Paris declaring that he would see the three competitors naked before he would pronounce sentence.

*Car vostre discord gift a vos formostez,
De contempler vos corps, vos naïves beautez.
Prudemment discerner le choix, l'équipolance,
Laquelle est la plus belle en face, & corpulance.
Les Deesses alors eurent timidité,
Parce qu'il leur falloit montrer leur nudité.
Toutesfois à l'ombrage un peu se retirèrent,
En lieu d'une antichambre, ou se deshabillerent
A part l'une de l'autre, ou leurs Nymphes avoient
Qui honorablement en cela les servoient.
Quand eurent deffublé escoffions & guimples,
Leurs Couronnes taurés, destache leurs espingles,
Morrion & chapeau, ceintures, fermaillets,
Chefnes, bagues, carquans, bulletes, bracelets,
Robes, & cotillons, leurs manteaux & cuirace,
Leurs habits pleins d'odeurs, de tresgrande efficace.
Toutesfois retenoient leurs escarpins doréz,
Bravement enrichis decoupez & ouvrez,
De peur que l'aigu bout des pointues verbettes
Leurs plantes n'offençast fort tendres & douillettes.
Ainsi nues estant toutes trois vont marcher
Devant le beau Paris, & droit si vont ranger* (190).

(190) Christopher Deffrans, Esq; Lord of la Jalouziere and la Chalonniere near Nyort in Poictou, lib. 11. of the *Histoires des Poëtes*, folio 225 verso edit. de Niort 1595. He here only puts into verse what Jean le Maire de Belges, *Illustrat. de Gaule*, liv. 1. chap. 33. pag. 108. had said in prose.

“Your mighty discord from your beauties spring;
“But here reveal your naked charms, and I
“Will then pronounce which fair excells the rest.
“The Goddesses were sore dismay'd, to find
“That they must all display their naked graces;
“When lo, instead of a proud antichamber,
“To shady arbourets they trip, and there
“Are soon disrob'd by their attendant nymphs.
“And now the Deities were quite undress'd,
“In bright confusion lay their shining crowns,
“Their girdles, stomachers, their pins and bracelets,
“Their precious rings, their petticoats and mantles,
“Whence scents exhal'd that quite perfum'd the air.
“But wisely they their gilded slippers kept,
“To guard their tender feet from pointed thorns,
“They naked all to lovely Paris move,
“And dart their charms on his admiring eye.

The French Poet who gives us this description, forgot one important circumstance, viz. that the three Goddesses bathed in a fountain. This we are told by Euripides (191), and there are some epigrams on that subject in the Anthologia (192). Jupiter's wife was therefore forced to submit to very disagreeable conditions; for, after all, she professed modesty; she was grave and majestic, and knew how to maintain her state; and notwithstanding all this, she yet was forced to appear stark naked before a mortal; and the worst was, another Goddess appeared more beautiful in the eye of the appointed judge, and Venus carried off the golden apple. He did not so much as hint, that he saw any beauties in the face, shape or gait of the three litigants; on the contrary, he had declared, while he surveyed them dressed, that they appeared equally lovely in his eye. As he therefore gave sentence against Juno, after comparing what their clothes had till then concealed, it was an indication that he discovered some signal imperfections in her. At least this might be suspected, and such a reflection must necessarily be a cruel mortification to the Goddess in question (193), and enough to make her quite frantic. I am surprized that Lucian did not exercise a little his pointed wit on this subject, in his Dialogue on the Judgment of Paris. Consult the margin (194). Scarron was not so discreet, he jesting as follows in his first book of Virgil Travesti.

(191) Eurip. in *Helena*, ver. 682. and in *Andromache*, ver. 283.

(192) Chap. 19. of book 4. pag. m. 745. 746.

(193) See citation (18) of the article HENRY III.

(194) Lucian. in *Deor. Dial.* pag. 154. tom. 1. did not forget to introduce Juno who said, that the only reason why Diana revenged herself on Acteon was, her fear lest he should blab the imperfections he had discovered in seeing her naked.

(195) i. e. Juno.

*Ce que craignant la bonne Dame (195),
Et gardant encor en son ame
Le beau jugement de Paris,
Et l'insupportable mepris,
Qu'en faveur de Venus la belle
Il eût pour Pallas & pour elle;
Outre qu'il avoit revelé,
(Heureux s'il n'eust jamais parlé)
Qu'elle avoit trop longue mamelle,
Et trop long poil dessous l'aisselle,
Et pour Dame de qualité
Le genouil un peu trop croié.*

“The good Lady (Juno) fearing this (*), and retaining deep in her mind, the judgment which Paris had pronounced against her; and with what horrid contempt he had treated Pallas and herself, for the sake of Venus the Goddess of Beauty; not to mention that he had blabbed (happy if he had never spoke) that her bobbies hung down too low; that her arm-pits were too hairy; and that her knee was a little too dirty for a Lady of quality.”

(*) i. e. Left the Trojans should come and overthrow Carthage.

Here follows another contrast of this passage in Virgil.

“She fearful of this sad prediction,
“(Which prov'd a true one and no fiction)
“And mindful of her injur'd honour,
“When Paris gave the apple from her, &c.

AN

It is related that after her marriage was consummated, she washed herself in a spring or fountain lying between the Tigris and Euphrates; and that from this incident, the waters of that spring diffused a most agreeable odour, which perfumed the air round about it [DD]. Juno was a beautiful Goddess, on which account it may be said, that the adulterous

(196) Jean le Maire de Belges, *Illustrat. de Gaule & Singularitez de Troie*, liv. 1. chap. 33. pag. 108. Lyons edit. of 1549, folio.

An author who flourished in the beginning of the 16th century, declares that Juno did not shew herself quite naked. She and Minerva, says he (196), being overcome with shame, and not willing to do it, did not answer a word when it was signified to them, that they must take the pains to divest themselves of their noble robes, since their contest related to the comparison of the beauty of their divine bodies; and in a prudent distinction of the choice and preference of their wonderful limbs. But Venus, the boldest of the three Goddesses, said, that things were gone so far there was no going back, and thereupon began to unloose her girdle. "Juno seeing this, spoke thus: Lady Venus, we do not intend to refuse this; for fear of being overcome: but I think it indecent for immortal and chaste Goddesses; even for Pallas who is a virgin, and me who am the wife of a King and Emperor, to appear naked before any mortal man, how little you, who frequent male company with so little scruple, may think of it. However, since this is a thing that must be done, we will not be the last . . . (197). Queen Juno, being full of the gravity that becomes matrons, and decent modesty, kept none of her ornaments on, except that she took a fine crape handkerchief, long, wide, and extremely thin; all hemmed with gold and silk fringes, with which one of her nymphs was adorned. And she put it on her left shoulder hanging it scarf-wise, and tied in a knot on her right side. And because the ends, by their being so light, wantoned sometimes in the wind more than she would have them do, as she walked along she held one of her hands on her breast (pi) (198), and the other lower." Now I fancy that all this is a meer fiction of the author's invention, Lucian not hinting any thing like it. Be this as it will, Juno discovers an extreme resentment for the horrid affront, which she imagined her Judge had put upon her. This was a wound that continued bleeding a long time, and disquieted her mind all the remainder of her life.

(197) Idem, *ibid.* lib. 1. chap. 33. pag. 109.

(198) A metaphorical expression is employed in the French.

(199) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 29, &c. See also ver. 36 of the same book; *Cum Juno æternum servans sub pectore vulnus* &c.

"When labouring still, with endless discontent, the Queen of heaven!" DRYDEN.

(200) Macrobi. *Saturn.* lib. 5. cap. 16. pag. m. 427.

(201) Homer. *Iliad.* lib. ult. ver. 25, & seq.

(202) Eurip. *in Troadib.* ver. 924. and in *Helenæ*, ver. 23.

(203) Coluthus, *de Raptu Helenæ.*

(204) Ælian. *Hist. Animal.* lib. 12. cap. 30.

(205) Idem, *ibid.*

Nec dum etiam causæ irarum sævique dolores Exciderant animo: manet alta mente repostum Judicium Paridis, spreteque injuria formæ (199).

"Besides long causes working in her mind,
"And secret seeds of envy lay behind,
"Deep graven in her heart the doom remain'd
"Of partial Paris, and her form disdain'd."

DRYDEN.

I shall observe by the way, that Macrobius is mistaken in one of the differences he has observed between Virgil and Homer. His words are as follow: *Nullam commemorationem de judicio Paridis Homerus admittit: idem vates Ganymedem non ut Junonis pelicem a Jove raptum, sed Jovialium poculorum ministrum in cælum a Diis ascitum refert, velut Διοσκυλλῶς. Virgilius tantam deam, quod curvis de boneffis sæminæ deforme est, velut specie viclām Paride judicante doluisse, & propter catamiti pelicatum totam gentem ejus vexasse commemorat* (200). It is certain that Homer has mentioned the judgment of Paris, and gives it as the cause of the implacable hatred which Juno entertained against the Trojans (201): it therefore is not true, as Macrobius asserts, that Virgil has departed from Homer with regard to that point. It would be to no purpose to say, here, that Euripides (202) and Coluthus (203) mention this judgment of Paris.

[DD] She washed herself in a spring or fountain . . . and . . . the waters of that spring dispersed a most agreeable odour, which perfumed the air round about it.] It is Ælian relates this incident. He tells us (204) that this fountain was transparent quite to the bottom; and that the inhabitants of the country, as also the Syrians, had the tradition abovementioned; and attributed to it the agreeable odour that was diffused in the neighbourhood of that place. Ἐς οὖν ὁ χάρις ἐὼς ἡδίας ἀναπτύσσεται ὁ ἀήρ κύκλῳ ταύτης κίρματι (205). Unde locus etiam

annum suavem odorem spiret, qui in vicinum etiam aërem circumquaque distribuitur. This shews the character of a superstitious and fabulous cast of mind united. People are easily prompted to derive from some celestial origin, all the singular properties they observe in certain places of the world; and as the Heathens suffered themselves to be imposed upon by a chimerical and silly tradition of the amours and marriages of the Gods; they fancied that Juno, desirous to bathe the day after her nuptials, made choice of a very clear fountain for that purpose, and left some marks of her presence there. Observe that the Deities, according to Turnebus, were discovered by the odours they diffused (206).

Omnia finierat: tenues fecisset in auras. Mansit odor: posses scire fuisse Deam (207).

"She spake no more, but vanish'd into air;
"The fragrancy she left reveal'd the Goddesses."

This is what Ovid says, speaking of Flora; and here follows what Ovid says of Venus:

Dixit, & avertens rosea cervice refulsit, Ambrosiæque comæ divinam vertice odorem Spiravere (208).

"Thus having said, she turn'd, and made appear
"Her neck refulgent, and dishevel'd hair;
"Which flowing from her shoulders, reach'd the ground,
"And widely spread ambrosial scents around."

DRYDEN.

John le Maire de Belges has followed this opinion, he asserting (209), that all terrestrial beings kept silence, and discovered a respectful admiration, whilst the Deities revealed themselves (210); they having already perfumed the circumambient air with their divine, ambrosial odours. The Heathens would easily have persuaded themselves that the spittle, &c. of the Gods, was rose-water at least. Balzac (211) observes that a Poet (212) makes Jupiter spit snow:

Jupiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes.

and that another Poet declares that as much nectar flowed from this God, as was sufficient to form the rivers of the golden age. Balzac adds that, he who is called in Matthieu's history the Chrysofom of France, did not scruple to say, in a sermon he preached before Henry IV, Sir, though your Majesty should weep pearls, should spit emeralds; though rubies should issue at your squeezing, and diamonds when you blow your nose, &c.

Now it would not have been a very difficult matter to persuade the Heathens, that the Gods really did all this. Their children are made to believe, that Urganda, for instance, or some other fairy, whilst her head is combing, and asking, what is it that falls from my head? heard with pleasure the following answer, gold and silver. Most people who believed this in their childhood, would entertain that belief all their life-time, were they not undeceived when they come to years of discretion; or if they found that these things were the common opinion in matters relating to faith. By the way, there are many natural properties, which the traditions of Christians ascribe to miraculous causes, in like manner as the Heathens ascribed to Juno the fragrancy of the spring or fountain abovementioned. Do you see, (said a person to me one day) that small tract of land where the grass looks so pale. It was that way such a martyr went, when he was led from the prison to the place of execution. The whole way through which he went retains the footsteps of it ever since. The corn, the grass, in short, every thing sown there has some tincture of it, and is never so green as what you see to the right and left of it. Few parishes are without such a tale. I wish some travellers would give us an ample collection of them. These

(206) Turneb. ad ver. lib. 30. cap. 39. I am not very well satisfied with the two proofs he brings, viz. the passages of Virgil and Ovid I here transcribe.

(207) Ovid. lib. 5. *Fæstor.* v. 375.

(208) Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 422.

(209) Jean le Maire de Belges, *Illustrat. de Gaule*, liv. 1. ch. 33. pag. 109.

(210) I. e. of Juno, Minerva, and Venus, naked before Paris.

(211) Balzac, *Entret.* 5. ch. 2. pag. m. 88. See in the remark [HH] of the article MAHOMET; what is related by the followers of that Prophet, with regard to his sweat.

(212) Furina.

adulterous amours of Jupiter were the more criminal [EE]. It would be meer wrangling to animadvert on Arnobius, who has formed that judgment of it. The superstition of the Romans rose to that excess, that some women honoured Juno, by making as though they combed and dressed her, and by holding a looking glass to her [FF]; but others stood in little fear of Juno; for they used to go and seat themselves in the Capitol, near her husband, whose mistresses they fancied themselves to be. Read my last remark.

content themselves with collecting those particulars which relate to great cities; but a collection of what concerns parishes in villages would also be of value. This recalls to my memory what I heard of a judicious man say, that his taste was not like that of the ancient father of the church, who wished to have seen a triumphal entry into Rome. With regard to myself, said the gentleman in question, I had rather have been present during some months at the conversations of the citizens of Rome, and know the manner in which the women practised their devotions, and how they spoke of Jupiter and Juno; what was their common discourse on a wedding day, on a day of child-birth, and of a general procession, a day of *LeGisternium* &c. with regard to the Gods and Goddesses, *Subigus*, or *Subiga*, *Fabulinus*, *Pertunda*, and the rest. Books do not teach those minute particulars, and nothing but conversation can bring us to the knowledge of them.

[EE] *Juno was a beautiful Goddess, on which account it may be said, that the adulterous amours of Jupiter were the more criminal.* In this manner Arnobius argued: *Et quid regi Saturno matrimonii fuerat cum alieni rei? Non illi fuerat satis Juno, nec sedare impetum cupiditatum in regina poterat numinum, cum nobilitas eam commendaret tanta, facies, oris dignitas, & ulnarum nivei marmorisque candores* (213)? i. e. "What business had Jupiter to concern himself with the wives of others? Was not Juno sufficient for him; and could he not satiate his lasciviousness with the Queen of the Gods, so renowned for her noble air, her beauty, and snowy arm?" A Cavalier Sophister then attack this: Arnobius, and say that the beauty of women, at the end of a certain period, loses all its power with respect to their husbands; things being of such a nature, that use makes us to be no longer affected with them, *ab affectu non fit passio*. He would maintain, that the following political axiom, that those are the best methods for preserving of dominion and power, which were employed for the acquiring them; *Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est* (214), is false with regard to the empire of beauty; for if beauty achieves conquests, it does not preserve them; a husband who fell in love with his wife merely for her outward charms, does not continue to be passionately fond of her, because she still preserves her beauty; custom makes him grow obdurate with respect to that kind of charm, and he grows more insensible every day: at last become sooner so, and others later; but at last all arrive at it, and the fondness which may be, and is often perceived in reality, is not grounded on beauty, but on other qualities. Experience shews, that such husbands as have handsome wives, are not generally those whose love for them is strongest and most lasting. We must look elsewhere than in beauty for that charm which first unites hearts; and afterwards keeps them united.

A Sophist might produce several other observations of the same kind; but after all, he ought to be looked upon as a caviller; for it is certain that Arnobius's remark is grounded on a kind of common scandal. A whole neighbourhood shall be much more scandalized at the amours of a man who has a handsome wife, than at the intrigues of another whose wife is ugly. A people, how numerous soever they may be, will unanimously be more indulgent to the gallantries of their King, when the Queen is deformed and very loathsome, than if he were married to a Princess of a rare and exquisite beauty. Some one has inserted in the *Scaligerana* a tale that has some relation to this. "Porthaise a famous Preacher, delivering a sermon in Poitiers, and having heard of the intrigues of one Lumcau a Physician, who, though he had a pretty handsome wife, went sometimes astray; pointed him out one day whimsically enough in the pulpit; when, after having exclaimed against that vice in general, he descended to particulars, and said; We have even heard with concern, that some men are so abandoned as to commit adultery, though they have wives at home who are so agreeable, that for our parts we should be very well satisfied with them (216)."

[FF] *Some woman honoured Juno, by making as though they combed and dressed her, and by holding a looking-glass to her.* What pity it is that we have not that book in which Seneca condemned that base superstition, and many others of the same cast. St. Auctin has cited it. In *Capitolium perveni*, said Seneca (217), *quod sibi vanus furor adtribuit officii: alius nomina Deo subjicit, alius boras Jovi nunciat, alius licitor est, alius unctor, qui vano motu brachiorum imitatur ungentem. Sunt, quæ Junoni ac Minervæ capillos disponant, longe a templo non tantum a simulacbro stantes, digitos movent ornatum modo. Sunt quæ speculum teneant . . . sedent quædam in capitolio, quæ se Jove amari putant, nec Junonis quidem, si credere Poetis velis, iracundissimæ respectu terrentur.* i. e. "I came said Seneca, into the capitol; you will blush at the publick madness, which is idly practised under the notion of honouring the God: One gives him a catalogue of names; another informs Jupiter what hour of the day it is, another is a licitor, another an anointer, who, flourishing his arm, imitates the action of one that anoints. Some are busied in disposing the hair of Juno and Minerva, standing far, not only from the temple, but likewise from the statue; making a motion with their fingers as tho' they were adorning the statues. Some hold a looking-glass . . . Some women are seated in the capitol, imagining that Jupiter is in love with them; nor are terrified, if the poets may be credited, with the aspect of Juno, tho' most highly exasperated." This may be confirmed by a passage extracted from a work that is still extant: *Deum colit qui novit. Vetemus lintea & strigiles Jovi ferri, & speculum tenere Junoni* (218). i. e. "He worships a God who knows him: I forbid towels and scrapers used in baths to be carried to Jupiter, and the holding a looking-glass to Juno."

(213) Arnobius, lib. 4. pag. m. 141.

(216) Scaligerana, pag. m. 192.

(214) Sallust. in Proem. Belli Catil.

(217) Seneca contra Superstitiones, apud August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 6. cap. 10. pag. m. 605.

(218) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 1. ver. 54.

Hæc res & jungit, & junctos servat amicos (215).

"And this I think will get, and keep a friend.

CREECH.

(218) Senec. Epist. 95. pag. m. 399.

JUPITER the greatest of all the Gods in the heathen system, was the son of Saturn and Cybele. There is no crime that could be named but he was polluted with it; for besides his dethroning his own father, his emasculating, and loading him with chains in the lowest abysses of hell [A]; he also committed incest with his sisters, his daughters and

[A] *He dethroning his own father, and loading him with chains in the lowest abysses of Hell.* Saturn, on this occasion, suffered the law of retaliation, he having usurped the empire of the world which his father Cælus

possessed (1); but Jupiter was nevertheless guilty of a dreadful usurpation, it not being lawful for one crime to be punished by committing another; and no person can clear himself by imitating the wicked. It is remarkable

(1) Apollodorus, lib. 1. init.

and aunts [B], and even endeavoured to ravish his mother. He debauched a numberless multitude of maidens and wives; and used to assume the shape of all kinds of beasts,

markable that Cœlus was betrayed by his own wife; for it was Terra, the wife of Cœlus, who stirred up her children to rebellion (2), and put into the hands of the youngest (3) a sickle, with which he mutilated him. Saturn who perpetrated this was treated so exactly in the same manner, that Jupiter employed, for the lopping of his Pudenda, the very same instrument with which he had emasculated Cœlus (4). It is to be observed, that Saturn's party made a pretty long resistance, it not being overpowered till after it had sustained a ten years war (5). Saturn being overcome was loaded with chains, and precipitated into Tartarus, the darkest and deepest dungeon in Hell; and was as far distant from the earth, as the earth is from Heaven. Τόπος δὲ ὕψος ἰσχυρότης ἐστὶν ἡ ἀδύ, τοῦτο ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχει διάστημα, ὅσον ἀπ' ἡμῶν γῆ. *Is locus est ad inferos tenebrosissimus, qui tantum a terra distat, quantum a cælo terram abesse ferunt* (6). The chains were not heavy, they being made of wool (7). He was allowed his liberty for some days every year during the Saturnalia, a season in which slaves were permitted to do as they pleased (8).

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) It was Saturn.

(4) Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* lib. 2. pag. m. 86.

(5) Apollodorus, lib. 1. *init.*

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Agathonymus in *Perfide*, apud Natal. Comitum, pag. 85.

(8) Horat. Sat. 7. lib. 2. ver. 4.

... Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere.

“ Go to, and as our antient laws decree,
“ Use boldly thy December's liberty,
“ Speak fairly what thou wilt.

CREECH.

Some say that Saturn escaped out of prison, and withdrew to King Janus in Italy; and others relate that his son drove him only from his throne. Virgil is of the latter opinion:

*Primus ab ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul adeptis* (9).

(9) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. 8. ver. 319.

“ Then Saturn came who fled the pow'r of Jove,
“ Robb'd of his realms, and banish'd from above.

DRYDEN.

But Statius is not, since he speaks of the liberty that indulged Saturn but once a year:

*Saturnus mihi compede exoluta
Et multo gravidus mero December,
Et ridens jocus, & sales protervi
Adfuit* (10).

(10) Statius, *Silva* 6. lib. 1.

“ Come hither, Saturn, from thy fetters freed,
“ And old December quite o'erpower'd with wine,
“ With smiling Repartee, and wanton wit.

(11) Lib. 4. pag. m. 143.

Add to this passage the following words from Arnobius (11): *Numquid parricidii causa vinculum esse Saturnum, & abluis diebus stans, vinculorum ponderibus & levari.* i. e. “ That Saturn was bound in chains on account of the parricide he had committed; and was washed on certain fixed days, and also freed from his bonds.” I forgot to observe that after the complete victory which Jupiter's party had gained, Apollo sung, to his lyre, a poem he had composed in honour of the conquerors. Tibullus informs us of this particular, in an Elegy which he addresses to Apollo (12).

(12) It is the 5th of book 2.

*Sed nitidus pulcherque veni, nunc indu vestem
Sepositam, longas nunc bene pectus comas,
Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato
Victori laudes concinuisse Jovi.*

“ Do thou accept the offering, and be there,
“ Consecr'd with laurel foliage round thy hair;
“ But with illustrious pride attend the show,
“ And loosely let thy graceful vestments flow;
“ Array'd as when old Saturn fled above,
“ You sang the victor God, the powerful Jove.

DART.

The best allegories that can be found to be shadowed under these fictions, is to say that the antients intimated

thereby that ambition extinguishes all natural affection, and all the duties of friendship and alliances. Natalis Comes who is very fond of allegories speaks as follows (13): *Nulla sunt enim vel naturæ, vel amicitie, vel beneficentiæ satis firma vincula, ubi majestatis & imperandi furiosum desiderium invaserit: illa omnia siquidem facillime conculcantur & prosteruntur* (13); and (13) Pag. 85. to say also, that poets and orators are ever ready to declare for that party which is victorious.

[B] He also committed incest with his sisters, his daughters and Aunts.] He lay with his sister Juno before she was his wife, and afterwards married her.

This I have mentioned elsewhere (14). He debauched his other sister Ceres, and had Proserpine by her. He lay with three of his aunts, viz. Themis, Dione, and Mnemolyne. From his incestuous commerce with the first sprung the *Horæ* and *Parcæ*; by the second he had Venus, and the nine Muses by the third (15). Seeing one day his mother asleep, he attempted to lie with her

(14) In the remark [A] of the article JUNO.

insidiously; but she waking, and making resistance, he employed force; and would in all probability have accomplished his abominable design, had not the struggles he made to overpower his mother, exhausted his fire (16). Arnobius makes the following just exclamation on this occasion. *O verum imaginatio indecora, o habitus sædus Jovis ad obscæni certaminis expeditionem parati! Ergone ille rex mundi, cum incautus & proterus obreptionis esset rejectus a furio in impetum se vertit: & quum rapere voluptatem insidiosa fraude non quivit, vi matrem aggressus est, & apertissime cepit venerabilem subruere castitatem? Colluctatus ergo diutissime cum invita est, viduus, fractus, superatusque, desecit: & quem pietas dijugare ab infando matris non valuit appetitu, effusa libido dijunxit* (17) ? i. e. “ O unseemly

(15) Hesiod. in *Theogonia*, Apollodorus. lib. 1. pag. 9.

(16) Arnob. lib. 5. pag. 161.

“ image of things! O foul attitude of Jupiter prepared for the obscene engagements! And did this monarch of the universe, when he could not extort the bliss of the universe, attempt to ravish his mother by force? He struggled long with the reluctant Goddess, and being at last defeated was forced to desist; and he whom filial piety could not restrain from impiously coveting the embraces of his mother, was prevented from enjoying her by his passion being extinguished.” He observes that the heathens took the advantage of these vain efforts of Jupiter, they saying that he impregnated a stone, and that it was delivered of a son ten months after. *Et sane hoc loco frugalitatis magnæ viri, & circa res etiam flagitiosi operis parciores, ne sancta illa semina frustra videantur effusa, flex, inquit, ebibit Jovialis incontinentiæ sæditatem. Quid deinde, quæso, consecutum est, dicite? In sum medio lapidis, atque in illa, cotis duritie informatus atque animatus est infans, Jovis magni futura progenies, &c* (18).

(17) Arnob. ibid. pag. 162.

Such a kind of propagation was observed with regard to the efforts which Jupiter made to lie with his daughter Venus. This maiden, tho' on other occasions so willing to grant the highest favours, did nevertheless resist Jupiter with great vigour. I explain this in the margin, by the words (which indeed are a little coarse) of a modern author (19). Arnobius mentions another attempt in which Jupiter was successful; but it is according to the opinion of those who said that Ceres was that God's mother. *Quonges by Jupiter's dam Diespiter, inquit, cum in Cererem suam matrem sed ubi: sed fell to libidinibus improbis atque inconcessis cupiditatibus æstuarer, be attempted to lie nam genitrix hæc Jovis regionis ejus ab accolis traditur, with Venus who neque tamen auderet id, quod procaci appetitione conceperat, apertissima vi petere, ingeniosas comminiscitur captationes, quibus nihil tale metuentem castitate immineret on Ovid, pag. 173.*

(18) Arnob. ibid.

genitricem: fit ex Deo taurus, & sub pecoris specie subfessoris animum atque audaciam celans; in securam & nesciam repentina immittitur vi furens, agit incestus res suas, & prodita per libidinem fraude, intellectus, & cognitus evolat (20). i. e. “ They say that once upon a time Jupiter, burning impiously for his mother Ceres, (for the people of this country declare that she was that God's mother) and not daring to indulge his passion openly, thought of a stratagem whereby he might rob the Goddess of her chastity by surprise: the God was metamorphosed into a Bull; and concealing his bold, insidious designs under the form of that animal, he rushed upon Ceres on a sudden

(19) Nonnus, lib. 14. says, that the rest of the Centaurs were begotten by Jupiter's seed which fell to the earth, when he attempted to lie with Venus who resisted his wild passion. Meziriac, on Ovid, pag. 173.

“ when

(20) Arnob. lib. 5. pag. 170.

beasts, in order to proceed in his intrigues. He even was guilty of sodomy, he carrying off the beautiful Ganymedes (a); and raised him to the employment of cup-bearer to the Gods, in order that he might be ever ready at hand, whenever he wanted to satiate his brutal passion with him. Frauds and perjuries, and in general all actions punishable by the Laws, were very familiar to him (b). It is even said that he devoured one of his wives [C]. Nothing therefore can be more monstrous than the Religion of the Heathens, according to whom such a Deity was looked upon as the supreme master of all things; and who adapted the religious worship they paid him to that idea. The fathers of the Church have laid great stress on this argument, to prove thereby the falsity of the Religion of the Heathens; and it may be asserted, that this system seemed calculated to deprave

(a) See the article GANYMEDES.

(b) See the proofs which Natalis Comes brings of this, *Mythol. lib. 1. cap. 18. and Arnobius in the note [B].*

“ when she was unguarded, and perpetrated the incest; “ but the obscene action discovering him, he fled a way.” In vain Ceres was offended, this congress made her pregnant of Proserpine, who, when she was of age to inspire an amorous passion, underwent the same trials as her mother. Jupiter deflowered his daughter Proserpine. *Quam (Proserpinam) cum vervecus Jupiter bene validam, floridam, & succi esse conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum & sceleris esset aggressus, & temeritatis quantum, redit ad priores actus: & quia nefarium videbatur satis, patrem cum filia comminus uxoria conjugatione misceri, in draconem terribilem formam migrat: ingentibus spiris pavescantem colligat virginem, & sub obtentu fero, molliissimis ludis atque adulatur amplexibus* (21). i. e. “ The lecherous Jupiter observing Proserpine to be “ strong, florid, and flushed with wine, and forgetting his rash actions, and the guilt he had lately “ perpetrated, returned to his former pranks; and “ because it looked as criminal for a father to be “ have towards his daughter as though she were a “ wife, he assumed a serpent’s dreadful form; he “ winded his monstrous folds about the trembling virgin; and under this savage disguise, he clasped and “ sported with her in the softest manner.” Meziriac

(21) *Ibid. pag. 871.*

(22) quotes several authors, who relate that Jupiter, (22) translated into a serpent, got his daughter Proserpine’s maidenhead, and had by her the first Bacchus surnamed Zagreus. I will conclude this remark with a passage from Arnobius. *Quid tantum, quæso, says he to the Heathens (23), de vobis Jupiter iste, quicunque est, meruit, quod genus est nullum probri infame, adulterium nullum, quod in ejus non caput, velut in aliquam congeratis vilem luteamque personam?* i. e. “ This Jupiter, whoever he be, how came he to de “ serve so well of you; he who did not scruple to “ commit any crime though ever so infamous, nor “ any adulterous action, like the meanest and most “ abandoned of mortals?” This is quite putting the heathen system to a nonplus.

(22) On Ovid, pag. 419. He cites Nonnius, lib. 5 and 6. Arnob. lib. 5. Clem. Alexand. in *Protreptico*. Tzetzes on *Lycophron*. The Scholiast of Pindar in 7 lth. The author of *Etymologicum magn.* under the word *Zaypivē*. The Scholiast of Aristophan. in *Ran.* Diod. Sicul. lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 2. de *Exped. Alexandri*. Hygin. cap. 155 and 157. Cicero, lib. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*.

[C] It is even said that he devoured one of his wives.] Hesiod observes, that Jupiter’s first wife was called Metis. *Ζῆς δὲ θῶν βασιλεύς πρότην ἄλοχον θῆτα Μήτιν.* *Uxorem primam Metim sibi Jupiter addidit* (24). Seeing that she was big with child, he devoured her, and by that means was with child himself, and was afterwards delivered of Minerva. *Gravidam factam deglutivit, ut scripsit Joannes Diaconus his verbis: Καὶ ἔγκυον ταύτην καταβύβηκε, καταπίνων αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ἀλλοῦ τις τῶν θῶν ἀποκυβδίη παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀμειδίης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος:* quam cum gravidam fecisset, deglutivit, ne quis alius Deorum nasceretur ex ea impudens ac fatuus. *Ex eo cibo mox ipse Jupiter pro uxore gravidus factus Palladem armatam e capite peperit* (25). i. e. “ He devoured her after he had got her with child, “ as Joannes Diaconus relates thus; *he devoured her “ after he had got her with child, to prevent any other “ impudent and silly God from being born of her.* Jupiter himself being pregnant from the birth of this “ tood, gave birth, from his head, to the armed “ Pallas.”

(23) Arnob. lib. 5. pag. 171.

(24) Hesiod in *Theog.* ver. 886.

(25) Natal. Comes, *Mytholog.* lib. 2. pag. m. 90.

Since the first edition of this Dictionary, I have examined this matter with greater accuracy; and find that Natalis Comes does not advance any particular but what is founded on the words of Joannes Diaconus whom he cites. This Diaconus is a Greek author and a Christian, who composed allegories and scholia on Hesiod’s Poem, intitled, *Θεογονία, or the generation of the Gods.* He declares in positive terms that Jupiter, having swallowed his wife Metis, brought forth Minerva; καὶ ταύτην καταπίνων ἀποτίκει ἐκ τῆς τριτογύναιου

ἄσπασιν; he uses, I say, those words, immediately after having employed the words contained in the passages of Natalis Comes above cited; and thereby evidently declares, that he would have it supposed that Minerva sprung from Jupiter’s head, because Metis when big with child had been devoured by Jupiter her husband. But Hesiod does not lead us to this thought; nor so much as hints that the tragical end of Metis contributed to Minerva’s birth. Here follows the substance of his narration (26). Metis, the first wife of Jupiter, was going to be delivered of Minerva, but Jupiter prevented her, he inveigling and imposing upon her with flattering words, and swallowed her into his belly. Cælus and Terra had given him this counsel; and told him, that if he did not do this, he should lose his scepter, since the destinies declared that Metis, after being delivered of the wife Minerva, would bring forth a brave boy, who should reign over Gods and Men. Jupiter averted this fatal blow, he swallowing Metis, before she became a mother; he shutting her up, I say, in his bowels, in order that she might foretel him good and evil. *Ἄλλ’ ἄρα μὴ Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἰὴν ἐγκάρδιον ἔσθην, ὡς δὲ οἱ φράσσεται θῆτα ἀγαθὸν τὸ κακόν τε.* *Sed illam sane Jupiter ante in suum condidit ventrem. Ut-nempe ei indicaret dea bonumque malumque* (27). He afterwards married Theon, who brought him many children, as did also his mistresses. Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus, brought him the three Graces; after which he lay with Ceres by whom he had Proserpine. He next fell in love with Mnemosyne, and made her mother of the nine Muses. Latona brought him a son and daughter, viz. Apollo and Diana; and lastly, he married Juno by whom he had three children, Hebe, Mars and Lucina; and Jupiter himself gave birth to Minerva, who sprung from his head. It is plain that if Hesiod intended his readers should suppose, that he meant, that this birth of Minerva was the effect of Metis’s being shut up in Jupiter’s belly, he had done all that was necessary to frustrate his design; he putting between this effect and cause such an interval, as leads our thoughts to a thing quite foreign to his intention. Let us therefore conclude that he had no such intention; or else, that he surpassed every author in the shameful art of giving a wrong account of an incident, and expressing it obscurely. Observe, that if the nineteen verses found in a work of Galen (28) are really Hesiod’s, we could not blame that Poet for having been too obscure. We there see very clearly, that the same Pallas who sprung from the head of Jupiter, was concerned in Metis’s womb; but it must be observed that she was not conceived in it, till after Metis had been swallowed up by Jupiter. This is a variation that deserves to be taken notice of. I add, that it is no ways probable that the verses in question were written by Hesiod; was he the author of them, there would be, in his Poem on the *Generation of the Gods*, a chasm which has escaped the notice of the critics. Galen deserves censure in some little measure, for not quite putting it out of doubt, whether the pronoun αὐτὸς, ipse, before the nineteen verses, refers to Hesiod or Chryssippus. I am of opinion that it refers to the latter; and that this great Philosopher, after citing the verses of Hesiod which relate to Metis, had quoted those of another Poet, wherein the conception of Minerva was described a little differently. If it should be asked, why Chryssippus quoted the verses from Hesiod and the others? I answer, that it was in order to shew, that his opinion with regard to the seat of the rational soul, was not contrary to the tradition concerning Minerva’s birth. He supposed the heart to be the seat of the rational soul;

(26) Hesiod. in *Theog.* ver. 887, & seq.

(27) *Ibidem, ibid.* ver. 899.

(28) Galenus, de *Hippocrat. & Platoni Placitis*, lib. 3. cap. 8. pag. 131. edit. Paris 1679.

(c) I shall make some mention of this in the article METHYDRUM.

deprave and corrupt mens manners [D]. I shall take no notice of the fictions which relate to Jupiter's birth or education (c). Moreri has taken some notice of them; and they are found in a great number of books that are read daily in schools. I shall speak only of the eagle which carried Nectar to him [E], this not being so common an incident. Charpentier does not relate faithfully a particular for which he quotes Homer [F].

What the heathens have said with regard to the origin of Jupiter, appeared to me for a long time so unaccountable, that the more I reflected on it the more monstrous it appeared to me; and such, in short, that I concluded it was impossible the Philosophers could have maintained it; but I at last discovered, that they might be led into this error, by I know not what kind of reasoning [G], the weakness whereof it was no easy matter

foul; and yet Minerva, that is reason and wisdom, sprung from the brain of Jupiter. This is an objection which Chrysippus examined; he took advantage of the circumstance of Minerva's being conceived by Metis, after Jupiter had swallowed her; and asserted that this signified, that reason was formed in the bosom or breast; and that the bringing forth of Minerva, signified speech, i. e. that reason proceeds from the head, in as much as the mouth is the organ by which the thoughts, conceived in the heart, are brought forth outwardly. Galen (29) thinks it very strange that Chrysippus should spend his time in so carefully explaining poetical traditions (30). He deserves the highest censure for trifling away his time in such a manner.

(29) Idem, ibid. pag. 133.

(30) See the citations (49) and (68) of the article CHRYSIPPUS the Philosopher.

(51) See Arnauld in his V Denonciation du Peché Philosophique, pag. 32.

[D] The system... of the religion of the heathens... seemed calculated to deprave and corrupt men's morals (31). "Christian writers, from these infamous actions committed by Jupiter, have drawn powerful arguments to convict the heathens of the falsity of their Gods, as may be seen in several parts in Laëtantius, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius and several others. For not to mention that such horrid crimes are inconsistent with the divine nature; the heathens might justly take a handle from thence, in order to abandon themselves to crimes of every kind... not imagining themselves to be criminal so long, as they imitated their Gods. This too is what Ion means in Euripides, in a Tragedy that bears his name.

"... Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνδράπων κακῶς
" Λίγυι δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ
" Μιμνήμεθ', ἀλλὰ τὸς διδάσκειναι τὰ θεῶν.

" We must not censure wicked wretches,
" Who imitate the Deities, but these
" For setting such examples (32)."

(32) Meziriac, on Ovid, pag. 419, 420.

(33) In Epist. ad Hippolytum.

Meziriac makes this remark on a passage of Ovid, where Phædra (33) observes, that it was fitting the crime of incest should be scrupled in the rude times under Saturn; but that a woman in the reign of his successor, ought to be allowed to lie with her son-in-law. Jupiter's marrying, says she, his sister gives an entire sanction to it.

*Nec quia privigno videar coitura noverca,
Terrorint animos nomina vana tuos.
Ista vetus pietas, ævo moritura futuro
Rustica Saturno regna tenente, fuit.
Jupiter esse plium statuit quodcumque juvaret,
Et fas omne facit fratre marita soror.*

" Let not mere names, step-mother, son-in-law,
" Affright; these scruples under rustic Saturn
" Were good, but banished in politer times.
" Jove bids enjoy whatever we approve;
" And all permits, since he his sister married.

(34) Meziriac, pag. 419, makes this remark.

Ovid commits a very gross error on this occasion (34), since Saturn was married to his sister, as certainly as Jupiter was with his. One might add to the passage of Euripides cited by Meziriac, an hundred others equally strong. Nothing is more common in the antient Poets, than to read of people who, to excuse their crimes, assert, either that they did but imitate the Gods, or that the Gods excited them to commit evil (35). But not to dissemble the truth, it must be observed to the glory of the heathens, that they did not live in conformity to their principles. It is true indeed that the

(35) See remark [C] of the article HELENA.

heathens were exceedingly depraved and corrupted in their morals; but then many among them did not follow the example of their false Gods, and preferred the ideas of virtue to so great an authority. A strange circumstance is, that Christians, whose system of religion is so pure, should yet fall but very short of the heathens in their vices. It is a mistake to imagine that the morals of a religion correspond with its tenets.

[E] I shall speak only of the eagle which carried Nectar to him.] A woman, Moero by name, author of a poem intitled Memory (36), says that Jupiter was fed unknown to all the Gods, in a cave in the island of Crete, by doves who carried Ambrosia to him, and an eagle who conveyed to him Nectar. The Ambrosia was brought from the ocean, and the Nectar was drawn from a stone. Jupiter, after he had dethroned Saturn, made that eagle immortal, and carried it to heaven.

(36) Athen. lib. 15. pag. 490.

Νίκταρ δ' ἐν αἰθέρι μίγνυς αἰνὸς αἰὼν ἀφύσσων,
Γαμφαλῆ φέρεισσι [πυρίων] Διὶ μνησθέντι.
Τὸν κ' ἠκρήσας πατήρα Κρόνον ὑψίστη Ζῆνι,
Ἄθανάτων αἰώησσι κ' ἀθανάτῳ ἰγκυκλιόσσωνι.

*Nectar vero ex saxo ingens aquila semper hauriens,
Advolans portabat consulto prudentique Jovi.
Eam visito patre Saturno Juppiter altisonus,
Immortalitate donatam, in caelo habitare voluit (37).*

(37) Mem. ibid. pag. 492.

[F] Charpentier does not relate faithfully a particular for which he quotes Homer.] I mean Mr. Charpentier of the French Academy. He expected to make a speech to the King, at the head of the Academy, after the taking of Mons; but that monarch would not be complimented, in a speech, on that occasion. That of Charpentier was inserted in the *Mercurie Galant* for May 1691. The King is there described as Homer's Jupiter, against whom all the other Gods are united; and who, after upbraiding them with the vanity of their design, shews them experimentally that his strength is immoveable; and whilst they all exert their strength in pulling against him, he lifts them all up with the globe of the earth and sea. But with his leave, Jupiter in Homer (38) does not actually do this; he only boasts and threatens to do it.

(38) See the beginning of Book 8. of the Iliad.

The rest of the Gods did not think his vauntings to be just. They only said, that he would be stronger than any of them singly; but his menace seemed ridiculous to Mars, who remembered that, not long before, Neptune, Juno and Minerva, having undertaken to seize and bind Jupiter, filled him with dread; and would certainly have bound him, had not Tethys pitied the God in question, and called Briareus with his hundred arms to his relief (39). Had Charpentier known the satyrical turn of mind of our libel-writers, he very probably would have forbore making comparisons and similitudes, and Lucian would have occurred to his memory.

(39) Extracted; from Lucian, in *Deorum Dialogis*, pag. 173, 174. tom. 1. See Homer's *Iliad*. lib. 1. ver. 398, & seq.

[G] They might be led into that error by I know not what kind of reasoning.] Let us first hear what Hesiod relates concerning the genealogy of the Gods (40). He begins with the chaos which is the first being he supposes. He next brings in earth and love; adds that Erebus and night were begot by the chaos, and that the Æther and the day sprung from the marriage of Erebus and night; and that the earth, without contracting marriage, begot heaven and the sea; and afterwards being married to heaven, she procreated the Ocean, Rhea, Themys, Tethys, Saturn, &c. However, this extremely prolific marriage gave but little satisfaction and comfort to the earth; Heaven, her husband,

(40) Hesiod. de *Deorum Geneset*. ver. 116.

matter for them to discover. They did not think it possible for any thing to have been created, and did not admit of substances wholly distinct from extension. Now when these two hypotheses are once established, it is almost as easy to suppose that refined or subtilized matter could become God, as to believe the soul of man material, as most Philosophers believed. See the remark G. In Arcadia there stood a temple sacred to the

band, imprisoning all their children, in proportion as she was delivered of them. Upon this, she excited them to revenge, and was so successful, that Saturn lopped off with a single stroke of a scythe his father's pudenda, and threw them into the sea (41). These produced a froth or foam whence sprung the Goddesses Venus. The children of Saturn and Rhea were Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, Neptune and Jupiter (42). This is what I have extracted from Hesiod's poem. There were some other genealogists (43) who said that Æther and Day, children of Erebus and night, were the father and mother of heaven; and that their brothers and sisters were love, fraud, fear, labour, envy, fate, old age, death, gloom, misery, dreams &c. I related above (44), how Carneades employed this genealogy to refute the theology of the Stoics. I shall only say here, that according to the tree of consanguinity, there must necessarily have been some God whose father was not God: for if, on one hand, it had been granted Carneades, that heaven, the æther, the day, Erebus and night were Deities; it would have been denied him on the other hand, that the chaos, which was antecedent to all those divine beings, was God; and consequently, those who argued in this manner were forced to say, that the Gods had been formed of a matter which was not God, and without an efficient cause which had the nature of God. Such an idea certainly contradicts the most solid and most evident notions of natural reason; nevertheless some great Philosophers have supposed the generation of the Gods, and have assigned them a cause of their being, which was not God. *Anaximenes omnes rerum causas infinito aeri dedit, nec deos negavit aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed* ἴψος ἐξ ἀβρῶν ὀρθὸς ἐκρέδιδε (45). i. e. "Anaximenes ascribed the causes of all things to the boundless air, nor did he deny that there were Gods, or was silent with regard to them; yet he did not believe that the air was created by them, but that THEY SPRUNG FROM THAT ELEMENT." We understand the principles of Anaximenes better by the above-mentioned words of St. Austin, than by the following ones of Cicero. *Anaximenes aera statuit, eumque gigni, esseque immensum & infinitum, & semper in motu* (46). i. e. "Anaximenes thought that the air was God; that it was precreated; was immense and infinite and ever in motion." In all probability Cicero did not well relate the sentiment of this Philosopher; for since Anaximenes ascribed to the air the nature of the principles of all things, and ascribed to it immensity and infinitude; we must believe that he supposed it eternal and unproduced; and that if he called it God under that idea, he did not believe the generation of God in that respect. When therefore he said that the boundless or infinite air was the cause of all beings; and that the Gods themselves had been produced from it, he did not prescribe to it the name and nature of God, in the same sense that he ascribed it to the Gods who derived their origin and existence from the air. Perhaps he meant this. He was willing, in order to avoid all disputes about words, to call God the immense and infinite air, which he considered as the principle of all things; but he did not pretend, that Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, and the rest of the Gods whom the heathens worshipped, were that air, or had produced it: on the contrary, he supposed that this air was their principle, as well as that of the other beings which compose the universe. He ascribed to this principle a perpetual motion, whence we may conclude, that he looked upon it as an immanent cause, which produced in itself a numberless multitude of effects, incessantly without end; and he included among these effects, not only stars and meteors, plants, stones and metals, but also Gods and men. Such a doctrine was in reality that of Spinoza; for according to this opinion, the God, or the eternal and necessary being of Anaximenes, was the only substance of which heaven, earth, animals &c. were but modifications. Thales perhaps entertained such an opinion, he who

had taught that water was the principle of all things (47). (47) Diog. Laert. He perhaps had called him God on that account: this lib. 1. num. 27. was the God he meant, when he said, that God not having been begotten or produced was the most ancient of all beings. *Προεχότατος τῶν ὄντων, θεός, ἀγέννητος ἦ, κάλλιστος, κόσμος· ποίημα δὲ θεῶν. Antiquissimum eorum omnium quæ sunt, Deus; ingenitus enim. Pulcherrimum, mundus, à Deo enim factus est* (48). He (48) Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. num. added, that as the world was the work of God, it was the most beautiful of all beings (49). Spinoza (49) See the last cited Greek passage. would acknowledge as much. He does not deny that God is the cause of all things, that is, the immanent cause, which modifies itself a numberless multitude of ways, whence results all that we call the world, and the whole universe in general. If Thales said also that the world is animated and filled with spirits (50), this perhaps might signify that water, the principle of all things, the unproduced or uncreated God, had modified itself in such a manner that it had formed a soul diffused through all bodies, and particular spirits like to the Gods, who were worshipped under the heathen system. This would assist our understanding what we have seen elsewhere (51), and which doubtless is very surprizing, viz. that Thales and the other Naturalists who preceded Anaxagoras, have explained the generation of the world, without supposing it to be directed by a divine intelligence. Thales and Anaximenes could not admit it, if the one supposed that water, the other that air, were the principle of all things, a principle eternal and uncreated; for though, to avoid a contention about words, they called God that universal and uncreated principle, they could not consider it as an intelligent cause, antecedently to the particular being it formed, since it produced them in itself and from itself, as an immanent cause, and not as an external cause, and distinct from its matter. But because Anaxagoras was the first (52) who acknowledged a spirit distinct from the matter of the world; a pure spirit unmixed with bodies, he must have reasoned in a different manner from the Naturalists his predecessors; he might say, arguing consistently, that the world had been formed by the direction of a spirit which disentangled and put the parts of matter into order. His hypothesis admitted an intelligence antecedent to the formation of the world; the other hypothesis supposed nothing to have existed before the world except the chaos, water or air &c: and thus they were to give a beginning to intelligent beings, as well as to the most groveling creatures. All things issued from the first principle by way of generation or production. Jupiter the greatest of the Gods, his father Saturn, Cælus, his grandfather Æther, and whatever can be named still more backward, was a particular being, which owed its origin, its birth, its existence to eternal and uncreated matter, the principle of all things, the chaos according to Hesiod, water according to Thales, and air according to Anaximenes. But, will it be said, did not Thales confess, that the Gods know the very thoughts of men? *Ἡρήνησι τις αὐτὸν εἰ λέγει θεὸς ἀδραπέου ἀδικῶν· Ἄλλ' ἰδὲ διανοῦμεν ἴφθι. Interrogatus lateret ne Deos homo male agens: ne cogitans quidem, inquit* (53)? I answer, what is that to the purpose all we can conclude is, that he ascribed a vast extent of knowledge to some of the beings, which water had generated, and which were called Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Neptune &c. It is to be observed that Homer, who gives so pompous a description of the power of the Gods, supposes they all sprung from the ocean.

(41) Idem, ibid. ver. 110.

(42) Idem, ibid. ver. 453.

(43) See Cicero, de Natur. Deorum, lib. 3. cap. 27.

(44) Citat. (87) of the article CARNEADES.

(45) August. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2. pag. m. 711. See citation (15) of the article DIOGENES of Apollonia.

(46) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. 1. cap. 10.

(50) Τὸν κόσμον ἐμάχον καὶ δαιμόνιον πλῆρη. *Animalium mundum ac demoniibus plenum.* Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num. 27. See also Aristot. de Anima, lib. 1. cap. 5.

(51) In the remark [D] of the article ANAXAGORAS.

(52) See the same remark.

(53) Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. num. 36.

Ὠκεῖοι τε θεῶν γένεον καὶ μετέφρα Τηθύς.

"... the great parents (sacred source of Gods) Ocean and Tethys— (54)." POPE.

(54) Homer, Iliad. lib. 24. ver. 201.

The prodigious absurdity of these hypotheses is to say, that the Gods, though endowed with great knowledge, were formed from a principle which knows nothing; for neither the chaos, the air, nor the sea are thinking beings.

the good God. Pausanias conjectures that this temple was consecrated to Jupiter ; and for this reason, because the epithet just mentioned ought to suit, by way of eminence, the greatest of the Gods [H]. It is certain that Jupiter's goodness was denoted by several surnames under which he was worshipped ; but then he also was worshipped under several surnames, which declared him to be a most terrible Deity : nay, his employment of thunderer was denoted by the bare idea of his descent upon earth [I]. There were some

beings. How then was it possible for them to be the total cause of those divine natures or beings, who, according to the system of the Poets and most ancient Naturalists, possessed such various knowledge? But how false and ridiculous soever these hypotheses may be, I am no longer surprized, as I used to be, at their having been admitted by Philosophers. Most of them supposed that the soul of man is material (55). They therefore imagined that it was formed of the most subtil parts of the blood, or of the seed. Now as soon as this step is taken, we make great advances in a little time. Set aside experience, consult only the ideas of theory, and it will not appear easier for matter received in the womb to transform itself into a child, who by taking in sustenance, becomes a man of great genius, than for a child to be born of a tree. Thence a heathen thinks it possible that men, in the beginning of things, sprung either from the mud of the earth, or from some liquor that fell from heaven (56). The instant this seems possible, people are easily prompted to believe what the Poets related concerning the birth of Venus (57). They no longer think it strange that, by the fermentation, which cleared or disentangled the chaos, or formed various degrees of rarefaction and condensation in the infinite expanse, the stars should have begun to exist in the firmament, and the Gods in heaven, as plants and animals on the globe of the earth. The common difference of the heathens concerning the divine nature, supposed only a greater or less difference between the Gods and men. Now, in consequence of this nothing prevented their imagining, that the most refined and most subtle parts or particles of matter had composed or formed Gods ; since such parts as were gross and solid, and which, as the lees and sediment of the whole had formed the earth, were nevertheless transformed into men. I am to observe the heathens imagined, that some spirituous particles falling from heaven, were sufficient to animate these gross terrestrial parts ; and hence it is, that Lucretius acknowledges that living bodies have a celestial original.

(55) See Plutarch, de Placitis Philosophorum, lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 898. and Aristot. Book 1. de Anima.

(56) See the remark [B] of the article ARCHELAUS, the Philosopher.

(57) See the remark [C] of the article DIOGENES of Apollonia.

Denique caelesti fumus omnes semine oriundi :
Omnibus ille idem Pater est, unde alma liquentis
Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit,
Fæta parit nitidas fruges, arbutaque læta,
Et genus humanum, Et parit omnia sæcla ferarum,
Pabula cum præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt,
Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant.
Quapropter merito Maternum nomen adeptus (38).

(38) Lucret. lib. 2. ver. 990.

“ Lastly, we all from seed celestial rise,
“ Which heav'n, our common parent still supplies,
“ From him the earth receives enliv'ning rain,
“ And straight she bears bird, tree, and beast and
“ man,
“ And proper food for all, by which they thrive,
“ Grow strong, and propagate their race, and live ;
“ Thence justly all the name of mother give.”

CREECH.

To these we may add the following lines from Book II, beginning at the 325th verse of Virgil's Georgicks.

Tum pater omnipotens sæcundis imbribus æther.
Conjugis in gremium læta descendit Et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, factus.

“ For then almighty Jove descends, and pours
“ Into his buxom bride his fruitful show'rs.
“ And mixing his large limbs with hers, he feeds
“ Her births with kindly juice, and fosters teeming
“ feeds.”

DRYDEN.

From all this it may be inferred, that nothing can be more dangerous or epidemical, than to lay down a false principle. It is a bad leaven, which though

small, may spoil the whole lump. An absurdity once laid down, draws a great many after it. Should a person err only concerning the human soul ; should he falsely imagine that it is not a substance distinct from the understanding ; this falsity may lead him to a persuasion, that there were some Gods who first sprung from fermentation, and afterwards multiplied by marriage. I cannot conclude without taking notice of a particular which quite astonishes me. Methinks nothing can be grounded on clearer and more distinct ideas than the immateriality of every thinking being, and nevertheless some Philosophers among the Christians assert that extension is capable of thinking (59) ; and they are Philosophers of very great parts, and very deep meditation. After this, can we lay any stress or depend on the clearness of ideas? But do not these Philosophers see, that on such a foundation the ancient heathens might err so far as to say, that all intelligent substances had a beginning, and that only matter was from all eternity? This was the opinion of Anaximenes the Philosopher, as has been shewn, and it was likewise the doctrine of Anaximander his master (60). This inconvenience is not got over by the following salvo, viz. that matter is made capable of thinking only by a particular gift of God. It would be true nevertheless, that in its nature it is susceptible of thought; and that to make it really think, it is enough to put it in motion, or order its parts in a certain manner: whence it follows, that an eternal, unintelligent, but moveable matter, might have produced or given rise to Gods and men ; as the Poets, and some heathen Philosophers have foolishly given out.

(59) See the remark [L] of the article DICEARCHUS, the disciple of Aristotle.

(60) Anaximander infinitatem materia dixit esse à qua omnia generentur. Cicero, Academ. Quæst. lib. 2. folio 211. B. Anaximandri opinio est naturam esse Deos, longis intervallis, Orientales, Occidentalesque. Idem, de Natura Dierum, lib. 1. cap. 10.

[H] Pausanias conjectures . . . that . . . the epithet good . . . ought to suit . . . the greatest of the Gods.] This reflection of Pausanias seems to me very good, and I thought it would be proper to quote the following passage. “Εστὶ ἡ τῆς ἀθῆς ἐν ἀριστοφῶν, Ἀθάθῃ Θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀθάθῃ οἱ θεοὶ ἀθῆνας ἐκείνῃ ἀθῆνας, Ζεὺς ἡ ἡμέτερος θεῶν ἐστὶν, ἰσομῆτος ἂν τις τῶν λόγων τὴν ἐπιπέλασιν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμηρίοιο εἶναι (61). i. e. “ The temple of the good God stands to the left of this way : “ but if the Gods are the authors of good to mankind, “ and Jupiter is the supreme Deity, we may justly “ conjecture that this name is peculiar to Jove.” See in the article PERICLES (62), several collections relating to the idea which the Heathens had formed to themselves concerning the Goodness of Jupiter and of the other Gods.

(61) Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 36. pag. 673.

(62) In the remark [K].

[I] Jupiter's goodness was denoted . . . but then he also was worshipped . . . nay, his employment of Thunderer was denoted by the bare idea of his descent upon earth.] These two kinds of epithets have been taken notice of by Lucian. “Ὁ Ζεὺς φίλος, καὶ ἕμιος, καὶ ἰταυρῆς, καὶ ἰφῆσι, καὶ ἀστροπηλῆς, καὶ ὀρεῖς, καὶ νεφέληρετός, καὶ ἰριδοπέγῃ. καὶ εἴ τι σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμὲρόνητοι ποιήσῃ καλῶσι (63). O Jupiter Philie, hospitalis, sodalitie, domesticæ, fulgurator, juramenti præses, nubicoge, grandisfræpe, Et si quod aliud tibi cognomen attoniti pœtæ tribuunt. We here have Jupiter first as protector of friendship, as an hospitable, familiar, and domestic Deity ; and afterwards as the God of lightning, thunder, &c. The reader will find in Pausanias, in what place he was worshipped under the name of mild μελιχικός (64), the distributor of blessings, ἐπιδάτης (65) &c. and under the name of thunderer κεραυνός (66). This title of κεραυνός, is least common both in books and medals. It signifies merely descending, taken grammatically ; but custom has determined it to the action of thundering. The reader need but peruse the dissertation, which Burman published at Utrecht in 1700, and he will be convinced that this is the idea under which Jupiter κεραυνός was honoured. Not that it was thought he never came down upon the earth but only to punish and to hurl his thunder ; but it at last was judged proper to fix the signification of it, either because of the maxim à majori, or à nobiliori parte sumitur denominatio, or for other reasons. The French have said in one of their Operas :
4 Jupiter

(63) Lucian, in Timone, initio, pag. 57. tom. 1.

(64) Pausan lib. 1. cap. 37. pag. 90. lib. 2. cap. 9. pag. 132. and cap. 20. pag. 154.

(65) Idem, lib. 8. cap. 9. pag. 616.

(66) Idem, lib. 5. cap. 14. pag. 412.

some places where it is said that he required men to be sacrificed in his honour [K]. I shall take notice elsewhere (d), that in the book intitled, *Cymbalum mundi*, there are many jokes on the actions of Jupiter; but I know not whether it be possible to go farther than Arnobius on such a subject. The vivacity of his imagination rushes on like a flood; and having been but just before a professed Rhetorician, he animated his diction with colours and figures of every kind. I have cited some of his thoughts in various parts of this Dictionary; the reader may have seen elsewhere (e) the joke he past on the great Jupiter, for employing nine nights in getting a child, when he, in one night, got fifty young women with child. Probably his memory failed him, and he confounded matters. He had read that Jupiter employed nine nights in begetting the Muses [L]; and he applied this to a quite different subject, I mean to the adventurers of Alcmena. Authors of a lively fancy are pretty liable to such mistakes. Jupiter used to carry on his amours both in heaven and earth; he took the first who fell in his way, whether Goddess or woman, it was all the same to him. Arnobius did not forget this incident, and observed that the bodies of mortals, though quite transparent with respect to Jupiter's eye, had yet beauties sufficient to inspire him with a lewd passion [M]. It may be proper to observe, that the ridiculous stories which the Poets had published concerning this God, served

(d) In the article PERIERS.

(e) Citation (13) of the article HERCULES.

*Jupiter vient sur la terre
Pour la combler de bienfaits :
Il est armé du tonnerre ;
Mais c'est pour donner la paix.*

“ On earth Jove comes, to shed numberless blessings ;
“ He's arm'd with thunder, but 'tis to give peace.

I do not know whether they borrowed that idea from ancient monuments.

[K] It is said that he required men to be sacrificed in his honour.] Few temples of Jupiter were more renowned than that which was built in his honour on mount Lycæus in Arcadia. The tradition of the country declared (68) that he had been brought up on that mountain by three nymphs, one whereof gave her name to a fountain which had a wonderful property; for whenever a long drought wasted the fruits of the earth, a plentiful rain never failed to descend, provided the priest of Jupiter Lycæus threw an oaken branch on the surfaces of that fountain, after the requisite prayers and sacrifices (69). On the same mountain was a court consecrated to the God in question, and famous for some very wonderful properties; all the men and beasts that went into it, casting no shade. All persons were forbid to set their feet in it; and if any one was so bold as to enter it, notwithstanding the prohibition, he necessarily died before the year was out. Arcas having pursued thither the boar into which his mother had been transformed, both would have been put to death, had not Jupiter taken them away, and lodged them among the stars. *In silvis cum venaretur (Arcas) infelix vidit matrem in urse speciem conversam, quam interficere cogitans, persecutus est in Jovis Lycæi templum: quo & qui accessisset, mors parva erat Arcadam lege. Itaque cum utrunque necesse esset interfici, Jupiter eorum miseratus, ereptos inter sidera collocavit (70).* The words of St. Austin, which I am going to transcribe, inform us of those particulars that relate to the sacrificing of children. *Nominatim expressit (Varro) quandam Demænotum, quum gustasset de sacrificio, quod Arcades immolato puero deo suo Lycæo facere solebant, in lupum fuisse mutatum, & anno decimo in figuram propriam restitutum, ad pugillatum sese exercuisse, & Olympiaco vicisse certamine (71).* i. e. “ Varro has named one Demænotus, who having tasted of the sacrifice, which the Arcadians used to offer up, to their God Lycæus, “ sacrificing a boy, was transformed into a wolf, and “ restored to his natural form ten years after; exercised himself in boxing, and conquered in the Olympic game.” This sacrifice must have a most strange effect, to metamorphose those who tasted of it into wolves. Porphyrius (72) observes, that the custom of sacrificing of men in Arcadia, during the feast of the Lupercalia, remained in his time. It may be observed by the way, that Saturn was not the only Deity who delighted in human victims (73). His son Jupiter was not willing to degenerate in that particular.

(68) Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 38. pag. 678.

(69) Idem, ibid.

(70) Hygin. in Astronomico, cap. 4. pag. m. 362. See also cap. 1. pag. 357.

(71) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 18. cap. 17. pag. m. 589.

(72) Porphyr. lib. 1. de non edend. Animal.

(73) See Pensées diverses sur les Comètes, num. 69.

(74) Hesiod. in Scyth. ver. 135.

Τὴν ἐν Πιερίᾳ Κρονίῳ τῆος ἀνὰ μνήστρα Μνημοσύνην.

*Ἐνία γὰρ οἱ νύκτας ἐμνήστειτο παλιῖτα Ζεὺς,
Νόσθην ἀπ' ἀθανάτων, ἱερὸν λέχθ' ὑπανάβαινον
Ἄλλ' ὅτι δὴ β' ἡμεῖς ἐσμ', ἀπὸ δ' ἔτραπον ὄρας
Μητῶν φθινόντων, ἀπὸ δ' ἡμᾶς ἀλλά' ἐτελέσθη,
Ἢ δ' ἴτις ἐνὶ πύλαις ἀμύφρονος, ἦσαν αἰεὶ δὴ
Μίμωλαι (75).*

(75) Idem, ibid. ver. 53.

“ Whom fair Mnemosyne, by Jove enjoy'd,
“ Brought forth on mount Pierius

“ For nine nights Jove, apart from the immortals,
“ Climb'd the bright bed, and wanton'd with the
“ fair one.

“ She, when the sun had run its annual course,
“ Gave birth to the nine lovely tuneful sisters.

A Scholiast on Hesiod declares, that Mnemosyne was the daughter of Jupiter; but the words of this Poet are not to be understood in that manner; and we must not suppose, that they relate that the Muses sprung from so horrid an incestuous commerce. The Scholiast in question proposes a doubt to himself; how came it to pass, says he, that Hercules got fifty one sons in a single night; and that Jupiter required nine days to beget the nine Muses? He answers that Jupiter, not being ignorant that the love and pleasure of the Muses are slow in attaining to their perfection, was determined to make use of a perfect number. If this Scholiast does not deserve praise for the solidity of his reflections, he at least deserves applause for writing with so much brevity on a subject, which would have suggested to an Allegorist a numberless multitude of observations and moral precepts.

[M] Arnobius . . . observed that the bodies of immortals, though quite transparent with respect to Jupiter's eye, had yet beauties sufficient to inspire him with a lewd passion.] His adulterous practices, says he, might have been borne with, had they been with those of his own rank and quality, with Goddesses; but what could he find worthy of his regard in human bodies? Should he not have abhorred those objects, which lie beneath the skin, and are not hid from his piercing eye? Should not the sight occasion the same disgust in him, which the bare imagination can produce in all others? (76) *Et tolerari forsitan maletractatio hæc posset, si cum saltem personis conjungeretur comparibus, & adulter à vobis immortalium constitueretur dearum. In humanis vero corporibus quidnam quæso inerat pulchritudinis, quid decoris, quod irritare, quod fixere oculos posset in se Jovis? Cætes, viscera, pituita, atque omnis illa proluvis intestinorum sub involucri constituta: quam non modo Linceus ille penetrabili acie possit horrescere, verum etiam quævis alter sola vel cogitatione vitare (77).* O (77) Compare this with the Tunc animo signa quodcumque in corpore mendæ est. Of Ovid in Remedio Amoris ver. 417.

(76) Arnob. lib. 4. pag. m. 142.

(77) Compare this with the Tunc animo signa quodcumque in corpore mendæ est. Of Ovid in Remedio Amoris ver. 417.

served as a foundation to the Religion of the Heathens; and that some persons of a grave character endeavoured to explain them, either by allegories, or by the principles of natural Philosophy; but their endeavours were as ridiculous as that of the Poets [N], and terminated

“ less sheep.” This objection of Arnobius is not a bad one, and is a thousand times stronger than if a great King was to be censured for intriguing and lying with, not only Princesses, but also with women from among the meanest of the populace. I shall here relate what Juno said to Thetis, in telling her the reasons or motives of the friendship she had for her.

Οὐκ οὐκ ἐκ ἑταρῆς ἀνὴρ Διὸς ἰεμέναια
 Λιζασθαί (κίον γὰρ αὐτὸ τὰδὲ ἑστᾶ μέμνηται
 Ἡσὶν ἀθανάταις ἢ θνητοῖσιν ἰαύουσιν). (78)

(78) Apollon.
 Argon. lib. 4.
 ver. 793. pag. m.
 453. 454.

“ Because you would not yield to Jove’s embraces;
 “ Jove, whose affection mortal nymphs and God-
 “ dessex
 “ Long shar’d promiscuous.

[N] Some persons of a grave character endeavoured to explain the stories which the Poets had published, either by allegories, or by the principles of Natural Philosophy; but their endeavour was as ridiculous as that of the Poets.] We have seen above (79) how Cicero ridiculed Chryssippus the Philosopher, who had taken great pains to reconcile the fictions of the antient Poets with the theology of the Stoics. The following passage will serve as a specimen of that attempt. *Hic locus à Zenone tractatus, post à Cleanthe, & Chryssippo pluribus verbis explicatus est. Num vetus hæc opinio Græciam opplevit, exsecratur Cælum à filio Saturno; vinculum autem Saturnum ipsum à filio Jove. Physica ratio non intelligens inclusa est in impiis fabulis. Cælestem enim altissimam, æthereamque naturam, id est, igneam, quæ per sese omnia gigneret, vacare voluerunt, eâ parte corporis, quæ conjunctione alterius egeret ad procreandum. Saturnum autem eum esse voluerunt, qui cursum, & conversionem spatiorum, ac temporum contineret. . . . Saturnus autem est appellatus, quod saturaretur annis: ex se enim natos comesse fingitur solitus, quia consumit etas temporum spatia, annisque præteritis insaturabiliter expletur. Vinculus est autem à Jove, ne immoderatos cursus haberet, atque ut eum siderum vinculis alligaret* (80).

(79) Citi-
 on (49) of the
 article CHRY-
 SIPPUS the
 Philosopher.

(80) Cicero, de
 Natura Deorum,
 lib. 2. cap. 24,
 25.

“ This subject was treated by Zeno, afterwards
 “ by Cleanthes, and amply explained by Chryssippus:
 “ for all Greece was anciently of opinion, that Cælus
 “ was emasculated by his son Saturn, who was bound
 “ in chains by his son Jupiter. The prophane fables
 “ include an elegant physical meaning; it being in-
 “ timated thereby, that the celestial, the highest, and
 “ etherial, that is the fiery nature, which produceth
 “ all things by itself, is void of that corporeal part,
 “ which requires the conjunction of another, in order
 “ for procreation. Saturna they affirmed to be that be-
 “ ing, which contains the course and change or revo-
 “ lution of spaces and times. The name (Saturn) is
 “ given him, because he is filled with years; he also
 “ is said to devour the children he begets, because
 “ age or time consumes its various periods, and is
 “ filled with such years as are past without being sa-
 “ tiated. He is bound in chains by Jupiter, to pre-
 “ vent his going immoderate lengths, and to check
 “ him by the bands of the stars.” This is sufficient to
 “ shew the ridiculousness of these explications. We can-
 “ not read them without having almost a contempt for
 “ those Philosophers who employ their time so ill; and
 “ if we deplore, on one hand, the ill consequences of
 “ the fictions of the Poets, and the unbounded licentious-
 “ ness with which they treated a subject that merited
 “ so much veneration; we are diverted, on the other
 “ hand, with the beauty of their fictions, whilst we con-
 “ sider them as witty conceits. But when we see Philo-
 “ sophers who, though of so grave and serious a cha-
 “ racter, do nevertheless seek for mysteries in these fol-
 “ lies, we can no longer bear with their extravagance,
 “ and apply the following sentence to them:

Turpe est difficile habere nugas,
 Et stultius est labor ineptiarum (81).

(81) Martial.
 Epigrammat. 86.
 lib. 2. cap. 25.

“ ’Tis shameful to employ our time in trifles,
 “ Which, the more difficult, are more ridiculous.

The greatest mischief is, that whilst they endeavoured to avoid one impiety, they have fallen into another; for, by rejecting the Gods of the Poets, animated and living Gods, they have substituted others, who had neither life nor sensation or knowledge. Cicero upbraids them with it as follows. *Hic idem (Zeno) alio loco æthere Deum dicit esse, si intelligi potest nihil sentiens Deus, qui nunquam nobis occurrit neque in precibus, neque in optatis, neque in votis. Aliis autem libris rationem quamdam per omnem naturam rerum pertinentem, ut divinam, esse affectam putat. Idem astris hoc idem tribuit, tum annis, mensibus, annorumque mutationibus. Cùm verò Hesiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino æsthetas perceptasque cognitiones Deorum, neque enim Jovem, neque Junonem, neque Vestam, neque quendam qui ita appelletur, in Deorum habet numero; sed rebus inanimatis, atque mutis per quamdam significationem hæc docet tributa nomina* (82). i. e. “ The same Zeno says, “ elsewhere, that the æther is God, if we can form “ to our imaginations a God wholly insensible, who “ never occurs to our prayers, our wishes, or our “ vows. However, in other books, he imagines, “ that a certain divine nature is diffused over the “ whole nature of things. The Philosopher in ques- “ tion ascribes the same thing to the stars, to years, “ months, and the changes of years. But when he “ would interpret the Theogony of Hesiod, he takes “ away all the common and received notions with re- “ gard to the Gods; he not permitting Jupiter, nor “ Juno, nor Vesta, nor any one so called to be ranked “ in the number of the Gods; but teaches, that these “ names are ascribed, in a certain signification, to in- “ animate and mute things.” They accustomed men, by these false interpretations, to suppose the azure skies over our heads to be Jupiter. *Hunc Ennius nuncupat ita dicens,*

(82) Cicero, de
 Natura Deorum,
 lib. 1. cap. 14.

Aspice hoc

Sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem,

Planisque alio loco idem,

Cui, quod id me est, execrabor hoc, quo locet,
 quidquid est.

Hunc etiam Augures nostri, cùm dicunt, Jove fulgente, tonante: dicunt enim celo fulgente, tonante. Euripides autem, ut multa præclare, sic hoc breviter.

Vides sublime fufum, immoderatum æthera,
 Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur:
 Hunc summum habeto Divùm: huic perhibeto Jo-
 vem (83).

(83) Idem, ibid.
 lib. 2. cap. 25.

“ Ennius mentions this as follows

— — — — — behold yon azure roof,
 “ Which all invoke as Jove — — — — —

“ And the abovementioned Poet, still plainer in ano-
 “ ther place.

— — — — — “ be, what it will, that shines,
 “ I’ll curse it to the utmost of my power.

“ This is meant by our Augurs, when they say, Ju-
 “ piter lightning, thundring, & they saying, the heaven
 “ or the skies lightning and thundring. Euripides, as
 “ he describes many things beautifully, so he does
 “ what follows with brevity:

“ Dost thou behold yon distant, boundless æther,
 “ Which quite surrounds this earth; ’tis the supreme
 “ Of Deities, ’tis mighty Jove himself.

With regard to Juno, they supposed her to be the air, as Cicero informs us. *Aër autem, ut Stoici disputant, interjectus inter mare, & cælum, Junonis nomine consecratur, quæ est soror & conjux Jovis, quod & similitudo est ætheris, & cum eo summa conjunctio. Effeminarum autem eum, Junonique tribuerunt, quod nihil est eo mollius,*

terminated very frequently in serious impieties. Read the remark [N], where I shall speak of those who said that Jupiter was the Air, and Juno the Æther.

(84) *Iidem*, *ibid.* cap. 26.

Ilius (84). i. e. " But the air, as the Stoics assert, lying between the sea and sky or heaven, is consecrated by the name of Juno, who is Jupiter's wife and sister, because it resembles the æther, and is intimately united to it. But they effeminated it (if I may employ that expression) and ascribed it to Juno, because nothing can be softer than the element of the air." Whatever they might advance in this system, there was no possibility of avoiding absurdities and impious tenets, which I prove by asking these Philosophers some questions. You therefore think that the Jupiter of the Poets, and he who is adored in the capitol and all other places, is that vast space or expanse wherein we see so many stars; and that this Juno, Jupiter's sister and wife; that so jealous, haughty and powerful Deity, to whom the Argives and other nations paid so many honours, is the air which surrounds the earth, and gets into the lungs of animals, and where clouds, rain, &c. are formed; but is it not evident that this celestial expanse, and this air are a portion of the matter of the world; and that matter, considered as such, does not think? do we not know clearly, that the air is as void of life and sensation as snow and hail? If then Juno is nothing but the air, it is ridiculous to direct prayers and offer up sacrifices to it: for it does not hear or understand any thing; and therefore your doctrine directly overthrows religion; it is material Atheism; you divest Juno of all her divinity, you only leave her the vain and empty name of Goddess; and you are more absurd than Epicurus, in worshipping what is no more than an illusive and imaginary name. Juno is given here but as an example; but Jupiter and Neptune, and all the rest of the Deities fall after the same manner by the strength of the argument in question. If you say that you do not consider the air as a meer body, when you assert that Juno is the air; I must intreat you to tell me what other idea you entertain of it. Do you pretend to assert, that the air is united to the Goddess Juno; that she is the soul of it, and that he (the air) is as a body to that Goddess; but is not this supposing a sort of animal of which we have no idea? Does not the notion or idea of animal imply an assemblage of parts which form one entire *continuum*? Does it not exclude what is called *discrete quantity*? And is it not certain that the particles of air are perpetually separating one from the other; and that the smallest stone that is thrown breaks that continuity, which, if the earth were an animal, must be a grievous wound? To what inconveniences do you not make Juno's divinity obnoxious, in case you make her the soul of the air? Is not the incessantly receiving a numberless multitude of wounds? Should you be answer, that this Deity is united to the air, not to be its soul, but only to give activity or influence to it, you fall into another absurdity which is equally ridiculous as to say that a pilot is a ship, and a rider is a horse. If you answer that there is a wide difference between these things, since a pilot is not joined or united to the ship as Juno is to the air, I must desire you to explain what this union is, and observe how Aristotle puzzles you, when he says that it is irrational to conclude that air and fire are animals; but that in case they are indued with a soul, it is absurd to say they are not so. Weigh well the following words: Δια τίνος μὲν γὰρ αἰτίας ἐν τῷ αἵτι, ἢ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν ψυχῇ, ἢ αὐτῶν ζώων ἐν τῶν κινήσει, ἢ αὐτῶν βαλόντων ἐν ταύταις ἡμῶν ἀρχαῖς; ἐπιζητήσεως γὰρ αἰτίας, καὶ διὰ

τίνα αἰτίας ἢ ἐν τῷ αἵτι ψυχῇ, τῆς ἐν τοῖς ζώοις βαλόντων ἐν καὶ ἀθανάτων. συμβαίνει ὁ ἀμφοτέρω ἀτρεπον καὶ παραλογον; καὶ γὰρ τὸ λέγειν ζῶον τὸ πνεύ, ἢ τὸν αἶρα, τῶν παραλογισμῶν ἐστὶ καὶ μὴ λέγειν ζῶα ψυχῆς ἰνύσει, ἀτρεπον (85), i. e. " For which reason, if a soul be in air, or fire, why does it not form an animal as it does in mixt natures, particularly since it seems to be more excellent in them? Any one may also ask the reason, wherefore that soul, which is in the air, is of a more noble and durable nature, than that with which animals are informed. Something absurd and irrational results in either of these cases; for to advance that fire or air is an animal, is no ways rational; and again, to affirm that they are not animals, if they are indued with a soul, is certainly extremely absurd." You are here between two precipices: if Juno be the soul of the air, and she and the air do not form one animal, it is an intolerable absurdity; and if they form one animal, it is a horrid absurdity and impiety. Carneades, with that strength of reason which was his peculiar characteristic, refused invariablely the pretended existence of this sort of animal (86).

I will conclude with an observation which Pausanias furnishes me with. He relates that he disputed one day with a Sidonian. He relates that he disputed this man asserted, that the Phenicians were much more skillful than the Greeks in those subjects which relate to the Deity, and in others likewise. They say, added he, that Æsculapius is the son of Apollo, and do not relate that a woman brought him into the world; for he is the air, the fountain of health both for men and beasts. Apollo, who is the sun, is directly considered as Æsculapius's father, since by the vicissitude of the seasons, which his motion occasions, he makes the air healthy. Pausanias granted all this; but he asserted that they did not belong to the Phenicians more than to the Greeks; and that it is evident even to children, that the health of men is owing to the sun's motion (87). By this the reader may judge of the orthodoxy of the Heathens. Those who pretend to be best acquainted with theological doctrines, made it appear, when they expressed themselves clearly, that they acknowledged no other Gods but the air, the stars, &c. This, in the main, was a real Atheism; it was converting the necessity of nature into God. I have observed a passage in Euripides, where Jupiter is invoked; without exactly knowing what he is. It is confessed that he governs, by occult methods, all things justly; but the person who delivers these words adds, that it is extremely difficult to know him; and that he cannot say whether he be the necessity of nature, or human understanding. What a faith is this! A follower of Spinoza would sign it with very few alterations.

Ὁ γῆς ὄχημα, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχων ἴδιον,
Ὅς τις ἀπ' ἐν δούρατος οὐκ ἰδίῃαι
Ζεὺς, ἢτ' ἀνάγνη φύσεως, εἴτε τῆς βροτῶν,
Προσβαίμεν σε πάλαι γὰρ δι' αἴθερα
Βαίον καλύπτει, καὶ δίκην τὰ δῖατ' ἄγεις (88).

The Sense is,
" O vehicle of earth, residing on it,
" Who'ere thou be, inscrutable to us,
" Necessity of nature, or men's minds,
" O Jupiter, I invoke thee; thou who guid'st
" Mens actions right, thro' fate's still hidden paths,

(85) Aristotel. de Anima, lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. m. 485. tom. 1. Opera.

(86) See his Arguments in Cicero, Book 3. cap. 17. de Nat. Deor.

(87) Extracted from Pausanias, lib. 7. cap. 23. pag. 583.

(88) *Heraclea* apud Euripidem in Troadibus, vet. 884. pag. m. 107.

JUSTINIANI (AUGUSTINO), Bishop of Nebbio in the island of Corfica, was born at Genoa in 1470. He entered among the Dominicans the 25th of April 1487; and applied himself so assiduously to his studies, and learnt under such able preceptors, that he became a very great scholar. He was well skilled in Philosophy, the Mathematics, Divinity, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee. He taught during eighteen years in the Province of Lombardy, to the great edification of his hearers. He was appointed Bishop of Nebbio the 15th of November 1514, at the recommendation of Cardinal Bandinello Saoli his cousin; and received his bulls before he was informed of the good offices this Cardinal had done him. He assisted at the Lateran Council, and objected to some articles of the Concordate agreed upon between the Courts of France and Rome; notwithstanding which Francis I prevailed with him to come to Paris, and appointed him his Chaplain. He made use of the great knowledge of this Prelate, in order to establish

establish the study of the Oriental Tongues in the University of Paris. Justiniani being at so small a distance from England made a voyage thither, and was most graciously received by Henry VIII. He collected a very fine Library, and left it, by his will, to the Republic of Genoa [A]. He made many reparations in his See; increased its revenues; and so finely embellished his Cathedral, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, that Maracci has ranked him among her faithful servants. He also translated into the vulgar tongue some Latin works, the study whereof might be of use to Ecclesiastics (a). He was cast away in his passage from Genoa to the island of Corfica in 1536 (b) [B]. This Prelate was not only a learned man, but also extremely laborious, as appears from the works he composed, and those he caused to be printed [C]. I mention these in a note. He intended to publish a Polyglot Bible, whereof the Psalter he published may be considered as a part. He was at great expence for the edition in question; but finding that he could not get his money by the sale, and that crowned heads did not favour his design, he complained of the ingratitude of his age [D].

(a) *Trasportando ancora da Latino in volgare de libri per giovamento del suo Clero.* Abbot Michael Justiniani, ubi infra, pag. 17.

(b) *Extracted from Abbot Michael Justiniani, gli Scrittori Liguri descritti.* pag. 16, & seq.

KECKERMAN

[A] He collected a very fine library, and left it by his will to the Republic of Genoa. It was chiefly valuable on account of the great number of ancient manuscripts in all kinds of languages and faculties, which he had collected with prodigious pains and at a very great expence. But some had come to him without any expence or trouble, I mean those which Andreolo Justiniani, his grandfather, had left him. It is remarkable that this Republic did not receive any advantage by our author's will; these manuscripts being found only in the libraries of some private persons, who to hide their thefts, took out from the frontispiece the marks, by which our prelate used to distinguish such pieces as belonged to him. *Benche al presente non si trovi verun vestigio di essi nel Palazzo publico, ma presso diversi particolari, che, per non esser scoperti, gli han levati nel frontispicio i contrafigni di quel buon Vecchio* (1).

(1) Michael Justiniani, gli Scrittori Liguri descritti, pag. 18.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. lib. 3. cap. 12. pag. 681.

(4) Paulus Jovius, Eleg. cap. 120. pag. 275.

[B] He was cast away . . . in 1536 [Abbot Michael Justiniani (2) pretends to prove this by the register of the Dominicans at Genoa, and from the Bishopric of Nebbio's being given to Cardinal Jerom Doria the 15th of November 1536. Vossius affirms (3), that it is not known whether Justiniani was cast away, or was taken by Pyrates; that it is only certain, that he was never seen since the year 1530, when he embarked to go from Genoa to his Bishopric. I do not doubt but that he is mistaken with respect to the year. Paulus Jovius says in general, that it was never known whether this Bishop was shipwreck'd, or whether he was taken by the Corsairs of Barbary. *In cursu fluctibus obrutus, aut à Pænis prædonibus interceptus creditur, quum nullum usquam naufragii, aut piratarum prædæ vestigium apparuerit* (4).

[C] The works he composed, and those he caused to be printed. His *Precatio pietatis plena ad Deum omnipotentem composita ex duobus & septuaginta nominibus divinis Hebraicis, & Latinis cum interprete commentariolo*, was printed at Venice anno 1513 in 8vo. He published there the same year *Æneæ Platonici de immortalitate animorum deque corporum resurrectione aureus Libellus, cui titulus est Theophrastus*. He published at Paris in 1520, folio, *Chalcidii viri clarissimi luculenta Timæi Platonis Traductio, & ejusdem argutissima explanatio*; as likewise *Historia Porcbeti adversus impios Hebræos, in qua sum ex sacris litteris, tum ex dictis Talmud, ac Cabalistarum & aliorum omnium Auctorum quos Hebræi recipiunt, monstratur veritas Catholice fidei*; moreover *Rabi Mossæi Ægyptii Dux seu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum*. He spent five years with extreme application in writing a History of Genoa, but death prevented his putting the last hand to it. It was published in 1537 (5). It is said that his manuscript was interpolated in several places by the person who put it to press. *Scrisse gl' Annali della sua patria, con grandissima diligenza, e ottima fedeltà, i quali in molti luoghi dopo la morte di lui furono corrotti* (6). Such is the testimony of Francis Zazzera, and here follows a confirmation of it by George Justiniani, in an Epistle Dedicatory. *Magnum profecto inde me voluptatem cepisse fateor, & in eodem plane sensu fuisse gaudeo ipsius nennianus, in Epist. ad Nebiensem Pontificatum evectus, rerum nostrarum Annales orditus est, quos post ejus obitum imperitus, omnique eruditionis expertus, horridos sane & incultos, ut botie leguntur, ex defuncti scabæis evulgavit* (7). i. e. "I own that I received great pleasure from it, and am glad that Augustino Justiniani his grandson was of

(5) At Genoa in folio.

(6) Francesco Zazzera, apud Abbatem Michael Justiniani, gli Scrittori Liguri descritti, pag. 19.

(7) Georg. Justinianus, in Epist. Dedicat. Æneæ Platonici de immortalitate Animæ, apud Mich. Justinian. ibid. pag. 19, 20.

the same opinion, the person I mean, who being afterwards made Bishop of Nebbio, began to write the transactions of our country, which, after his death, an unskilful and altogether unlearned man published, from the manuscripts of the deceased, in the barbarous, unpolished dress in which they are now seen." These interpolations in the manuscript gave Paulus Jovius occasion to censure this History (8); but he is in the wrong to say, that the author was too eager in publishing it, it not being published till after the death of our Justiniani. The expressions employed by Paulus Jovius are very injurious. *Scribende patriæ historia negotium suscepit, adeo ineptis ad id ingenii viribus, ut præcipitata editionis, male audiendo, pænas daret* (9). i. e. "He set about writing the history of his own country, but had such small abilities for this undertaking, that he injured his reputation by a hasty edition." I shall mention below what relates to his Polyglot. Here follows a passage extracted from his life written by himself, wherein the reader will see a specimen of his labours. *Hò fatto imprimere in Parigi dodici opere in utilità de studiosi: hò tradotto piu cose in materna lingua per utilità di Chierici della mia Diocesi, che sono tutti ignari di lettere: hò tradotto l'Economico di Senofonte per instruzione di mix cognata, e de miei nepoti: hò descritto molio minutamente l'Isola di Corfica per utilità della patria intitolata al Principe Andrea d'Oria, e messa poi la descrizione in distinta pittura hò donato al magnifico Ufficio di S. Giorgio 100.* i. e. "I have printed at Paris twelve pieces for the instruction of youth: I have translated several pieces into Italian, for the use of the Clergy of my Diocese, who are all unlearned: I have translated Xenophon's Oeconomicks, for the instruction of my kinswoman and nephews: I have described very minutely the island of Corfica, for the service of my country, inscribed to Prince Andrew d'Oria, and afterwards presented that description to the office of St. George." The last work mentioned in the Italian paragraph above is in the library of the Vatican, and is a manuscript.

(8) Michel Justiniani, ibid. pag. 17.

(9) Paul. Jovius, Eleg. cap. 120. pag. 275.

(10) Aug. Justiniani, in his *Life*. It was inserted in his *Annals of Genoa*. See Abbot Michael Justiniani, gli Scrittori Liguri descritti, pag. 20.

[D] The Psalter he published. . . He complained of the ingratitude of his age. It was printed at Genoa anno 1616, in folio, and in eight columns, *Quarum prima habet Hebræam editionem, secunda Latinam interpretationem respondentem Hebrææ de verbo ad verbum, tertia Latinam communem, quarta Græcam, quinta Arabicam, sexta paraphrasin, sermone quidem Chaldeo, sed litteris Hebraicis conscriptam: septima Latinam respondentem Chaldeæ, ultima vero, id est octava, continet scholia, hoc est annotationes sparsas & intercisas* (11). i. e. "The first whereof has the Hebrew edition or text; the second a literal Latin version of the Hebrew; the third the common Latin; the fourth the Greek; the fifth the Arabic, the sixth the paraphrase in the Chaldee language, but written in Hebrew characters or letters; the seventh the Latin answering the Chaldee; but the eighth or last, contains the scholia, that is; scattered annotations." The author, in his dedication of this piece to Pope Leo X, tells him that he designs to give the whole scriptures after that manner; and that he does not doubt but he shall complete his undertaking, provided his Holiness will but approve of it, and promote the impression. This is the sense of the Latin words following (12). *Quod si tu rem ipsam probaveris, & dignam editione duxeris, in promptu erit nobis universo operi manum extremam imponere, & utrunque instrumentum, iisdem distinctum*

(11) Gesner, in *Biblioth. folio 104 verso*.

(12) August. Justiniani, *Præf. Psalter.* opud Gesner. in *Biblioth. folio 105.*

*linguis, eademque serie & structura tradere impressori-
bus formandum &c.* He informed Cardinal Bendi-
nello Saoli, by letter, that all the New Testament was
completed; and that the Old Testament would be
soon ready; and he intreated him to get the whole
work printed. *In altera quoque epistola ad eundem,
novum testamentum jam absolutum esse testatur, vetus
autem brevi futurum paratum, & hortatur ut curet to-
tum opus prælis excudi* (13). He gave leave to Pellican,
who was at Rome in 1517, to copy the preface of his
New Testament in eight languages, with the first
verses of St. Matthew's Gospel (14). Gesner af-
firms (15) that he saw it, and the two letters which
Justiniani wrote to that Cardinal. He has even inserted
part of this preface in his *Bibliothèque*. This well-
meaning Prelate was at a great expence for the im-
pression of the Psalter; he caused two thousand and
fifty copies to be printed of it; and presented it to all the
Princes in the world, both infidel and Christian. He
had fifty copies taken off in vellum, Justiniani not
only flattered himself with the hopes of gaining great
applause, but also great profit, which he, beforehand,
designed to set apart for the relief of his relations.
He flattered himself with the hopes, that the success
of his specimen would prompt Prelates and Monarchs
to contribute towards the impression of the whole
Bible; but unfortunately he gained nothing but praise.
His Psalter was applauded, but not bought. It was
with great difficulty he got the fourth part of his cop-
ies sold; and his circumstances would not enable
him to print the remainder of his work. Here follows

Justiniani's complaints. *Feci stampare in Genova all'è* (16) August.
mie spese con quel travaglio e con quella spesa, ch'ogni Justiniani, in the
letterato può giudicare due mila volumi del Davidico *Life, cited by*
Psalterio in le predette cinque lingua Hebraea, Chaldaea, Lancelot di Pe-
Greca, Latina, & Arabica, parendomi di quest' opera *rugia, Horgidi,*
dover' acquistare grand laude, e non mediocre guadagno, *Part 1. Disin-*
il quale pensavo esporre in la sovventione di certi mei *ganno, 27. pag.*
parenti, ch'erano bisognosi, credendomi sempre che l'opera *73, 274.*
doveffi havere grande uscita, e che i prelati ricchi, ò
Principi si doveffero muovere, e mi doveffero aju-
tare in la spesa di far imprimere li restante della Bib-
bia in quella varietà di lingue; ma la credulità mia
restò ingannata, perchè l'opera fù da ciaschedun laudata,
ma lassata riposare, e dormire, perchè a pena si sono
venduti la quarte parte de i libri, come che l'opera sia
per valent' huomini, e per ingegni elevati, che sono al
mondo rari, e pochi, e con stento puoi ricavar i danari,
ch' haveva poste in la stampa che furono in buona quan-
tità, perchè oltre i dua mila volumi stampati in papero,
ne feci imprimere cinquanta in carta vitellina, e man-
dai d'essi à libri à tutti i Rè del Mondo, co' Christiani,
come Pagani. Paulus Jovius is so hard hearted as not
to pity Justiniani's ill success; but even takes a plea-
sure in insulting him on that account; and will not
even allow that he was applauded by the public.
He declares that our honest Bishop was at a great ex-
pence, and did not reap either profit or glory by it.
Gravi quidem sumptu & tenui cum laude quum im-
pressa domi præalta volumina emptores rarissimos inveni- (17) Jovius, E-
rent, sic ut temere conceptam spem lucri inanes initiæ ra- *logior. cap. 120.*
tiones eluserint (17). *pag. 275.*

(13) Gesner. *ibid.*(14) *Idem, ibid.*(15) *Ibid.*

KECKERMAN

K.

(a) Konig places his birth under the year 1571, his death in 1609. Vossius, *de Scient. Mathemat.* pag. 262 tells us, that he lived two and forty years.

KECKERMAN (BARTHOLOMEW) a native of Dantzick, was Professor of Philosophy there about the beginning of the seventeenth Century. He had been before Professor of the Hebrew Language at Heidelberg. He wrote a great number of books, in which he shews more method than genius [A]. He died in 1609, at thirty eight years of age (a). His books are full of plagiarisms, and have been well pillaged by plagiaries [B].

[A] He wrote a great number of books, in which he shews more method than genius. He composed systems of almost all the sciences. Here is the judgment, which Vossius made of him: *Parum idoneè judicat de eo (Diogene Laertio) vir ceteroquin eruditus, sed novellorum scriptorum quam antiquitatis studiosior Bartholomæus Keckermannus. At ille libro suo de Historiâ, scripsisse Laertium languidè & frigidè, sæpe tamen non inutilitè. Quæ frigida profecto laus est operis utilissimi & auro contra non cari. Quippe ex quo discere fit cum alia tam multa ad historiam temporum pertinentia, tum præclara tot veterum apophthegmata, quorum Keckermannus, malo sane exemplo, Erasmus laudare mavult autorem, quam Plutarchum, Laertium, & similes (1).* i. e. "Bartholomew Keckerman, a man in other respects learned, but more conversant in modern writers than in antiquity, passes a very wrong judgment up-

(1) Vossius, *de Hist. Græcis*, pag. 223.

on Diogenes Laertius. For in his treatise concerning History he says, that Laertius has written *laughingly and coldly, but often usefully*; which is a cold commendation of a work of great use and value; since we may learn from it many particulars relating to History, and excellent apophthegms of the ancients, for which Keckerman, setting an ill example, chooses to quote Erasmus, rather than Plutarch, Laertius, and other writers of that rank."

[B] His books are full of plagiarisms, and have been well pillaged by Plagiaries. I have mentioned before (2) the complaint of a Scots writer, who had been pillaged by Keckerman. Another Scots writer (3) did quite the contrary; he pillaged Keckerman: it is Thomasius, who remarks this in his collection of Plagiaries (4). He accuses (5) some other writers of the same crime with regard to Keckerman.

(2) In the remark [B] of the article DO-NALDSON.

(3) Named Andrew Axiu.

(4) Numero 349. pag. 153.

(5) Ibid. numero 351.

KEILL (JOHN), an eminent Astronomer and Mathematician in the eighteenth Century, was born in Scotland about the year 1671, and educated in Baliol College in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor and Master of Arts; and was afterwards invited to Christ Church by Dr. Henry Aldrich, Dean of that College. About the year 1709 he went to New England as Treasurer to the Palatines; and soon after his return thence, upon the death of Mr. Caswel, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in Oxford, he was chosen to succeed him. He was likewise appointed Decipherer to Queen Anne, and continued in that place under King George I. till about the year 1716. He published several works [A], and died August the 31st 1721, aged fifty years. He had the degree of

[A] He published several works. I. *An Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth: with some Remarks on Mr. Whiston's New Theory of the Earth.* Oxford, 1698 in 8vo. A second edition of this book was published at London 1734 in 8vo. In answer to this there was published, *Reflections on the Theory of the Earth; and A Defence of Mr. Whiston's New Theory.* This occasioned our author to publish, II, *An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth. Together with a Defence of the Remarks on Mr. Whiston's New Theory.* London 1699 in 8vo. In answer to this Mr. Whiston wrote *A second Defence of his New Theory from the Exceptions of Mr. Keill and others.* III. *Introductio ad veram Physicam: seu Lectiones Physicæ habitæ in Scholâ Naturalis Philosophiæ Academiæ Oxoniensis, Anno Dom. 1700. Quibus accedunt Theorematum Hugenianorum de Vi Centrifugâ & Motu Circulari Demonstrationes. Autore Johanne Keill. M. D. R. S. S. Oxford 1701 in 8vo.* In the preface he observes, that tho' Mechanical Philosophy was then in repute, and had many followers, yet in most of their writings scarce any thing was to be found besides the bare name of it; and that instead of it, the Philosophers had introduced the figures, pores and interstices of corpuscles, which they never saw; and speak of the intestine motion of the parts, of the struggles and conflicts between the *Alkali* and *Acid*, with a variety of such other miraculous effects of the *Materia Subtilis*. He then shews the absurdity of the *Cartesian* hypothesis about gravitation; and observes, that the occasion of all the errors, which have crept into Philosophy, has been this, that men wholly ignorant of Geometry have presumed to turn Philosophers, and to give an account of the causes of natural things. For, says he, what can be expected besides conjectures and amusements from those men, who have neglected Geometry, the foundation of all Natural Philosophy, and without knowing the powers of nature, which are only to be estimated by Geometry, have yet ventured to explain

the operations of it by a method wholly inconsistent with the rules of mechanism? But though so many have embraced the shadow instead of the substance of Philosophy, yet he observes, that there are some, who bestowed their labour with great success in searching out the true laws of nature, and discovering the causes of things by mechanical principles. Among these he reckons Archimedes, Roger Bacon, Cardan, Galileo, Boyle, Wallis, with others, but above all the incomparable Newton. In the first lecture he treats of the method of Philosophizing; and takes notice of several sorts of Philosophers, who have written of Natural Philosophy; viz. 1. Those, who explained the nature of things by the properties of numbers and Geometrical figures; such as the Pythagoreans and Platonists. 2. The Aristotelians, who explained natural Philosophy by matter and forms, by privations, elementary virtues, occult qualities, sympathies and antipathies, &c. 3. *Experimental Philosophers*, who have endeavoured by sensible representations to make known to us the properties and actions of all bodies; and to the industry of these, he says, Philosophy is greatly indebted for many advantages. 4. The last sort of Natural Philosophers are the Mechanical, who undertake to explain the Phænomena of nature by the laws and rules of mechanism, such as matter and motion, the various figure and contexture of the parts, subtile particles, and the like. From each of these ways of Philosophizing our author takes what is most proper for his purpose; and in order to avoid all error in treating of Philosophy, prescribes himself three rules. As first, he tells us, it is necessary, according to the method of Geometricians, to lay down such definitions as are requisite for the understanding of things. Secondly, in searching after truth in Natural Philosophy, it will be of use to consider the qualities of things only as they are at first laid down, abstracted from all others whatsoever. Thirdly, it will be necessary to begin with the most simple cases, and when they are once established,

of Doctor of Physic conferred upon him by the University of Oxford at the public Act in 1713; and he had been many years Fellow of the Royal Society. He left one son by his wife, whom he married about the year 1717. He was the first who read Lectures upon Experimental Philosophy in Oxford. Some have ascribed to him *An Essay*

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established, to proceed to those, which are more compounded. In the second lecture he treats of the solidity and extension of body, which he defines to be an extended, solid, and moveable substance. In the third lecture he treats of the divisibility of magnitudes; and in the fourth answers some objections urged against it by Epicurus, and his followers, the Atomists. In the fifth he discourses of the subtilty of matter, and those minute particles, into which matter may be actually divided. In the sixth he treats of motion, time, and place; and in the seventh gives several definitions concerning motion. The first edition of this book contained only fourteen lectures, but in the second edition printed at Oxford 1705 in 8vo he added a fifteenth or sixteenth, which treat of the motions arising from given forces; for what he had said in the former edition related to motion in general. True and genuine Physics consisting chiefly in the explication of these motions, and in giving an account of the Phenomena, which arise from thence, our author begins with the simplest, viz. that force, which is always directed uniformly, and still with the same tenor towards the same point, such as the gravitating force is commonly supposed to be. These lectures have been translated into English, and printed at London in 8vo. IV. *Introductio ad veram Astronomiam, seu Lectiones Astronomicæ habite in Scholâ Astronomicâ Academiæ Oxoniensis.* Authore Joanne Keill, M. D. *Astronomiæ Professore Saviliano*, R. S. S. Oxford 1718 in 8vo. This was translated into English by Dr. Keill himself, and published with many emendations at London 1721 in 8vo under the following title. *An Introduction to the true Astronomy: or Astronomical Lectures, read in the Astronomical Schools of the University of Oxford.* In the preface he discourses of the uses of Astronomy, and gives us the history of it, and observes, that as the art of sailing does, in a great measure, depend on the knowledge of the stars, so the impetuous and ambitious desires of Kings and Princes to discover unknown and foreign countries, inclined them to cultivate Astronomy. The first and chief of all the sailors was Neptune, who, upon the account of his skill in this art, was celebrated as God of the ocean. His son Belus, being an Astronomer, by his knowledge therein, carried the inhabitants of Libya into Asia, where he instituted Colleges of Astronomers; for Diodorus Siculus (1) writes thus: "It is reported, that the Egyptian Belus, the son of Neptune and Libya, brought a Colony to Babylon, and there he instituted Priests, whom the Babylonians call Chaldeans; who, after the manner of the Egyptians, were to observe the Stars." Before his time, there was Atlas King of Mauritania, a great Astronomer, who first shewed the doctrine of the Sphere. And therefore Virgil introduces Jopas singing what Atlas had taught mankind;

(1) Lib. 1.

—Docuit quæ maximus Atlas,

Hic canit errantem Lunam Solisque Labores (2).

(2) *Æneid.* lib. 1.

So Uranus, King of the country situated on the shore of the Atlantic ocean, for his skill in Astronomy, is said to have been defended from the Gods. Zoroaster, a Persian Philosopher, is celebrated by all antiquity as a skilful Astronomer. And the dignity of this science was esteemed so great, as to be called the Royal Science, because Kings were most delighted with it above all others. For the Kings of Africa and Syria first invented and improved it, and that long before it was known in Greece. This Plato acknowledges in his Dialogue called *Epinomis*. The first, says he, who observed these things, was a Barbarian, who lived in an antient country, where, upon the account of the clearness of the summer season, they could first discover them, such as Egypt and Syria, where the stars are clearly seen, there being neither rains nor clouds to hinder their prospect. And because we are more remote from this summer clearness of weather than the Barbarians, we came later to the knowledge of these stars. So Lucian tells us, "that the Ethiopians first took notice of

"the heavenly motions, and by finding the causes of "the lunations, they knew that the moon had no "proper light of its own, but borrowed it from the "sun." However, it is certain, that Astronomy, from the very beginning, was cultivated and improved by the Eastern nations. For if we may believe Porphry, when Alexander took Babylon, Callisthenes, at the desire of Aristotle, carried from that city the observations of 1903 years, which brings the beginning of these observations to 115 years after the flood, and 15 years after the building of Babel. Pliny in his *Natural History* relates, that *Epigenes* affirmed, that the Babylonians had observations of 720 years all engraved upon bricks. And *Achilles Tattius*, in the beginning of his *Introduction to Aratus's Phenomena*, informs us, "that the Egyptians were the first, who measured the "heavens and the earth; and their science in this "matter was engraven on columns, and by that means "delivered to posterity. Yet the Chaldeans take the "honour of the invention to themselves, and ascribe "it to Belus." The Greeks had all their Astronomical Learning from Egypt; for *Diogenes Laertius* owns, that *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Eudoxus*, and many others went to that country to be instructed in the Sideral science. These men were not only the first, but the greatest Philosophers whom Greece produced. And from the same writer we know, that they, who staid longest in that country, were most famous for their skill in Geometry and Astronomy, after they returned home. So *Pythagoras*, who lived in society, with the Egyptian Priests seven years, and was initiated into their religion, carried home from thence, besides several Geometrical inventions, the true system of the universe, and was the first, who taught in Greece, that the earth and planets turned round the sun, which was immoveable in the center; and that the diurnal motion of the sun and fixed stars was not real, but apparent, arising from the motion of the earth round its axis. At that time no body was esteemed a Philosopher, but who was well acquainted with the Mathematical Sciences. But these Sciences were soon neglected by the Philosophers, who came after them, and in who much degenerating from their Predecessors, had so little care and concern for the Mathematical Sciences, especially Astronomy, that of all the observations of eclipses for the space of near 2000 years, which were sent from Babylon by *Callisthenes*, *Ptolemy* could recover but a very few, the rest being lost by the negligence and want of skill of those men, who should have preserved them. For these pretenders to Philosophy having no concern for the useful parts of it, spent their time about trifles and disputes of no value, and endeavouring to find out sophisms, whereby they might impose upon their own and the common sense of all mankind; such were *Zeno's* arguments against motion, and most of the Philosophers disputations against the divisibility of matter *in infinitum*; whereas a little knowledge of Geometry would easily have solved all the difficulties they could raise. But though Astronomy was thus banished out of the schools of the common Philosophers, yet it was received and cultivated by some, though but a few, especially by the *Pythagorean* sect, which flourished in Italy many years; among whom was *Philolaus* and *Aristarchus Samius*. The *Ptolemies*, Kings of Egypt, were also great patrons of learning; they founded an Academy for Astronomy at Alexandria, which furnished several great men, the chief of whom was *Hipparchus*, who, according to *Pliny*, undertook a business, which would have been a great work to a God to perform, that is, to number the stars, and leave the heavens for an heritage to all that come after. This man foretold the eclipses of both sun and moon for 600 years; and upon his observations is founded that valuable work of *Ptolemy*, which he calls his *Μεγάλη Σύνταξις*, or his *Great Construction*; for from them he gathered the precession of the equinoxes, and the theory of the planets. When Egypt was conquered by the Saracens, and Alexandria reduced under their jurisdiction, the conquerors received Astronomy, with the rest of the Liberal Arts, under their

on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning, in a Letter from a Gentleman in the City to his Friend in Oxford; printed at Oxford 1701 in 8vo, pagg. 57. But others upon better grounds affirm, that it was written by Dr. John Arbuthnot.

their protection; and took care, that most part of the books concerning the liberal arts and sciences should be translated from the Greek into their own Arabian language. The Saracens passing from Africa into Spain, and having a commerce with the western European nations, imparted to them the science of Astronomy, which before was almost lost in Europe. So that about the year 1230, at the command of the Emperor Frederic, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, or his *Great Synaxis*, was translated from the Arabic into Latin. After that time, Astronomy received many improvements from the patronage of the greatest Princes, and the labours of the most celebrated Philosophers; among whom, in the first place is to be named Alphonfus King of Castile, who is never to be forgotten on the account of *Astronomical Tables* called after his name. Nicholas Copernicus was not only a diligent observer, but also a restorer of the antient Pythagorean system. Prince William, Landgrave of Hesse, who procured quadrants and sextants much larger than what were formerly used, to observe the true places of the stars, and whose observations were published by Snellius. Sir Henry Savile, skillful both in Astronomy and Geometry, who founded two Professorships for those sciences at Oxford. Tycho Brahe, superior in skill to all that went before, who published a catalogue of seven hundred fixed stars, which he had diligently observed. John Kepler, who by the help of Tycho's labours found out the true system of the world, and the laws observed by the celestial bodies in their motions. Galileo, who first applied a telescope to the heavens, and by means of it discovered the satellites of Jupiter, and their motions; the various phases of Saturn; the increase and decrease of the light of Venus; the mountainous and uneven surface of the moon; the spots of the sun; and the revolution of the sun about its own axis. John Hevelius, who has given us a catalogue of the fixed stars much larger than Tycho's, composed from his own observations. Huygens and Cassini, who first saw the satellites of Saturn, and discovered his ring. Gaffendi, Horrox, Bullialdus, Ward, Ricciolus, Flamsteed, and many other eminent Astronomers. "But

"we have one here, adds Dr. Keill, who on account of his great merits in Astronomy, does excel them all, that is, the most learned Dr. Edmund Halley, Savilian Professor of Geometry in this University, my most friendly colleague; to whose labours Astronomy owes many great improvements. In him there shines out together (which I know not, if they are to be found in any other person to such a degree) the greatest dexterity in practical Astronomy, and a most profound and exquisite skill in Geometry; which will appear by his *Astronomical Tables*, which he is shortly to publish; for they will far exceed all others, that ever were or perhaps ever will be published." He also gives a very great character of Sir Isaac Newton, whom he styles a *genius of a divine nature*. V. Joannis Keill M. D. & R. S. S. in *Academia Oxoniensi Astronomiae Professoris, Epistola ad Virum Clarissimum Joannem Bernoulli in Academia Basiliensi Mathematicum Professore*. London, 1720, in 4to, pagg. 28. VI. *Of the Laws of Attraction*; printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 315. VII. *De Legibus Virium Centripetarum*: printed in the same *Transactions*, No. 317. VIII. *Problematis Kepleriani de inveniendis vero Motu Planetarum, Areas temporis proportionales in Orbibus Ellipticis circa Focus alterum describentium, solutio Newtoniana*: a D. J. Keill, *Astronomiae Profess. Savil. Oxon. & R. S. S. demonstrata & exemplis illustrata*: printed in the same *Transactions*, No. 337. IX. Joannis Keill, M. D. &c. *Observationes in ea, quae edidit celeberrimus Geometra Johannes Bernoulli in Commentariis Physico-Mathematicis Parisiensibus Ann. 1710. de inverso Problemate Virium Centripetarum; & ejusdem Problematis solutio nova*: printed in the same *Transactions*, No. 340. X. In 1715 he published at Oxford in 8vo, *Euclidis Elementorum Libri priores sex, item undecimus & duodecimus; ex versione Latinae Frederici Commandini*. To which he added, *Trigonometriae Planae & Sphaericae Elementa. Item Tractatus de Naturâ & Arithmetica Logarithmorum. In usum Juventutis Academicæ*.

T.

KEILL (JAMES), an eminent Physician, and brother of the preceding, was born in Scotland about the year 1673, and having travelled abroad, read Lectures of Anatomy with great applause in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by the latter of which he had the degree of Doctor of Physic conferred upon him. In 1700 he settled at Northampton, where he had very considerable practice as a Physician. He published several works [A], and died at Northampton of a cancer

[A] He published several works.] In 1698 he translated into English Lemery's Chemistry. The sixth edition of his *Anatomy* was printed at London 1718. In the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 306, he published *An Account of the Death and Dissection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been 130 Years old*; and in No. 361, *De Viribus Cordis Epistola*. In 1708 he published at London in 8vo, *An Account of Animal Secretion, the Quantity of Blood in the human Body, and Muscular Motion*. He afterwards gave a Latin translation of this Book, to which he subjoin'd a *Medicina Statica*, with tables, never published by any Writer before. In the preface to this treatise he observes, that Diseases being purely disorders of the Animal Oeconomy, whatsoever can add any new light to our knowledge of this, must necessarily clear the nature of those, establish the practice of Physick upon a surer foundation, and enable Physicians to make truer and more certain judgments in most Cases; and that if the animal oeconomy were perfectly understood, and the history of Diseases exactly known, the right method of curing each disease might evidently and certainly be deduced. Whence it follows, that when the history of a disease is exactly known, if the right method of curing it cannot be deduced, it must be because the animal oeconomy is not understood. He concludes his Preface with remarking, that the *Vis attractrix*, which he supposes to take place in animal secretion, was asserted by the most famous antient

physicians, as Hippocrates and Galen, as well as the gravitation of the heavenly bodies one towards another was known to the best antient Philosophers, as well as to Kepler and Sir Isaac Newton. Upon the subject of Animal Secretion, and in explaining the manner how the fluids of the animal body are separated from the blood, Dr. Keill undertakes to shew, 1. How they are formed in the blood, before they come to the place appointed for secretion. 2. In what manner they are separated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former Head he shews, that the blood consists of a simple fluid, in which swim corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of such Particles as the blood consists of, must the fluids be composed which are drawn from it; and as in the blood the particles attract one another, and cohere together, so likewise may the Particles of the fluids, which are separated from it. This he proceeds farther to shew to be not only possible, but actually so, in several secretions, as milk, urine, &c. And if it is not evident in all, he looks upon it to be, because their constituent principles are more powerfully attracted by the particles of the fluids in which they swim, than by one another, which hinders their separation from that fluid. From this principle, that the blood consists of corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with various degrees of an attractive Power, and that of such particles the fluids secreted by the Glands

cancer in the mouth in the year 1719, aged forty six years. He was never married.

Glands are composed, the Doctor proceeds to shew how the corpuscles, which compose the secretions, are formed in the blood, before they arrive at their secreting glands. But before he comes to this, he lays down and demonstrates several Propositions relating to the laws of attraction, as fundamental to what he is about to advance; and then determines the force of air upon the blood in breathing, in order to shew, that by the pressure of the air the cohesion of the globules of the blood is dissolved. After this, he shews how the union of the attractive Particles is hindered near the heart; and that the particles, which unite first after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, must be such as have the strongest attractive Force; and that such as have the least, must unite last, and all the intermediate ones, according to their respective attractive powers. He then deduces the reason of the situation of the kidneys; and observes, that though the gall, which is secreted by the liver, and the *Semen* by the *Testiculi*, seem to be two considerable Objections against his hypothesis; yet they are so far from proving any thing against his doctrine of secretion, as to be the greatest arguments, that could possibly be urged for the truth of it. This he demonstrates at large; and then shews how some fluids may be secreted any where, and why the Lympha is secreted in several places, &c. and concludes what he had offered upon the first general proposition relating to secretions, with remarking that the knowledge of secretions is necessary for the understanding of the nature of Diseases, as in the diabetes, the rheumatism, the gout and the stone; and with explaining the operation of medicines by attraction. Under the second general proposition he shews the manner, in which the several fluids, after they are formed in the blood, are separated from it by the glands; and as this depends intirely upon the figure and structure of the glands, he determines them to be nothing else but convolutions of small arteries; since all the vessels in the body, in which the liquors are continually moving, can have no other than a cylindrical or conical form from the very nature of fluids, whose pressure is always perpendicular to the sides of the containing vessel, and equal at equal heights of the fluid. As therefore the sides of these vessels are soft and equally yielding every where, they must, by the pressure of the contained fluid, be equally every where distended, and consequently the section of such a vessel perpendicular to its axis, must be a right circle, and therefore the vessel must be either a concave cone or cylinder, or at least such a figure, whose transverse section is a circle. Hence he concludes, that the circular orifices of the glands can only differ in magnitude, and that

all sorts of particles of less diameters than that of the orifice of a gland may enter it. The next subject he treats of is the quantity of the blood or circulating fluids of what kind soever in the human body; in order to determine which he supposes the whole body to be nothing but tubes or vessels full of blood or liquors separated from it; and concludes with observing, that in a body weighing 160 pounds there must needs be 127 pounds of blood; from which quantity, that he may put the matter out of all manner of dispute, he deducts the weight both of the fat and bones, (though he thinks, that some arguments might be alledged to prove, that even the fat circulates, and he had before shewn, that there is a fluid in the bones;) and after allowances made for both, concludes, that the fluids in the human body have the same proportion to the solids as 100 to 60, or 5 to 3. He finishes the whole of what he offers about the blood, with a pretty large discourse about its velocity; and observes, that when the whole mass of blood is to be altered, the course of Physic ought to be continued for a long time, since the blood moves slower and slower, the farther it moves from the great artery; and consequently it must be a great while before the whole mass of blood can be mixed with the alterative medicine. And that since the circulation of the blood through the glands, which receive arteries immediately from a great vessel, is very quick, they may carry off a great proportion of the medicine in a very little time; and that therefore it is not the taking of great quantities, but the constant taking, which can alter the mass of blood. In his treatise of muscular motion, he defines a muscle to be a bundle of thin and parallel plates of fleshy threads and fibres, inclosed by one common membrane, in which all the fibres of the same plate are parallel to one another, and tyed together at extremely little distances by short and transverse fibres; the fleshy fibres being composed of other smaller fibres, inclosed likewise by a common membrane, and each lesser fibre consisting of very small vessels or bladders, into which the nerves, veins, and arteries are supposed to open. He proceeds then to explain the reason of the contraction of the vesicular muscular fibres, and to demonstrate into what figure each vesicle is contracted; which he shews with Bernoulli against Borelli, to be spheroidal; any section through the axis of each vesicle, where the axis lies in the plane of the section, being a plane inclosed in two curves, which are arches of two circles; and any section in any part of the vesicle, to which the axis is perpendicular, being a perfect circle. T.

KELLER (JAMES), one of the best writers, who appeared among the Jesuits in Germany about the beginning of the seventeenth Century, was born at Seckingen (a) in the year 1568. He became a Jesuit in 1588, and after he had taught polite Literature, Philosophy, Moral and Scholastic Divinity, he was appointed Rector of the College of Ratisbon, and afterwards of the College of Munich. He held the first of these two offices two years, but he continued in the second for sixteen years successively. He was for a long time Confessor to Prince Albert of Bavaria and the Princess his wife, and was often consulted and employed by the Elector Maximilian in affairs of importance. He disputed publickly with the most celebrated Minister (b) of the Duke of Newburg; and if we may believe his brethren, gained the advantage over him [A]. He published

(a) It is one of the four Frontier Cities.

(b) His name was James Hailbrunner.

[A] He disputed . . . with Hailbrunner; and if we may believe his brethren, gained the advantage over him.] Alegambe and Southwell relate, that James Hailbrunner found himself so much pressed in that dispute, that he was almost reduced to silence, and fell sick the night following, or pretended to be so, that he might not be obliged to enter the lists again next day. *Tam fortiter passus est, ut tantum non obmutuerit, morbumque reipsa nocte illa contraxerit, vel, ne cogeretur iterum in arenam descendere, callide simularit* (1). This conference was very like that between Perron and du Pleffis Mornai; for it turned upon the charge brought

against the Lutheran Minister of having cited several passages of the fathers with a thousand falsifications, in a German work intitled *Papatus A Catholicus*. The conference between Keller the accuser and Hailbrunner the accused was held at Newburg in June 1615 (2); and if we believe the Lutherans, the innocence of their Minister was proved by the clearest evidence imaginable, *Ex inspectione & examinatione dictorum patristicorum, innocentia Hailbrunneriana luculenter patuit. Vide Stratem. Theatrum historicum, p. 1111. D. Dorseti in Kircher dev. prelim. 100 usque 106 (3).*

(1) Alegambe and Sotuel, in *Biblioth. Script. Societatis Jesu.*

(2) Andreas Carolus, in *Memoir. Ecclesiast. Saeculi XVII.* pag. 384.
(3) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 383.

(c) Taken from Nathaniel Southwell's *Bibliotheca Script. Societatis Jesu*, pag. 373, 374.

lished some controversial writings [B], and divers political works upon the affairs of the times. He assumed a disguised name before his political writings [C]. He died at Munich February the 23d 1631 (c). KEN

[B] He published some controversial writings.] Here follow the titles of them. *Tyrannicidium, seu scitum Catholicorum de Tyranni internecione adversus inimicas Calviniani Ministri calumnias in societatem Jesu jactatas*: Munich 1601 in 4to in Latin and High Dutch. *Papatus Catholicus, seu Demonstratio fundamentalis veritatis Ecclesie Catholice Romanæ contra Jacobum Hailbrunner*: Munich 1616, 2 vol. in fol. in High Dutch. *Compendium ejusdem Operis*, in the same place, at the same time in 4to. *Agonia seu Sudor mortalis Jacobi Hailbrunneri, hoc est, Refutatio Hailbrunneri, qui extremam unionem insectatus fuerat scripto libro*: in the same place in 1618 4to, in High Dutch. *Fasciculus olidus 50 Flosculorum, id est, Absurditas Prædicantium in Colloquio* (4) *Ratisbonensi*. He took the name of Jacobus Silvanus before this book, which was printed in 1604 in 4to (5). He took the same name in a book printed at Ingolstadt in 1607, and intitled *Philippica in anonymum quendam Prædicantem, qui Societatem Jesu mendacis oneravit*. The writers of the Bibliothèques of the Jesuits make no mention of this book of Keller.

(4) And not Collegio, as Placcius, de Pseudonymis, pag. 261. lyy.

(5) Taken from Alegambe and Southwell, *Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu*.

(6) Placcius, de Pseudonymis, pag. 261.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Deckerus, de Scriptis adeptis, rale pratique, pag. 153.

(9) *Morale Pratique*, tom. 3, pag. 112.

(10) Joh. Frider. Mayerus, de Fide Billarmini suspensa, pag. 197, 198.

(11) Keller. in *Appendix Cancellariae Anhaltinae*, says that this report was false.

(12) Nicholas Harstein denies this in the Preface to his *Responsio Apologetica* to the *Ajax* of *Fabius Hercynianus*.

(13) Alegambe is mistaken in this name, for he says *Blessii*, and that this man was Chancellor. Father Southwell has not corrected these two errors: he says *Blessii*, &c. Placcius, de *Aurymis*, num. 256. pag. 71. has not corrected them, and erroneously ranks this book among the anonymous ones, not knowing that the author took the name of *Fabius Hercynianus*.

(14) Nicolaus Harsteinus, *Sicamber*, in *Prefat. Responsionis Apologet.* printed in 1625.

(15) *Legat. Mysteria Politica* nuper à vobis, & quidem a te Jacobo Kellero (ut multorum fert opinio) edita. Nicolaus Harsteinus, *Apolog.* pag. 8. In the *Mercure François*, tom. 2. this book is ascribed to an Italian.

(16) See *Mercure François*, tom. 11. pag. 1062, & seq.

(17) Harsteinus, *Apolog.* pag. 100.

(18) I write this in October 1695.

[C] He assumed a disguised name before his political writings.] The bloody war which laid Germany waste from the year 1618 till the peace of Munster, was undoubtedly a religious war; for the league, which the Protestants formed, and to which those of the contrary religion opposed a Catholic league, of which the Elector of Bavaria, was head, owed its rise to the suspicions, that the Imperial Court being influenced by the Jesuits would violate the peace of Passau. The Elector of Bavaria a very able Prince, would not suffer with impunity, that the Catholics should be charged with such a design. He procured books to be published, in which the Protestants were accused of having confederated to carry on pernicious designs, and particularly to oppress the Church of Rome. This accusation appeared in 1621 in a work intitled *Cancellaria secreta Anhaltina, id est, occulta Concilia, inaudita Proposita, periculose adinventiones, & prodigiöse machinationes Capitum ac Directorum unionis Correspondentium in Germania, occasione Rebellionis Bohemice ad ejusdem Coronæ & Imp. Rom. perniciem agrata. Post nuperam illam, omnibus posteris memorabilem Victoriâ Pragensem, & Novemb. 1620 in Originalibus Scripturis ac documentis Cancellariae Anhaltinae Divinâ*

Providentiâ deprehensa. The Protestant Princes ordered an answer to be made to this book, which was pretended to be written by William Jocher Counsellor to the Elector of Bavaria, and by Dr. Leickard (11). It was thought these Princes made use of the pen of Volrad Pleß, Counsellor to the Elector Palatine (12). Our James Keller thought so; for he wrote an answer to this book, printed in 1624 under this title: *Volradi Pleßii (13) Heidelbergensis olim Consiliarii Ajax post oppugnatam frustra Cancellariam Anhaltinam in Spongiam incumbens, sive Appendix Cancellariae Anhaltinae, auctore Fabio Hercyniano, J. C.* Alegambe and his continuator knew not, that their brother had taken the name of *Fabius Hercynianus* before this work. He had taken it the year before, when he answered a book, which Lewis Camerarius had published in 1622, under the title of *Cancellaria Hispanica: adjecta sunt Acta publica, hoc est, Scripta & Epistolæ authenticæ, à quibus partim infelicis Belli in Germaniâ, partim Proscriptionis in Electorem Palatinum scopus præcipuus apparet. Adjecti sunt sub finem Flores Scoppiani ex Classico Belli Sacri*. This book has another title after the table of contents, viz. *Viva Demonstratio causarum præsentis in Germania belli Religionis ergo suscepti*. The Jesuit Keller's answer to this book of Camerarius is intitled, *Litura, seu Castigatio Cancellariae Hispanicae, a Ludovico Camerario Excancellario Bohemico, Exconsiliario Heidelbergensi &c. instructæ. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* A new edition of this book was printed in 1624 under this title. *Cancellariae Anhaltinae Pars secunda. In qua non ita pridem à quibusdam edita Cancellaria Hispanica nervose simul ac lepide refutatur: tum ex quibusdam interceptis ad Gaborem Literis, Hungaricorum qui sequuti sunt & adhuc durant motuum Incentores seu Auctores demonstrantur. Auctore Fabio Hercyniano J. C.* Alegambe and his continuator did not know, that James Keller took this fictitious name in the title of his book. But they were not ignorant of it with regard to two tracts, of which I am going to give the titles. *Rhabarbarum demendæ Bili quam in Apologiâ suâ proritavit Ludovicus Camerarius propinatum à Fabio Hercyniano J. C. an. 1625. Tubus Gallicanus, hebescentibus Ludovici Camerarii oculis, in Litura Hispanicae Cancellariae male advertentibus, ad clarius videndum tornatus, à Fabio Hercyniano. Aditis in fine testimonii causa, & pro Tubo, & pro Rhabarbaro, ipsius Camerarii Epistolæ anno 1625.* Nicholas Harstein answering the *Ajax* or the *Appendix Cancellariae Anhaltinae*, observes, that the Jesuit, who was the author, used very much to disguise himself. *Nihil huic homini insolens esse, ut veritatem, ita nomen suum pervertere, & modo sub Aurimontii (à matre suâ Goltbergerâ) modo sub Didaci Tamiæ, modo sub Fabii Hercyniani (à Sylvâ Hercyniâ, sive Nigrâ, prope quam supra Basileam in oppido Seckingen natus est) nomine fallere, & bis literis, J. C. quæ non Jurisconsultum, ut alias, sed Jacobum Cellarium denotant, Lectori imponere* (14). i. e. "It is not at all unusual with this man to pervert his own name, as well as the truth, and to impose upon the reader, sometimes under the name of Aurimontius (from his mother Goltberg), sometimes under that of Didacus Tamiæ, sometimes under that of Fabius Hercynianus (from the Hercynian or Black Forest, near which, above Basil, in the town of Seckingen he was born), and to disguise himself under the letters, J. C. which do not signify *Jurisconsultus*, as on other occasions, but *Jacobus Cellarius*." Here are disguises not known to the two Jesuits, who compiled the Bibliothéque of the Writers of their Order. The same Nicholas Harstein informs us, that James Keller was author of *Mysteria politica* (15), a work, which made a great deal of noise (16), and which was very injurious to the Court of France. But he ascribes (17) to another Jesuit the book intitled *Secreta Secretorum Calvinico-Turcica*, the author of which had disguised himself under the name of *Honestus Cogmandolus*. The person, who answered him in a book intitled, *Secreta Secretorum Turco-Papistica*, took the fictitious name of *Justinus Justinopolitanus*, instead of *Lewis Camerarius*, which was his true name. The contents of the writers upon the affairs of the time, were then much more grave than they are in the present war (18), and as warm in their kind as those of warriors. At present there are scarce any thing but scurrilous satires published.

☞ KEN (THOMAS), an eminent English Bishop in the seventeenth Century, was son of Mr. Thomas Ken [A] of Furnival's-Inn London, by Martha his wife, and was born at Barkhamstead in Hertfordshire in July 1637 (a), and not in 1635, as Mr. Wood asserts (b). From Winchester school he was sent to the University of Oxford, and entered a Student of Hart-Hall in 1656, and the year following admitted Probationer-Fellow of New-College (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May the 3d 1661, and that of Master January the 21st 1664 (d). December the 8th 1666 he was chosen Fellow of Winchester College (e), and soon after became domestic Chaplain to Dr. George Morley Bishop of Winchester, who preferred him to the Rectory of Brixton in the Isle of Wight (f), and afterwards to the Parsonage of Woodhay in Hampshire, and to a Prebend in the Cathedral of Winchester, in which he was installed April the 12th 1669 (g). In 1675 (h), the year of the Jubilee, he travelled through Italy, and to Rome, and upon his return within the same year, he was often heard to say, that he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels; since, if it were possible, he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Protestant Religion, than he was before (i). July the 6th 1678 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (k); and June 30th 1679 that of Doctor of Divinity (l). He was afterwards appointed by King Charles II to attend the Lord Dartmouth to the demolishing of Tangier; and at his return was made Chaplain to his Majesty (m), as he was some time after to the Princess of Orange, then residing in Holland [B]. January the 25th 1684 he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells [C] in the room of Dr. Peter Mews, translated to the See of Winchester. The month following he attended King Charles II at his death [D]. In the following reign he zealously opposed the progress of Popery [E]; and on the 8th

(a) A Short Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Ken, D. D. sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. By William Hawkins of the Middle Temple Esq; pag. 1. edit. London 1713.

(b) Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 983. 2d edit. London 1721.

(c) Idem, ibid.

(d) Short Account, pag. 8.

(e) Ibid. pag. 3.

(f) Wood, ubi supra.

(g) Short Account, pag. 6.

(h) Ibid. Wood says in 1674.

(i) Short Account, pag. 6, 7.

(k) Fasti Oxon. vol. 2. col. 210.

(l) Ibid, ibid. col. 212.

(m) Short Account, pag. 7.

[A] Son of Mr. Thomas Ken.] His father's family was of great antiquity, and had possessed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the Kens of Ken-Place, an estate, in the possession of Earl Powlet, who is descended from an heiress of the Kens, John Lord Powlet of Hinton St. George having married Christian, daughter and heiress of Christopher Ken of Ken in the county of Somerset Esq; (1).

[B] Some time after made Chaplain to the Princess of Orange, then residing in Holland.] In this station his prudent behaviour and strict piety gained him entire credit and high esteem with that Princess. "But a consequential act, says Mr. Hawkins (2), of his singular zeal for the honour of his country, in behalf of a young Lady, so far exasperated the Prince, that he warmly threatened to turn him from the service; which the Doctor repenting, and begging leave of the Princess, (whom to his death he distinguished by the title of his mistress) warned himself from the service, and would not return to that court, till by the entreaty of the Prince himself he was courted to his former post and respect, consenting to continue there for one year longer, (during which time he was taken, at least into a shew of great familiarity;) and when that year expired, he returned for England. This was not unknown to the King, nor did he shew the least dislike to his behaviour." The thing which had given offence to the Prince of Orange was our author's obliging one of the Prince's favourites to marry a young Lady of the Princess's train, whom he had betrayed (3).

[C] January the 25th 1684 he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells.] When that See became vacant by the removal of Dr. Peter Mews to that of Winchester, the King himself stopped all attempts of Dr. Ken's friends, (who would of their own inclination have applied in his behalf,) with this remarkable saying; "That Dr. Ken should succeed, but that he designed it should be from his own peculiar appointment." And accordingly the King himself gave order for a *Conge d'essire* for the seals of that purpose; and this even just after our author's opinion, that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the house of a Clergyman, especially the King's Chaplain, was publickly known. For at that time the King coming to Winchester, and his Harbinger having marked the Doctor's house, which he held in right of his Prebend, for the use of Mrs. Gwin; he absolutely refused her admittance, and she was forced to

seek another lodging (4). [D] The month following he attended King Charles II at his death.] Mr. Hawkins tells us (5), that the Bishop gave close attendance by the royal bed, at least for three whole days and nights, watching at proper

intervals [to suggest pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion. In which time the Duchess of Portsmouth coming into the room, the Bishop prevailed with his Majesty to have her removed, and took that occasion of representing the injury and injustice done to his Queen so effectually, that his Majesty was induced to send for the Queen, and asking pardon, had the satisfaction of her forgiveness before he died. The Bishop having urged the necessity of a full repentance, several times proposed the administration of the Sacrament. But though it was not absolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, till the Bishop and others present were put out from the King's presence for about the space of half an hour; during which time it has been suggested, that Father Huddleston was admitted to give his Majesty the Extreme Unction. And the interval between this and his death was so short, that nothing concerning the Bishop's behaviour happened worthy of notice. Bishop Burnet observes (6), that our Bishop "applied himself much to the awaking the King's conscience, and spoke with an elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were present, except him, that was most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answer. He pressed the King six or seven times to receive the Sacrament. But the King always declined it, saying, he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it was ready to be offered was brought into the room; which occasioned a report to be then spread about, that he had received it. Ken pressed the King to declare, that he desired the Sacrament, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England; to which the King answered nothing. The Bishop asked him, if he desired absolution of his sins; which he pronounced over his Majesty; "for which he was blamed, since the King expressed no sense of sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one, who after a life led as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against every thing that could be said to him. Ken was also censured for another piece of indecency; he presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this some that were in the room cried out, that the King was their common father; and upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them."

[E] In the following Reign he zealously opposed the progress of popery.] The King had so far entertained hopes of his absolute obedience to his will and pleasure, that though many of his sermons were framed against the Church of Rome; yet it was thought worth while

(1) A Short Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Ken, D. D. sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. By William Hawkins of the Middle Temple Esq; pag. 1, 2.

(2) Ibid. pag. 7, 8.

(3) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, pag. 423, 424. edit. London 1718 in 8vo.

(4) A Short Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Ken, D. D. sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. By William Hawkins of the Middle Temple Esq; pag. 9, 10.

(5) Ibid. pag. 10, 11, 12.

(6) History of his own Time, vol. 1. B. 3.

of June 1688 he, with five other Bishops and the Archbishop of Canterbury, was committed prisoner to the Tower of London for subscribing a petition to his Majesty against the declaration of indulgence (n). Upon the Revolution he refused to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, on which account he was deprived of his Bishopric [F]. Her Majesty Queen Anne bestowed on him a yearly pension of two hundred

(n) Pag. 19, 20.

to attempt to gain him over to the interest of that party at court; but so ineffectually, that upon the preaching of a sermon of his published at the end of the account of his life, in the King's own Chapel at Whitehall, and it being misrepresented to the King, who had not been present at Divine Service, his Majesty sent for the Bishop, and closetting him on the occasion, received nothing in answer, but this fatherly reprimand; *That if his Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him: whereupon he was dismissed.* (7).

(7) Short Account, pag. 17, 18.

[F] Upon the revolution he refused to take the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary; on which account he was deprived of his bishoprick.] Just before his deprivation Dr. Burnet, then Bishop of Salisbury, wrote to him the following letter;

" My Lord,
 " This Gentleman, who is presented to a Living in your Lordship's Diocese, came to me to receive institution; but I have declined the doing of it, and so have sent him over to your Lordship, that you being satisfied with relation to him, may order your chancellor to do it. I was willing to lay hold on this occasion to let your Lordship know, that I intend to make no other use of the commission, that was sent me, than to obey any orders, that you may send me in such things as my hand and seal may be necessary. I am extremely concerned to see your Lordship so unhappily possessed with that, which is likely to prove so fatal to the Church, if we are deprived of one, that has served in it with so much honour as you have done, especially at such a time, when there are fair hopes of the reforming of several abuses. I am the more amazed to find your Lordship so positive, because some have told my self, that you had advised them to take that which you refuse your self; and others have told me, that they read a pastoral letter, which you had prepared for your diocese, and were resolved to print it, when you went to London. Your Lordship, it seems, changed your mind there, which gave great advantages to those, who were so severe as to say, that there was somewhat else than conscience at the bottom. I take the liberty to write this freely to your Lordship for I do not deny, that I am in some pain till I know whether it is true or not. I pray God to prevent a new breach in a Church, which has suffered so severely under the old one.

My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most faithful servant and brother,
 Sarum, October 1.

" *Gi. Sarum.*

Bishop Ken's answer was as follows.

" All glory be to God.

" My Lord,
 " I am obliged to your Lordship for the continued concern you express for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleased to take with me. And though I have already in public fully declared my mind to my diocese concerning the oath, to prevent my being misunderstood; yet since you seem to expect it from me, I will give such an account, which, if it does not satisfy your Lordship, will at least satisfy my self. I dare assure you, I never advised any one to take the oath; though some, who came to talk insidiously with me, may have raised such a report. So far have I been from it, that I never would administer it to any one person, whom I was to collate. And therefore, before the act took place, I gave a particular commission to my Chancellor, who himself did not scruple it; so that he was authorized, not only to institute, but also to collate in my stead. If any came to discourse with me about taking the oath, I usually told them, I durst not take it my self. I told them my reasons, if they urged me to it, and were of my diocese; and then remitted them to their study and prayers for

" farther Directions. It is true, having been scandalized at many persons of our own coat, who for several years together preached up passive obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, (it being a subject, with which I rarely meddled,) and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgment of their past error, preached and acted the quite contrary; I did prepare a pastoral letter, which, if I had seen reason to alter my judgment, I thought to have published; at least that part of it, on which I laid the greatest stress, to justify my conduct to my flock. And before I went to London, I told some of my friends, that if that (8) proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance, (and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter) it would be an inducement to me to comply. But when I came to town, I found it was false; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and adhered to my former opinion. If this is to be called a change of mind, and a change so criminal, that people, who are very discerning, and know my own heart better than my self, have pronounced sentence upon me, that there is something else than conscience at the bottom; I am much afraid, that some of those, who censure me, may be chargeable with more notorious changes than that; whether more conscientious or no, God only is the judge. If your Lordship gives credit to the many misrepresentations, which are made of me, and which I being so used to can easily disregard, you may naturally enough be in pain for me; for to see one of your brethren throwing himself headlong into a wilful deprivation, not only of honour and of income, but of a good conscience also, are particulars, out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuse my self of any insincerity; so that Deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for my self. I perceive, that after we have been sufficiently ridiculed, the last mortal stab designed to be given us, is to expose us to the world for men of no conscience. And if God is pleased to permit it, his most holy will be done; though what that particular passion of corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in losing all we have, will be hard to determine. God grant such reproaches as these may not revert on the authors. I heartily join with your Lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church; and I shall conceive great hopes, that God will have compassion on her, if I see, that she compassionates and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace and that charity I my self can only contribute to, both by my prayers and by my deprecations against schism and against sacrilege.

My Lord,

" your Lordships very faithful servant and brother,
 " October 5, 1689.

" *Thomas Bath and Wells.*"

His opinion was not agreeable to that of the Nonjurors, who were for continuing a separation by private Consecrations among themselves, as appeared from his answers to several letters, written to him by men of learning upon that subject; and from his requesting Dr. George Hooper to accept of the See of Bath and Wells (9). That Divine having often and earnestly discoursed with Bishop Ken on the subject of compliance with the oath, the latter at last used these expressions to him; *I question not, but that you, and several others, have taken the oaths with as good a conscience, as my self shall refuse them; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used. But I beg you to urge them no farther; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world* (10).

(8) The Bishop was about this time assured, that King James II had by some special instrument made over the Kingdom of Ireland to the French King.

(9) Short Account, pag. 26.

(10) Ibid. pag. 38, 39.

(1) See the article of HOOPER (George) vol. 6. pag. 231. at Long Leate in Wiltshire March the 19th 1710. He was interred at Frome-Selwood (p). He published several books [G]. His charity was so extensive, that having once, while he was Bishop of Bath and Wells, received a fine of four thousand pounds, he gave great part of it to the French Protestants (q). He had an excellent genius for and skill in Music; and whenever he had convenient opportunities for it, he performed some devotional part of praise with his own compositions, which were grave and solemn (r). Bishop Burnet tells us (s), that "he was a man of an ascetic course of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and sudden. He had a very edifying way of preaching; but it was more apt to move the passions, than to instruct, so that his Sermons were rather beautiful than solid. Yet his way in them was very taking."

(1) History of his own Time, vol. 1. B. 3.

[G] He published several books. I. *A Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College, and all other devout Christians.* London 1681 in 12mo. II. *An Exposition of the Church Catechism: or, Practice of Divine Love, composed for the Diocese of Bath and Wells.* London 1685, in 8vo. There being an expression in the first edition, which the Papists at that time laid hold of, as if it favoured their doctrine of Transubstantiation; he took particular care in the next edition in the reign of King James II., by altering the expression, to ascertain the sense (11). III. *Directions for Prayer, taken out of the Church Catechism:* printed with the Exposition. IV. *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, concerning their behaviour during Lent:* dated February the 17th 1687. London 1688 in one sheet in 4to. V. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Easton in Essex,*

June the 30th 1682, on *Prov. 11. 16.* London 1682 in 4to. VI. *A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Bath on Ascension Day May the 5th 1687.* This occasioned a piece, intitled, *Animadversions on the Bishop of Bath's Sermon on Ascension Day May the 5th 1687.* London 1687 in three sheets and an half in 4to. VII. *A Letter to Dr. Tennison on his Sermon at Queen Mary's Funeral.* London 1695 in 4to. VIII. Mr. Hawkins has subjoined to his *Life* of our author two Sermons, one preached in the King's Chapel at Whitehall in 1685 on *Dan. x. 11.* the other preached upon Passion-Sunday on *Micab. vii. 8, 9.* and six *Hymns or Odes.* These Mr. Hawkins published as a specimen, in order to a publication of his works at large. VIII. He wrote also an *Epic Poem* about the time of his voyage to Tangier, which seems to have had his last hand; with several other Poems (12).

(12) Ibid. pag. 24- H

(a) Life of the Right Reverend Dr. White Kennett, late Lord Bishop of Peterborough. With several original Letters of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, the late Earl of Sunderland, Bishop Kennett, and some curious original Papers and Records never before published, pag. 1, 2. edit. London 1730 in 8vo.

KENNETT (WHITE), a learned English Writer and Bishop of Peterborough in the eighteenth Century, was son of Mr. Basil Kennett, M. A. of the University of Dublin, Rector of Dimchurch and Vicar of Postling near Hythe in Kent, by Mary eldest daughter of Mr. Thomas White [A], a wealthy Magistrate in Dover, who had been a master shipwright or builder of ships, and after the Restoration was employed by the Government in that way (a). Our author was born in the parish of St. Mary in Dover August the 10th 1660; and had the first part of his education at Eleham and Wye, two country-schools in the neighbourhood; from whence he was removed to Westminster school above the curtain; but falling sick of the small-pox at the very time of election, his father thought it not advisable that he should wait another year. He spent a year before he went to the University in the family of Mr. Tolson at Beakshorne, and taught his three sons with great content and success (b). He removed to Oxford, and was entered a Butler and Semi-Commoner of St. Edmund Hall in June 1678 (c), and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May the 2d 1682 (d). He soon distinguished himself by his vigorous application to his studies, and by his translations of several books into English, and other pieces which he published [B]. He took his degree of Master of Arts,

(c) Wood, *Abb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1131. 2d edit. London 1721.

(d) Idem, *Paffi Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 219.

(b) Idem, *ibid.*
(1) Life of Bishop Kennett, pag. 2. edit. London 1730 in 8vo.

[A] Mr. Thomas White. From him, who was our author's godfather as well as grandfather, he had his Christian name, not without hopes of being made his heir; but the old Gentleman afterwards married a second wife, by whom he had three children, who with their mother went away with the whole estate (1). [B] His translations of several books into English, and other pieces which he published. In 1681 he published *A Letter from a Student at Oxford to a friend in the country, concerning the approaching Parliament; in Vindication of his Majesty, the Church of England and University.* London 1681 in about three sheets in 4to. This pamphlet, which was printed in March, and divers copies of it sent to Oxford about the 15th of the same month 1682 against the time that the said Parliament was to sit, on the 21st of that month, "gave great distaste, says Mr. Wood (2), to the factious party of the House of Commons, who would have endeavoured to find out the author and have him punished, had not they been suddenly dissolved. John Trenchard, sometime Fellow of New College in Oxford, then a Burgess of Taunton in Somersetshire, to serve in the said Parliament, was an active man in this matter, and pretended to know more than another, that it was writ by an Oxford Scholar. The Vice-Chancellor was desired by some of them to sound out the author; but for the reason before expressed he desisted." The same year he published *A Poem to Mr. E. L. on his Majesty's dissolving*

the late Parliament at Oxon, 28 March 1681. It was printed on one side of a sheet of paper, and hath this beginning, *An Atheist now must a monster be, &c.* It was reprinted in a pamphlet intitled, *The Conduct of the Reverend Dr. Kennett.* London, 1717. In 1683 he published a Translation of Erasmus's *Moria Encomium*, which he intitled, *Wit against Wisdom, or a Panegyric upon Folly.* Oxford 1683 in 8vo. ushered into the world by copies of verses made by Matthew Morgan M. A. of St. John's College, William Osborne M. A. James Shute B. A. both of Edmund Hall, and Thomas Wood Fellow of New College. At the end of which verses is the translator's poem on the argument of this book; This translation has since had several other editions. He translated likewise *The Life of Chabrias, written by Cornelius Nepos,* published among *The Lives of illustrious Men* written by the Historian, and done into English by several Hands of Oxon. Oxford 1684 in 8vo. He translated likewise *Pliny's Panegyric,* which he intitled, *An Address of Thanks to a good Prince, presented in the Panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan, the best of Roman Emperors.* London 1686 in 8vo. To this translation Mr. Kennett prefixed a large Preface and *Life of Pliny,* according as Sir Robert Stapylton had done in his translation of that *Panegyric,* printed at Oxford in 1644 in 4to. Mr. Kennett's translation was reprinted in 1717; before which time several reflections having been made on him for this performance, it occasioned the following account of it in a postscript to the

(2) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1131. 2d edit. London 1721.

(e) *Idem, Alben. Oxon. ubi supra. and Life of Bishop Kennet, pag. 3. 4.*

(f) *Wood, Alben. Oxon. ubi supra.*

(g) *Life of Bishop Kennet, pag. 6.*

(h) *Wood, Alben. Oxon. ubi supra.*

Arts, and entering into holy Orders became Curate and Assistant to Mr. Samuel Blackwell, B. D. Vicar and School Master of Burcester in Oxfordshire (e). In the beginning of September 1685 he was presented by Sir William Glynne Bart. to the Vicarage of Amerden or Ambrosden in Oxfordshire (f); and after a few years absence made Vice-Principal of St. Edmund-Hall (g). In January 1689 he had the misfortune of being wounded in the skull by the breaking of a gun [C]. He was afterwards presented to the Rectory of Shottesbroke in Berkshire by William Cherry Esq; (h). In 1693 he published at Oxford in 8vo the *Life of Mr. William Somner* [D]. The year following Mr. Edmund Gibson, now Bishop of London, dedicated to him Mr. Somner's Treatise in answer to Chifletius concerning the situation of *Portus Iccius* [E]. In 1695 Mr. Kennett published his *Parochial Antiquities* [F]. While he continued at Amerden, he contracted an acquaintance with Dr. George Hickes, whom he entertained in his house, and was instructed by him in the Saxon and Northern tongues; though their different principles in Church and State afterwards broke off the friendship between them [G]. He had

now

the translation of his *Convocation Sermon* 1710. "He [that is the Remarker] says, the Doctor dedicated *Pliny's Panegyric* to the late King James: and what if he did? Only it appears he had not. This is an idle tale among the party, who perhaps have told it till they believe it. When the truth is, there was no such dedication, and the translation itself of *Pliny* was not designed for any Court-Address. The young translator's tutor Mr. Allam directed his pupil by way of exercise to turn some Latin tracts into English. The first was a little book of *Erasmus* intitled *Morie Encomium*, which the tutor was pleased to give to a Bookseller in Oxford, who put it in the press, while the translator was but an Under-Graduate. Another sort of task required by his tutor was this *Panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan*, which he likewise gave to a Bookseller in Oxford, before the translator was Master of Arts, designing to have it published in the reign of King Charles; and a small cut of that Prince at full length was prepared, and afterwards put before several of the books, though the impression happened to be retarded till the death of King Charles; and then the same tutor, not long before his own death, advised a new preface adapted to the then received opinion of King James's being a just and good Prince. However there was no dedication to King James, but to a private patron, a worthy Baronet, who came in heartily to the beginning of the late happy revolution. This is the whole truth of that story, that hath been so often cast at the Doctor; not that he thinks himself obliged to defend every thought and expression of his juvenile studies, when he had possibly been trained up to some notions, which he afterwards found reason to put away as childish things."

[C] In January 1689 he had the misfortune of being wounded in the skull by the breaking of a gun. He was shooting at a bird within the parish of Middleton Stony in Oxfordshire, when the gun burbling, a splinter of the barrel made a grievous wound in his forehead, and broke through both the tables of his skull; which occasioned his wearing a large black patch of velvet on that part of it. While he lay under great disorder of body and brain, just after he had undergone the severe operation of trepanning, for want of sleep he made a copy of Latin verses, and dictated them to a friend at his bedside, who transmitted this copy to Sir William Glynne, in whose study it was found, after Mr. Kennett had forgot every thing but the sad occasion. It is now, says the author of his *Life* (3), in my possession, and thought by good judges to be no reproach to the author.

(3) *Pag. 7.*

[D] In 1693 he published at Oxford in 8vo the *Life of Mr. William Somner*. This piece, which was published in the beginning of that year, was written by way of letter dated from Edmund Hall February the 15th 1692 to the Reverend Mr. James Brome M. A. Rector of Cheriton in Kent, and Chaplain to the Cinque Ports, and prefixed to Mr. Brome's edition of Mr. Somner's *Treatise of the Roman Ports and Farts in Kent*.

[E] The year following Mr. Edmund Gibson, now Bishop of London, dedicated to him Mr. Somner's *Treatise in answer to Chifletius concerning the situation of Portus Iccius*. This book was printed at Oxford 1694 in 8vo under the following title. *Julii Caesaris Portus Iccius illustratus, sive, 1. Gulielmi Somneri ad Chifletii Librum de Portu-Iccio Responsio. 2. Caroli du Fresne*

Dissertatio de Portu-Iccio. The dedication is inscribed *Eximio Viro White Kennetto*; and in it Mr. Gibson after having taken notice that the study of antiquity is very much discouraged by its being represented as dry and barren, and the bane of all delicacy and politeness, tells our author, "that by this means, those, who apply themselves to it, would be wholly discouraged, but that they were kept in countenance by his example and authority. And that there could not be a more effectual answer to the reproaches cast on this sort of learning, than that vivacity of parts, that strength and delicacy of understanding so remarkable in him. That from his politeness of mind, easiness and affability of manners, and perfect mastery in all the parts of gentile learning, joined with the exactest knowledge in antiquities, the world might see that this kind of study does by no means cramp the genius, or sour the temper; and from his soundness and strength of judgment men may learn, that the more unguarded flights and fallies of imagination are by this means best of all corrected." He then proceeds to tell him, that he esteems himself happy in this respect, that the nature of his studies, and his private obligations, both conspired to engage him to direct that address to him. "For who has a better title to these golden remains of Somner, than one, who by so copiously and exactly writing his life, had at the same time conferred immortality upon him?"

[F] *His Parochial Antiquities*. They were printed at Oxford 1695 in 4to under this title. *Parochial Antiquities attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parishes in the counties of Oxford and Bucks*. This work is highly commended by Archdeacon Nicholson (4); and Mr. Thomas Tanner, late Bishop of St. Asaph in his *Notitia Monastica: or a short History of the Religious Houses in England and Wales*. Oxford 1695 in 8vo, in which he often refers to Mr. Kennett's book. And Mr. Philip Falle, Rector of Shenly in Hertfordshire, in a marginal note on his *Visitacion-Sermon* preached at Hertford June the 12th 1700, having occasion to cite Bishop Grindal's Register, observes, that he does so, "upon the authority of the Reverend Dr. Kennet, whose learned account of the antiquities of his own Parish-Church of Ambrosden shew him excellently accomplished to go on further in the like curious researches."

(4) *English Historical Library, pag. 25, 54. edit. London 1696 in 8vo.*

[G] While he continued at Amerden, he contracted an acquaintance with Dr. George Hickes, whom he entertained in his house, and was instructed by him in the Saxon and Northern tongues; though their different principles in Church and State afterwards broke off the friendship between them. The writer of *Bishop Kennet's Life* informs us (5), that our author "freely received Dr. Hickes into his Vicarage-House, and finding, that by his condition of suffering for the cause of King James, his head and thoughts were too much determined to politics; by which he would be apt to disturb the world, and expose himself; Mr. Kennett, to divert him from that mischief (as well as for other reasons) desired his instruction in the Saxon and Septentrional tongues, and particularly the derivation of our oldest English words from the Gothics, and other Northern dialects; to which purpose Mr. Kennett made a large Dictionary of our words so deduced, as he had them from the tongue and pen of Dr. Hickes. And the sheets may be of

(5) *Pag. 21, &*

use

now taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity; and in 1700 was appointed Minister of St. Botolph Aldgate without any solicitation of his own (i). Upon this he resigned the Vicarage of Amerfield, which he might have kept; as he quitted afterwards the Rectory of Shottesbroke, when he might have made it consistent with other preferment (k). In 1701 he was engaged in the controversy relating to the constitution of English Synods [H]. He was soon after named a Member of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, the proceedings of which Society he published an account of in 1706 [I]. He designed likewise to have written *An Historical Account of the Corporation for the Relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, and of the several Benefactions given to it, and the manifold good services done by it*; but was discouraged from it [K]. His Sermon at Aldgate on the 30th of January 1703 exposed him to great clamour, and occasioned many Pamphlets to be written against it [L]. In

1704

"use, when posterity comes to think, that we have no English Dictionary, that gives the true origination of our language. While Dr. Hickes was thus pleased and amused by the Country Vicar, it gave this latter an opportunity to interest the Doctor to look more upon those Studies, to review his Saxon and Islandic Grammar, and to embellish them with notes and observations, that might revive and improve the knowledge of our antiquities in the rise and conveyance of our laws, customs, tenures, and other national rights. It was upon this frequent discourse and importunity of Mr. Kennet, that Dr. Hickes then and there laid the foundation of that noble work, which he brought to perfection in about seven years after, and published under this title, *Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis Libri duo, &c.* Oxon 1705, as he himself acknowledges in these words in the learned preface. *Rev. & doctissimus Vir Whittes Kennet, S. T. P. &c. i. e. The reverend and most learned Whittes Kennet, &c. more than forty years ago interested me, that I would undertake this work of the antient Northern words, which in his opinion deserv'd to be more generally understood, I immediately set about it in his house, and having at length finish'd it, if it shall be found to be of any advantage to the learned world, it is intirely owing to him as the encourager and promoter of it.*"

and justly vindicated from the misrepresentations of Mr. Aserbury. By White Kennet, D. D. Part I. London 1701 in 8vo dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and *An Occasional Letter on the subject of English Convocations.* London 1701. He is said likewise to be the author of *The History of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, summoned to meet in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul London, on Febr. 5. 1700. In answer to A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation.* London 1702 in 4to.

[I] *Of the proceedings of which society he published an account in 1706.* It was printed in 4to under this title. *An Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, established by the Royal Charter of King William III. with their Proceedings and Success, and Hopes of continual Progress under the happy Reign of her most excellent Majesty Queen Anne.* Within four years after he continued and improved that account by an historical account of what had been transacted by the same society; and especially what steps and measures had been taken by the society *De propagandâ Fide* at Rome; and what more Christian methods by reformed States and Princes. This was a work of great pains, and brought to some tolerable perfection, but never published, because the printing of it would have been of greater expence to that society than their circumstances would admit of (8).

[K] *He designed likewise to have written An Historical Account of the Corporation for the Relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, &c; but was discouraged from it.* He had for this purpose collected a great many notions of things and persons, and the several sermons before the Sons of the Clergy from the first by Mr. George Hall, afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Bishop of Chester, intitled *The Tribe of Levi* 1658, downwards; and searched the last wills of several donors and benefactors; and would by degrees have connected the materials into some order for the press, but that he was unkindly used, and the spirit of some new members of that corporation raised anger and hatred more than affection and charity to the Church and Clergy (9).

[L] *His Sermon at Aldgate on the 30th of Jan. 1703* exposed him to great clamour, and occasioned many pamphlets to be written against it. This Sermon was printed under the title of *A compassionate inquiry into the causes of the civil war.* In a Sermon preach'd in the Church of St. Botolph Aldgate the 30th of January 1703, London 1704. in 4to. The causes of this war improved by wicked arts and designs he assigns to be, "First, a French interest and alliance, and from thence arising, Secondly, the apprehensions and fears of popery, which led on, Thirdly, the jealousies of oppression and illegal power; which tended more and more to, Fourthly, the growth of prophaneness and immorality; and even this help'd to produce, Fifthly, that hypocrisy and perfidiousness, which accomplished the sin and the infinite scandal of this day." After the publication of this sermon, there appeared several pieces against it; but those, who threatened to complain of it in convocation, where the Doctor had by other writings offended the majority of the lower house, thought fit to drop their intentions. And soon after he received an order to preach before the house of commons on the same occasion, January 30th, 1705-6, and the Doctor had the thanks of the house for his sermon, and was desired to print it, as accordingly it was.

(1) *Short Account*, pag. 6, 7.

(2) *Foli Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 210.

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 14.

(8) *Life of Bishop Kennet*, pag. 20, 21.

(9) *Ibid.* pag. 22.

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 15; 16.

(*) *Postscript to a Translation of Dr. Kennet's Convocation-Sermon.*

[H] In 1701 he was engaged in the controversy relating to the constitution of the English Synods. He wrote upon this subject, *Ecclesiastical Synods and Parliamentary Convocations in the Church of England historically stated*

1704 he published his *Case of Impropriations* [M], and two other tracts upon the same subject [N]. In 1705 he preached the Consecration Sermon for Dr. William Wake Bishop of Lincoln [O]. In 1706 he published the third volume of the *Complete History of England* [P]. In 1707 his Funeral Sermon upon the Duke of Devonshire occasioned great clamours against him [Q]. Soon after he was preferred to the Deanery of Peterborough, having been before appointed Chaplain in ordinary to her Majesty at the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Godolphin (m) ^{(m) Life of Bi-} ^{shop Kennet, pag. 38.} The same year by the advice and under the favour of the Archbishop, he resigned his laborious Cure of Aldgate, and accepted of her Majesty's gift of the Rectory of St. Mary Aldermary in London; upon which exchange he lost above one hundred pounds a year for the purchase of a little more retirement and opportunity for study. In 1709 he published *A Vindication of the Church and Clergy of England from some late Reproaches rudely and unjustly cast upon them* [R]; and *A true Answer to Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon before the*

[M] In 1704 he published his case of impropriations.] It was printed at London in 8vo under this title: *The case of Impropriations, and of the augmentation of vicarages and other insufficient cures, stated by history and laws, from the first usurpation of the Popes and Monks, to her Majesty's Royal Bounty, lately extended to the poorer clergy of the Church of England: with an appendix of records and memorials relating to that subject.* From the first publication of this book the Doctor was, upon all occasions of inquiry, gathering up such authorities, and such instances of fact and due inferences from them, as when connected into a new edition of that work, will greatly improve it.

[N] and two other tracts upon the same subject.] The first tract is intitled, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis, &c.* written by Sir Henry Spelman Knt. The second tract is intitled, *The poor Vicar's plea for tythes, &c.* By Thomas Ryves, Doctor of the Civil Law. To these Dr. Kennett prefixed a prefatory account of the authors and these works. London 1734. In this preface the Doctor begins thus: "Her Majesty's late pious munificence to the Clergy of the Church of England has made glad the hearts of her best subjects, the best Christians, and has made them reflect on the alienation of tythes and offerings, as the great scandal of Popery and the great defect of our Reformation. To make up a competent maintenance for the parochial ministers and so the better to provide for the service of God, and the care of souls, has been the continual subject of all good men's wishes, proposals and attempts." The Doctor's long course of studies had the better instructed and qualified him for these purposes. He had before delivered many things of that kind in his *Parochial Antiquities*; and had pursued the same Design in publishing in 1698 another tract of Sir Henry Spelman, intitled, *the history and fate of sacrilege, discovered by examples of scriptures of beatens, and of Christians, from the beginning of the World continually to this day.* Wrote in the year 1632. A treatise omitted in the late edition of his posthumous Works, and now publish'd for the terror of evil doers.

[O] In 1705 he preached the consecration sermon for Dr. William Wake Bishop of Lincoln.] It was published at London in 1706 under this title. *The office and good-work of a Bishop. A Sermon preached in Lambeth Chapel, at the consecration of the right Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Lincoln on Sunday Octob. 21. 1705, published at the desire of the Archbishop and Bishops.* The writer of our author's life (10) files this almost learned and excellent discourse; and tells us, that "it was admired so much by the late Lord Chief Justice Holt, that he declared, it had more in it to the purpose of the legal and Christian constitution of this Church, than any volume of discourses."

[P] In 1706 he published the third volume of the complete history of England.] Some Booksellers had been advised to make a collection of the best writers of the lives and reigns of our several English Princes from the conquest to the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, and to reprint them fairly in three volumes. When they had laid this scheme, they found it necessary to have a continuation made by some one new hand, of the four last reigns of Charles I. Charles II. James II. and William III. and they at last prevail'd with Dr. Kennet to draw up the materials for this third volume. He had no manner of hand in any branch of the two former, nor in the preface to them, which was written by Mr. John Hughes, and concluded thus: "For what remains to be said concerning the third volume, the judicious and accomplished

"writer of it has thought fit in his own words to address the public as follows." And the words, [All new writ by a learned and impartial hand] were added by the booksellers. From whence it is plain, that the author resolved to conceal his name; and we may believe, that the few Undertakers for the press, who were let into the secret, were obliged by promise not to betray it. "But it seems, says the writer of his life (11), (11) Pag. 34.

"in a pragmatistical age, with a restless party, the concealing and withdrawing himself did but raise the fiercer pursuits after him; and the Jacobite outcry was, that Dr. Kennet was the writer of that history, designing to expose them and their cause. Dr. Hickes was the first, who was extremely angry, that there was not a due respect paid to his book *Jovian*, and to the notions of it. And even some persons, who had gone into the revolution with forwardness enough, and yet had not found their full account in it, were offended, that too much or too little notice was taken of the parts they acted about that time. And above all an eminent Peer (12), very instrumental in the revolution by taking up arms in the North, had made such an improvement of his honours and fortunes by it, that he thought himself privileged and protected from any retrospect upon his conduct in the court and treasury of King Charles II. And therefore finding in that history a narrative of what appeared to be male-administration, though taken from the Parliament Journals and printed Trials, and other public Papers, he was much offended, and taking an opportunity, upon the death of the Duke of Montague, to give some account of his transactions with France from his own papers and letters, complained of the misrepresentation of his services made by the late historian; who really did not seem to mean any thing of reflection on his noble person and family, but related facts as he found them before related. However on the occasion of his Grace's complaint, he enquired more narrowly into those matters, and stated them over again in a most authentic manner; but finding that the more full discovery would only create the greater offence, he would not suffer what he had written, to be published to the world." The *Complete History* was reprinted at London 1719 in fol. with many corrections and additions.

[Q] In 1707 his Funeral Sermon upon the Duke of Devonshire occasioned great clamour against him.] It was printed at London 1708 in 8vo, under the following title: *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the right noble William Duke of Devonshire, in the Church of St. Mary in Derby, on Friday September 5. 1707. With some memoirs of the family of Cavendish.* The passage, which gave the principal offence, has been quoted in our article of CAVENDISH (William) the first Duke of Devonshire.

[R] In 1709 he published a vindication of the Church and Clergy of England &c.] It was printed at London in 8vo, It was occasioned by a pamphlet published by one S. Curate of a parish near the City, who afterwards joined himself to the Non-Jurors, and intitled *An appeal of the Clergy of the Church of England to my Lords the Bishops, humbly beseeching them to move her most sacred Majesty to redress their grievances, &c.* Dr. Kennet's Answer was designed to vindicate the Clergy from the charge brought against them by this writer, on several heads, "which the Doctor stated with just respect to the rules of the Church, and to the practice of the better part of the Clergy."

the Lord Mayor Nov. the 5th 1709 [S]. In 1710 he was greatly reproached for not joining in the London Clergy's Address to the Queen [T]. The same year he preached the Latin Sermon at the opening of the Convocation [U]. He was exposed to great odium as a Low-Church Man on account of his conduct and writings [W]. In 1713 he presented the Society for propagating the Gospel with a great number of books, suitable to their design, and published his *Bibliothecæ Americanae Primordia* [X], and founded an Antiquarian and Historical Library at Peterborough [Y]. In 1715 he published a Sermon, intitled, *The Witchcraft of the present Rebellion* [Z], and afterwards several other pieces.

[S] A true answer to Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon &c.] It was printed at London 1709 in 8vo. It begins thus: "You asked me last night, what I thought the best way of answering Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon on November 5. I told you, one way was to let it drop into silence and contempt, for that there was not one argument to answer, but a jumble of words and periods, that made the crackling of thorns, noise and flame; and therefore it was better to pity the man, and despise the stuff. It could do no harm, but rather great service to make his own party-friends ashamed of him, and to convince the world, that madness is as bad as moderation. But said you, there be some answers in print, and will be more. Pray what is the best course that a new answerer can take with him? Why Sir, said I, to let him answer himself; that is, to produce his own words, and to let him stand or fall by them, without calling him any names, or raking into his life and conversation. You pressed me, Sir, to give a specimen of it. Here it is, cool and calm, under these heads; *Propriety, Pertinence, good sense, Veracity, Seriousness, Charity, and Allegiance.*

[T] In 1710 he was greatly reproached for not joining in the London Clergy's address to the Queen.] When the great point in Doctor Sacheverell's trial, the change of the ministry, was gained, and very strange addresses were made upon it, there was like to be a like artful address from the Bishop and Clergy of London, and they who would not subscribe it, were to be represented as enemies to the Queen and her Ministry (13). Dr. Kennett fell under this imputation; and advice of it was sent through the kingdom by Mr. Dyer in his letter of August 24th 1710, in these words: "The address of the Bishop and Clergy of London was inserted in this day's Gazette by order of the Queen, as a distinguishing favour to them. The Clergymen, who refused to sign it, were Dr. Barton, and Mr. Baker; and those, who did not answer to the Bishop's Summons were Dr. Kennett, Dr. Bradford, Dr. Hancock, and Mr. Hoady. And therefore as they have no share in the Queen's thanks, so I hope they will have as little in her favours."

[V] He preached the Latin Sermon at the opening of the convocation.] It was printed at London in 4to, under this title: *Concio ad Synodum ab Archiepiscopo, Episcopis, & Clero Provinciae Cantuariensis &c.* It was translated into English without the author's knowledge for the benefit, as it was said, of the dissenting teachers. Upon which he took care for a more correct translation, to which he subjoined a *Postscript*, in which he vindicated himself from some reproaches cast upon him.

[W] He was exposed to great odium as a Low-Churchman, on account of his conduct and writings.] He zealously opposed the doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-Baptism. He was supposed likewise to be the author of a letter to the Reverend Thomas Brett, LL. D. Rector of Bettebanger in Kent, about a motion in Convocation: London 1712 occasioned by a complaint in Convocation against Dr. Brett's Sermon, intitled, *A Sermon of remission of sins, according to the scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Church of England.* He reprinted likewise in 1714 a Sermon of Dr. John Whiggist, Dean of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, to which he prefixed a preface dated November 28th 1713. He published the same year *A memorial for Protestants on the 5th of November, containing a more full discovery of some particulars relating to the happy deliverance of King James I. and the three estates of the Realm of England, from the most traiterous and bloody intended massacre by Gunpowder, anno 1605.* In a letter to a Peer of Great Britain: dated October 25. 1712. and *A letter*

to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, concerning one of his predecessors, Bishop Merks, on occasion of a new volume for the Pretender, intitled, *The hereditary right of the Crown of England asserted.* London 1713. About this time it was, that a very uncommon method was taken to expose the Dean by Dr. Welton, Rector of the Church of White-chapel. For in the Altar-piece of that Church, which was intended for a representation of Christ and his twelve Apostles eating the Passover and the Last Supper, Judas the Traytor was drawn sitting in an elbow-chair, dressed in a black garment, between a gown and a cloak, with a black scarf and a white band, a short wig, and a mark in his forehead between a lock and a patch, and with a great deal of the air of Dr. Kennett's face. It was generally said, that the original sketch was for a Bishop under Dr. Welton's displeasure, which occasioned the elbow-chair. But the painter being apprehensive of an action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, leave was given to drop the Bishop, and make the Dean. This giving a general offence, upon the complaint of others (for Dr. Kennett never saw it, or seemed to regard it) the Bishop of London ordered the picture to be taken down (14).

[X] His *Bibliothecæ Americanae Primordia.*] It was printed at London 1713 in 4to, under this title: *Bibliothecæ Americanae primordia: An attempt towards laying the foundation of an American Library, in several books, papers, and writings, humbly given to the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, for the perpetual use and benefit of their members, their missionaries, friends, correspondents, and others concerned in the good design of planting and promoting Christianity within her Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in the West-Indies.*

[Y] Founded an Antiquarian and Historical Library at Peterborough.] He had been long gathering up the scattered remains of our English writers, or any other authors upon the subject of our English affairs, from the very beginning of English printing to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth; which, when put in order of time, would make up such a series and connection of the antiquities and history of this Church and Nation, as would be of great light and service to the world. The collection of these books, amounting to about fifteen hundred volumes and small tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in order to be daily supplied and augmented under the care of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sparke, a member of that Cathedral. There is a large written catalogue of them thus inscribed: *Index Librorum aliquot vetustorum, quos in commune Bonum concessit W. K. Decan. Petriburg. MDCCXII.* In this collection there are most of the printed legends of Saints; the oldest rituals and liturgies; the first printed statutes and laws; the most antient Homilies and Sermons, the first editions of the English schoolmen, Postillers, expounders, &c. with a great many fragments of our antient language, usage, customs, rights, tenures, and such other things, as tend to illustrate the antiquities and history of Great Britain and Ireland, and the successive state of civil government, Religion, and learning in them. In a letter of his to a friend, dated at Peterborough July 27th 1717 he writes thus: *I have improved the collection I have been long making for an Historical Antiquarian Library, consisting of the oldest books relating to English writers and affairs: I have considerably increased my catalogue of the lives of eminent men.* He likewise enriched the common library of the Cathedral of Peterborough with some very useful books; and added to the stock of monuments and records there, an abstract of the collections made by Dr. John Colens, one of his Predecessors, afterwards Bishop of Durham.

[Z] In 1715 he published a Sermon, intitled, *The witchcraft of the present rebellion.*] It was printed at London

(14) Ibid. pag. 140, 141.

(13) Ibid. pag. 304.

(n) *Life of Bishop Kennet*, pag. 181, 182.

pieces [AA]. In 1717 he was engaged in a dispute with Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, relating to some pretended alterations in the Bishop of Bangor's famous Sermon [BB]; and disliked the proceedings of the Convocation against that Bishop. This with his zeal for the repeal of the Schism Bill rendered him very obnoxious to those of a different party (n). Upon the death of Dr. Cumberland Bishop of Peterborough he was promoted to that See, to which he was consecrated November the 9th 1718. In this Bishopric, having fate little more than ten years, he died at his house in St. James's Street Westminster on Thursday December the 19th 1728, and was interred at Peterborough. Besides his writings abovementioned, he published several others [CC]. Mr. Wood (o) (o) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 1132. represents

London under the following title: *The witchcraft of the present rebellion. A Sermon preached in the Church of St. Mary Aldermary in the city of London, on Sunday September 25, 1715, the time of a publick ordination. Published upon the request of the bearers.*

[AA] And afterwards several other pieces.] *A reasonable discourse of the rise, progress, and discovery, and utter disappointment of the gun powder treason and rebellion plotted by the Papists in 1605, 3d of James I. as delivered in a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, on the 5th of November 1715, before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, &c. London 1715. The wisdom of looking backwards to judge the better on one side and t'other, by the speeches, writings, actions and other matters of fact on both sides for the four last years. London 1715 in 8vo. The faithful steward: A Spittal Sermon preached on Tuesday in Easter Week April the 3d, 1716. London 1716. A thanksgiving Sermon for the Blessing of God in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion; delivered in the parish Church of Aldermary in the city of London, on Thursday the 7th of June 1716. London 1716. A second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle upon the subject of Bishop Merks, &c. London 1716. in 8vo; dated October 22d 1716. A third letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Almoner to his Majesty, upon the subject of Bishop Merks: in which the nomination, election, investiture, and deprivation of English Prelates are shewed to have been originally constituted and governed by the Sovereign Power of Kings and their Parliaments; against the pretensions of our new Fanatics, who have withdrawn themselves from the established Church into a separate communion, under the name of some deprived Bishops and their supposed successors. London 1717 in 8vo, dated January 25th 1716-7. The second letter was occasioned by a paper seized among the papers of Mr. Laurence Howell, superscribed a letter to Dr. Kennett, which seemed designed for a dedication or preface to a book, intitled, *An answer to the brief History of the Crown of England, written at the time when the bill of exclusion was attempted against the Queen's Father, the Duke of York.* The letter prefixed to this complained, that "Dr. Kennett had given a vile character of Bishop Merks, and yet against his will had made him strictly faithful to his "rightful Sovereign".*

[BB] In 1717 he was engaged in a dispute with Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, relating to some pretended alterations in the Bishop of Bangor's famous sermon.] This sermon having been attacked by Dr. Andrew Snape, the Bishop published an Answer, in which, upon occasion of a report spread by some persons about the town, that he was put upon preaching that sermon at Court, to serve some political ends, he uses these words; *God knows, I preached what I found there [in the New Testament] without the knowledge of any man living (†).* Dr. Snape had been told a story by Dr. Hutchinson inconsistent with the Bishop's positive and solemn declaration, namely, that the sermon was preached with the knowledge and submitted to the correction of a certain person, who advised the making alterations in it. Upon this in the conclusion of his second letter he thus addresses himself to the Bishop: "I must needs say, your evasive equivocal way of writing favours very strongly of such communication [that is, with a Jesuit] and whether the same person may not have helped you to a mental reservation to justify a solemn appeal to God, that what you preached was without the knowledge of any man living, when a living man has testified, that it was preached with his knowledge, and submitted to his correction, your Lordship best knows." Immediately upon the publication of this the Bishop of Bangor called upon Dr. Snape for the proof of what he had asserted; who

(†) *Answer to the Reverend Dr. Snape's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor*, pag. 43. 3d edit.

presently declared, that he had received that account from Dr. Hutchinson, who had heard the Bishop of Carlisle say, that he had spoken with the person, who advised the Bishop of Bangor, upon reading his sermon, to insert such words as *absolutely, properly, &c.* And that some days after, the same Divine again assured him, that he had heard the same Prelate a second time declare that matter to be true, and that he would justify it to all the world. Upon this Dr. Snape drew up that passage, waited upon the Bishop of Carlisle, read it to him, and was allowed by him to publish it, with an assurance that he would stand to it. This was the substance of Dr. Snape's advertisement; to which the Bishop of Carlisle was persuaded to add, *This is true*, though he afterwards declared, that it was not strictly so. However being now called upon to name the living man, who was to attest the truth of what he asserted, he fixed on Dr. Kennett, who, he declares, according to the best of his remembrance, was the person, who told him, that the sermon was preached with his knowledge, and submitted to his correction; and that the Doctor advised, and with difficulty prevailed for the inserting the words abovementioned. This was denied by Dr. Kennett in the most solemn manner in all his conversations, public advertisements, and private letters to his friends. The reader may see a particular account of this affair in the *Life of Bishop Kennet* p. 165 & seqq. and in the Appendix to it.

[CC] Besides his writings abovementioned, he published several others.] A manuscript treatise against Dr. Samuel Parker about the Test (*). *The Righteous taken (*) Wood, Ath. away from the Evil to come, applied to the Death of Oxon. vol. 2. col. Queen Mary; in a Sermon preached in St. Martin's 1132. Church in Oxon, Jan. 20, 1694. A Sermon preached at Bow-Church, London, before the Societies of Reformation, on Monday the 29th of December 1701. Published at their Request. London 1702. The Glory of Children in their Fathers. A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul before the Sons of the Clergy. December the 3d 1702. Published at the Request of the Stewards. With an Abstract of the Royal Charter erecting a Corporation for relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, and an Account of the Charities annually disposed to those pious Purposes. London 1703. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St. Botolph Aldgate in London, on December the 7th 1704, the Day of solemn Thanksgiving for the late glorious Victory obtained over the French and Bavarians by the Forces of her Majesty and her Allies under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough. London 1704. A Thanksgiving Sermon at St. Paul's March the 8th 1707. The Charity of Schools for poor Children recommended. In a Sermon preached in the Parish-Church of St. Sepulchre's May the 16th 1706. London 1706. The Duties of rejoicing in a Day of Prosperity recommended. In a Sermon preached before the Queen at her Royal Chapel at Windsor on Sunday June the 23d 1706. London 1706. The Christian Scholar, in Rules and Directions for Children and Youth sent to English Schools; more especially designed for the poor Boys taught and cloathed by Charity in the Parish of St. Botolph Aldgate. London 1708. The excellent Daughter. A Sermon for the Relief of the poor Girls taught and cloathed by Charity within the Parish of St. Botolph Aldgate: With proper Lessons of the Duties of Daughters. London 1708. Glory to God, and Gratitude to Benefactors. A Sermon preached before the Queen in her Royal Chapel of St. James's on Tuesday the 22d of November 1709, the Day of public Thanksgiving for the signal and glorious Victory at Blaragnies near Mons in Hainault. Published by her Majesty's special Command. London 1709. A Letter to Mr. Barville, a Roman Priest, upon his desire of being reconciled to the Church*

represents him even at his first appearance in the world, as “an excellent Philologist, a good Preacher, whether in English or Latin, and well versed in the Histories and Antiquities of our Nation, and much deserving of the Church of England.” And the author of his *Life* tells us (p), that he was a man of extensive learning, exemplary character, great zeal in the discharge of his Pastoral and Episcopal Functions, of a charitable and courteous disposition, and of firm probity, courage and resolution in the performance of his duty. “And the same writer in his preface (q) observes, that he had “his imperfections, no doubt; but they were undoubtedly atoned for by many great and excellent virtues. He was of a very communicative and public spirit, would submit to any trouble or fatigue to serve a friend, the public, or posterity. He was a father and true friend of the church; and though he utterly disliked the way of separation, yet he expressed great charity and moderation towards those who are so unhappy as to differ from us. He was a patriot and hearty lover of his country; a champion and faithful assertor of the Protestant Religion; and (what it depends upon in this Kingdom) the Protestant Succession.”

(p) Pag. 185,
1797.

(q) Pag. 10.

of England, dated from Golden Square Crutched Fryars November 30, 1709, printed in a Book intitled, *An Account of the late Conversion of Mr. John Barville alias Barton from Popery to the Reformed Church of England: With the form of his solemn Abjuration of the Romish Religion. Written by himself.* London 1710 in 8vo. *The Works of Charity. In a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, &c. in the Church of St. Bridget, on Tuesday in Easter Week 1710.* London 1710. *The Christian Neighbour. A Sermon preached in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor &c. upon the Election of a Mayor for the Year ensuing on the Feast of St. Michael 1711.* London 1711. *The Lets and Impediments in planting the Gospel of Christ. A Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow on Friday Feb. 15, 1711½. With some References relating to Matters of Fact, &c.* London 1712. *Doing good the Way to Eternal Life. Recommended in a Spittal Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor &c. on Tuesday in Easter-Week the 22d of April 1712.* London 1712. *The Faithful Steward. A Spittal Sermon preached on Tuesday in Easter-Week, Ap. 3, 1716.* London 1716. *Dr. Snape instructed in some Matters, especially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery.* London 1718. *Charity and Restitution. A Spittal Sermon preached at the Church of St. Bridget on Easter-Munday March the 30th 1719, before the Right Honourable Sir John Ward, Lord Mayor, &c. With an Application to the vain Attempts of a Spanish Invasion in the Year 1588.* London 1719. *A Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the Abbey-Church of Westminster the 30th of Jan. 1719.* London 1720.

Monitions and Advices delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Peterborough, at the Primary Visitation held in the Months of July and August 1720. In two Parts. Published at the Request of the Clergy, for their Use and Service. London 1720 in 4to. An Introduction to a new edition of a book intitled, *A Discourse concerning the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil made against Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome, &c.* London 1723 in 8vo. Bishop Kennett in his Introduction intimates, that this discourse was written by Dr. Maurice; but it since appears, that Dr. Daniel Whitby was the true author of it. See Dr. Whitby's *Twelve Sermons preached at the Cathedral Church of Sarum*, p. 256. and *A short Account of Dr. Whitby*, p. 5. prefixed to his *Last Thoughts*. In 1726 our author published at London in 4to. *A Treatise of Gavellkind, both Name and Thing. Shewing the true Etymology and Derivation of the one, the Nature, Antiquity, and Original of the other. With sundry emergent Observations both pleasant and profitable to be known of Kentish Men and others, especially such as are studious either of the antient Custom, or the Common Law of this Kingdom.* By (a Well-Willer to both) William Somner. The Second Edition corrected from the many Errors of the former Impression. To which is added the *Life of the Author*, written, newly revised, and much enlarged. Our author's last work was, *A Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil; containing Matters of Fact delivered in the Words of the most Authentic Books, Papers, and Records, digested in exact Order of time. With proper Notes and References towards discovering and connecting the True History of England from the Restoration of King Charles II.* London 1728 in fol. T.

☞ KENNETT (BASIL), a learned English writer, and brother of the preceding, was educated in Corpus Christi College in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor and Master of Arts, and became Fellow of that College. In 1706 he went over Chaplain to the English Factory at Leghorn, where he met with great opposition from the Papists, and was in danger of the inquisition [A]. He returned to England about the year 1713, and was elected President of Corpus Christi College, and became Doctor of Divinity, He died in the year 1714. He published the *Lives* of

[A] Where he met with great opposition from the Papists, and was in danger of the Inquisition.] The author of the *Life of Dr. White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough* (1) tells us, that the Italians were so jealous of the Northern Heresy, especially the Priests and Regulars were so watchful against it, that the English nation and Minister were forced to begin the exercises of religion with the utmost privacy and caution, to give as little offence as possible. And yet great offence was taken at it, and complaints and informations immediately sent to Florence and to Rome. The Envoy at Florence, Dr. Newton, did all the matter could bear to insist on the right of the English merchants, to have a Minister among them of their own religion; and offered to undertake, that he should not publicly reflect on the religion of the country, nor attempt to bring over any of the Duke's subjects to the Protestant persuasion. But the Pope and the Court of Inquisition at

Rome were resolved to expell hereby and the public teacher of it from the confines of the Holy See; and therefore secret orders were given to apprehend Mr. Kennett at Leghorn, and to hurry him away to Pisa, and thence to some other prison, to bury him alive, or otherwise dispose of him in the severest manner. Upon notice of this design upon him, the English Envoy at Florence interposed his offices in that court, but could obtain no other answer, but that he might send for the English Preacher, and keep him in his own family as his Domestic Chaplain; but that otherwise if he presumed to continue at Leghorn, he must take the consequences of it; for in those matters of religion the Court of Inquisition was superior to all civil powers. The Envoy communicated this answer of the Great Duke to the Earl of Sunderland, one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, who, in her Majesty's name returned the following directions.

“ To

(1) Pag. 57, 1797. edit. London 1730, in 8vo.

of the Greek Poets, the Roman Antiquities, and a volume of Sermons preached at Leghorn; and translated into English Puffendorf's treatise of the Law of Nature and Nations. He was a man of the most exemplary integrity, generosity, and modesty.

" To Dr. Henry Newton, her Majesty's Envoy in the
" Court of Florence.

" Sir,
" Yours of the 16th and 24th I received. In answer to which, I have laid the whole affair before her Majesty, who has commanded me to order you to tell the Great Duke and his Ministers, in her Majesty's name, that if there be any molestation given to her Chaplain residing at Leghorn, she shall look upon it as an affront done to her self and the nation, a breach of peace, and a violation of the law of nations; and shall by her fleets and armies, which will be all the year in the Mediterranean Sea, not only demand, but take satisfaction for any such injury offered. And that the Priest of the Great Duke's Minister here, and all frequenters of his Chapel must expect the same treatment. And if they talk any more of the Pope or Court of Rome, you must cut the matter short, by telling them, her Majesty has nothing to do with that Court, but shall treat with the Great Duke as with other independent Princes and States. And this you must do in the most forcible manner possible. I have no more at present to add, but am
" Your humble servant
" Sunderland."

Before this letter could reach Florence, the English Envoy was extremely embarrassed with the difficulties of treating for the protection and security of Mr. Kennett, and could find no expedient more proper for the present, than to invite him earnestly to his house at Florence, and there cover him till the affair should be adjusted, and for that purpose to send him a qualification as his Domestic Chaplain. But the English Consul and Factory at Leghorn would not readily consent to let him go away, as fearing that if this point

was once gained, he would never be allowed to return. Nor was Mr. Kennett himself willing to consult his own safety by seeming to forsake his charge; and therefore continued there, though in the utmost danger. He was forced to confine himself to his chamber, and to have an armed guard at the stair's foot; and when in some evenings he went out for the air, he walked between two English merchants, who with their swords drawn resolved and declared, that no body should dare to seize him but at their peril. But as soon as the Earl of Sunderland's letter came to the Envoy's hands, and was by him communicated to the Duke and his Ministers, the contents of it were soon by them imparted to the Pope and his Cardinals, who so well understood the argument of fleets and armies, that Mr. Kennett escaped their intended fury, and continued for several years to officiate as a Minister of the Church of England in a large room, set apart for a Chapel, in the Consul's house, with public prayers, and a course of sermons since published to the world. When he had seen himself well established in this privilege, and had so laid the foundation of it, he began to think that the having a successor in that place upon the same bottom would be the best confirmation; and therefore earnestly importuned his brother, the Dean of Peterborough, to find out a fit person to succeed him. And he had indeed the greater reason to insist upon coming home, because his constitution did not agree with that warmer climate in his abstemious way of living. However, he declared, that he would not stir till he saw a successor upon the spot to relieve him. This at last, after great delay and obstructions from the Queen's New Ministry, was obtained, and Mr. Kennett was succeeded by Mr. Nathaniel Taubman, who had been Chaplain in her Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, and had published an account of the expedition (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 57-101.

KEPLER (JOHN) one of the greatest Astronomers of his age, was born at Wief in the country of Wirtemberg December the 27th 1571. He began his studies of Philosophy at Tubingen in 1589, and two years after studied Mathematics in the same University under the famous Michael Mœstlin. He made so great a progress in it, that in the year 1595 he wrote an excellent book, which was printed at Tubingen the year following under the title of *Prodromus Dissertationum de proportione Orbium caelestium, deque causis caelerum numeri, magnitudinis, motuumque periodicorum geminis & propriis, &c.* He had been before invited to Gratz in Styria, to teach Mathematics there (a). Tycho Brahe having settled in Bohemia, and obtained from the Emperor all the sorts of conveniences for the perfecting of Astronomy, was passionately desirous of having Kepler with him, and wrote to him so many letters upon that subject, that he prevailed upon him to leave the University of Gratz, and remove into Bohemia with his family and library in the year 1600 (b). Kepler in this journey was seized by a quartan ague, which continued seven or eight months, so that he could not do Tycho Brahe all the services which he was capable of. He was even a little dissatisfied with the reservedness which Tycho shewed towards him (c); for the latter did not communicate to him all that he knew; and as he died in 1601, he did not give time to our Kepler to be very useful to him, or to receive any considerable advantage under him. From that time Kepler enjoyed the title of Mathematician to the Emperor all his life (d), and gained more and more reputation by his works [A]. The Emperor Rodolphus ordered him to finish the Tables of Tycho,

(a) Taken from Gassendus, de Vita Tyconis Brahei, lib. 5. pag. m. 451.

(b) Idem, ibid. pag. 456, and 459.

(c) Idem, pag. 460.

(d) See the remark [F].

[A] He gained . . . a great reputation by his works.] I shall only give the titles of some of his books. *Harmonices mundi Libri V. Apologia pro sua Harmonica mundi contra Demonstrationem analyticam Roberti de Flaubibus. De Cometis Libri tres. Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena, quibus Astronomiae pars optica traditur. Epitome Astronomiae Copernicanae. Astronomia nova, seu Physica caelestis tradita Commentariis de motibus stellae Martis ex Observationibus Tyconis Brahei. Chilias Logarithmorum in totidem numeros rotundos. Supplementum Chilias Logarithmorum. Nova Stereometria doliorum vinariorum & Stereometriae Archimedeae supplementum. Dioptrice. De vero natali anno Christi.*

Eclogae Chronicae de tempore Herodis Herodiadumque, baptismi, ministerii, passionis, mortis, & resurrectionis Christi, deque tempore Belli Judaici. Tyconis Brahei Hyperaspistes adversus Scipionis Claramontii Anti-Tyconem in aciem productus. This is sufficient to shew, that our Kepler was not one of those genius's, who are confined to a narrow sphere; his activity extended to a great number of objects. See in the body of this article the title of the first book, which he published. It is the same with his *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, and was that of all his works which he esteemed most. He was so charmed with it for some time, that he owned, that he would not renounce the glory of

(e) See Gassendus, lib. 6. pag. 471.

(f) They were published under that title.

Tycho (e), which were to be called the Rodolphine Tables (f). Kepler applied himself to it with vigour, but the Treasurers were so ill affected towards him [B], that he could not publish them till the year 1627. He died in November 1630 at Ratibon, where he was soliciting the payment of the arrears of his pension (g). LEWIS KEPLER, (g) Gassendus, his son, Physician at Konigsberg in Prussia, finished the impression of his father's *Somnium, Lunarisve Astronomia*, and was apprehensive, lest it should occasion his death [C].

John

of the discoveries, which he had given an account of in that book for the Electorate of Saxony. *Thomas Lanfius in Mantissa Orat. p. 792. memorat, Keplerum aliquando à se rogatum, quem ex editis a se Libris loco dignaretur præcipuo, primatum dedisse Mysterio Cosmographico, testatum in illo scripto quinque corporum regularium sublime secretum tot sæculis absconditum pandi: inventum autem illud, cum adhuc recens esset, tanti se fecisse, ut, si eodem tempore Saxonie Electoratus sibi dono oblatus fuisset, additâ Conditione, alterutrum, aut donum aut inventionem repudiandi, amplissimâ & tot metallorum copiis scetâ provinciâ excidere, quam invidenda & perpetuam Gloriam secum ductura inventionem carere maluerit* (1). i. e. "Thomas Lanfius in *Mantissa Orat. p. 792.* tells us, that Kepler being once asked by him, which of the books published by him he esteemed most, gave the preference to his *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, declaring that in this book the sublime secret of the five regular bodies, which had lain hid so many ages, was discovered; and that he valued that discovery so much, when it was new, that if the Electorate of Saxony had been offered to him at the same time, upon condition of renouncing either the offer or the invention, he would rather have refused that extensive principality so well furnished with metals, than have quitted an invention, which would bring him immortal honour."

(1) König, Bibliothec. pag. 444. in Vocæ Keplerus.

[B] *The Treasurers were so ill affected towards him.* Unhappy are those learned men, who depend upon those Gentlemen, and who cannot compleat a work, without the good humour of the Intendants of the Finances; a set of men, who in order to serve their Prince well, are obliged to weary out by a thousand difficulties those who have pensions from him. They leave him by this means the reputation of liberality without its coiting him much. I make use of Gassendus's words to shew the discontent of Kepler. *Alacriter quidem ille se accinxit; verum illæ brevi, ac aliæ deinceps, partim ex operis naturâ, partim ex sergiverfatione Præfectorum ærarii, suburbæ suere difficultates, ut priusquam Tabulæ perfectæ evulgatæque fuerunt, annus sæculi XXVII adventarit. Conquestus est certè ab annis II. ac III. configi se limis Præfectorum oculis; & cum anno IX. specimen Laboris insignis, Commentaria de Motibus Stellæ Martis edidisset, ac Rodolphus præter editionis impensas, persolvi illi confestim mandasset, tum stipendorum residua, quæ, inquit, ad duo millia monetæ argentæ majoris excreverant, tum aliæ insuper duo millia; exoptulabat tamen adhuc biennio post, decreta Rodolphi in se munificentissima nullum eventum consequi, ac se incassum facere sumptus, pulfæ regue jam Camera Silesiæ, jam Imperialis ærarii fores* (2). i. e. "He applied himself vigorously to it; but such difficulties arose in a short time, partly from the nature of the work, and partly from the delay of the Treasurers, that the Tables were not finished and published till the year 1627. He complained, that from the year 1602 and 1603 he was looked upon by the Treasurers with a very invidious eye; and when in 1609 he had published a noble specimen of the work, and the Emperor Rodolphus had given orders, that besides the expence of the edition, he should immediately be paid the arrears of his pension, which, he said, amounted to two thousand crowns, and likewise two thousand crowns more; yet, he complained, that it was not till two years after, that the generous orders of Rodolphus in his favour were put in execution, and that he in vain knocked at the door of the Silesian and Imperial Chamber." Kepler met with no less discouragement from the Financiers under the Emperor Matthias, than under Rodolphus. *Licet anno insequente Matthias Rudolphi successor & continuari stipendia, & exsolvi residua jussisset, querebatur tamen anno XVI. exspectare se adhuc mandatorum exoptatissimum effectum* (3). He had occasion to

(2) Gassendus in Vita Tyconis Brabæ, lib. 6. pag. m. 471.

(3) Idem, ibid.

continue his patience under the Emperor Ferdinand; but at last he received his arrears. *Perseverarunt adhuc querelæ post exactum XIX, quo Ferdinandus Matthiæ successit, etiamque post XXI, quo edidit partem Doctrinæ Copernicæ theoreticam, juxta quam deductio tabularum foret: quousque optimus imperator rebus licet nondum penitus compositis etiam vetera, quæ Antecessores debebant, stipendia persolvit, ac ut necessarii ad murationem editionemque Operis sumptus suppeditarentur mandavit* (4). i. e. "His complaints continued still after the year 1619, when the Emperor Matthias was succeeded by Ferdinand, and likewise after 1621, when he published the theoretical part of the Copernican Doctrine, according to which the Tables were to be deduced; until the good Emperor, tho' his affairs were not then entirely settled, ordered the payment of what was due to him of the pension allowed his predecessors, and commanded, that the necessary expences for finishing the edition of the work should be furnished to him." The punctuality in the payment of his pension was interrupted; for the reason why he went to Ratibon in 1630 was, that he had occasion to solicit there the payment of his arrears. *Cum anno XXX. ad Comitium Ratibonensia, ut stipendorum residua postularer, se contulisset, incidit in ardentem febrim, exque eâ . . . obiisse initio Decembris, ut certè ad Deodatum scripsit Beneggerus, cum & eximius Eichladius ad me scripsisset, fuisse eum catarrho extintum, quem apostemata quedam cerebri ob nimiam equitationem præcesserant* (5).

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Idem, ibid.

[C] *Lewis Kepler . . . was apprehensive lest the care of the impression of his father's Somnium . . . should occasion his death.* The last work, which John Kepler wrote, was the *Description of the Moon*: he had not the satisfaction of publishing it, for he died during the course of the impression. James Bartschius his son-in-law, and faithful follower in his astronomical opinions, undertook the care of this book, and continued the impression, but was interrupted in this employment by death. Lewis Kepler, the author's son, was so surprized at these accidents, that he was with great difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the care of this book. He was fearful of losing his life as his father and brother-in-law had done; and his mother-in-law, John Kepler's widow, who in very narrow circumstances had a burthen of children, was obliged to make use of many entreaties and arguments to engage him in that work. At last she succeeded. A learned Professor of Utrecht has made use of these circumstances in order to explode Kepler's doctrine concerning the world in the moon. *Unum, says he, præterire nequeo, quod spectat Selenographiæ Keplerianæ natales; unde jure merito malè ominor Levaniæ ejusque incolis.* i. e. "I cannot omit one thing relating to the birth of Kepler's Selenography, whence I think it to be an ill omen to Levania and its inhabitants." He gives an account of the death of our author and of Bartschius, and then adds. *Ista verò ut intellexit Ludovicus Keplerus, Johannis filius, novæ viduæ inopis ac liberis onustæ precibus atque erga patrium nomen affectu vix vinci potuit, ut libelli inchoatæ editioni absolvendæ manum admoveret, territus (quod ipse fatetur) improvise & patris & affinis obitu, metuensque ne cum illis in Levaniam relegaretur* (6). i. e. "As soon as Lewis Kepler, the son of John, understood this, he could scarce be prevailed upon by the entreaties of his mother-in-law, who was a widow, and poor, and burthened with children, and by the regard due to his father's name, to take upon him the finishing the edition of the book, which had been begun, being terrified, as he was, by the sudden death of his father and brother-in-law, and fearing lest he should be banished with them into Levania." I have not seen any writer, who has fallen with such severity upon Kepler as Schoockius, as if this great mathematician had made himself the most ridiculous of all men by endeavouring to accommo-

(6) Gerardus de Vries, in Differentiatione de Lunæ, pag. 253, 254. It is printed with the *Psychologia of Daniel Voet*, at Utrecht 1688.

John Kepler's notions are sometimes very singular ; one would imagine, that he ascribed to the earth a soul endued with sense [D]. It is said, that he furnished excellent hints to Des Cartes [E]. We may place him among those authors, who have said, that they esteemed

date the speculations of mathematicians to the explanation of natural philosophy. I do not think that this design can ever succeed ; for the object of mathematics and that of natural philosophy are things irreconcilable ; the one is a quantity which subsists only ideally, and cannot subsist in any other manner ; the other exists out of our mind, and cannot really be in it. However that be, let us see the severe expressions of Schoockius. *Ubi Mathematicus, nemo eodem (Johanne Keplero) melior & subtilior, ubi vero Physicus, nemo eodem pejor atque ineptior, ut sapissimè doleam, si non ingemiscam, virum tam eximium, divinam illam Mathefin nugamentis suis Physicis adè seadè commaculasse. Quid absurdius enim vel fabricitans anus in somnio videat, quam quod terra ingens animal sit, quæ per montium crateres & caminas, seu os aut naves, ventos exspiret ! & hoc tamen expressè docet, Lib. 4. Harmonicæ Cap. 7. ubi serio quoque probare nititur, quod terra cum cælo sympathiam colat, & naturali instinctu fiderum posituram cognoscat. Similiter in scripto de Motibus Martis fol. 173. contendit solem magnum magnetem seu magneticum corpus esse, supra proprium centrum diurno motu circumactum, quod secundum speciem quandam diffusam, omnes reliquas Planetarum sphaeras commoveat, & in orbem agitet. Nec sic Keplerus solum, per Mathefin imprudenter & infeliciter Physicæ applicatam, in errorum præcipitum ruit, sed cum eo multi quoque alii, quorum indicem alio in scripto, si Deo placuerit vitam prorogare, exhibebo (7). i. e. "Where he writes as a mathematician, "no person performs better or more subtilly than he ; "where he acts the natural philosopher, no person "perhaps writes more absurdly ; so that I am often "greatly sorry, that so excellent a man should disagree the divine science of mathematics with his "physical absurdities. For what could an old woman "in a fever dream more ridiculous, than that the "earth is a vast animal, which breathes out the winds "through the holes of the mountains, as it were "through a mouth and nostrils ? Yet he writes expressly "thus in the fourth book and seventh chapter of his "Harmonica Mundi, where he endeavours likewise seriously to prove, that the earth has a sympathy with "the heavens, and by a natural instinct perceives the position of the stars. In his book De Motibus Martis "fol. 173, he also asserts, that the sun is a great "magnet or magnetic body, carried round upon "its own center in a diurnal motion, and by a certain diffused power carries round the rest of the "planets. Nor has Kepler alone fallen into gross "errors by the imprudent and unfortunate application "of mathematics to natural philosophy, but likewise "many others have done the same, a catalogue of "whom I shall exhibit, if God shall continue my "life, in another tract."*

[D] One would imagine, that he ascribed to the earth a soul endued with sense.] Vossius having remarked how absurd it was to rank the earth among the Gods, the earth, I say, which all the world took for a body, and trod upon, and covered with all kinds of filth ; adds, that the wisest men saw the absurdity of this, and said, that the earth was either an animal, or a part of the vast animal called the world (8). Kepler, continues he, was not far from that opinion ; for he says not only, that the diurnal motion of the earth arises from the earth, but also that it perceives the appearance of Comets, that it sweats for fear, and that this is the cause of rain. "Audiemus eum loquentem Libro de "Cometis anni post millesimum & sexcentimum septimi, atque item duodevigesimi : *Facultas mundi "sublunaris cometam PERSENTISCIT ET OBSTUPESCIT, unaque facultates ceteræ omnium rerum sublunarium. Ac postea : Facultas Telluris, insolenti Cometæ apparitione CONSTERNATA, uno terrestris superficie loco multum exsudet vaporum, pro qualitate "illius partis sui corporis : hinc diurnæ pluvie & eluviones"* (9). i. e. "Let us hear him speaking "in his book of the comets of the year 1607 and "1618 : *The faculty of the sublunary world perceives "and is terrified at the comet, and together with it the "other faculties of all sublunary things. And afterwards : The Faculty of the earth being terrified at*

"the unusual appearance of the comet, in one part "of the surface of the earth sweats out a great quantity of vapour, according to the quality of that part "of its body ; hence proceed great rains and floods". Gassendi observes, that according to Kepler all the stars are animated, and that as all animals move by means of their muscles, the earth and planets have also muscles proportioned to their bulk, which are the instruments, by which they move. He gives the sun a very noble and active soul, and asserts that the rays of the sun put in action the soul of the planets. *Adnoto duntaxat Keplerum ita sidera fecisse animata, ac ut instrumenta motus in Animalibus sunt fibræ digestæ per musculos ; sic censuisse illum, esse & in Terrâ & in Planetis cæteris ingentes fibras aliquas pro ratione molis cujusque, per quas Anima vim suam matricem exercent. Censuit vero etiam, præter speciales Animas & vires, quæ insunt in cæteris, esse in ipso Sole Animam nobilissimam, potentissimamque, quæ dum solem circa proprium Axem (a centro Mundi propterea non discedentem) circumagat, immateriatas species (sic enim appellat) irradiando circumfundit, quibus Planetæ velut correpti ipsi soli circumducantur* (10). See what I quote from Leibnitz (11), and observe, that it would be very difficult to refute Kepler's supposition, for we are no more capable of knowing whether the earth be animated, than a louse is of knowing whether we are animated. A louse is contented with nourishing itself with what it sucks from the surface of our bodies : it knows not whether we think ; it cannot even discover the inward springs, which move us. Can we make any more discoveries with regard to the question, whether the earth thinks, and has sensations, which like ours determine certain inward springs to move in a certain manner ?

[E] It is said, that he furnished excellent hints to Des Cartes.] Here is what Baillet acknowledges ; Kepler, says he (12), *bad particularly cultivated astronomy and optics ; and though he left a great many things to be discovered and perfected, it must be owned, that the reading of his writings was not useless to Monsieur Des Cartes.* In another place (13) he mentions three things, which seem to have been common to Des Cartes with Kepler. "The first is the knowledge of the celestial vortices, "of which Kepler is said to have had at least a confused notion, as well as Jordano Bruno. The second "is the explication of gravity, which Kepler first of all gave by the comparison of small bits of straw, "which by the motion of water turned round in a vessel, gather in the centre. The third is the knowledge of optics, in which Des Cartes owned Kepler for his master in 1638. Here is the testimony, "which he gave of it to father Merfennus. That "person says he (*), who charges me with having "borrowed of Kepler the *Ellipsis* and *Hyperbola*'s of "my dioptrics, must be very ignorant or malicious. "For with regard to the *Ellipsis*, I do not remember "that Kepler speaks of it ; or, if he speaks of it, it "is certainly to say, that it is not the *Anaclastic*, "which he seeks. And as for the *Hyperbola*, I remember very well, that he pretends to demonstrate expressly, that it is not that neither, though he says it is not very different from it. Now I leave you to think, whether I could have learned that a thing "was true from a man, who endeavours to prove it "to be false. Notwithstanding this I own, that "Kepler was my first master in optics, and that he "understood more of it than all who preceded him." Mr. Leibnitz, whose words I have quoted concerning the vortices, touches in another place upon what relates to gravity. He pretends that we owe to Kepler the cause of this Phænomenon, and charges Des Cartes with having made use of this excellent discovery, without ascribing the invention to the person, to whom it was due. *Ipsi (Keplero) primum indicium debetur veræ causæ gravitatis, & hujus naturæ Legis, a qua gravitas pendet, quod corpora rotata conantur à centro recedere per tangentem, & ideo si in aquâ festucae vel palcæ innatent, rotato vase, aqua in vorticem acta, festucas densior, atque ideo fortius quam ipse, excussa a medio, festucas versus centrum compellit ; quemadmodum ipse describit*

(7) Martin. Schoockius, de Scepticism, lib. 4. pag. 387, 388.

(8) Vossius, de Origine & Progressu Idolatriæ, lib. 2. cap. 62. sub fin. pag. m. 641.

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Gassend. Phys. Sect. 2. lib. 3. cap. 6. Oper. tom. 1. pag. m. 635.

(11) Tamarum tamque constantium Veritatum causas dare non-dam potuit (Keplerus) tum quod Intelligentiæ aut sympathiarum radiationibus inextricatis haberet præpeditam mentem, tum quod non-dum illius tempore Geometria interior & scientia motuum eo quo nunc proficiscitur. Acta Eruditor. Lipsic. 1689. pag. 82, 83.

(12) Vie de Des Cartes, tom. 2. pag. 226.

(13) Tom. 2. pag. 542. He quotes G. G. Leibnitz, tom. 1. Act. Eruditor. Lips. Leibnitz indeed speaks thus, pag. 187. Cl. Speissius ... notat solummodo Cartesio præterire nomen autorum, & exemplum affectu mundanorum Virtutum, ad quos Jordano Bruno & Johannes Keplerus ita digigitum intenderint, ut tantum istud vocabulum ipse desuisse videatur.

(*) Tom. 3. of his Letters, pag. 397.

esteemed a production of the genius above a Kingdom (b). Moreri has committed more faults of omission than of commission [F].

fertè duobus & amplius locis, in Epitome Astronomiæ exposuit; quanquam adhuc subdubitabundus, & suas ipse opes ignorans, nec satis conscius quanta inde sequerentur, tum in Physicâ, tum speciatim in Astronomiâ. Sed bis deinde egregiè usus est Cartesius, eîsî more suo autorem dissimularit (14) i. e. "To Kepler is owing the first discovery of the true cause of gravity and of that law of nature, upon which gravity depends, viz. that bodies whirled round endeavour to recede from the centre in a tangent; and therefore if straws swim in water, in a vessel whirled round, the water being forced into a vortex, and more dense than the straws, and therefore driven from the centre more strongly than they, forces the straws towards the centre; as he has expressly taught in more than two places in his Epitome Astronomiæ, though he was a little doubtful, and knew not his own ability, and was not sensible what great things would follow from this in Natural Philosophy, and especially in Astronomy. But Des Cartes afterwards made an excellent use of this, though according to his custom, he takes no notice of the author". See the Bishop of Avranches (15), who quotes some passages from Kepler, reproaching Des Cartes with having stolen a great many things from that German.

(14) Acta Erudit. Lips. 1689. pag. 83.

(15) In Censurâ Philosoph. Cartesianæ, cap. 8. pag. m. 216.

[F] Moreri has committed more faults of omission than commission.] The faults of the first kind will easily appear to those, who shall take the pains to compare his article with this. What would it be, if it were compared with an article, which contains what I have not taken notice of? Here follow his faults of commission. I. The Name of the Emperor, who succeeded Rodolphus, was not Matthew, but Matthias. These two names are very different, and no person ought to have known it better than Moreri, who as a priest read his breviary every day. Are not the feasts of St. Matthew and of St. Matthias different? II. He should not have said, that Kepler died about the year 1620; it should be 1630. an error of ten years is not pardonable, when the question is concerning a great man of our own age. III. He should not have said, that John Kepler is different from Lewis Kepler; but that Lewis Kepler was the son of John Kepler.

Moreri might very easily have avoided the first (16) Vossius, de error, since Vossius, whom he copies, writes thus: *Scientiis Mathematicis Rodolphi Imperatoris, exinde MATTHIÆ, tandem & Ferdinandi Cæs. Mathematicus fuit* (16). i. e. (17) Gassend. de Vitâ Tycho. "He was mathematician at first to the Emperor Rodolphus, then to MATTHIAS, and at last to Ferdinand". I shall take this opportunity to observe, that before Kepler had this title, he had been Professor at Gratz in Styria. His engagement with Tycho Brahe was very near being broke off, because the states of Styria did not approve of it. *Ex inopinato Literarum patris conditionibus stare, quod à Styriæ proceribus, quorum in ære erat, undequaque non probarentur* (17). Tycho informed Kepler, that he had procured for him a larger stipend at the Emperor's Court, with the title of mathematician to his Imperial Majesty; and that therefore the loss of the pension given him in Styria ought not to stop him (18). Upon this Kepler left the University of Gratz. The Emperor Rodolphus made him his mathematician; but he engaged him to serve Tycho as an arithmetician (19). I find that the Emperor Matthias gave Kepler a fixed settlement at Lints, and appointed him a salary from the states of upper Austria, which was paid for sixteen years. *Neque enim sibi satis esse, quod Cæsar etiam ante Imperium decrevisset idoneam fixamque sedem Lintii, ac adjecisset exhibenda à Proceribus Austriæ supra-Anisane stipendia, quibus, donec res paciores evaderent, sustentaretur, uti & fuit illis reipsa per annos sexdecim sustentatus* (20). This is the reason why Vossius speaking of the *Stereometria* printed in 1617, styles Kepler *Cæsaris Matthias & illustrium Ordinarum Archiducalis Austriæ supra Onasum Mathematicus* (21). i. e. "Mathematician to the Emperor Matthias and the illustrious states of Archiducal Austria above the Onasus". I find also that Walftein settled Kepler at Sagan in Silesia, and that it was there that this astronomer published the continuation of his Ephemerides in 1630 (22). *Deinceps autem anno xxx post editas Sagani Silesiorum (ubi Dux Meckelburgi Wulfstemius sedem illi tribuerat) Ephemeridas* (24) *ad Comitata Ratisbonensia... se contulisse.* (23) It is thus in my edition of Gassendus. It should be Walfsteinius.

(16) Vossius, de Scientiis Mathematicis, pag. 340.
(17) Gassend. pag. 472.
(18) It is thus in my edition of Gassendus. It should be Walfsteinius.
(19) This must be understood only of the 2d part of the Ephemerides; for the first part was printed at Lintz in 1617.

KERMATIANS, a Sect in Arabia. See the remark [A] of the article of ABUDHAHER.

KESLER (ANDREW), a Lutheran Divine, was born at Cobourg in Franconia in the year 1595. He did not follow the profession of his father, who was a Taylor (a), but applied himself to study, and distinguished himself by his wit, and the progress which he made; which was undoubtedly the reason why Prince John Casimir Duke of Saxony, who had erected a *Schola Illustris* at Cobourg, gave him a pension (b). He was enabled by this to maintain himself at the University of Jena, and afterwards in that of Wittemberg. He was admitted in the latter into the Faculty of Philosophy, and shewed by several Theses, which he defended, that he was a good master of Logic, and made excellent use of that Science to confute the Socinians [A]. He was sent for from Wittemberg (c) to accept of an employment (d) in the College of Cobourg, and at the end of an year and an half he became Pastor and Superintendent of Eisfeld. He discharged

(a) Spizelius in Templo Honoris, pag. 155.

(b) Kestelus, Epist. Dedicat. Logice Photiniane Examinis.

(c) Spizelius, pag. 156.

(d) Taken from Spizelius, pag. 156.

[A] He was a good master of Logic, and made excellent use of that science to confute the Socinians.] He published a treatise *de Principiis Logicis quæ in Photinianorum Librorum Lectione occurrunt*, which contains thirteen disputes, which he maintained in the University of Wittemberg: he dedicated it to his patron Prince John Casimir of Saxony. The epistle dedicatory is dated at Wittemberg August 1. 1621. He published a second edition of this work in the same City in 1624 in 4to. It is intitled: *Logice Photiniane Examen, seu Principiorum Logicorum, quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio: cui præmissus est Tractatus brevissimus de illegitimo Photinianorum disputandi modo, & legitima ratione pie philosophandi.* A new edition, in 8vo, was published at Wittemberg in 1642. Michael Wendelerus, Professor of Philosophy (1), added to it a short preface, in which he ranks among the Socinian writers Smiglecius, who is one of the Jesuits, that have confuted them in the strongest manner. Kessler afterwards attacked the Socinian Metaphysics in a book intitled, *Metaphysicæ Photiniane partis generalis examen, seu*

Principiorum ad generalem Metaphysicæ partem pertinentium, quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio. I have seen only the third edition, which is that of Wittemberg 1648 in 8vo; but I conjecture, that the first is in 1623, for the epistle dedicatory is dated from that City March the 10th, 1623. The *Metaphysicæ Photiniane partis specialis Examen, seu Principiorum ad specialem Metaphysicæ partem pertinentium quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, Consideratio* was published, if I am not mistaken, in 1626; for the author's Epistle dedicatory is dated at Eisfeld January 14th that year. I have seen only the third edition, which is that of Wittemberg 1648 in 8vo. He attacks likewise the Physics of the Socinians; the epistle dedicatory of his *Physicæ Photiniane Examen, seu Principiorum Physicorum quæ in Photinianorum scriptis occurrunt, consideratio*, is dated at Eisfeld January 1. 1628. I have seen only the Wittemberg edition of 1656 in 8vo, there is a great deal of method and exactness in these treatises.

(1) At Wittemberg.

charged that employment with success, and upon that account Prince John Casimir would not permit him to accept of the Superintendance of the Churches of the whole country of Eisenac. He took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and at last submitted to a call to Steinfurt. He was offered the Superintendance of the Church; he excused himself, but readily accepted it after he had the misfortune to lose his Library, when the Imperial troops plundered the town of Eisfeld in 1632. Besides the Superintendance of the Church, he had also at Steinfurt the direction of the College, when he was recalled to Cobourg to succeed the Superintendant of the Churches. He discharged this post with applause. His Sermons were very famous on account of his eloquence and learning. He was seized with an Apoplexy in the pulpit (e), and after having languished some months, died May the 5th 1643 (f). He wrote a great number of books [B], some in Latin, and others in High Dutch, part of which only have been published.

(e) Taken from Spizelius, pag. 156.

(f) Henn. Witte, in Diario Biographico.

[B] He wrote a great number of books.] We have the titles of them in the *Templum Honoris referatum* of Spizelius (z), and in the *Diarium Biographicum* of Henningus Witte, but without any mention of the time or place of the impression. I have remedied this defect as far as I could with regard to the books,

which I have mentioned in the preceding remark. I cannot continue it with regard to the rest, which are *Traclatus de Consequentia: Quadriga Discursuum Philosopho Theologicorum: Historia Epiphaniae Dominicae. Responso belli ubiquistici Laurentio Forero opposita, &c.*

(z) Pag. 160, & seq.

(a) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell. Wherein is contained some Account of the Transactions of his Time. Compiled from the Collections of Dr. George Hickes and Robert Nelson Esq; pag. 1. edit. London 1718, in 8vo.

KETTLEWELL (JOHN), a learned Divine in the seventeenth Century, was descended from an ancient family of good note in the North-Riding of Yorkshire (a), and was son of Mr. John Kettlewell of North-Allerton in Yorkshire by Mrs. Elizabeth Ogle his wife. He was born at Brompton a village in the parish of North-Allerton March the 10th 1653 (b). In 1670 he was sent to St. Edmund Hall in Oxford (c), where he became Servitor to Dr. Thomas Tully, then Principal of that Hall, and pupil to Mr. John Marsh, Vice-Principal thereof (d). June the 25th 1674 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e); and on the 28th of July 1675 was elected Fellow of Lincoln-College (f). May the 3d 1677 he took the degree of Master of Arts (g). Afterwards entering into holy Orders, he became Chaplain to the Countess of Bedford (h), and not to William Lord Russel, as Mr. Wood asserts (i); and in 1682 was presented to the Vicarage of Coles-Hill in Warwickshire by Simon Lord Digby (k). October the 4th 1685 he married Mrs. Jane Lybb, daughter of Anthony Lybb of Hardwick in Oxfordshire Esq; a Gentleman of an estate of a thousand pounds a year (l). After the Revolution he was deprived of his Living on account of his refusal to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. He published several works [A], and died of a consumption at his lodgings in Grey's-Inn-Lane in Holbourn April the 12th 1695, and was interred in the Church of All-Hallows Barking near the Tower of London, where a monument

(c) Wood, Fassi Oxon. vol. 2. col. 195.

(f) Idem, Atb. Oxon. ubi supra.

(g) Idem, Fassi Oxon. vol. 2. col. 206.

(b) Ibid. pag. 6, 7.

(c) Ibid. pag. 21.

(d) Wood, Atb. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 923. 2d edit. London 1721, and Memoirs, pag. 20.

(h) Memoirs, pag. 56.

(i) Atben. Oxon. ubi supra.

(k) Memoirs, pag. 61.

(l) Ibid. pag. 120, 121.

[A] He published several works.] I. *The Measures of Christian Obedience; or a Discourse shewing what Obedience is indispensably necessary to a Regenerate State, and what Defects consistent with it; for the Promotion of Piety and the Peace of troubled Consciences.* London 1681 and 1683 in 4to. It was begun and finished betwixt Easter and Christmas (1). The first edition was dedicated to Dr. Henry Compton Bishop of London; but that dedication was omitted by our author in the edition published after the revolution (2). II. *The great Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality, in a Letter to a Friend.* Written in June 1681, and published by Mr. Nelson after our author's death in 1704. III. *An Help and Exhortation to worthy communicating; or, A Treatise describing the Meaning, worthy Reception, Duty, and Benefits of the Holy Sacrament; and answering the Doubts of Conscience and other Reasons, which most generally detain Men from it. Together with suitable Devotions added.* London 1683 &c. in 12mo. IV. *The Nature of Edification explained. A Visitation Sermon on 1 Cor. xiv. 12. preached at Coventry May the 7th 1684.* London 1684 in 4to. V. *A Funeral Sermon for the Lady Frances Digby, who deceased at Coles-Hill 29 Sept. 1684, on Prov. xiv. 32.* London 1684 in 4to. VI. *The Religious Loyalist; a Visitation Sermon on Matt. xxiii. 21. preached at Coles-Hill August the 28th 1685.* London 1686 in 4to. VII. *A Sermon preached at Coles-Hill in Warwickshire January the 24th 1685, on occasion of the Death of Simon Lord Digby, who deceased 19 January.* London 1686 in 4to. VIII. *The Practical Believer: Or the Articles of the Apostles Creed drawn out to form a true Christian's Heart and Practice. Part I. Of the Nature and Certainty of the Christian Faith and Knowledge of God; or an Explication of the Divine Attributes of Providence. Part II. Of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ.* London 1689. IX. *Five Discourses on so many very important Points of Religion, preached at Coles-Hill, and printed in 1696, though written before the Revolution.* X. *Of Christian Prudence, or Religious Wisdom not degenerating into irreligi-*

(1) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, pag. 50.

(2) Ibid. pag. 51, 52.

gious Craftiness in trying times. London 1691 in 8vo. XI. *Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross, or Passive Obedience under any pretended Invasion of Legal Rights and Liberties.* London 1691 XII. *The Duty of Allegiance settled upon its true Grounds, according to Scripture, Reason, and the Opinion of the Church, in answer to a late Book of Dr. William Sherlock, intitled The Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers.* London 1691. XIII. *Of the New Oaths; against those that take them in a lower sense, and also those that make their Concern for the public Good a sufficient Reason to discharge them from the Obligation of a former Oath of Allegiance.* This was never printed. XIV. *Of Christian Communion to be kept on in the Unity of Christ's Church, and among the Professors of Truth and Holiness. And of the Obligations both of faithful Pastors to administer Orthodox and Holy Offices; and of faithful People to communicate in the same, &c.* In three Parts. London 1693 in 4to. XV. *A Companion for the Persecuted: Or an Office for those, who suffer for Righteousness; Containing particular Prayers and Devotions for particular Graces, and for their private and public Wants and Occasions.* London 1694 in 12mo. XVI. *A Companion for the Penitent and for Persons troubled in Mind, consisting of an Office for the Penitent, to carry on their Reconciliation with God; and a Trial or Judgment of the Soul for discovering the safety of their Spiritual Estate; and an Office for Persons troubled in Mind, to settle them in Peace and Comfort.* London 1694 in 12mo. XVII. *An Office for Prisoners.* Written in 1694, but printed after our author's death 1697. XVIII. *Death made comfortable: Or, the Way to die well: Consisting of Directions for a holy and happy Death.* London 1695 in 8vo. XIX. *An Office for the Sick, and for certain Kinds of Bodily Illness, and for dying Persons; and proper Prayers for the Death of Friends.* This was published with the preceding treatise. XX. *His Declaration and Profession made by him at the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the 23d of March 1694.* Printed in half a sheet of Paper.

(m) *Ibid.* pag. 458, & 477.

was erected to him by his widow [B]. He was a man of great sincerity, piety, meekness, and charity (m).

[B] *Where a Monument was erected to him by his widow.*] The inscription upon it is as follows.

Quod mori potuit.
JOHANNIS KETTLEWELL, A. M.
Ecclesie Anglicanae Presbyteri
Integerrimi, instructissimiq;
Viri Pietatis, Modestiae singularis;
Ut verbo omnia, verè Christiani.
Qualem fatuare par est
Qui totius Officii nostri Rationes
(Annum adhuc agens vigesimum quartum)

Feliciter adeò atque ex animo explicuit,
Ut dictu baud sit facile, mores alienos
Ad Virtutem Evangelicam efformaverit magis,
An ad vitium depinxerit suos.
Ecclesiae Paroch. de Coles-Hill in Agro Warwick.
Per annos septem in vigila vit,
Pastor fidiſſimus prudentiſſimūq;
Fortunae tandem utriusq; Victor
Animam Deo reddidit April 12^o A. D. 1695. Æt. 42.
Morte tali vitâ dignâ.

H.

(a) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 223. 2d edit. London 1731.

(b) From the College Register.

(c) Wood, *ubi supra.*

(d) Newcourt, *Reportorium*, vol. 2. pag. 480.

(e) *Ibid.*, vol. 1. pag. 414.

✶ KIDDER (RICHARD) a learned English Bishop, was born in Suffex (a), and admitted into Emanuel College in the Univerſity of Cambridge June the 5th 1649, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1652, and became Fellow of that College in 1655, and the year following took the degree of Maſter of Arts (b). July the 13th 1658 he was incorporated in the Univerſity of Oxford (c). October the 29th 1664 he became Vicar of Raine Parva in the county of Eſſex (d), which he reſigned upon his being choſen October the 24th 1674 Rector of St. Martin's Outwich in London (e). September the 16th 1681 he was inſtalled Prebendary of Norwich (f). In 1689 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, as appears from the Registers of the Univerſity of Cambridge; and therefore Mr. Wood is miſtaken in aſſerting that he had that degree ſeveral years before. October the 30th the ſame year he was inſtalled Dean of Peterborough, in the room of Dr. Simon Patrick promoted to the See of Chicheſter (g); and June 13th 1691 he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of Dr. Thomas Kenn, deprived for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and Auguſt the 30th following was conſecrated to that See (b). He publiſhed ſeveral works [A]. He was killed in his bed with his Lady by the fall of a ſtack of chimneys

(f) Wood, *ubi supra.*

(g) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanae*, pag. 241.

(b) *Ibid.*, pag. 34.

[A] He publiſhed ſeveral works.] I. *The Young Man's Duty. A Diſcourſe ſhewing the neceſſity of ſeeking the Lord betimes; as alſo the danger and unreaſonableneſs of truſting to a late or Death-bed Repentance. Deſigned eſpecially for young Perſons before they are debauched by evil Company and evil Habits.* London 1663 in 12mo. There have been ſeveral editions ſince. The ſixth edition was publiſhed in 1690. II. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Education of Youths. A Sermon on Ephes. i. 4.* London 1673. III. *Convivium cœleſte. A plain and familiar Diſcourſe concerning the Lord's Supper, ſhewing at once the nature of that Sacrament, as alſo the right way of preparing ourſelves for receiving of it, &c.* London 1674 in 8vo, and reprinted afterwards with Additions. IV. *Charity directed: Or the Way to give Alms to the greateſt Advantage. In a Letter to a Friend.* London 1677 in 4to. V. *The Chriſtian Sufferer ſupported: Or, a Diſcourſe concerning the Grounds of Chriſtian Fortitude, ſhewing at once, that the Sufferings of Good Men are not inconſiſtent with God's ſpecial Providence, &c.* London 1680 in 8vo. VI. *A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen at Guildhall Chapel on July the 16th 1682.* London in 4to. The Text is 1 Pet. iii. 2. VII. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Mr. William Allen, the 17th of Auguſt 1686 on Heb. xiii. 4.* London 1686 in 4to. This Mr. Allen had been a citizen and trader of London, and had written ten books, chiefly in defence of the Church of England, againſt the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. VIII. *A ſecond Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert and a Proteſtant, ſhewing why he cannot believe the Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation, though he do firmly believe the Doctrine of the Trinity.* IX. *An Examination of Bellarmine's thirteenth Note of the Confefſion of Adverſaries.* London 1687 in 4to. X. *The Texts, which Papiſts cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine, Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, examined.* Part I and II. London in 4to. XI. *The Judgment of private Diſcretion in Matters of Religion defended; in a Sermon at St. Paul's Covent-Garden.* XII. *Reſtitions on a French Teſtament printed at Bourdeaux Ann. Dom. 1686. Pretended to be translated out of the Latin into French by the Divines of Louvain.* London 1690 in 4to. In the preface having obſerved, that the people have a right to read the Holy Scriptures, he tells us, that "the Church of Rome does not ablo-

lutely deny the people this liberty, but reſtrains it; for they have their verſions of the Bible in the ſeveral Popiſh countries in the language of them. But for all that, certain it is, that many of that Church do not only diſparage thoſe holy books, but diſcourage the reading of them. And that Church, inſtead of aſſiſting the devout people in their profitable reading the Holy Scriptures, and furniſhing them with all due means to this purpoſe, hath dealt very inſincerely in the whole matter." He obſerves that it has done this, I. By obtruding the *Vulgar Latin* as that authentic copy of the Bible, from which, in public diſputes and queſtions, there is no appeal to be allowed, which the Trent Council does. "The verſion of the *Vulgar Latin*, I grant, ſays Dr. Kidder, is venerable for its antiquity, and is of great uſe in the Church, and is not always to be deſpised or declaimed againſt, where at firſt ſight it does not ſeem perfectly agreeable to the original text; both becauſe it ſometimes gives the true ſenſe, where it ſeems in the letter to differ, and alſo becauſe (in the *New Teſtament* eſpecially) where it differs from the preſent reading, it does not differ from ſome antient copies. But yet after all, it cannot always be defended. . . . And . . . the moſt famed and allowed commentators and interpreters of the Roman Church, do think fit very frequently to forſake the *Vulgar*; which I ſhall at any time make good againſt that Church, whenever I ſhall be required to do it. II. By commending that for the verſion of the *Vulgar Latin*, which is not ſo. After the abovenamed decree of the Trent-Council, the minds of men were in ſuſpenſe and doubtful, becauſe they knew not what copy of the *Vulgar Latin* to follow. And the Pope did not, for above twenty years after, declare what certain copy ſhould be taken for the authentic *Vulgar Latin*. Afterwards indeed Pope Sixtus V gave notice to the Chriſtian world what his mind was in this matter, Anno Domini MDLXXXIX. He puts out a Latin Bible, in the preface to which he acquaints the reader, "that agreeably to the foreſaid decree of the Council of Trent, he having called upon God, and relying upon St. Peter's authority, for the public good of the Church, had not thought much to ſet forth that Bible. He repreſents his labour in chooſing the beſt readings; his *deſign*, that according to the decree of

"the

chimneys at his house in Wells during the great storm November the 26th 1703. The Bishop in the *Dissertation* prefixed to his *Commentary on the Five Books of Moses*, printed at London in 1694, having reflected upon Monsieur Le Clerc, the latter wrote a letter of complaint to him in Latin dated at Amsterdam November the 5th 1694. The Bishop returned a very civil answer in the same language, dated at Wells November the 9th 1694. Monsieur Le Clerc wrote another letter to him dated at Amsterdam December the 1st 1694. All these letters are published by Monsieur Le Clerc in his *Bibliothèque Choisie* (i), who tells us (k), that after he had written his last letter, he desired a friend of his to wait on the Bishop, in order to know his Lordship's mind with regard to Monsieur Le Clerc; whose friend wrote to him as follows in a letter dated January the 10th 1695. "I also waited upon the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and having reason to speak to him of his book, which he had done me the honour to give me, I led him on that occasion insensibly into a discourse of you. Whereupon he told me, that he had writ to you, and made the same professions to me that he had done to you; and added, that he would be very ready and glad to do you any service; and all this with such candour and frankness, that I am fully satisfied, he is in good earnest very well inclined towards you, and will be the readier to do you any kindness for what he had said in print. I delivered to him the acknowledgment you desired me, for his letter to you. He told me, he thought he should publish his Comment in Latin, and then in his preface to that he would be careful to give you satisfaction. But that yet he could not alter his opinion, wherein he differed from you. Your Paraphrase he spoke of in high terms of praise and admiration, as excelling any thing the world yet had of that kind." All this, says Monsieur Le Clerc (l), was very well; there was nothing

(i) Tom. 4. Article 10. pag. 364. et seq.

(k) Ibid. pag. 388.

(l) Ibid. pag. 390.

the Trent-Council, the Vulgar Bible might be printed most correct; and his performance, viz. that he had accurately purged this edition from various errors, and with the utmost diligence restored it in *pristinam veritatem*. i. e. to its ancient verity. After this declares his will, viz. he decrees, that the edition should be taken from that *Vulgar Latin*, which the Trent-Council declared authentic. And this he tells us, he does *ex certâ nostrâ scientiâ, deque Apostolica potestatis plenitudine*, i. e. from his own certain knowledge and plenitude of Apostolic authority. And that it ought to be received as such, *sine ulla dubitatione aut controversiâ*, i. e. without any doubt or controversy. After this Clement VIII puts out his edition of the *Vulgar*, and requires expressly that that be received also; and this he does in the year 1592. The differences between that of Sixtus V and Clement VIII. are too many to be here related; yet are both these to be received by the authority of the Pope and Council, though they contradict each other; and we shall still be at the pleasure of a Pope to give us another authentic copy. III. The Church of Rome hath done very insincerely in allowing versions, which pretend to be true versions of the *Vulgar*, which they are not. Dr. Kidder more especially considers those, which were done in the French. There was a French Bible printed at Antwerp by the permission of Charles V in 1530, and reprinted in 1534, which differs from the present *Vulgar*. But this being done before the Bull of Sixtus V. the Dr. does not insist upon it. After this there was another version of the *Vulgar Latin* into French by the care of certain Louvain Divines, deputed to this purpose; an edition of which printed at Lyons is frequently referred to by our author in his *Reflections*. This was a version of great fame and authority in the Church of Rome; and the Testament of Bourdeaux pretends to be done by these Divines. So it was, that tho' this Louvain French Bible was designed to keep the people from reading Protestant editions; yet it was complained of by several of the Church of Rome (as Father Simon relates) as coming too near the sentiments of the Protestants. It appears from Dr. Kidder's *Reflections*, that this version does not exactly agree with the present *Vulgar*. Since that there have been many Popish versions in the French tongue, which pretend to be versions of the Latin into French, of the New Testament, in which Dr. Kidder is principally concerned in this piece. The first is that of Anselme, who was chosen by the French Clergy to that employment in 1655. He hath printed his version both with and without notes; the first in 1666; that without notes in 1686. This was printed with the attestation and approbation of several Prelates of France, with the permission of the Archbishop of Paris, and General of his Order. Father Simon in his *Critical History of the New Testament* says, that he was the first Catholic writer, who applied himself with care to turn the New Testament into French. I will not deny him, says Dr. Kidder, to be a person of dili-

gence and good fame; but yet neither is this a strict version of the *Vulgar*. The second is the version printed at Moss. This, says the Doctor, is common among us, and hath been often printed, and is of great fame, and upon many accounts a very valuable book. But neither is this a strict version of the *Vulgar*. The third is the New Testament printed at Bourdeaux, against which Dr. Kidder's *Reflections* are levelled. It bears the title of *Le Nouveau Testament de nôtre Seigneur Jesus Christ traduit de Latin en François par les Théologiens de Louvain*. i. e. "The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ translated out of the Latin into French by the Divines of Louvain." It was printed at Bourdeaux in 1686, and hath the approbation of two Doctors, viz. Lopez and Germain, as very profitable to those, who shall be permitted and have capacity to read it. It hath also the permission of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and it is in that permission affirmed to be reviewed and exactly corrected. "I shall make it appear, says Dr. Kidder, that this is not the true version of the *Vulgar Latin*; that it is not the work of the Louvain Divines, as is pretended to be; that it agrees neither with the *Vulgar*, nor the celebrated versions of it, which are allowed in the Roman Church; that it hath a considerable number of downright forgeries and falsifications, a great number of gross errors and mistakes; that it adds to the *Vulgar*, and takes from it; that it is inconsistent with itself, and by no means corrected as to typographical *Errata*; in a word, it hath not the authority of ancient copies or various readings to support it. I dare challenge all mankind to defend it. Those of the Church of Rome have inveighed against the Protestant versions. They have pretended that we have no Bible. They have scoffed and derided us on this account. They have boasted, that they have been the faithful preservers of these divine oracles, and that what we have of them, we may thank them for. But lo here a proof of their insincerity; here is that, which may convince any honest man even of their own communion, that is willing to know the truth in this important matter... I did intend in the last reign to have made, and to have published these *Reflections*; but I could by no means procure this Testament. either here or beyond the seas." XIII. *Demonstration of the Messias*. In 3 Parts. London 1684, 1699, and 1700, in three volumes in 8vo. XIV. *His Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese at his primary Visitation, begun at Azebridge, June 2, 1692*. London 1693 in 4to. XV. *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moses; with a Dissertation concerning the Author or Writer of the said Books, and a general Argument to each of them*. London 1694 in two volumes in 8vo. XVI. *A Sermon on the Resurrection*. London 1694. XVII. *Life of Dr. Anthony Horneck*, London 1698 in 8vo. XVIII. *Critical Remarks on some passages of Scripture*. London 1719 in 8vo. T.

thing wanting, but that Bishop Kidder should take the first opportunity of speaking better of me; as he might have done in the second Part of his Demonstration of the Messiah, published in 1699, where indeed he speaks in a civil manner, but without retracing the odious suggestions which he had cast upon me.

KILIANUS (CORNELIUS), a native of Brabant, distinguished himself as an excellent Corrector of the Press, at the Printing-House of Plantin, for fifty years. He was not content with correcting exactly the proof-sheets of other men's writings, but wrote likewise several books, which were esteemed [A]. He had no ill success in writing Latin verse: his Apology for Correctors against Authors [B] is a proof of this. He died very old on Easter-day 1607. Most of the particulars, which I have just mentioned, are proved in the remark, where I insert his epitaph [C].

(1) Athen. Belg. pag. 190.
(2) Description of the Low-Countries.
(4) Pag. 203.
We ought not always to impute the faults in books to the Printers.

[A] He wrote several books, which were esteemed. Swertius (1) has begun the catalogue with these words. *Scriptis Etymologicon Teutonice Linguae, seu Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum à Justo Lipsio laudatum. Typis Moreti 1599 in 8vo.* His other works are Latin verses, and a Dutch translation of Philip de Comines and Lewis Guicciardini (2).
[B] His apology for correctors against authors. It is an epigram of eighteen verses, which we find in the *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* of Beyerlinch (3). Mt. Chevallier has inserted it in his *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris* (4), after having mentioned a thing, which deserves to be related. "We do not however charge the printers or correctors with all the errors in printed books. They have their excuse upon the authors. They remain sometimes in an edition through the ignorance or negligence of him who wrote the book, or took upon him the care of publishing it. He gives an incorrect copy, which is printed faithfully, and consequently with the errors of the manuscript. But it happens, that learned men, who judge without statuary, censuring what deserves it, he, who is innocent, is accused, though the whole fault is the author's. An excellent corrector belonging to Plantin's printing-house, named Cornelius Kilian, has written an Apology for correctors against authors,

"who after they have mistaken through ignorance, and given incorrect copies, do not scruple to lay the blame on innocent persons."
[C] I insert his epitaph. It was written by Francis (5) Swertius his friend, and is as follows. *D. O. M. CORNELIANO KILIANO Duffles, constantis Laboris, & perennis industriae laude ornato & amato viro. L. ann. Plantin Typographia correctorem gessit. Quam fideliter, peritè, doctè, ipsos rogato Libros elegantia, nitore, sancta aeterna artis primos. Nec semper alienos, veritate felix, patriam quaque eloquentiam excoluit, callumque ejus & proprietatem revocavit. Obiit aetate operibusque gravis M. DC. VII. ipso paschatis festo (6). i. e. To the memory of the most industrious and beloved CORNELIUS KILIANUS, who was fifty years corrector to Plantin's printing-house; with what exactness, skill, and learning, is evident from the books printed there with the utmost elegance and beauty. Nor was his care confined to the writings of other men, for he left some of his own composition. He wrote elegantly in Latin, and had a good talent in Poetry, and cultivated his own country language, restoring the purity of it. He died full of years and works in 1607 on Easter Day.*

(5) Chevillier, pag. 196. calls him Peter.
(6) Franc. Swertius, *Athen. Belg.* pag. 189, 190.

KING (JOHN) a learned English Bishop in the seventeenth Century, was great nephew of Robert King the first Bishop of Oxford, and son of Philip King of Wormen-hale or Wornall near Brill in Buckinghamshire, by Elizabeth daughter of Edmund Conquest of Haughton-Conquest in Bedfordshire (a). He was born at Wornall about the year 1559 (b), and educated in Grammar Learning at Westminster School, and became a Student of Christ Church in Oxford in 1576 (c), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January the 26th 1579 (d), and February the 15th 1582 that of Master (e). He was afterwards appointed Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth (f). August the 12th 1590 he was installed Archdeacon of Nottingham; at which time he was a Preacher at York (b). He afterwards became Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton (i). December the 17th 1601 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (k). In 1605 he was made Dean of Christ Church, and was afterwards for several years Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. In 1611 he was advanced to the Bishopric of London, to which he was consecrated September the 8th the same year (l). Besides his *Lectures upon Jonah delivered at York*, and printed at London 1594, and Oxford 1599 in 4to, he published several Sermons [A]. King James I used to style him *the King of Preachers*; and Lord Chief Justice Coke often declared, that *he was the best Speaker in the Star-Chamber in his time* (m). He was so constant in preaching, after he was a Bishop, that unless he was hindered by want of health, he omitted no Sunday, whereon he did not visit some pulpit in London or near it (n). Dr. William Hull (o) highly extols his eloquence in the pulpit. He died March the 30th (p) 1621, aged sixty two years, having been before much afflicted with the stone in the kidneys and bladder; and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Paul's in London. Soon after his death, the Papists reported, that he died a member of their Church; and Gregory Fisher alias *Musket* published in 1621 a book, intitled, *The Bishop of London his Legacy: Or, certain Motives of Dr. King late Bishop of London for his change of Religion, and dying in the Catholic and Roman Church; with a conclusion to his brethren the Bishops of England.* But the fallacy of this story was sufficiently exposed by

(a) Fuller's *Worthies*, in Buckinghamshire, and Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 457. 2d edit.
(b) Wood, col. 458. says, that he was 62 years old, when he died March 30, 1621.
(c) Wood, col. 457.
(d) *Idem*, *Festi Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 118.
(e) *Ibid.* col. 123.
(f) Fuller's *Church History*, B. 10. pag. 91.
(g) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* col. 457.
(h) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(i) *Idem*, *Festi Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 161. But the same Author in his *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 457 says, he proceeded Doctor of Divinity in 1602.
(j) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 457.
(k) Fuller's *Church History*, B. 10. pag. 91.
(l) *Idem*, *ibid.*
(m) *Epistle Dedicatory to Bishop King*, prefixed to his *Harbour's Guest*, edit. London 1614 in 4to.
(n) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 458. But Camden, in his *Annals of James I.* says that he died March 29.

[A] He published several Sermons. I. A Sermon preached at Hampton Court on Tuesday the last of September 1606 upon 8 Cantic. 11. Oxford 1606 in 4to. II. A Sermon preached at Oxford, 5 Nov. 1607. on Psalm 46. from verse 7. to 11. Oxford 1607 in 4to. III. A Sermon preached at Whitehall 5 Nov. 1608. on Psalm 11. 25. 4. Oxford 1608 in 4to. IV. A Sermon preached at St. Mary's in Oxford, 27 March; being the day of his Majesty's Inauguration, on 1 Chron. vi. 26, 27, 28. Oxford 1608 in 4to. V. *Vitis Palatina: A*

Sermon appointed to be preached at Whitehall upon the Tuesday after the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth: on Psalm 28. 3. London 1614 in 4to. VI. A Sermon at St. Paul's Cross for the recovery of King James from his late sickness: preached 11 April 1619, on Ljailab 38. 17. London 1619 in 4to. VII. A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross 26 March 1620. on Psalm 102. 13, 14. VIII. A Sermon on 2 Kings 23. 25. printed in 1611 in 4to. IX. A Sermon on Psalm 123. 3. in 4to. X. A Sermon on Psalm 146. 3, 4. in 4to. It

(q) *Pag. 81, 82.*
2d edit. London
1624, in 4to.

(r) *Wood, Ath.*
Oxon. vol. 1.
col. 617, 618.

(a) *Wood, Ath.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
431. and *Walker's*
Attempt towards Recovering
an Account of the Numbers
and Sufferings of the
Clergy of the Church of Eng-
land, &c. Part
2. pag. 11. edit.
London 1714.

(b) *Wood, ubi*
supra.

(c) *Idem, Fashi*
Oxon. vol. 1.
col. 118.

(d) *Idem, ibid.*
col. 197.

(e) *Idem, Ath.*
Oxon. ubi supra.

(f) *Idem, ibid.*

(g) *Idem, ibid.*

by his son Mr. *Henry King* in a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross soon after, and by Bishop Godwin in the *Appendix* to his *Commentarius de Præfulibus Angliæ*, printed in 1622, and by Mr. John Gee, in his book intitled, *The Foot out of the Snare* (q). His eldest son, *Henry*, was afterwards Bishop of Chichester; and his second son, *John*, became a Student of Christ Church in 1608, aged fourteen years, and was afterwards public Orator of the University, Canon of Christ Church in 1624, and the year following Dr. of Divinity and Canon of Windsor, and about that time Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Remenham in Berkshire. He died January the 2d 1638, and was interred at Christ Church in Oxford (r).

◊ KING (HENRY), Bishop of Chichester in the seventeenth Century, was eldest son of Dr. John King, Bishop of London, by Jane, daughter of Mr. Henry Freeman of Staffordshire, and was born at Wornall in Buckinghamshire in January 1591 (a), and educated in Grammar-Learning partly in the Free-School at Thame in Oxfordshire, and partly at Westminster-School, from which he was elected a Student of Christ Church in 1608 (b). June the 19th 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c); and July the 7th 1614 that of Master (d). He then entered into holy Orders, and became an eminent Preacher, and Chaplain to King James I. He was afterwards made Archdeacon of Colchester (e); Residentiary of St. Paul's (f), and Canon of Christ Church (g). May the 19th 1625 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (h). He was afterwards Chaplain to King Charles I. and February the 6th 1638 was installed in the Deanery of Rochester (i). In 1641 he was advanced to the See of Chichester, to which he was consecrated December the 19th that year (k). But though he was always esteemed puritannically affected, and had been promoted to that See, in order to please that party; yet upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and the dissolution of Episcopacy, he was treated by them with great severity; "nor was he suffered to live quietly at his friend's house (for some time, at least) when they could discover him (l)." He lived for the most part with Sir Richard Hobart, who had married his sister, at Langley in Buckinghamshire, by whom he was supported (m). At the Restoration he recovered his Bishopric. He published several works [A]. Wood tells us (n), that "he was esteemed by many persons of his neighbourhood and diocese, the epitome of all honours, virtues, and generous nobleness, and a person never to be forgotten by his tenants and by the poor." He died October the 1st 1669, and was interred on the south-side of the Choir belonging to his Cathedral of Chichester, where a monument was erected to him, with an inscription, in which it is said, that he was *antiqua, eoque regia Saxonum apud Danmonios in Agro Devonienſi profapia oriundus*, and that he was *natalium splendore illustris, pietate, doctrinâ & virtutibus illustrior, &c.* He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Russell of Strensham in Worcestershire Bart. who, after the Bishop's decease married Sir Thomas Millington the Physician.

(b) *Wood, Fashi*
Oxon. vol. 1. col.
232.

(i) *Idem, Ath.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
431.

(k) *Idem, ibid.*

(l) *Walker's At-*
tempt, ubi supra.

(m) *Idem, ibid.*
and *Wood, Ath.*
Oxon. vol. 2. col.
432.

(n) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. 2. col. 432.

◊ KING

[A] He published several Works. I. Several Sermons, as, 1. *A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross 25 Nov. 1621. upon occasion of that false and scandalous report (lately printed) touching the supposed apostasy of Dr. John King, late Bishop of London:* on John 15. 20. London 1621. To which is added, *The Examination of Tho. Preston taken before the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth 20 Decemb. 1621. concerning his being the author of the scandalous report of Bishop King's Apostasy.* 2. *David's Enlargement: the Morning Sermon on Aſſerday, on Psalm 32. 5.* Oxford 1625 in 4to. 3. *Sermon of deliverance, preached at the Spittle on Easter Monday, on Psalm 91. 3.* printed in 1626 in 4to. 4. *Two Sermons at Whitehall in Lent, on Eccles. 12. 1. and Psalm 55. 6.* Printed in 1627 in 4to. 5. *Sermon at St. Paul's on his Majesty's inauguration, on Jer. 1. 10.* Printed in 1640 in 4to. 6. *Sermon at Whitehall 29 May, being the happy day of his Majesty's inauguration and birth; on Ezek. 21. 27.* London 1661 in 4to. 7. *Sermon preached at the funeral of the right Reverend Father in God, Bryan, Lord Bishop of Winchester, at the Abby Church in Westminster, April 24, 1662.* on Psalm 116. 15. London 1662 in 4to. 8. *Visitation Sermon at Lewes, 8 Octob. 1662.* on Titus 2. 1. London 1663 in 4to. 9. *Sermon preached 30 January 1664 at Whitehall, being the day of the King's Martyrdom, on 2 Chron. 35. 24, 25.* London 1665 in 4to. II. *Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, delivered in certain Sermons on Matth. 6. 9. &c.* London 1628 in 4to. III. *The Psalms of David from the new translation of the Bible turned into Metre, to be sung after the old tunes used in Churches.* London 1651, 1654, in 12mo. &c.

(1) See the *Collection of Letters*, In a letter of our author to Archbishop Uther, dated at Langley place near Colebrook, October 30 1651, he writes thus (1): "I did in August last present by one, who undertook the delivery at Harrow-hill, a small book; and lest that should fail, my brother sent another by your Chaplain, which may render your grace some account of my exercise and employ-

ment in this retirement. The truth is, one Sunday at Church hearing a psalm sung, whose wretched expression quite marred the pen-man's matter and my devotion, I did, at my return that evening, try whether from the version of our Bible, I could not easily, and with plainness suiting the lowest understanding, deliver it, from that garb, which indeed made it ridiculous. From one to another I passed on till the whole book was run through. Which done, I could not resist the advice and importunity of better judgments than mine own to put it to the press, I was, I confess, discouraged, knowing that Mr. George Sandys, and lately one of our pretended reformers, had failed in two different extremes: the first too elegant for the vulgar use, changing both the Metre and the tunes, wherewith they had been long acquainted: the other as flat and poor, as lamely worded, and unhandfomly rhimed, as the old, which with much confidence he undertook to amend. My Lord, I now come forth an adventurer in a middle way, whose aim was without affectation of words to leave them not disfigured in the sense." IV. *A deep groan fetched at the funeral of the incomparable and glorious Monarch King Charles I.* printed in 1649 in one sheet, and said in the title to be written by D. H. K. It was printed the same year under the letters J. B. V. *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonnets.* London 1657 in 8vo. When these poems were first published, it was reported, that Dr. Philip King, brother to our Bishop, was author of them. VI. *Divers Latin and Greek Poems*, published in several books. VII. He composed several anthems, one of which for the time of Lent, beginning thus; *Hearken O God, &c.* was set to Musick by Dr. John Wilson, Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel. VIII. There is a letter of his to Mr. Isaac Walton concerning the three imperfect books of *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, dated at Chichester November 17th 1664, and prefixed to Walton's *List of Hooker.* H.

DR. KING (WILLIAM) a facetious English writer in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, was well descended, being allied to the noble families of Clarendon and Rochester, and was son of Ezekiel King of London, Gentleman, and elected Student of Christ Church in Oxford from Westminster-School in Michaelmas-Term 1681, aged eighteen years (a). December the 8th 1685 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and July the 6th 1688 that of Master. He afterwards entered upon the Law Line, and took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. In January 1694 he became Secretary to the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne (b). He soon acquired a considerable reputation as a Civilian, and was in great practice; but the natural gaiety of his temper, and the love of company, led him too much into those pleasures, which were incompatible with his profession. He attended the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, into that Kingdom, where he was appointed Judge-Advocate, sole Commissioner of the Prizes, and Keeper of the Records, and Vicar-General to the Lord Primate of Ireland; and was countenanced by persons of the highest rank, and might have made his fortune, if the change of climate could have made any alteration in his disposition. But so far was he from heaping up riches, that he returned to England with no other treasure than a few merry Poems and humorous Essays, and retired to his Student's place at Christ Church (c). In January 1711 he was appointed Gazetteer; which place he quitted about Midsummer 1712, and retired to a Gentleman's house on Lambeth-side of the water (d). He died at his lodgings over against Somerset-House in the Strand on Christmas Day 1712, and was interred in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey (e). His writings are pretty numerous [A]. He naturally hated business, especially that of an Advocate; but made an excellent Judge, when appointed one of the Court of Delegates. His chiefest pleasure consisted in trifles; and he was never happier, than when he thought

(a) *Life of Dr. William King*, pag. 2 and 3. prefixed to his *Remains*, edit. London 1732.

(b) *Ibid.* pag. 3.

(c) *Ibid.* pag. 3.

(d) *Ibid.* pag. 261-264.

(e) *Ibid.* pag. 265, 266.

[A] *His Writings are pretty numerous.* 1. *Reflections upon Mr. Varillas his history of heresies Book I. Tome I. as far as relates to English matters, more especially those of Wicliff.* Printed in 1688 in 8vo. Mr. Edward Hannes, afterwards an eminent Physician, had an hand in this book; to which is prefixed the following advertisement: "It having been publickly desired, that those, in whose way it should lie to expose Mr. Varillas, would put themselves to the trouble, the author of these papers was willing to contribute his share in the part concerning Wicliff, having formerly laid together some observations conducing to such a design. Mr. Larroque indeed has gone before him in the attempt; but that ingenious Gentleman was not well advised to meddle in a strange country, till time had instructed him more fully in the constitutions and Language of it. Our present reflecter has made use of the Amsterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. He has given Mr. Varillas all the law imaginable; he has made no advantage of mistakes, which with any reason could be charged upon the printer. He has contradicted nothing without express Proof on his side; and in things highly improbable, which seem to have no foundation in history, unless he can confront him with positive and authentic testimonies, he lets the author alone, and suffers the boldness of the assertion to be its own security. Last of all, he intreats the reader's pardon, if the language and expression are without choice and ornament, his protest business and necessary occasions not allowing him any such leisure." In the beginning of the *Reflections* it is observed, that the enemies of the reformation, as they seem resolved never to leave off writing controversy, and being confuted by our divines; so they are not wanting upon occasion to turn their style, and furnish out matter of triumph to our historians. Sanders and Caussin heretofore, and of late Monsieur Maimburg and Monsieur Varillas have thought themselves qualified for this kind of employment. Above the rest, Mr. Varillas has used his pen with such a partial extravagance, and with so little regard to modesty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profession to chastise his impudence in their publick writings, but has also drawn upon him the scorn and indignation of several Gentlemen of his own communion, who in a sense of honour and common ingenuity have taken some pains to lay open the smooth impostor. Mr. Hozier, genealogist to the King of France, in his epistle, declares himself to have discovered in him above 4000 errors. Pere Bouhours in a discourse of his makes it his business to expose him. Even his old friend Mr. Dr. (1) seems to have forsaken him, and gone over to his Bouhours, from whose original he is now translating the life of St. Xavier. To

be free, there is almost as many faults in every single page of Mr. Varillas, as in a Printer's table of Errata; and if the Archbishop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himself bound to put a holy censure upon his Pensioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel those of the Religion to a recantation of their faith; so he ought here to oblige Mr. Varillas to an abjuration of his history. The *Reflections* conclude with these words: "He [Mr. Varillas] has writ away all his credit; his last defence of himself has proved him inexcusable, and made men apt to think, that as in England at present, so in France too, the same person that is Historiographer, is also Laureat. Hence it might be that Monsieur Varillas in his *Revolutions* takes all the liberties of a poet; and Mr. Dr. in his conference between the *Hind and Panther*, though in verse, has aimed at all the plainness and gravity of an historian. For history indeed is a serious matter, not to be written carelessly, like a letter to a friend; nor with passion, like a billet to a Mistress; nor with blasphe, like a declamation for a party at the bar, or the remonstrance of a minister for his Prince; nor in fine by a man unacquainted with the world, like soliloquies and meditations. It requires a long experience, sound judgment, a close attention, an unquestionable integrity, and a style without affectation; all which glorious accomplishments, as they are wanting in the author of *The revolutions in matters of religion*, so there is no historian that I know of, in whom they have shewed themselves to so high and admirable a degree, as in a physician (2) of our age, who has obliged the world with a *history of diseases*, and whose name is too great to mention in a pamphlet of this character." II. *Animadversions on a pretended Account of Denmark.* London 1694 in 8°. Mr. Molesworth, afterwards Lord Molesworth, was the author of that account. The writing of the *animadversions* upon it procured Dr. King the place of secretary to Princess Anne of Denmark. He was furnished with memoirs for writing them by Mr. Brink, then minister of the Danish Church in London, and Monsieur Scheel, then envoy extraordinary in England from the King of Denmark. He tells us himself (3), that these *Animadversions* had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark; and when sent to Denmark, were by the King's order turned into French, and read to him as fast as they could be translated. They had two editions, one in Holland, and the other in Germany. The University of Copenhagen wrote him a letter under their seal. As to the matters of fact, says he, laid down in those papers, I am no farther accountable: but I believe none of them can be contradicted. III. He translated from French into English *New Memoirs*

(2) Probably Dr. Thomas Sydenham.

(3) Preface to his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*.

(1) Dryden.

(g) Pag. 81, 82. 2d edit. London 1624, in 4to.

(r) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 617, 618.

(e) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 431. and Walker's *Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, &c.* Part 2. pag. 11. edit. London 1714.

(b) Wood, *ubi supra.*

(c) *Idem, Fashi Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 118.

(d) *Idem, ibid.* col. 197.

(e) *Idem, Atb. Oxon.* *ubi supra.*

(f) *Idem, ibid.*

(g) *Idem, ibid.*

by his son Mr. Henry King in a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross soon after, and by Bishop Godwin in the *Appendix* to his *Commentarius de Præfulibus Angliæ*, printed in 1622, and by Mr. John Gee, in his book intitled, *The Foot out of the Snare* (q). His eldest son, Henry, was afterwards Bishop of Chichester; and his second son, John, became a Student of Christ Church in 1608, aged fourteen years, and was afterwards public Orator of the University, Canon of Christ Church in 1624, and the year following Dr. of Divinity and Canon of Windsor, and about that time Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Remenham in Berkshire. He died January the 2d 1635, and was interred at Christ Church in Oxford (r).

◊ KING (HENRY), Bishop of Chichester in the seventeenth Century, was eldest son of Dr. John King, Bishop of London, by Jane, daughter of Mr. Henry Freeman of Staffordshire, and was born at Wornall in Buckinghamshire in January 1591 (a), and educated in Grammar-Learning partly in the Free-School at Thame in Oxfordshire, and partly at Westminster-School, from which he was elected a Student of Christ Church in 1608 (b). June the 19th 1611 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c); and July the 7th 1614 that of Master (d). He then entered into holy Orders, and became an eminent Preacher, and Chaplain to King James I. He was afterwards made Archdeacon of Colchester (e); Residentiary of St. Paul's (f), and Canon of Christ Church (g). May the 19th 1625 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (h). He was afterwards Chaplain to King Charles I. and February the 6th 1638 was installed in the Deanery of Rochester (i). In 1641 he was advanced to the See of Chichester, to which he was consecrated December the 19th that year (k). But though he was always esteemed puritannically affected, and had been promoted to that See, in order to please that party; yet upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and the dissolution of Episcopacy, he was treated by them with great severity; "nor was he suffered to live quietly at his friend's house (for some time, at least) when they could discover him (l)." He lived for the most part with Sir Richard Hobart, who had married his sister, at Langley in Buckinghamshire, by whom he was supported (m). At the Restoration he recovered his Bishopric. He published several works [A]. Wood tells us (n), that "he was esteemed by many persons of his neighbourhood and diocese, the epitome of all honours, virtues, and generous nobleness, and a person never to be forgotten by his tenants and by the poor." He died October the 1st 1669, and was interred on the south-side of the Choir belonging to his Cathedral of Chichester, where a monument was erected to him, with an inscription, in which it is said, that he was *antiquâ, eoque regiâ Saxonum apud Danmonios in Agro Devonienfi profapia oriundus*, and that he was *natalium splendore illustris, pietate, doctrinâ & virtutibus illustrior, &c.* He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Ruffel of Strensham in Worcestershire Bart. who, after the Bishop's decease married Sir Thomas Millington the Physician.

(b) Wood, *Fashi Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 232.

(i) *Idem, Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 431.

(k) *Idem, ibid.*

(l) Walker's *Attempt, ubi supra.*

(m) *Idem, ibid.* and Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 432.

(n) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 432.

◊ KING

[A] He published several Works. I. Several Sermons, as, 1. *A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross 25 Nov. 1621. upon occasion of that false and scandalous report (lately printed) touching the supposed apostasy of Dr. John King, late Bishop of London:* on John 15. 20. London 1621. To which is added, *The Examination of Tho. Preston taken before the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth 20 Decemb. 1621. concerning his being the author of the scandalous report of Bishop King's Apostasy.* 2. *David's Enlargement: the Morning Sermon on Aët-Sunday, on Psalm 32. 5.* Oxford 1625 in 4to. 3. *Sermon of deliverance, preached at the Spittle on Easter Monday, on Psalm 91. 3.* printed in 1626 in 4to. 4. *Two Sermons at Whitehall in Lent, on Eccles. 12. 1. and Psal. 55. 6.* Printed in 1627 in 4to. 5. *Sermon at St. Paul's on his Majesty's inauguration, on Jer. 1. 10.* Printed in 1640 in 4to. 6. *Sermon at Whitehall 29 May, being the happy day of his Majesty's inauguration and birth; on Ezek. 21. 27.* London 1661 in 4to. 7. *Sermon preached at the funeral of the right Reverend Father in God, Bryan, Lord Bishop of Winchester, at the Abby Church in Westminster, April 24, 1662.* on Psal. 116. 15. London 1662 in 4to. 8. *Visitation Sermon at Lewes, 8 Octob. 1662.* on Titus 2. 1. London 1663 in 4to. 9. *Sermon preached 30 January 1664 at Whitehall, being the day of the King's Martyrdom, on 2 Chron. 35. 24, 25.* London 1665 in 4to. II. *Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, delivered in certain Sermons on Matth. 6. 9. &c.* London 1628 in 4to. III. *The Psalms of David from the new translation of the Bible turned into Metre, to be sung after the old tunes used in Churches.* London 1651, 1654, in 12mo. &c.

(1) See the Collection of Letters, In a letter of our author to Archbishop Usher, dated at Langley place near Colebrook, October 30 1651, he writes thus (1): "I did in August last present by one, who undertook the delivery at Harrow-hill, a small book; and lest that should fail, my brother sent another by your Chaplain, which may render your grace some account of my exercise and employ-

ment in this retirement. The truth is, one Sunday at Church hearing a psalm sung, whose wretched expression quite marred the pen-man's matter and my devotion, I did, at my return that evening, try whether from the version of our Bible, I could not easily, and with plainness suiting the lowest understanding, deliver it, from that garb, which indeed made it ridiculous. From one to another I passed on till the whole book was run through. Which done, I could not resist the advice and importunity of better judgments than mine own to put it to the press, I was, I confess, discouraged, knowing that Mr. George Sandys, and lately one of our pretended reformers, had failed in two different extremes: the first too elegant for the vulgar use, changing both the Metre and the tunes, wherewith they had been long acquainted: the other as flat and poor, as lamely worded, and unhandfomly rhimed, as the old, which with much confidence he undertook to amend. My Lord, I now come forth an adventurer in a middle way, whose aim was without affectation of words to leave them not disfigured in the sense." IV. *A deep groan fetched at the funeral of the incomparable and glorious Monarch King Charles I.* printed in 1649 in one sheet, and said in the title to be written by D. H. K. It was printed the same year under the letters J. B. V. *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, and Sonnets.* London 1657 in 8vo. When these poems were first published, it was reported, that Dr. Philip King, brother to our Bishop, was author of them. VI. *Divers Latin and Greek Poems,* published in several books. VII. He composed several anthems, one of which for the time of Lent, beginning thus; *Hearken O God, &c.* was set to Musick by Dr. John Wilson, Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel. VIII. There is a letter of his to Mr. Isaac Walton concerning the three imperfect books of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, dated at Chichester November 17th 1664, and prefixed to Walton's *List of Hooker.* H.

◊KING (WILLIAM) a facetious English writer in the beginning of the eighteenth Century, was well descended, being allied to the noble families of Clarendon and Rochester, and was son of Ezekiel King of London, Gentleman, and elected Student of Christ Church in Oxford from Westminster-School in Michaelmas-Term 1681, aged eighteen years (a). December the 8th 1685 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and July the 6th 1688 that of Master. He afterwards entered upon the Law Line, and took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. In January 1694 he became Secretary to the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne (b). He soon acquired a considerable reputation as a Civilian, and was in great practice; but the natural gaiety of his temper, and the love of company, led him too much into those pleasures, which were incompatible with his profession. He attended the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, into that Kingdom, where he was appointed Judge-Advocate, sole Commissioner of the Prizes, and Keeper of the Records, and Vicar-General to the Lord Primate of Ireland; and was countenanced by persons of the highest rank, and might have made his fortune, if the change of climate could have made any alteration in his disposition. But so far was he from heaping up riches, that he returned to England with no other treasure than a few merry Poems and humorous Essays, and retired to his Student's place at Christ Church (c). In January 1711 he was appointed Gazetteer; which place he quitted about Midsummer 1712, and retired to a Gentleman's house on Lambeth-side of the water (d). He died at his lodgings over against Somerset-House in the Strand on Christmas Day 1712, and was interred in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey (e). His writings are pretty numerous [A]. He naturally hated business, especially that of an Advocate; but made an excellent Judge, when appointed one of the Court of Delegates. His chiefest pleasure consisted in trifles; and he was never happier, than when he thought

(a) Life of Dr. William King, pag. 2 and 3. prefixed to his Remarks, edit. London 1732.

(b) Ibid. pag. 3.

(c) Ibid. pag. 3.

(d) Ibid. pag. 161-164.

(e) Ibid. pag. 165, 166.

[A] His Writings are pretty numerous. I. Reflections upon Mr. Varillas his history of heresies Book I. Tome I. as far as relates to English matters, more especially those of Wicliff. Printed in 1688 in 8vo. Mr. Edward Haunnes, afterwards an eminent Physician, had an hand in this book; to which is prefixed the following advertisement: "It having been publickly desired, that those, in whose way it should lie to expose Mr. Varillas, would put themselves to the trouble, the author of these papers was willing to contribute his share in the part concerning Wicliff, having formerly laid together some observations conducing to such a design. Mr. Larroque indeed has gone before him in the attempt; but that ingenious Gentleman was not well advised to meddle in a strange country, till time had instructed him more fully in the constitutions and Language of it. Our present reflecter has made use of the Amsterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. He has given Mr. Varillas all the law imaginable; he has made no advantage of mistakes, which with any reason could be charged upon the printer. He has contradicted nothing without express Proof on his side; and in things highly improbable, which seem to have no foundation in history, unless he can confront him with positive and authentic testimonies, he lets the author alone, and suffers the boldness of the assertion to be its own security. Last of all, he intreats the reader's pardon, if the language and expression are without choice and ornament, his protest business and necessary occasions not allowing him any such leisure." In the beginning of the Reflections it is observed, that the enemies of the reformation, as they seem resolved never to leave off writing controversy, and being confuted by our divines; so they are not wanting upon occasion to turn their style, and furnish out matter of triumph to our historians. Sanders and Caussin heretofore, and of late Monsieur Maimburg and Monsieur Varillas have thought themselves qualified for this kind of employment. Above the rest, Mr. Varillas has used his pen with such a partial extravagance, and with so little regard to modesty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profession to chastise his impudence in their publick writings, but has also drawn upon him the scorn and indignation of several Gentlemen of his own communion, who in a sense of honour and common ingenuity have taken some pains to lay open the smooth impostor. Mr. Hozier, genealogist to the King of France, in his epistle, declares himself to have discovered in him above 4000 errors. Pere Bouhours in a discourse of his makes it his business to expose him. Even his old friend Mr. Dr. (1) seems to have forsaken him, and gone over to his Bouhours, from whose original he is now translating the life of St. Xavier. To

be free, there is almost as many faults in every single page of Mr. Varillas, as in a Printer's table of Errata; and if the Archbishop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himself bound to put a holy censure upon his Pensioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel those of the Religion to a recantation of their faith; so he ought here to oblige Mr. Varillas to an abjuration of his history. The Reflections conclude with these words: "He [Mr. Varillas] has writ away all his credit; his last defence of himself has proved him inexcusable, and made men apt to think, that as in England at present, so in France too, the same person that is Historiographer, is also Laureat. Hence it might be that Monsieur Varillas in his Revolutions takes all the liberties of a poet; and Mr. Dr. in his conference between the Hind and Panther, though in verse, has aimed at all the plainness and gravity of an historian. For history indeed is a serious matter, not to be written carelessly, like a letter to a friend; nor with passion, like a billet to a Mistress; nor with bias, like a declamation for a party at the bar, or the remonstrance of a minister for his Prince; nor in fine by a man unacquainted with the world, like soliloquies and meditations. It requires a long experience, sound judgment, a close attention, an unquestionable integrity, and a style without affectation; all which glorious accomplishments, as they are wanting in the author of *The revolutions in matters of religion*, so there is no historian that I know of, in whom they have shewed themselves to so high and admirable a degree, as in a physician (2) of our age, who has obliged the world with a *history of diseases*, and whose name is too great to mention in a pamphlet of this character." II. *Animadversions on a pretended Account of Denmark*. London 1694 in 8°. Mr. Molesworth, afterwards Lord Molesworth, was the author of that account. The writing of the *animadversions* upon it procured Dr. King the place of secretary to Princess Anne of Denmark. He was furnished with memoirs for writing them by Mr. Brink, then minister of the Danish Church in London, and Monsieur Scheel, then envoy extraordinary in England from the King of Denmark. He tells us himself (3), that these *Animadversions* had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark; and when sent to Denmark, were by the King's order turned into French, and read to him as fast as they could be translated. They had two editions, one in Holland, and the other in Germany. The University of Copenhagen wrote him a letter under their seal. As to the matters of fact, says he, laid down in those papers, I am no farther accountable: but I believe none of them can be contradicted. III. He translated from French into English *New Me-*

(2) Probably Dr. Thomas Sydenham.

(3) Preface to his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*.

moirs

(1) Dryden.

hands of his relations. However it was soon after attacked by Mr. Charles Lesley in his *Answer to a book, intituled, The State of the Protestants &c.* printed at London 1692 in 4to [B]. In 1691 the Bishop published at Dublin in 4to, *A Sermon preached at St. Patrick's Dublin, 16 Nov. 1690, being a Thanksgiving Day for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person &c. on Psalm cvii. 2, 3.* and in 1692 *A Thanksgiving Sermon for King William's success in reducing Ireland &c.* Dublin in 4to. In 1693 he was appointed a Regal Visitor with two other Commissioners, Anthony Bishop of Meath, and Capel Bishop of Dromore; and they suspended the Bishop of Down. In 1694 his Lordship being settled in his Diocese of Down, and considering the great number of Dissenting Protestants in that Diocese lately increased by a vast addition of Colonies from Scotland, in order to persuade them to conformity to the established Church, published *A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the worship of God.* Dublin 1694 in 4to. Mr. Joseph Boyse, a Dissenting Minister, wrote an Answer, intituled, *Remarks on a late Discourse of William, Lord Bishop of Derry, concerning the Inventions of Men in the worship of God.* Dublin 1694 in 4to. In this piece Mr. Boyse owns, that the Bishop's Discourse "is written with an air of seriousness and gravity becoming the weight of the subject, as well as the dignity of his character." The Bishop answered Mr. Boyse in *An Admonition to the dissenting inhabitants of the Diocese of Derry concerning a book lately published by Mr. J. B. intituled Remarks &c. from William Lord Bishop of that Diocese.* Dublin 1694 in 4to. Mr. Boyse replied in *A Vindication of the Remarks &c.* Dublin 1695 in 4to. The Bishop rejoined in *A second Admonition to the Dissenting Inhabitants &c.* Dublin 1695 in 4to. In 1702 he published at Dublin in 4to his celebrated treatise, *De Origine Mali; auctore Guilielmo King, S. T. D. Episcopo Derensi* [C]. The same year, upon the

[B] Attacked by Mr. Lesley in his *Answer to a Book intituled, The State of the Protestants &c.* In the preface Mr. Lesley very elaborately vindicates the character of the French King Lewis XIV, and tells us, with regard to his "banishing the Huguenot Ministers, and dragooning others, to work them in to another religion; which does, and justly, eclipse his glory, with those, who know not the true grounds and motives, which induced him to methods so rigid and severe;" that *his very enemies, who know the reasons he had for it, do even in this excuse him, and turn it into an argument of his wise foresight and prudence. They tell you, that he was under an invincible necessity of being rid of these men, or hazarding such a revolution as befel King James.* He observes likewise, that "the Jacobites think themselves for ever obliged to acknowledge with all gratefulness the noble and generous reception he has given King James in his distress; which as no King in Europe was able to have done but himself, so none but he could have done it in such a manner, with that greatness and every punctilio of honour." Mr. Lesley in the beginning of his *Answer* tells us (3), that Dr. King's book "is calculated for the destruction of mankind, by setting up such principles as countenance eternal rebellions, and afford pretences for war and confusion to the end of the world; and makes settlement and peace impracticable among men." He first examines the *Principles* of Dr. King's book, and then the *Matters of Fact*. With regard to the latter, "I cannot, says he, say that I have examined into every single matter of fact which this author relates; I could not have the opportunity; but I am sure I have the most material; and by these you will easily judge of his sincerity in the rest, which could not all come to my knowledge. But this I can say, that there is not one I have enquired into, but I have found it false, in whole, or in part, aggravated or misrepresented, so as to alter the whole face of the story, and give it perfectly another air and turn. Inasmuch, that though many things he says were true, yet he has hardly spoke a true word, that is, told it truly and nakedly, without a warp." He afterwards remarks (5), that he had been told, that Dr. King "owes his life to the King's mercy. Was he not accused for holding correspondence, and giving intelligence to the rebels (as they were then called) both in England and the North of Ireland, And was it not true? Did he not give frequent intelligence to Schomberg by one Sherman, and keep constant correspondence with Mr. Tollet and others in London? He knows this would have been called treason in those days, and a bloody-minded tyrant would have found another remedy for it than a short imprisonment." He observes likewise (6), that he had been "told by Protestants

"in Dublin, that King James had once so good an opinion of this author [Dr. King], that he had him frequently in private, and trusted him in his affairs, till at last he found him out. And his old friend Lord Chief Justice Herbert was so far mistaken in him, that he vouched for him at the council-table with so much zeal as to say, that he was as loyal a man as any that sat at that board; which did retrieve this author from some inconveniences, that then lay upon him, and continued him some time longer in the King's good opinion." He affirms also (7), that (7) Pag. 113. no man was or could be a higher assertor of Passive Obedience than Dr. King had been all his life, even at the beginning of the Revolution; "and that he told a person of honour, from whose mouth I have it, says Mr. Lesley, that if the Prince of Orange came over for the crown, or should accept of it, he prayed God might blast all his designs. That there was no way to preserve the honour of our religion, but by adhering unalterably to our loyalty. That it would be a glorious sight to see a cart full of Clergy-men going to the stake for Passive Obedience, as the Primitive Christians did. That it would prove the support and glory of our religion; but that a rebellion would ruin and disgrace it. He said, if it were no more than that declaration, which he had subscribed, of its not being lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King, &c. he would die a hundred deaths rather than do it." Mr. Lesley then tells us, that at a meeting of the Clergy of Dublin, in the beginning of the Revolution in 1688, to consider what measures they were to take, Dr. King declared, that *their taking arms in the North of Ireland at that time, was rank rebellion, if there could be any rebellion; particularly Derry shutting their gates against the King's forces sent thither.* And when one there present affirmed, that the subjects might take arms in defence of their laws, &c. the Doctor violently opposed it, even in relation to Derry, and urged, that the Bishop of Derry, Hopkins, who was then there, did protest against their shutting out the King's forces, and refused to join with those who did it; for which and other reasons, which Dr. King then gave, he was against any person's going to the North, or joining with them, as being joining in a rebellion.

[C] In 1702 he published at Dublin in 4to his celebrated treatise *De Origine Mali*. It was reprinted at London the same Year in 8vo. Part of it was translated into English by Mr. Solomon Lowe, and printed at London 1715 in 12mo under the title of, *A key to Divinity; or a Philosophical essay on free-will. By the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Dublin.* The translator in the dedication to Mr. Samuel Holden, Merchant, has the following passage: "As in accounting for the appearances of Nature, I

the promotion of Narcissus Archbishop of Dublin to the See of Armagh he was elected *Administrator Spiritualium* by both the Chapters of Dublin, during the vacancy of the See; and the same year was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin by Letters Patents dated the 11th of March. In 1704 he published at Dublin in 4to, *A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Victory at Hockstet, preached at Christ's Church Dublin*; and at London 1704 in 4to, *A Sermon preached before the Queen at St. James's on Humility*. In 1706 he published

"esteem the insensible particles of the moderns as unsatisfactory as the occult qualities of the antients; so in the more important affairs of religion, to propose things above reason, as objects of faith, is as ridiculous, as to bid me believe what I know nothing of. Far therefore from crying up faith in opposition to reason, it is my opinion, with Mr. Locke, that reason must be our last judge and guide in every thing. It is this assures me of the necessity of religion, and the excellency of Christianity. By this I interpret the Bible, and understand my duty. Without it I should be a beast, not knowing to defend the doctrines of faith, or convict the pretences of irreligion. Moved by these considerations, and determined by your good judgment, I publish this translation, for the sake of those, that do not understand the original. The subject is of much moment, not only for the satisfaction of the mind, but also for the conduct of life. It has been strongly perplexed and darkened by dull and designing men. A clear notion of it will be very serviceable to solve many difficulties in divinity." Mr. Edmund Law M. A. Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, afterwards published a complete translation of this work with very valuable notes, in 4to, the second edition of which was printed under this title, *An essay on the origin of evil by Dr. William King, late Lord Archbishop of Dublin. Translated from the Latin with notes; and a dissertation concerning the Principle and Criterion of virtue and the Origin of the Passions. The second edition corrected and enlarged from the Author's Manuscripts. To which are added two Sermons by the same Author, the former concerning Divine Præscience; the latter on the fall of man, never before published.* By Edmund Law, M. A. Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge. London 1732 in two Volumes in 8vo. Mr. Law observes (8), that since the publication of the former edition of his translation, he had received from our author's relations a large collection of his papers on the same subject with this book in Latin and English; which Mr. Law has inserted by way of notes in his translation. And he tells us, that the great value, which the Archbishop set upon this work, appears from the pains he has taken to vindicate it from every the least Cavil; in which view all that he has written, would make a much larger volume than his first. The general view of his scheme is as follows. 1. All creatures are necessarily imperfect, and at infinite distance from the perfection of the Deity; and if a negative principle were to be admitted, such as the *Privation* of the *Peripateticks*, it might be said, that every created being consists of Existence and Non-Existence; for it is nothing in respect both of those perfections, which it wants, and of those which others have. And this defect, or, as we may say, Mixture of *Non-Entity* in the constitution of created beings, is the necessary principle of all natural evils, and of a possibility of moral ones; as will appear in the sequel. 2. An equality of perfection in the creatures is impossible, as our adversaries allow; to which we may add, neither would it be so convenient to place all in the same state of perfection. 3. It is agreeable to Divine wisdom and goodness to have created, not only the more perfect beings, but also the most imperfect, such as matter; so long as they are better than nothing, and no impediment to the perfect ones. 4. Admitting matter and motion, there necessarily follow composition and dissolution of bodies, that is, generation and corruption; which some may look upon as defects in the Divine work; and yet it is no objection to his goodness or wisdom, to create such things as are necessarily attended with those evils. Allowing therefore God to be infinitely powerful, good, and wise, yet it is manifest, that some evils, viz. generation and corruption, and the necessary consequences of these, might have place in his works; and if even one evil could arise without the ill principle, why not many? And if we

knew the nature and circumstances of all things as well as we do those of matter and motion, it may be presumed, that we could account for them, without any imputation of the divine attributes. For there is the same reason for them all; and one instance to the contrary destroys an universal proposition. 5. It is not inconsistent with the Divine attributes to have created some spirits or thinking substances, which are dependent on matter and motion in their operations, and being united to matter may both move their bodies, and be affected with certain passions and sensations by their motion, and stand in need of a certain disposition of Organs for the proper exercise of their thinking faculty; supposing the number of those, that are quite separate from matter to be as complete as the system of the whole universe would admit, and that the lower order is no inconvenience to the higher. 6. It cannot be conceived but that some sensations thus excited by matter and motion should be disagreeable, and tend to dissolve the union between soul and body, as well as others agreeable. For it is impossible as well as inconvenient, that the soul should feel itself to be losing its faculty of thinking, which alone can make it happy, and not be affected with it. Now disagreeable sensation is to be reckoned among natural evils, which yet cannot be avoided without removing such kind of animals out of nature. If any one ask, why such a law of union was established? let this be his answer, because there could be no better. For such a necessity as this flows from the very nature of the Union of things, and considering the circumstances and conditions, under which and which only they could have existence, they could neither be placed in a better state, nor governed by more commodious laws. These evils therefore are not inconsistent with the divine attributes, provided that the creatures, which are subject to them, enjoy such benefits as over-balance them. It is to be observed also, that these evils do not properly arise from the existence which God gave to the creatures, but from hence, that they had not more of Existence given them, which nevertheless their state and the place they fill in the great machine of the world could not admit. This mixture therefore of non-existence supplies the place of an ill principle in the origin of evil, as was said before. 7. The happiness and perfection of every thing or agent arises from the due exercise of those faculties, which God has given it; and the more faculties and perfections any thing has, it is capable of the greater and more perfect happiness. 8. The less dependent on external things, the more self-sufficient any agent is; and the more it has the principle of its actions in itself, it is so much the more perfect. Since therefore we may conceive two sorts of agents, one which does not act, unless impelled and determined by external force; the other, which have the principle of their actions within themselves, and can determine themselves to action by their natural power; it is plain, that the latter are much more perfect than the former. Nor can it be denied, but that God may create an agent with such a power as this, which exerts itself into action, without either the concurrence of God, or the determination of external causes, so long as God by a general concurrence preserves the existence, powers, and faculties of that agent. 9. Such an agent may prescribe to itself an end, and prosecute it by proper means, and take delight in the prosecution of it, though that end might be perfectly indifferent to it before it was proposed, and be no more agreeable than any other of the same or a different kind would be, if the agent had once resolved to prosecute it. For since all the pleasure or happiness, which we receive, arises from the due exercise of our faculties, every thing, which is equally commodious for the exercise of our faculties, will give us the same delight. The reason therefore why one thing pleases above another, is founded in the act of the agent himself, viz. the election. This is largely explained in the book itself;

(8) Preface, pag. 29, 18.

lished at London in 4to, *A Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Westminster January the 13th 1705, on Prov. xxii. 6.* His *Sermon preached in St. Michael's Church Dublin before the Lord Mayor &c. on Eccles. viii. 11.* was printed at Dublin 1707 in 4to. May the 15th

itself; together with the limits, within which it is confined. 10. It is impossible, that all things should agree to all, that is, be good; for since the things are limited, distinct, and different one from another, and are endowed with finite, distinct, and different appetites; it necessarily follows, that the relations of convenient and inconvenient must arise from this diversity. Since therefore every created being is from the imperfections of its nature necessarily limited, and from that limitation there necessarily follows distinction and diversity; it follows, that a possibility at least of evil is a necessary attendant on all creatures, and cannot be separated from them by any power, wisdom, or goodness whatsoever. For when a thing is applied to an appetite or being, to which it is not appropriated, as it is not agreeable to it, it necessarily affects it with uneasiness; nor was it possible that all things should be appropriated to every being, where the things themselves and the appetites are various and different, as they must necessarily be, if created, even in the most perfect manner. 11. Since some agents have a power over their actions, as above, and can please themselves in the choice of such things as may exercise their faculties; and since there are some ways of exercising them, which may be prejudicial to themselves or others; it is plain, that from this power there arises a possibility of choosing amiss, and they may exercise themselves to their own prejudice or that of others. And since in such a variety of things, those that are beneficial or hurtful, cannot be known by an intelligent being, which is in its own nature limited and imperfect, it was agreeable to the divine wisdom and goodness to prescribe some rules and directions to such agents, in order to inform them of what would benefit or incommode them and their fellow creatures, i. e. what would be good or evil; that they might choose the one, and avoid the other. 12. Since therefore, as was said before, an equality of perfections in the creatures is impossible, neither would it be convenient for them to be placed in the same state of perfection; it follows that there are various orders and degrees even among intelligent creatures; and since some of the inferior orders and degrees are capable of those benefits, which the superior ones enjoy; and since there are as many placed in those superior orders as the system of the universe allowed; it follows that the inferior ones, as a more convenient place could not be left for them, ought to be content with a lower portion of happiness, which their nature makes them capable of, and to an higher than which they could not aspire, without detriment to the superior, which possesses that station. For he must quit his place before another can ascend to it; and it seems hard and very inconsistent with the nature of God to degrade a superior, as long as he has done nothing to deserve it. But if one of a superior order shall by his own act, without any violence or compulsion, voluntarily quit his place, or freely choose such things as deserve a degradation; God would seem unjust to those, who are in an inferior degree, and by a good use of their liberty, became fit and qualified for a superior state, if he should refuse them the free use of their choice. It seems unjust for God to condemn or degrade any one arbitrarily; but he is not to be blamed for suffering one to degrade himself by his own act and choice, especially when the use of that elective power belongs to the nature of an intelligent being, and could not in the present state be prohibited without detriment to some other. Here the wisdom and goodness of God seem to have erected themselves in a most glorious manner; the contrivance appears to be the effect of the highest policy and prudence. For by this means God has shewn himself most equitable to his creatures; so that no one can complain of, or glory in, his lot. He that is in a less convenient situation, has no room for complaint, since he is endowed with faculties, and has power to use them in such a manner as to acquire a more commodious one; and he must be forced to own himself only in the fault, if he continues deprived of it: and he that is now in a superior state may learn to fear lest he fall from it by an unlawful use of his faculties. The

superior therefore has a dread, that may in some measure diminish his happiness; and the inferior may increase it: by which means they are both brought nearer to an equality, and in the mean time have the utmost provocation and incitement to choose the best and make the most beneficial use of their faculties. This contest makes for the good of the universe, and much more, than if all things were fixed by fate and necessity, and absolutely confined to their present state. Either God must have created no free agents, to be governed by the hope of rewards and fear of punishments; or this will be the fittest means to that end, and worthy of God. For what ground is there to complain of the Deity in this whole affair, except that when an equal share of happiness could not befall every one, he bestows the best on such as use their faculties aright, and takes away what he had given from those that abuse them? 14. If what is laid down above, be true, from thence it is manifest that all kinds of evil, viz. that of *imperfection, pain, and sin* may enter into the world made by the most wise, good, and powerful author; and its origin may be accounted for, without calling in the assistance of an evil principle. 15. It is plain, that we are tied down to this earth and confined to it, as in a prison; and that our knowledge does not extend beyond the ideas, which we receive from the senses; and who knows not how small a part we understand even of those elements, about which we are conversant? But since the whole mass of elements is a point in regard to the whole universe; is it any wonder, if we mistake when we are forming a judgment, or rather a conjecture, concerning the beauty, order, and goodness of the whole, from this contemptible particle? This earth of ours may be the dungeon of the universe, an hospital of madmen, or a workhouse of reprobates; and yet such as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good than evil to be found in it. "Thus far, concludes he, has the controversy about the origin of evil proceeded in the author's book. For all that has been said above, is either expressly contained in it, or may very easily be deduced from the principle there laid down." We shall add here a very beautiful passage of our author inserted among the notes of Mr. Law's translation of the Archbishop's book (*), (†) Vol. 2. pag. 473. & seq. 2d edit.

He firmly believes, and thinks he very well comprehends, that there is much more *moral good* in the world, nay in the earth, than *evil*. He is sensible, there may be more bad men than good, because there are none but do amiss sometimes, and one ill act is sufficient to denominate a man bad. But yet there are ten good acts done by those we call bad men, for one ill one. Even persons of the very worst character may have got it by two or three flagrant enormities, which yet bear no proportion to the whole series of their lives. The author doth not know the objector, nor with whom he converses; but he must profess, that among such as he is acquainted with, he believes there are hundreds, that would do him good, for one that would do him hurt; and that he has received a thousand good offices for one ill one. He could never believe the doctrine of Hobbes, that all men are bears, wolves, and tygers to one another; that they are born enemies to all others, and all others to them; that they are naturally false and perfidious; or that all the good they do, is out of fear, not virtue. He that describes mankind in this manner may give us cause to suspect, that he himself is such; but if mankind were taken one by one, perhaps not one could be found in an hundred thousand, that could truly own the character. Nay the very authors of this calumny, if their own characters were called in question, would take all possible pains to remove the suspicion from them, and declare that they were speaking of the vulgar, of the bulk of mankind, and not of themselves. Nor in reality do they behave in this manner toward their friends and acquaintance; if they did, few would own them. Observe some of those, that exclaim against all mankind for treachery, dishonesty, deceit, and cruelty; and you will find them diligently cultivating

15th 1709 he preached a Sermon on *Rom. viii. 29, 30.* before Thomas Earl of Wharton and the Right Honourable the House of Lords, which was printed at Dublin 1709 in 4°, and reprinted at London, under the title of, *Divine Predestination and Fore-knowledge consistent with*

vating friendships, and discharging the several offices due to friends, relations, and their country, with labour, pain, loss of goods, and hazard of life itself, even where there is no fear to drive them to it, nor inconvenience attending the neglect of it. This, you will say, proceeds from custom and education. Be it so; however the world then has not so far degenerated from all goodness, but the greater part of mankind exercise benevolence; nor is virtue so far exiled, as not to be supported and approved, praised and practised by common consent and public suffrage; and vice is still disgraceful. Indeed we can scarce meet with one, unless pressed by necessity, or provoked by injuries, who is so barbarous and hard-hearted, as not to be moved with compassion, and delighted with beneficence to others; who is not inclined to shew good-will and kindness to his friends, neighbours, children, relations, and diligent in the discharge of civil duties to all; who does not profess some regard for virtue, and think himself affronted, when he is charged with immorality. If any take notice of his own or another's actions for a day together, perhaps he will find one or two blameable; the rest all innocent and inoffensive. Nay it is doubtful whether a Nero or a Caligula, a Commodus or Caracalla (tho' monsters of mankind, and prone to every act of wickedness and fury) have done more ill than innocent actions through their whole lives. It is to be observed in the second place, that one great crime, such as murder, theft, or rapine is oftner talked of, more universally reported, and much longer remembered, than a thousand good, peaceable, generous deeds, which make no noise in the world, nor ever come to public notice, but are silently passed by and overlooked. Which very thing shews, that the former are more rare than the latter; otherwise they would not be received with so much surprize, horror and astonishment. Thirdly, it is observable, that many things are done very innocently, which persons unacquainted with the views and circumstances of the actors, esteem criminal. It is certain, we cannot judge of the goodness or badness of an action from bare appearance, but rather from the inward motions and intentions of the mind, and the light, in which the thing appeared to the agent. Nero killed a man, that was innocent; but who knows whether he did it out of premeditated malice? Perhaps some intrusted with the care of his person, or a flattering courtier, whom he is obliged to depend on, informs of this innocent man as plotting a conspiracy against the Emperor's life, and urges dispatch, lest he be first surpris'd. Perhaps the informer is imposed upon himself, and thinks it real. It is plain such circumstances very much lessen the guilt: and it is probable, if the crimes of Princes were weigh'd impartially, and the whole process laid open, many things might be offer'd, which would greatly alleviate them. Fourthly, many things are done through ignorance of the law, and because those, who commit them, do not know, that they are vicious; nay they are often esteem'd virtues. Thus St. Paul persecuted the Church, and himself owns, that he did it out of ignorance, and therefore obtained mercy. How many things of this kind are done daily by such as profess different religions? It is true, these are sins, but sins of ignorance, which easily obtain forgiveness; and as they do not proceed from an evil disposition and deprav'd will, are scarce to be reckon'd in the number of moral evils. Whoever falls foul on others out of a love of virtue, hatred of vice, or zeal towards God, does wrong; but ignorance and an honest heart make very much for his excuse. This consideration alone would take a great deal off from the number of wicked persons. Neither does this excuse hold only in matters of religion: party prejudices have also a share in it, which induce men to extirpate with fire and sword, those that they believe to be public enemies and traitors to their country. There is no error more pernicious to mankind, and which has produced more or greater crimes, than this; and yet it arises from an honest mind. The mistake lies here, that they forget that their country and commonwealth ought to be defended by just and lawful means, and not at the expence of hu-

manity. Fifthly, prejudice and surmise make many wicked, that really are not so. The most innocent conversation between man and woman gives the malicious a handle to suspect and slander them. From any one single circumstance, that usually attends a criminal action, the suspected person is found guilty of the fact itself. From one bad action a man's whole life is disparaged and judged to be of the same tenor. If one member of a society be caught in a fault, all the rest are presumed to be as bad. It is scarce credible how many are looked upon as scandalously wicked through such suspicions, who are very far from it. Confessors and Judges in criminal cases know very well how small a part of common fame is true, how little it is ever to be trusted. Sixthly, we must distinguish, and the law itself does, between such things as proceed from malice and premeditated wickedness, and those that arise from violence of passion and disorder of mind. The guilt is very much extenuated, when the person offending is under provocation, and as it were transported beyond himself by a sudden fit of passion. These things are all known to our most equitable Judge, who will pass a merciful, and not a rigorous sentence on us; and for these reasons, we believe, he forbids us to judge any thing before the time. We only know the out-sides of things; and it is possible, that such as seem to us the greatest crimes, would upon seeing the whole procedure, and making proper allowances, appear to be the least. Many virtues as well as vices lie in the mind invisible to human eyes; it is speaking at random therefore to pronounce upon the number of one or other; and he that would from thence infer the necessity of an evil principle, ought to be esteem'd a rash judge, and an usurper of God's tribunal. Lastly, it may be observed, that the continuance and increase of mankind is a sure proof that there is more good than evil in the world: for one or two acts may have a pernicious influence on many persons; nay all immoral actions tend to the destruction of mankind, at least to the common detriment and diminution of them; whereas a great many even numberless good actions must necessarily concur to the preservation of each individual. If therefore bad actions exceeded the number of the good, there would be an end of human kind. We have clear evidence of this in those countries, where vices multiply; the number of men continually decreases, and the place grows desolate; but upon the return of virtue and goodness it is again stocked with inhabitants. This is a sign, that mankind could not subsist, if ever vice were prevalent, since many good acts are necessary to repair the loss, which attends one bad one. One single action may take away the life of a man, or of several; but how many acts of benevolence and humanity must necessarily contribute to the bringing up, educating, and preserving every one? "From what has been said, says the Archbishop, I hope it appears, that there is more good than evil among men, and that a good God might make the world, notwithstanding the argument drawn from the contrary supposition. But almost all of this is unnecessary, since the whole Universe may have ten thousand times more good than evil, though this earth of ours had no one good thing in it. This world is too small to bear any proportion to the whole system; and therefore we can form but a very unequal judgment of it from hence. It may be the hospital or prison of the world; and can any one judge of the healthfulness of a climate, from viewing an hospital, where all are sick? Or of the wisdom of a Government, from a place of confinement, where there are only madmen? Or of the virtue of a people, from a prison, where there are none but malefactors? Not that I believe the earth is really such a place; but I say it may be supposed such, and any supposition, which shews how a thing may be, destroys the Manichean argument drawn from the impossibility of accounting for it. In the interim, I look upon this earth, as an habitation abounding with delights, in which a man may live with comfort, joy, and happiness. I own with the greatest gratitude to God, that I myself

with the Freedom of Man's Will. A Sermon preached &c. This was attacked by Anthony Collins Esq; in a Pamphlet, intitled, *A Vindication of the Divine Attributes.* In some

self have lived such a life; and am persuaded, that my friends, acquaintance, and servants, have all the same; and I believe that there is no evil in life, but what is very tolerable, especially to those, who have hopes of a future immortality." For a proof, that the good, both natural and moral, in the world, is superior to the evil, the reader may see *Sherlock on Providence*, c. 7. *Hutcheson on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*, Sect. 6. p. 183, 184, Edit. London 1728; *Leibnitz, Essais de Theodicée; Cbubb's Supplement to the Vindication of God's Moral Character*, in his *Treats*, p. 281 &c. and Dr. *Lucas's Enquiry after Happiness*, Vol. I. Sect. 2. C. 2. Monsieur Bernard gave an abridgment of our author's book in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (9). Mr. Bayle in the second volume of his *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial* (10) examined the hypothesis of our author, as it was represented in Monsieur Bernard's abstract, and in a passage cited by the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum*, but omitted by Monsieur Bernard; who complains (11) of Mr. Bayle for not consulting Archbishop King's book itself, and observes that Mr. Bayle attacks that Prelate upon such principles, as he would expressly deny, since the English Divines do not maintain in every respect the principles common among others of the Reformed. The first of Archbishop King's principles, which Mr. Bayle takes notice of, is, *That God always acts for an End, which End in the creation of the world was to exercise his power, or to communicate his goodness; so that it is only improperly said, that God created all things for his glory.* Mr. Bayle allows this principle, and that is almost the only point in which he agrees with the Archbishop. But he denies, what the Archbishop asserts, viz. *that there is more natural good than evil in the world; and that the establishing of two principles does not remove the difficulty about the origin of evil, because it is as much repugnant to the Divine Goodness to have created beings, which he foresaw would be corrupted by another principle, as to have created those, which were corruptible in themselves.* He denies also, in opposition to our author, that every thing derived from matter must of necessity be subject to pains, diseases, grief, &c. And to confute that notion, he seems, as Monsieur Bernard observes (12), to build upon the opinion of occasional causes, as if it were an uncontroversible doctrine, whereas it had very few followers in England. Mr. Bayle asks, to what purpose serve the pains of childbirth? and answers, to call for a midwife; and puts this instance in the margin, that a woman in a wilderness will feel as much pain as in a city. "And no doubt, says Mr. Bernard (13), he would conclude from thence, that those pains consequently serve for nothing. If he knew no other use of these pains, he might have consulted some Physician, who would have informed him of the matter." Mr. Bayle denies, that mistake and ignorance are the natural effects of man's imperfection; and cites upon that head the greatest part of the Divines, who believe that Adam was created to learn, that though his knowledge was not infinite, it would be absurd to suppose that he was in error or ignorance. "But the authority of Divines, says Monsr. Bernard (*), will signify but little, where the question is about reason." Mr. Bayle denies, that it is necessary in order to a man's esteeming himself happy in his right choice, to be persuaded, that the choice was made by the strength of his own free-will. He alledges several sorts of men, who do not think their happiness depends upon their liberty, and quotes a great many authors antient and modern, Poets and others. *But he ought, says Monsieur Bernard (14), to have proved to Archbishop King, that all those people, who have suffered themselves to be conducted by others, &c. did not, by an antecedent act of free-will, choose this as the best way for them.* For to suppose, that after a man, having examined a ship, which he finds to be good, and the Pilot, whom he finds to be skilful, has resolved very freely to go on board, and intrust himself to the conduct of the Pilot; to suppose, that this man, in order to preserve the freedom of his will must needs, at every motion, which the Pilot makes on board the ship, and at every order

he gives out, make a free act of his will, by which he consents to that motion, and without which he is not free; this is certainly what the Archbishop never alledged, and except he had maintained that proposition, most part of Mr. Bayle's instances fall of themselves." Mr. Bayle brings several other reasons against our author's notion of liberty; and afterwards answers that question of the Archbishop, *Why God permitted Sin?* He pretends, that the inconveniences, which our author alledges, in case God had not created a being endowed with such a liberty, as the Archbishop conceives, are absolutely null. He says the same of what the Archbishop advances to shew, that God was not obliged to employ his omnipotent power, to hinder those free agents from abusing their freedom, or to transport them to another habitation, where they would have had no occasion to prompt them to a bad choice. Monsieur Bernard (15) makes one general remark upon this subject, which he tells us may be applied to many other parts of this controversy; and that is, that Mr. Bayle artfully separates the inconveniences, which Archbishop King proposes, that he may confute them with the greater ease, without taking notice, that divers reasons, which taken separately, would not determine one to act after a certain manner, yet might determine him, if they acted jointly. I have a mind, for instance, to go to such a town; I have a very pressing reason, which hinders me, and I have many others, which incline me to undertake the journey: every one of these are less than that, which should determine me not to go; but taken all together, they turn the scale. You do nothing at all to hinder me from taking the journey, if you only refute each reason apart, which made me determine to go; you must make one argument of them all, and convince me, that all of them together are not so strong as that one, which should hinder my proceeding on my journey. One thing, as Monsieur Bernard remarks (16), which shews it to have been necessary, that Mr. Bayle should have read our author's book, is his way of confuting what the Archbishop has said of the torments of the damned, *that they are useful perhaps to keep good men to their duty, and make them persevere in a right conduct.* Mr. Bayle pretends, that this cannot be understood of the Saints in Paradise, who have no occasion for such a curb. "But it may be, says Monsieur Bernard, that Archbishop King will not grant him this, but maintain, that the confirmation of Saints in goodness is not the confirmation of an Enthusiast supported by no motives; of which number the Archbishop conjectures that the example of the damned may be one. In the mean time Mr. Bayle supposing it not to be so, imagines that the Archbishop would insinuate, that after the resurrection there will be new inhabitants upon the earth. "This is the effect of confuting a book, which Mr. Bayle never read." Mr. Bayle afterwards attacks our author upon his assertion, that the goodness of things depends solely on God's having chosen them. He replied to Monsieur Bernard, and made several new observations upon Archbishop King's book, in the fifth volume of his *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, published after his death. The Archbishop answered his remarks in the papers, which he left behind him, the substance of which is inserted by way of Notes by Mr. Law, in the second edition of his translation of the Archbishop's book. Mr. Law observes (17), that Mr. Bayle frequently introduces among his reasonings the testimonies of other writers, but that most of these testimonies are rhetorical or poetic flourishes, rather than Philosophic truths; and consequently not worth a serious examination. To draw any thing like an argument from another's words, we should at least be sure of his determinate meaning, of the precise number of his Ideas, as well as the justness of their connection together, which we must never expect from such kind of random Quotations. It may not therefore be improper to observe here once for all, that Bayle's usual Method of reasoning from authorities must be very weak and unphilosophical, and calculated rather to blind men's eyes, than to inform their understanding." Mr. Leibnitz wrote Remarks upon

(9) *Mois de Mai & June 1703.*

(10) *Ch. 74. & seqq. Edit. Rotterdam 1706 in 22mo.*

(11) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Mois de Janvier, 1706, pag. 57.*

(12) *Ibid. pag. 63.*

(13) *Ibid. pag. 64.*

(*) *Ibid. pag. 65.*

(14) *Ibid. pag. 67.*

(15) *Ibid. pag. 69, 70.*

(16) *Ibid. pag. 70.*

(17) *Translation of the Essay on the Origin of Evil, vol. 2. pag. 414. 2d edit.*

some Remarks on his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermon, intituled, Divine Predestination &c. [D]. London 1710, pagg. 38. and by Dr. John Edwards in a piece intituled, *The Divine Perfections vindicated: or some brief Remarks &c.* London 1710 in 8vo. In 1714 he published at Dublin in 4to, *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Narcissus Archbishop of Ar-magh, in St. Patrick's Church.* July 17, 1717, he was sworn one of the Lord's Justices of Ireland.

upon the Archbishop's book in French, published by Mr. Des Maizeaux in the third volume of the *Recueil de diverses Pieces sur le Pbilosopbie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques &c. par Mrs. Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres Auteurs celebres*, printed at Amsterdam 1720 in three volumes. Mr. Leibnitz in this piece files the treatise *de Origine Mali*, a Work full of Learning and elegance; and tells us, that the Archbishop's first four Chapters agree with his own principles; but that the fifth, which treats of human liberty and moral evil, is founded upon principles opposite to his.

(D) *Attacked by Anthony Collins Esquire in a Pamphlet, intituled, A vindication of the Divine attributes &c.* In this pamphlet Mr. Collins observes the following method, I. To lay down his Grace's notion of the attributes of God. II. Shew what led his Grace to lay down such a notion. III. Offer some considerations against his Grace's scheme. IV. Answer what may be objected from his Grace's Sermon. I. With regard to his Grace's notion of the attributes of God; he says (8), *When the Scriptures speak of God, they ascribe hands, and eyes, and feet to him; not that it is designed we should believe, that he has any of these members according to the literal signification; but the meaning is, that he has a power to execute all those acts, to the effecting of which those parts in us are instrumental.* And when the Scriptures represent God as affected with such Passions as we perceive in our selves, viz. as angry and pleased, as loving and hating, as repenting and changing his resolutions, as full of Mercy and provoked to Revenge; the meaning is, that he will as certainly punish the wicked as if he was inflamed with the passion of Anger; that he will reward the good as infallibly, as we will those, for whom we have a particular love; that when men turn from their wickedness, he will as surely change his dispensations towards them, as if he really repented, and had changed his mind. In this point all considering men agree with his Grace. But he proceeds, throughout his Sermon, to give the like account of the wisdom, mercy, justice, knowledge, foreknowledge, virtue, and all other attributes of God; and makes them as improperly applied to him, as eyes or ears, love or hatred, or any human parts and passions; for he says, *As the nature and passions of men are thus by analogy and comparison ascribed to God; so in the same manner we find the powers and operations of our minds ascribed to him; and he instances in wisdom, and understanding, and mercy, which are, says he (19), of so different a nature from what they are in us, and so superior to all that we can conceive, that in reality there is no more likeness between them, than between our hand and God's Power. And that the terms of foreknowledge and predestination, nay of understanding and will, when ascribed to God, are not to be taken strictly and properly; nor are we to think they are in him after the same manner, or in the same sense, that we find them in ourselves; but on the contrary, we are to interpret them only by way of analogy and comparison* (20). Again, *Wisdom is in us as different from what we call so in God, as light is from motion* (21). Again, *There is as great a difference between these foregoing when attributed to God, and as they are in us, as between weighing in a balance and thinking, in truth infinitely greater* (22). Nay he says, *The best representations we can make of God are infinitely short of truth* (23). And lastly he concludes, *That understanding, justice, and virtue are not to be understood to signify the same thing, when applied to God and to men* (24). II. As to what led his Grace to lay down such a notion of the attributes of God; he thinks (25), that if those attributes are understood literally, and in the same way as we find them with us, absurd and intolerable consequences would follow. And he allows in particular (26), *That the foreknowledge and predetermination of God are inconsistent with the contingency of events and our freedom of will, if his foreknowledge and predetermination are of the same nature with ours.* The use he makes of this analogous notion of foreknowledge is contained in these

words (27): *Since we have no more proper notion of fore-knowledge and predetermination in God than a man born blind has of sight and colours, we ought no more to pretend to determine what is consistent or not consistent with them, than a blind man ought to determine from what he hears or feels, to what objects the sense of seeing reaches.* Mr. Collins * offers some considerations against his Grace's notions; and observes, 1. That, "according to those notions, it is impossible for his Grace to prove the existence of God against atheists. For our conceptions or ideas, that we signify by the term God, must be the subject of proof, whenever we bring the term God into a proposition. But his Grace says, *All our best conceptions of God are infinitely short of truth* (29), and as different from truth as weighing (29) *in a balance is from thinking* (30), or as Light from motion (31). Therefore his Grace cannot prove the being of God, or, which is all one, the existence of any being, that is really conformable to our conceptions of God, unless his Grace will say, that what is infinitely short of truth and different from truth, can be proved true. 2. It being evident from the foregoing article, that whoever proposes to prove the existence of God, must have such an idea of God as is agreeable to the real nature of the being, whose existence is proposed to be proved; I would ask his Grace how he would define the term God, if he undertook to prove God's existence against an atheist. It is evident, he must either contradict his opinion, that *all our conceptions of God are false*, and assign some conception of God that he would stand by and own to be agreeable to truth; or else acknowledge the impossibility of proving God's existence. And I am inclined to believe his Grace would choose the first, because there are several passages in his discourse, which imply a conception of God, that his Grace may perhaps stand by and own to be agreeable to the truth of things; and that, as I take it, is of a Being, that is a general cause of the wonderful effects in nature, to which we cannot give any particular attributes or perfections: (though in reality, according to his Grace, this can be no better than an analogous conception of God, any more than the conception of him as a holy, good, merciful, and wise being.) Mr. Collins (32) then quotes some words of the Archbishop's sermon, p. 5. to shew, that his Grace can have no other notion of God, than of a being, that is a general cause of effects. "Now if that be the idea, says Mr. Collins, his Grace signifies by the term God, I will allow that the term God may be brought into a proposition, and the being of God in that sense will become capable of proof. But if that be all that is meant by that term, I see not why atheists should not come into the belief of such a Deity; for they, equally with theists, allow some general cause of all effects to have eternally existed; but, as I take it, differ from them in the attributes of that general cause. As for example, the theist affirms the world was made by a wise being, and thinks the wonderful harmony of the Universe, an admirable evidence of the existence of such a being. On the contrary the atheist affirms wisdom is not necessary to such a purpose; but that all these admirable effects may be produced by causes and powers, of which we have no idea. And does not his Grace give up the point to these men, in allowing the world does not proceed from a wise or intelligent being, but only from a being considered as a general cause, of whose particular attributes we have no notion at all? Perhaps his Grace may think there will remain a wide difference between atheism and theism, because he supposes his eternal being to be immaterial; and the atheist supposes his eternal being to be the material Universe. But that difference is, as I conceive, of no consequence; for if all the moral and all the other natural attributes are given up as indefensible; then all the arguments for God's government of the world, for rewarding and punishing men in a future state, which are drawn from

(18) Sermon, pag. 6.

(19) Ibid. pag. 7.

(20) Ibid. pag. 8.

(21) Ibid. pag. 19.

(22) Ibid. pag. 21.

(23) Ibid. pag. 16.

(24) Ibid. pag. 34, 35.

(25) Ibid. pag. 33.

(26) Ibid. pag. 9.

* *Vindication of the Divine Attributes*, pag. 17.

(29) Sermon, pag. 16.

(30) Ibid. pag.

(31) Ibid. pag.

(32) Ibid. pag.

(32) *Vindication*, pag. 19.

Ireland. In 1719 he published at London in 4to, *A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; shewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office*. Feb. 24, 1721 he was again sworn one of the Lords Justices of Ireland; as he was likewise June the 13th 1723. He died at his palace at St. Sepulchre's in Dublin May the 8th 1729, and was interred in the North-side of the Church-yard of Donnybrook. A particular account of his manuscripts, charities, character, &c. will soon be published by Mr. Harris in his new translation and continuation of Sir James Ware, *De Præfulibus & Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*. The Archbishop's heirs intend to publish all his works together, with his life prefixed. There is a Sermon of his Grace upon *Gen. ii. 16, 17.* printed at the end of the second edition of Mr. Edmund Law's translation of his book, *De Origine Mali*, at London 1732 in 8vo, two volumes.

from the consideration of the attributes of God taken in a strict and literal sense, are given up. As for instance, Do not we argue for a future state from the justice of God, and conclude, that he will deal with every man according to his merit? Do we not, from the same attribute, conclude the necessity of an incarnate God, suffering for the sins of the world? And do we not conclude from his goodness, his design to save mankind? And do we not infer from his knowledge, that he takes cognizance of our actions; and from his will, do not we infer our duty? But if none of those attributes are in God, nor any others, that we can conceive, we can never argue from them, nor infer any kind of obligation to duty; for all the motives to duty, unless it be that of present pleasure (which is an atheistical consideration) are solely drawn from the consideration of the attributes of God taken in a literal sense. How can men know God's will, when he has no will? How can men know, they shall be rewarded or punished in a future state, or what reason have they to think there shall be a future state, but from the consideration of God's justice, which will certainly make good men amends in another state for their sufferings in this life, and make wicked men sufferers for the pleasure their sins gave them here? But if we lose the use and benefit of the notion of God, that is, have such a notion as has no influence on our practice; what signifies contending with the atheist about so poor a speculation as the question of the existence of an eternal immaterial being? For whether he be material or immaterial, if he can have neither understanding, nor will, nor justice, it is all alike. Besides, if once the Deity be supposed to have no understanding, &c. I do not see how his Grace will be able to prove the existence of one eternal immaterial being, if the atheist should think it worth his while to dispute that point with his Grace. 3. Mr. Collins observes (33), that

(33) Pag. 22.

his Grace has given up the cause to Mr. Bayle. For Mr. Bayle says, there is no answering the Manichean objections against some of the attributes of God, without captivating the understanding to the obedience of faith, or believing against evidence; that is, believing God to be good, though it be evident, says he, he is not so, and believing him to be wise, though it be evident he is not so. And what says his Grace? Why he owns God is not good nor wise, and thereby yields to the force of Mr. Bayle's arguments. Only Mr. Bayle continues to believe God is good and wise, against the force of all human reasoning; and his Grace supposes God is neither wise nor good; which two do not much, if at all, differ but in words; for Mr. Bayle's good and wise against evidence and argument, is much the same with being neither good nor wise." 4. Mr. Collins remarks (34)

(34) Pag. 22.

that, according to his Grace, it is a matter of no great consequence what notions men have of God. The Archbishop thinks (35), that one, who imagines God to be a mighty King, that sits in heaven, and has the earth for his footstool; that has thousands of Ministers to attend him; that has great love and favour for such as obey his orders, and is in a rage and fury against the disobedient; and believes these things literally, will be saved by virtue of that belief. And he calls those officious and impertinent, that raise objections against such a notion, and put them into people's heads (36).

(36) Ibid. pag. 27.

But Mr. Collins (37) desires his Grace to consider, whether it is not dangerous to leave men to themselves with such erroneous and vicious conceptions of God; for if they will but give themselves the

(37) *Vindication*, pag. 23.

least trouble to reflect on their notion, they must find nothing is so easy as to slide into atheism from the belief of a God, which they take to be such a finite, limited, corporeal, immoral (as fury and rage import) Being, as his Grace describes. I hope his Grace is of opinion, that the Being of God, which is the foundation of all religion and morality, is capable of the clearest proof imaginable; and consequently that there is no danger of well-meaning men's running into atheism, if they should happen to be convinced, that they have erroneous conceptions of God. But suppose his Grace is of the opinion of Tully (38) and Simonides, and thinks the Being of a God a difficult problem, and that it is dangerous to disturb men in their wrong notions of God, for fear they should have no notion of him at all; I must confess, I cannot agree with his Grace in thinking it would be reasonable, even on that supposition, to forbear objecting to a wrong notion. Evidence ought to be the sole ground of assent, and examination is the way to arrive at evidence; and therefore rather than I would avoid examination, arguing, and objecting laid aside, I would choose to say, that no opinions whatever can be dangerous to a man, that impartially examines into the truth of things. And this I hope his Grace will assent to upon second thoughts, rather than prevent so much good preaching as his Grace must needs do, by arguing those men guilty of officiousness and impertinence, that would reclaim men from such an error as believing God to be like a man, if once the Clergy come to be of his Grace's sentiment." 5.

Mr. Collins observes (39), that his Grace, by denying God to be a body, wise, just Being, plainly contradicts all those passages of Scripture, where the example of God is recommended to our imitation. 6. That his Grace has given up the cause to the Unitarians, when he declares, [p. 12.] the distinction of Three Persons in one God to be but a Resemblance, i. e. not truly and really such as we mean by three Persons, but only analogically such, just as Time and a Line are made to resemble one another (40).

7. That "his Grace has failed of his main design, pretended in his discourse, viz. to manifest the Divine Foreknowledge consistent with the freedom of man's will (41)." Mr. Collins at last considers what might be objected to him from his Grace's sermon (12); and concludes with these words: "I hope, I have said enough to make his Grace employ his thoughts once more on the subject, and give us a farther *Eclaircissement* on the subject of this sermon, and of his book *De Origine Mali*; which I wish he may perform to the satisfaction of the public, and thereby prevent my design of handling these questions; which would not be thought so difficult as some imagine them to be, if men would but be willing to bring every proposition they use to the trial. Whereas men will for ever esteem some propositions to be sacred and true, and never suspect them of falshood; and that is the true reason why they are so confounded, and advance such contradictory schemes about the prescience, wisdom, justice, and other attributes of God. But if they would impartially examine every thing (how sacred soever it may be to them before they examined) all things would then appear harmonious and consistent in the Intellectual System, as they do in the Mechanical System of the Universe."

(38) *Res enim nulla est, de qua tantopere nos san- lum indocti, sed docti dissentiant* &c. *De Natura Deorum*, lib. 1.

(39) *Vindication*, pag. 24.

(40) *Ibid.* pag. 25, 26, 27, 28. This remark was written by Mr. Thomas Emlyn, and not by Mr. Collins.

(41) *Ibid.* pag. 28, & seq.

(42) *Ibid.* pag. 35, & seq.

KING (PETER) Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in the eighteenth Century, was descended of a good family of that name in Somersetshire, and son of Mr. Jerom King, an eminent Grocer and Salter in the City of Exeter in Devonshire. He was

was born at Exeter in the year 1669, and bred up for some years to his father's business; but in the midst of that employment, his inclination to learning was so strong, that he laid out all the money he could spare in books, and devoted every moment of his leisure hours to study; so that he became an excellent scholar, before the world suspected any such thing, and gave the public a noble proof of his skill in the Church History, in his *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first 300 years after Christ. Faithfully collected out of the extant writings of those ages* [A]. London 1691 in 8vo. His acquaintance with Mr. Locke, to whom he was related, and

[A] His Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, &c.] In the Preface he observes, that "the design of this Treatise is in general to represent the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ; but more particularly and especially to describe their opinions and practices with respect to those things, that are now unhappily controverted between those of these Kingdoms, who are commonly known by the names of Church-of-England-Men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; for which reason it comes to pass, that to those points, concerning which there is no difference amongst us, I have not spoken so largely as otherwise I might have done; and some other customs of theirs I have not mentioned at all, because now neglected and disused by us. What I have written as to this subject, I have wholly collected out of the genuine and unquestionably authentic writings of those ages, that are now extant, making use of no other writings whatsoever, except the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, which was written in the beginning of the fourth age, and relates only those affairs, that were transacted in the three former, beyond the period of which time this Enquiry doth not reach; but is wholly limited thereby, and confined thereunto. That which hath been thus collected, has been done, I hope, with the greatest impartiality and fidelity, without any prepossession of mind, or any fraudulent design whatsoever." He afterwards observes, that amongst other reasons of publishing this book, these two were the chiefest, viz. to inform others, and to inform himself; to inform others, says he, what the practices of the Primitive Apostolic Churches were, if any shall be so inquisitive and desirous to know them; or, if I am mistaken (as who is without errors?) to be better informed myself, which I must needs confess was that which I chiefly designed in the publication hereof. Wherefore without ostentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent mistakes in my younger years, I humbly desire (if the request be not too bold) and shall heartily thank any learned person, that will be so kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one or more particulars; which he may do, either publicly, or, if he think fit, privately, by letters to my bookseller, who will convey it safely to my hands." He concludes his preface with remarking, that when he first resolved on the printing of this Treatise, he designed to have published his observations on the fourth general head propounded in the title-page to be enquired into, viz. *the Worship of the Primitive Church*, as well as he has done on the three former; but for some reasons, says he, I have reserved this for a particular Tract by itself, which probably, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little time more be also published; and that the rather, because in this part I have made two or three references thereunto, which I thought good to acquaint the reader with, that so, if he cannot find some things that I have referred to in this Treatise, he may be assured they are to be met with in the ensuing one." The second Part of this Enquiry was published in 8vo. He concludes the last chapter of it with an earnest persuasion to Peace, Unity, and Moderation, in which he writes as follows: "Certain I am, we need no arguments to induce us hereunto [to Peace, Moderation, &c.]; both the necessity and facility of love and unity require it at our hands. Its necessity is evident from hence, that whilst we spend our zeal and heat about these inconsiderable matters, the very foundation of faith and morals are attacked and shaken; atheism increases, im-

morality prevails, and those damnable heresies, which for many ages have been silenced and abandoned, are now revived by men of corrupt faith, who take occasion from the lawlessness and licentiousness of this present age, to vent those cursed tenets, which eradicate and destroy all Religion: it is to be feared, that unless we hasten to compose our differences about the skirts and fringes of Religion, the very vitals and essentials thereof will be corroded and devoured by heresy and profaneness. And as for these and the like reasons, the necessity of an union or comprehension is manifest on the one hand; so the facility of such an union is as apparent on the other hand; for, thanks be to God, our differences are neither about faith nor manners. We all believe in one and the same God, hope to be saved by one and the same Redeemer, desire to be sanctified by one and the same Sanctifier, receive one and the same Scriptures, assert the same doctrines, and acknowledge the necessity of the same duties. Our disputes are only about lesser matters, about modes and forms, about gestures and postures, and such-like inferior matters, about which it should grieve a wise man to quarrel, and which with the greatest ease in the world might be composed and settled, if managed by men of prudence and moderation; and such men, it is hoped, are the Reverend Bishops advanced by their Majesties, whose promotion to those places of dignity and trust many honest and peaceable men look upon as a good omen and prognostic of our future union and happy establishment." A second edition of this book has been since printed. An Answer to it was published by Mr. Sclater, a Non-juring Clergyman, at London 1717 in 8vo, under this title: *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church: in answer to a Discourse, intitled, An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, &c. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England.* Mr. Sclater in his Preface observes, that our author in his "Preface shews an humble diffidence of his youthful performance, and desires another sense might be given of his several quotations (if need required) for better information of himself and others. I confess, says Mr. Sclater, I saw need enough of that at my first perusal of his book, and not a little wondered, that no friendly hand had done that kindness for him long before. As to my own part, I had never walked in the unpleasant paths of controversy to that day; and besides the consciousness of my unfitness for it, had aversion enough ever to set a foot in them; but seeing none had answered, or was answering (as I could hear of) so reasonable a desire, though men of letters in both Kingdoms of our united Island had declared an earnest expectation of it, and the holy Church of England in particular has reproached the silence of her children in an argument, that so plainly struck at her foundation; filial obedience, (I may say) to so faithful a parent moved me to use the best endeavours I could to vindicate her truly Apostolical Constitution, and to plead the cause of injured Antiquity, as well as hers; for that both are truly one in this case, the impartial reader will easily observe, when he sees the palpable mistakes corrected, and the unfair representations of the venerable Fathers of the Church (so obvious in almost every page of those plausible Collections) restored to their genuine sense again. This is what may be expected here; and I am not conscious I have strained any one passage in antiquity, beyond the true meaning of the venerable authors themselves, to form a different construction of it from that of the ingenious Enquirer. I should count it the worst of sacrilege to do so; the goods of the Church are not so sacred as her sense is.

3

"What

and who left him half his Library at his death, was of great advantage to him ; by his advice, after he had studied some time at Leyden in Holland, he applied himself to the study of the Law, in which profession his learning and indefatigable diligence made him soon be taken notice of. In the two last Parliaments during the reign of King William, and in five Parliaments during the reign of Queen Anne he served as Burgess for Beer-Alston in Devonshire. In 1702 he published at London in 8vo, without his name, his *History of the Apostles Creed. With Critical Observations on its several Articles* [B]. This Treatise is written with great learning and judgment ;

and
 “ What each quotation appeared to me from the best
 “ authority and closest attention I could use, I have
 “ fairly represented here. If defective in apprehend-
 “ ing the true sense, or injudicious in the inferences
 “ from it, I heartily submit, in my turn, to the char-
 “ ity of better information. For as I write with a
 “ conscientious regard to undeceive some, so I am in-
 “ finitely more concerned not to be deceived myself ;
 “ and I wish no greater freedom from prejudice or
 “ party in any, who read or censure these papers,
 “ than I am conscious of in the composing of them.” Mr.
 Sclater then observes, that “ every one too well knows
 “ of what a large and extensive nature this unhappy sub-
 “ ject is, and that the controversial books about it are
 “ sadly numerous, and full of different schemes and
 “ arguments, according to the genius of sects, and
 “ times, and persons ; many of which, says he, might
 “ have fallen in with several parts of this discourse,
 “ had I been inclined to dispute (as I bless God I am
 “ not) ; but I have kept close to the single Treatise
 “ before me, and that for two reasons especially ;
 “ 1. Because I heard from many hands, that the less
 “ learned and more prejudiced adversaries of the *truly*
 “ *Primitive Church of England* have made their boasts
 “ of it ; and from its not being answered, have
 “ proclaimed it an *unanswerable* vindication of their
 “ separation from her. 2. Because I think, that all
 “ the scattered arguments and pleas for their unwar-
 “ rantable schism are reducible to some one or other
 “ of the great variety of quotations cited in it.” He
 afterwards remarks, that since his papers were nigh
 wrought off the press, an ingenious Treatise had come
 into his hands, intitled, *The Invalidity of the Dissenting*
Ministry, &c. “ wherein, says he, some particular
 “ quotations in the *Enquiry* relating to the *Presbyter’s*
 “ *power of Ordination*, are judiciously explained, and
 “ with clear reasoning answered to the full.” The
 book mentioned by Mr. Sclater in this passage is in-
 titled, *The Invalidity of the Dissenting Ministry, or*
Presbyterian Ordination an irregular and unjustifiable
practice. In answer to Mr. Pierce’s Sermons, entituled,
Presbyterian Ordination proved Regular : and to all
the pretended instances of Presbyterian Ordination, in a
book lately published by Mr. Charles Owen, called,
The Validity of the Dissenting Ministry : with Remarks
on the Forgery and Dishonesty of that Writer. To
which is added, an impartial View and Censure of the
Mistakes propagated for the ordaining power of Pres-
byters, in a celebrated book, entituled, An Enquiry into
the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the
Primitive Church, that flourished within the first
three hundred years after Christ. By a Presbyter of
the Church of England.

[B] He published *The History of the Apostles Creed :*
with Critical Observations on its several Articles. In
 the preface he observes, that “ if the Explication given
 “ by himself of any article or part of the Creed,
 “ should happen to be disliked or not approved by
 “ any one, the reader must remember, that the author
 “ only acts the part of an Historian ; his design being
 “ only to collect and discover the sense and meaning
 “ of the first makers and composers of the Creed,
 “ what it was that the introducers of the several ar-
 “ ticles purposed and intended thereby ; and if in any
 “ place he seems to speak his own sense, that is only
 “ for the better carrying on the thread of his dis-
 “ course, and in the quality and person of an Histori-
 “ an, as having collected the sense or explication in
 “ such place mentioned, to be the intended meaning
 “ of the framers of that part or clause of the Creed ;
 “ the only intent of the author being to shew the sense
 “ of the composers of the Creed, and not at all to
 “ enter into an examination of the justness or truth of
 “ such sense and meaning ; the author leaving that
 “ to every man’s private judgment, to be tried and
 “ determined by the holy Scriptures, the only perfect

“ and infallible rule of faith, by which even this
 “ Creed itself, and every explication thereof, must be
 “ tried and judged, and is no farther to be received or
 “ believed, than as it is consonant and agreeable there-
 “ unto, which is according to the *sixth article* of the
 “ *Church of England*, that *whatsoever is not read in*
 “ *the holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not*
 “ *to be required of any man, that it should be believed*
 “ *as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or ne-*
 “ *cessary to salvation.*” In the *first chapter* he cites
 the encomiums given the Creed by the primitive writ-
 ters, and the several names by which it hath been cal-
 led. He shews, that it was principally termed a sym-
 bol, for which appellation two reasons are commonly
 alledged ; the one taken from the manner of common
 suppers amongst the antients, which is shewn to be
 weak and uncertain ; the other taken from military
 affairs, where it denotes the watch-words and signs, by
 which soldiers knew each other ; which is affirmed not
 to be the full and proper signification of the word,
 but that it is rather to be derived from the marks and
 tokens used by the idolatrous Pagans in their sacred
 rites, called by them *Symbola*, which were two-fold,
 either mute or vocal. He gives instances of both, and
 proves them to have been secret marks or words, re-
 vealed only to those who were initiated in their myste-
 ries, by means of which they were known to each
 other, and had free admission, wheresoever they came,
 to the services of those Deities, whose symbols they
 had received ; and that from the same reasons, and in
 allusion thereunto, the Creed was called a symbol by
 the primitive authors. He then proceeds to the au-
 thors of the Creed ; and observes, that some ascribe it
 to the Apostles, which by several reasons is demon-
 strated to be impossible ; but that nevertheless it is apo-
 stolical and antient. He shews, that it is exceedingly
 difficult to find out the precise framers of it. That the
 authors of it were many, and the composition of it a
 work of time. That one part of it was used by the
 Apostles, and left by them to their successors. That
 the Creed was always demanded at baptism, both by
 the Apostles, and by those who came after them.
 That the other part of the Creed was afterwards added
 by the rulers of the Church, in opposition to heresies,
 as they appeared and sprung up. He shews in what
 sense the Apostles are said to be the authors of one
 part, and the succeeding governors of the Church au-
 thors of the other. That the meaning of the Creed
 is to be fetched from the writings of the Fathers. That
 the Creed was first constantly read in the Eastern
 Church about five hundred years after Christ, and in
 the Western near six hundred. That the Creed then
 read was the *Nicene*, into whose room afterwards came
 the Apostles. The contents of the *second Chapter* are as
 follow. The reason for which it is said in the singular
 number, *I believe* ; the meaning of the word *believe*.
 By believing in God we assent to his existence and
 unity. The Greek and antient Latin Creeds read, *I*
believe in ONE God, which was designed against some
 blasphemous deniers of the Divine Unity, who, nega-
 tively, were not the Jews, since they owned it ; nor
 the heathens principally, seeing the greater, or at least
 the wiser part of them acknowledged it ; but posi-
 tively, they were certain antient heretics ; in opposi-
 tion to whom this clause of *ONE God* is to be consider-
 ed, either absolutely or relatively. Absolutely it sig-
 nifies, that there is but *ONE God*. The *Valentinians*,
Cerdonians, *Marcionites*, and others, introduced several
 Gods. The authors of this heresy lived in the Apo-
 stles time. Against it the Creed declares, that we
 must believe in *ONE God* ; which being understood re-
 latively, or as it hath reference to what immediately
 follows in the Creed, signifies that *ONE* and the same
 God is the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and
 Earth, in contradiction to several heretics, who main-
 tained opinions contrary thereunto. The title, FA-
 THER,

(a) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Mois de Novembre, 1702, pag. 434. and Mr. Peter Coste, who sent an abstract of it in French to Monsieur Bernard, who published it in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for November and December 1702, tells us (a), that a learned English Bishop, who had begun to read it with a disadvantageous prejudice, imagining, that it would prove only a wretched rhapsody out of

THEY, denotes God to be the origin of all beings, in contradiction to the *Gnostics* and others, who being worse than the heathens disowned him to be such, and refused to give him the appellation of FATHER, (which is here briefly explained), but attributed it to another being different from him. Or it denotes the peculiar relation of the Father unto the Son, in which sense it hath been also understood in the Creed, which is the primary sense thereof, wherein it hath been in the Creed from the foundation of Christianity. The word ALMIGHTY hath a threefold signification in the Creed. *First*, it denotes God's infinite power, which shews the reason why it is placed before the making of heaven and earth. In this sense it was intended against the *Valentinians*, *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, &c. whose heresies are explained. *Secondly*, it implies God's providential government of the world, in opposition to the denial thereof by the *Gnostics* and *Marcionites*; the former of whom at least ascribed this word ALMIGHTY, thus understood, to another being, different from the supreme and only God. *Thirdly*, it includes God's immensity and omnipresence, in contradiction to the error of the *Gnostics*, which confined God within a certain limited space. What is to be understood by MAKER, and what by HEAVEN and EARTH. The blasphemous tenets of several Heretics about the creation of the world. Simon Magus and several others attributed the making thereof to angels. The portentous system of the *Valentinians* concerning the origin of Beings, and the creation of the Universe. The *Cerdonians* and *Marcionites* maintained two Eternal Principles, God and the Devil; the latter of whom they affirmed to have been the Former and Maker of the world. Against all these Heretics it was inserted in the Creed, that the Supreme God, the Father Almighty is *Maker of Heaven and Earth*. The contents of the *third chapter* are as follow. The *Nicene* and more ancient Greek Creeds read in *one Jesus Christ*, which was a designed opposition to the blasphemous division of Jesus from Christ by the *Gnostics* and others, whose several Heresies are related. By believing in *Jesus Christ* we profess, that there was such a man as was known by the name of *Jesus of Nazareth*, which word *Jesus* was an usual name among the Jews; and that this *Jesus* was the *Christ* or the *Messias*, which was constantly a part of the Creed from the very beginning of the Gospel, it being the foundation of all Christianity, and that which was most violently assailed by the Jews. The word *Christ* signifies *Anointed*, unktion being used among the Jews on several occasions; in allusion whereunto *Jesus* is called *Christ* from his consecration to his triple office of *Prophet*, *Priest*, and *King*. His unktion is to be understood in a spiritual sense; God the Father was the anointer, and the Holy Ghost the oil, which was poured upon his human nature at his conception and baptism. *His only Son*, wherein are two things contained; *first*, that he is the Son of the Father; *his Son*, which was foretold by the Prophets; whence *Messias* and the *Son of God* were convertible terms amongst the Jews, at the time of our Saviour's appearance. Christ was the son of God in several respects; but in one way peculiarly so, which is the second thing in this clause, that he is his *only Son*. The Scriptures affirm, that God had one Son in a peculiar manner, which is expressed in the Greek Creeds to be by generation; which was perhaps opposed to the *Valentinian* emission or division from the Father. Caution is to be used in the searching into this mystery. Christ is said in the Greek Creeds to be the *Monoγενης*, or the *only begotten*, in contradiction to the *Gnostics* and others. This article was coeval with Christianity, and denotes Christ's divine nature. The title *Lord* denotes the dominion of Christ, who is Lord by way of eminency, being supreme Lord over all, and particularly the Christian's Lord, *our Lord*. There are two opposite parties in the Universe, the one under Christ, the other under the Devil, who have each their separate Kingdoms. The Devil's interest among spirits is un-

known to us; but amongst mankind he very much prevailed, inasmuch that in several places he was worshipped as God; but when Christ came, he destroyed the Devil's Kingdom, which was but an usurped one, and erected his own Kingdom, the admission whereinto was at baptism, when the baptized person not only acknowledged Christ's Lordship, but also expressly renounced the Devil's power. This article was coeval with Christianity, and denotes a submission to Christ as our Lord, in opposition to the Devil. In the next place, the Creed declares Christ's humanity, and the necessity of his being man. His incarnation was blasphemed and denied in sundry ways and manners by various Heretics; against whom was levelled whatsoever is mentioned in the Creed from our Saviour's Conception to his Resurrection. The *Conception* and *Nativity* are in most Creeds joined together in one sentence. *Ebion*, *Cerintus* and others affirmed Christ to have been a man, conceived and born in the ordinary way of generation; against whom it is declared, that he was *conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of such a woman as was a Virgin*. Several Heretics, whose names are mentioned, denied, that Christ assumed a material Body from the substance of his mother; but held, that his Body was framed in heaven, and passed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe. Their reason for this Heresy is represented; which Heresy is emphatically condemned by this expression *in Mariam, or of Mary*. The strange notion of the *Apelleians* concerning the making of our Saviour's Body; against whom, with the precedent Heretics, the Creed directs us to believe, by his being *born of the Virgin Mary*, that he took from her flesh the real substance of his Body. The *Birth* of Christ employed also in conjunction with his *Passion*, *Crucifixion*, *Death*, and *Burial*, to denote the Reality of his Body. These last four were not all found in one and the same Creed till St. Augustin's days. The monstrous consequences of an imaginary and fantastical Incarnation, which was maintained by a prodigious variety of Heretics from the Days of St. John, as by the *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, &c. against whom was inserted in the Creed the *Birth* of Christ and his *Sufferings*; which latter point was so convincing a proof, that to prevent any cavils, as if it were a doubtful and uncertain thing, the time thereof is declared to have been *under Pontius Pilate*, who was Procurator of Judea in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. To condemn also the forementioned Heresies, the Crucifixion of our Saviour follows, that it was not *Simon of Cyrene*, as the *Basilideans* affirmed, but he himself who was crucified; and likewise his *Death*, which is mentioned, because the certainty thereof is the foundation of the Gospel. By *Death* is meant the separation of soul and body; after which, for the same intent, follows that disposal of his dead body, viz. that it was *buried* or laid in the grave. The *fourth Chapter* contains the following particulars. The Descent of our Saviour into Hell was never questioned by any differences in the explication thereof. The Moderation of the Church of England herein. This article relates, *first*, something done by Christ's Soul, which excludes the Burial of his Body from being designed thereby; and, *secondly*, something done by his Soul in its separate state, exclusive of the sufferings thereof, whilst he was alive. No exact agreement in the notions of the Primitive Writers about this point. The explication of the word *Hell* or *Hades*, as it is in Greek. No one word in the modern English, French, or Dutch, comprehensive of the full signification thereof. *Hell* in old English exactly answers to the Greek *Hades*, which properly signifies the habitation or receptacle of all separated human souls, whether good or bad. The *Pagans*, from whom the propriety of any Greek or Latin word is to be fetched, understood it in this sense. The modern, or at least the ancient *Jesus* placed all separated souls in Hell. The *Primitive Christians* affirmed, that all good souls, immediately after their separation from the

body,

of several discourses on that subject printed in English, and especially of Bishop Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed*, who seemed to have exhausted that matter, was surprized to find in this *History* so many curious things not to be met with in Dr. Pearson, without finding any

body, passed into a place of joy and happiness, which they termed *Hell*, as is at large proved. In the declension of the Greek, and chiefly of the Latin tongue the word *Hell* began to be solitarily applied to the mansion of departed wicked souls. *Origen*, amongst the Greeks, doubted of the passage of faithful souls into *Hell* since the Resurrection of Christ. But after him the antient doctrine that all souls go to *Hell*, and remain there till the Resurrection-Day, generally prevailed in the East to this very day. *Ambrose*, and after him *Jerom*, and others entertained the same notion in the West, as *Origen* had in the East. *Augustin* was uncertain and wavering in his apprehensions hereof. The recession from the antient opinion occasioned by the mutation of Languages and words. The word *Hell* in the Apostolical sense could not, according to the propriety of speech, signify any other thing than the state or place of separated human souls whether good or bad. The meaning of the word *descended*; it sometimes only signifies a simple removal from one place to another. It is used in the Creed, because it was a popular kind of speech arising from the common opinion, that *Hell* was in the bowels of the earth, or under the earth; from whence it was called by the Latins *Infernum*, and by the Greeks *Hades*, and the like. Some of the Fathers imagined *Hell* to be in the heart of the earth; others under the earth; and some were uncertain of the situation thereof, but all apprehended it to be the common lodge of departed souls, and in a conformity to the common dialect, usually termed the passage thither a *Descent into Hell*, as in this article of the Creed; by which they meant no other than that our Saviour's Soul being separated from the Body went by a local motion to the unseen habitation of departed souls, where it remained till his Resurrection-Day: which is farther proved from the ends of his going thither, which were chiefly these four. *First*, to sanctify unto his followers the state and place of their souls, during their separation from their bodies. *Secondly*, that he might undergo a necessary and principal part of his humiliation. *Thirdly*, that he might personally, and as the Head of his Church, conquer Death and *Hell*, which he did by returning therefrom, and bringing the souls of several of the faithful with him. *Fourthly*, that he might subject himself unto the laws of Death, and be in every thing like unto us. From whence it more evidently appears, that the *Descent* of Christ into *Hell* signifies no other than the passage of his spirit unto the receptacle of separated souls. The occasion of inserting this clause in the Creed taken from the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Apollinarians*, who in a more cunning way than the former Heretics assaulted the humanity of our Saviour, by denying, that he had a reasonable soul. The difference between the error of the *Arians* and *Apollinarians* herein: it is proved, that the *Arians*, or at least some of them, with the *Eunomians*, held, that Christ's Body was void of a rational soul. But that, which rendered this heresy the more considerable and dangerous, was the espousing of it by *Apollinarius* the Younger, the most noted person of his age for ability and piety; on which account his fall was a very tender and sensible loss to the Church. The time when he vented his heresy, which was, that Christ had no human soul, but that his Divinity supplied the place hereof; the consequences of which opinion are instanced in several particulars. In opposition whereunto this clause was inserted in the Creed, *he descended into Hell*; which point was pitched upon by the Governors of the Church, because, of all the arguments used against the *Apollinarians*, it was the most unanswerable; on which account it is frequently urged by the Fathers against them, and it falls in most naturally with the frame of the Creed, without disturbing the order thereof. The time of the introduction of this article. The first Catholic Creed, wherein it is found, is in that of *Aquileia*, recorded by *Ruffinus*, though before that in a private Creed of *Epiphanius*, and even before him in a Creed framed by a party of *Arians* at the Council of *Ariminum*, held in the year 359. Several probable designs of those *Arians* herein, as to clear themselves from the suspi-

cion of the forementioned heresy, to disgrace their great antagonist *Apollinarius*; and by that means to create feuds and quarrels amongst the Orthodox, who finding *Apollinarius* openly to declare for his heresy, entirely abandoned him, condemned him in several Synods, and at length, according to the example of the *Arians*, inserted in the Creed this antidote against his heresy, that Christ *descended into hell*; which in the *Aquileian* Creed is expressed in a greater latitude by descending into the lower parts, wherein the burial might be comprehended and designed. But as it is expressed in the Roman or our present Creed, it can have no other than the forementioned signification, which, to prevent mistakes, is again repeated. The contents of the *Fifth Chapter* are as follow. The *Resurrection* of Christ being a necessary fundamental of our Religion, was always part of the Creed, by which our belief is declared, that Christ rose from the dead, and returned to life again. The farther consideration whereof is referred to the article of the resurrection of the body. The reason for which our Lord's resurrection is said to be *in*, and not *after the third day*. The *Ascension* of our Saviour was introduced against an opinion of the *Apelleians*, viz. that at his ascension, his body was resolved into its first principles, and ascended not up on high, or into heaven; the nomination of which place might probably have been designed in contradiction to a conceit of *Hermogenes*, that his body went into the body of the Sun. *Sitting at the right hand of God the Father* explained; by which we must not imagine Christ confined to that singular posture, but it signifies his advancement to the full exercise of his regal office; all things being subjected unto him by the *Father*, who was infinitely able to do it, seeing he is *Almighty*; which word in the Greek is different from that used in the beginning of the Creed, and in this place denotes the irresistibleness and efficacy of God's power. This clause is first found in the Creed of *Tertullian*, and was inserted, either as a continued proof with the *Ascension*, that our Lord's body was not dissolved a little after his resurrection, or, rather was designed against some heretics, who imagined the body of Christ to be in a stupid and unconcerned posture in heaven, and not to be late down at his Father's right hand, exercising all power and authority for the good of his Church. A brief explication of *From thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Three interpretations of *the Quick and the Dead*. The last most natural, that by the *Quick* are meant those, who shall be alive at the coming of our Lord; and by the *Dead*, those who shall then be actually void of life. This article was designed against the *Marcionites* and *Gnostics*, of whom the one blasphemed the final Judge, the other the Judgment. *Marcion* with his master *Cerdon*, held, that the true God, and his Son Christ Jesus were all mercy and love, and would never judge the world; which opinion opened a flood-gate to all impiety; in opposition whereunto the Creed declares, that he shall come to judge. The word *judging* explained; it supposeth a liberty and freedom of action in the person judged; both which were denied by the *Gnostics*, as by the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, *Carpocratians*, and others, who all sprung from *Simon Magus*, and united in these two heresies, that man was fatally necessitated to all his actions, and that he should not be judged according to his works, but according to his spiritual seed, election, and the like, which tenets were attended with most abominable consequences; and therefore against them both it was inserted in the Creed, that Christ *shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Wherein, *first*, the liberty of man was acknowledged; which is farther evident from this, that the word *Autē*, or that *man hath a power over himself*, was in several of the antient Creeds part of this article: the Fathers could not imagine a just judgment without supposing a freedom of the person judged. *Secondly*, it is farther declared by this clause, that men shall be judged according to their works; for which reason, while the heresy of the *Gnostics* raged, it was expressed with a suitable periphrasis, to prevent any equivocating evasions. A

brief

(b) *Tabl. Mois de*
Decembre, pag.
 633

any thing it borrowed from that writer's *Exposition*. Mr. Coste observes (b), that the whole Treatise is written in so accurate and masterly a manner, that whoever should translate it into Latin would do a great service to those learned men, who do not understand English. July the 27th 1708, upon the death of Sir Salathiel Lovel, he was chosen Recorder of the City of London, and September the 12th following was knighted by Queen Anne. In 1710 he was one of the Managers of the House of Commons at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. October the 26th 1714 he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and April the 5th following he was made one of the Privy Council. May the 25th 1725 he was created a Peer of England by the title of Lord King, Baron of Ockham in Surrey; and June the 1st following was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; in which post he continued till November the 29th 1733, when he resigned the Seals, which were given to Charles Talbot Esq; afterwards Lord Talbot. Some time before his death he was troubled with a paralytic disorder; and July the 22d 1734, at eight in the evening, he died at Ockham in Surrey, having been taken speechless about noon that day; and was interred at Ockham. He married Anne, daughter of Evan Seys of Boverton in Glamorganshire Esq; by whom he had issue four sons. *John, Peter, William, and Thomas*, and two daughters, *Elizabeth and Anne*. John, his eldest son, and heir to his titles and estate, was, during his father's life, Member of Parliament for Launceston in Cornwall, and in May 1726 married Elizabeth daughter of Robert Fry of Yeury in Devonshire Esq; which Lady died January the 28th 1733 in the 23d year of her age, leaving no issue. There are some Letters between the Lord King and Mr. Edmund Elys written in 1692 upon the subject of the *Enquiry into the Constitution*, printed in the *Letters on several Subjects*, published by Mr. Elys at London 1694 in 8vo.

brief repetition of the true intended sense of this article. The contents of the *sixth Chapter* are as follow. *I believe in the Holy Ghost*: why the word *believe* is again repeated. This article was always part of the Creed. Why so little is said of the *Holy Ghost*, when so much is said of the *Father* and of the *Son*. His Divinity intended by the Creed's requiring us to believe in him; whereas we are only required simply to believe the ensuing articles as in particular the *Holy Catholic Church*, which is next of all considered. In the Greek, wherein they are followed by the modern French and Dutch, the word *believe* is again repeated before the article of the *Church*, which, for different ends, was variously placed in the primitive Creeds. Its usual order after the *Holy Ghost*. This article just mentioned by *Tertullian*. The most antient Creeds read only *the Holy Church*; the term *Catholic* being added by the Greeks to be an explication or determination thereof. By the *Church* is to be understood the universal one, which is affirmed to be *one Holy, and Catholic*. That the *Unity of the Church* was here intended, appears from that the Greek Creeds read in *one holy Catholic Church*. The *Church universal* is to be considered as *one*, either as to faith or charity; in which sense it was, for several reasons which are mentioned, inserted in the Creed in opposition to Heretics and Schismatics. The *Church* termed *Holy* from the purity and holiness of her Doctrine, which is assented to thereby. The affection *Catholic*, which signifies universal, not always in the Creed; first introduced by the Greeks, to prevent narrow and limited conceptions of the Church. A brief repetition of what is assented to, when we repeat this article, *the Holy Catholic Church*. Whereunto is added as an appendix, *the Communion of Saints*; which was introduced about *St. Augustin's* time, in opposition to the *Donatists*. By *Saints* are to be understood particular Churches and the members thereof. For what reason they were called *Saints*. By *Communion* is signified the mutual society and fellowship of particular Churches and their members. Various Methods used by the antients to maintain their communion. The *Donatists* refused communion with other Churches; and for that Schism were justly condemned and rejected by them. In opposition unto whom, this article may be considered, either as a mark to know a true particular Church by, that she is one that is acknowledged so to be by other Churches; or rather as the quality, property, and practice of such an one to hold communion with other particular Churches; in which sense it is also added as an explanation of the *Holy Catholic Church*, and was intended to declare, that there ought to be a due communion and fellowship between the particular Churches and members of the Catholic and universal one. The contents of the *seventh and last chapter* are as follow. A brief explication of the *forgiveness of Sins*; not con-

stantly repeated in the Creed till the days of *Cyprian*, though sometimes expressed, and always supposed from the very beginning of Christianity. Two Interpretations are given hereof, a primary, and a secondary one. To have a clear idea of the primary one, which respects sins committed before Baptism, it will be necessary to reflect on the great wickedness of the world before the publication of the Gospel; by means whereof they were under guilt, which the Heathens knew by the light of nature, but could not tell how to remove it. The Jews had no universal assurance of the pardon of sins; wherefore the Apostles were sent forth to reveal an infallible way for the obtaining it, viz. by believing and being baptized. This is proved to be the primary sense of this article, always supposed, or else expressed in the creed, from the very first preaching of the Gospel, viz. that all past sins are for the sake of Christ remitted to all penitential believers at baptism: wherein these two things are contained; *first*, that our sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ: *secondly*, that the time of their forgiveness is at Baptism. Remission of sins ascribed to baptism, which is always to be understood with due regard to the qualifications of the persons baptized. Why sins are said to be forgiven at baptism. The secondary sense of this article respected sins committed after baptism. The rigorous notions of the *Basilidians, Montanists*, but especially of the *Novatians*, who denied the pardon of God, or at least of the Church, to scandalous sins perpetrated after baptism. The wretched consequences of this opinion, as an antidote against which this clause was constantly recited in the creed. Both the senses of this article repeated. *The resurrection of the body* is in some creeds the last article, and may be considered in conjunction with the resurrection of our Saviour. The resurrection from the dead being a necessary point of our religion, and withal being early opposed both by heathens and heretics, it hath always been a part of the creed from the Apostles days. In the Greek and Latin creeds, as also in the modern French and Dutch, it is the resurrection *of the flesh*. Several hereticks would equivocatingly assent to *the resurrection of the body*, who denied that the same fleshy substance should arise again. Against them it was emphatically inserted in the creed, that there should be the resurrection *of the flesh*; that is, that the very same fleshy and material Body should rise again, though the qualities thereof shall be changed and altered. *Life everlasting* differently placed in the antient creeds, pertinently put at the end of the Apostles, because it is the end of our faith, as the determination of every man to his proper place. The *Gnostics* affirmed, that the greatest part of Mankind should be annihilated at the day of judgment; against whom it is declared by this article, that after that there shall be *Life everlasting*; wherein are included the eternal misery of the damned, and the everlasting happiness of the blessed. T

KIRCHER (JOHN), a native of Tubingen in the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, studied with great success in the University of his own country, and gave very great hopes; but

(a) Joh. Georgius Dorſcheus, Epifc. Dedicat. Hodegetici Catholicici.

but having chosen another kind of life, and not seeing any probability of a good settlement, left the Religion for that of Rome, and went into Hungary (a). This was about the year 1640. He published according to custom the motives of his change. Several answers were made to them [A]: I cannot pursue my account of him any further, and I should be very blameable not to own it, since the learned Mr. Baillet has made no scruple to acknowledge, that he knew nothing of the adventures of this person [B].

[A] He published . . . the motives of his change. Several answers were made to them.] The book which he published, is intitled, *Ætiologia, in qua migrationis suæ ex Lutherana Synagoga in Ecclesiam Catholicam veras & solidas rationes succinctè exponit & perspicue, doctisque omnibus & judicandi dexteritate pollutibus ritè, accuratè & modèstè considerandas proponit.* It was printed at Vienna in Austria in 1640, and dedicated to Emeric Lofi Archbishop of Strigonia. This work turns upon these two points; one, that it is our duty to abandon the Lutheran Religion, since we cannot find in it an infallible authority to direct us to judge what we ought to believe, the other, that we ought to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion, since we find in it such an authority (1). Several answers to him appeared. Consult Mr. Baillet (2), who will inform you, that John Conrade Schragmuller published in German an Anti-Kircher in 1654, and that Abraham Calovius published an *Examen Anti-Kircherianum* at Konigsberg in Prussia in 1643. He does not speak there (3) of the work of John George Dorſcheus Professor of Divinity at Strasburg, though one might consider it as an *Anti-Kircher*. The title of it is as follows: *M. I. Kircherus devius; sive Hodegeticus Catholicus, quo ostenditur M. Johannem Kircherum Tubinga Wittembergicum migrationi suæ ex synagoga, quam vocat, Lutherana in Ecclesiam Catholicam institutione ivisse, non qua eundem esse sed qua itur.* It was printed at Strasburg in 1641 in 12mo and contains two parts, intitled at the top of the pages, the 1st, *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikirch. prælim.* the 2d, *Hodeget. Cathol. Antikirch.* Dorſcheus maintains the perspicuity of the Scriptures, which is the foundation of the protestant faith; and he shews on the other hand, that neither the councils nor decisions of Popes can be a good foundation of certainty. Above half the book consists of quotations, especially in those places where he examines the complaints of Kircher, that the protestants impute to the Catholic Religion all the imper-

tinences of particular authors. This book of Dorſcheus was confuted by a German Jesuit named Henry Wangnereck, who published an *Anti-Dorſcheus* in 1653, and who in his turn was confuted by an *Anti-Wagnereck*, which Balthasar Bebelius (4) published in the form of Theological Theſes in 1682.

[B] Mr. Baillet has made no scruple to acknowledge that he knew nothing of the adventures of this person]. As there is a good deal of wit in his confession, I shall report at large what he says (5). "You would not have any ground to reproach me with this, if I could have discovered the register of his baptism or burial. Of the four German Kirchers, whom I know to have been authors, and of whom two were Jesuits, our Kircher, whose name was John, is he, of whose life and employments I have the least information. I believe that if he had died a Lutheran, Henning Witten would have done him the honour to have placed him in his memoirs with so many others, who did not deserve it more than he. Another of his brethren would have made a funeral oration, or Historical Elogium upon him. It might have happened likewise, that if Kircher, upon his abandoning the Lutheran Religion for that of Rome, had become a Monk in some Monastery, some Bibliothecque Writer or other curious person of his order, would have taken care to have collected an account of his life and writings, and placed him among the illustrious men of the order, which he might have embraced. But I have too good an opinion of your memory to repeat to you what I have said in the article of Anti-Cochleus upon this subject, when you were solicitous to know why the protestant writers are generally better known to us than the Catholic writers, and why among the latter the Monks of whatever order are commonly better known than the other Catholics."

(4) Professor of Divinity at Strasburg. See the *Acta Eruditorum*, 1682, pag. 249. and Baillet, tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 268. (5) Baillet, tom. 1. of the *Anti*, pag. 206, 207. (6) That is, of not having said any thing of the life or death of Kircher.

(1) Taken from the *Hodegeticus Catholicus* of Dorſcheus, pag. 1. and 329, 330.

(2) Baillet, tom. 1. des *Anti*, num. 25. pag. 204, 205.

(3) Observe that he speaks of it in page 267. of the same tome, but not under the notion of *Anti-Kircher*.

KIRCHMAN (JOHN), who gained a reputation by his works, was born at Lubeck January the 18th 1575. He studied in his native place till he was eighteen years old, when he went to Frankfort on the Oder, where he continued four years, hearing diligently his Professor's Lectures, and being very averse to all the diversions and debaucheries, in which most of the scholars use to lose their time [A]. He studied afterwards in the University of Jena, and then in that of Strasburg. He had a great mind to travel, but as he was not rich enough to bear the expences of it, he was obliged to restrain his desire. But it was not long before he could gratify his inclination; for a Burgomaster of Luneburg chose him to accompany his son into France and Italy: he returned into Germany in the year 1602, and stopping at Rostock he gave there such proofs of his learning, that the next year he was appointed Professor of Poetry. The work which he published in the year 1604 on the burials of the ancient Romans, *de Funeribus Romanorum*, gained him the reputation of a very learned man, and was perhaps also the occasion of his meeting with a very good match as soon as he wished. For he desired

[A] He was very averse to all the diversions and debaucheries, in which most of the Scholars use to lose their time.] It is a question, which has been controverted for several ages, whether it be better to have one's children study at home, or to send them to the University (1). There are arguments *pro* and *con*. But the most plausible argument that can be urged against sending them to the University, is that they are in imminent danger there of being debauched. Studious Scholars are very scarce. But the number of those who either by their bad example, or by their solicitations, or even by their railleries bring others to a dissolute life, is very large. Here follows what is said of Kirchman, and of most of his fellow-students. *Ibidem per quadriennium fere subsistit; non cibos & potiones tantum percolando, non Charadrii vitam agendo, non ludicris aliorum exagitationibus aut lascivis Gynaeci lustrationibus se oblectando, non scurrilibus Lurconum nugis optimam juventutis florem corrumpendo, quibus egre-*

giis, scilicet! exercitiis, deplorato & exulcerato hoc saculo, maxima (2), prob dolor! Academicorum pars dedita est; sed lectiones & disputationes diligenter vistando, cum viris doctis familiariter conversando, & indiu noſtque bonis literis, quibus animam totam applicu-rat, strenue incumbendo (3). i. e. "He spent almost four years there, not indeed in minding only eating and drinking, and living like a glutton; not in taking a delight in the trifling exercises which the others performed, or in frequenting the Ladies of pleasure; not in corrupting the flower of his youth; in which fine exercises the greatest part, alas! of the students indulge themselves in this desperate and corrupted age; but in frequenting the public lectures and disputationes, in conversing familiarly with learned men, in applying himself carefully day and night to the study of literature, for which he had a strong inclination."

(2) See below the remark [D] quotation (12). Consult also the article ER-FORT, remark [D]. (3) Jacob. Sto-leerphotus, *Orat. Funebri Johannis Kirchmanni, apud Witten. Memor. Philo-soph. Orator. &c.* pag. 525.

(1) See Quintilian. *Instit. Orator.* lib. 1. cap. 2. and Monf. Dacier, *Remarques sur la Vie de Numa*, towards the end; and the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for June 1700, pag. 686.

fired as much to encrease the number of the inhabitants of this world [B] as the number of books. It was a particular happiness for him to meet with a wife the same year he set up for an author; especially since the wife he met with made him compass his design, for he got a great many children by her, and besides, they lived together in great union and friendship [C]. As he was looked upon as a man who gave youth a very good education, and who would not suffer his boarders to be dissolute at his house [D], he had a great many scholars sent to him from the other cities in Germany. Lastly, when the Magistrates of Lubeck found that their college wanted a new Rector or Principal, they desired him to take that employment upon him. One of the reasons that made him accept it was, that he feared lest it had been a sin in him not to accept of so lawful a calling as this was [E]. He was installed in that office in the year 1612, and performed

[B] He desired to increase the number of the inhabitants of this world.] It is necessary on this occasion more than on any other to transcribe the very words of my author. They are as follow. *Quemadmodum prole animi bonas litteras promoveri studuit Kirchmannus, ita etiam prole corporis humanum genus augere apud se constituit. Quamobrem eodem anno, quo Funera Romanorum publici juris fecit, disque nominis sui Funera plane exterminavit, vitæ sociam sibi elegit Virginem castissimam & pudicissimam Emerentiam, Joachimi Schellii, Senatorii Rostockiensis prudentissimi, filiam* (4). i. e. "As he endeavoured to improve literature by the offspring of his mind, so he designed to encrease mankind by the offspring of his body: wherefore, the same year in which he had published the Funerals of the antient Romans, by which he prevented his name from being for ever buried in oblivion, he chose for his partner a most chaste and modest virgin, namely Emerentia, the daughter of Joachim Schellius, a very wise Senator of Rostock." Here was a public-spirited man indeed. He did not confine his zeal for the public to the Republic of Letters only, he would also promote the advantage of the state by begetting children. He conversed both his mind and his body to the happiness of mankind. The learned Helena Piscopia Cornara was not of the same character with him. For in order to shew that she followed the steps of Minerva the Goddess of Learning, who always kept her maidenhead, she would be aggregated to the Academy *ægli infecundi*, i. e. "of the unfruitful." But on the other hand the most learned Tiraqueau was an example to our Kirchman, for it is said that he used to write a book and to beget a child every year. See the *Novelles de la République des Lettres* (5) with regard to Mademoiselle le Fevre. Here follows a passage which proves that our Kirchman was not disappointed in his hopes. *Quoniam vero præcipuum conjugii scopus quo Kirchmannus collimavit est procreatio librorum . . . etiam hunc scopum attigit, & conjugium ex benedictione divina uti jucundum ita & fecundum habuit. Ex uxore quippe suavissima, proba vidua maerissimâ, quinque liberos suscepit, filios tres, & filias duas* (6). i. e. "As the chief design for which Kirchman married was to have children, he was not disappointed; for as by God's blessing his marriage was very agreeable to him, so it proved also fruitful. He had by his most beloved wife, now, alas! a most afflicted widow; five children, three sons and two daughters."

[C] They lived together in great union and friendship.] It is asserted in his funeral oration, that they never wanted to be reconciled together during the thirty seven years their marriage lasted. *Quod conjugium felicitibus auspiciis ceptum felici etiam successu non caruit. Tanto enim amore hi conjuges se mutuo sunt complexi, tanta concordia septem & triginta annos transegerunt, ut nunquam in gratiam redire, aut ad aram bonæ Deæ litare necesse ipsis fuerit* (7). i. e. "This marriage auspiciously begun had also a very happy success: for this couple loved each other so well, and lived thirty six years in so great an union, that they never wanted to be reconciled together, nor to offer any sacrifice to Fauna or the Good Goddess." Pomponius Atticus had the same happiness with his mother (8), but not with his wife. The author of the funeral oration pretends, that this conjugal concord of our Kirchman with his wife was owing to their being both sensible that such an union is acceptable both to God, and to men: and that the inconveniences of wedlock, which in their own nature are considerable enough,

ought not to be aggravated by troublesome quarrels, but rather softened and made easy, by a sweet temper and complaisant behaviour of man and wife towards each other. *Nimirum uterque ipsorum probe intellexit, Deo hominibusque gratum, si bene inter maritum & uxorem conveniat, nec conjugii molestias, alias sat graves, odiosas rixas & acerbis concertationibus cumulandas, sed suavissima potius oblectatione, & jucundissima conversatione leniendas esse* (9). Whereupon he breaks out with this pathetic wish: Oh that all married persons, says he (10), who do not live well together, would seriously reflect upon that important truth. I do not believe that this author hit the true cause. There is hardly a person but knows that important truth. Even in those families, where discord rages with the greatest fury, men are convinced of it; but they do not act from that persuasion; nay, I imagine that they choose to quarrel, because it is less troublesome to them. They would be much more tormented and inwardly racked by a sad antipathy, if they were not to vent their grief by a thousand complaints and by a thousand quarrels. Scolding is like tears (11), it eases the grief that oppresses us.

[D] He would not suffer his boarders to be dissolute at his house.] There are some Professors so covetous, that they suffer their boarders to take all the diversions they please, lest they should discredit their house: for these young men, in order to be revenged of a master for keeping them too strict, would make their parents believe a thousand falities, that they might go and lodge at another's house. Kirchman did not regulate his conduct by such an apprehension. *Non enim Bacchanalia cum convivoribus suis Kirchmannus vivebat, non dolo. Scyphos ad ordinem evacuabat; non ad mensuras sine mensura vivebat, non noctem Baccho ut pervigilem ducerent domesticis suis permittebat, quemadmodum nunc nonnullos in Academicis Professores, & juventutis Censores, egregios scilicet! facere audimus; sed ita in omnibus se gerebat, ut studiis mores convenienter irent; ipsiusque domesticis, adeoque omnes literis humanioribus addicti vivum haberent exemplum, ad quod vitam, mores, & res suas omnes examussum componerent* (12). i. e. "Kirchman did not live in a riotous manner with his boarders; he did not make the bumpers go round; he did not live regularly without a rule; he would not suffer his boarders to spend the night in drinking; which we hear is practised by some Professors at the University, and by some Tutors to the youths; egregious Tutors, indeed! But he behaved himself so in every thing as to make his morals answer the dignity of his studies. And thus his boarders and all the lovers of literature had a living example in him, according to which they might frame their life, their morals, and their whole behaviour."

[E] He feared lest it had been a sin in him not to accept a calling.] This shews that he had a very scrupulous conscience. There were several reasons why he should not have left Rostock; to all which he opposed the following consideration. *Contra vero ab hac parte non minus sollicitè secum perpendebat, divinam & legitimam vocationem, quam si contemptim repudiaret, in gravissimam Dei iram, & certam ejus vindictam incurreret* (13). i. e. "On the other hand he considered seriously, that this was a divine and lawful calling; so that if he should refuse it scornfully, he should draw upon him God's dreadful anger and an unavoidable revenge." I think that he was too scrupulous; his calling was not like Abraham's; he might have refused it without fearing to provoke God's wrath.

(4) Idem, Stolterhotus, pag. 530.

(5) For Nov. 1684, Art. 12. pag. 977.

(6) Orat. Funeb. apud Witten, Memor. Philo- sopl. pag. 531.

(7) Idem, ibid. pag. 530.

(8) See his Article, remark [C].

(9) Orat. Funeb. apud Witten, Memor. Philo- sopl. pag. 530.

(10) Utinam id secum probe voluerent illi, qui conjugium, quod debet esse caritatis vinculum, faciunt certamen rixosum, quo se ipsos excarnificiant, & quotidiana quasi morte mulcent! Sæpius istos esset nunquam matrimonium contraxisse, quam contractum tam fæde deturpasse. Idem, ibid. pag. 531.

(11) Est quedam flos voluptas; Expletur lacrymis egeriturque dolor. Ovidius. Trist. lib. 4. E-log. 3. ver. 27.

(12) Orat. Funeb. pag. 533.

(13) Ibid. pag. 533.

(*) Taken from his Funeral Oration delivered by his son-in-law, James Stolterfohtus. Witte has inserted it in his *Memoria Philosophorum*.

performed the functions of it the remainder of his days with the utmost application; though he had the vexation to be exposed to a thousand slanders [F], under this pretext, namely, that the college declined visibly. It is asserted that it was not his fault. He died March the 20th 1643 (a). I shall give a catalogue of his works below [G]:

[F] He had the vexation to be exposed to a thousand slanders, under this pretext, that the College of Lubeck declined visibly. When the scholars committed some frolics, the rector was made answerable for them, and he was publicly slandered. *Statim bonus Kirchmanus cum suis collegis vapulabat, et neglecti officii ac disciplinae reus agabatur. Neque hæc cantilena in conviviis, transris et privatis congressibus tantum à vulgo, cui neque iudicium neque veritas, identidem canebatur; verum etiam in publico sæpius vir optimus acerbe perstringebatur, ab iis, quorum officium potius fuisset, Kirchmanni et Scholæ nostræ causam agere, ipsiusque auctoritatem et existimationem, signa a malevolis arderetur, defendere* (14). i. e. "The fault was immediately laid upon honest Kirchman and his colleagues; they were charged with neglecting their duty: This was not only told at table and in private meetings of the vulgar, who want both sense and truth; but that good man was also publicly aspersed by those whose duty it was to vindicate Kirchman and our schools, and to support his credit and reputation, if it were attacked by wicked persons". He had patience, and even bravely despised these injuries. *Ut magni et nobilis erat animi, more magnæ feræ latratum minorum canum securus exaudiebat, et ut culicem aut muscam moleste circumstrepentem levi manu et citra iracundiam abigimus. Sic ipse perverse iudicantium calumnias sine ulla tristitia eludebat probe intelligens Sapientis virtutem per ea, quibus petitur, illustrari* (15). i. e. "As he had a noble and exalted mind, he despised those reports, as a great dog does the barking of a little cur; and as we drive away with the hand, and without passion, a gnat or a fly that troubles us by its buzzing, thus he went through the calumnies of those that judged of him, without any grief, well knowing that the virtue of the wife becomes more illustrious by the very slanders that are dispersed against it." His son-in-law expatiates very much upon this, and though he does not pretend that Kirchman was without any blemish (16), yet he maintains that the college declined, because it was become the fashion in the City to have private tutors at home. *Qui primus clancularios præceptores in nostram civitatem introduxit, quisquis etiam fuerit, et quot domos tot fere scholas in urbe aperuit, hunc violentas huic Lyceo manus intulisse, et ad proferendum primo icu petiisse, tam confidenter assevero ut nihil confidens. Quid præterea accesserit, et scholæ nostræ fundamenta pene everterit, unusquisque ipse secum reputet, in animo enim mihi non est, omnia refri-*

(14) Orat. Funer. apud Witte, pag. 540.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid. pag. 542.

care, et camarinam, quod aiunt, movere (17). i. e. (17) Ibid.

"He that first introduced in this city the custom of having private tutors, and opened as many schools almost as there are houses, has ruined our College, and given it such a blow as was sufficient to overthrow it: this is what I dare to assert with the utmost confidence. What contributed besides to ruin the foundation of our school, let others consider: I have no mind to rehearse unpleasant stories."

[G] I shall give a Catalogue of his works hereunder.

It is to be met with at the end of his funeral Oration (18). *Oratio funebris amplissimo viro, Jacobo Bordingo, Consuli Reipublicæ Lubecensis, scripta*. i. e. "A funeral Oration on James Bordinga Magistrate of Lubeck." at Rostock 1616, in 4to. *De Funeribus Romanorum Libri quatuor*. i. e. "Of the burials of the Romans, in four Books." Hamburg, 1605, in 8vo. Lubeck, 1623, 1637. Brunswick, 1660. Francfort, 1672, in 8vo. Leiden, 1672 in 12mo. *De ira cobibenda disputatio*. i. e. "A Disputation concerning the restraining of one's passion." Rostock, 1611, 4to. *Oratio de Vita et Obitu Pauli Merula*, i. e. "An Oration on the Life and death of Paul Merula." Rostock, 1607, in 4to. and Leiden, 1672, in 12mo. *Εὐχαριστικὸν, de Pacificatore Boitzenburgensi ad Legatos Ordinum unitarum Belgii Provinciarum*. i. e. "A congratulation on the Peace of Boitzenburg; to the Embassadors of the States of the united Provinces." Lubeck, 1620, in 4to. *Oratio de vita et Obitu Georgii Stampelii, Ecclesie Lubecensis Superintendentis habita*. i. e. "An Oration on the Life and Death of George Stampelius, Superintendent of the Church of Lubeck." Lubeck, 1622, in 4to. *De Annulis liber Singularis*. i. e. "Of Rings, in one Book." Ibid. 1623. Sleswick. 1657. Francfort, 1672, in 8vo. Leiden, 1672 in 12mo. *Rudimenta Rhetorica*. i. e. "The Elements of Rhetoric." Bremen, 1652, in 12mo. *Rudimenta Logicæ peripateticæ*. i. e. "The first Principles of Logic, according to the Peripatetic Philosophy." Lubeck, 1669, and several times since, in 8vo. *Tabule Logicæ & Rhetoricæ*. "Tables for Logic and Rhetoric, *ibid.* in folio. *Genethliacum illustrissimi Principis, Adolphi Frederici, Ducis Megalopolitani Primogenito Filio scriptum*. i. e. "The Horoscope of the first born Son of the most illustrious Prince, Adolphus Frederic, Duke of Mecklenburg." *ibid.* 1624, in 4to. He designed to publish with notes a manuscript, which was not printed till the year 1684, by the care of his grandson (19).

(18) Apud Witte, pag. 553.

(19) See the *Nouv. de la Rep. publ. des Lettres*, for Feb. 1685, Art. 2.

(a) Orat. Funer. Kirstenii, apud Witten, *Memor. Medicor.* pag. 114.

KIRSTENIUS (PETER) Professor of Physic at Upsal, and Physician Extraordinary to the Queen of Sweden, was born at Breslaw, in Silesia, December the 25th 1577. He learnt the Greek and Latin tongues, a little Hebrew and Syriac, and natural Philosophy, Anatomy, and Botany in his native place, and went afterwards to visit the Universities of Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Jena; and having made a great progress during four years under the Professors of these Universities, he took a journey into the Low-Countries and into France. He had been told that a man cannot distinguish himself in the practice of Physic, unless he understands Avicenna; he had therefore a strong inclination to learn Arabic, for he knew that the Translation of that Physician's works is very indifferent. He applied himself then very diligently to the study of Arabic, but designed to read not only Avicenna, but also Mesue, Rhasis, Abenzoar, Abukafis, and Averroes. He was confirmed in that resolution by Scaliger and Casaubon, who judged him proper to make a great progress in that language, to the great advantage of the Republick of Letters. *Qui cum indolem hominis viderent animum verbis & exemplis addiderunt, ut pertenderet, atque istas literas, quæ nondum inter Christianos debitum cultum & nitorem acceperant, a barbaris vindicaret, ac liberali manu affereret. Istud magno fore Republ. literariæ bono, & sibi ornamento illustriori* (a). i. e. "Who (Scaliger and Casaubon) observing his inclination, encouraged him by their discourses, and by the instances they lay before him, to continue that study (of Arabic) and to retrieve from the hands of the Barbarians, that part of polite literature, which had not yet been cultivated by the Christians as it deserved: this would be a great advantage to the Republick of Letters, and raise his reputation considerably." This passion did not hinder him from gratifying the inclination he had to travel. He visited Italy,

Italy, Spain, England [A], and did not return home till after seven years. He was admitted Doctor of Physic at Basil at the age of twenty four. Soon after his return into Silesia, he went to Jena and married there. He was afterwards chosen by the Magistrates of Breslaw to have the direction of their College and of their Schools. A fit of sickness having obliged him to resign that difficult employment, with which he was also very much disgusted, he applied himself entirely to the practice of Physic, and to the study of Arabic; he did even study chiefly that language [B], and shewed that he was born to succeed in it. He joined a great piety with the practice of Physic [C]. We are not told why he removed into Prussia with his whole family; but he had reasons to be well satisfied with this removal, since it gave him an opportunity to enter into the family of Chancellor Oxenstiern, whom he accompanied into Sweden, where they did him the honour to appoint him Professor of Physic in the University of Upsal in the year 1636, and Physician to the Queen. He would have acquitted himself much better still of the functions of his Professorship, had the constitution of his body been as strong as his mind was vigorous; but he was very much broken, and he lived only till the 8th of April 1640 (b). He published several works [D].

(b) See his Funeral Oration delivered by John Loccenius his Collegue, and Law-Professor. Witte has inserted it in his *Memoriae Medicorum*.

It

[A] He visited Italy, Spain, England.] This is all that is mentioned of his travels in his funeral oration. There is not a word there of Kirstenius's journey into Greece and Asia. His epitaph only acquaints us with this. *Neve huic satis fuit tot vidisse populos Europæ celeberrimos, ni matrem ultimæ artium permearet Græciam, & Alcurani sedem permigraret Asiam, vinasque per Hungariam reverteret* (1). i. e. "It was not enough for him to have seen the most celebrated countries in Europe, he would also visit Greece formerly the mother of all arts and sciences; and travel over Asia the seat of the Alcoran, and return through Hungary a country fruitful in wine." Such a journey was proper for his design.

(1) Apud Witten, *Memoriae Medicorum*, pag. 112.

[B] He did even study chiefly that language.] For he did not only dedicate to that study all the time he could spare from the practice of Physic, but he even applied all the money he could save from his income to the printing of Arabic books. *Quicquid successu temporis laboriosæ praxi Medicæ suffurari potuit, hoc excolendæ Arabicæ linguæ totum destinavit: adeo ut cum linguæ isthæc, velut cætra, superiorum facultatum, ut vocant, & imprimis Medicinæ ministra debuisset, contra praxi Medicæ isti linguæ sæpe serviret: dum quicquid bernus inde lucri redundantis abradere potuit, illud Arabicæ typographiæ adornandæ, & monumentis in illa edendis impendit* (2). It is observed here, that whereas the Arabic as well as all the other languages ought to be subservient to the other higher faculties, as they are called, and especially to Physic, Kirstenius made Physic serve to improve him in the knowledge of the Arabic tongue. Kirstenius's Panegyrist is also in the right to observe that there are but few instances of men who make such an use of the money they get. They that have a profitable profession are infinitely more disposed either to buy estates, or to put their money out to interest, or to treat themselves delicately, than to lay it out in the printing of books. *Raro sane & laudando exemplo. Quales sunt bujus ævi mores, plerique si rem faciunt, aut sænori eam locant, aut fundis emendis, aut gulæ deputant. In publicandis ingenii monumentis sumptus facere, rem sterilem esse credunt, & quæ nihil heredem juvet* (3). To spend money in the printing of books is thought an unprofitable action, which is of no advantage to a man's heirs. To the shame of literature be it said, most of them that pretend to do it, labour to grow rich in land and money.

(2) Orat. Funeb. Kirstenii, apud Witten, *ibid.* pag. 115.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Horat. Sat. 2. lib. 1. ver. 13.

Dives agris dives positus in sænore nummis (4).
 " ——— Rich in money out at use.
 " And lands."

CREECH.

They follow this wicked maxim;

Vos sapere & solos ajo bene vivere, quarum conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis (5).

(5) *Ibid.*, Epist. 25. lib. 1. ver. 45, 46. Compare this with the remark [B] of the article HORSTIUS (JAMES).

" ——— Those are blest and only those
 " Whose stately house their hidden treasure shews,
 " None live so well, none take such soft repose."

CREECH.

[C] He joined a great piety with the practice of Physic.]

This would not be less remarkable than his generosity, if we were to credit the common reports concerning the religion of the Physicians: it is asserted that Kirstenius never depended on the efficacy of the remedies, without God's assistance; and that he made the whole success of Physic depend on a blessing from heaven. *Auspiciis suorum laborum a pietate Christiana fecit, quam Æsculapius ignorabat. Noster autem senex sciebat, virtutem barbarum & usum medendi inutilem esse sine virtute divina; itaque à DEO, cui soli est potestas summa in omnia à se creata, in ipsam vitam & mortem hominum, Medicinæ felicitatem & successum petendum esse* (6). i. e. "He began all his labours with actions of a Christian piety, with which Æsculapius was unacquainted. For our old man knew, that the vertue of Plants, and the use of Physic is ineffectual without God's grace. So that the good success of Physic must always be asked of God, in whose hands alone all things are which he has created, even the life and death of men." It seems even to be hinted that he seldom undertook to cure a patient, till after he was reconciled to God. *Ita ægroti non minus DEO reconciliati curationem aggrediebatur. Ab ægrotis tamen in valetudine adhuc recenti quam ingravescente advocari malebat, præsertim in gravibus & acutis morbis* (7). i. e. i. e. "He thus undertook the cure, when the patient was reconciled to God. But he chose rather to be called in the beginning of a distemper, than when time had made it worse; especially in dangerous and acute diseases." He was also used to encourage his patients, by exhorting them to trust to God, who in one moment can cure the most desperate diseases, unless he judge it more proper to take his children out of this valley of misery, to transport them into heaven. *Ægroti malo ex lege humanitatis indolebat, cumque homo animo esse, deoque fidere jubebat, etiam in morbo dubiæ salutis, quod cum Comico sciret bonum animum in re mala dimidium esse mali. Ægrotum jam a medico desertum, vel solo DEI nutu facile, ad sanitatem reduci posse, si Deo volenti ipsi saluti esset. Aut ex hac calamitosa vita ad meliorem transferri* (8). He was very exact in going to Church, he began and ended the day with reading the Bible, and he had read that holy book sixteen times over from the beginning to the end. *A Bibliorum Lectione diem ordiens & claudens multoties illa pervolvavit. Sedecies illa perlecta liberi ferunt* (9). He died with a great sense of devotion (10).

(6) Orat. Funeb. Kirstenii, pag. 117.

(7) *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

(8) *Ibid.*, pag. 118.

(9) *Ibid.*, pag. 110, 120.

[D] He published several works.] We meet with the following catalogue of them at the end of his funeral oration (11). *Decas Sacra Canticorum & carminum Arabicorum ex aliquot MSS. Cum Latina Interpretatione*. i. e. "A holy Decad of Arabic Canticles, with a Latin Translation." At Breslaw, 1609. *Evangelistarum quatuor ex antiquissimo Codice MSS. Arabico Casarto eruti*. i. e. "The four Gospels taken from a very antient Manuscript in Arabic." Frankfurt 1609, in folio. *Tria Specimina Characterum Arabicorum, nempe Oratio Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Psalm. 1. &c.* i. e. "Three Specimens of Arabic Characters, namely, the Lord's Prayer, the 50th Psalm, &c." *Ibid.* 1609, in folio. *Grammatica Arabica*. i. e. "An Arabic Grammar." *Ibid.* 1609, in folio. *Liber secundus, de Canone Canonis à filio Sina studio, sumptibus*

(10) *Ibid.*, pag. 121.

(11) Apud Witten, *Memoriae Medicorum*, pag. 124.

It is observed in his epitaph that he understood twenty six languages.

bus ac typis Arabicis, qua potuit furi fide, ex Asiatico & Africano Exemplari MSS. Cæsareo Arabicè per partes editus, & ad verbum in Latin. translatus, notisque textum concernentibus illustratus. i. e. "The second Book of the Canon of Avicenna, printed by the care, and at the expence (of Kirftenius) in Arabic Characters, from an Asiatic and Arabic Manuscript, published in Arabic by Paris, and translated word for word into Latin, and illustrated with notes relating to the text." Ibid. 1610, in folio. *Epistola S. Jude ex MSS. Heidelbergensi Arabico ad verbum translata, additis notis ex textum Græcorum & versiois Latine vulgaris collatione.* i. e. "St. Jude's Epistle translated word for word from the Arabic Manuscript of Heidelberg, with notes gathered from the collation of the Greek Text with the vulgar Latin Translation." Breslaw, 1611, in folio. *Liber de vero usu & abusu Medicinæ.* i. e. "A Book

"of the use and abuse of Physic." Frankfort, 1610, and in the German Tongue, *ibid.* 1611, in 8vo. *Oratio introductoria in Gymnasio Uratislaviensium habita.* i. e. "An Oration delivered in the College of Breslaw, at his Inauguration." Ibid. 1611, in 4to. *Notæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi, ex collatione textuum Arabicorum, Syriacorum, Ægyptiacorum, Græcorum & Latinorum.* i. e. "Notes on St. Matthew's Gospel, from the collation of the Arabic, Syriac, Ægyptian, and Latin Translation with the Greek Text." Breslaw, 1612, in folio. *Ἱερατικῆς ἢ Informatio Medicæ artis studio perutilis, aliquamdiu Pharmacopolio versaturo Caspari Peuceri, edita à MSS. Petri Kirstenii.* i. e. "An Institution of Physic, very useful to a student who will apply himself some time to Casper Peucer's Dispensary; published from Peter Kirftenius's Manuscript." Upsal, 1638, in 8vo.

(a) His true name was *Matthias Wilson*. Sotuel, *ubi infra*.

(b) Sotuel, in *Biblioth. Script. Societatis Jesu*, pag. 185.

KNOT (a) (EDWARD) born in Northumberland in England, entered amongst the Jesuits at the age of twenty six, being already in Priest's Orders; this happened in the year 1606. He taught a long time at Rome in the English College; and was afterwards appointed Sub-Provincial of the Province of England; and after he had performed the functions of that office out of the Kingdom, he was sent Provincial thither. He was twice honoured with that employment. He was present as Provincial at the general Assembly of the Order of the Jesuits, held at Rome in the year 1646, and was chosen Definitor. He died at London January the 14th 1696 (b). Alegambe had put in the Catalogue of this Jesuit's works a piece concerning Hierarchy [A], at which the Bishops

took

[A] *Alegambe had put in the catalogue of this Jesuit's works a piece concerning Hierarchy.* Here follows Alegambe's words. *Scriptis doctissimum libellum, qui sub nomine Nicholai Smithii est editus, hæc Epigraphæ, Modesta & brevis discussio assertionum D. Doctoris Kellisoni, quas in suo de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia tractatu probare conatur, ex Anglico in Latinum a Georgio Wrighto conversa, & plurimis Doctorum atque adeo Catholicarum Universitatum suffragiis approbata* (1). i. e. "He wrote a very learned book, which is published under the name of Nicholas Smith with this title; *A modest and compendious Examination of Dr. Kellison's Assertions, which he endeavours to prove in his Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, translated out of English into Latin, and approved by several Doctors and likewise by the Catholic Universities." This book was printed at Antwerp in the year 1631, in 12mo. I am persuaded that my readers will be pleased to find here an account of the origin and progress of this controversy concerning Hierarchy.

(1) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societatis Jesu*, pag. 99.

CONTROVERSIES between the Jesuits and the other Roman Catholics, about Episcopal jurisdiction.

(2) A Jesuit who was but lately dead.

(3) Intituled, *Apologia S. Sedis Apostolicæ quoad modum procedendi circa Regimen Catholicorum in Anglia*, 1631, in 8vo. Alegambe mentions it pag. 242. but Sotuel does not say a word of it.

(4) Stillingsfleet, *ubi infra*, citation (7), pag. 394.

(5) *Ibid.* pag. 394, 395, 396.

You must know then, that Richard Smith Bishop of Chalcedon being invested with the authority of an Ordinary over the Roman Catholics in England in the year 1626, came soon after into this island. He pretended to extend his jurisdiction over the Jesuits, and the other Friars. But he met with so many difficulties, that he was obliged to desist and to return into France. The Jesuits had perceived that the presents which this Prelate received, that he might support the dignity of his character, were not bestowed upon him by their means: his receiving them from other hands exasperated them; so that they formed a party against him with so much artifice, that they forced this Bishop to retire. This was soon followed by a terrible paper-war. The first that entered the list was Dr. Kellison Professor at Doway. He wrote a vindication of the Bishop's authority. Knot, Provincial of the Jesuits, answered him under the name of Nicholas Smith (2). There was soon after another work published upon that subject (3), the author of which took the name of Daniel a Jesu, though his true name was John Floyd. He was a Jesuit and Professor at St. Omer. The Archbishop of Paris censured the books of these two Jesuits. The Sorbonne and the General Assembly of the French Clergy did the same (4). *Which was so far from silencing the Jesuits, that it engaged them to reprint their books with great commendations annexed to them.* They also published a Remonstrance against the Bishop of Chalcedon, in the name of the English Roman Catholics. The Secular Clergy published the same year 1631 in England (5) three pamphlets "against the Jesuits, who were so far from quitting the field, seeing the great number of their adver-

ries, that on the contrary they began again to attack the Doctors of the Sorbonne, and the Clergy of France, under the fictitious name of Hermannus Loemelius, the chief author amongst them being the Jesuit Floyd, whom we have mentioned above... There was also another book published against the Faculty of Paris... to which were annexed a great many approbations of Bishops, Universities, and private Doctors: but it was only a vindication of Knot or Nicholas Smith, and a defence of the propositions of Ireland, which had also been condemned at Paris. There came out soon after a book under the name of Edmondus Urfulanus, whose true name was Macmahone, Prior of the Convent of the Franciscans at Louvain. About the same time the Jesuits published their Critique of the Apostles' Creed (6) in imitation of the censures that had been made on their opinions at Paris... In which they charged the Bishops, who were their adversaries, with reviving old Heresies, and broaching new ones. The Jesuits having thus done great matters, exulted very unjustly every where, as though they had entirely routed their enemies, and forced them to quit the field, when two Doctors of the Sorbonne, Hallier and le Maître, engaged in a controversy with a certain Doctor, who appeared only under the name of Petrus Aurelius, and to whom the Clergy of France fillily adjudged the victory, with as much commendation and applause, as the mighty deeds of the Maid of Orleans ever received. And to shew how much they esteemed his work, they printed it at their own expence, and prefixed to it a beautiful eulogy of their author. Even the Secular Clergy of England wrote a congratulatory letter to him, signed by John Colleton Dean of the Chapter, and by Edmund Dutton, Secretary; in that letter they lamented sadly the disorders, that had till then prevailed amongst them, and the Heresies which this gave these adversaries an opportunity to revive. The chief point in this controversy related to the dignity, necessity, and jurisdiction of the Episcopal Order, as it appears from the censures of the Bishops of France, and from Aurelius's assertion (*), who observes, *that though the Bishop of Chalcedon had occasioned this controversy with the Clergy of England, yet it had been carried further; namely, whether the Episcopal Order be necessary to make a Church what it is? Whether it be of Divine Right or not? Whether Confirmation might be administered without Bishops? Whether the Episcopal Order be more perfect than the Monastical? Whether Regular persons were under the jurisdiction of the Bishops?*

(6) See the remark [A] of the article GEDICUS.

(*) Petri Aurelii Opera, tom. 1. pag. 62.

took offence. Southwel has left it out. You will find in a note the catalogue he has given us of Edward Knot's works [B].

[B] You will find here the catalogue which Southwel has given us, of Edward Knot's works.] *Misericordia & Veritas seu Charitas propugnata a Catholicis.* i. e. "Mercy and Truth or Charity maintained by the Catholics." It is a book printed at St. Omer in the year 1634 in 4to, against Dr. Potter, who had charged the Church of Rome with wanting charity, because she asserts that a man cannot be saved in the Protestant Communion. *Christianitas propugnata, de eodem fere argumento adversus replicam cujusdam Heretici Chillingworthii.* i. e. "Christianity maintained: it is almost upon the same Subject with the former, and is an answer to the reply of a certain Heretic named Chillingworth." Printed at St. Omer in the

year 1638, in 8vo. *Directio prævia ad eundem Chillingworthium.* London 1636, in 8vo. *Infidelitas detecta adversus librum ejusdem, quo docuerat Religionem Protestantium esse securam viam ad Salutem.* i. e. "Infidelity detected, against a Book of the same, in which he maintained that the Religion of the Protestants is a safe way to Salvation." Printed at Ghent in the year 1652 in 4to. As to his *Monita utilissima pro patribus Missionis Anglicanæ* (8). i. e. "Most useful advices to the Fathers of the English Mission;" they have not been printed. One may easily imagine that some political reasons have prevented the publishing this last book.

KNOX (JOHN) a Minister of Scotland, was one of the chief instruments and promoters of the Reformation in his own country in the sixteenth Century. He had been a disciple of John Major, one of the most acute schoolmen of those times; he followed his master's steps so well when he taught the School-divinity, that in some things he subtilized upon it even better than his master himself. But having examined St. Jerom and St. Augustin's works, it altered his taste entirely, and he applied himself to a plain and solid Theology: he discovered a vast number of errors, and published a Confession of Faith, which made him pass for an heretic. He was imprisoned [A], and would have lost his life at the place of execution, had he not been so happy as to make his escape. He retired into England, where he was so much esteemed by King Edward, that he might have been promoted to a Bishopric, if he had had a mind to it; but he fell into a great passion when it was offered him; and refused it as favouring too much of Anti-Christianism [B]. After that Prince's death he retired from England, that he might

[A] He was imprisoned.] Melchior Adam gives us here a lame account and in some particulars inconsistent with Beza's. Let us correct it, and observe, that John Knox not being satisfied with exploding the School-Divinity, but having also very freely condemned several other things, was obliged to retire from Edinburgh to Hamelton then the only sanctuary of the faithful (1). He published there (2) a Confession of Faith, the consequence of which was that David Beton Archbishop of St. Andrews had him condemned as an Heretic for non-appearance, and degraded him from the Priesthood (3). He would have been murdered by some Assassins, had not a Gentleman of Scotland secured him against their snares. There happened great revolutions; for that Archbishop, who was also a Cardinal, was murdered, the French took the Castle of St. Andrews: Knox fell into their hands; and being set at Liberty he went to Berwick a city of England on the borders of Scotland. He disputed there, according to Beza, with the Bishop of the place (4), *illius civitatis pseud-Episcopo*: i. e. "the False-Bishop of that city:" their controversy was referred to the Parliament of England, who adjudged the victory to Knox. *Utroque ad supremum Angliæ Senatui rejecto (tum autem Edwardus regnare cæperat) tantum effectus ut vicioria penes veritatem stante, damnaretur quidem falsæ religionis pseud-episcopus, ipsum vero tum pietas, tum diligentia magnopere commendaret* (5). i. e. "They being both referred to the Parliament of England (King Edward was then lately come to the throne) he argued so well, that victory being on the side of truth, the false Bishop of a false Church was condemned, and Knox's piety and industry gained him a great reputation." I do not know whether this dispute may not be the same in which John Knox was engaged in the Diocese of Durham. He was forced to declare his opinion concerning the Mass, and in a sermon he shewed so evidently the blasphemies and idolatry, with which that sacrifice is attended, that neither Bishop Tonstal, nor any of his Doctors had any thing to answer to the purpose. I imagine that of one event they have made two. However it be, here follows the proof of what I have just now observed concerning that sermon. *Specimen ejus illustre deposuit tum alias tum anno 1550 in terra Dunelmensi: quando coactus coram Episcopo Tonstallo & ejus Doctoribus super Missa Pontificia opinionem suam exponere. Pro concione illius idololatriæ & horrendas blasphemias tam solidis argumentis demonstravit, ut adversarii, quod vere oppo-*

nerent, non haberent (6). This particular will perhaps be cleared up by consulting the life of our John Knox (7), which I have not by me. We shall now see what the King did for him.

[B] He might have been promoted to a Bishopric, but he... refused it as favouring too much of Anti-Christianism.] His zeal against the Hierarchy appeared most evidently on this occasion. For here follows what we meet with in Melchior Adam, in page 137 of the lives of foreign Divines. *Cum Episcopatus de Regis voluntate Knoxo esset oblati, indignabundus Knoxus non solum honorem recusavit, sed etiam oratione gravi titulos illos improbat, quasi regni Antichristiani quiddam redolentes.* i. e. "When Knox was offered a Bishoprick by the King's command, he not only refused that dignity with indignation, but also condemned in a serious discourse, those titles as favouring something of Antichrist's Kingdom." Beza commends him very much for refusing such a preferment; and whatever some modern Ministers may say, Beza and his Collegues were fully persuaded that the equality of the Pastors is of divine right, and consequently that the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy is a fundamental abuse. Beza inveighs terribly against Episcopacy in the following words. *Inde Novocastrum ac deinceps Londinum ad Regem accito (Knoxo) quum Episcopatus quidam offerretur, tantum abest ut illum receperit, ut etiam in totam illam vere satanicam potestatem graviter sit invehens, ut quæ divino jure nullo nitatur, ac ne ex veteribus quidem canonibus administratur: qua in re est non obtinuit (quod si in Anglia & alibi factum esset, id est, si causa illa Tyrannidis omnis Ecclesiastica præcipua & primaria esset sublata, longe alia facies Ecclesiarum esset) conscientiam tamen suam singulari cum Christianæ modestiæ exemplo liberavit* (8). i. e. "Hence being sent for to Newcastle, and afterward to London by the King, he (Knox), was so far from accepting the Bishopric which was offered him, that on the contrary he exclaimed strongly against that power, which is really diabolical, and not in the least grounded on any divine right, and is not even administered according to the ancient Canons. And though Knox did not succeed in this (which if he had done in England and in other places, that is to say, if that chief and first cause of all Ecclesiastical tyranny had been removed, the Churches would be quite in another condition) yet he followed the dictates of his conscience, leaving a remarkable instance of Christian modesty."

(6) Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theolog. Exterior.* pag. 142.

(7) Written by Thomas Smeton.

(8) Beza in *Iconibus.* A little lower he speaks thus. *Non veram tantum doctrinam, sed etiam veram tum ipsius statuerit. . . . Sibi non in ulla gradus pseud-Episcopatus tyrannide, cui merito fuit inimicissimus, sed in Evangelico ministerio una cum reliquis collegiis & Presbyteris a quo profusus jure administrando, Joannem Lausunum. . . . successorem designavit amplexus.*

(1) *Hamelton unicum tum piarum asylum perfugere cogetur.* Beza, in *Iconibus.*

(2) And not at Edinburgh, as Melchior Adam says, in *Vitis Theolog. Exterior.* pag. 137.

(3) Melchior Adam is guilty of a great omission, for not observing that Knox was in Priest's Orders.

(4) Barwick is not an Episcopal Sec. Beza has not well expressed himself.

(5) Beza in *Iconibus.*

might not fall into the hands of the persecutors, and went to Frankfort, and thence to Geneva, where he preached to the Refugees of his own country, and engaged in a great friendship with John Calvin. He returned into Scotland in the year 1559, and laboured with an extraordinary zeal to establish there the doctrine of the Protestants both by his preaching and by his writings. His enemies having obliged him to leave Edinburgh, he retired to St. Andrew's, where the Devil raised a great many adversaries against him, chiefly when he had declared against some persons who conspired against the Royal Majesty. *Quo ut primum venit multos illi Satanas excitavit hostes, præsertim cum se illis, qui contra Regiam Majestatem conspirarant opposuisset* (a). The news of the slaughter of the Protestants committed in France on St. Bartholomew's day, overwhelmed him with grief; but he found himself soon eased by the good turn which things began to take in Scotland. They that had been banished were called back to Edinburgh; he was one of them (b), and began again to perform his pastoral function. The Collegue he desired to have was granted him, and he installed him November the 9th 1572, which was the last Sermon he preached. He fell sick soon after, and from that time till the 24th of November, on which day he died, he did nothing but talk of religion and piety with his wife, with his servant, and with those that came to see him (c). He lived fifty seven years (d). It is impossible to load a man more with injuries and opprobrious language than Moreri has done our John Knox, from Spondanus. Those passages have been castrated in the editions printed in Holland. The misfortune is that the English Episcopalians agree with the Popish writers, in representing him as an Apostle who established his Reformation with fire and sword [C], and who taught

(a) Melchior Adam, in *Vit. Theol. Ext.* pag. 138.

(b) It does not appear that Beza knew he had been banished.

(c) Taken from his Life in Melchior Adam, in *Vit. Theol. Ext.* pag. 138.

(d) Beza, in *Iconibus*.

[C] *The English Episcopalians agree with the writers in representing him as an Apostle who established his reformation with fire and sword.* Spondanus having said that Knox a Priest and an apostate Monk, a debaucher of several women, and of his own Step-Mother, and a Magician, returned into Scotland in the year 1559, being well provided with instructions from Calvin, adds the following words. *Adeo prædicationibus suis & invektivis rem auxit, ut non solum passim templa & monasteria destructa fuerint, sacra conculcata, Imagines confractæ, ornamenta et bona expilata, exturbati Monachi, Sacerdotes pulsi, Episcopi ejecti, verum etiam omnis obedientia Regenti renunciata, omnisque auctoritas abrogata & in quorundam, quos tanquam consiliarios eligebant, (manus) translata* (2). i. e. "By his Sermons and invectives he carried things so far, that now not only the Churches and Monasteries were every where pulled down, the sacred things trod under foot, the Images broken, the ornaments and goods plundered, the Monks expelled, the Priests driven away, the Bishops ejected; but even all obedience was denied the Queen Regent, she was deprived of all her authority, which was conferred on some persons, whom they chose and appointed as a council." He asserts in another place (10) where he gives us an account of the different opinions of those, who consulting about Queen Mary Stuart's fate, that some, by Knox's advice, gave their votes for putting her to death immediately. Lastly he observes, that King James recommended to his son not to read Buchanan's Libels, nor Knox's Chronicle; but rather to punish severely those who should keep such wicked books, and to suppose according to Pythagoras's opinion, that the souls of those seditious authors passed into the bodies of them that read their works, or maintained their opinions, and that therefore they deserved the same punishment, which those authors would justly be condemned to if they should rise from the dead. *Haud tamen famulos Libros Buchananani, aut Knoxii Chronica evolveret; sed si quod ejusmodi scriptum inveniret, cum ejus depositariis ex legis severitate ageret. In eo Pythagoræ discipulum se profiteretur, ut existimaret ipsos manes istorum seditionum fiabellorum metempsychosfi quadam in eorum corpora transiisse, qui eorum vel libros retinerent, vel dogmata defenderent: eosque non minori supplicio plendendos, quam si ipsi auctores jam a mortuis essent resuscitati* (11). He quotes the second book of the *Doron Basilicon*. I have consulted it, but I met only with the following observation in it concerning the matter before us. "I do not mean those histories, which abound with malice and invectives; those slanderous libels, which your subjects are neither to read nor to keep, upon very severe penalties. For I would have you believe, as a true Disciple of Pythagoras, that the souls of those firebrands of sedition pass into the bodies of them that read their works, or maintain their opinions; who must therefore be punished as the authors them-

(9) Spondanus, ad ann. 1559. num. 33. pag. 587.

(10) Ad ann. 1567, num. 3. pag. 690.

(11) Idem, Spond. ad ann. 1539, num. 7. pag. 456.

“ selves.” These are King James's words according to the French translation of the *Doron Basilicon* made by the Sieur Villiers Hotman, and printed at Paris in the year 1604. Consult the second part, folio 57. Spondanus acts against the rules of history, when he pretends that King James named these two authors expressly: he should have offered, only by way of conjecture, that he imagined the King meant both these writers. Let us see now what the Episcopalians say, as they are quoted by Breleius: for as I could not meet with their books, I have been obliged to trust to him; all I can do is to transcribe fairly what he relates both in the body of the page and in the margin (12) *Et primo quidem de Joanne Knoxio. . . . notum atque istorum Protestantium testimonio confirmatum est, eum postquam Geneva in Scotiam rediisset, Religionem vi et armis ad phantasiam suam, ibi reformare aggressum esse. Cumque Caltrum Sancti Andreæ clancularis insidiis occupasset, et Cardinalem horrendo assassinatu in cubiculo suo occidisset, et ob id scelus a Regina Stryulingam ad jus dicendum vocatus fuisset, nec compareret, perduellem declarationem esse. Ille vero audaciam non deponens, sed confirmans, mox Perthæ turbas ciere. Magistratum Sancti Joannis et Dundæ cum plebe ibidem tumultuante ut Imagines, & Altaria, per omnes Ecclesias, & Monasteria, aliaque Religioforum domicilia undique per circuitum diruerent, hortari: Ipse autem post concionem, qua talia auditoribus suavit, habitam, Carthusianorum, Prædicatorum, & Carmelitarum Domos subvertere, Imagines & Altaria Fisæ, Angusæ, Mernæ, & aliis in locis destrueret, & sic omnes Religionis illius Ecclesias (novo scilicet modo) reformare pergebat.* Post hæc inquit Bancroftus (qui & ipse Knoxii Chronicon citatis ipsis foliis, ubi singula facta narratur, in testimonium adducit.) (†). “Alia vice coierunt reformatores ad Sancti Andreæ, ubi ex instigatione Knoxii pro concione tam fratrum Religionis domos, quam reliqua illius oppidi Monasteria spoliarunt, dejecerunt, vastarunt. Idem Sconi, Stryulingæ, Lithquo, & Edinburgi patrarunt: Regina ob metum fugam capescente, duobus mensibus in campo castra metati sunt, & monetæ cudendæ instrumenta diripuerunt, & factum defenderunt, &c. Reginam mentiam esse sæpe conviciati sunt, eamque indignissimis lædoriis onerarunt, eique obedientiam præstare renuerunt, immo eam (†) omni autoritate regali exuerunt, expresso instrumento ad id à Knoxio exarato. i. e. And first with regard to John Knox, it is well known and even confirmed by the testimony of the Protestants themselves, that when he was returned from Geneva into Scotland, he undertook to establish by fire and sword a Reformation in religion according to his own fancy. For when by secret intrigues he had made himself master of the Castle of St. Andrews, and horribly murdered the Cardinal in his bed-chamber, for which crime he was summoned by the Queen to answer,

(12) Joannes Breleius, *Sacerdos Anglus, in Apologia Protestantium pro Romana Ecclesia*. Tract. 3. Sect. 2. pag. 623, 624. * See Holinshed's *Great Chronicle*, the last edition, pag. 140. from the beginning to the end. And Bancroft in his *Propositions*, &c. pag. 16. a little before the middle, where he says, That horrid murder of the Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had been and still was a strenuous adversary (namely, of the new Gospel) that murderer, I say, committed in the year 1545, had been lately vindicated as a pious action, and is proposed as an encouragement for others to attempt the like, by John Knox in his History of Scotland, pag. 187. (†) Holmthead, *ubi supra*, pag. 366, b. Lin. 14, 15, &c. (‡) Bancroftus, in the book intitled, *Dangerous Propositions*, &c. pag. 12. (†) *Ibid.* pag. 13. at the beginning; and Sutcliff in his answers to a certain Petition, pag. 193. towards the end, asked the Puritans, whether they approve the opinions asserted by Knox and Wollock; namely, that a Prince or Governor lawfully established may be deposed by his subjects; as they had really deposed the King of Scotland, who was Governor of the Kingdom.

the most seditious doctrines [D]. I could not read his works to examine whether all that he is charged with be true or not. But when I consider what is answered in his behalf [E], I cannot

“ he did not appear, and was declared a rebel. But
 “ yet he continued in his audaciousness and wicked
 “ attempts; and went immediately to raise commoti-
 “ ons at Perth. He encouraged the magistrates of that
 “ City and of Dundee (the people having already rai-
 “ sed a tumult) to pull down every where the Images,
 “ and the Altars in all the Churches. He himself, af-
 “ ter a seditious Sermon, in which he had endeavoured
 “ to persuade the people to such attempts, demolished
 “ the houses of the Carthusians, Franciscans, and Car-
 “ melites, and pulled down the Images and Altars in
 “ the shires of Fife, Angus, Merns, and in other pla-
 “ ces (a). Thus he went on to reform the religion
 “ of those Churches, but after a strange manner.
 “ After this, says Bancroft, (who quotes for his vou-
 “ cher the very history of Knox, setting down the
 “ pages where every particular is mentioned) another
 “ concourse was made of these reformers at St. Andrews,
 “ where by Knox’s persuasions in his Sermon they
 “ made the like havock, and did cast down, spoil and
 “ destroy both the houses of the fryars, and the Abbays
 “ in that town. So dealt they also within a very short
 “ time with the Abbey of Scone, the Friars at Stri-
 “ vellington, at Lithquo, and at Edinburgh, the Queen
 “ being fled from thence for fear. They kept the field
 “ two months, and took away to themselves the coining
 “ tools, . . . and justified the same. &c. They gave
 “ the Queen the lie divers times, and loaded her with
 “ most despitiful speeches, they renounced their o-
 “ bedience unto her, and even deposed her from her
 “ government, by a formal act, penned by Knox
 “ himself for that purpose.”

(a) This is an accurate translation of Brerleius: But
 Holinshed’s own words are as follow. “ The Queen
 “ Regent caused summons to be given to John Knox,
 “ John Wullocke . . . to appear at Striveling the tenth
 “ day of May: and for non-appearance they were de-
 “ nounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon
 “ the said John Knox being in Perth, persuaded the
 “ Master of Lindsey . . . and divers others being
 “ there assembled, with the Burgesses of the towns of St.
 “ John’s-town and Dundee, to pull down the images and
 “ altars in all Churches, and to suppress the houses of
 “ Friars, and other religious places. Who after a Ser-
 “ mon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of
 “ May they began in St. John’s town, and cast down
 “ the Abbies of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Car-
 “ melite Friars, . . . and reformed all other Churches
 “ thereabout, breaking down the images and altars in
 “ Fife, Angus, &c.”

[D] . . . And who taught the most seditious Doctrine.
 Let us continue to quote Brerleius, page 625. “ Sum-
 “ ma autem opinionis ejus, ut ex scriptis suis colligitur,
 “ et ex ipso folio pro qualibet harum assertionum citato
 “ patet, his Propositionibus, (quas citat Bancroftus) conti-
 “ netur. (§) Proceres tenentur si modo Rex nolit, Re-
 “ ligionem reformare. Plebis (††) est Religionem re-
 “ formare (††). Deus constituit Proceres ad effrænes
 “ Principum appetitos coercendos. (***) Principes ob
 “ justas causas deponi possunt. (§§) Si Principes adver-
 “ sus Deum ac veritatem ejus tyrannice se gerant, Sub-
 “ diti eorum a juramento fidelitatis absolvuntur.” i. e.
 “ The substance of his opinions, as they are collected
 “ from his own writings, with a particular reference
 “ to the pages whence they are extracted may be re-
 “ duced to these propositions, as they are related by
 “ Bancroft. Noblemen ought to reform religion, if
 “ the King will not. Reformation of religion belong-
 “ eth to the commonalty. God has appointed the No-
 “ bility to bridle the inordinate appetites of Princes.
 “ Princes for just causes may be deposed. If Princes
 “ be tyrants against God and his truth, their subjects
 “ are freed from their oaths of obedience.” Compare
 “ this with Petra Sancta’s words in the following remark.

[E] When I consider what is answered in his behalf.]
 I must observe first of all, that they who speak ill of
 our John Knox’s actions and opinions, do maliciously
 take it for granted, that he went hand in hand with
 Calvin, and had learned at Geneva the opinions which
 he taught in Scotland (13). With this view they quote
 with affectation the elogies which Calvin and Beza have
 bestowed upon him. We must again hear Brerleius,

page 619. Hinc Joan Knoxius scholæ (*) Geneva disci-
 pulus, (quem Calvinus †). Virum insignem vocat &
 fratrem suum reverendum) doctrinæ Calvinianæ probe con-
 sciis, ex opinione Calvinii et aliorum quorundam Ministro-
 rum Geneva commorantium (esse §). Sutcliffe et Bancrofto
 docuit; Licere subditis, si Principes nollent, imo si
 id opus esset, vi et armis Religionem reformare. Hinc
 est quod licet doctrinæ et facta Goodmanii et Knoxii sic
 conjugationi foveant, ut id nulla tergiversatione clari
 possit, eos tamen ambos Calvinus †; Fratres suos vena-
 randos nominet; et audacem Knoxii in eo genere temeritatem
 laudet, (***) quem egregiam Christo et Ecclesiæ
 operam navasse ait, (§§) et se vehementer lætari dicit,
 quod tam felices et latos progressus fecerit. i. e.
 “ Wherefore John Knox, who was brought up at
 “ Geneva (and whom Calvin styles an eminent Man,
 “ and his reverend brother) who was also perfectly ac-
 “ quainted with Doctrine, did by the advice of Calvin,
 “ and some other Ministers, who lived at Geneva (ac-
 “ cording to Sutcliffe and Bancroft) teach, that it is law-
 “ ful for subjects to reform religion with fire and
 “ sword, when the Prince refuses it, or even when it is
 “ necessary. Hence it is, that though Goodman and
 “ Knox’s Doctrine tend to visibly to justify plots and
 “ conspiracies, that it is not possible to deny it by any
 “ evasion whatsoever, yet Calvin files them both his
 “ reverend brethren, and he commends Knox’s auda-
 “ cious temerity in this respect, asserting, that he has
 “ laboured gloriously for Christ and his Church, ad-
 “ ding that he rejoices very much for the happy and
 “ great success he met with.” Brerleius would not o-
 mit to observe that Beza, in his *Icones*, files Knox the
 Apostle of Scotland. *Aquibus* (Anglis), says Spon-
 nus under the year 1559, num. 30 (14) ad Scotos tran-
 sunitibus primus occurrit magnus ille JOANNES KNOXIIUS,
 quem si Sotorum in vero Dei cultu instaurando velut Aposto-
 lum quandam dixerit, dixisse me quod res est existimabo,
 et sequens vera ipsius vita narratio testabitur. i. e.
 “ Passing from the English to the Scots, we meet first
 “ with that great man, John Knox: and if I should
 “ say that he was as it were an Apostle sent from God
 “ to restore his true worship amongst the Scots, I
 “ should think I said nothing but the truth, as it will
 “ appear from the following faithful account of his
 “ life.” Cardinal de Richelieu, when he was but Bishop
 of Luçon, published a book of controversies, in which
 he made great use of John Brerleius’s collections, parti-
 cularly with regard to John Knox’s seditious opinions. (§§) Calvinus,
 I have examined the answers that were made to that
 work of the Bishop of Luçon, and I must confess
 that I did not meet with any thing in them, that
 could make me suspect Brerleius’s quotations.

Peter de la Vallade Minister at Fontenai le Comte,
 published a book in the year 1619 in 4to, at La Ro-
 chelle, with this title. *Apologie pour l’Eglise de Messieurs*
les Ministres du S. Evangile de Paris, adressée au Roi:
opposée au Livre qu’a produit contre eux Armand Jehan non novum est:
du Plessis de Richelieu, Evêque de Luçon, &c. i. e. A
Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel at Paris, ad-
ressed to the King; being an Answer to the Book, which
Armand John du Plessis de Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon
published against them: Containing a Summary Determination
of the chief Controversies of these Times relating to
Religion; by the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and the
Testimonies of the ancient Doctors of the Church. With
a short Apology for the Reformed against the Reproaches
they are loaded with on account of the disturbances and
wars, which happened in France, Germany, England,
Scotland and Denmark. Chiefly extracted from the
History of James Augustus Thuanus, President in the
Court of Parliament at Paris, or from the very same
Histories quoted and admitted by the Bishop of Luçon.
 He transcribes the objection word for word. I might
 show, it is the Bishop of Luçon that speaks, from
 a great many Authors, what is your opinion upon
 this subject: and I should be willing to do it, if what
 you teach upon this subject was as favourable as it is
 prejudicial to you. I only desire the reader to consult a
 book intituled *Apologia Protestantium*, i. e. “ the Pro-
 “ testants Apology for the Church of Rome, one of
 “ the most useful books that have been printed this great
 “ while. The reader will meet there with a great many
 more

(*) Thus speaks Bancroft, in his *Seditious Asserti- on*, pag. 10, in the beginning.

(†) Calvin, in *Epist. & Resp. Epist. 305*, sine, pag. 565, in the conclusion of the Letters he writes to Knox, says to him, *Vale eximie vir, & ex animo colende frater.*

And Beza, *Epist. Theologicis, Epist. 74*, has these words, *Joanni Knoxio, Evangelii apud Scotos restauratori, fratris & Symmista ob- servando.*

(§) See this in the *History of the Church of Scotland*, by Vantrollier, p. 213; it is quoted by Sutcliffe, in his *Answer to the Position*, &c. pag. 191 and 71; *Dangerous Position*, &c. pag. 10.

(†) Calvinus above, quotat. (†). See also Calvinus, *Epist. 306*, where he calls him *Virum eximium, fratrem colendum*, & Knoxii *coadjutorem fidelem.*

(**) Calvinus, *Epist. ubi supra*, pag. 566, towards the middle, says, *Serenæ operam suam Christo & Ecclesiæ impendit.*

(§§) Calvinus, *ubi supra, Epist. 309* to John Knox, pag. 565, says, *Evangelium apud vos tam feliciter lætæque progressus facere vehementer, ut par est, lætor: certamina vobis moveri non novum est: sed eo clarior res fulget Dei virtus, quando adversus invidiosos pares Armandi Johannis du Plessis de Richelieu, nonnunquam suscitatis, opem tulisset, qui superior est toto mundo.*

(14) He quotes Beza’s own words.

* In his book intituled, *Dangerous Positions*, &c. pag. 14, 15.

(§) Knox’s *Ap- peal*, fol. 25.

(††) Idem, *Ap- peal to the People*, fol. 49, 50.

(††) Idem, *Hif- tory*, pag. 343.

(***) Idem, *Hif- tory*, pag. 371.

(§§) Idem, *Ap- peal to England and Scotland*, fol. 76.

(13) See Spon- dan. *ad ann. 1559* num. 30.

I cannot but think that he really had such sentiments concerning the Regal authority, as the

more passages upon this subject; and some amongst others, by which it appears that your party has taught, that by the laws of God and Man, it is lawful to kill impious Kings; that according to the word of God a private man may, by a particular instinct kill a tyrant; this is an abominable doctrine in every respect, which will never be liked by the Catholic Church. Here follows the answer to this objection. "As the question was to enquire after truth, there was no occasion for such flourish of Rhetoric, which are nothing but fictions and falsities. For how is it possible that he should have had it in his power to quote so many authors to prove us guilty of that abominable doctrine, and yet should not quote one single writer that says a word on it? And even in order to find that weak argument which he urges, he has been obliged to travel over the whole earth, and to go into the other world, amongst savages, to call Buchanan from the grave, who was born amongst them, and who never yet set up for a Divine. Who can believe that the Bishop of Luçon would forbear to quote a great number of authors, because it would not be advantageous but prejudicial to us, since he undertook to write against us. It would be betraying one's own cause, thus to omit what is against one's antagonist and adversary, and to quote what is advantageous to him. Such unfair dealings do but ill become a Bishop, whose duty it is always to be sincere: he ought not to have spared us, since he designed to make us acknowledge our faults in a matter of so great consequence. He should not have referred us to the *Apologia Protestantium*, which book I have not seen, not having been able to meet with it. But I know very well, that if the author of that book be of our party, he does not speak as the Bishop makes him speak; and if he be of their party, he asserts it from his own head, supposing he does assert it, and has not one good argument to support his assertion (15)." It is plain that this answer does not in the least clear Knox. There was another Minister (16), of much greater learning than the Minister of Fontenai-le-Comte, who answered the Bishop of Luçon. He had read (17) John Brerleius's work, and he answered very well the objections, that had been grounded on some passages of Calvin. But he does intirely give up John Knox, and asserts that the elogies which Calvin and Beza bestowed on him, do not in the least relate to the opinions concerning the King's authority, nor to the particular actions, which might in some measure favour of rebellion. Here follow that Minister's words (18). "As for Knox, Goodman, and Buchanan, the circumstances of the times in which they wrote, do in some respects lessen the odiousness of the doctrines, which they inconsiderately spread through Scotland against the truth, which they could not well perceive on account of the passionate temper, which is natural to that nation, and of the troubles and commotions of the state, by which they were hurried away; for it is natural to men to choose rather to vindicate, even bitterly or obstinately, an evil action, which they have committed in a passion without any wicked design, rather than to confess that what has been done, was ill done either by themselves, or by their friends. Yet notwithstanding their wrong notions, they were great men and have well served their country; Buchanan particularly in the education of the King of Great Britain, and the others in their pastoral functions, to which they ought to have applied themselves entirely and absolutely. I suppose then that Calvin (*) in the letters he wrote to them, stiled the two first his brethren, and excellent men, and that Beza gave the first of them . . . the title of restorer of the Gospel amongst the Scots; does it follow from thence, that Calvin and Beza approved their opinions concerning the sovereign power of Kings, or that they were acquainted with their opinions, or that they even knew what happened in Scotland as a consequence of the Reformation, or that our adversaries are well grounded, when they falsely assert, that the Books of Knox and Goodman were printed at Geneva, with Calvin and Beza's approbation? If these Gentle-

men are pleased to prove all that they assert on their bare word, and to shew by unquestionable evidence that the Ministers of Geneva corresponded with Knox, Goodman or Buchanan about other affairs than such as related to the Church, or that they were acquainted with their private opinions concerning the Prerogative of Kings, or that they knew exactly and approved what the others taught in matters of Civil Government, then they shall have leave to complain. But on the contrary, it appears from the very letters, quoted in the Bishop of Luçon's book, that the Ministers of Geneva corresponded with foreigners, only about matters purely Ecclesiastical; and it appears particularly, from Beza's letters to Knox, that they had no certain account at Geneva of what passed amongst the Scots. . . . If therefore Calvin, if Beza, if Whitaker, if some others of our people called Knox and Goodman brethren, they did not however admit their opinions, but considered them only in their pastoral functions, to which they were called. If they commended them, it was only according to the best of their knowledge, and not that they thought them incapable of sin. For it is very possible that amongst those who preach Christ, there be some, as St. Paul says to the Philippians, who preach Christ even of envy and strife, whose fervent zeal is a little tainted by their natural defects, by whom the Lord often performs his own work, creating light out of our darkness, and order out of our confusion; that the glory of what is well done may be ascribed only to his providence, and what is ill done to the natural imperfections of the instruments he makes use of." Is not this granting, that Brerleius and the authors he quotes have not calumniated John Knox, with regard to the opinions they ascribe to him?

As the Bishop of Luçon had made use of Brerleius's collections, so the Jesuit Petra Sancta made use soon after of that Bishop's work, and objected against du Moulin, what several Protestants have asserted concerning the obedience of subjects. Here follows what he said of Knox (19). *Si Principes, inquit (†), ad verius Deum & veritatem ejus tyrannicè se gerant, subditi eorum a juramento fidelitatis absolvuntur. Idem præter alia multa, Illud, inquit, audaciter affirmaverim, debuisse Nobiles, Rectores, Judices, Populumque Anglicanum non solum resistere & repugnare Mariæ illi Jezabel, quam vocant Reginam suam, verum etiam de eâ & Sacerdotibus ejus, & aliis omnibus, quotquot ei auxilium tulerunt, mortis supplicium sumere, ut primum ceperunt (†) Evangelium Christi suppressere. i. e. "If Princes, says Knox, behave themselves as tyrants against God and his truth, the subjects are free from their oath of allegiance. And besides several other things he adds this; I can boldly affirm, says he, that the Nobility, Governors, Judges and people of England ought not only to have opposed and resisted Mary, that Jezabel whom they call their Queen; but even to have put her to death, with all her Priests, and all other persons who assisted and supported her, the moment they began to suppress Christ's Gospel." What did Du Moulin reply to this? He did not in the least mention John Knox; he observed only that Buchanan, whom the Jesuit had also quoted, treated only of the rights of the Scots; and that if other authors had carried things to an excess, their particular temper, and not the spirit of their religion must be charged with it (20). *Buchanan scripsit de Jure Regni apud Scotos; sed hoc nihil ad Galliam, Angliam, Germaniam, Hispaniam. Nec si quis aliquid scripsit quod modum excadat, debet continuo adscribi ejus Religioni, potius quam ejus genio. Nam ejusmodi Libri, quos citat Jesuita, sive veri, sive falsi, nullam præferunt secum approbationem Doctorum.* Rivetus in his answer to the same Jesuit referred him to the two works against the Bishop of Luçon, which I have already quoted; and declared positively, that the Reformed condemned the opinions of John Knox and others like him, who acted according to the spirit of their nation, rather than according to the spirit of their religion. On which occasion he observes (21), that of 105 Kings, who had reigned in Scotland before Mary Stewart, three had been deprived, five banished, and thirty two killed. *mini nostrum probantur, quæ vel ex Goodmanno, vel**

(15) La Vallade, *Apologie*, pag. 544.

(16) David Blondel, his Answer was printed at Sedan, 1619, in 8vo. It is intitled, *Modeste Declaration de la Sincerité & Vérité des Eglises Reformées de France.*

(17) See his *Reponse*, pag. 237.

(18) Blondel, pag. 294.

(*) There are but five letters to Knox, three of Calvin and two of Beza. One of Calvin to Goodman, and one of Beza to Buchanan. And there is in none of them one single word of advice relating to State Affairs.

(19) Silvester Petra Sancta, *Not. in Epistol. Molinæ ad Balzacum*, pag. 104. This book was printed at Antwerp in the year 1634, in 8vo.

(†) *Admon. to the Nobility and People of Scotland and England*.

(20) Petrus Molinæus, in *Hypocritæ*, lib. 5.

(21) David Blondel had already observed it. *Modeste Declaration*, pag. 213.

the Church Men and the Roman Catholics charge him with. Some pretend he had a prophetic spirit [F].

It is certainly vindicating John Knox's Memory to some purpose, to shew the extravagant impertinencies of those who have aspersed his reputation. I shall therefore transcribe a passage from Thevet, in which the reader will see such gross and excessive slanders [G], that this alone is sufficient to prepossess us against all that the Roman Catholic Writers have published concerning this Reformer of Scotland. I wish it were not a more difficult task to clear him of that inconstancy, with which a Lutheran has charged him [H].

KNUZEN

ex Knoxo vel ex Buchananano in eam sententiam describuntur, quamvis eo usque non procedunt, quo Jesuita procefferunt, vel alii, qui in Gallia scripserunt de iusta Henrici tertii abdicatione, & etiamnum in Belgio foventur, ut scribit Jesuita Romanus. Id præterea observandum est, si quæ durissimis persecutionum temporibus a Scotis & Anglis nonnullis temere scriptæ fuerunt, ea posse imputari non tam Religioni, quam nationum illorum, Scoticanæ præsertim, fervido ingenio, & ad audiendum prompto, quod tamen valde mitigatum fuisse, accensa veritatis Evangelicæ luce, ex eo constat, quod ex centum quinque regibus suis, usque ad Mariam, tres exauctorant, quinque expulerunt, & triginta duos necarunt: quod ne Religioni imputetur magis vestra interest, quam nostra (22). i. e. "None of our people approve what is transcribed upon this subject from Goodman, or Knox, or Buchanan; though the Jesuits have carried things farther still, as those who published in France, a book Concerning the lawful deprivation of Henry III, who are still favoured and supported in the Low-Countries, as a Romish Jesuit asserts it. It must also be observed, that if some Scots or English authors have written something rashly during those cruel persecutions, this must not be ascribed so much to their religion as to the fierce and enterprising genius of those nations, particularly of the Scots. Which has however been much softened since the light of the Gospel began to shine amongst them, as is plain from this observation, that of the 105 Kings that reigned in Scotland before Queen Mary, three have been dethroned, five banished, and thirty killed; which it is your interest more than ours, not to ascribe to religion." After all those quotations and remarks, I am persuaded that I shall be suffered to believe that Knox's works do really contain the propositions, which Brierleius has quoted from them on the credit of the Episcopalian.

[F] Some pretend he had a Prophetic spirit.] Petra Sancta having quoted the elogies which Calvin and Beza bestowed on our John Knox, adds the following words (23), à Witakero ex omnium Scotorum sententia spiritu prophetico & Apostolico præditus appellatur. i. e. "Whitaker says, that according to the opinion of all the Scots, he had a Prophetic and Apostolical spirit." David Blondel is more particular (14). "He was endued with a spirit of Prophecy, by which, as they of his own nation relate, he foretold several things which happened since, as Whitaker observes in his works."

[G] Here follows a passage from Thevet, in which the reader will see... gross and excessive slanders.] This man might pass for a Monk that had forsaken his order, though he continued to profess the Roman Catholic Religion. He was so little accurate, that pretending to write of the affairs of Scotland, he did not so much as give himself the trouble to observe, how the names of the persons he mentioned were spelt. You will see in the following passage that he did not know the name of our John Knox. "During that time, says he (25), the Scots never left England in peace; it was when Henry VIII plaid his pranks with the chalices, relics, and other ornaments of the English Churches; which Tragedies and Plays have been acted in our time in the Kingdom of Scotland by the exhortations of Noptz (*) the first Scots Minister of the bloody Gospel. This firebrand of sedition, who delighted in nothing but broils and tumults, could not be content with barely following the steps of Luther, Zuingle, Farel, and less still those of his master Calvin, who had not long before delivered him from the galleys of the Prior of Capua, where he had been three years for his crimes,

"unlawful amours, and abominable fornications; for he used to lead a dissolute life in several shameful and odious places; being also found guilty of the parricide and murder committed on the body of James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, outrageously perpetrated by the connivance and artifice of the Earl of Ropphol, of James Lesclé, John Lesclé their uncle, and William du Coy. This Simonist, who had been a Priest of our Church being fattened by the benefices he had enjoyed, sold them for ready money; and finding that he could not make his cause be good, he gave himself up to the most terrible blasphemies. First, he denied the power of God; he preached publicly that virginity is not more valuable than marriage; this he had stolen from Luther's heresy set down in his new Epithalamium. He persuaded also several devout wives, and religious virgins to abandon themselves to wicked adulterers; by which devilish exhortations he caused them to be ravished in a most sacrilegious manner. He also taught that we must explode, despise and scorn the holy Lent, pull down the Images, dig up and burn the bodies of the Saints, and seize upon the treasures of the Church. This is not all; for he never ceased during two whole years to rouse the people, encouraging them to take up arms against the Queen, and to drive her out of the Kingdom, which he said was elective, as it had been formerly in the time of Heathenism. Could the most barbarous men in the world say any thing worse, more cruel, and more mortal? ... The Lutherans have Churches and Oratories; their Ministers sing the Psalms, and say Mass; and though it be different from ours, yet they add to it the Kyrie eleison, Credo, Sanctus Agnus (Lord have mercy upon us, the Creed, Holy Lamb) and other prayers as we do. And when their Ministers officiate, they wear the cope, the chafuble and the surplice, as ours do, being concerned for their salvation, and careful of what relates to the public worship. Whereas the Scots have lived these twelve years past, without laws, without religion, without ceremonies, constantly refusing to own a King or a Queen, as so many brutes, suffering themselves to be imposed upon by the stories told them by this arch-hypocrite Noptz, a traitor to God and to his country, rather than to follow the pure Gospel, the councils, and the doctrine of so many holy Doctors, both Greek and Latin, of the Catholic Church. This gentle Preacher, after the death of his first wife, did by the eloquence of his venomous tongue, animate all on a sudden the Nobility of Scotland against the Clergy more than he had done before: and the rude country people assaulted, plundered, burnt and destroyed the castles and houses of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, who would not join with them in their leud actions and massacres... It is certain that this inconstant traitor, filled with ambition and carnal lust, gained so great credit and reputation with the ignorant people of that country that he married to his second wife a Gentlewoman of an ancient and noble family, allied to the Princes of the Royal Blood of Scotland." Are not men who write with so little judgment very proper to make us doubt even of the true particulars they relate, suppose there be one or two that drop from their pen?

[H] A Lutheran charged him with inconstancy.] James Thomafius Professor at Leipzig has published a little Discourse, intitled, *Historia affectuum se miscentium controversiæ de Gynæcocratia*. He gives there an account of the passions which affect men in the controversy about the government of the women: he observes

(22) Rivet. in Cognitione. Notarum in Epistol. ad Balsacum, cap. 13. num. 14. Oper. tom. 3. pag. 539.

(23) Petra Sancta, Not. in Epistol. Molinæ ad Balsacum, pag. 105. He quotes Whit. Contr. 2. q. 5. c. 13.

(24) Blondel, Modeste Declar. pag. 295. He quotes Whitaker, de Eccl. 9. 5. cap. 13.

(25) Thevet, Cosmographie U niverſelle, liv. 16. tom. 2. folio 666.

(*) Thus Thevet writes the name of Knox.

(a) Oldensworta Eiderstadiensis. Moller. *Itaque ad Histor. Cber-son. Cimbrica.* Part. 3. pag. 164.

(b) Tobias Pfannerus, *Systemat. Theologiae Gentiliis*, pag. 35.

KNUZEN (MATTHIAS) born in the country of Holstein (a), carried his mad-ness to such a height, that he publickly maintained Atheism, and undertook long journies to make profelytes. He was a turbulent man, and had first broached his impious notions at Konigsberg in Prussia (b). He boasted that he had a great many followers in the chief Cities in Europe [A], and even seven hundred at Jena only (c). The followers of that sect were called *Conscienciaries*, because they asserted that there is no other God, no other Religion, no other lawful Magistracy, but *Conscience*, which teaches every man the three

(c) See below quotation (4).

serves that this question was very much controverted in the sixteenth Century, when Mary succeeded to Edward King of England, and when Elizabeth succeeded her sister Mary. These two Queens acted from quite contrary principles in matters of Religion. The former banished the Protestants; the latter restored them, and established the Reformation. They who had been persecuted by Queen Mary maintained that it was against the law of nature, against all human and divine laws, that a woman should govern a whole Nation; but they spoke quite in another strain under Queen Elizabeth. See how Schluffelburgius has abused our Knox and some other authors upon that account. *Qui Calvini placita sequerentur, bis nil erat magis ex- osum fœmineo Mariæ regimine; iisdem vicissim, ubi ad Clavum Reip. feliciter evectam conspexissent Elisabetham, nihil magis venerabile, quam Regina talis. At- que ut hoc de suo Schluffelburgius (*), magnæ constantiæ doctrinaque Theologus, largiatur mihi, ex eadem Calvini religione Gilbuis, Goodman & Knoxus, (qui scilicet ex- ilium suum Mariæ imputabant, publicis libris (Genevæ pro Fr. Balduino, impressis,) docuerunt esse contra jus naturale, divinum & humanum, ut mulier etiam in rebus politicis regnet. At ubi Mariæ imperium Elisabetha excepisset, eximia & Pontificiorum hostis, & Calvinisequarum faulrix, protinus verso remigio à Reformatis Angliis, non Regina tantum in temporalibus, illa est proclamata, sed etiam Caput Ecclesiæ in spiritualibus. Ita spacio duorum anno- rum (ipsissima Schluffelburgii verba recito,) quod prius fuit Calvinistis Genevæ moratis ipsissimum verbum Dei, mox atque in Angliam redierunt mutatum est in ver- bum Diaboli. Tantum videlicet potuit amor in Religi- onem, quam sub alterius fœminæ Regno conculcatam viderent, sub alterius resurgentem, ut à personis in ipsum imperii genus descedente se affectu, jam proscriberent Gynæocratiam, jam dignitati ac fœmæ restituerent (26). i. e. " Nothing was more odious to Cal- vin's followers than a woman's reign under Queen Mary. But on the other hand when they saw Queen Elizabeth raised to the throne, nothing was more venerable than such a Queen. And, to quote again Schluffelburgius, a Divine of great learning and constancy, Gilby, Goodman and Knox, all Calvinists (who ascribed their banishment to Queen Mary) have asserted in their books (printed at Gene- va) that the Government of a woman, even in civil affairs, is against the law of nature, and laws human and divine. But after Mary's death Elizabeth being raised to the throne, who was an eminent Princess, an enemy of the Papiſts, and a protectress of the Calvinists, the English Protestants altered their notion of government immediately, and the Queen had not only a supreme authority in civil affairs, but was also proclaimed the head of the Church in spirituals. Thus in two years time (these are Schluf- felburgius's own words) what was the very word of God in the opinion of the Calvinists, when they were at Geneva, was changed into the word of the Devil at their return into England. Such was the effect of their love for Religion, which was persecuted under one woman's reign, and restored again under another's, that their passion passing from the persons to the very nature of government, now they con- demn the government of a woman, and then again restore it to its dignity and reputation." Thomasius, who furnishes me with those words, pretends, that the Calvinists in France did also alter their maxims after the persecution they suffered under Charles IX, and he quotes particularly Lambert Daneau who de- clared on the one hand against the Monarchy, and on the other for the government of women, in favour of Elizabeth Queen of England. *Ut Anglico regimini præ Gallico faveret, (Daneus) illud maxime fecit, quod sua sectæ hominibus et sub Elizabetha lautissima esset fortuna, et sub Carolo Gallo vix aliud præter gladium, crucem, ignem expectandum. Notæ sunt Parisinæ nuptiæ (2), eo actæ eventu, ut ab illis maxime temporibus scriptores Galli pestilentem inciperent in Politica doctrina sectam sive**

(*) Lib. IV. Theol. Calvinist. pag. 324, 325. Conf. Respons. ad Calvin. & Bez. pro Fr. Balduino, impressis, pag. 75.

(26) Jacobus Thomastus in Præfatione LVI, pag. 328. edit. Lips. 168.

(2) Anni 1572.

novam condere, sive sepultam resuscitare, quam solemus vocare Monarchomachorum. Huic nomen addixit etiam suum Daneus; ut mirari aliquis possit, quomodo Scriptor ille, qui vix Regem æquo animo pati posset in folio Monarchico, ferre in eodem potuerit Reginam. Nempe vereor ut hic suas partes egerit hinc odium in perfidiam Galli, illinc amorem in felicissimam Elizabethæ Gubernationem (), tum in Religionem Calvini, cui per fugium eâ tempestate in ista insula satis tutum erat (27). i. e. " The reason why Daneau preferred the English Government to that of France, was that his sect was very happy under Queen Elizabeth, whereas under Charles IX King of France, they had nothing to expect, but fire, and sword, and the gallows. All the world remembers the nuptials at Paris, the event of which was such, that from that time the French writers began to revive an abominable sect in Politicks which we use to call of the Monarchomachi, or opposers of Monarchy. Daneau also declared for that sect, so that we may well wonder, how this writer, who could hardly bear that a King should sit on the Monarchical Throne, would suffer a Queen on it. I suspect very much that the passions acted their part here: on the one hand, the indignation against the perfidiousness of the French King, and on the other hand, the love both for Queen Elizabeth's happy administration, and for Calvin's religion, which at that time met with a pretty secure sanctuary in England." It is certain that the state affairs were at that time in so fluctuating a condition, both in France and in England, that both Parties, of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, altered their principles by turns. See the remark (I) of the article HOTMAN. The Roman Catholics, who exclaimed very much against the women's Government under Queen Elizabeth, had commended it very much under Queen Mary. Knox and some others acted on the other side with the same inconsistency. The Roman Catholics in France insisted strongly on the submission to the Royal Authority under Charles IX (28). But they did quite the contrary during the league, which their adversaries thought very strange. I have read a particular in Savaron, which I think is very curious (29). *Petro Corneio, a Spaniard ... thinks it very strange and wonderful, that this City should have continued loyal to its Prince, and that the last civil wars never interrupted its constancy nor shook its resolution, since, says he, it is very zealous for the Roman Catholic Religion, and is adorned with a Church, in which God is worshipped, with modesty, ceremonies, musick, and organs, and is as much revered there, as in any Church he ever saw. When the same persons speak for or against the right of Princes, according as the interest of their cause changes, it is, generally speaking, a sign, that they are swayed by their passions.**

(*) Hoc nostro tempore, (inquit Polit. Christian. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 398.) ELIZABETHÆ felicissimæ Anglorum Regine imperio nihil ulla unquam acta vidit felicius & optatius.

(27) Thomast. Præfat. LVI. pag. 331.

(28) See the remark [E] of the article SAINCTES.

(29) Jean Savaron, *Traicté contre les Malguez*, pag. 44. of the Paris edition, 1611. He quotes *Brevi Relatione de la Liga, en Bruxelles, en la Casa de Roger Vilpis*, 1591.

(30) Clermont in Auvergne.

[A] He boasted that he had a great many followers in the chief Cities of Europe.] Here follow his words. *Nemo homo mihi vitio vertet, si una cum meis gregalibus (quorum innumerus mihi numerus Lutetiæ, Amstelodami, Lugduni, in Anglia, Hamburgi, Hafniæ, nec non Holmiæ, imo Romæ et in contiguis locis adstipulatur) universa Biblia bellæ fabulæ loco habeam, qua bellæ, id est Christiani, rationem captivantes, et cum ratione insanientes, delentantur (1). i. e. " No man will blame me, if with my followers (of whom there is an infinite number, at Paris, at Amsterdam, at Leiden, in England, at Hamburg, at Copenhagen, at Stockholm, and even at Rome and in the adjacent places) I look upon the whole Bible as a downright story, in which the Beasts, that is to say, the Christians, captivating their reason, and being mad with reason, take a delight." We ought not to imagine, that he made use here of an artifice common with those who conspire against the state, who in order to draw a great many persons over to them, always say that they have a large number of accomplices. It is much more probable that Knuzen spoke thus, because he was a hare-brained and heedless fellow.*

(1) Apud Miguelium, Syn- tagm. Hist. Ec- clies. pag. 2391. edit. 1699.

three fundamental principles of the Law, to hurt no body, to live honestly, and to give every one his due. He gave the substance of his system in a short letter, several copies of which were spread abroad [B]. It is dated from Rome. You will find it entire in the last editions of Micrælius. He dispersed also some writings in the German tongue (d). All this was refuted in the same language by a Lutheran Professor named John Musæus [C]. This sect sprung up about the year 1673.

There was a Work against Knuzen printed at Wittemberg in the year 1677 [D].

[B] He gave the substance of his system in a short letter, several Copies of which were spread abroad

(2) Hæc Epistola plus mille de- scripta est. Mi- cræli. ubi infra.

(2.) The Continuator of Micrælius reduces the contents of that letter to the six following heads. I. Non esse Deum neque Diabolum. II. Magistratum nihil estimandum, Tempa contemnenda, Sacerdotes rejiciendos. III. Loco Magistratus, et loco Sacerdotum esse Scientiam, et rationem cum conscientia conjunctam, quæ doceat honeste vivere, neminem lædere, et suam cuique tribuere. IV. Conjugium a scortatione nihil differre. V. Unicam esse vitam, post hanc nec præmium nec pœnam dari. VI. Scripturam sacram secum ipsam pugnare (3). i. e. " I. " There is neither a God nor a Devil. II. Magis- trates are not to be valued, Churches are to be de- pised, and Priests rejected. III. Instead of Magis- trates and Priests, we have learning and reason, " which joined with conscience teach us to live honest- ly, to hurt no man, and to give every one his due. " IV. Matrimony does not differ from fornication. " V. There is but one life, which is this, after which " there are neither rewards, nor punishments. VI. " The holy Scripture is inconsistent with itself." This system, besides that it is most horribly impious, is also manifestly impertinent. For a man must be stark mad to believe, that mankind could subsist without Magistrates. There would indeed be no occasion for them, if all men followed the dictates of their con- science, which that infidel mentions to us; but do they really follow them, even in those countries where the judges punish with the greatest severity those that do any injury to their neighbours? I do not know whether we might not assert, that there is no impertinency; how silly soever it be, but acquaints us with some truth. The impertinencies of this German shew us, that the notions of natural religion, the Ideas of the honestum, the impressions of reason, in a word the in- ward light of conscience, may continue in the mind of a man, even when the notion of the being of God, and the belief of another world are intirely rooted out of it.

(3) Micrælius, Syntagm. Hist. Ecclesiast. pag. 2289, edit. 1699.

[C] He was refuted by a Lutheran Professor named Musæus. The author, who acquaints us with this, observes, that Musæus undertook that work in order to remove the suspicions that might be entertained to the prejudice of the University of Jena. For this wicked Knuzen had boasted that he had a great many accomplices there (4). That book of Musæus contains several ridiculous particulars of the life of that wretch. But if you have a mind to meet there with a good vindication of the Holy Scripture against that man's blasphemies, you must consult the second edition. And if you understand the German tongue, you may also, by Mollerus's advice (5), consult the book he refers you to (6), and take notice of his reflexion. He observes, than if men continue to raise suspicions of atheism against their enemies, as the author of that work does, by an inconsiderate zeal, mixed with his

(4) Blasphemis suis, . . . in solo oppido Jenensi 700 civis atque studiosi falso jac- tabat ad stipulari. Mollerus, Ifagoge ad Hist. Cberjon. Cimbr. Part. 3. pag. 166.

(5) Ibid. pag. 165.

(6) Atheismus devictus. It was printed in the year 1672. The author's name is Jo. Mullerus, Antistes Ham- burgensis. i. e. " A " Minister at " Hamburg."

private passions, they will afford a copious subject to Christian Thomafius, who is writing an Apology for those that have been unjustly loaded with such reproaches. The author of the *Penses sur les Cometes* (7) has hinted the design of such a work, and has given us a pretty curious sketch of it. But let us see, in Mollerus's words, the wickeness of such accusers. Quo in opere optandum esset ut Theol. celeberrimus (Jo. Muller- rus Antistes Hamb.) suo in Antagonistas odio minus indul- fisset, nec per insignem animi impotentiam, Schuppil ræ- pueris Demegorias, pns omnibus commendatissimas & Cbrist. Hoburgii, ad extremum Atheismo contrarium, su- perstitionem sc. & Enthufiasmum, proclivioris, scripta collo obtorto iis, quæ Atheismum vel occultant, vel qua- damtenus promouent, aggregasset. Certe, si zelo hujus- modi præcipiti, privatique affectibus obnoxio, Theo- logi Atheomastiges sibi invisos in suspensionem impietatis Atheismo affinis pergent adducere, vereor ne calamo Cbrist. Thomafii παρρησιαστικῶ, Gabr. Naudæi (qui magicæ reis est patrocinatus) exemplo apologiam pro Atheismi falso in- simulatis parturienti, campus se pandat ampliffimus inno- centiam illorum, cum hominum cordatorum applausu, vin- dicandi (8). i. e. " It were to be wished that this " most celebrated Divine (John Mullerus Minister at " Hamburg) had not, in that work, so much indulged " his hatred against his adversaries; nor by an immode- rate passion put the writings of the late Schuppil, " which are highly esteemed by all pious men, and " those of Christ. Hoburgius, who was so far from " Atheism, that he was rather inclined to the contrary " extreme, namely to superstition and enthufiasm; it " were to be wished, I say, that he had not put those " works in the same rank with those, in which atheism " lies concealed, or which may in some measure pro- mote it. And indeed, if those Divines who write " against atheism, being hurried away by an incon- siderate zeal, and swayed by their private passions, " continue to raise suspicions against their enemies, " charging them with impious notions bordering upon " atheism, I am afraid they will open a large field to " the most eloquent Christ. Thomafius; who, after " the example of Naudé (who took upon him the de- fence of those who were charged with magic) is " writing an apology for those who are falsely accused " of atheism. He will thus have new opportunities " to vindicate a number of persons, with the approba- tion of all sensible men."

(7) In the Pre- face to the Addi- tion, printed at Rotterdam in the year 1694. N. B. That au- thor is Mr. Bayle himself.

(8) Mollerus, Ifagoge ad Hist. Cberjon. Cimbr. Part. 3. pag. 167.

[D] There was a work against Knuzen printed at Wittemberg in the year 1677. It is intitled. *Exercitationes Academicæ II de Atheismo*, Renato Des Cartes & Matthiæ Knuzen oppositæ. Autore Valentino Greiffingio Corona-Transsylvano Elector. Saxon. alumno. i. e. "Two Academical Dissertations concerning A- theism, against Des Cartes and Knuzen. By Va- lentin Greiffingius, of Cronstadt in Transilvania, " the Elector of Saxony's Scholar." I have extracted this from a book of Casper Sagittarius (9).

(9) Intitled, *Introductio ad Hist. toriam Ecclesiast. ticam*, pag. 279. It was printed in the year 1694. in 4to.

KœMPFER (ENGELBERT) was born the 16th of September 1651 at Lem- gow, a small town in the Circle of Westphalia, belonging to Count de Lippe. His father John Kœmpfer was Minister of St. Nicholas Church in that town; and his mother, Christiana Drepper, was the daughter of Joachim Drepper, formerly Minister of the same Church (a). His father observing that he had a genius for study, cultivated it to the utmost of his abilities [A]. After studying in several towns he went to Dantzick, where he made some stay, and gave the first public specimen of his proficiency, by a Dissert- ation *de Majestatis divisione*, defended in 1673. He then went to Thorn, and from thence to the University of Cracow, where, for three years, studying Philosophy and foreign Languages, he took his degree of Doctor in Philosophy, after which he went to Ko- ningsberg

(a) Kœmpfer's Life by Dr. Scheuchzer his Translator, p. v. prefixed to vol. 1. of Kœmpfer's *History of Japan*. London 1728, fol.

[A] His father . . . cultivated . . . his genius . . . to the utmost of his abilities. He first sent him to the school of Hameln, in the dukedom of Brunswick: and after- wards to Luneburgh, Hamburg, and Lubeck, in all

which places he distinguished himself by an industrious application, and the quick progress he made in the learned languages; in History, Geography, and Mu- sic both vocal and instrumental (1).

(1) Kœmpfer's *History of Japan*, in Scheuchzer's *Life of the Au- thor*, pag. v. vol. 1. London editæ 1728, fol.

ningsberg in Prussia, and staid there four years [B]. He next travelled into Sweden, where he soon began to make a figure [C]; and being appointed Secretary of the Embassy to the Sophy of Persia, he set out from Stockholm, with the presents for that Emperor, March the 20th 1683, O. S. and went through Aaland, Finland and Ingermanland to Narva, where he met Mr. Fabricius the Embassador, who had been ordered to take Moscow in his way [D], whither he arrived, after meeting with great difficulties; and made his public entry the 7th of July [E]. The Embassador having ended his negotiations at the Russian Court, set out from Moscow on his way to Persia [F]. During their stay in Georgia, Dr. Kœmpfer went in search of simples, and of all the curiosities that could be met with in those parts [G]. The expressès sent to the Persian Court being returned, Mr. Fabricius set out on his journey thither in January 1684; and arriving at Ispahan, was not admitted to audience till the 30th of July [H]. During their stay, which was near two years at Ispahan, Dr. Kœmpfer, whose curious and inquisitive disposition suffered nothing to escape him unobserved, made all the advantages possible of so long an abode in the capitol of the Persian Empire [I]. The Embassador having ended his negotiations towards the clofe of 1685, and preparing to return into Europe, Dr. Kœmpfer did not judge proper to go back with him [K]; but entering into

[B] *He ... staid ... four years ... in Konigberg.* During all that time he applied himself very intently to the study of Physick and Natural History; his father's design, and his own genius and inclination, happily conspiring to bend his thoughts that way; and it was here he laid the foundation of those many excellent and useful discoveries and observations, which he afterwards had frequent opportunities of making, in the long course of his travels (2).

(2) Idem, *ibid.*
pag. vi.

[C] *Sweden, where he soon began to make a figure.* His learning and prudent behaviour soon brought him into great reputation both at the University of Upsal, and at the Court of Charles XI, a great encourager of learning; insomuch that very advantageous offers were made him, upon condition that he would settle in that Kingdom; but he thought fit to decline them, from the strong desire he always had of seeing foreign countries; and chose to prefer the employment of Secretary of the Embassy, which the Court of Sweden was then sending to the Sophy of Persia; the chief design of which Embassy was, to settle a commerce between the Kingdoms of Sweden and Persia (3).

(3) Idem, *ibid.*
pag. vi.

[D] *The Embassador ... had been ordered to take Moscow in his way.* As a trade could not be well settled between the two crowns, unless their Czarian Majesties, Iwan and Peter, who at that time governed the Russian Empire jointly, would consent to let the European and Persian commodities pass through their dominions on reasonable terms; the Embassador was ordered to go first to the Court of Moscow, and conclude a treaty on that head (4).

(4) *Ibid.*

[E] *Whither he arrived, after meeting with great difficulties.* A mistake in the Embassador's credentials, wherein the name of the Persian Sophy was inadvertently writ before that of their Czarian Majesties, and the unwillingness of the Waywode of Novogrod, to furnish the expences necessary for conducting and defraying him, with his retinue, pursuant to the tenor of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, detained them on the borders of Russia a considerable time: but this affair was at last amicably adjusted (5).

(5) Idem, *ibid.*
and pag. vii.

[F] *Having ended his negotiations ... he set out from Moscow.* The Embassador had continued about two months in that city. He then went down the rivers Mosco, Occa and Wolga, to Casan and Astracan, the capitals of two powerful Kingdoms, which had been conquered, and added to the Russian Empire, by that heroic Prince Iwan Basilowitz. After meeting with a dangerous passage over the Caspian sea, in which they had like to have been lost by an unexpected storm, and the unskilfulness of the Pilots, the ship having two rudders and consequently two Pilots, who did not understand each other's language, they arrived safe on the Persian coasts, and landed at Nisabad, where they made some stay, living under tents after the manner of the natives. They then proceeded with two other Embassadors to the Persian Court, to Siamachi, the capitol of the province of Schirwan, in Georgia, where they arrived in December, and staid till the Governor had notified their arrival to his Sovereign, and received orders from thence, as to the manner in which they were to be treated, and the way they were to be sent to Court (6).

(6) Idem, *ibid.*

[G] *Dr. Kœmpfer went in search of simples, and of all the curiosities &c.* He visited all the neighbourhood of Siamachi, gathering herbs, and observing whatever was remarkable in nature and art. To these laborious and learned excursions we owe that curious and accurate account he has given in his *Amoenitates Exoticae*, of the origin and fountains of the Naphta in the peninsula Okefra, which he visited on the spot (7). Dr. Scheuchzer observes on this occasion, (7) *Idem, ibid.*
pag. viii.

that few are sensible of the pleasure a Natural Historian receives, when he meets with some new and singular phenomenon in unfrequented places (8). Dr. (8) *Ibid.* Kœmpfer had the satisfaction of meeting, in that Median Peninsula, with more wonders than he went in search of; for he saw the town of Baku on the Caspian sea, the monuments of antiquity still extant in the neighbourhood of that place, the fountains of Naphta, the burning field, boiling lake, a mountain which threw out a fine potter's earth, and some other singularities, which abundantly repaid the trouble and hazard of his excursion thither (9).

(9) *Ibid.*

[H] *Mr. Fabricius ... was not admitted to audience till the 30th of July.* Schah Solyman, the Persian Sophy, being of a sickly constitution, was at that time, by the advice of his Astrologers, under a kind of voluntary confinement in his palace. Dreading the fatal consequences of a malignant constellation, they would not suffer him to appear in public till the 30th of July, on which day he treated his whole Court with the utmost magnificence. There were then many foreign Embassadors at Ispahan, who were severally admitted to audience on that day; it being the custom of the Persian Monarchs, not to admit the Embassadors of foreign powers to their presence but on some such solemn occasion, in a full Court, and in the most pompous manner. Mr. Fabricius was admitted to audience first; and very particular and distinguishing honours were shewn him, during the whole time of his abode at Ispahan (10).

(10) Idem, *ibid.*
and pag. ix.

[I] *Dr. Kœmpfer ... made all the advantages possible of so long an abode.* His principal and favourite enquiries here, and in all other places, tended chiefly to the improvement of Physic and History in their several branches; but he nevertheless did not absolutely confine himself to that subject, though extensive enough. The political History of a country, the succession and remarkable actions of its Princes, the state of their Court and Government; their personal qualities, vices or virtues; the customs, manners, and inclination of the natives; their way of life, commerce, the remains of antiquity, the modern buildings, whether sacred or civil, the flourishing or low condition of arts and sciences, and such like, equally exercised his industry and attention (11). Our author was greatly assisted (11) *Idem, ibid.*
in his enquiries into the Persian affairs, by Father du Mans, Prior of the Convent of Capuchins in Ispahan, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Persian language, government, customs, &c. (12).

(12) Idem, *ibid.*

[K] *Dr. Kœmpfer did not judge proper to go back with the Embassador.* He was offered the employments of Chief Physician to a Georgian Prince, with a considerable stipend &c; but his inclination to travelling not being yet abated, he resolved to go further into the East; and the advice of Father du Mans, with

into the service of the Dutch East India Company, in quality of chief Surgeon to the Fleet, then cruising in the Persian Gulph, he set out for Gamron or Benderabassi, in November 1685 [L], whither he arrived, after making some stay in Sijras, and was seized with a violent fit of sickness [M]. Being a little recovered, he spent a Summer in the neighbourhood of Gamron, during which he made a great number of very curious observations [N]. He did not leave that city till the end of June 1688, when he went on board the Fleet, which, after touching at many Dutch settlements, came to Batavia in September 1689 [O]. This city having been so particularly described by preceding writers, Dr. Koempfer turned his thoughts chiefly to the natural history of the country about it [P]. He possessed many good qualifications necessary for the making a good Botanist [Q]. In May 1690 he set out from Batavia on his voyage to Japan, in quality of Physician to the embassy, which the Dutch East-India Company sends once a year to the Japonese Emperor's Court [R]. He quitted Japan, in order to his return to Europe, in November 1692, and Batavia in February 1693. He staid near a month at the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Amsterdam in October following. In April 1694 he took his degree of Doctor in Physic at the University of Leyden; on which occasion he communicated, in what are called inaugural Theses, ten very singular and curious observations, made by him in foreign countries [S]. At his return to his native country,

with the recommendations of Mr. Fabricius, prompted him to enter into the service of the Dutch East India Company, as Chief Surgeon of their fleet; a place, as he himself observes in one of his letters, less honourable indeed, but more adapted to his views of travelling (13).

(13) *Idem*, pag. 2.

[L] *He set out for Gamron or Benderabassi.* This is a celebrated trading town on the Persian Gulph, Dr. Koempfer was honourably attended a mile out of Ispahan by the Ambassador's retinue. He staid some time in Sijras, as well to make the necessary enquiries concerning the celebrated Persian wines which owe their name to that town, as to visit the boasted remains of the ancient Persepolis, and the royal palace of Darius, that noble structure, which fell a sacrifice to wine and wantonness; and whose scattered ruins are a still existing undeniable monument of its former splendor and greatness (14).

(14) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[M] *He was seized with a violent fit of sickness... in Benderabassi.* The sultry heat of the air, and the want of water is such, that few Europeans can live there any considerable time without great prejudice to their health. Dr. Koempfer felt the baleful effects of it soon after his arrival, he being seized with a malignant fever of which he lay delirious for some days. However, Heaven was pleased to spare him. His fever abating, threw him into a dropsy, and that into a quartan ague; and it was by these dangerous and unusual steps that he recovered his health, but not his former strength and vigour. As soon as he was able to remove, he retired into the country, as well for the change of air and recovery of his strength, as to make new discoveries and observations, chiefly on those things which, on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, and other difficulties, had not, before, been thoroughly enquired into (15).

(15) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[N] *Being... in the neighbourhood of Gamron... he made a great number of very curious observations.* To this retirement we owe his account of the mountain *Benna* in the province *Laar*, on the Persian Gulph; of its plants and animals, of the precious *Bezoar*, and the animal in whose stomach it is found, of the singular hot baths, a native balsam, and other curiosities observed on that mountain and in its neighbourhood. His description of the native mummy, that most precious balsam, which sweats out of a rock in the province *Daar*, and is gathered once a year with great pomp and ceremony, for the sole use of the Persian *Sophy*. His observations on the *Asa Fatida*, of the plant, which grows only in Persia, yielding that substance, and on the manner of gathering and preparing it. His observations on the *Vena Medicinosa* of Arabian writers, or *Dracunculus*, as he calls it, a singular worm bred between the interfices of the muscles, in several parts of the human body. His account of the *Sanguis Draconis*, viz. of the true Eastern one, which he ascertains to be obtained from the fruit of a coniferous palm. His curious and accurate History of the *Palma Dactylifera*, growing in Persia; its differing species male and female; its culture, growth, preparation and uses, far beyond whatever was known of

this singular tree; with many other observations equally curious and instructive (16).

(16) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. xi.

[O] *The fleet... touching at many Dutch settlements...* It having orders to do this at most Dutch settlements, in Arabia Felix, the Great Mogul's country, on the coasts of Malabar, in the island of Ceylon, in the gulph of Bengal and the island of Sumatra, Dr. Koempfer had an opportunity of seeing these several countries; animated wherever he went with the same spirit of industry, and the same thirst of knowledge (17).

(17) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[P] *He turned his thoughts chiefly to the natural History of the country about Batavia.* The rich and curious garden of Cornelius Van Outhorn, then Director General of the Dutch East India Company, Mr. Moller's garden, and the island *Bidam*, lying but a few leagues from Batavia, offered to his observation a great number of rare and singular plants, native and foreign, many of them till then unknown, the description and figures whereof he intended to have published, together with many others observed by him in the course of his travels, particularly in Persia, the island of Ceylon, the Kingdom of Siam, and the Empire of Japan, all which are now in the hands of Sir Hans Sloane (18).

(18) *This was writ about 1728.*

[Q] *He possess many good qualifications necessary for the making a good Botanist.* He had a competent knowledge of that science, so far as it was improved in his time; a body inured to hardships; a great stock of industry and application, and an excellent hand at designing. With all these advantages he did not confine himself barely to the curious part of this science, an accurate description of the plants and their parts, which, though ever so necessary, is yet thought too dry a subject by the generality of readers: he endeavoured to make his observations beneficial to mankind; and took great pains to enquire into the various uses of the plants he describes, whether relating to Physic, Husbandry, Manufacture, &c; as likewise into the manner of cultivating and preparing them, in order to make them serve for these several purposes, in all which he was very successful (20).

(19) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[R] *He set out for Batavia on his voyage to Japan.* To make all the advantages possible of this voyage, he obtained leave to go on board the ship which was ordered to touch at Siam, that he might have an opportunity of seeing that Kingdom also (21). After taking also a transient view of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Southern China, and the adjacent countries, he arrived in Japan (22), where he resided two years. This was not only the last Eastern country he intended to visit, but also that which he had long desired to see, and always considered as a subject worthy of a laborious enquiry. The almost insurmountable difficulties, enough to deter even the most industrious, spurred him on to more painful researches; and he willingly sacrificed his time, art and money, to procure for himself and others, a thorough information of a country, of which, till then, no satisfactory account had been given (23).

(20) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. xii.

(21) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. xiii.

(22) *Niceron, Hommes Illustres, tom. 19. pag. 244. Paris 1732; 12mo.*

[S] *He communicated... ten very singular and curious observations.* On the famous *Agnes Stybica*, or *Borometz*,

(23) *Koempfer's Life, pag. xiii. in vol. 1. of his Hist. of Japan, edit. ut supra.*

country, he intended immediately to digest his papers and memoirs into proper order, but was prevented by the honour which the Count de Lippe, his Sovereign, did him [T]. He married [in 1700 [U]. The long course of his travels, the fatigue of his profession, and some private misfortunes in his family (b), had very much impaired his constitution; so that, after a variety of ailments, he died the second of November 1716 [W], aged a little more than sixty five years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas at Lemgow (c). His *History of Japan* is very much esteemed [X]; for which the public

(b) Kämpfer's *Life*, *ubi supra*, pag. xiv. In Father Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 19. pag. 246. it is said, that the uneasiness he felt, on account of the debts he had contracted, in order to defray the great expences he had been at, very much impaired his constitution.
(c) Kämpfer's *Life*, *ubi supra*, pag. xv. which *Life* Dr. Scheuchzer informs us was extracted chiefly from Kämpfer's manuscript memoirs, journals, letters, &c. and his funeral sermon by Bertholdus Haecius, a Minister at Lemgow. . . Dr. Kämpfer is mentioned also in *Novæ Litterariæ Lipsiensiæ*, 1728.

metz, a pretended plant animal, which he shews to be a mere figment, occasioned, perhaps, by some affinity of the name *Borometz*, with *Borannetz* in the Russian, and *Borannek* in the Polish language, denoting a particular kind of sheep about the Caspian sea, in Bulgarian Tartary and Chorasmia: on the bitter taste of the waters in the Caspian sea: on the true Persian native Mummy, called *Muminabi*: on the Torpedo, a singular fish, which benumbs the fingers of those who touch it: on the *Sanguis Draconis* made out of the fruit of a coniferous palm: on the *Dracunculus*, or *Vena Medeni* of Arabian writers: on the *Andrum*, a sort of *Hydracela*, or watry rupture; and the *Perical*, an ulcer in the legs, two epidemical distempers among the Malabarians: on the Japonese way of curing the cholick by the *Acupunctura* or needle pricking, and on the *Moza*, a caustic in frequent use among the Chinese and Japonese (24).

(24) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. xiii, xiv.

[T] He intended to digest his papers . . . but was prevented. That would have been the best time for it, as every thing was fresh in his memory: but his reputation and experience, and the honour he had of being appointed Physician to his Prince and family, soon involved him in so extensive a practice, as chiefly prevented his pursuing so laudable a design with the vigour he himself desired, and it deserved: for these reasons principally the *Amœnitates Exoticæ* were not published till the year 1712 (25).

(25) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. xiv.

[U] He married in 1700. His wife's name was Maria Sophia Willstach, only daughter of an eminent Merchant at Stolzenau, by whom he had one son and two daughters, who all died in their infancy (26).

(26) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[W] He died . . . after a variety of ailments. In the latter part of his life he was frequently troubled with the cholick, of which he had two very severe fits, one in November 1715, and another at the beginning of 1716. The last fit laid him up for three weeks; nevertheless he recovered it so far, that he was able to attend his Prince and family, in quality of their Physician at Pymont; whence he returned, in July, to his country seat (27) at Steinhof near Lemgow in pretty good health. However on the 5th of September following he was suddenly seized with fainting fits and a vomiting of blood, which continuing all night, brought him very low. From that time he continued in a lingering condition, though not altogether without hopes of recovery, having gathered strength so far as to be able to walk about the room: but on the 24th of October, having been troubled, ever since this last attack, with a nausea and loss of appetite; his vomiting of blood returned very violently upon him, and a fever, which lasting till the second of November, carried him off on that day (28).

(27) It is said he had inherited it from his ancestors, in Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 19. pag. 246.

(28) Kämpfer's *Life*, *ubi supra*, pag. xv.

[X] This history of Japan is very much esteemed. Our author himself published, *Amœnitatum exoticarum Politico-Physico-Medicarum Fasciculi V. quibus continentur variae Relationes, Observationes & Descriptiones rerum Persicarum & ulterioris Asiae multa attentione in Peregrinationibus per universum Orientem collectæ. Lemgovicæ 1712. 4to. p. 912.* This work, which is properly but an essay of what was afterwards published of our author, contains a great many singular, curious and useful observations. The perusal of his *inaugural Theses*, and his *Amœnitates exoticæ*, gave Sir Hans Sloane the first idea of his abilities, and prompted him to purchase all his curiosities, and manuscripts. The work for which our author is so deservedly esteemed, is his *Historia Imperii Japonici &c. or the history of JAPAN: giving an account of the ancient and present state and government of that Empire; of its Temples, Palaces, Castles, and other buildings; of its metals,*

minerals, trees, plants, animals, birds and fishes; of the chronology and succession of the Emperors, ecclesiastical and secular; of the original descent, religion, customs and manufactures of the natives, and of their trade and commerce with the Dutch and Chinese. Together with a description of the Kingdom of Siam. Written in high Dutch by Engelbertus Kämpfer, M. D. Physician to the Dutch Embassy to the Emperor's Court; and translated from his original manuscript, never before printed, by J. G. Scheuchzer, F. R. S. and a member of the college of Physicians, London. With the life of the author and an introduction. To which is added, part of a journal of a voyage to Japan, made by the English in the year 1673: Illustrated with many copper plates. In II Vol. folio. London 1728. This noble work is dedicated to the King by the learned translator, who observes in his epistle, that it gives an account of a mighty and powerful empire, which owes its greatness to itself, and the flourishing condition it is in, to its being debarred all communication with other nations (29). It unfolds the rules and maxims of a government, where the mutual checks, jealousies and mistrusts of Powers invested with Power are thought the most effectual means to oblige them to a faithful discharge of their respective duties: It shews a long series of ecclesiastical emperors, all descended from one family, who swayed the scepter of Japan for upwards of two thousand years, and still keep up their titles, rank and grandeur, though dispossessed of the supreme power by the secular monarchs; It describes a valiant and invincible nation, a polite, industrious and virtuous people, enriched by a mutual commerce among themselves, and possessed of a country on which nature hath lavished her most valuable treasures (30). Dr. Kämpfer says in his preface, that "if the pride and warlike humour of the Japonese are set aside; they are as civil, as polite and curious a nation as any in the world; naturally inclined to correspond and entertain a familiarity with foreigners, and desirous to excel, to be informed of their histories, arts and sciences (31)." He afterwards tells us, that besides the private informations he received from those who came to visit him, he was particularly happy in the assistance of a discreet young man, by whose means he was richly supplied with whatever notices he wanted, concerning the affairs of Japan. This man, who was appointed to wait upon him, at his arrival in Japan, as his servant, was taught the Dutch language by him; after which he employed him to procure as ample accounts as possible, of the then state and condition of the country, its government, the imperial court, the religions established in the empire, the history of former ages, and remarkable daily occurrences, and this Japonese was so very servicable to our author, that he procured him and explained, whatever books he wanted (32). He had said before; I can assure the reader, that both my descriptions and representations of things, though perhaps less elegant and perfect, are yet strictly agreeable to truth, and without embellishments, such as they occurred to me. I must own that as to the more private affairs of the empire, I could not procure full and ample informations enough: It is known, how difficult a matter it is for a foreigner to do it in any country, and I found by experience that it is much more so in Japan. Ever since the Roman Catholic religion hath been extirpated, the Dutch and Chinese Merchants in a manner imprisoned, and the whole empire shut up to all commerce and communication with foreign nations, the natives must be extremely cautious and reserved in their behaviour with regard to these foreigners, who are permitted to trade

(29) This paradox is maintained and illustrated with the example of the Japonese Empire, by our author, in chap. 6. of the Appendix to his *History of Japan*.

(30) Scheuchzer's Dedication.

(31) The Author's Preface, pag. iii.

(32) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. iv.

lic is obliged to that great encourager of learning Sir Hans Sloane, who purchased, for a considerable sum of money, all our author's curiosities both natural and artificial, as likewise all his drawings and manuscript memoirs; and prevailed with the late learned Dr. Scheuchzer, to translate the Japonese History abovementioned into English, which he has done in such a manner as does the greatest honour to his memory.

(33) *Idem, ibid.* *trade and are tolerated among them* (33). He afterwards declares, that all such Japonese as have any transactions with the Europeans, are obliged to take an oath not to discover any thing relating to their government, country, &c. (34). Dr. Scheuchzer has given an excellent introduction to the history of Japan. "My design therein, says the learned translator, is in a short survey of the present work, to point out some of its peculiar excellencies, and to illustrate the whole with a few additional remarks, tending to clear up some doubtful points from the latest discoveries, and to explain others which have been hitherto but slightly, if at all, touched upon. As the translation and publication of this History led me into farther searches concerning the Empire of Japan, and put me upon enquiring what other authors have wrote on this subject, I thought that it would not

"be unacceptable, nor altogether useless, to publish a list of them, with some observations I made upon perusal, on the character, transactions and several editions of the most considerable (35)." This introduction contains an ample catalogue of the authors, in the Library of Sir Hans Sloane, relating to the ecclesiastical, political, or natural history of Japan; and ends with a list, which is very curious, of the Japonese writers themselves; *the far greatest part whereof, says Dr. Scheuchzer, were brought by Dr. Kaempfer into Europe, and are now in the valuable collection of Sir Hans Sloane* (36). A French translation of this work, from the English, was published at the Hague in two volumes in folio, 1729, which is ascribed to Mr. Des Maizeaux (37). There is also a second edition of the French in 12mo.

(35) *Introduction by the Translator,* pag. 17.

(36) *Idem, ibid.* pag. xvii.

(37) In *Father Nicéron's Hommes Illustres*, tom. 19.

KONIG (GEORGE MATTHIAS) in Latin *Konigius*, Professor of Poetry and of the Greek tongue, and Library-Keeper in the University of Altorf, deserves a place here in the most particular manner: for I should be ungrateful if I did not acknowledge that the book which he published in the year 1678 (a) is of very great use to me. And I do not question but it is also very useful to a great many men of letters, notwithstanding the defects that have been observed in it [A]. Our Konig died towards the end of the year 1698, at the age of fourscore and two (b). He was the son of GEORGE KONIG (c), a native of Amberg, who died in the year 1654, having taught Divinity thirty eight years in the University of Altorf.

(a) Intituled, *Bibliotheca vetus & nova*. I quote it often, and sometimes I criticize upon it.

(b) *Acta Eruditorum Lipsi*. 1699. pag. 360.

(c) Konig, *Bibliothec.* pag. 447. See his *Elogy* in *Witten, Memor. Theolog. renovatae*, Decad. 8. pag. 1100, & seq.

[A] *The defects that have been observed in his work.* A very learned man named John Mollerus, who in the year 1691 published at Hamburg an *Isagoge ad Historiam Cbersensium Cimbricae*, (An Introduction to the history of Denmark) had published four years before *Cimbriae literatae prodromus*, "An essay on the history of the learned in Denmark"; in which, according to that liberty, which every subject of the republick of Letters ought to enjoy, he spoke very freely of the defects he had observed in Konig's work. Whereupon Daniel William Mollerus an Hungarian, and professor of Metaphysics and history in the University of Altorf, rose immediately against the critick, and was nevertheless obliged to confess, that a great part of the defects, that had been observed, were real defects. Now the critic's judgment, as he has expressed it in a preface (1), comes in short to this. *Innumeros in Opere Konigiano autores esse omisos, de Antiquis paucissima satisque confuse in medium allata, de Recentiorum, etiam Polygraphorum, Scriptis quamplurimis plerumque vix unius aut alterius factam mentionem, ac raris Synopticam aliquam de Autoris patria, aetate ac vita, librique editi loco ac tempore, narrationem adjectam, manifestius est, quam ut latere lectorem eruditum, aut negri ab homine candido possit. Nomina etiam saepius, ut in Prodomo monui, et scripta falsa auctoribus esse attributa, circa patriam atque vitam illorum erratum, inedita pro editis venditata, et ex uno scriptore duos aut tres inepte proclusus, exemplis plurimis ἀφθαλμοφανούς possem ostendere, si in expurgando hoc Augie stabulo tempus pariter atque operam vellem perdere, aut sordes alius in praefationem hanc convertere.* i. e. "A great many authors are omitted in Konig's work; he tells us but very few particulars of the antients, and without any order; and he hardly mentions a book or two of the moderns, even of those who wrote a great deal, and published a vast number of works; he seldom gives us so much as a short account of their life, in what country they lived, and at what time; nor does he tell us when and where their books were printed. This is so evident, that it cannot be unknown to the learned, nor denied by any candid man. He does also often give false names to the authors he mentions, as I have observed in my essay, and ascribes works to

them, which they never wrote. He blunders in mentioning their native Country, and the time when they flourished; he gives us manuscripts for printed books, and makes two or three authors out of one. I could prove all this by a great many instances, if I would lose my time and labour in cleansing this Augean stable, or carry the dirt out of it into this preface." He adds that his opinion in this respect agrees with that of several of the most learned men. *Agnoverunt eandem, quoiquot ex chori literarii primiceriis, de Opere Konigiano, aut eadem necum, aut his etiam asperiora judicavunt. Petrus scilicet Lambecius, non alio, quam Rhapsodi, titulo Autorem dignatus (*), Dan. Georg. Morbofius (†), et (qui meum de eodem judicium suo verbotenus adjecit) ἀπιστίας Wilb. Ern. Tenzelius (‡). Alii item complures, quorum verba allegare superjedo, cum rerum testimonia ipsi adversario, nolenti volenti, veritatis confessionem extorserint. Non audit enim is Bibliothecam hanc, cui patrocinatur, veterem ac novam pro accurata, aut talem, quae Saeculi applausum mereatur, venditare, sed fatetur nomen in ipsa intermissum, cum nomine esse confusum, errata nonnulla commissa, et Autores aliquot omisos, in qua ipsius confessione acquiesco.* i. e. "This has been acknowledged by the most eminent men in the republick of letters, who passed the same judgment with me, or even a more severe one, on this work of Konig. As Peter Lambecius, who did not think he deserved a better name than that of a Rhapsodist. Daniel George Morhoff, and the most ingenious William Ernest Tenzelius (who added my judgment word for word to his) and a great many more, whose names it is needless to mention, since the matter is so plain, that my adversary has been forced to acknowledge the truth, whether he would or not. For he dares not maintain that this ancient and modern Library, which he undertakes to vindicate, is exact, or such as to deserve the approbation of the world. But he confesses, that there is now and then one name put for another, that there are some blunders committed, and some authors omitted, in which confession I agree with him." Observe that Mollerus does not deny Konig the reputation of an old Professor, who had done some service to the Republick of Letters.

(1) In the Preface to his *Isagoge ad Historiam Cbersensium Cimbricae*.

(*) See the passage from the most celebrated Tenzelius quoted below.

(†) P. 1. *Polybist. Literarii*, cap. 18. pag. 202.

(‡) In his German *Dialogues*, for March 1689, pag. 316, 317.

KOORNHERT (THEODORE) a native of Amsterdam, and Secretary to the City of Harlem in the sixteenth Century, made himself famous by some very extraordinary

(a) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controv.* lib. 6. pag. m. 435.

(b) Idem, *ibid.*

nary works on subjects relating to Religion (a). He is reckoned to have been one of those spiritualists or enthusiasts, who imagine that all the sects amongst the Christians were corrupted a great many ages ago, and that no man has a right to take upon him the office of a Minister of the Gospel without an extraordinary mission supported with miracles (b). And accordingly he condemned openly Luther and Calvin's undertakings, though he acknowledged that the Church of Rome was not the true Church. He wished that till such time as God should be pleased to raise reformers in all respects like the Apostles, all the Christian sects would unite together by way of interim [A]; his scheme being, that only the text of God's word was to be read to the people, without proposing to them any explication, and without prescribing the congregation any thing by way of commandment, or prohibition, but at most by way of advice. He did not believe that it is necessary, in order to be a true Christian, to be a member of any visible Church; and he acted accordingly [B], for he did not take the Sacrament either with the Roman Catholics or with the Protestants. He wrote very freely against the Reformed

[A] He wished . . . that all the Christian sects would unite together by way of interim.] Hoornbeek, who had read over Koornhert's books written in Dutch, explains this fancy of his to us, in the following words. *Iste Coornbert passim suis libris . . . aliquod schema Ecclesie communitate erigendae proponit, in qua, vel solus Scripturae textus legeretur, absque glossis & expositionibus, vel etiam admonitiones ex Scriptura sub aliorum iudicio, non autem ex auctoritate, aliquando ferent, ad modum alterius & novi Interim, usque dum novam divinamque ad extruendam aliam Ecclesiam missionem accederent Ministri quales Apostoli fuerunt, Ecclesiam ex Christi praescripto novam erecturi, qua jam divina missione ad erigendam per Reformationem aliam Ecclesiam omnes, juxta eum, careant. Tomo primo, pag. ult. in delineatione istius Ecclesiae sic loquitur. "Raro aut nunquam utuntur hic humanis glossis non quod peccatum sit, sed quia incertum, a sole ad stellas, & a fonte ad cisternas recurrere. Atque ita etiam nemo hic sibi (absque certa & speciali missione) arrogat docendi officium, ut cum auctoritate mandet vel prohibeat, bene quidem ut meliori sententia admoneat, idque ex Scriptura (1)." i. e. "This Koornhert throughout his books . . . proposes some form of a Church, in which the Holy Scripture is only to be read, without any gloss, or exposition, or at most some warnings from the Scripture, with submission to other people's judgment, be sometimes offered, but not with authority; thus he would establish a kind of new Interim, till there should come some Ministers like the Apostles, with a new and divine mission, to establish another Church, according to Christ's command; all the Ministers at present wanting, according to him, such a mission to establish a new Church by way of Reformation. In the last page of the first volume of his Description of that Church he speaks thus: These human glosses or explications are seldom or never used, not that it is a sin, but it is unsafe to go from the sun to the stars, from the spring to the cistern. And none take upon them, without a certain and particular mission, the office of a Minister, to command or forbid any thing without authority, but only by way of advice, from the Scriptures, and with submission to other people's better judgment." This Visionary would have the Magistrates command the Preachers not to say any thing but what was contained word for word in the Scriptures, and oblige the Laymen, upon pain of paying a fine, to part with all their Theological books. You will meet with a more accurate account of this in the following Latin words (2).*

(1) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controv.* lib. 6. pag. III. 435. 436.

(2) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 436, 437.

(3) That which is intitled, *De Minuendis Sectis*. i. e. "Of suppressing the Sects."

Hoc Libello vel Dialogo (3), ita sententiam suam exponit. "Existimo, magistratui significandum, quaecumque scripta humana, glossas, dogmataque, quid impuri, erroris & ambagis continere, a quibus omnibus immunis est Scriptura, certam pandens salutis viam. Quare reverenter rogandus esset, ut vellet ad modum novi alicujus interim (& hoc ad tempus usque quo concorditer decretum esset, qua doctrina sequenda foret) omnibus Concionatoribus interdicere, ne e suggestu populorum aliud quid docerent, praelegerent, dicerentve, praeter clarum Scripturae textum, citra unius syllabae aut additionem aut demissionem, quomodo in Veteri Novoque Testamento solebat fieri. Hoc demum pacto sectas evanitas, praeterea populo sub multa injungendum esset, ut omnes suos libros de Scriptura tractantes, quae ipsae non essent mera Scriptura, ad manus Magistratus deferrent, ibique servarentur, ut vel redderentur postmo-

dum suis Dominis, vel prout visum foret, de istis disponeretur." Haec Coornbertus. i. e. "In that pamphlet or dialogue he expresses his opinion thus. "I think that we ought to give notice to the Magistrates, that all human writings, glosses and doctrines, contain something amiss, some errors, and some ambiguities, from all which the Holy Scripture is entirely free, shewing us a safe way to salvation; the Magistrates therefore must be desired, that they would be pleased to establish a kind of new Interim (till such time as it should be unanimously agreed what doctrine must be followed) and to forbid all the Preachers to teach, read or say any thing from the pulpit, but the bare text of the Scripture, without adding or omitting one single syllable, as it was the custom under the old and the new Testament. "This is the only method to make all sects vanish away at last. And besides, the people must be ordered, under the penalty of a fine, to carry all their books which treat of the Scriptures, and are not the bare Scriptures, to the Magistrates, to be kept by them, in order to be afterwards returned to the owners, or otherwise disposed of, as it should be thought proper." "Thus far Coornhert."

[B] He did not believe that it is necessary . . . to be a member of any visible Church, and he acted accordingly.] As he did not think, that there is now one single Church upon earth without a blemish, and governed by true Pastors, he took the sacrament no where. He did not deny but it was necessary, for the security of those that are weak, to establish an outward communion, but he pretended that no man had a right to claim a divine mission, or to teach that it is necessary to take the sacrament. This is the substance of the Latin passage which I shall now transcribe. *Coornbertus palam scribebat inter omnes sectas se nullibi Christi Ecclesiam deprehendere; Romanam nostram, quam ne quidam Ecclesiae nomine dignabatur, meliorem esse, Tom. 1. in Dialogis, fol. 484. nec S. Caenam ullibi idcirco participabat, quia veram Ecclesiam, & legitimum ministerium scilicet desiderabat! unde & communionis illam esse necessitatem, quae vulgo docetur, negabat. Tom. 1. lib. Consistorium, in initio. Tom. 111. in Delineatione impartialis Ecclesiae: ubi statim à principio docet, posse nunc quem esse verum Christianum, utcumque non sit membrum visibile alicujus ecclesiae: rogatusque, quid praestaret, an extra visibilem Ecclesiam vivere, quousque ipse Deus per certos Ministros Ecclesiam restauraret: an Ecclesiam, infirmorum gratiam, non valentium vivere absque externa illa forma, quin ad Sectarum partes prolabantur, colligere? respondit: prius quidem esse magis certum; at secundum videre sibi necessarium. Collapsam quidem esse Dei Ecclesiam, sed non apparere manifestum mandatum eam restaurandi: at tamen ovile alicujus pro infirmis adversus varios lupos defendendis, sub tali nempe libertate, qua nemo sibi arroget, à Deo se ad docendum missum esse, & Sacramentorum baptismi ac Caenae usus relinquatur liber, pro infirmis habendum; nullum verò istorum urgeri debere praecipit aut necessitatem (4). i. e. "Coornhert wrote publicly, that amongst all the sects he could meet no where with the Church of Christ, and that the Church of Rome was better than ours, which he would not honour even with the name of a Church. Tom. 1. In his Dialogues, fol. 484. Nor did he take the sacrament any where, because there was no true Church, as he said, nor any lawful Pastor: wherefore he denied that it is*

(4) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controv.* lib. 6. pag. 438.

"necessary

Reformed Religion, and particularly against Calvin and Beza. *Ex oppugnata in herbis reformatione nostrarum Ecclesiarum, praesertim nostra Catechesi, & probata sibi nec nostra Ecclesia nec aliis, solum intentus carpendis omnibus, & magnis impetendis nominibus; Calvinum dico, Bezam, Danæum, Saraviam, alios, gloriam hinc inanem inter suos aucupatus fuit* (c). i. e. "By opposing the rising reformation of our Church, and especially our Catechism; by approving neither our Church, nor any other; by finding fault with every thing, and particularly by attacking all our great men, as Calvin, Beza, Danæus, Sarrau, and others, he endeavoured to raise himself an empty glory with his party." And he was considered as so great a disturber of Religion, that the Magistrates of Delft banished him their City, and the States of Holland came to several resolutions, which made him complain that they revived the Inquisition (d). Nothing, in his opinion, was more inconsistent with Reason and with the Gospel, than the persecuting of those who are not of the Religion established by law. He wrote upon this subject against Beza, and against Lipsius [C]. He died October the 20th 1590 (e), acknowledging the truth of the doctrine of Predestination, which he had so strongly opposed [D].

(c) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controversiarum*, lib. 6. pag. 435.

(d) Voetius, *de Politica Eccles.* tom. 2. pag. 434.

(e) See the Advertisement to the Reader, at the end of his *Reply to Jusus Lipsius*. Observe that Kong has erroneously placed his death under the year 1599.

They

"necessary to take the sacrament, as it is commonly taught. Tom. 1. In the Book concerning Consistories. Tom. III. In the Description of an impartial Church. Where he asserts, in the beginning, that a man may be now a true Christian, without being a member of any visible Church. And being asked which was better, to live out of a visible Church, till God should restore the true Church by the means of unquestionable Ministers, or to gather a Church for the sake of the weak, who not being able to live without an outward form of worship, would fall off to one sect or another? He answered that the former is more certain, but that the latter seemed necessary. That the Church now indeed was fallen, but that there did not appear any positive command to restore it. However that there ought to be a sheep-fold to protect the infirm flock against a great many wolves, but yet with such a liberty, that no man pretend to be sent from God to teach, and that the use of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's supper be left free: nothing of all this being urged as a commandment necessary to be obeyed."

[C] *He wrote upon persecution against Beza and against Lipsius.* There is something to censure in the following words from Voetius. *Cornbertus, qui Latino Dialogo contra Lipsii Politicam hanc causam agit, eundemque Dialogum postea contra Lipsii Responsum (cui tit. adversus Dialogistam) defendit, idem Belgico scripto Processum de hæreticid. edidit contra Bezam* (5). i. e. "Coornhert, who defends this cause against Lipsius's politicks, in a Latin Dialogue, vindicated that same dialogue afterwards against Lipsius's reply (intituled against the dialogist). The same writer published a book in Dutch intituled *A Dispute about punishing Heretics with death*, against Beza." It is not true that Koornhert's dialogue against Lipsius's politicks is in Latin; it is in Dutch (6). Voetius himself confesses it, in a passage which I shall soon quote. Observe that the title of that Dutch work answers these Latin words, *Lis, seu Processus de Hæreticid.* Koornhert's reply is in Latin (7). It had been longer, if he had not died so soon (8). Here follows the title of it. *Defensio Processus de non occidendis hæreticis contra tria capita libri IV Politicorum J. Lipsii: ejusque libri adversus Dialogistam confutatio. Sub extremum mortis fatum per suæ patriæ libertatis studiosissimum THEODORUM VOLCHARDUM COORNHERT scripta.*

(5) Voetius, *de Politica Eccles.* tom. 2. pag. 386.

(6) *Plebeia (scriptio) futilis & conscripta plebeio stylo.* Lipsius in *Præf. Libri de una Religione, adversus Dialogistam.*

(7) He had wrote it in Dutch, but his executors had it translated into Latin.

(8) See the Advertisement to the reader at the end of that Reply.

"A defence of the dissertation, in which it is proved that heretics ought not to be capitally punished; against three Chapters of the 1Vth book of John Lipsius's politicks; with a refutation of Lipsius's book against the dialogist. Written by that most zealous friend of the liberty of his country, Theodore Volchard Coornhert, a little before his death." The edition I make use of was printed at Hanaw in the year 1593. If you have a mind to see how much Lipsius was perplexed by this reply, read the following passage. *Lipsius petitis libello Belgico à Diederico Volckero Coornhert, postea libro, de Una religione dicto Died. Coornhert reposito addidit, se veram & probam intelligere: sed non explicat, & explicaturum se negat, quænam sit vera & proba religio. Hinc dictus Cornbertus in refutatione libelli Lipsiani a. 1591. tit. Defensio processus de non occidendis hæreticis, &c. ita constrinxit Lipsium, ut à Papisicâ, aut*

Ethnico-Machiavellicâ (quarum alterutram pectore præmebat, quamvis tunc Leidæ conciones publicas frequentaret) se liberare non potuerit. Et hanc unam putant ex causis præcipuis fuisse, cur statione Leidensi turpiter desertâ hypocrisios larvam deponeret, ad partes hostiles transfugeret, atque ibi Papisini professionem susciperet (9). i. e. "Lipsius being attacked in a Dutch book by Theodore Volckard Coornhert, answered him in his treatise intituled *the one Religion*, in which he declared, that he meant thereby the true and sound religion; but he did not explain, and even declared that he would not explain which is the true and sound religion; which gave Coornhert an opportunity, in his confutation of Lipsius's work, which he published in the year 1591 with this title, *A Defence of the dissertations in which it is proved that hereticks ought not to be capitally punished &c.* to press Lipsius so closely, that he could not clear himself of being either of the popish religion, or of the heathen religion mixed with *Machiavellism* (for he was really of one of those religions in his heart, though at that time he used to go to Church at Leyden.) And it is thought that this was one of the chief reasons, why leaving his post at Leyden in a disgraceful manner, and throwing off the mask of hypocrisy, he went over to the enemy, and professed the popish religion there." Add to this the remark (B) of the article LIPSIUS.

(9) Voetius, *de Politica Eccles.* pag. 433.

[D] *He died. . . acknowledging the truth of the doctrine of predestination, which he had so strongly opposed.* O God, cried he when he was dying, it is from thee I received my soul, it is in thy power either to save it or to reprobate it, according to thy will and pleasure: I have no reason to complain. *Obit A. ΟΙΟΝΟΧΟ, et quod valde observandum, is, qui tam impotenter de Prædestinatione multa sibi nequaquam intellecta, adversus Theologos nostros conscripsit, sub mortem veritatem ejus in se sentire & agnoscere coactus fuit, ad Deum exclamans; "se animam suam ab eo possidere, quam Deo integrum sit pro suo bene placito servare, an reprobare, sibi nil esse quod conqueratur." Quod nil est, quam vim et summam prædestinationis divinæ in nobis aut solvendis aut abjiciendis pro Dei summo in nos omnes arbitrio, proprio sensu confiteri, et in morte sincerius testari, quam tot infruitis & impetuosius adversus eam scriptis, per vitam* (10). i. e. "He died in the year 1590; and, what is very remarkable, this man, who had so passionately wrote a great many things concerning predestination, which he did not understand himself, against our Divines, was when he died forced to perceive the truth of it within himself, and to confess it; crying out to God; *that he had received his soul from him, which God could either save or reprobate according to his will and pleasure, without leaving him any reason to complain.* What was this, but to feel within himself the power of predestination, and God's Sovereign authority over us; either to save or to damn us according to his will, and dying to bear witness to that truth, which during his life he had endeavoured to refute by so many silly and passionate writings?" It was necessary to transcribe this passage, considering the reflections it contains, and those which it may give the reader an occasion to make.

(10) Hoornbeek, *Summa Controv.* pag. 435.

(f) Lewis Guicciardini in *Descriptio Belgii*, cap. de Antwerpia, pag. m. 118.

(g) He is mistaken for Coornhert was born at Amsterdam.

They published an edition of his works in the year 1630, in three volumes in folio. I shall observe below that he began pretty late to study [E]. Lewis Guicciardini (f) mentions an excellent Engraver who was born at Harlem (g), and named THEODORE COORNHERT. He is undoubtedly the same who is mentioned in Freherus's *Theatre* [F], and who is the subject of this article. This is all that I had been able to collect from some Latin books, and I was ready to send it to the press with the six remarks, which the reader will find below; and I had no thoughts of making any additions to this article, but being told that there was a Life of our Coornhert written in Dutch, and prefixed to his works, I have procured some extracts from it, which will give me an opportunity to make this article much longer. I met with the following particulars in those extracts. Coornhert was born in the year 1522 of an ancient and good family of Amsterdam. Being still very young he took a journey into Spain and Portugal, and on his return he married contrary to what his father, who was dead, had ordered by his last will, and without asking his mother's advice. As he had taken a wife who had hardly any estate, he was obliged to enter into the family of Reynold of Brederode Baron of Vianen, who made him his steward, and whose favour he gained; but yet he soon left him, because he did not like a Court-life. He settled at Harlem, and gained a livelihood there by following his profession of an Engraver. Being puzzled with some difficulties upon Theological subjects, he imagined that he should meet with the solution of them in St. Augustin, and in some other fathers: so that he began to learn Latin at the age of thirty; and he made such a considerable progress in that study, that he was soon capable to translate Tully's Offices and several other works into Dutch; he understood Music and Poetry, and was very agreeable at an entertainment, but so as always to direct his discourses to the edification of his neighbour, and he never went beyond the rules of temperance. He loved working, and had made it his constant practice never to be above six hours in bed. He was admitted a Notary in the year 1561, and Secretary to the city of Harlem in the year 1562, and Secretary to the Burgomasters of the same City in the year 1564. In the years 1565 and 1566 he was several times sent to the Prince of Orange Governor of Holland, and had several conferences with Henry of Brederode on account of the troubles [G], which began to arise in the Low-Countries, and of the famous petition which was presented to the Dutchess of Parma in April 1566. He was taken up at Harlem and carried to the Hague, where he suffered a long and cruel imprisonment; during his confinement he composed several Poems in Dutch. His wife being persuaded that he should never be set free, endeavoured to get the plague, that by communicating it to him they might both die. He reproved her severely for such an attempt, forbidding her to do the same again, and desiring her to wait patiently how Providence should dispose of him. He defended himself so dexterously that he was set at liberty, being only commanded not to leave the Hague; but hearing that there were fresh orders come from Brussels to imprison him again, he stole away to Harlem, and thence he went into the country of Cleves, where he got a livelihood by his old trade of an Engraver. The States of Holland having taken the vigorous resolution in the year 1572 to assert their liberty against the tyranny of the Spaniards, Coornhert returned into his own country, and was honoured with the office of Secretary to the States of the Province. He had endeavoured to put a stop to the disorders and disturbances which the soldiers committed; and was deputed to inform against them, which made him so odious to the commanding officers of those daring troops [H], that in order to secure his life he

was

(11) Observe that Volcard was not his name but his father's. (12) It is observed in his Life, that Doctor Jobn Bafius, who was afterwards Counsellor to the Prince of Orange, taught him Latin, but there is not a word said of the Greek tongue.

(13) Colomiés, *Mélanges Historiques*, pag. 63.

(14) *Vir ingenii quidem alicujus, sed uti opus est (quippe ad annum ætatis decimum xxx linguam Latinam cepit addiscere) ita, &c.* Hoornb. *Summa Controversiarum*, pag. 43. (15) Boxhorn, in *Tetractis Hollandicæ*, cap. de Urbe Amstelredamo, pag. m. 263.

[E] *He begun pretty late to study.* "I have seen at the Hague in Monsieur van Beuning's library the works of Theodore Volcard (11) Coornhert, in Dutch. He was an Enthusiast, who had a very ready wit. He learnt the Greek and Latin tongues by himself (12) at the age of forty years, and made so great a progress in these two languages, that he could translate any author into Dutch. He wrote several theological treatises, some of which have been refuted by Calvin and by Daneau. He wrote even against Lipsius, who answered him in his book *de una Religione*. The Dutch speak of him as of a wonder. He died in the year 1590, at the age of 68 (13)." There are some exaggerations in this passage of Colomiés. I have read in a very good author, that Koornhert was but thirty when he began to learn Latin (14). He was never thoroughly master of it, and it is a great while ago since his writings have been much esteemed. Observe that Boxhornius (15) relates most of the particulars contained in the passage quoted from Colomiés.

[F] *In Freherus's Theatre* We read there, that Theodore Cornhertius, an excellent lawyer, followed his profession with great reputation at Amsterdam his native place; that he left several works behind him, which he had done after the model of Martin Hemskerck, whom he endeavoured to imitate. He was also a good Poet. He died at Gouda in the year 1590,

at the age of seventy eight (16). This is our Coornhert: But it should have been said that he died at the age of sixty eight, and not seventy eight. See the margin (17).

[G] *He had several conferences with Henry of Brederode on account of the troubles.* Coornhert had been steward to Rainold of Brederode, and had done him some service. By this means he had made himself known in an advantageous manner to Henry of Brederode Rainold's son. He had conferences with him at Vienna, at Utrecht, at Amsterdam and at Harlem, concerning the means to maintain the liberty of his Country; and he persuaded him to present to the Dutchess of Parma that petition, which had such remarkable consequences. He was the author of the first Manifesto, which Prince William published in his Camp (18), and which was intitled, *An advertisement to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, for the Law, for the King, and for the flock* (19). Bor, who mentions that Manifesto in the fourth book of his history, folio 182, declared to some persons, that he knew perfectly well, Koornhert had composed it (20.)

[H] *Having been deputed to inform against the soldiers, he became odious to the commanding officers of those troops.* The Captains who were conscious of several extortions, found out a very effectual method to prevent their being known: they gave Koornhert a very bad character, representing him as a dangerous Papist, whereby

(16) Paul Freher. in *Theatre*, pag. 1483. He quotes the *Academia Germ. Pictorum Joab. à Sandrast.*

(17) It should be Engraver and not Carver. And it should have been said, that he followed his profession at Harlem and not at Amsterdam.

(18) In December 1566.

(19) This is the translation of the Dutch title.

(20) Taken from the Latin Extracts, which have been communicated to me of Theodore Koornhert's Life, written in Dutch

was obliged to go into a voluntary banishment. He acquainted the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland with the reasons which obliged him to look for a sanctuary, and retired to Embden: he returned to Harlem when things were in a better situation, and engaged in controversies, in which the most zealous Ministers were his antagonists. He published several writings in defence of his cause, which he maintained by disputations at Leyden and at the Hague; he went to live at this last place, that he might be the sooner ready to enter the list. These verbal disputations being prohibited by the authority of the Sovereign [1], he petitioned the States and the Ministers several times, particularly in the Synod held at Gouda, desiring that these disputations might be continued and completed; he presented also a petition to the Prince of Orange upon the same subject, and supported it by several arguments. He humbly requested of him, that in case his

whereby they exposed him to a thousand dangers. They had a very plausible pretext to represent him thus; for he was continually asserting, that it was but just, and the interest of Holland, not to persecute the Roman Catholics, but to perform the promise which the Prince of Orange had made them, concerning the free exercise of their religion, &c. Count de Lumei, who commanded the army in Holland, was very far from performing that promise. Koornhert blamed his conduct with some freedom; and was therefore traduced as a most cursed favourer of Popery. Count de Lumei, with whom they had made him very odious, swore his ruin, and gave orders to kill him. He was not safe either in the roads in the country, nor in the streets in the towns. He applied to the Prince of Orange for his protection, but this was not sufficient to balance the great credit which the Count had with the soldiers. So that Koornhert was obliged to retire into the country of Cleves (21). This happened in the year 1572. Observe that he was so far from favouring the cause of the Spaniards, that he was excepted by name from the Act of Oblivion, which Lewis de Requesens caused to be proclaimed at Brussels in the year 1574, in favour of those who within two months should receive absolution from a Priest (22). Let us relate here a story which shews, that Koornhert did not love the Church of Rome, and yet wished that the Papists might be allowed a liberty of conscience.

when the states of the province put a stop to it. It was renewed by their order, and in the presence of their Commissioners at Leyden April the 14th: but it continued only a day and a half, for Koornhert retired, complaining that his adversaries made use of the secular power against him: he boasted that he had silenced the two Ministers, though he had not been suffered to attack them upon the last article (24). He pretended that his mentioning Calvin and Beza furnished his adversaries with an evasion, because the Commissioners declared the States would not suffer that these two Ministers of Geneva should be concerned in that controversy; so that Koornhert might expect to suffer from the resentment of the States. Finding himself thus threatened, he declared that he would no more come to a meeting, where he had not full liberty to speak. The Commissioners and the Ministers went nevertheless to the place where the conference had been first held. They waited for Koornhert, sent to his house, and took his absence for a flight, and for an unquestionable proof of his defeat. The States of Holland prevailed with the Magistrates of Harlem to forbid him to publish any thing relating to this conference (25).

Some years after he wrote against the Catechism of Heidelberg, which the Reformed Churches had admitted. He dedicated his work to the States of the province, representing to them with an excessive boldness the bad consequences, which he pretended would attend the admitting of that Catechism, and the design, which he said the Ministers had to put every one under a necessity to think and to speak as they did. He begged that these misfortunes might be prevented, and offered to prove his assertions. The Ministers also presented to the same States a writing full of complaints against Koornhert, and declared that they were ready to prove their propositions. The States, after mature deliberation, resolved, with the approbation of the Prince of Orange, to make Koornhert dispute with the Ministers, in the presence of fifteen Deputies. Hadrian Saravia, Divinity Professor at Leyden, was chosen to maintain the cause of the Ministers. They appointed a Notary for him, and another for Koornhert, that all that should be said on both sides might be taken down in writing in the most authentic manner. The dispute began in the Hague October the 27th 1583, and continued till the 3d of November, on which day Koornhert begged leave of the Commissioners to go to Harlem to see his wife who was dying. The dispute began again November the 28th. But as Saravia had dictated very long writings to his Notary during four days following, the Deputies resolved to send Koornhert home, that he might there compose his answer. It was still more prolix than Saravia's writings, and was refuted by a reply of the Ministers much more prolix still. The States hearing that of above fifty articles, which were to be examined, so many meetings had been spent in treating of one only, judged that they would never see the end of this affair, and put a stop to it. Koornhert boasted that he had gained the victory, and that he went on purpose to live at the Hague, that he might be more at hand to dispute. Notwithstanding the order of the States to break off the conferences, the parties continued to attack each other in writing (26).

The Synod of South-Holland meeting at Gouda in August 1589, Koornhert, who lived in the same city, sent a letter to the assembly, offering to begin the dispute again. The Synod having read the letter, sent it back to the author, declaring they had nothing more to do with him, and that if he desired any thing he might apply to the States (27).

(21) Taken from the Latin Extracts of Gerard Brandt's Dutch History, which have been communicated to me, Part 1, book 9. pag. 535. under the year 1572.

(22) Ibid. Book 21. pag. 593.

(23) Ibid. book 22. pag. 667, 668. under the year 1581.

(24) That of punishing the Hereticks

(25) Extracts from Gerard Brandt's, pag. 597. under the year 1578.

(26) Ibid. B. 13. pag. 693, 694, 695. under the year 1583.

(27) Ibid. B. 15. pag. 759. under the year 1589.

his petition was rejected, he might at least be suffered to continue to refute the errors in a modest and christian manner, and to enjoy in this respect that liberty of conscience, which had been so dearly bought; and in case this also was denied him, the last favour he begged was, that he might have leave to retire into some country situated near Holland, and in alliance with it, that he might employ the remainder of his life in compleating an Index to the Holy Scriptures; to the writing of which he had already applied himself twenty six years, and that he might also enjoy liberty of conscience, and avoid the dangers to which he was exposed, the hardships of poverty and want, and the offence which the Protestant Church might take at him. He asked for a safe conduct, and promised that he would return to the Hague to finish the disputation, as soon as it would be thought proper to recall him. All his petitions being rejected, he continued nevertheless to declare that he found a great many errors in the Catechism of Heidelberg; by which he only raised more enemies against himself; he was exclaimed against and exposed from the pulpit, and in other places: he was loaded with injuries and slanders; and had a great many vexations to suffer, his conduct having prepossessed and exasperated a great number of persons against him. He suffered this adversity with great moderation and constancy. It is very probable that the Prince of Orange protected him [K]. None in those times wrote so strongly as he did in favour of the liberty of his country, and of liberty of conscience [L]. His writings against the doctrines of Predestination and of Original Sin were supported with so many arguments, that when the Consistory of Amsterdam charged James Arminius, some years after, to refute them, that Minister answered, that he did not think that he himself or any other person could find in the holy Scripture wherewithal to refute those arguments (b). When he had almost finished his Dutch Translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase (i), he had a fit of sickness, during which time he gave strong proofs of his patience and held very edifying discourses till he expired, trusting in God's mercy, October the 29th (k) 1590. He was buried at Gouda (l); for he would not be buried at Amsterdam where he was born, nor at Harlem, where he continued longer than in any other place. He has been commended by Isaac Pontanus in his description of the City of Amsterdam, and by Grotius, and even by his adversary Justus Lipsius. This is what I borrow from the Latin Extracts of Theodore Koornhert's Life written in Dutch, which Extracts have been communicated to me. I shall transcribe some other particulars from them in the remarks.

(b) See hereupon the text of the article ARMINIUS, between the quotations (b) and (c).

(i) That of the New Testament.

(k) I have quoted an author above, who says the 20th. But this difference is owing probably to that which is between the old and the new style; and also to this reason, namely, that when a man dies in the night between the 19th and the 20th day of a month, some say he died the 19th and others the 20th.

(l) In the great Church, with a very honourable epitaph, written by his good friend Henry Laurence Spiegel. See Gerard Brandt, *History of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, book 15. under the year 1590.

[K] It is very probable that the Prince of Orange protected him.] It is certain that the Prince knew him to be a man of genius, a great lover of liberty, and a great enemy to the Spaniards; so that he judged him proper to be employed in the affairs of those times. He made use of his pen on several occasions; he charged him with divers commissions, and desired that he should be recalled from his banishment (28): and one can hardly comprehend how Koornhert had been able to stand his ground against the great number of his enemies, had he not been secretly supported by a powerful protection, artfully managed: for he had not the least regard for the public doctrines of the Churches of Holland; he attacked the calling of the Ministers, he condemned all the sects, and would have the Roman Catholics enjoy a full liberty of conscience, which considering the circumstances of those times would have been very dangerous. His censure of the Catechism of Heidelberg was so bold and abusive, that since the States of Holland, who had it examined by a Professor of Divinity and by a Minister, only ordered that the copies of it should be lodged in the hands of the Magistrates (29), we ought to think that some persons, who had an unlimited power, protected him. If the Prince of Orange had not been dead, when Koornhert went to live at Delft, I do not believe that the Magistrates would have commanded him to leave that city in four and twenty hours time, as they did in the year 1518 (30). Some persons would have him imprisoned for the remainder of his life, but the Prince of Orange and the Sovereign Magistrates would not consent to it (31).

(28) Taken from Extracts of Koornhert's Life.

(29) Ibidem.

(30) Extracts from Gerard Brandt, book 15. pag. 737.

(31) Ibid.

(32) In the country of Cleves.

[L] None wrote so strongly as he did in favour of the liberty of his country, and in favour of liberty of conscience.] Whilst he was at Santen (32) in a voluntary banishment during the year 1574, he drew up the plan of a book, in which he designed to shew to all Christian Princes, that the conduct of those provinces which resisted the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, was not a rebellion, nor a popular inclination to pull down images, but a consequence of that sovereign right which all nations have to defend their privileges, their laws, and liberty of conscience. Add to this what I have related in the remark [H]. The Acts of the Pacification of Cologne, begun in the year 1579, published at Delft with a licence from the

States, and with excellent notes by Haggai Albada, an intimate friend of our Koornhert, are thought to be the work of the latter. Eusebius Philalethes ascribes all this to him in a book printed in the year 1617. See also Koornhert's first treatise against Justus Lipsius. In the year 1584 he wrote a pamphlet concerning the means of resisting the King of Spain; and shewed amongst other things, that the Dutch must put themselves under the protection of the French King. Being persuaded that peace amongst Christians is one of the most important doctrines of the Gospel, and that it could not be obtained but by reducing the articles necessary to salvation to a very small number, and by suffering a diversity of opinions with regard to the other articles, he endeavoured as much as lay in his power to put things upon that footing. He supported his opinion in this particular by the authority of the great Erasmus (33), and agreed with two Doctors of the Reformed Church (34); it seems even that Prince William was a little inclined that way, Consult Bor's History, Book XXI, folio 107.

Koornhert was continually saying, that Luther, Calvin and Menno had briskly attacked an infinite number of errors of the Roman Catholics; but that they succeeded very ill with regard to the horrid and impious doctrine of persecuting for conscience sake; and that instead of refusing it effectually, they had rather confirmed it the more, each of them acting from that principle, when and where they could be masters; having thus raised up a new Papacy by erecting a schismatical Church, which condemns all the other Churches. By this means, said he, they have encouraged Popery to continue its ancient method; and they have not only gained nothing against its persecuting maxims, but they have even introduced new confusions, and new schisms, by depriving men of the liberty of prophesying (35). As for him, he maintained that we ought to hate no man, and that all pious persons, who by their faith in Jesus Christ endeavour to imitate him, are good Christians; and that the Magistrates ought to hold all peaceful inhabitants for good and loyal subjects (36). He was so full of that hypothesis, that he made a sacrifice of his rest, and of all his temporal advantages, to assert it with all the courage, wit and learning he was master of (37).

(33) In Epistola ad Archiepiscopum Panormitanum, Operibus prefixa.

(34) Huybert Duyhuus, & Taco Sybrand.

(35) That is to say, of professing all that their conscience dictates to them.

(36) Extracts from Koornhert's Life.

(37) In the Dutch Distich, which Peter Hooft made to be put under his picture, it was said, that he was unsatiable of learning and liberty.

I shall also make use of some Latin Extracts from a work of Gerard Brandt, I meant the History he wrote in Dutch of the Reformation of the Low-Countries. They were made by the same person who communicated to me those from Koornhert's Life, and who understands Dutch very well, and is very accurate. I believe that we may depend upon him.

KORNMANUS (HENRY) a German Civilian, author of some pretty curious treatises [A], and which bore several impressions. He lived in the beginning of the seventeenth Century.

[A] Author of some pretty curious treatises.] That intitled *de Virginitatis jure Tractatus novus & jucundus, ex jure civili, canonico, patribus, historicis, poetis, &c. confectus*, and that which is commonly joyned with it intitled, *Linea Amoris, sive Commentarius in versiculum Gl. visus, colloquium, convivium, oscula, factum*, have borne several impressions. The oldest edition that I know of is of Frankfort 1610. The subject is great and fruitful, but this author always rides post; he does not go to the source of things, and publishes nothing but very true particulars, and is very fit for those who love brevity. His other works are as follow. *Templum Naturæ historicum, seu de natura & miraculis qua-*

tuor Elementorum. De Miraculis vivorum, seu de natura, proprietatibus &c. hominum vivorum, Frankfort 1614. *De Miraculis mortuorum, &c.* Some one has said, that Kirchmannus, in his book *de Funeribus Romanorum* borrows a great number of particulars from this last work of our Kornmannus (1). Nevertheless I do not find that the treatise *de Miraculis mortuorum* was before 1610. Now the book *de Funeribus Romanorum* was printed in 1604. The author indeed gave a new edition of it in 1625, and he might have taken advantage of the treatise of our Kornmannus, with regard to his additions. This may be examined another time, in case there be opportunity for it.

(1) Anton. Burremans, *Variat. Lecton.* cap. 4. pag. 32.

KORTHOLT (CHRISTIAN) Doctor and Professor of Divinity at Kiel, was born the 15th of January 1633 at Burg in the Isle of Femenen (a). He was educated very carefully in piety and learning, in his father's house, and at the school of Burg till sixteen years of age, after which he was sent to Sleswick where he continued his studies two years. He afterwards studied in the College of Stetin, and there gave public proofs of the progress he had made; he maintaining two theses (b), the one *de veracitate & taciturnitate*, and the other *de natura Philosophiæ ejusque in Theologia usu*. He was author of the latter. Going to Rostoch in 1652, he assiduously frequented the Lectures of the Professors, and maintained two other theses (c) to great advantage, the first whereof he had wrote. His father's death obliged him to leave that Univerfity in a year; but he returned to it some months after, and there gave new proofs of his erudition, as well by the thesis or disputation *de Christo θεανθρωπῶ* which he composed and defended publicly, as by the Lectures he read at home on Logic, Metaphysics and Hebrew. He took his degree, in a solemn manner, of Doctor of Philosophy in the year 1656; and afterwards went and studied in the Univerfity of Jena, where he gained great reputation by the academical acts, wherein he was sometimes respondent, and sometimes moderator; and by the private Lectures he read on Philosophy, the Eastern Tongues, and Divinity. He left the Univerfity of Jena in 1660; and went and visited those of Leipzig and Wittemberg, and returned afterwards to Rostoch, where he displayed his capacity a variety of ways; so that, in February 1662, he was made Greek Professor. He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in December the same year. Not long before he had shewed his genius and learning, in three disputes with Roman Catholics [A], in presence of Christian Duke of Mecklenburg. He married the 26th of April 1664; and the next year was invited to be the second Professor of Divinity, in the Univerfity founded just before in Kiel. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of it in 1666; and succeeded, in 1675, Peter Musæus, who had had the first Divinity-chair there. He was so zealous for the prosperity of that new Univerfity, and so grateful for the kindness the Duke of Holstein his master had for him, that he refused all the employments, though very beneficial and honourable, which were offered him in several places. This Prince bestowed upon him, in 1680, the Professorship of Ecclesiastical Antiquities; and declared him Vice-Chancellor for life of the Univerfity in 1689. He discharged the duty of those several posts, and that

(a) Near the Baltick Sea in the country of Holstein.

(b) i. e. Disputations, and not here positions.

(c) The one de *Supposito & Persona*, the other de *Sphæra æstivitatii*.

[A] He had shewed his genius and learning, in three disputes with Roman Catholics.] Here follow the particulars of it, as related in his funeral Programma. An. M DC LXI, à Serenissimo Duce Mecklenburgico, CHRISTIANO, Principe eruditione, facundiâ, comitateque singulari prædito, per Cancellarium ejus, D. CHRISTOPHORUM KRAUTHOFIUM, invitabatur in aula Suerinensem, ad colloquium cum Pontificio Austriaco, EGGEFELDIO, viro quidem docto, sed admodum supercilioso, de religionis negotio, habendum. Quod & in conspectu multorum aulæ Procerum, ac peregrinorum etiam, qui fortè tunc aderant, institutum, ac postero die cum alio Pontificio Polono, ELLERNIZKIO, continuatum est Stinchenburgi, ipso Principe præsentem, qui eum illuc accersitum clementerque acceptum toto ocliduo secum retinuit. A quo & sequenti anno M DC LXII denuo ad certamen, cum Pontificio quodam Parisiensi, cui nomen de la BUISSON (1) erat, ibidem instituendum, provocatus comparuit, in eoque de gravissimis religionis controversiis cum omnium applausu per aliquot dies disputavit. i. e.

Anno 1661, Christian Duke of Mecklenburg, a learned, eloquent and gracious Prince, gave him an invitation, by Christopher Krauthof his chancellor, to the court of Suerin, to engage in a religious conference, with an Austrian Roman Catholic, EGGEFELD, a very learned but supercilious man. This being begun before a great number of Courtiers, and also strangers who happened to be there, was continued the next day with another Roman Catholic, ELLERNIZK a Pole, at Stinchenburg, in presence of the Prince, who having invited him thither, and received him in the most gracious manner, detained him eight days, and being again invited, the following year 1662, by the above-mentioned Prince, to engage in a controversy with one du BUISSON, a Roman Catholic of Paris, he appeared, and disputed, with universal applause, during some days, upon the most weighty points in religion."

(1) It should be du Buisson.

(d) It was in fact the same as Rector; because there was no other Rector in Kiel but the Prince himself who founded the Academy.

that of Vice-Rector (d), which he had five times, with great ability, application and prudence. His death, which happened the 31st of March 1694, was a great loss to the University of Kiel, and to the Republic of Letters which he had enriched with a very great number of works [B], and might have added many others, had he lived longer. He left some sons, who tread very worthily in his steps (e) [C].

(e) Extracted from his Funeral Programma, printed at Kiel in 1694.

KOTTERUS

[B] He had enriched the republick of letters with a very great number of works.] I have seen the catalogue of it, which was printed in Kiel, anno 1694. Some are in German, and others in Latin. Here follow the title of those in the latter language. *Traëtatus de Origine & Progressu Philosophiæ Barbaricæ*. Jenæ in 4. 1660. *Traëtatus de Perfectionibus Ecclesiæ Primitivæ, veterumque Martyrum Cruciatibus*. ibid. in 8. 1660. Prodiit longè accuratior, & triplo auctior, Kilonii ann. 1689. in 4. *Valerianus Confessor, hoc est, Solida Demonstratio, quod Ecclesia Romana hodierna non sit vera Christi Ecclesia; deducta ex Valer. Magni, Capuccini, Apologia Anti-Jesuitica*. Rost. in 12. 1662. Opusculum illud auctius Kilonii in 4. est editum 1666. *Dissertatio de Nestorianismo*. ibid. in 4. 1662. *Traëtatus de Calamniis Paganorum in veteres Christianos*. Rostochii, in 4. 1663. Longè auctior publicatus est Kilonii anno 1668 novoque planè habitu, in tres Libros distinctus, brevi, V. D. e Typographèo Kiloniensis proditurus est (2). *Exercitatio in Historiam Judith*. Rostoch. in 4. 1663. *Exercitatio in Præfationem Hieronymi in Judith*. ibid. in 4. 1663. *Traëtatus de Canone Scripturæ, Bellarmino, ejusque propugnatoribus, Gregorio & Erbermanno Jesuitis, oppositus*. Rostochii, in 4. 1665. *Traëtatus de Religione Eibnica, Muhammedana, & Judaica*. Kilonii, in 4. 1665. *Oratio de Scholarem & Academicorum ortu & progressu, præsertim in Germania, inter solemniam inaugurationis Academiæ Kiloniensis habita*. Slesv. in fol. 1666. *Dissertatio Historica de Philippo Arabis, Alexandri Mammææ, Plinii Junioris, & Annæi Senecæ, Christianismo*. Kil. in 4. 1667. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confessore, adversus Capuccinum Salisburgensem*, ibid. in 4. 1667. *Traëtatus de Variis Scripturæ sacræ Editionibus*. ibid. in 4. 1668. Longè auctior vulgatus est Kilonii ann. 1686. *Pseudadelphina Heiniana, D. Johanni Heinio, Theologo Reformato Marburgensi, opposita*, ibid. in 4. 1669. *Traëtatus de Lectione Bibliorum in linguis vulgo cognitis*. ibid. in 4. 1670. Revifus & auctus Plœnæ recusus est anno 1692. *Funus Ecclesiæ Romanæ in Clemente IX Papa defunctæ*. ibid. in 4. 1670. *Papa Utopicus*. ibid. in 4. 1670. *Traëtatus de Origine & naturâ Christianismi ex mente Gentilium*. Kil. in 4. 1672. *Apologia pro Valeriano Confessore, adversus Christianum Fabrum, Gallo-Sebastianum*. Kil. in 4. 1673. *Commentarius in Epistolas Plinii & Trajani de Christianis primævis*. ibid. in 4. 1674. *Commentarius in Justinum M. Athenagoram, Theophilum Antiochenum, Tatianum Assyrium*. Kil. in fol. 1675. Auctior editus est Lipsiæ ann. 1686. *Dissertatio de Viribus humanis in ordine ad Civilia & Spiritualia*. Kil. in 4. 1676. *Exercitatio anti-Salmasiana de Pane ἰσχυρῆ, quem in Oratione Dominica petimus*. in 4. 1676. *Disquisitiones anti-Baroniana*. ibid. in 4. 1677. *De Tribus Impostoribus Magnis, liber, Edwardo Herberti, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinosæ oppositus. Cui addita Appendix, qua Hieronymi Cardani & Edwardi Herberti de Animalitate Hominis opiniones philosophicè examinata*. ibid. in 8. 1680. *Disquisitio anti-Baroniana peculiaris de Reliquiarum cultu*. ibid. in 8. 1680. *Traëtatus de Vita & Moribus Christianis primævis per Gentilium malitiam affectis*. ibid. in 4. 1683. *Theses Theologicæ XXV Disputationibus publicis in Universitate Kiloniensi propostæ*. ibid. in 4. 1684. Prodiere & ventilatæ sunt altera vice 1686, ac rursum anno 1692. *Traëtatus de Processu disputandi Papistico. Cui subjuncta Dissertatio de Hostiis Eucharisticis, sive Pæcentulis orbiculatis, quibus in S. Synaxeos administratione utimur*. ibid. in 4. 1685. *Exercitatio de CHRISTO CRUCIFIXO, Judæis scandalo, Gentilibus stultitia, Creditibus autem Dei potentia & sapientia*, 1. Cor. 1. 18, 23, 24. ibid. in 4. 1686. *Exercitatio de Atheismo Veteribus Christianis, ob Templorum imprimis aversionem à Gentilibus objecto, inque eosdem à nostris reortato*. ibid. in 4. 1689. *Silentium Sacrum, sive, de Occultatione Mysteriorum apud veteres Christianos Dissertatio*. ibid. in 4. 1689. *De Studio Belli ac Pacis Dissertatio Theologica, in gratam memoriam reddita divina clementia Cimbricis provinciis Concordiæ, restitutique fe-*

(2) It was published in 1698. See the *Acta Erudit.* for Sept. 1693, pag. 420.

liciter Reverendiss. Serenissimique Slesvici & Holsatiæ Ducis regnantis Dn. CHR. ALBERTI. Ibid. in 4. 1689. *De Actionibus Forensibus Exercitatio Theologica*. Ibid. in 4. 1690. *Alexander Papa Octavus Pseudonymus*. Ibid. in 4. 1690. *De Magnimitate Aristotelica, Christianæ Modestæ aliisque veris Virtutibus inimica, Dissertatio*. Ibid. in 4. 1690. *De Schismate, superiori seculo Protestantibus inter & Pontificis enato, Dissert. Historico-Theologica, ib.* in 4. 1690. *Aposthectis Papæa*. Ibid. in 4. 1691. *In Canonem 6. Nicænum Cardd. Baronio & Bellarmino opposita Exercitatio*. Ibid. in 4. 1691. *Miscellanea Academica*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *Disquisitio de Pontifice Romano*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *De Rationis cum Revelatione in Theologia concursu*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *De Veterum quorundam locutione illa: Filius Dei assumpsit Hominem*. Ibid. in 4. 1692. *De Nominibus, quibus per ludibrium & contemptum Christiani olim à profanis appellati: deque Notis oculiis, quibus iidem se insignivisse crediti, Dissertatio: addita Mantissa, qua disquiritur; Num filiola, quam octo dierum infans enixa est, Baptismi capax*. Ibid. in 4. 1693. *De Sacris Publicis, debita cum reverentia præsentisque Numimis Metu colendis, Diatribæ Ascetica*. Ibid. in 4. 1693.

There was published after his death a treatise intitled, *Pastor fidelis, sive de Officio Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Opusculum*, Hamburgi. 1695 (*), 12mo. See *Acta Eruditorum* (3). There has likewise been published his *Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti*, Lipsiæ, 1697, 4to. See the abovementioned *Acta Eruditorum* (4). [This is but an epitome which was not finished by the author, and the imperfect condition in which it appears, made some think that it is not a work of Kortholt; however, that is not a sufficient reason why it should be ascribed to another. It was reprinted at Hamburg in the year 1708 in 4to.] Addit. by the translator.

(*) It is 1696, in Father Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*, vol. 31. pag. 62. Paris 1735, 12mo] Addit. by the Translator.

[C] He left some sons who tread very worthily in his steps.] He had ten children, five sons and five daughters, whereof four of each sex were living at his death, The two eldest daughters were then married; one to Mr. Lindeman professor of physicks and metaphysicks in Rostoch; and the other to Mr. Pasch, Morality Professor in Kiel (5). The oldest of the sons, HENRY CHRISTIAN KORTHOLT, was studying physic, and abroad at that time upon his travels. MATTHIAS NICHOLAS KORTHOLT and SEBASTIAN KORTHOLT, his brothers, had already given excellent testimonies of their genius. JOEL JOHN KORTHOLT, the youngest of all, pursued his studies very happily, and was a very promising youth. *Natu minor*, these are the words of the funeral Programma. *JOEL JOANNES, pietatis & literarum studio diligenter incumbens, optimam de se spem excitat, quam abunde jam impleverunt ætate profectibusque multò majores, MATTHIAS, NICOLAUS, & SEBASTIANUS, pluribus præclaris bonæ indolis ingenique excellentis specimenibus editis*. i. e. "JOHN JOEL, the youngest, applying himself assiduously to piety and literature, gives the most hopeful promises, which MATTHIAS, NICHOLAS, and SEBASTIAN had already greatly fulfilled, they being much older than he, and having made a much greater proficiency in learning, and given many specimens of an excellent disposition and genius." I have seen the dissertation *de Poëtis Episcopis*, which Sebastian Kortholt published in 1699, and submitted to the examination of the learned, *examini Eruditorum publico*, when he was preparing to receive his Doctor's degree in philosophy: *Pro summis in Philosophia honoribus impetrandis*. It is a very curious piece, and shews the author's great reading. Since the printing of this, I have seen two other of his works, of which I form the same judgment; the first is intitled *Disquisitio de entusiasmato Poëtico*, and was printed at Kiel in the year 1696, in 4to. The other treats *de Puellis Poëtriis omiffis ab Adriano Baillev*, and was printed in the same city, in the year 1700, in 12mo, I have also heard that the author has been made poetical Professor in the university of Kiel in February 1701; and that

(3) For January 1696, pag. 7, & seq.

(4) For Sept. 1697, pag. 438.

(5) He caused to be printed in 1695, *Sciedrasma de curiosis bujus sæculi inventis quorum accuratiori cultu faciem prætulit aut quitas*. He is reprinting a new edition of it with large additions.

KOTTERUS (CHRISTOPHER) was one of the three Fanaticks, whose Visions were published at Amsterdam in 1657, with the following title, *Lux in tenebris* [A]. He lived at Sprottaw in Silesia, and his visions began in June 1616. He fancied he saw

an

(6) Jo. Burchardus Majus, Eloquentia & Historie Professor Primarius. His writings have gained him great fame.

that Matthias Nicholas, his brother, having been invited to be professor of eloquence and poetry in the university of Gießen, made his inaugural oration the 22d of June 1700. It treated *de antiqua eloquentia recentiorum perperam postposita à Carolo Peraltio scriptore libri, cujus est titulus, Parallèle des anciens & des modernes &c.* I thought this oration a very good one. The elogium of this professor may be seen in a letter of Mr. Majus (6), dated at Kiel the 22d of May 1700.

(1) In the article DRABICIUS, citation (r).

(2) His name was Laurence de Ceer.

[A] The following title, *Lux in tenebris*.] I took notice elsewhere (1) why this title was given it, and therefore will not repeat it here. This work was printed in 1657, at the expence of a rich patron (2) whom Comenius had met with in Amsterdam. It comprehends the visions or revelations of our Christopher Kotterus, those of Christina Poniatovia, and those of Nicholas Drabicius. Comenius published an abridgment of them in 1660, with this title, *De Revelationum divinarum in usum seculi nostri factarum Epitome*. He republished the whole work with additions, and under the following title, *Lux à tenebris novis radiis aucta &c.* This last edition contains the sequel of Drabicius's Revelations till the year 1666. A Divinity Professor in Franeker, a Pole, named Nicholas Arnoldus, wrote publicly and speedily against this work, and answered Comenius's Apology. Des Marets (Maresius) Divinity Professor at Groningen, attacked this same work in his theses *de tribus Videntibus*, anno 1659; and when he published ten years after, an answer (3) to a little piece of Comenius concerning the Millenium, he reproached him more than once, and with great strength, for printing the pieces of those three pretended Prophets. This work, in a few years, was contemned and forgot; but was prodigiously sought after when the Turks besieged Vienna 1683. Those who had lodged the copies of it in garrets, where they had laid a long time, took them out, and sold several at a high price; and had the Turks made themselves masters of Vienna, I do not doubt but a new edition of it must have been made, how dear soever the copies might have cost. A great number were sought after in France, and Mr. d'Avaux sent some thither, whence we may very much wonder why Mr. Jurieu supposed, in 1691, that Drabicius was not known in Paris. This is an unpardonable supposition, because he himself, not long before, had greatly contributed to spread the name of that fanatic all the world over. Besides, he alledged this supposition as a proof of a state-crime; for he pretended that the *Avis aux Refugees*, i. e. "Advice to the Refugees," as it mentioned Drabicius, could not have been writ in France. These are particulars which my readers could hardly be induced to credit; and therefore it will be necessary for me to prove them, by giving an account of the reply that was made to him. Here then follows the answer which was made him by the author he accused (4).

(3) Intituled, *Anthibeticus, sive Defensio pii xeli &c. contra J. A. Comenium.*

(4) In the *Cabale Chimérique*, pag. 130, & seq. of edit. 2.

(5) Pag. 18.

"The first of these proofs is, that the *Avis aux Refugees* was not writ in Paris. Now this he demonstrates thus.

"The person (*), who wrote this *Avis*, gives a circumstantial account of Drabicius's prophecies; he has seen it, he has read it, and knows all the particularities concerning it.

"Now the Literati of Paris scarce know Drabicius's name.

"Consequently the author of the *Avis* is not in Paris.

"If I should deny his first proposition, I am sure he could never be able to prove it; because it does not appear from the *Avis aux Refugees*, that the author of it knew any more of Drabicius, except that he did all that lay in his power, to stir up a war against the House of Austria. Now could not any man of letters know this, without having ever read the books of that prophet?

"But the second proposition is still more visibly false. For not to say that, during the siege of Vienna, Drabicius's book was very much talked of in France, and that several copies of it were sent for from hence; I myself was desired by a friend

"of Roan to send him one, who does not know that the great elogiums which Mr. Jurieu has bestowed on the prophetic triumvirate, I mean on Christina Poniatovia, on Kotterus, and on Drabicius, in a (z) work more common, and more universally spread than Almanacks, as he himself boasts (i), making use of the most just comparison that was ever employed; who does not know, I say, that the great elogiums bestowed on Drabicius, and so well adapted to make this Prophet become the topic of all conversations, have drawn on the panegyrist some very mortifying censures from the Bishop of Meaux (i), and of Mr. Pellisson (**), in books published at Paris before the *Advice to the Refugees* was printed? Who can doubt that the satyr entitled *L'Esprit de Mr. Arnauld*, which has been in so much vogue since the year 1684, excited a curiosity in a numberless multitude of Frenchmen to see Drabicius's prophecies, the plan (o) whereof is drawn by Mr. Jurieu in such a manner, that he promises the public, on one hand, from Drabicius, the ruin of the House of Austria; to the King of France the Imperial Crown; to the Turks the taking of Vienna, Carinthia, Stiria; with the destruction of the commonwealth of Venice, and of the city of Rome? And to promise, on the other hand, in the name of the Protestants, *all that they can do to fulfil these prophecies*?" The Literati of Paris must have been very stupid, had they not enquired after a work of which Mr. Jurieu has given the following idea. "I found, says he (5), in the prophecies of Kotterus, Christina, and Drabicius, which Comenius published, something great and surprizing. Kotterus, the first of these three Prophets, is great and lofty; the images of his visions are also noble and majestic, that those of the ancient prophets are not more so. They all are wonderfully well concerted or drawn up; they are all of a piece, and no inconsistency is found in them. I cannot conceive how it was possible for a meer mechanic to hit upon such exalted things without the assistance of God. The two years of Christina's prophecy are, in my opinion, a series of miracles, as great as have happened since the Apostles time: nay, I have not met with any thing in the lives of the greatest Prophets more miraculous than what has befallen the maiden in question. Drabicius has also his loftinesses, but then he is much more difficult and obscure. These three Prophets agree in foretelling the fall of the Anti-Christian Empire, as what must come to pass very soon; but on the other hand, so many things in them offend, that one cannot well set one's heart upon them." Had not this excited a desire of knowing Comenius's prophetic collection; at least those would have had such a curiosity as had seen Pellisson's *Reflections on the disputes concerning Religion*: for when a writer has displayed a great deal of haughtiness, it is impossible for a person not to feel some joy, when he sees such a writer mortified as Mr. Jurieu was by the following words of M. Pellisson. "A Prophet, and more than a Prophet; doubtless a forerunner of the Millenium which he declares to us; who, at least, assumes the authority of reforming, correcting, and chastising at pleasure, those whom he has expressly acknowledged to be inspired men and prophets (*); a set of people whom the event has already proved to be guilty of and hundred impostures; and whom Heaven has just now confounded in the sight of the whole world, by the taking of Buda, though they had assured us, in the name of God, that the Christians would never recover it by force of arms, but by a treaty with the Turks (6)." He gave (7) express proofs of all this, by citing Mr. Jurieu's own words (8); and the places where Drabicius declared so expressly, that Buda should never get out of the hands of the Turks but in an amicable way. When people are affected towards an author, as the Parisians were with regard to Mr. Jurieu, they are so highly pleased to see such an author convicted either of imposture or fanaticism, that they will go to the source of such a conviction. *But is it true, say these people, that Drabicius*

(z) *Accomplissement des Prophet.* printed in the year 1686.

(i) *XXI Pastoral Letter* of 1689.

(*) *Hist. des Variations*, lib. 13. num. 41. printed in 1688.

(**) *Reflex. sur les differens de la Relig.* Part 2. printed in 1687.

(o) *Tom. 2. pag. 291.*

(5) *Préface de l'Accomplissement des Prophetes.* printed in 1686.

(*) Christopher Kotterus of Silesia. Christina Poniatovska of Bohemia. Nicholas Drabicius of Moravia.

(6) *Reflections sur les Differens de la Religion*, Part 2. Sect. 17. pag. 435. edit. of Amst. 1689.

(7) 501, & seq. See also *Chimères de Mr. Jurieu*, Part 4. pag. 141.

(8) Those which I quoted above, from the *Préface de l'Accomplissement des Prophetes.*

an angel under the form of a man, who commanded him to go and declare to the Magistrates, that unless the people repented, the wrath of God would make dreadful havoc. Though he had received this order six times successively, he yet did not put it in execution; he being dissuaded from it by his pastor and his friends: but imagining, in April 1619, that he saw the same spirit, who threatened him with eternal damnation in case he continued silent, he executed his commission in a full assembly of the Magistrates, the 29th of August 1619. Kotterus was laughed at; the visions or apparitions continued, and were followed by extasies and prophetic dreams. The Elector Palatine, whom the Protestants had declared King of Bohemia, was introduced in these visions. Kotterus waited upon him in Breslaw in December 1620, and informed him of his commission. He went to some other places, and at last, in the year 1625, to the Court of Brandenburg [B] (a). He got acquainted the same year with John Amos Comenius, who did all that lay in his power to promote his prophecies (b) [C]. Now as most of these

(a) Extracted from his Revelations, published by Comenius.

(b) Comenius, *Hist. Revelat.* on, pag. 16, & seq.

bicius affirms such a particular? may one not see this with one's own eyes, that no scruple may be left, to lessen the ridiculousness of such a scene? Then the people in question seek for one of Drabicius's books wherever they think it may be found: and if they cannot meet with any of them, they nevertheless treasure up the name in their memory, and consider it as worthy of ridicule.

No one can say that I digress from my subject; for since it is a falsity, in point of fact, to assert that Drabicius's name was scarce known in France in the year 1690, it belongs properly to this Dictionary; and it was proper for me to make use of all the proofs which refute this falsity.

Had Mr. Jurieu been contented with saying, that in comparison of the noise which Drabicius's name would have made, in France, in case the Turks had taken Vienna, he was scarce known at Paris when the *Advice to the Refugees* was writ; I am of opinion that he would not have been in the wrong; for, had Vienna been taken, Drabicius would have been more talked of than the Grand Visier. The book which Jurieu wrote during the siege of that city, to praise and vindicate Comenius's three Prophets, by fine illustrations and learned commentaries, would have been translated into several languages, and have made Drabicius, for a long time, the topic of conversations. Now his performance came to nothing with regard to Drabicius's memory, by the raising of the siege; the mighty Sobieski, at the distance of two or three hundred leagues, destroyed a book that was just going to press. I began to know during the siege of Vienna, how greatly I had mistook, in imagining that mankind were quite cured with regard to those chimerical hopes that are so often grounded on visions. I met every where with people, who spoke of nothing but Drabicius's prophecies, of the truth of which they seemed perfectly persuaded; and who built so many castles in the air, that they were to destroy Babylon in an instant. They could not sufficiently wonder how Drabicius came to guess so pat with regard to Tekely. This is what I wanted them to say; for I made it appear that Tekely, at that time the great actor of this Opera, makes no manner of figure in Drabicius's book, which is a perfect nullity. I do not doubt but the French would have been vastly attentive, had the Grand Visier succeeded in his enterprize; and they would gladly have assisted the credulous, in making them believe as much as possible, with regard to Drabicius's visions, since they promise the Empire to the King of France. It is therefore certain, that this false Prophet's name would have become infinitely more famous in Paris, in case the Turks had taken Vienna.

[B] He went... in the year 1625 to the Court of Brandenburg.] The Elector George William having heard the great noise which Kotterus's Revelations made, had a mind to see him. He then put it into the hands of the Divines of Francfort on the Oder, in order for them to examine it; after which he sent for them twice to Berlin, the first time in 1625 and afterwards in 1626. The fame of our Kotterus having reached Strasburg, it made such an impression on one of the Burgomasters there, that he sent a messenger into Silesia, to desire Kotterus to explain to him sixty two points; and to come to Strasburg where his prophetic ministry might be in greater safety. Kotterus answered the sixty two questions; but excused himself from going to Strasburg, upon his declaring that he

had no commission for it from the Spirit, and permitted his picture to be sent to the Burgomaster (9).

[C] He got acquainted... with John Amos Comenius, who did all that lay in his power to promote his prophecies.] After the Emperor's edicts, by which all Protestant Ministers of Bohemia and Moravia, in the year 1624, were ordered to leave the country, it was resolved in a private assembly, held in March in 1625, that the Ministers of Bohemia should retire into Poland, and those of Moravia into Hungary; and that some of them should be deputed with letters, both into Poland and Hungary, to prepare a reception for them. Comenius was sent into Poland. Passing through Gortlitz in Lusatia, the tutor of young Count de Zerotin informed him, as a very consolatory article of news, that the ruin of Antichrist was at hand, since the Holy Ghost had revealed this to one Christopher Kotterus, an honest man of Silesia. He mentioned and read several passages in it; and because Comenius made too many scruples, he advised him to go upon the spot, in order to confer with the Prophet. Comenius passing through Sprottaw desired to see Kotterus, but was told by his wife that the Elector of Brandenburg had sent for him. This was likewise confirmed to him by the Minister of the place (10), who assured him that Kotterus was a true Seer, and gave him his Revelations to read. Comenius waited for Kotterus, during which time he perused and meditated on the manuscript in question, and was amazed at it. Not long after he saw Kotterus, performed his journey, returned soon to Sprottaw, translated the manuscript of Revelations into the Bohemian language, and was fully convinced that they came only from God. He returned to Poland, and carried the Prophet thither, who informed him in the way, that he knew by Revelation that a Council would be held of all Christendom, wherein the Pope would be deposed, and a Canon enacted, forbidding all persons hereafter to usurp the title of universal Bishop. Comenius represented to him, that he had not read that article in the manuscript, to which Kotterus made the following answer, *I have not been ordered to write it, but I nevertheless heard it.* Being returned from Poland, Comenius left Kotterus, and went to Berlin, where he found that, even among the refugees of Bohemia and Moravia, a very different judgment was formed of this man; some considering him as a true Prophet, and especially when the post brought advice, that the King of Denmark was raising a body of troops; others declared that Kotterus was a knave, who having spent his all, and not knowing which way to turn himself, had set up for a Prophet. *Alii rursus ex iisdem meis scabiosissima de Cottero effutiebant: belluonem, rei sue decoctorem, desperationeque ad prophetandum adactum dilittantes, miraque de prophetiis ipsius mendacia inter se spargentes, mibique referentes* (11). This gave Comenius some uneasiness; but Christopher Pellargus, Superintendent General of the Churches of Brandenburg, who had examined Kotterus by the Elector's order, made him easy, by saying, that he ought not to question the truth of this man's extraordinary mission, nor repent his having translated his Revelations into the Bohemian Language. *Vides hanc Bibliothecam meam (instructissimam habebat, celeberrimus ob eam totam per Germaniam, quo me secretius hoc colloquium expetentem introduxerat) omnes Auctores, antiquos & recentes consului, ut quid de questione illa, Utrum post Christum & Apostolos, obfignatumque Novi fœderis Canonem, ulla novæ admittenda sint, divi-*

(9) Comenius, in *Epit. Revelat.* Append. 3. pag. 209.

(10) His name was Abraham Menclius.

(11) Comenius, *Hist. Revelat.* pag. 21.

these things related to presages of felicity with respect to the Elector Palatine, and unhappiness for his Imperial Majesty; it so fell out that David Wachsman, the Emperor's Fiscal or Exchequer Attorney in Silesia and Lusatia, set every engine at work to seize Kotterus, whom he looked upon as a seditious impostor. Accordingly Kotterus fell into his hands the second of January 1627. He was examined, was thrown into a dungeon, and the sentence of the Chamber of Appeals was waited for from Prague. The Fiscal Attorney received it the 28th of April, but happening to die a little after, the purport of it was not known. Kotterus was taken out of the dungeon, and his wife and friends were allowed to visit him; but he at last was set on the pillory [D], and banished the Emperor's dominions, not to return upon pain of death. Upon this he went to Lusatia, at that time subject to his Electoral Highness of Saxony, and lived there unmolested till his death, which happened in 1647 (c). It is by an error of the press that he is said, in Moreri's Dictionary, to have lived fourscore and twelve years [E]. Comenius is inexcusable for printing such prophecies [F]. He had seen part of them evidently

(c) Extracted from the Abridgment of his Revelations, Append. 3. and of Historia Revelatio-num, pag. 21, 22.

na vel Angelicæ, revelationes sentiendum sit cognoscere? sed nemo me scrupulis liberare potuit. Ego igitur ad preces conversus, ardentissime invocabam Deum (sepe etiam noctu surgens & me in faciem provolvens) ut ne pateretur illudi Ecclesie suæ orans. Post omnia vero tandem pensata divinitusque suggesta, non aliud habeo quod dicam, nisi DEUM MISISSE ANGELUM SUUM, qui nuntiaret nobis servis ea, quæ oportet fieri cito: quæ sunt Angeli verba Apoc. 22, 6. (12).

(12) Comenii, Hist. Revel. pag. 21.

The translation in question was not kept secret as the author says he desired; but was shewn to persons who would keep a copy of it by them, by which means the copies multiplied prodigiously in Bohemia; a circumstance which however we need not wonder at, as it promised King Frederick an hundred triumphs. Some time after it was printed, in the Bohemian tongue, at Perna in Misnia, with encomiums and marginal notes. However all the Ministers were not caught in this trap. Two of them, with some of the Elders of their Church, blamed the copying of the book in question. The interest of the true faith, and the danger to which they exposed themselves, were the two causes or motives which prompted them to vote for the suppression of those chimæra's, as being either a meer invention, or the wild dreams of an enthusiast.

Scriptum illud (sive id ab aliquo ingenio confictum, sive ab ipso fanatico homine conscriptum esset) suppressi petierunt. Duplex enim subesse periculum: & Conscientiarum, si se homines a certo Dei Verbo ad incerta id genus figmenta abduci paterentur: & Corporis atque vitæ, si hæc in adversariorum veniant manus (13).

(13) Ibid. pag. 23.

In 1626, the Electress Juliana, mother of King Frederic, having informed a Moravian Nobleman of high distinction, who as well as herself was at that time a refugee in Berlin, that she had received a letter from the King her son, to enquire whether it was possible to get a manuscript copy of the prophecies of the Silesian; the Nobleman abovementioned procured a copy of them; and not being able to present it himself, because he was sick, he employed Comenius, at that time in Berlin, to do it. Comenius, instead of delivering it to the Electress, went directly to the King, who was at the Hague, where being admitted to audience, he made a speech to him; and told him, among other particulars, that since his Majesty and his children were the principal characters in that divine Drama, the persons possessed of it would have thought themselves guilty of an absurdity, had they not communicated it to his Majesty. *Cujus (Cotteri) omnia cum sint in scriptum relata, ibidemque Majestas Vestra, cum Progenie suâ, tanquam primaria in hac Dei Comædia introducitur Persona: absurdum visum est illis, qui ea suis ba'tenus custodierunt manibus, ad notitiam Majestatis vestræ hæc non deduci. Non quidem ut Majestati Vestræ ista præcisè credendi imponatur necessitas, sed, Primùm, ut hæc apud Majestatem vestram tanquam in archivo sacro afferrentur, in futurum testimonium: nè; si demùm post completa prædicta hæc palam fiant, ex eventu sic esse collecta, suspicari quis, aut calumniari possit. Deinde, ut occasio sit attendendi, num fortè divina providentia tales in eventus res disponat. (Nam si de imminente rerum mutatione Politicos discursus, vel Astrologicas prædictiones, aut similes Prudentiorum conjecturas, cognoscere non aspernamur, cur hæc ab aliori venientia principio aspernari libeat?) Curarunt itaque ex autentico describi exemplar, quod Majestati vestræ per me humili cum observantia exhibent: simulque exhibui (14).*

(14) Ibid. pag. 26.

This is not meant, adds he, to impose on

your Majesty the necessity of believing these things; but only to desire you to keep them in your archives; in order that if they are confirmed by the event, no one may have room to object, that those predictions were made after the event; and that you likewise may have an occasion to observe from thence, whether providence prepares the way to those great revolutions.

The mystery lies here; they would have Princes who are capable of executing a design, and interested in the execution of it, form such a design, in hopes of succeeding in it. This is very frequently the first spring or motive of our Prophets and Apocalyptic Commentators, and of those who favour and support them. But to resume the thread of our History.

Comenius was graciously received and dismissed by King Frederic, and went to Bohemia, whither Kotterus went also in October 1626, and was in conference with some Ministers and Gentlemen (15).

The following passage does not appear to me accurate. *Quam turpiter vero in horum (Cotteri & Drabicii) & Christianæ Pontatoviæ virginis Bohemæ conatibus, qui ejusdem omnino farinae erant, juvandis modo dictus Comenius se dederit, è Voetii Dissp. part. 2. p. 1080 (16).*

i. e. "How scandalously the said Comenius assisted the endeavours of Kotterus, Drabicius, and Christina Pontatovia, a Bohemian maiden, who were all of the same stamp, is manifest from Voetius. Dissp. part. 2. pag. 1080." Thus speaks Hartnac, in his new edition of Micrælius's Ecclesiastical History. He had just before condemned the pretended Prophecies of Kotterus, and Comenius who published them. He had been saying, that Drabicius's head and hand had been cut off, he having justly deserved that punishment.

Interceptus in illo regno (Hungariæ Drabicius) capite manique amputatis libro quoque cui titulus, Lux in Tenebris, infami loco combusto dignam pœnam luit (17). He adds immediately after, that it appears from pag. 1080, of Tom. II. of Voetius's Disputations, that Comenius committed a most shameful fault in publishing the Revelations of the persons in question. I have consulted this place in Voetius; but there is not so much as one word relating to Comenius, either in page 1080 or the following.

[D] He at last was set on the pillory.] Here follow Comenius's words. *Post aliquot adhuc mensium deliberationem ignominia pœna affecerunt tali. Eductum carcere collocarunt ad cippum fori, ferreo adstrictum collari, affixaque supra caput scbedæ, cui inscriptum fuit: Hic est Pseudo-propheta ille, qui prædixit quæ non evenerunt. Hora spatio sic spectaculo relictus, per Liaborem urbe fuit eductus, exiveque patriâ, nec in Cæsaris ditidnes redire sub capitis pœna, jussus (18).* i. e. "After delibrating some months, the following punishment was inflicted on him. Being led out of prison, he was set on the pillory with this inscription over his head: This is the false Prophet, who foretold things that never came to pass. Being thus left as a public spectacle during an hour, a Serjeant led him out of the city; and he was commanded upon pain of death to leave his country, and not return into the dominions of his Imperial Majesty."

[E] It is by a typographical error that he is said, in Moreri's Dictionary, to have lived fourscore and twelve years.] He is said to be born in the year 1585, and to have died in 1647: he consequently lived sixty two years, and not ninety two; but Printers often mistake the figures 6 and 9 one for the other.

[F] Comenius is inexcusable for printing such Prophecies.]

(15) Extracted from Historia Revelationum, published by Comenius, in the year 1639, pag. 15, & seq.

(16) Micræli. Hist. Eccles. pag. 1324, edit. 1699.

(17) Idem, ibid. See citation (18) of the article DRABICIUS.

(18) Historia Revelat. pag. 28.

fall in his book; and whereby, as it is said, he discovered the secret of his design.
The

" chief motive, which prompted me to deliver my self in
" so decisive a manner, and with so much confidence
" on the explication of the prophecies. It will be known
" to us, most dear brethren, in the manner he shall
" then think fit to explain it. If he be mistaken, as
" it is natural to believe he will, he will say; I only
" conjectured; but a good cause ought to have been sup-
" ported as well as possible; it was necessary to animate
" our people by a little hopes. I know that prophecies, e-
" ven such as are fictitious, are used to produce the like
" effect. But if, on the contrary, the present Junc-
" tures, the jealousy of nations, the indignation con-
" ceived by the Protestant States at seeing their reli-
" gion attacked, or the disputes of the French with
" the Court of Rome, should produce any important
" effect that might give you fresh hopes: I know ve-
" ry well, would he cry, what I said as early as the
" year 1686. An Angel had spoke to me; but had I
" revealed this at that time I should have been looked
" upon as an impostor: the angel himself had forbid me
" to speak of it. He speaks to me again, and permits
" me to declare this to you. Follow me; we are going
" to begin this Kingdom of God of which you doubted,
" and which you nevertheless begged of God every day
" in your prayers." Were it true that Mr. Jurieu
is guilty of the imposture laid to his charge, he
would have been afraid that the world would not have
been able to dive into his secret; and therefore chusing
to preserve the reputation of his good sense at the ex-
pense of his honesty, he would have let drop some
words (38), that might discover the mystery to the
clear-sighted.

(38) The two passages, for instance, quoted by Pelisson out of the *Accomplissement des Prophecies*.

The knaveries, that have been discovered among the petty Prophets of Dauphiné, have given occasion to a very large commentary on the abovesaid passage from Pelisson. We need not read a work entitled, *Histoire du Fanaticisme de notre tems &c.* i. e. *The History of the Enthusiasm of our Age; and the design there was of exciting the malecontents among the Calvinists, in France, to take up arms.* It was printed at Paris in the year 1692. Mr. Brucey, author of the tract in question, having collected a great number of passages out of Mr. Jurieu's book, to prove that this Minister set up for a Prophet, adds immediately after: " We nevertheless must not imagine, that this Minister was himself persuaded of the truth of those things of which he wanted to persuade others; he had an artful design in assuming the air and manners of a Prophet; he knew perfectly well that he was not a Prophet; but he was desirous of imposing on the people, in order to excite them to take up arms, and light up a civil war in the heart of this country, in order to favour the inclinations of our enemies. He was so full of this detestable project when he wrote his Book of Prophecies, that he cannot forbear discovering his design to a reader of ever so little penetration. The time in which he wrote it, the motives which prompted him, and the touches that escape from his pen, and on which occasion he has inadvertently let fall some drops of the venom, with which his heart was filled: all these things discover the false Prophet's design (39)." I shall not transcribe the proofs he has given of each of these remarks; and will only mention what he observes with respect to the last. Here, says he (40), is what has escaped him in some part of his book, and which manifestly shews that he had no other view but to excite nations to take up arms.

(39) Brucey, *Histoire Fanaticisme*, pag. 44.

(40) Ibid. pag. 51.

(a) Tom. 1. *Addit. à l'Avant. sec. edit.*

" The Prophecies that are inserted in this piece, had at first scandalized the most judicious of his party, which he himself owns in the 2d edition of his book. There are some people, says he (a), who believe that the hopes I give of a restoration in a few years, may be of great prejudice. He first endeavours to shew that this need not be feared, and adds as follows. It is certain, says he, that frequently Prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those for whom they were made, with the design of undertaking those things which were promised them. Could he have declared more expressly the design he had of running the hazard to vent false Prophecies, in order to excite the malecontents of France to make an insurrection; and to fire them with a design of

" attempting to procure themselves, by force of arms, that speedy deliverance which he promised them? Those of his party had not only been scandalized at his presuming to publish Prophecies, but were still more so at his speaking in too affirmative a tone. It is still himself who informs us of this. With regard to the remark, says he (e), which so many people have made, viz. that I speak too confidently of things, which I ought perhaps to have proposed, at most, as weighty conjectures; the world may perhaps one day be informed of the chief reason, which made me speak in so decisive a tone, and so confident an air. What then is that chief reason which he does not dare to mention, and which the world may perhaps be informed of one day? Is he firmly persuaded of the truth of those things which he declares? This is the only motive, that ought to make a man of honour and probity speak with a resolute affirmative tone of voice. But if this be his, why does he not say so? Is he afraid of speaking the truth? Let us urge him no farther on that subject; he is sincerer than we imagine; he himself has already told the chief reason: had he not just before said, *It is certain, that frequently Prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those for whom they were made, with the design of undertaking those things which were promised them.* This is his chief reason, and we must not look for any other. This false Prophet did not expect that those two passages would one day be joined (41). He had designedly placed them in two separate volumes; but now they are together; and they explain one another so naturally, that a man must be blind not to see, that the reason why Mr. Jurieu speaks in so decisive a manner, and with so confident an air of the approaching deliverance, which he promised the Protestants of France, was, because he is of opinion, that frequently Prophecies, whether fictitious or true, inspire those for whom they are made, with the design of undertaking those things which are promised them."

Brucey seems so fully persuaded of his having discovered the whole mystery, that he repeats this observation more than once; nay he is so malicious as to remind the reader of the artifices of the heathens. I will also quote that passage. " This Minister promised the Calvinists that Popery should have its downfall, and the approaching deliverance of their Church. He promised her those things as from God, by telling them that they were contained in the oracles of the Revelations. It therefore was not possible that those Prophecies could inspire those for whom they were made, with the design of undertaking those things which were promised them; because nothing has a greater ascendancy over the mind of man than religion; and that all things appear lawful to them, when they firmly believe that God is on their side, and that they only execute his orders. Those who know the use which the artful Greeks and Romans made of their Oracles, their Southsayers, their Augurs; and of those Priests whom they called Haruspices, Feciales, Præpotes and Oscines (42), whose employment was to foretell the will of the Gods, whenever any important affair was debated on; some in viewing the entrails of the victims, the harmony, the flight, or various motions of certain birds. Those, I say, who know of what use these things were formerly, are sensible that persons of good sense gave no manner of credit to them; and made no other use of them than to inspire nations and soldiers with the designs which they promised them in the name of their Gods; but which, in the main, was nothing but what they themselves had resolved to do, before they consulted their oracles. Here we have directly the pretended Prophecies of Mr. Jurieu, and his pretended persuasion (43)."

I again repeat, in this place, the protestation I already made, viz. that I do not here set my self up as judge, but only relate what is said by others. I indeed will not conclude this remark without observing, that in all ages and countries, Prophecies have been forged in order to excite people to rebellion. I could cite an hundred examples, but one will be sufficient on this occasion.

(41) Brucey often repeats the consequences he draws from the joining of those two passages. See particularly, pag. 227, 230, 241.

(42) These two names Præpotes & Oscines were not given to Priests, but to Birds that were employed in Divination.

(43) Brucey, *Hist. du Fanaticisme*, pag. 230, 231.

occasion. The Spaniards who rebelled against Charles V, spread a malicious prophecy, viz. that a Prince named Charles would reign over Castile; a Prince who would destroy and burn the country; but that a son of the King of Portugal would possess himself of Castile, and restore the country to a very flourishing condition. The ringleaders of the sedition caused this Prophecy to be printed, and commanded every one of their partizans to keep a copy of it by them (44).

[J] *The things with which he is charged are a little too much exaggerated.* If the reader examines carefully the following words of le Brueys, he will find such an artful rhetoric in them as ought justly to be suspected. "It is impossible but Mr. Jurieu's best friends must own, that the sole motive of his publishing his predictions on the Revelations, was, in order to excite the malecontent Calvinists in France to take up arms, in order that the League which was then forming, finding this Kingdom divided against itself, might have the easier opportunity of ruining it entirely; and that the Calvinists might see their Religion re-established on the ruins of their country."

"Let any person now sum up, if this can be done, all the crimes and wicked attempts that are comprized in so execrable a project; the artifices, fictions and impostures made use of, in order to seduce the simple; the profanation of the holy Scriptures and its sacred Oracles; the impieties and blasphemies against the Holy Ghost; the violation of the most sacred Laws of the Christian Religion; the overthrowing the principles of the morality of Jesus Christ; the contempt of the constant practice of the Church, and of the examples of the Martyrs; the forgetfulness of his own maxims; the precepts of rebellion against the powers established by God; the exhortations to Subjects, Christians and Frenchmen to take up arms, and join those who have conspired the ruin of their country; the horrid wishes he prompts them to make for the defeat of our armies; the plundering of this Kingdom; the desolation of our provinces; the burning of our Cities, the effusion of blood, and the murder of their fellow-citizens, friends and relations. In fine, all the inhuman and barbarous actions which a civil and intestine war could have added to the most furious and most bloody foreign war that was ever known."

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

The sense is,

"Strange, that Religion should persuade such evils!

(44) See among the Golden Epistles of Ansbony de Guevara, that which the Admiral of Castile wrote to the inhabitants of Seville, in 1520. It is the 17th of book 3. What I quote is pag. m. 65.

(45) Brueys, *Hist. du Fanaticisme*, pag. 241.

(46) This is not the only anachronism in Mr. Brueys's book. We are told here, pag. 17, that Mr. Jurieu, tired with writing controversial pieces and pastoral letters, resolved to take another course, and set up for a prophet. He did not begin his Pastorals till after he had published his Prophecies. Brueys, pag. 14, speaks of a peace concluded in 1682, but he should have said 1684.

(47) Nicole, *Préface de l'Unité de l'Eglise*, pag. 24.

(48) This book of Mr. Jurieu was printed the same year with his *Accomplissement des Prophecies*.

"army of a hundred thousand Protestants combined together, to restore the pretended reformed Religion in France? Jurieu might even be accused of high-treason, and looked upon as a seditious person. It is therefore proper to undeceive the world in this particular, and to inform them that this discourse is not grounded on any conspiracy formed against France. . . (49). All that he says here, transiently, in so terrible a manner, is much less dreadful when explained at length by his *Accomplissement des Prophecies*: for it is there we see that this glorious re establishment of the pretended reformed (the Calvinists) will be brought about without any, or very little effusion of blood (*); or that it shall not even be, either by foreign troops, or by a multitude of Ministers who shall spread themselves over France; but by the effusion of the Spirit of God, which shall reanimate the extended bodies of Enoch and Elias; that is, according to Mr. Jurieu †, of the Protestants who were formerly witnesses to the truth, and who having basely abandoned it are now deprived of life, and stretched out in the great square of the city of Antichrist; that is, over all France, the principal part, according to him, of the Antichristian Empire." There is another particular, in which Mr. Brueys appears to me blame-worthy; he insinuating (50) that Mr. Jurieu is the oracle who was consulted, in order for the setting up of a school (51) where children should be taught inspiration. Here follows the description of that infamous school: *Could any one believe this who had not seen it? It was then that a school was first opened, in which the art of Prophecy was taught; where people went to learn to foretel things to come; and where, after having pass'd through the necessary trials, they imagined they received the Holy Ghost from the impure mouth of a sacrilegious master, who pretended to breathe it with a kiss into the mouths of those wretched pupils* (52). This is a design of so horrid a nature, that it ought never to be declared, nor even so much as insinuated without strong proofs, that a Minister was so wicked as to suggest the plan of it. Brueys has given too much extent to the consequences he draws from Mr. Jurieu's prodigious care to save the honour of the petty prophets (53). "He could never be prevailed upon to revoke the particulars he had published at first concerning this prophet's (54); and he entertained it with so much obstinacy in all his letters, that even after Heaven had recovered the maiden in question from her errors, and she was become a true and pious catholic, and had owned to her Judges in what manner du Serre had seduced her; still this Minister persisted in what he had advanced; was constant to his shepherds notwithstanding her infidelity; and had even the impudence to say, speaking of her and of the other sleeping petty prophets, *that they might be become knaves, but that they nevertheles had been prophets* . . . (55): This Minister declared himself publickly in favour of the petty prophets, in spite of all that the honest men of his party could say to him; and maintained that they were really inspired, with an invincible but affected obstinacy, as I before observed; because he had his views, and would appoint successors to himself in prophecy, as he had already appointed forerunners. . . (56). Can we (57) wonder after this, that Mr. Jurieu could not prevail with himself to abandon a sect of people, who had improved so well by his lessons; and that like a fond father, who is blind to the faults of his Children, he would never own the folly of those to whom he had given birth?" The consequences which are drawn from thence are not very just; for how many things are there, which men persist obstinately in maintaining, when they find them already done or formed, without knowing the whole guilt that was in their formation; which they would never advise to produce or form after a criminal manner, in case they were to be formed or produced? In this manner charity prompts us to extenuate, as much as possible, our neighbours faults, and to suspend our own judgments, notwithstanding the strongest probabilities, in case they do not amount to a good proof.

The reader will have a still better idea of Mr. Brueys's rashness, if he observes that Mr. Brueys, not contented with insinuating his accusation, proposed it in clear

(49) Nicole, *Préface de l'Unité de l'Eglise*, pag. 25.

(*) *Accomplissement des Prophecies*, pag. 206, 207. See *Accomplissement des Prophecies*, Part 2, pag. 188, 189, 206, 222.

† Mr. Jurieu, Part 2, pag. 175.

(50) Brueys, *Hist. du Fanaticisme*, pag. 79.

(51) In a glass-house situated on a mountain of Dauphiné called de Peyra. Brueys, *ibid.* pag. 76, 77.

(52) *Ibid.* pag. 75, 76.

(53) *Ibid.* pag. 98.

(54) That is, the shepherds of Cret.

(55) Brueys, *Hist. du Fanaticisme*, pag. 106.

(56) Mr. Brueys, pag. 39, had said, that Mr. Jurieu, like a great Prophet, would have forerunners, viz. Kotterus, Christina Pontatovia and Drabicius.

(57) Brueys, *Hist. du Fanaticisme*, pag. 145.

evidently convicted of falsity by the event ; and since his death, they have been more and more refuted by the course of affairs in Europe. The Turks who, according to Kotterus, were to ruin the House of Austria, have restored it to its former glory by their continual

cies.] Heaven forbid that I should pronounce judgment, with regard to my neighbour's thoughts. Those mysteries belong only to God ; but on some occasions men may give their judgment on appearances ; much more may I be allowed to relate, historically, the judgment of others with regard to Comenius's conduct. Whilst he resided in Prussia, some debates were made concerning him in the Courts of some Princes ; and it was given as a case of conscience, to examine, whether he would not deserve the punishment enacted by the Law of God against false Prophets. He has been suspected to have been Counsellor and Secretary to those who meditated an inroad into Bohemia ; and which would have been put in execution, had the English (19) furnished them the succours desired. He, and those of his character were looked upon as the abettors of the war which Ragotzki and the Princes Radzivil undertook against Poland. The object that was set before their eyes, in order to excite them to take up arms, was the delivery of the Church from Papal tyranny. I relate nothing here but what I have good authority for, Arnoldus writing as follows to Comenius. *Prævaricatio illa, quam dicis, tanti tamen non fuit, ut super ea in aula Principum deliberaretur, casus conscientie formati viris doctis decidendi mitterentur, an sim falsus Propheta, & consequenter, an in me pena divinitus in falsos Prophetas statuta animadvertendum non esset, quod de te in Borussia cum adhuc morarer perscriptum memini, & forte autographum illarum literum adhuc possideo. Tanti, inquam, non fuit illa prævaricatio, ut propter eam ἀδελφότητιν audirem, ac desertâ statione mea Professoria, Magnatibus pro stabello in concitandis motibus bellicis essem, uti de te rumor est, qui à manu & consiliis intimis fuisse illis diceris, qui in Bohemiam irruptionem ante annos moliebantur, si modo annuissent illorum votis Angli sollicitati. Ego id non dico, quanquam stilus literarum tuo non sit absimilis. Jam per rumores in Borussia (uti, nisi me omnino fallat memoria, illinc ad te perscripti,) audiveram, Principes Radzivilios & Rakocium à vobis fuisse inductos, qui arma contra Polonos capefferent, spe liberandæ Ecclesiæ à tyrannide Pontificia, cujus rei baud exigua passim in volumine illo triumphant argumenta. Ego tamen non defixio (20). i. e. " Nevertheless the prevarication you mention, was not so great, as to occasion deliberation about it in the Courts of Princes ; and for cases of conscience to be drawn up, and sent to learned men, in order that they should give the decision of them whether I am a false Prophet ; and in consequence thereof, whether the punishment which Heaven inflicts on false Prophets ought not to be inflicted on me ; which I remember was writ with regard to you, at the time that I resided in Prussia ; and I happen still to have the copy of those letters by me. I say, that that prevarication was not so great, as to get me the name of meddling fellow, who, abandoning my Professorship, am as an incendiary in stirring up the great to engage in war ; as is reported concerning you, who are declared to have been the principal fomenter of those, who intended, in case the English had succoured them, as was desired, to have made an inroad into Bohemia some years since. However, I don't pretend to affirm this, although the style of the letters is not unlike yours. I before had heard it reported in Prussia, (which I informed you of by letter from thence, if my memory fails me not) that the Princes Radzivil and Ragotzki, had been excited by you, in order that they should take up arms against the Poles, in hopes of freeing the Church from Popish tyranny, whereof many strong arguments or proofs, in many places, appear in that three-one volume. Nevertheless, I don't determine any thing." I don't wonder that Comenius should have been suspected of carrying on political machinations and intrigues of war ; for a Divine who travels so much as he, and has business so often in the Courts of Princes, is a man who is not to be very much trusted. The Electress, mother to King Frederic, asks whether a collection of Kotterus's Prophecies can be procured ; the person to whom she makes the application gets a copy transcribed ;*

and not having an opportunity of presenting it, he desires Comenius to do it. The last mentioned, who is at Berlin, and could, in a quarter of an hour's time, present it to the Electress, chuses rather to come to the Hague, in order to give it into King Frederic's own hand, and harangue him on the contents of the book in question, which would, at least, said he, make him attentive to the occurrences (21). These persons foretel the things they desire should be attempted ; and after this they set every engine at work, in order to engage all such in the enterprize as they think fit for it. It is very probable, that the great application with which Comenius laboured at the reunion of the Protestants (22), proceeded from a desire he had to form a powerful party, which might fulfill the Prophecies with temporal weapons. Another circumstance did Comenius an injury : he was a man of parts and learning ; he argued very sensibly on other matters, and in these like a man of wit ; and there was nothing in his person that appeared like an enthusiast. This made people conclude that he did not believe the things he uttered. There may be, and there sometimes is, imposture in extatic grimaces ; but those who boast their being inspired, without shewing by their countenance or expressions that their brain is disordered, and without ever doing any action that is out of nature, ought to be infinitely more suspected of fraud, than those who, from time to time, fall into strong fits, as the Sybils did more or less.

*Deus, ecce, Deus: cui talia fanti,
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comæ mansere comæ: sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument: majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, adflatæ est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei (23).*

*At Phœbi nondum patiens immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum. tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, figitque premendo (24).*

" He comes, behold the God, thus while she said,
" And shiv'ring at the sacred entry staid,
" Her colour chang'd, her face was not the same,
" And hollow groans from her deep spirit came.
" Her hair stood up ; convulsive rage possess'd
" Her trembling limbs, and heav'd her lab'ring
" breast.
" Greater than human kind she seem'd to look,
" And with an accent, more than mortal, spoke.
" Her staring eyes with sparkling fury roll ;
" When all the God came rushing on her foul.

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" Struggling in vain, impatient of her load,
" And lab'ring underneath the pond'rous God,
" The more she strove to shake him from her breast,
" With more, and far superior force he press'd ;
" Commands his entrance, and without controul,
" Usurps her organs, and inspires her soul."

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I am willing to have it thought, that Comenius did not harbour any sinister design. But what shall we say against those who censure him for publishing Kotterus's Prophecies, as inspired by heaven, even when the event had proved the falsity of them (25) ? I will own that this appears to me quite inexcusable. And with regard to Drabicius, could any one imagine that he was inspired by heaven ? Had heaven inspired him, he would have been strongly desirous that Prince Ragotzki should destroy the House of Austria, and have known that heaven designed him for that mighty work. But had heaven been strongly inclined to this, would he not have inspired that Prince with a desire of engaging in war against the Emperor, or at least with some little credulity in favour of Drabicius ? Here follows a circumstance, that shews the obstinacy of Comenius. His son-in-law (26) desired Arnoldus, Professor of Divinity in Franeker, to favour his father-in-law with

(21) See about the middle of the remark [C] above.
(22) He owns, in his book de Uno necessario, that one of the three labyrinths in which he was bewildered was, the Pseudo-irreducum, sine varietate proxie profusque exitio circa fidem desidentes Christianam reconciliandi desiderium. See Spinoza, in infelicis Literato, pag. 1025.
(23) Virg. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 46.
(24) Ibid. ver. 77.
(25) It was proved to him, by his own words, that he himself looked upon some of Drabicius's Predictions as false ; that, for instance, which declared that Comenius should be present in Preshburg at the coronation of the King of Hungary. Arnoldus, in Discursu Theologico contra Comenium, pag. 42.
(26) His name was Figulus.

(19) It was in Cromwell's time. See the article COMENIUS, remark [G], num. 6.

(20) Arnoldus, Discursu Theologico contra Comenium, pag. 10.

continual losses [G]. Kotterus has been greatly suspected of having a design to stir up wars. The same suspicions are entertained of a Minister, whose prophecies are more recent [H]. An advantage has been taken of some words which he had let fall

his good advice, he seeming to hesitate about the printing of the three Prophecies. Arnoldus advised him not to print them (27); his son-in-law did the same (28), and enforced his opinion with very strong reasons. But how should Comenius follow the advice of two persons, since he had paid no deference to the decree of the Polish Churches, which, after having examined the pretended Revelations of Kotterus and Christina Poniatovia, sentenced them to be for ever suppressed? *Cotterianæ & Poniatovianæ visiones ut vane ad silentium & tenebras fuerunt ab illis condemnatæ* (29).

(27) *In Dissertu Theologico*, pag. 5.

(28) *Ibid.* pag. 56.

(29) *Arnold. ibid.* pag. 28.

[G] *The Turks who, according to Kotterus, were to ruin the house of Austria, have restored it to its former glory by their continual losses.* See, on this occasion, the indecent insults of the author of the advice to the Refugees. It is certain, says he (30), that the glory and felicity of his imperial Majesty in this war against the Turks are wonderful; and that God, to the eternal confusion of the prophecies of your DRABICIUS, has given greater success to the Prince than to the Emperor Charles V. That false prophet, more eager at cursing than Balaam, who, even when a neighbouring Monarch importuned him with mighty promises, would do nothing rashly, pronounced against the house of Austria, during several years, the most dreadful curses that came into his head; and had devoted it, as it were, to the furies and infernal Gods, Diris & numinibus infernis, because it had persecuted their religion. But the event has shewn that he did not understand the trade, and that he was not very expert at cursing. No man ever less deserved the elogium which was bestowed on Balaam, he whom thou blestest shall be blessed, and he whom thou cursest shall be cursed; and if all your prophetic imprecations are like those of Drabicius, people will be extremely solicitous hereafter to be cursed by you; and you will be sought for with greater importunity to utter them, than the King of the Moabites employed, to make the false prophet Balaam curse his enemies. Since the printing of the advice to the Refugees, the success of the Emperor's arms has been interrupted sometimes (31); but this has been but a short respite for the Turk; their ill fortune soon displaying itself with its utmost fury. This fortune had like to have crushed them last year (32): She made them feel every where her indignation, in Dalmatia, Hungary, Poland and the Archipelago; and, if our Gazettes are to be credited, they lost two naval battles in a very short space of time, last winter; thus the victors have not thought proper to pursue their victory, but rather to abandon the island of Chios. The new Sultan raises in some measure the hopes of the Port. They apply to him what Florus said of Trajan, viz. that the empire, which was almost ruined by the indolence of former Emperors, was reviving, and flourishing under Trajan. *Quibus inertia Cæsaris quasi consensit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano Principe movent lacertos, & præter spem omnium senectus imperii, quasi reddita juventute, revirescit* (33); but we do not find hitherto, according to the relations of our Gazetters, that he has been very successful. With regard to Tekely, who, during the siege of Vienna, was exhibited to us as Drabicius's chief Hero, we have lately been told in our news papers, that the Turks, quite weary with the continual malignity of his star, have imprisoned him in the seven Towers.

This I wrote in October 1695. at a time when we saw a kind of suspension of the great and glorious fortune of the imperial arms in Hungary. The Paris Gazettes daily magnified the victory which the Sultan had lately gained, whilst the other News Papers were perpetually lessening it. It was not yet known according to those news-writers, to which party the consequences of this battle would be favourable. The progress of the Turks would have confirmed the accounts given by the Paris news-writers, and refuted those of Holland and Germany. But the Turks made no progress at all; they retiring a little after into their own territories, without achieving one action that shewed them to be conquerors, whereby the contest was ended to the confusion of the Paris news-writers. His imperial Majesty's arms triumphed afterwards,

(31) For instance, when the Turks recovered Belgrade in 1690.

(32) I write this in October 1695, when our Gazetters have already told us, that the Imperialists have sustained a very considerable loss, in the battle of Lugos.

(33) Florus in Proemio, Exr.

and chiefly in 1697, when the Turks sustained so complete, so shameful and prejudicial a victory, that the like can hardly be found in their annals. The Sultan, who was there in person, received so signal an overthrow on this occasion, that he thought of nothing but peace; and accepted it in the following year on any conditions which the victors were pleased to prescribe; conditions exceedingly glorious and advantageous to his imperial Majesty. No false prophets ever met with such cruel affronts, as those which the prophecies published by Comenius received by this signal treaty of peace. The Emperor, whom they so highly menaced, mortified, humbled, and trod under foot the haughtiness of the Turks, to whom they had promised so many conquests over the house of Austria. He added the splendor of an advantageous peace to the glory which had accompanied his arms; and which had made him triumphant, as well by the reduction of the stoutest places, as by the gaining of several battles. All things are at his disposal in Transylvania; he has made a kingdom (34), which was always elective, hereditary; and he formerly possessed but a little part of it, but is now master of the whole. What shall we say of the advantages and glory he gained by the treaty of Ryfwick; by the recovery of so many countries which had been taken from the Empire, or his allies; and by the reunion of Friburg and Brisac to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria? If the Prince in question is happy abroad, he is no less so at home; fecundity, marriages &c. give prosperity to his family. His second son is to inherit almost the whole monarchy of Spain, by such stipulations as France it self has consented to fix (35). Take warning by these confusions of Comenius's false prophets, all you who had presumed to menace, with the book of revelations, all those who are not agreeable to you.

[H] *The same suspicions are entertained of a Minister, whose Prophecies are more recent.* What I have said of Comenius, I apply to a famous divine of Rotterdam, who has explained the scripture prophecies, with an extreme bold pretence of his being inspired.

I do not take upon me to judge of his heart, and will allow it to be supposed, that he did not act against his conscience; but no one ought to be offended with my declaring, that he has been suspected to harbour no other design than that of exciting people to take up arms, and to set all Europe in a flame. The foundation of their belief is this, viz. his not shewing any signs of confusion, after that the event had given the lie to his prophecies, in such a manner as was quite indisputable. He entertained, say these people, so high an opinion of his own genius and knowledge, that he would have been seized with the deepest grief and fallen into a state of the lowest humiliation, by so flagrant a proof of illusion and ignorance as his would be; but being inwardly convinced that he was not mistaken or deceived, he has retained all the same good opinion he had before entertained of his understanding; and so the ill success of a prophecy, which, with respect to him, was no more than a juggler's trick, has not humbled him in any manner. They build likewise on this, viz. that after the example of Comenius, he has attempted to reunite the Lutherans and Calvinists (36); in hopes, as 'tis said, of increasing the number of the troops to attack Antichrist.

Once again, I am willing that this should be considered only as a faithful relation of what many think and say. Let us go farther, and see what one of his adversaries has published (37). "A man must be stupid not to see through so gross an artifice, particularly when he himself seems to give you notice of it; and leaves here and there in his work, some traces as it were, by which he may discover his secret to you hereafter, and secure himself from your reproaches. It is certain, says he in one place, (*) that frequently (**) in the second prophesies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired edit. of l'Accomplissement des prophesies, a Rotterdam, 1686, chap. 15.

Persons of good sense need no more than this, in order to make them understand his intention, and see into his views. And in another place; The world may perhaps be one day informed of the chief

(34) That of Hungary.
(35) I write this in June 1700, at a time when the News-writers mention a treaty of Partition of the Spanish Monarchy, agreed upon by France, England, and the States-General.

(36) See Mr. De Meaux, *Addition à l'Histoire des Variations.*

(37) Pellisson, *Cibiners de M. Jurieu, Part 4. pag. 184, 185. Dutch edit.*

The things with which he is charged are a little too much exaggerated [I]; of which my readers may form a judgment, by examining the passages I have cited. The author of the *Thoughts upon Comets* asserted, that Drabicius's prophecies met with little credit [K].

(58) Pag. 73.

and affirmative terms, not only against Mr. Jurieu the minister, but likewise against several others. *The most factious among the fugitive (refugee) Ministers*, says he, (58) *who burnt with impatience to revisit what they had left in France, considering that the stratagem which Mr. Jurieu had hit upon might promote their affairs; hearing how greedily the malcontents of that Kingdom received prophecies, which assured them of an approaching deliverance, and being persuaded that there was no better way to prompt them to rebel; imagined that they ought not to let slip so fine an opportunity of lighting up, in the heart of the country, that civil war which was to give it its mortal wound, in hopes of seeing their religion rise up again on the ruins of a monarchy which they imagined was near its destruction.* And yet these were the very Ministers who, at first, had cried aloud against his prophecies; threatened to complain of them, and were offended at his speaking in too affirmative a tone of voice: *but the false prophet having whispered his secret to them, and given them to understand, that frequently prophecies, whether fictitious or true, have inspired those for whom they were made with the decision of undertaking those things which were promised them; and having told them in the ear, that principal and secret reason they were to know one day, and which had prompted him to speak with so confident an air; they were soon agreed; his stratagem was approved in their secret council, and a resolution was taken to prophesy, in order to excite people to take up arms.* Two things may be criticized here; for, in the first place, no proof can be given that the French ministers were concerned in the horrid combination of those seducers, who taught young children to pretend to inspiration; and 2dly, it is false to assert that the French Ministers had cried aloud against Mr. Jurieu's prophecies, and threatened to complain of them. Mr. Brueys alleges that false supposition an hundred times (59), though he has cited, page 216, a passage which might very easily have undeceived him. The passage is as follows. "The other thing they are offended at (these are Mr. Jurieu's words) relates to the MILLENIUM. Several Divines of this country have murmured aloud, and even threatened to complain of it." It is mani-

(59) See pag. 30, 219, 220, 223.

fest that these loud murmurs and these threats to complain, came from the Flemish Divines, and not from the French Ministers; and did not relate to the promises of an approaching deliverance &c. But the Millemium, a doctrine that is extremely odious to the Churches of Holland; and for which Mr. Jurieu would have been brought into trouble, had he not been favoured with human supports. But notwithstanding these supports, complaints were made against him in the Walloon Synod, the members whereof inserted a few words in an act or instrument, of which we may say what cardinal d'Offat said of those strokes of the switch, which the proxies of Henry IV received (60).

[K] *The author of Thoughts upon Comets asserted, that Drabicius's prophecies met with little credit.* He has been more equitable than the writer cited in the remark [G], and acknowledged that the Protestants had little esteem for Drabicius. "The protestants themselves," says he, (61), are not very strongly persuaded that "Drabicius was a prophet. Some indeed fancy that he was an enthusiast, whose brain had been turned by his reading the commentaries on the prophecies of the old testament, and those of the revelations; that after he had filled his imagination with these ideas he looked upon the emperors of Germany as so many Pharoos, Sennacheribs, Nebuchadnezzars, and emissaries of the great whore, drunk with the wine of the wrath of her whoredom; and that he at last was persuaded, that God appointed him to command several princes to extirpate those persecutors. Those who had suffered these persecutions, and imagined that divine providence would one day punish the authors of so barbarous a conduct, in all probability gave credit to Drabicius's visions. Nevertheless, most of them paid little regard to them; especially after finding that he was deluded, and contradicted himself pretty often in a very visible manner; in a manner that cannot be excused but by having recourse to a great number of glosses, which make unbelievers laugh more than the sincere confession of that man's errors would; for, by the help of such glosses, which are multiplied as occasion serves, there is no false prophet but may find an apology."

(60) We felt them no more than if a fly had gone over our clothes. See the article of HENRY IV, citation (41).

(61) Pag. 785.

KRANTZ or KRANTZIUS (ALBERTUS) a famous Historian, and native of Hamburg [A], had no sooner gone through his classical learning in his own country, but he set out upon his travels. He visited the principal parts of Europe; and so studiously cultivated the Sciences in his travels, that he became a very able man. He was Doctor of Divinity, and of the Canon Law, and Professor of Philosophy and Divinity in the University of Rostoch; and was Rector there in 1482 (a). Those who affirm that he was a Canon of Naumburg are mistaken [B]. He went from Rostoch to Hamburg, and was made a Canon in the Cathedral of that City. He did not enjoy, in an indolent manner, like so many of his brethren, this preferment, to which he had been raised; but spent his time in preaching, and reading theological Lectures. He was elected Dean of the Chapter of 1508, and went through the visitation of his diocese, with the frame of mind of a man, who was desirous of reforming such disorders as he should find in it. He did the same in 1514. He did many good Services to the city of

(a) Chytr. Part 1. Chronici Saxonici, pag. 496; and Petr. Lindebergius, lib 5. Chron. Reflect. cap. 11. apud Mollerum, Hist. ad Hist. Cbronici Cimbrici Part. 1. pag. 95, & seq.

(1) De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. (2) In Patrolog. pag. 673. apud Mollerum, Hist. ad Hist. Cbronici Cimbrici, Part. 1. pag. 95. (3) In Teatro Hist. (4) De Johanne Papista. (5) Hist. Eccles. tom. 4. pag. 148. (†) In Dissert. de morte Henrici VII. pag. 71. (6) Mollerus, Hist. ad Hist. Cbronici Cimbrici, Part. 1. pag. 95.

[A] *A native of Hamburg.* And not of Bamberg as Bellarmine, (1), John Gerard (2), Christian Matthias (3), David Blondel (4), and Hottinger (5), affirm. This is out of all doubt, though a modern author has affected to be in suspense on this occasion. *Res in ap- plico est posita, ac proinde risu digna iuxta Mart. Disenbachii* (†) *nupera, qui litem de loco ejus natali sovere quam decidere putavit consultus.* i. e. "The thing is evident; and therefore Martin Disenbachius's doubt, who imagined it to be more adviseable to keep up the dispute with respect to the place where he was born, than to fix and determine it, is trifling and ridiculous."

[B] *Those who affirm that he was a canon of Naumburg are mistaken.* This is affirmed by two very learned authors; but Sperlingius, who is writing the life of Albert Krantz, will shew that they are mista-

ken. *Sunt qui in Collegio etiam Canonicorum Numburgensium aliquamdiu vixisse, ac Diaconi partes obisse perhibent, & hos inter Duumviri celeberrimi, Henr. Meibomius Jun. (†) ac Conr. Schwartzfleischius (‡). Sed falsi eos, ac Krantzium Numburgum forte nunquam vidisse, satis sibi esse exploratum, Dn. Sperlingius nobis significavit, in ipsa Krantzii Biographia prelixius sententiam hanc impugnavit (7).* i. e. "It is related by some, that he resided some time in the college of the canons of Naumburg, and officiated in quality of Dean; and among these are two celebrated men, Henry Meibomius the younger, and Conrard Schwartzfleisch. But I have been told by Sperlingius, that he is certain they are mistaken; that, Krantzius possibly never saw Naumburg; and that he will relate this opinion in a more ample manner, in Krantzius's Life."

(†) In Introduct. ad Hist. Saxa. infer. pag. 72.

(‡) In Diss. de Rebus Meclenburgicis, §. 17.

(7) Mollerus, Hist. ad Hist. Cbronici Cimbrici, Part. 1. pag. 96.

(b) Extra-
from Mollerus,
Istogoge ad Hist.
Cberjon. Cimbricæ,
Part. 1. pag.
95, & seq.

of Hamburg [C], and other Hanse-towns; and was so famed for his abilities and prudence, that the King of Denmark himself appointed him arbitrator in a considerable contest [D]. He died the 7th of December 1517 [E], having been very sensible that the Church stood in great need of being reformed (b) [F]. Several good books of his are extant;

[C] He did many good services to the city of Hamburg. One could not deny, upon pretence that this city began but in 1546 to have ordinary Syndics, what is inserted in the Danish remonstrance in answer to the apology of the Hamburgers in the year 1642, viz. that Albert Krantz was Syndic of Hamburg; for that title, in his time, was given to those persons, who were deputed by the city on some particular affair. Now it is certain that Albert Krantz was sent upon two or three deputations. He was present, in the name of the Hanse towns at the assembly of Wismar, in the year 1489 (8); he went into France in the year 1497 to sue for a truce; and to England in the year 1499, to desire some privileges against pirates (9). These particulars we are told by Mollerus in the above-cited work. His proofs are inserted in the margin.

[D] The King of Denmark himself appointed him arbitrator in a considerable contest. It was in 1500. Read what follows (10). *Quantam vero, in reliqua etiam Cimbrica, Prudentia & integritate singulari sibi conciliarit auctoritatem, vel inde perspicias, quod A. 1500, Johannes, Rex Daniæ, & Fridericus, Dux Holstatiæ, Arbitri ipsi Honorarii Partes, in Controversiis, quæ cum Dithmaris sibi intercedebant, decidendis, deferre non dubitaverint* (*). i. e. "The great esteem which his prudence and integrity procured him in the rest of that country, is evident from this, viz. that in the year 1500, John, King of Denmark, and Frederic, Duke of Holstein, did not scruple to make him umpire, in a contest they had with the Dithmars."

[E] He died the 7th of December 1517. This we find by his epitaph; so that it is an error, to say with the continuators of Gesner and Theodore Zwinger, that he flourished in the year 1520. Mollerus ought not to have looked upon this as an error in Gesner (11). Father Fournier the Jesuit, and John Andrew Bosius have made a much greater mistake. The Jesuit says that he died in 1569 (12), and the other in 1570 (13). But these errors would be inconsiderable in comparison of those of a famous Professor in Oxford (14), in case he took Albert Krantz to be the same with Albert the Great, Bishop of Ratisbon. But Mollerus who had charged him with it has found his mistake, and acquits him entirely of that error. No one had taken notice of it to him; he himself discovered the error, and owns it publicly like a man of honour. See page 738, 739 of his treatise *De Scripturibus homonymis*.

[F] . . . Having been sensible, that the Church stood in great need of being reformed. He perceived the necessity of this as well with respect to doctrine as morals, if we may credit Melchior Adam. "Animadvertitis in doctrinâ ejus temporis multum fuisse errorum superstitionum; & mores Canonorum ac Monachorum ætate reprehendit; eosque in ordinem redigere conatus est. Sed cum id frustra se tentare videret, quod perveritas illorum hominum munita esset auctoritate Pontificis, dixisse fertur; nunquam posse eos reduci ad meliorem frugem, nisi prius à viris doctis expugnata arce. Interrogatus cur sese ipse non opponeret tam crassis erroribus, respondit: se neque eruditione neque ætate parem esse tantis negotiis (15)." i. e. "He saw that there were, in the doctrine of the age in which he lived, many errors and superstitions; and he inveighed very sharply against the morals of the Canons and Friars, and used his endeavours to reform them. But perceiving that this was a vain effort, because the perverse conduct of that set of men was defended by the Papal authority, we are told that he declared, that it would be impossible for them to be made to conduct themselves better till their fortress should be taken by learned men. And it being asked, why he himself did not oppose those gross errors, he answered that he had not learning enough, and was too far advanced in years for to great an undertaking." A circumstance that recalls to my memory Telestinus in Velleius Paterculus. This Telestinus was General of the Samnites, and a very brave warrior. He bore a mortal hatred to the Romans, and advanced near Rome with an army of forty

thousand men, firmly determined to finish his exploit at once; and to effect this he was perpetually encouraging his soldiers with the following words. *It will be absolutely necessary for us to destroy this city; for there never will be wanting a set of wolves, those ravishers of the liberties of Italy, so long as the forest wherein they shelter themselves shall be standing.* Paterculus's Latin deserves to be transcribed here. *Circumvolans ordines exercitus sui Telestinus, ditiansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem, vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adjiciens nunquam defuturos raptores Italicæ libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa* (16). He did not reason amiss. Albert Krantz judged in like manner, that so long as the Court of Rome should be suffered to continue in all its strength and vigour, it would be impossible ever to suppress the corruption of the Monks and Ecclesiastics. I must here animadvert on a flagrant act of insincerity in Moreri, for this name we ought to give to his fault. He had read what Melchior Adam relates, viz. that Albert Krantz seeing the positions of Martin Luther against the doctrine of indulgences, cried; *He has too powerful adversaries; he will not succeed; I advise him to desist from his enterprize, and to shut himself up in his cell, in order to say, Lord have mercy upon me. Nihil effecturum esse contra tam potentes adversarios, suum esse consilium ut ab incepto desisteret. Frater, frater, inquit, abi in cellam tuam, & dic miserere mei Deus* (17). "What has Moreri done? He has castrated the passage? has taken but the last words of it; and turns them in such a manner as though Krantz had condemned Luther's attempt. Krantz, says he, bewailed this misfortune (18), in his expiring moments, which he had foretold in his life-time. It is affirmed that, at the juncture in question, he often repeated the following words, speaking against Luther; *Frater, abi in cellam, & dic miserere mei Deus.* i. e. "Brother, go into thy cell, and say, God have mercy upon me." Though we should not consider many passages in Albert Krantz's works, which testify the opinion he entertained with regard to the corrupt state of the Church; the words which he spoke when he saw Luther's first positions, would alone sufficiently discover Moreri's prevarication. Consider what follows (19). *Vitia, quæ doctrinam & cultum Ecclesiæ Romanæ publicum deformabant, agnovit, & quanto emendationis eorum desiderio teneretur, cum locis Scriptorum suorum plurimis, tum vocibus hinc Cygneis esset testatus, quibus suum de Theobaldo Lutheri Anti-Tezeliani in lectulo sibi emortuali oblatis, judicium exposuit* (+). *Vera quidem dicis, bone Frater: sed nihil efficies: Vade igitur in cellam tuam, & dic miserere mei Deus.* i. e. "He owned the vices and corruptions, which deformed the doctrine and public worship of the Romish Church; and how strongly desirous he was that those corruptions should be reformed, appeared both by many passages of their writers, and by these swan-like words, wherein he gave the opinion he entertained with regard to Luther's Anti-Tezelian Theles, which were brought to him whilst he lay on his death-bed; *Good Brother, what you say is true, but it is to no purpose; retire therefore to your cell, and say, God have mercy upon me.*" I will conclude this remark with a passage which shews, that if Flaccius Illyricus did not employ Albert Krantz's authority against the Church of Rome in his catalogue of witnesses of the truth, *Catalogus testium veritatis*, the compilers who followed him, made amends for that omission; they having given good collections of those particulars, which they had read in Albert Krantz, which favoured their design. Nay, the editors of the Frankfort edition have taken the pains to specify those things in marginal notes. Here follows the passage I promised (20). *Ipsi Theobaldi Protejantium cordatores scriptoris hujus, licet Pontifici, atque adeo, ἀλλοφώλου, Lectorem sibi habent commendatissimam, & Arma ex illo depromunt, quibus adversus Ecclesiæ Romanæ Hyperaspistas haud infeliciter κατ' ἀντίπερν depugnatur, Invektivæ scilicet in Vitiis non Monachorum solum ac Canonorum, sed & Episcoporum atque Pontificum, πικρῆς σιωπῆς, crebraque de statu Ecclesiæ & Aulæ Pontificiæ corruptissimo*

(8) Petr. Lindeb.
Chron. Rosloch.
lib. 4. pag. 401.
apud Mollerum,
Istogoge ad Hist.
Cberjon. Cimbricæ,
Part. 1. pag. 97.

(9) Haraldus
Huitfeldius,
Chron. Danic.
Part. 6. pag.
1021, 1022, &
Ad. Tratisgerus,
Chron. Hamburg.
MSS., apud Mollerum,
ibid.

(10) Mollerus,
ibid. pag. 97, 98.

(*) Vide Huitfeldium,
l. c. pag. 1035, & Ant.
Heimreichii,
Chronicon Dithmarisæ,
lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 126,
127.

(11) Moller.
Istogoge ad Hist.
Cberjon. Cimbricæ,
Part. 1. pag. 99.

(12) Lib. 4. Notitia
Orbis Geographica,
cap. 14. pag. 132.
apud Moller.
ibid.

(13) In Dissert.
de comparanda
Prud. & Eloq.
civilis, num. 37.

(14) Degory
Wheat, in Prælectionibus
beimadolegendis Historias,
pag. 252, 253.
apud Mollerum,
Istogoge ad Hist.
Cberjon. Cimbricæ,
Part. 1. pag. 94.

(15) Melch.
Adam. in Vitis
Pbilosophorum,
Pag. 34.

(16) Paterculus,
lib. 2. cap. 27.

(17) Melch. Adam. in Vitis
Pbilosoph., pag. 34.

(18) That is Luther's
Attempt.

(19) Mollerus,
Istogoge ad Hist.
Cberjon. Cimbricæ,
Part. 1. pag. 98.

(+) V. J. Balch.
Schuppii, Speculum
pœnitentiæ
Niniviticæ, pag.
m. 18. alioque
Theologos complures.

(20) Mollerus,
Istogoge ad Hist.
Cberjon. Cimbricæ,
Part. 1. pag. 110.

extant [G] ; but he is not author of all that are ascribed to him [H]. Some Criticks have fallen very foul on his reputation [I].

(†) Centenario
XV Lectionum
memorabilium,
Pag. 963, 977.
(‡) In Breviario
Pontificum.
(§) In Lib. de
Script. Eccles.
pag. 304.
(**) In Catalogo
Autorum, Operi
de Psalmidia di-
vina prefixo.
(††) P. r. Bibl.
Eccles. pag. 278.

corruptissimo querelas. Quas uti à Matth. Flacio in Catalogo Tellium Veritatis miror omiffas, ita à Job. Wolfio (†), Job. Conr. Dieterico (‡), aliisque recentioribus, satis diligenter video esse congestas. Observationes etiam, quas Wechelianis Operum Krantzii editionibus accessisse diximus Marginales loca ejusmodi studiose notarunt; obelo viciffim banc ob causam notatæ, & Impietatis infimulatæ, à Rob. Bellarmino (§), Job. Bona (**), & Aub. Miræo (††), qui Textum etiam ipsum ab Hæreticis esse vitiatum affirmare non erubescit. i. e. "The more judicious among the protestant Divines highly approve the reading of this author, although a Roman Catholic; and borrow weapons from him, with which they charge successfully the Church of Rome; I speak of his; invectives against the vices, not only of the Friars and Canons, but also of the Bishops and Roman Pontiffs; and his repeated complaints with regard to the exceeding corrupt state of the Church and Court of Rome: which, as I wonder how they came to be omitted by Matthew Flacius in his Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, so I perceive they are diligently compiled by John Wolfius, John Conrad Dietericus, and other modern writers. The marginal remarks also, which I said Wechel added to the editions of Krantz's works, constantly refer to such kinds of passages; and, on that very account, are branded as impious, by Robert Bellarmine, John Bona, and Aubertus Miræus, who do not blush to affirm, that the Heretics have corrupted the text itself."

[G] Several good books of his are extant.] A chronicle Regnorum Aquilonarium, Danicæ, Suevicæ, & Norwegicæ. Henry of Eppendorf translated it into German, from the manuscript of it which he found at Colen (21), and published his Translation at Strasburg in the year 1545. He published the Latin text the next year in the same city. A second edition of it was printed in the year 1562. John Wolfius, Counsellor to the Marquis of Baden, procured a third and fourth edition at Frankfort, in the year 1575, and in the year 1583 (22). II. The work intitled, Saxonia, sive de Saxonica gentis vetusta origine, longinquis expeditionibus susceptis; & bellis domi pro libertate diu fortiterque gestis Historia; libris 13 comprehensa & ad A. C. 1501 deducta. The first edition is of Colen 1520, which was procured by John Soter or Heylius, and is dedicated to the Emperor Charles V. The work was printed in the same city in the year 1574, and in the year 1595. The Wechels printed three editions of it at Frankfort, in 1575, 1580 and 1621, which are preferable to the Colen editions. A German translation of this work by Basil Faber was printed at Leipzig in 1563, and 1582 (23). III. The work intitled, Vandalia, sive Historia de Vandalorum vera Origine, variis gentibus, crebris à patria migrationibus, Regnis, item, quorum vel auctores fuerunt, vel everfores, Libris XIV à prima eorum Origine, ad A. C. 1500 deducta. The first edition, which is of Colen 1519, was followed by three others at Frankfort (24), and one at Hanaw (25). The German translation, printed in Lubeck in the year 1600, was by Mark Stephen Macropus (26). IV. The work intitled, Metropolis. It includes, in twelve books, the Ecclesiastical History of Saxony, Westphalia and Jutland; with the Lives of the Prelates who, from 780 to 1504, enjoyed the twelve Bishopricks of that country. Joachim Mollerus the younger, a native of the city of Hamburg, and Counsellor to the Dukes of Hamburg, first published this work, which he did, at Melanchthon's request,

from the author's original. This was the only manuscript in being of that work; and Henry Bucholz, Bishop of Lubeck, had given it to this Mollerus's father. The first edition is by Operinus at Basil in the year 1548, which was followed by that of the year 1568, from the same press; and by two others (27), (27) In 1574 and at Colen (28), and three more at Frankfort (29). 1596. V. The work entitled Spirantissimum Opusculum in Officium Missæ in optimum Ordinem pro sancta & suavi Sacerdotum Ecclesiæ institutione digestum (30). That entitled Ordo Missæ secundum ritum Ecclesiæ Hamburgensis, in Strasburg 1509, folio. Consilium de ordine & privilegii creditorum in bonis suorum debitorum. It is inserted in the fourth volume Responsorum Juris printed at Frankfort in 1572. Institutiones Logicæ, compendiosæ admodum, pariterque absolutissimæ, nec minus Latine, at Leipzig, in 1517. Grammatica culta & succineta, at Koitoch 1506. In the Leipzig Library some Philosophical treatises of Krantz, that were never printed; are found (31).

[H] . . . He is not author of all the works that are ascribed to him.] He did not write Tractatus de Romanis Pontificibus, & præsertim de Victore II, alias Episcopo Eistettenfi, which Father Jacob (32) ascribes to him; nor the Life of Ansgarius, which the continuators of Gefner falsely ascribe to him; nor of the Scriptura de Imperii Romani interitu ascribed to him by Scherzerus (33).

[I] Some Criticks have fallen very foul on his reputation.] Krantzius, as well as many other great men, might have this motto, per convicia & laudes bestowed upon him by several learned men, (34), but then he has been strongly attacked by some criticks. He is accused of publishing a great number of falsehoods with regard to the origin of nations; of giving very wrong citations of antient authors; of transcribing whole pages from other writers without naming any person; and of falsifying the monuments of history, to gratify his passions. Mollerus (35) names the authors of these various censures, and says something in his vindication. He does not deny but that Krantzius was guilty of plagiarism; he only endeavours to apologize for him, from its being the practice of the age. Solenne præterea ei esse fatemur, Eginhardum, Witkindum, Herm. Contractum, Adamum, Helmodum; Arnaldum Saxonem, Albertum Stadensem, Gobelinum, Blondum, Cornerum, aliosque veteres, de verbo ad verbum exscribere, ac non Periodos solum, sed & paginas atque Capita integra, in sua inde scripta, nulla plerumque Auctoris mentione adjecta, transferre. Observatum id nobis in accuratiori Narrationum de iisdem Rebus Collatione: Observatum & ante nos Vellejo, Reineccio, Meibomiorum Trigæ, Voffio, Malincrotio, Conringio, Bangerto, Sagittario, Schurtzsteischio, Madero, quorum Testimoniis Lectores meos nolo obruere (36). i. e. "I also own, that he often copies literally Eginhard, Witkind, Hermannus Contractus, Adam, Helmod, Arnold the Saxon, Albertus Stadenfis, Gobelinus, Blondus, Cornerus, and other antient authors; and that he borrows, not only periods, but even pages and entire chapters, commonly without once mentioning the author whence he copies them. I took notice of this in my accurate comparison of various relations of the same particulars. It also was observed before me, by Vellejus, Reineccius, the Meibomii, Voffius, Malincrot, Conringius, Bangertus, Sagittarius, Schurtzsteischius, Maderus, with whose testimonies I shall not trouble my readers."

(21) In the Library of Reinhard Count of Wetterburg, Dean of Colen.

(22) Extracted from Mollerus, Isagoge ad Hist. Cberfon. Cimb. Part. 1. pag. 35.

(23) Extracted from the same, pag. 100.

(24) In 1575, 1580 and 1601.

(25) In 1619.

(26) Extracted from Mollerus, Isagoge ad Hist. Cberfon. Cimb. Part. 1. p. 102.

(a) John Pincier, brother-in-law to the Professor Hyperius, Professor of Divinity at Marburg.

(31) Extracted from Mollerus, Isagoge ad Hist. Cberfon. Cimb. Part. 1. pag. 105, 106.

(32) Bibliotheca Port. fe. pag. 243.

(33) Apud Mollerum, pag. 107.

(34) See the catalogue of them in pag. 107, & seq.

(35) Ubi supra, pag. 111, & seq.

(36) Ibid. pag. 112.

KUCHLIN (JOHN), Minister and Professor of Divinity, was born in 1546, in a little town in the country of Hesse, called Wettera. His father, who was a good honest mechanic, and had the charge of ten sons and three daughters, whom he supported merely by the labour of his hands, designed him for learning; but was prevented by death from seeing him make any considerable progress. The Minister (a) of the place took care of the child with so much the more satisfaction, as he saw, that he made a good progress in Latin and Greek under Justus Wulteius Rector of the school at Wettera. But when it was time to go to the University, Kuchlin had no small difficulties to encounter on account of his poverty. However he did not lose courage; he resolved to seek his fortune; and for that purpose went to travel, as a young College-adventurer. He met

met with nothing at Frankfort. His landlord at Mentz carried him to the Jesuits, who kept him no longer than till they found, that he would not abjure the Protestant Religion. All that he met with at Straßbourg was a letter of recommendation from John Sturmius to Brentius, who was Professor at Tübingen. The latter did not keep him long; he thought him not sufficiently inclined to the opinion of the Ubiquitarians. Kuchlin having got back the letter of Sturmius, went to Heidelberg, where he at last obtained what he sought for; for Ursin procured him a subsistence, in order that he might continue his studies at ease. The University of Heidelberg was then in a very flourishing state. The young man made a considerable progress there for six years; after which he was sent to teach in the school at Neustad [A], where he had, among other colleagues, Fortunatus Crellius and Frederic Sylburgius (b). He was afterwards admitted Minister, and settled in the Church of Tackenheim; which he served faithfully, till after the death of the Elector Frederic in 1576, when Lewis his successor banished the Ministers who would not become Lutherans. Kuchlin retiring to Hesse his own country, and meeting with nothing but discouragement there, took refuge (c) by his wife's advice in the great Ark of the Refugees, I mean in Holland. He passed through Embden in 1577, and staid there for some time, whence he was sent for to Amsterdam to be Minister there [B]. He accepted the call, and discharged that post eighteen years; after which he exerted himself vigorously in the Rectorship of a College of Divinity, which the States of Holland had erected at Leyden in 1591, and of which he had from that time the direction for some months. It was in 1595 that he disengaged himself intirely from his Church at Amsterdam, in order to apply himself wholly to the business of this College. He taught Divinity there till his death, which happened July the 2d 1606.

(b) He was his countryman and kinsman.

(c) Meursius, whose words are quoted in the remark [B].

(d) Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by Luke Trelectius. See also Meursius, *Atben. Batav.* pag. 182.

He had married his two daughters to two learned men; one to Peter Bertius, and the other to Festus Hommius (d). All the Theological Theses, which he had caused to be maintained at different times, have been collected in one volume in 4to at Geneva in 1613. Guy Patin has extremely commended him, and a little too much; for he calls him *one of the most learned men of his age* (e).

(e) Patin, *Lettre* 258. pag. 427. of the 2d tome.

[A] He was sent to teach in the school at Neustad.] The author of the *Diarium Biographicum* (1) tells us, that Kuchlin was rector of that school; but his funeral oration, in which that preferment would not have been omitted, expressly informs us, that he taught at Neustad when Basil Pithopæus was rector there. There is another mistake in the same *Diarium*; it represents as two different works the *Disputationes Theologicae ad Catacheseos Ecclesiarum Belgicarum explicationem*, and the *Disputationes de Religione Christiana præcipuis capitibus*. They are one and the same book.

[B] He was sent for to Amsterdam to be Minister there.] Moreri examined so little the authors, which he consulted, that he considered only the first part of the period of Meursius. If he had had the patience to read the whole period, he would have seen the direct contrary of what he affirmed. He says that Kuchlin was Minister at Emden and Groningen in the Low-countries; but it is certain that he was not at Groningen. He had the choice between that City and Amsterdam, and he inclined rather to the former than the latter. However he was induced to fix upon the latter. Let us hear Meursius (2). *Infinu uxoris, quæ Belgica erat in Belgium abiit, Emdamque venit anno c1*

16 LXXXVII, ubi cum operam aliquamdiu tam in schola quam in Ecclesia navasset, eodem tempore ab Amstelodamensibus & à Groeningensibus evocatus fuit. Ille, cum propter Germanici idiomatis vicinitatem Græningenses præferendos judicaret, à clarissimo viro D. MENSINGIO gravissimis rationibus permotus fuit, ut operam suam Amstelodamensi Ecclesie addiceret. i. e. "At the solicitation of his wife, who was born in the Low Countries, he went thither, and came to Emden in the year 1587, where having spent some time in the service of the school and the Church, he received at the same time an invitation from the inhabitants of Amsterdam and Groningen. He inclined to Groningen on account of the neighbourhood of the German Idiom, but was at last prevailed upon by that eminent man, Menso Alting, upon very important reasons, to devote himself to the service of the Church of Amsterdam."

It is a great instance of negligence in the same Moreri, to say in general, that Kuchlin taught Divinity at Leyden. He should have specified whether he did this as Professor in the University, or Principal of the College of Divinity. Meursius would have furnished him with a clear account of this.

(1) Henningus Witte, *ad ann.* 1606.

(2) *Atben. Bat.* pag. 182.

KUHLMAN (QUIRINUS) was one of the Visionaries of the seventeenth Century.

He was born at Breslaw in Silesia February the 25th 1651 (a), and gave great hopes by the early progress which he made (b). But it was interrupted by a sickness, under which he laboured at eighteen years of age (c). He was thought to be dead on the third day of his illness. That day he had a terrible vision. He thought himself surrounded with all the devils in hell, and this at mid-day when he was awake. This vision was followed by another of God himself, surrounded by his Saints, and Jesus Christ in the midst. He saw and felt then things inexpressible. Two days after he had more visions of the same kind (d); and when he was cured of his distemper, he perceived in reality a great change with regard to those sights, but saw himself perpetually accompanied with a circle of light, on his left hand (e). He had no longer any taste for polite learning. He (f) had sometimes such extatic distractions, that they hindered him from seeing and hearing those who were with him; and he formed the plan of a vast number of books, which were so many methods to learn every thing, without much pains and to perfection. At nineteen years of age he left his country, where he had not justice done him sufficiently, and went to see the Universities. He put out a second edition of his epitaphs (g), a work which he had composed at fifteen years of age, and he published a Treatise of Morality (h); but as he made an extraordinary progress from day to day, he found the sheets, which the Printer sent to him, unworthy of him, so much was his knowledge increased during the course of the impression (i). He had no value for the public

(a) *Epist. Theosophicae Leidenses*, pag. 11.

(b) See his *Prodromus quinquenni mirabilis*, pag. 10, 11. and the Fragments of the Letter prefixed to it by him.

(c) *Prodrom.* pag. 3.

(d) *Ibid.* pag. 6.

(e) *Ibid.* pag. 11.

(f) *Ibid.* pag. 13, 14.

(g) *Ibid.* pag. 25.

(h) I believe that this book was intitled, *Moralis Heraldus Historicus*.

(i) *Prodrom.* pag. 26.

(1) *Idem*, pag. 30.

(1) Sept. the 3d 1673.

public lectures or disputes of the University of Jena; and he would not have any other master than the Holy Ghost (*k*). His desire to see Holland was so strong as not to permit him to delay his journey thither, till he might see more clearly what would be the issue of the war, which had been so fatal to that country in 1672. He landed at Amsterdam (*l*) three days before the retaking of the City of Naerden (*m*). He went to Leyden a few (*n*) *Prodom.* days after; and was not there long before he met with Behme's works [*A*], of which he had never heard any mention before. The reading of them was like oyl thrown into the fire: he was surprized that Behme should have prophesied of things, of which no body but Kuhlman himself had the least knowledge (*n*). There was at that time in (*o*) *Ibid.* pag. 40. Holland one JOHN ROTHE, who undertook to prophesy [*B*]. Kuhlman contradicted the

[*A*] He was not at Leyden long before he met with Behme's works.] Jacob Behme or Boehme was a Fanatic, of whom I shall speak some time or other more fully. He was born in a village of Germany near Gorlitz in 1575; and when he had learned to read and write, he was taken from school in order to be a shoemaker. He began to exercise that trade at Gorlitz in 1594. He was seized with an extasy in 1600, if we may believe what he has published in a book, which he intitled *Aurora*. This book was carried to the Magistrates of Gorlitz by George Richter, Dean of the Ministers of that place; it was carried to them, I say, as containing a great many of the errors of Paracelsus and Wigelius; for Behme had amused himself with Chemistry in his youth. The Magistrates suppressed this *Aurora* as much as possible, and commanded the author to write no more. He was silent for seven years; but when he found that the director of the electoral laboratory had recommended him to a great many persons of the Court as a good Chemist, he lifted up his head, and boldly opposed Richter, and wrote above twenty books in the space of five years. He died

(1) Taken from Michaelius, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 1449. & seq. edit. 1699.

(2) Michael. *ibid.* pag. 1324.

November 18, 1624 (1). A great many persons have been infatuated by the visions of this man. Kuhlman was not the least of his admirers. Here is a passage, which will inform us of this. *Ejus* (Johannis Rothii) *inde vestigia legit* Quirinus Kuhlmannus Silesius, *Jacobi Bobemi simul propugnator, Calovii vero atque Scherzeri acerrimus insectator. Sic enim in Bobemo redivivo* C. 12. In Museo meo solus paucis diebus plura didici ex uno Bohemo, quam ab omnibus ævi sapientibus simul auditis discere potuissem. *Et in præfat. Operis ejusdem.* Inter innumerabiles visiones accidit, ut erepto mihi ex museo millena luminum millia circa me exorientium intueri daretur. *Plura ejusmodi legi possunt apud Calovium in Anti-Bobemo, C. 32. & seq. i. e.* "His [John Rothe's] steps are followed "by Quirinus Kuhlman of Silesia, who is a defender "of Jacob Behme, but a most zealous antagonist to "Calovius and Scherzer. For this he writes in his "Bobemus redivivus, C. 12. *I have learned more being "alone in my study from Behme, than I could have learn- "ed from hearing all the wise men of the present age "together.* And in the preface to the same work he "says thus: *Amidst an infinite number of Visions it "happened, that being snatched out of my study I saw "thousands of thousands of lights rising round about "me.* More to this purpose may be read in Calovius's "Anti-Bohemus, C. 32 and seq."

[*B*] JOHN ROTHE, who undertook to prophesy.] He was a native of Amsterdam, and had always led a very regular life; but he discovered very soon that he was of an extreme melancholy disposition, and was fond of changing in matters of religion. *Ut a prima Lanugine summè melancholicus, ita in eligendis quas quoad Religionem sequeretur partibus inconstans plane ac desultorius.* Salden. in *Otiis Theolog.* 194. (3). He was so charmed with the Sieur Labadie, that he devoted himself to his sect, and used all his endeavours to procure him new Disciples; but some time after he became a schismatic from him, and erected himself into the head of a party. He said, that the glorious kingdom of Jesus Christ was coming on; and he was not contented with the office of St John the Baptist, I mean, of forerunner and harbinger, but he pretended to be director of that great work, and more than standard-bearer of this new world. *Hic a Johanne Labadæo, novo, ut videri volebat, Ecclesiarum Reformatore, morumque rigidiore Castigatore, sub intensioris Devotionis specie, ita primum dementatus fuit, ut totus ei adhæserit non tantum, sed quoscunque posset, ad familiam ejus novam pertrahere totis viribus allaboravit. Verum postea*

(3) Saldenus, in *Otiis Theolog.* pag. 194.

eo quod parem forsau non ferret, nequum superiorem, quo loco Labadæum novæ devotionis artificem & præconem habere tamen tenebatur, quandiu civitati ejus adscriptus esset, secessionem ab eo molitus est, gloriosum in Christo Regnum infando strepitu in terris, magno illo vexillifero, multo feliciter erecturus (4). He boasted of his revelations; he promised mountains and wonders to those, who should enlist themselves under his standard; he disturbed the Church and State by his libels; he saw nothing fall out, which he had foretold: and to complete his misfortune he was shut up in the prisons at Amsterdam. See all this more particularly related in the following passage of Saldenus (5). *Hinc numerosas vacillantium animarum copias colligere, sociis suis aureos montes promittere, Ecclesiam Rempublicamque libellorum famosissimorum plaustris conturbare, Servum Dei Johannem Propbetamque eximium seipsum indigitarè, Revelationum tandem extraordinariarum universa volumina in vulgus spargere, neque erubuit neque desistit. At quis tandem omnium horum exitus?* (5) *Idem, ibid.* pag. 195.

Mons parturivit natumque est ridiculus mus.

Eorum, quæ prædixerat, nihil evenit, evenire ò contra multa, quæ nec prædixerat nec præstigerat. Misso enim, quod crederetur se esse gloriosus eras, vexillo, & cum De Raatis, Someris, Richardsonis, novi Regni designatis Assessoribus, redux in Patriam factus, solatâ societate tributitiâ & schismaticâ, patriæ urbis dignitatem inclusus est: impetratâ simul plenissimâ facultate & potestate, Prophetias suas ludicras & ridiculas resumendi & retractandi, periculumque faciendi, num prædicere certiuscule forsau possit, quo tempore & modo ex illo suo ergastrio liberandus tandem sit, quam multa alia prænucciarit. i. e. "Hence he neither was ashamed nor ceased to collect a number of weak souls, to promise mountains of gold to his companions, to disturb the Church and State with whole loads of libels, to style himself *John* the servant of God, and an excellent Prophet, and at length to disperse among the vulgar volumes of extraordinary revelations. "But what was the issue of all this?

"The mountain laboured, and produc'd a mouse.

"Nothing of what he foretold fell out; on the other hand many things happened, which he neither foretold nor foresaw. For the standard, which he boasted that he would erect, being laid aside, he returned into his own country with de Raats, Somer, and Richardson, the designed assertors of the new Kingdom; and his factious and schismatical society being dissolved, he was shut up in prison in his own native city; having full leave at the same time to review and retract his absurd Prophecies, and to try whether he could foretell with any greater certainty, when and how he should be set free, than he had predicted many other things." Madam Bourignon did not suffer herself to be deceived by the chimeras of John Rothe; she had a sovereign preservative against such charms; that is, she would have her Prophecy to be like the privileges of Gentlemen in Germany, who hold them immediately of the Empire; she would be a Prophetess in chief, and receive her revelations only from God, without any subordination, or any collaterals. However that be, let us see her judgment concerning John Rothe and Kuhlman. "Which (6) appeared then particularly upon the occasion of a famous and pretended Prophet of Holland, who erected standards to gather under them the twelve tribes of Israel, whom he was to reitore; and he was followed by some good people,

(6) That it to say, that God made her know by experience how far the presumption and folly of the human mind, joined with the illusions of the Devil, may go; how being never permitted her to be deceived, she discovered every thing to her internally. *Vie continûée d'Antoinette Bourignon, pag. 293.*

(6) *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabri.*

(7) The Letters which he wrote, and the Answers which he received, are printed under the title of *Theosophica Epistola Leidenjsis.*

the proverb, which says that persons of the same profession envy each other (6) [C]; for he wrote in the most humble manner imaginable to this John Rothe (7). He styled him a man of God, and John III, the son of Zacharias. He desired the assistance of his knowledge, and pronounced a woe upon those who did not hearken to him [D]. He dedicated to him his *Prodromus quinquennii mirabilis*, printed at Leyden in 1674. This was to be followed by two other volumes. He had a design to introduce in the first the studies and discoveries which he had made since his first vision till the year 1674. There would have been in it an hundred thousand inventions, which would have astonished all ages. *Multa millena millia inventa omnem aetatem ad stuporem provocantia* (8). The last volume would have been the key to *Eternity, and Aeveternity, and Time*. He communicated his design to Father Kircher; and particularly the *Ars Combinatoria sive Ars magna sciendi*, he let him know, that he had only sketched out what himself had a design to carry much farther [E].

(8) *Page 13.*

This

besides others, who without following him, gave credit to his chimerical revelations. In some visits, which he made her, she easily discovered the imposture, tho' he assured her, that he had frequent conversation with Angels and God, and told Madam Bourignon, that he should be for the future as a God to her, since God would no longer discover himself to her but by his means. She was so weary of him, that she would not see him any more, nor open his prophetic letters, which are at present sealed up among her papers. She advised her friends to take care of him, since he was undoubtedly not of God, for she had applied to God expressly to know what he was, and God, upon her asking him, *Lord, is this man your Prophet?* had answered, *No;* and upon her asking again, *What is he then, Lord?* he had answered, *he is a presumptuous man, over whom the Devil has great power.* God had given her the same sentiments of those of his cabal, and particularly of one Quirinus Kuhlman, who a little before had published a letter addressed to this Gentlewoman, in order to try whether he could mingle together the spirit of God with the reveries of Satan, of which the false Prophet's head was full, he wandering up and down to seduce those, who deserved to be misled, on account of their slight esteem of the truth sent from God (7).

much against John Rothe, and laughed at his visions. Kuhlman asserted, that heaven had declared for this Prophet by the great storm on the 24th of May 1674, and by the rains, which happened in divers places May the 21st following (12). He referred to the *Gazettes*, which had mentioned this, and applied to his friend the celebrated words of an antient Poet. *O Misselli Theosophista & Diabologi! nullis verbis, calumniis, invektionibus eluditis Prophetam, nimium Deo dilectum,*

(12) *Præfatio Prodrom.*

Cui militat æther, Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti (13).

(13) *Ibid.*

i. e. "O ye wretched Theosophists and Speakers for the Devil, with no words, or reproaches can you escape the Prophet, who is greatly favoured by Heaven, for whom the æther fights, and the winds agree to enlist themselves under his banner." He addressed himself particularly to Amsterdam (14), where the wind had torn up many trees, and did not omit the thunder, which fell upon the Church of Utrecht; but especially he cried out a miracle (15), because it had thundered on the 24th of March, the evening before John Rothe the Holland, when there was still snow in the streets, and ice in the canals. These storms, these thunders, these lightnings, according to him, were the forerunners of the ruin of the country. Notwithstanding this the affairs of the United Provinces became more prosperous from that time. It is proper to remark all these things, in order to shew the spirit, which governs this sort of people: they abuse every thing; they find their pretended myteries every where. We have instances of a later date.

(14) *In calce Epist. ad Kircher. pag. 52.*

(15) *Theosoph. Epist. pag. 36.*

[E] *He let Father Kircher know, that he had only sketched (16) out what himself had a design to carry much farther.* Father Kircher did not trouble himself to defend his works, nor to vie in knowledge with this man. He struck sail before him, and declared, that having written only as a man he did not pretend to equal those, who wrote by inspiration. *Quod porro de arte combinatoria, caterisque paradoxis meis, tum in polygraphia, tum in musurgia, jam publica luci traditis meliori modo fieri potuisse contendis, nil moror, cum quædam scientiæ tuæ tam sublimis et stupendæ profusus incapax ineptumque me esse humili mentis obsequio fatear. Quæ scripsi ego divina aspirante gratia, humano more, id est studio & labore adquisita scientia scripsi, non divinitus inspirata aut infusa, cujusmodi puram inter mortales dari non existimo. Non dubitem quin tu pro incomparabili ingenii tui vastitate meis nugis & majora & admiratione digniora sis proditurus.* i. e. "With regard to what you say, that what I have advanc'd in my *Ars combinatoria*, and other *Paradoxes*, already published, might be improved, I am not at all uneasy about it, since I frankly own myself incapable of your sublime and celestial knowledge. What I have written, I have written after an human manner, that is, by knowledge gained by study and labour, not divinely inspired and infused, which I think is not to be obtained pure among men. . . . I do not doubt, but that you, by means of the incomparable and vast extent of your genius, will produce discoveries much greater and more admirable than my trifles." Our author took this for a serious complement, and did not perceive, that the Jesuit ridiculed him. He took great care to publish Father Kircher's answers, and to use capital letters in those passages where he thought himself praised.

(16) *Innumera ex arte combinatoria inventi posse in Medicina Chymique recte paradosis sed iudicium quædam libere ut magis interna quam externa, nucleum quam corticem quærerent.*

(7) *Vie continuée d'Ant. Bourignon, pag. 293.*

(8) His name is *Daniel Hartnaciens.*

(9) *Micraelius, Hist. Eccles. pag. 1324. edit. 1699.*

(10) That is, in the year 1700.

We find in Micraelius's continuator (8), that John Rothe being the son of a man, whose name was Zacharias, boasted of being the forerunner of the Son of God with respect to the Last Judgment; and that in the year 1668 he declared on the part of King Melchisedeck to the Emperor, the Kings, and Princes, that they ought to lay down their sovereignties, since the Kingdom of Christ was at hand. That he was examined in 1677, and shut up in prison by order of the States of Holland and West Friseland: and afterwards being set at liberty, was laughed at by every body, his Prophecies being found contrary to the event (9). The author should have added, that he was cured of his visionary-humour, and married, and returned to the common course of life. He is living at the time I write this (10).

[C] *He contradicted the Proverb, which says, that persons of the same profession envy each other.* This was more edifying upon the whole, than what we have seen above. We have seen two expositors of the Apocalypse write one against the other, though they agreed upon the pretended myteries of the year 1689. But because they came to this point of reunion by different paths, each of them would maintain his hypothesis in prejudice to his brother-expositor. This was not right; and if the public had been less indulgent than it was, it ought not to have been thought at all strange.

[D] *Pronounced a woe upon those, who did not hearken to him.* He declared in a thundering and redoubled manner (11), *Vae, vae! si prophetias servorum Dei spreveritis, seu Batavia, olim mirabilis, nunc miserabilis spernit & moriens spernit.* i. e. "Woe! Woe! if you shall despise the Prophecies of God, as Holland, once flourishing, but now wretched and dying, despised them, and continues to do so." *Hoc anno, adds he, & bujus anni una die veniet & mors & ludus & fames Babylonis Belgicæ, & igne exuretur caelesti, quia validus est Dominus Deus damnans eam.* i. e. "This year, and on one day of this year, death and mourning and famine shall befall the Belgic Babylon, and it shall be burnt up with fire from heaven, because the Lord God, who condemneth it, is mighty." All this, because they had exclaimed

(11) *Ad calcem Epist. Kircheri scriptæ, pag. 51.*

(r) In quibus
majora in omni
scibili eruntur,
quam a nobis vel
ullo homine ex-
pectantur. Mon-
nit. ad Lector.
in limine Epist.
ad Kircher.

(s) Omnia quæ
possideo sapientia
incarnata non
mibi veniunt ad-
scribenda. Ibid.

This Jesuit wrote to him a civil answer, and gave him good advice [F], particularly with regard to his design of writing against the Pope [G]. For the rest, the prophetic spirit had not made our Kuhlman renounce the pleasure of being praised; for there was no compliment written to him, either by those to whom he had sent copies of his works, or by others, which he did not take the pains to prefix to his *Prodromus*. With respect to the commendations which he gives himself to his writings, they are undoubtedly very strong (r); but as he declares, that every thing which he does comes from the incarnate Wisdom (s), I will not determine, that it is a mark of pride (t). I am not certain when he left Holland, but have just seen a book (u), which acquaints us, that he wandered a long time in England, France, and the East [H], and that at last he was burnt in Mus-

(t) See *Entrée sur la Cabale chymique*, printed in 1691, p. 109.

(u) *Diarium Biographicum Henningi Witte*, tom. 2. pag. 168.

COVY

[F] Kircher gave him good advice.] Kircher's second letter plainly shews, that he had discovered the illusion of the man, and that he laughed at him, when he says with so serious an air, *Magna sane tibi soli notam, cæteris inexplicabilem scientiam. i. e. "You promise great and incredible things, which as they far transcend all human capacity, so I affirm boldly that they have never been attempted or even thought of by any person but myself; and therefore I cannot but suspect, that you have obtained by the gift of God such a knowledge, as the Scriptures ascribes to Adam and Solomon, I mean an Adamic, and Salomonic, in short, an infused knowledge, known to no mortal but yourself, and inexplicable by any other."* But what follows is a piece of charitable advice. All things being well considered Father Kircher advises him to keep this infused knowledge to himself, and not to expose himself to the raillery of an age so apt to scoff as ours. It seems indeed, that our age is more formidable to visionaries than the preceding. The Bishop of Meaux has touched something upon this in one of his letters; but I do not know whether at the bottom the appearances do not deceive us in this point (17). *Quicquid sit, it is Kircher, who speaks, ego sane considerato rei non parvi momenti negotio, pro singulari quo te prosequor affectu etiam atque etiam quam obnixissime contendere, ne hanc tuam noviter obtentam scientiam Centralifque abyssif profunditatem ulli vana quadam jactantia ostenderes, ne Tertii post Adamum Salomonis dicam & cum risu nomen incurras. Potissimum hoc sæculo sarcastico, quo Criticorum, Thrasorum, & Sycophantarum non parvus est numerus, qui aliud non moluntur quam ut gloriosos aliorum labores canino dente rodere, fannis ludibriisque exponere non cessent. i. e. "However that be, having considered the whole affair, which is of no small importance, I earnestly entreat you out of the singular esteem, which I have for you, not to discover, out of vain glory, to any person the profound knowledge lately obtained by you, lest you should be ridiculed with the name of the third Solomon after Adam; especially in this sarcastical age, in which there is no small number of pretenders to criticism, boasters, and sycophants, who aim at nothing else, than to carp at the glorious labours of others, and to expose them to contempt."* And to make the greater impression upon him by his remonstrances, he owns to him what had happened to himself. He acknowledges to him, that he knew by experience, that a man exposes himself to an infinite number of evils, when he rashly and inconsiderately becomes an author. *Quanta malorum liras ex inconsiderata scriptione resultet, ego jam 40 annorum spatio quo in hoc omnium gentium & nationum theatro, meam utut possum personam ago, frequenti experientia comperi.*

[G] Particularly with regard to his design of writing against the Pope.] Though Kuhlman imagined, that he was the person promised by Drabicius, and though he knew that Drabicius's promises related to the destruction of the Roman Antichrist; yet he had an inclination to write to the Pope. He consulted Father Kircher upon this point, and assured him, that he was passionately desirous to communicate to the Pope his

great secrets for the good of Christianity. *A Te, Reverendissime Pater, peterem ne denegares mihi occasionem præbere, qua Pontificis Maximi manibus propriis quædam Epistola à me in signum observantia transmittenda traderetur... Vellem enim arcana ponderosissima ad Christianæ Ecclesiæ commodum singulariter proficua, candido ore styloque candido, tam admirabili tempestate Pontifici communicare, amore Reip. Christianæ impulsus.* I do not know the particular good advice which he received from that Jesuit upon this subject; he omitted them in the answer which he had received; for here is the manner in which he published that passage. *Quod denique de litteris ad summum Pontificem dandis, eidemque propriis manibus à me consignandis te cogitare scribis... quæ scribo ut quanta cautela & circumspectione Romæ procedendum sit cognoscas. i. e. "As for what you write, concerning your design to write to the Pope, and delivering your letter to him by my hands... which I write in order that you may know with what caution and circumspection things are to be conducted at Rome."* But he did not omit the place, where he was assured, that his great work dedicated to the Pope would be applauded and admired, provided that he left nothing in it, which might offend the censors of books, and took care not to ascribe to himself an inspired knowledge, *silentio quoque suppressa divinitus Tibi inspirata scientia.* This last advice, though good in itself, was the least probable to be relished by him; for it is by boasting of a celestial illumination, that a man strikes the people with amazement (18). Let us speak a word concerning the impostures or illusions of false Prophets. About the time that Kuhlman was ready to write respectfully to the Pope for the good of Christianity, he wrote to others his hopes of the approaching destruction of the Papacy. This is what the following words of Kuhlman signify, according to the style of our visionaries. *O Pontifex Clemens X! an sigilli mei duplicatum Quinarium X excedes, mox orbis aspiciet univversus? In Clemente I Petro & Lino jure præterito Episcopatus Romanus incepit: in Clemente X quid futurum sit tempus evolvet. i. e. "Pope Clement X! whether you will exceed the double Quinary X of my seal, will the whole world hereafter judge? In Clement I (Peter & Linus being very justly omitted) the See of Rome began: what shall come to pass under Clement X, time will shew."* I could name a man (19), who was greatly vexed, when the public was informed, that while he was declaiming furiously against Lewis XIV, he wrote letters to a Duke and Peer full of flattery towards that Monarch.

[H] He wandered a long time in England, France, and the East.] I have just found several pieces of this Fanatic printed at London at his expence, some in 1681, and others in 1682. The first of these pieces, dated at London June the 24th 1681, is dedicated to Lewis XIV, with this familiar inscription, *Salve, Ludovice XIV, Rex Liligere, salve.* The author exhorts that Prince to assert the *Regale*, which was so much spoken of at that time, and informed him, that Drabicius had promised him the city of Rome (20). We find in this collection a letter, which he wrote from Lubeck to Father Kircher in February 1676, *de Sapientia infusa Adamæa, Salomoneaque; and a piece, which he addressed to Mahomet IV, de Conversione Turcarum.* It is dated at Constantinople August the 1st, 1678, The author set his mystical seal to it at London May the 1st 1681, and signified to the Sultan, that the comet, which had appeared the preceding winter, presaged the conversion of all nations; and he congratulated his Highness upon his having appointed a fast one day throughout his Empire. *Aspexisti ante aliquot*

(18) See the Bishop of Meaux *sur l'Apocalypse*, pag. 429. Holland edition.

(19) *Quem coram dicere non est, Signis per facile est. Horat. Sat. 5. lib. 1.*

(20) *A Deo data scientia Romæ nunc cribrans à DRABICIO Tibi olim promissa.*

(17) See the article of ABARIS remark [I].

covy October the 3d 1689, on account of some predictions which were actually feditious (x). I cannot tell whether he caused a medal to be struck of him, as other modern Prophets have done; but the same book informs me, that there was a picture of him, under which so many titles were given him [I], that I believe the Monarchs of the East never assumed more. If it should be thought that I speak of him too seriously and too long, I would have the reader know that there is a serious air upon such subjects as these, which is ten times worse than raillery; and that it is proper that the world should be informed of the prodigious variety of fanaticism. It is an evil more contagious than is imagined. The reading of Drabicius completed the ruin of Kuhlman [K]. Those who have not the *Prodromus* of the latter, have occasion to read only three or four pages of Morhof's *Polybistor* (y), in which they will see the magnificent promises and vast designs of this Fanatic.

(x) Ob vaticinia quadam & feditiosum motum auctum. Ibid.

(y) From pag. 357. to pag. 361.

For the rest, he was not one of those inspired men, who value themselves upon their continence; he married more than once, if we may call a marriage, and not concubinage, that commerce between a man and woman, which wants the formalities, which the Canon and Civil Law have prescribed. He understood likewise the art of getting money from people, and there were some, to whom he wrote in a magisterial and prophetic style, that it was necessary for the advancement of the new Kingdom of God, that they should raise such and such a sum, in failure of which he threatened them with the most dreadful judgments from the vengeance of the most High. Van Helmont was one of those who received such letters, but he was not so simple as to be terrified by them, or to pay any regard to them (z).

(z) I have been informed of this by some persons who knew Kuhlman.

KUSTER

*aliquot menses, O Capitaneæ grandis ab Oriente Solis, Cometæ in-audite-ingentem, NUNTIUM REALEM REGNI JESUELIARUM, hoc est Restitutionis Populorum omnium ad Deum Unicum & Triunum! Bene Te, quod cor tuum coram Deo flexeris, & Proclamationis Diei penitentialis Catholici in Regno tuo, inciperis adimplere Verba Dei ad Prophetam Drabicius? Si Christiani voluntatem meam in destruendo Antichristianismo, Doctrinæque pravæ & Idololatriæ exequi renuent, facient id Christianis in opprobrium Turcæ & Tartari: quod horrore erit angelis meis & hominibus. i. e. "You, O great Captain of the East, saw some months ago a comet of an unheard of magnitude, A REAL MESSENGER OF THE KINGDOM OF THE JESUELITES, that is, of the restitution of all people to the one-three-God. Happy are you, because you have bowed your heart before God, and by proclaiming a fast through the whole Empire, have begun to fulfill the words of God to his Prophet Drabicius. If Christians shall refuse to perform my will in destroying Antichrist, and false Doctrine, and Idolatry, the Turks and Tartars will do this to the disgrace of Christians; and the horror of my angels and men." He wrote to the Aga of Smyrna June the 28th 1678 (21). Some months after he dedicated to the Sieur Van Dam the mystery of the 21 weeks of Kottelus, in which he declares, that the House of Austria was about to lose the Imperial Crown. By the piece *De magnalibus naturæ ultimo ævo referatarum*, which he addressed ad adeptos magosque reseratarum, at Geneva January the 30th 1682, it appears, that he went to the Holy Land. His *Arcanum microcosmicum* is dated at Paris November the 1st 1681.*

ses, Hussitas, Zwinglianos, Lutheranos; besides in High Dutch, de cælesti osculo amoris, sive Cogitationes Poeticæ ex Cantico Canticorum. Discursus sacri & profani de pulcherrimis virtutum fosculis. Mortalitas immortalis, sive centum Epitaphia. Caduceator Historicus. Neobebimus illustratus, &c.

[K] The reading of Drabicius completed the ruin of Kuhlman. Kuhlman had found in the prophecies of Drabicius two passages, which he applied to himself (23). The first contains these words (24: *Qui legit, intelligat! cum numerabitur quinque in cælo, terintumaciæ, conspecto me potestatem habere in caelos, terram, mare. i. e. "Let him, who reads, understand! when FIVE shall be numbered, the sons of obstinacy shall receive their end, it being perceived, that I have power over Heaven, Earth, and Sea." Here is the other passage (25): *Abundantia benedictionis te (Drabicius) parata expectat Wratislavia, ac si oculis videas tuas. i. e. "The abundance of blessing waits thee (Drabicius) at Breslaw, as if you saw with your own eyes." Let us add to these two passages that which he took from the *Astrologico-Prophetic Prognostic* written by Paul Felgenhaver in 1647, and published in 1665, *Quantus error sit pacis spes illud nobis duplicatus QUINARIUS demonstrabit, cum venerit post paucos dies. i. e. "How great an error it is to hope for peace, the double QUINARY will shew, when it shall come after a few days." He imagined, that he was that double Quinarius, which Felgenhaver had promised: two reasons convinced him of this: one was, that his name was Quirinus; the other, that in 1674 it was five years since he had received an infused knowledge (25). He believed therefore, that the time promised filii Drabicius, cum numerabitur quinque finem accipiet filii intumaciæ, was come; so that he hoped to overthrow Antichrist and Babylon with his pen in a short time. Let us hear the Hallelujah which he thundered out beforehand: *Corruet Antichristus proprio suo judicio, & Babylon excidium suum properabit cum admiratione populorum. Hallel. Quem Cæsares armis potentibus non debellaverunt, juvenis inermis debellavit in virtute Jesu Christi prælians. Hallel. Stant Mercatores Antichristi horrore inprospere timore, desunt interitum suum in speratum ab inprospere timore futurorum. Hallel. (27). i. e. "Antichrist shall fall by his own judgment, and Babylon shall hasten his destruction to the admiration of all people. Hallel. He whom the Emperors have not subdued by powerful arms, shall be subdued by an unarmed youth fighting in the might of Christ Jesus. Hallel. The merchants of Babylon stand trembling afar off, and lament their unexpected destruction through the unexpected fear of what shall come to pass. Hallel." If I had not seen with my own eyes all that I have transcribed, I could scarce have thought, that the extravagance of Fanaticism could have proceeded so far.****

(23) *Epist. Theophr. pag. 2.*

(24) *Revelat. 594. Feb. 7. ann. 1664.*

(25) *Revelat. 608. 24 May 1664.*

(26) *Epist. Theophr. pag. 2.*

(27) This is what he wrote to his brother-prophet John Raibe, April 21, 1674, at Leyden. See *Epist. Theophr. pag. ult.*

(21) Kuhlman was then in the Port of Smyrna on board a French ship. He was still at Smyrna Oct. 27, 1678, as appears from the letter which he wrote to James Van Dam, the Dutch Consul.

(22) *Diarium Biographicum Henningi Witte, Part. 2. pag. 168.*

[I] So many titles were given him. Here is what I find in the book which I have quoted (22). *In effigie quam Andreas Lippius edidit, ita celebratur: Alter Scaligerum, Taubmannus, Grotius, Opitz, Barbius, Icanus, Grybbius, Muretus, Erasmus! Henoch, Josephus, Davides, Josua, Moses, Elias, Daniel, Salomon, Eliza, Johannes! Cyrus, Alexander, Constantin, Karl, Fridericus! Liligerus, Juvenis, Frigerans, Artista, Sobhata! O Pater, hæc tua sunt! Hæc ad te cuncta reflexit.*

i. e. "In the picture of him published by Andrew Lippius, he is thus celebrated.
"Another Scaliger, Taubman, Grotius, &c."

A little before it is said, that he was sometimes called LUDOVICUS LUDOVICI. The catalogue of his writings, such as Mr. Witte gives it, does not contain the *Epistolæ Theophræ Leidenses*; but in compensation for this it contains nine letters to Father Kircher; besides *Epistolarum Londinensium Catholica ad Wicklefo Waldensium*.

☞ KUSTER (LUDOLF), a very learned writer [A] in the beginning of the 18th Century, was born in February 1670 at Blomberg, a little town in the county of Lippe in Westphalia, and was son of Ludolf Kuster, Magistrate of that place. His elder brother, who was an excellent scholar, inspired him very early with a love to learning, and took a particular care of his education. This brother taught polite learning at Berlin in the College of Joachim, called so from the Elector, who founded it. Ludolf Kuster was

[A] *A very learned writer.*] This appears from his works, the catalogue of which is as follows. I. *Historia Critica Homeri*. Francfort 1696 in 8vo, This book shews a great extent of reading; but our author did not value it much afterwards, when he had made a greater progress in learning. He thought that he had begun too early to appear in the world under the character of an author. In this tract he took upon him the name of *Neocorus*, which in Greek signifies a sexton, as *Kuster* does in High Dutch. The following book appeared under the same name; II. *Bibliotheca Librorum collecta a L. Neocoro*. Utrecht five tomes in 8vo. This work was continued from the month of April 1697 to the end of the year 1699. Mr. Kuster was at first employed alone in this journal; but being afterwards engaged in some other works, he took into his assistance Mr. Henry Sike, who was afterwards Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. They wrote in conjunction till June 1699, when Mr. Kuster left this work to Mr. Sike, who continued it no longer than the last six months of that year. III. *Jamblichi de Vita Pythagoræ Liber, Græcè & Latine cum nova versione, emendationibus, & Notis L. Kusteri*. Accedit *Porphyrus de Vita Pythagoræ cum Notis L. Holstenii & C. Ritterbusii*; itemque *Anonymus apud Photium de Vita Pythagoræ*. Amsterdam 1707 in 4to. Dr. Kuster's notes are merely critical, in which he restores a prodigious number of passages in his authors. IV. *Suidæ Lexicon Græcè & Latine. Textum Græcum cum Manuscriptis Codicibus collatum à quamplurimis mendis purgavit, notisque perpetuis illustravit, versionem Emiliæ Porti innumeris in locis correxit, indicesque Auctorum & Rerum adjectit Ludolfus Kusterus Professor Humaniorum Literarum in Gymnasio Berolinensi*. Cambridge 1705 three volumes in fol. In this edition Mr. Kuster has collated the text of Suidas with three manuscripts in the King of France's library in the Louvre, and marked the various readings of other manuscripts. By this means he has corrected the text in a prodigious number of places. He has likewise corrected *Emiliæ Porti*'s translation. His notes are short, and in them he gives the reasons of his corrections, whether taken from manuscripts, or made by conjecture. He frequently points out the authors, whose words are quoted by Suidas without mentioning their names. He has likewise inserted the observations of Dr. John Pearson, Bishop of Chester, written with his own hand in the margin of a copy of Suidas. These Remarks are distinguished from the rest by the Bishop's name. The author of a Latin letter dated at Oxford January 13, 1706 under the name of *C. Veratius Philoellen* to *M. Lucilius Profuturus*, published by Mr. Le Clerc (1), observes, that though he had great expectations from Dr. Kuster, yet this edition much surpassed it. *Et si multa a V. C. Ludolfo Kustero, expectaveram, attamen Expectationem meam superavit nova Suidæ editio, quam ab aliquot Mensibus magnâ cum voluptate verso*. And Mr. Le Clerc tells us (2), that this edition is very correct and very beautiful in all respects; and that the university furnished part of the expence of it. However it was attacked by James Gronovius, upon which our author wrote; V. *Diatriba L. K. in quâ Editio Suidæ Cantabrigiensi contra Cavillationes J. G. Aristarchi Leydenfis defenditur*: inserted in Monsieur Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Choise Tom. XXIV. p. 49 & seqq.* and published separately in 12mo. A new edition of it with additions was published under the title of *Diatriba Anti-Gronoviana* at Amsterdam 1712 in 8vo. VI. *De Museo Alexandrino Diatriba*. Inserted in the VIII tome of Gronovius's collection of *Greek Antiquities*. VII. *Ludovici Savoti Dissertationes de Nummis antiquis linguâ Gallicâ in Latinum translatae à L. Neocoro*: inserted in the XI Tome of Grevius's *Roman Antiquities*. VIII. *Picturæ antiquæ sepulchri Nasoniorum in Viâ Flaminiâ delineatæ & incisæ à Petro Sancto Bacteriolo, explicatæ à Joanne Petro Bellorio: ex Italicâ Linguâ in Latinam translulit L. Neocorus*: inserted in the XII

Tome of Grevius's *Roman Antiquities*. IX. *Aristophanis Comediæ undecim Græcè & Latine*. Amsterdam 1710 in fol. The reader may see an account of this edition in the article of *ARISTOPHANES* (3). X. *Novum Testamentum Græcum cum Lectionibus Variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versionum, Editionum, S. S. Patrum & Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, & in easdem Notis. Accedunt Loca Scripturæ parallela, aliaque exegetica. Præmittitur Dissertatio de Libris Novi Testamenti, & Canonis constitutione & S. Textus Novi Fœderis ad nostra usque tempora Historiâ. Studio & Labore Joannis Millii S. T. P. Collectionem Millianam recensuit, meliori ordine disposuit, novisque accessionibus locupletavit Ludolphus Kusterus*. Rotterdam 1710 in fol. Dr. Kuster in his *Preface* having highly applauded Dr. Mill's work, observes, that those, who would explode the use of Criticism upon the sacred writings, as unprofitable and pernicious, labour under a great mistake. For they cannot deny that there are various readings; and they dare not assert, that Robert Stephens or any other editor of the new testament were inspired in such a manner, as never to mistake the true text of the sacred writers, especially considering the difference, which there is between the Manuscripts, which they had in their hands. Those different readings either are of some importance, or they are not. If the former, why should those valuable monuments of Antiquity be suppressed, by the assistance of which, we are enabled to discover the true reading of the sacred text? If the latter, why should not they be published, since they are so far from being any prejudice to religion, that they may be of the greatest service to it, by shewing the wonderful conformity between the vast number of manuscripts, editions, versions, and quotations of the scriptures, in every thing, even of the lightest nature? This will easily appear by comparing all the various readings collected with so much care by Dr. Mill; for except a small number, all those different readings are of no importance. However this does not diminish the value of that learned man's work, but on the contrary advances it; since the consequence which may be drawn from it is this, that we have the sacred text as perfect as is necessary to make it the foundation of our faith. Dr. Kuster afterwards explains the nature and different sorts of the various readings. It must necessarily be laid down as a principle, that of all the various readings of one and the same text there can be but one true. So that when we have the characters, by which we may know the true one, all the rest are not to pass for various readings, but for corruptions of the text, whatever may be the cause of them. Thus if we had the originals of the apostles now extant, there would be no various readings. But because we have them not, and there is frequently reason to doubt which of all the various readings is the truest, we ought to take all the corruptions of the text for various readings, at least they must be looked upon as such till the true reading be certainly discovered by the principles of solid criticism. After this explication Dr. Kuster divides the various readings into four kinds. I. Those, which are improperly called so. II. Those, which are ambiguous. III. True ones, but not very important. IV. Those which are of considerable moment. Upon all these various readings he makes useful and judicious reflections: he observes, for instance, that the different manner of spelling of the same word among writers must not be taken for so many different readings, the orthography of the Greek Language not being the same at all times, nor in all places. Some authors write *φιν*, others *φιν*; some *ετρου*; others *εττι*, &c. There are several readings of this sort in Dr. Mill's collection. As to those, which are ambiguous, we are to place in this rank all those collected from the quotations of the fathers, when it is uncertain whether they were so in their copies, or whether quoting them by memory they have not forgot the proper terms of the original. It is necessary

(1) *Biblioth. Choise*, tom. 9. pag. 187, & seq.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 180.

(3) Vol. 2. pag. 264.

was admitted there very young, and soon made a considerable progress in his studies. Upon the recommendation of Baron Spanheim he was appointed tutor to the two sons of the Count de Schwerin, Prime Minister of the King of Prussia, who, upon our author's quitting that station, procured him from that Prince a pension of four hundred livres. He had likewise a promise of a Professorship of polite learning in the College of Joachim. Till this should be vacant, Kuster, who was then but between twenty five and twenty six years of age, resolved to travel into Germany, France, England, and Holland. He went first to Francfort upon the Oder, where he studied the Civil Law for some time, and thence to Antwerp, Leyden, and Utrecht, where he staid a considerable time, and wrote there several works. Having collected some money by this means, and by reading Lectures upon the public Law to the German Noblemen, he left Utrecht in 1699; and took a voyage to England, from whence he went to France in the beginning of the year following. His chief employment there was to collate Suidas with three manuscripts in the King's Library, which furnished him with a great many fragments, which had never been published. About the end of the year 1700 he returned to England, and in four years finished his edition of Suidas, in which he laboured day and night. He related himself, that being one night awaked by thunder and lightning, he was seized with a dreadful apprehension on account of this work, so that he rose immediately, and carried it to bed with him, with all the affection of a father for an only son. He was honoured with the degree of Doctor by the University of Cambridge, which made him several advantageous offers to continue there, but he was obliged to wave them, being recalled to Berlin, where he was installed in the Professorship which had been promised him. The first Professor of the College of Joachim dying, our author imagined, that the date of his appointment, which he carried as high as the moment of his departure, and his new title of Library-keeper to the King, gave him a claim to that post of honour. But a Professor, who was prior to him in the exercise of his function, obtaining that place, he extremely resented it. At the end of the year the Treasurer, who paid the Professors, demanding a fee out of his stipend, Kuster refused to allow it; and exclaiming the second time against it as an injustice, proposed at last to resign his places for a sum of money. The Treasurer taking him at his word, he received ten thousand livres, and returned to Holland, and went to Amsterdam, where he boarded for some time, and afterwards took an house. He had gained some money by his edition of Suidas, and was assisted by some of his relations. But the expence of living at Amsterdam being great, he removed to Rotterdam, where he hoped to live cheaper; though he found himself mistaken. He went some time after to Antwerp to confer with the Jesuits with regard to his doubts about Religion; and being brought over by them to the Roman Catholic Religion, he abjured that of the Protestants on the 25th of July 1713 in the Church of the Noviciate belonging to the Jesuits. The King of France rewarded him with a pension of two thousand livres, and as a mark of distinction ordered him to be admitted supernumerary Associate of the Academy of Inscriptions. But he did not enjoy this new settlement long; for he died on the 12th of October 1716 of an abscess in the Pancreas, being forty six years of age. He was of an easy and quiet disposition. He was a great master of the Latin tongue, and wrote well in it; but his chief excellence was his skill in the Greek language, to which he almost entirely devoted himself. He considered the history and chronology of Greek words (these were his usual expressions) as the most solid entertainment of a man of letters.

Upon

cessary to proceed with caution in that case. In the mean time if the manner, in which a passage is quoted in the works of a father, does not appear in an ancient manuscript or version, nor in any other father of the Church, it is to be supposed, that the reading is false, and that the same is owing only to the forgetfulness of him, who makes the quotation. But if it be confirmed by the authority of one or two fathers of the Church, and not to be found in any manuscript or version, the same ought to be ranked among these, which are doubtful. With respect to the various readings, which are of some importance, Dr. Kuster makes some remarks omitted by Dr. Mill, and corrects some in which he believes that learned Divine to have been mistaken. Dr. Mill, for instance, has set down a various reading from Suidas relating to a passage, which he thought that author had quoted from Luke XVI. 3. whereas it was really a quotation from Aristophanes. But as Dr. Kuster has taken notice of some errors of Dr. Mill, on the other hand he sometimes vindicates him against such critics, who have censured him without cause. He has compared the text with twelve MSS. which Dr. Mill never saw. Of these twelve there were nine in the King of France's library; but except one, which has all the books of the new testament, all the rest contain no more than the four Gospels. The tenth MS. belonged to Mr. Carpzovius, a Minister at Leipzig, and contains the four Gospels.

The 11th was brought from Greece by Mr. Seidel of Berlin; but it has not the four Gospels. The last, which was one of those, that Dr. Kuster esteemed most, was communicated to him by Mr. Bornier, who bought it at the public sale of the library of Mr. Francius, Professor of Rhetoric at Amsterdam. After the preface of Dr. Kuster there follows a letter of Monsieur Le Clerc, concerning Dr. Mill's work, XI. *Epistola, in qua Præfatio quam V. C. J. P. [Jacobus Perizonius] novissimæ Dissertationi suæ de ære gravi præposuit, refellitur.* Leyden 1713 in 8vo, XII. *De vero usu Verborum Mediorum apud Græcos, eorumque differentia a Verbis Aëviis & Passivis. Annexa est Epistola de Verbo Cerno ad Virum Clar. J. P. Auctore Ludolpho Kustero, Regiæ Inscriptionum Academiæ socio.* Paris 1714 in 12mo. XIII. *Explication d'une Inscription Greque envoyée de Smyrne,* inserted in the *Mémoires de Trevoux* for September 1715. XIV. *Examen Criticum Editionis novissimæ Herodoti Gronovianæ:* inserted in Monsieur Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque ancienne & moderne*, Tom. V. p. 383, & seqq. There has been published in Holland under the name of Grævius, and with the title of *Nova Cobors Musarum*, a little tract of Kuster written in 1699 for the instruction of some young noblemen. Our author published a specimen of a new edition of *Robert Stephens Thesaurus*, with great improvements, in *Monf. La Roche's Memoirs of Literature*, Vol. V. p. 298, & seqq.

(a) *Memoires de Trevoux, Mars 1717; Nouvelles Lettres, du 19 Decemb. 1716, & du 9 Janv. 1717.*

Upon this account he despised all other parts of learning; and Mr. Themiseul relates in his Letters, that this zealous Grammarian meeting one day with Monsieur Bayle's *Commentaire Philosophique* in a Bookseller's shop, he threw it down, and said, "This is nothing but a book of reasoning: *non sic itur ad Astra* (a)." Since the writing of this, we have received a letter from the very learned Mr. Joseph Wasse [B], Rector

[B] *A letter from the very learned Mr. Joseph Wasse . . . containing several curious particulars concerning our author.* Mr. Wasse writes as follows. "Dr. Kuster, a tall, thin, pale man, seemingly unable to bear fatigue, was nevertheless indefatigable and of an uncommon application to letters. He formed himself under Grævius. I was acquainted with him from 1700 to 1714. Upon my collecting the *Remains of Anacreon* for Mr. Barnes about 1702, he introduced me to Dr. Bentley. *You must be known*, says he, *to that Gentleman, whom I look upon, not only as the first scholar in Europe, but as the best of friends.* I only hinted to him the difficulty I lay under in relation to the officers of the customs, and presently after he accommodated that troublesome affair to my intire satisfaction, without so much as once letting me know he had any hand in it till near a year after: unde satis compertum mihi Bentleyum esse re officiosum, non verbis. Many an excellent emendation upon Suidas have I received from him. I the rather mention this, continues Mr. Wasse, because when that *Lexicon* was in the press, Kuster with indignation shewed me an anonymous letter in Latin addressed to him, wherein he was advised not to treat the Doctor with that distinction, if he intended his book should make its way in the learned world. But to proceed, when he came to write upon Suidas, he found himself under a necessity of making Indices of all the authors mentioned by the antients, Eustathius particularly, and 19 Volumes of commentaries upon Aristotle &c. of the history, Geography, and chronological characters occasionally mentioned. Dr. Bentley prevailed upon me to give him some assistance. Those that fell to my lot were chiefly Eustathius on the *Odyssea*, seven or eight scholars, Plutarch, Galen. You may judge of Kuster's dispatch and application, when I tell you, I could by no means keep pace with him, though I began the last author Jan. 9. 1703, and finished him March 8th of the same year, and in proportion too the remainder. Though I corrected all the sheets of the first volume, yet I never perceived he had omitted some less material words, nor ever knew the true reason. I have heard him blamed too for not mentioning the names of one or two persons, who sent him a few notes. But this was occasioned, I am confident, by the hurry he was always in, and the great number of letters, memorandums, and other papers he had about him. As I remember he translated *de novo* in a manner five or six sheets a week, and remarked upon them; so that the work was hastily executed, and would have been infinitely more perfect, had he allowed himself time. Some people thought they assisted him, when they did not. A person of figure took him into his closet after dinner, and told him he would communicate something of mighty importance, a *καμψύλιον*, which in all difficulties had been many years his oracle. In an ill hour I met Kuster transported with delight. We found it was *Budaus's* *Lexicon*, large paper, with only the names of the authors he quotes writ in the margin, without one single remark or addition. Kuster, the best natured man alive, was terribly put to it how to treat one, that meant well, and continually enquired what service it did him, and triumphed that he was able to contribute so largely to the worthy editor of *Suidas*. Towards the close of the work, Kuster grew very uneasy, emaciated to the last degree, cold as a statue, and just as much alive as a man three parts dead. Sure I was to hear every time I called upon him, *O utinam illucescat iste Dies, quo huic Operi manum ultimam imponam!* It may now be proper to acquaint you in what manner this Gentleman used to relax and forget his labours over a bottle (for even Scipio and Lælius were not such fools as to be wise always); and that was generally in the Poetical way, or in

conversations, that turned upon antiquities, coins, inscriptions, and obscure passages of the antients. Sometimes he performed on the spinet at our music-club, and was by the connoisseurs accounted a master. His chief companions were Dr. Sike, famous in Oriental Learning, Davies, and Needham; Mr. Oddy, who writ Greek pretty well, and has left notes upon Dio, and a version of Apollonius Rhodius, which are repositied in Lord Oxford's Library; he is the person whose conjectures upon Avienus were printed by Dr. Hudson at the end of his *Geographers*; and Mr. Barnes the Greek Professor; concerning whom I beg leave to insert a few particulars known to none besides myself. His mother that was afterwards, was carried to Church to be buried; but the nails of the coffin being observed to make her bleed, they immediately gave her air, and she recovered. Sir Erasmus Smith of Essex, aged near 60, and not intending to marry, resolved to adopt one of the scholars of Christ's Hospital. Barnes was recommended by the master, and approved of by the Knight, who offered to settle an estate of two thousand pounds a year upon him, provided he would change his name. The mother, a woman of sense, was for it; but his father would by no means interpose, and left it entirely to his son to act as he pleased; and poverty was his option and fate. The Knight afterward married, and had issue, and often invited Joshua to his house. I have the same opinion of dreams that Petronius had; however I cannot help relating one, that he spoke often of. Two or three years before the intended adoption, when he knew not what a verse was, he thought himself assaulted by a ragged boy, who called himself Poverty. They fought a long time, and Barnes at last killed him near a Church-door; upon which his father appeared in the habit of a genius, and congratulated him in words that ended thus;

*"Felixque vincas, & domabis
"Pauperium malè pervicacem.*

He protested to me, that he told this next morning to his school-fellows, and they acquainted him with the sense and measure. The event was, that he got rid of poverty by marrying an old rich widow, that knew nothing of Greek, but *admired and loved the sound of it*. His *Essex* was thought to exceed any thing of Duport's on Rhodomannus, and pleased the University so much, that he ventured to appear for the Professorship, but was not well used by the Electors. One of them (Dr. Montagu) told me that the candidates examined each other publicly; that Barnes challenged Mich. Paine to speak or write; both which he wisely declined; then they opened *Aristophanes*, in which Barnes appeared vastly superior. However the Doctor voted, but with reluctance, for one of his own College. This repulse in a thing he had set his heart upon, quite turned his head, insomuch that he could hardly bear the sight of a Greek book for a long time. At last he turned himself to English History, which made him known to numbers of Gentlemen, whose regimen was too warm for a man of letters; so that when I knew him, he seemed to be *nil nisi magni nominis umbra*. When some of us pointed out any of his mistakes in *Euripides*, *Ye little Smatterers*, says he, *I have forgot more Greek than any of you ever knew*. Kuster often amused himself in challenging Barnes, though more than his match in composition. Both spoke the language, but neither readily. Both wrote in several measures; Kuster after much premeditation, Barnes generally in eight or ten minutes. Kuster's talent lay in the Iambic and Hendecasyllabon; the other was equally ready in any kind of verse; but when he corrected any thing, it was for the worse. In many trials I

" never

Rector of Aynho in Northamptonshire, containing several curious particulars concerning

“ never once saw Barnes hesitate. There lay once before him some lines, among which the word *Knapfack* occurred. Every body whispered (he was a little deaf) *This must nonplus him*; but he overheard them, and wrote on without being any way disconcerted; *Silence; τῷ λυτῷ is the proper term: See Leo Imperator's Taciturnitas, & Simocatta.* I am sensible how frigid these trifles will appear to a reader, who has time to criticise and invent; whereas they appeared otherwise to those, who were *in re presenti.* One gave, *Nocte pluit notā &c*: Barnes immediately cries.

“ Νυκτὸς οὖν πάσης, ἕκαστος διαμάτα πρῶσι
“ Χθυσὸν δ' ἀρχῆσι σὺν Διὶ Κείσασε ἔχει.

“ but afterwards allowed my correction *μειομαίνων ἀρχῆσι*. Another time some Dutch and Swedish travellers, who could speak English, suspecting collusion, insisted, that a book should be opened by one of their company. It was done at these words,

“ *A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph*

“ and Barnes writ

“ Ὅπλαφόρος δὲ οἱ ἦν ὃ ἔνομα ἔσκε Ραλφῶ, ἤμισυ ἀρ' οἱ ἀγῶνι ἐπέετο ἀνδροφόνειο.
“ Ἄλλοι ῥά λφον ἔπειον ἰπιστόμῳ μινύ σφῷ
“ Ῥαλφῶν δ' ἄλλοι ὀνομακλήδην καλέουσιν.
“ Ἡμῶς δ' ἔντ' ἐδίλωσι κασίγηται Κλαρίοιο
“ Ῥαλφον, Ῥαλφῶν τε Ραδῶλφον τ' ἐξήρομεν,
“ Μίτρον γὰρ πρώτῃ σέλιται διλοῖσι ποιηταῖς
“ Ὡ ἐπὶ ὅς ἦναι σαρλαθῶνομεν ἀιδματι πῶνι.
“ Ἐν δ' ἔπῳ ἀν' ἰλογοῖ, κ' ἀν' μίτροιο χάρην δῖ.
“ Ἐι τοιαῖσι λέγουμαι, ἐν χρόνῳ ἀρκιον ἔσι.

“ In the last verse *νοτὸς* means rather what may be understood, than one that understands. The wine being but indifferent one evening, some body repeated Martial's *Quid te, Tucca, juvat &c.* which Barnes rendered at the desire of the company, as I remember, thus.

“ Ὅινω τί σε, Τύκκα, παλαιῶ μίξαι δφίλλαι
“ Ἐν Βυτικάνοις εὔπφα τιδύλα κάδοις;
“ Ποίησεν τι γὰρ ἰδῶν ὁ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς Διόνυσος
“ Ἦ τί σε ἐγγύτης Βάκχος ἔδρακε κακῶ;
“ Ῥάδιον ἰδ' ἡμῶν, τῷ δ' ἀγῶνι Διόνυσος ἐκέρσῃ,
“ Καμπάνῳ τε φέρον τοξικῶ λυγρῶ δῖῳ,
“ Συμπόται ἄξιο ἰσὶ τοῖ ταχῶ πότμον ἰλοπιῶν,
“ Τίμοι ἀμφοτεριῶς ἄξιον ἢ μιλίτης.

“ Upon publication of *Suidas*, Kuster in a little time grew very fat, and returning into Prussia found his patrons retired from Court, and his salary precarious. What was more, his principles, which inclined to what is now called Arianism, rendered him not very acceptable to some persons. In a little time measures were taken to make him uneasy, and he retired to Amsterdam. It seems the people of Berlin were of a different opinion from an old Gentlewoman, who thought herself somebody. She boarded in the same house with Kuster, and heard him often speak of Pearson's manuscript *Suidas*. Is Mr. Kuster within, Madam? said a Gentleman. I think he is; you are a young man; I am glad you keep such company. You intend, I hear, to give him a degree: I am sure he gives you a good example. He is a devout Christian: he will go to Heaven be sure, for he reads blessed Bishop Pearson day and night.—Pray Madam, shorten your sermon; I am in haste.—Ab these scholars, they love nothing that's good.—Mary, call the Professor. At Amsterdam Kuster reprinted Dr. Mills's New Testament, and published *Aristophanes*, and some additional remarks upon *Suidas* under Mr. Le Clerc's cover. But his banker failing, he was reduced to extreme poverty; and happening at that very juncture to be invited to Paris by his old friend l'Abbe Bignon, was unfortunately prevailed on to join himself to the Galli-

“ can Church. He desired me to write to him as usual, but never on the article of religion; declaring at the same time, how he had not been obliged to make a formal recantation, or condemn the Reformed by any express act of his; but merely to conform. How far this is true, I know not; what is certain is only, that he was promised all the favour and distinction any convert could expect. He was presently admitted a Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, and in 1714 in return for a paper of verses I sent him, made me a present of his book *De vero usu verborum mediocritatis; χροστια χαλκίων*. The last I had from Kuster contained only *Queries upon Hesychius*, on whom, before he left England, he had made about five thousand emendations. His *Queries* were not over difficult; and from thence I guessed his health much impaired; and it proved so indeed, for we heard soon after, that he had been blooded five or six times for a fever, and that upon opening his body, there was found a cake of sand along the lower region of the belly. This, I take it, was occasioned by his sitting in a manner double, and writing on a very low table, surrounded with three or four circles of books placed on the ground; which was the situation we usually found him in. He had a clear head, cool, and proper for debate; he behaved in a very inoffensive manner, and I am persuaded the last error of his life was almost the only one, and will by charitable persons be placed in good measure to the account of his deplorable circumstances; for if *oppression*, which only affects a part, will, why shall not the loss of all one's fortunes, purchased with so much labour, *make a wife man mad?* Let those only censure him, who in plentiful circumstances have the spirit to serve their country without place or title.” We shall subjoin here the following letters of Dr. Kuster to Mr. Wasse.

“ Viro doctissimo & amicissimo *Josepho Waffio* S. D.
“ *Ludolphus Kusterus.*

“ En tibi Epistolam à *Relando*, quæ de Apparatu *Kobliano* te edocebit. Addidi Schedulam a *D. Leibnitio*, quæ specimen Collationis cum MSS. Guelferbytanis continet. An integram Collationem ejus operâ nacturi simus, proximè scire licebit, nam denuo ad eum scripsi. In ultimâ ad me Epistolâ hæc tantum eâ super re scripsit, non proletariâ diligentia opus fore, ut MSS. illi cum editis conferantur. In eadem Epistolâ miratur hiatus *Gervassii* eisdem fuisse in MS. Cantabrigiensi, ac in Apographo ad vos transmisso; subdubitaturque annon forte per ἀελευψίαν quædam in collatione prætermissa fuerint. Sed mihi quidem nullum dubium est, quin lacunas illas suppleturus fuisset, si MS. vester integer fuisset. De Collatione *Plutii & Nubium* cum MS. *Arundeliano* tibi & *Dom. Daubio* gratias quam maximas ago, speroque me itidem collationem *Plutii* cum MS. *Dom. Wheleri* tuâ operâ nacturum esse. Audio & Oxonii aliquas *Aristophanes* fabulas MSS. exitare. Quare pergratum mihi, faceres, si eâ de re Literas dare velles ad *Hudsonum* qui jam ante aliquot menses prolixè mihi pollicitus est usum omnium illorum, quæ in Bibliothecâ *Bodleianâ* hanc ad rem pertinentia reperirentur. Refricabis igitur ipsi haud gravatim rei hujus memoriam. *Aristophanes* *Dom. Posslerii* nondum ad manus meas pervenit, Apparatus ad futuram editionem *Aristophanis* quotidie crescit, omnesque hic non spernendam ejus Auctoris Editionem sibi pollicentur, *Owenum* denuo ad incitas redactum ex aliis quoque audivi, omnemque proinde spem abjeci illum mihi unquam solvendo fore. Clariss. *Bentleio* salutem meo nomine nunties plurimam, eique dicas me responsum expectare ad id, quod de *Suidâ* ad ipsum scripseram. Si vel ipse vel tu abiens eris, quæso per Literas hoc ipsum meo nomine roges. Est enim res alicujus momenti; & Bibliopolæ identidem me hac de re percontantur. Doctorem *Perkinsum* (cui dicas, quæso, me sæpe hic Amstelodami cum amico ejus *Tobinsono* poculum in ejus salutem hau-

cerning our author, which we shall present to the reader in the note.

“ fiffe) *Sikium*, alioſque item meis verbis ſalutabis. Quando te hic expectabimus? Sane deſiderium tui hic videnti apud me creſcit in horas, ex quo mihi ſcripſiſti te huc venturum eſſe. *Clericus* te ſalutat, itidemque tuum expectat adventum. Vale, mi *Waſſi*, perſuaſumque habe me in pauciſſimis te amare & diligere. Amſtelodami d. 18 Mart. St. Nov. 1707.

“ P. S. Quæſo an ad Gradum Doctõris in Theologiã Cantabrigiæ promotus es? Id enim ex unis Literis tuis colligi poſſe videtur. Si ſic, ſcribas mihi eã de re clariuſ, ut tibi eo nomine gratulari poſſim.”

“ Viro doctiſſimo & longe amicitioſiſſimo *Joſepho Waſſo* S. P. D. *Ludolphus Kuſterus*.

“ In amicitiam noſtram me peccatum credebam, ſi *Cronfeldio* ad vos redituro nihil ad te literarum darem, præſertim cum tam longo tempore nihil ad te ſcripſiſſem. Quamvis autem ob diuturnum ſilentium me negligentia in ſcribendo jure forſan condemnare queas, non tamen ideo me in te amando, memoriamque tui recolendo ſegniorem fuiſſe concedo; de quã re, etiam me tacente, te minimè dubitare perſuaſus ſum, quippe qui ſciam, meum erga te animum jam à pluribus annis abunde tibi peripetum eſſe. *Saluſtius* tuus quãdo tandem in Lucem exhibit? Ex *Cronfeldio* enim intelligo, eum ante diſceſſum tuum Cantabrigiæ (quod tamen ante ſperaveramus) non potuiſſe ad finem perducere. *Ariſtophanes* meus prælo mox liberabitur, & ut puto, proximo menſe in lucem prodibit. Opto tantum, ut expectationis, quam nonnullos de hac Editione concepiſſe video, reſpondere valeam. Nova Editio *Irenæi* Pariſiſ paratur, eaque prælum jam ſubit, ut ex Literis illuſtriſſimi *Bignonii* nuper intellexi. Plura *Cronfeldius* coram tibi narrabit. Vale, Vir amicitioſiſſime, & me amare perge, Amſtelodami, d. xii Maii 1709.

“ P. S. Cum proximè ad me ſcribes, quæſo fac me certiore, annon de *Diodoro* aliquando edendo ſeriò cogites. Nam ejus Libri Editio valde deſideratur.”

“ Amico optimo *Joſepho Waſſo* S. P. D. *Ludolphus Kuſterus*.

“ Quamvis non dubitem te benè valere, meique memorem adhuc vivere, id ipſum tamen ex te cognocere malo per literas, quarum me poſt longum illud, quo inter nos uſi ſumus ſilentio, ingens nunc deſiderium tenet. Apud me quidem priuſtinus ille, quo te proſecutus ſemper fui, amor integer adhuc & illibatus durat, eoque firmiores in animo meo radices agit, quo magis ad vetuſtatem accedit; tantum abeſt, ut diuturnitate temporis ſeneſcat. Qui haſ tibi reddet, eſt Juvenis doctus, nomine *Burgius*, *Sileſius*, à Clar. *Oleario*, Proſſore Lipſienſi, mihi commendatus; quem viciffim tibi trado, ſi forte ei vel Londini vel Cantabrigiæ aliquã in re commodare queas. Cupidus enim eſt cognoscendi viros doctos, ſtatumque rei literariæ in Britannia veſtra; quippe cujus rei gratiã peregrinationem hanc ſuſcepit. Ego benè adhuc valeo, totumque me in Literas abdidi, & potiſſimum nunc in *Heſychio* perpoliando occupatus ſum; ad quam rem & ſymbolam tuam expecto; non dubito enim, quin non pauca in eo Scriptore obſervaveris, quæ me alioſque fugerint. De Lite, quæ nuper *Clericum* inter & *Burmanno* exorta eſt, nota tibi omnia eſſe non dubito. Quamvis non diffiteor *Clericum* aliquando latus apertum adverſariis ſuis præbuiſſe, non tamen merebatur, ut tam indignis modis a *Burmanno* acciperetur. Effrañis enim illa Linguae Licentia, & immodica verborum acerbitas, a viris doctis & humanitate profitentibus quam longiſſimè abeſſe debet. De ſtatu rei Literariæ in Belgio noſtro plura coram ipſe *Burgius* tibi narrabit, ſub cujus diſceſſum haſ ipſas Literas raptim exaravi. Vale & me ama, Amſtelodami, d. 16. Sept. 1710.

“ P. S. Si forte Cantabrigiæ hæ Literæ te offendant, rogo ut ſalutem meo nomine impertiariſ amicis veteribus, *Perkinſo*, *Barneſo*, *Daviſo*, & aliis.

“ P. S. Saluſtium tuum nondum vidi, ſed valde videre cupio.” T

KYRIANDER (WILLIAM), a German Civilian, having begun his ſtudies of Civil Law in Germany, continued them in France and at Padua; and went afterwards to Venice, in order to join the practice to the theory by frequenting the bar (a). He undertook there a tranſlation of a work of Leander Alberti [A], which was printed at Cologne in 1567. You will find in Moreri, that he was Syndic of Treves, and that he published the Annals of that City [B]; but you will find there that he changed his Religion; and that his work was greatly decried on that account by the Jeſuits [C].

(a) Kyriander, *Præfat. Deſcript. Italiae*.

[A] He . . . undertook a tranſlation of a work of Leander Alberti.] This work contains a Deſcription of Italy, and has not been deſpiſed by learned men. Read Voſſius, *Ch. XII. lib. 3. de Hiſtoricis Latinis* (1), and la Popeliniere, pag. 414. of the *Hiſtory of Hiſtories*. Kyriander made uſe of three Italian editions of the work, which he tranſlated into Latin; but I am ſurprized that he ſays nothing of the edition, which was enlarged with the Deſcription of the Iſlands near Italy. This edition was printed at Venice *appreſſo Ludovico de gli Avanzis* in 1561 in 4to. The Tranſlator was greatly in the wrong not to have followed this, and not to have added to his work this Deſcription of the Iſlands.

(1) Pag. m. 680.

[B] He published the Annals of that City.] It is a work in folio, and was printed at Deuxponts in

1603. Michael Hertzius does not mention this edition; he only takes notice of that of 1625, and pretends, that theſe Annals begin in the year of the world 966 (2). This is carrying them up above ſeven hundred years before the deluge. Zeiller (3) might have informed him, that he ſhould have ſaid 1966, and not 966. In the ſecond edition of Moreri printed in Holland it is 1066. This is carrying it back near ſix hundred years before Noah.

(2) Hertzius, *Bibliotheca Germanica*, num. 464.

(3) *De Hiſtoricis*, Part. 2 pag. 81.

[C] He changed his Religion; and his work was greatly decried on that account by the Jeſuits.] Let us ſee what Maſenius ſays: *Kyriander res Trevirenſium, ut ſiatm Deo Principique ſuo violarat, perverſè perſecutus eſt* (4). i. e. “Kyriander has written an erroneous account of the Hiſtory of Treves, having before violated his faith to God, and his Prince.”

(4) Maſenius, in *Deſcript. Compend. Hiſt. Trevir. apud Mazarinum*, *Epityma* pag. 493.

L.

LABE (LOYSA or LOUISA) a curtezan of Lyons, has been ranked among the French authors by la Croix du Maine, and du Verdier-Vau-Privas. She flourished at Lyons under Henry II in the year 1555 (a), and her works were printed there the same year [A]. She did not act like curtezans in all respects; for if she, on one hand, was of their turn of mind, in that she would be well paid for her favours; on the other hand she shewed a certain regard for men of learning which women of that character have not, she indulging them the favour on free cost. Her character will be better known by the passage cited below [B].

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 291.

[A] Her works were printed at Lyons in 1555.] They consist of a dialogue in French prose intitled, *Le Debat de Folie & d'Honneur*; i. e. "The Contest between Folly and Honour," and several Poems of her writing (1), as also *Encomiums written by several Poets in her honour, in Greek, Latin, Italian, and French* (2).

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 291.

(2) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Bib. Francoise*, p. 822.

(3) *Idem*, *ibid.*

[B] Her character will be better known by the passage cited below.] I make no alteration in du Verdier's words. "Louisa Labbe, says he (3), a curtezan of Lyons, (otherwise called the beautiful rope-maker's wife, her husband being of that trade) was a very skilful rider; for which reason the Gentlemen who had access to her, used to call her Captain Lewis. She was a woman of wit, but not very beautiful. She entertained at her house in the most obliging manner, Lords, Gentlemen, and other persons of merit, with conversation, with music both vocal and instrumental, in which she was excellently well skilled, with the reading of good Latin, Italian, and Spanish authors, with which her closet was abundantly stocked; and with the most delicious sweetmeats. In a word, she used to communicate to them the most secret things she had; and, to say all in word, was free of her body to such as would pay for it; however, not to all, and upon no account to mechanicks and persons in a low way of

life, though they would have given her ever so much. She was particularly fond of learned men, who were so much in her good graces, that those of her acquaintance were preferred before any Nobleman though of the highest distinction; and she would rather have indulged a favour to the one gratis, than to the other for a great number of crowns, which is contrary to the practice of women of her profession." This passage has been quoted in the continuation of the general critique of Maimbourg's *History of Calvinism* (4), and the following remark is added to it (5). "Demosthenes would have been glad had Lais the curtezan resembled this; he would not have made a voyage to Corinth to no purpose; nor found by experience,

(4) Letter 18. pag. 595.

(5) *Ibid.* pag. 596.

"That at such treats an author, like a fool,
Must draw his purse out, and pay down his reckoning."

This female honoured and dishonoured learning at the same time; she dishonoured it, by her leading the life of a prostitute at the same time that she was an authoress; and she honoured it, because [the Literati were more favourably received by her gratis, than ignorant people, though they offered her a considerable sum.

☞ This being a curious article, and very imperfect in Bayle, because he had not the materials for it, we shall endeavour to supply what is wanting in it.

LABBE (LOUISA). Writers are divided with regard to the true orthography of her name [A]. Her charms were so great, that her contemporaries lavished every kind of applause on her [B]. We shall here give an account of her works [C], which are very

(1) From the remarks to the Paris edit. 1734, of Bayle's Dictionary, tom. 3. pag. 896. This author thinks her name was Labbé. See also Nicéron, *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 23. pag. 242, 243. Paris 1703. 12mo.

[A] Writers are divided with regard to the true Orthography of her name.] LABE (1) is her true name, and not Labbé, L'Abbe, or Labe, as Bayle calls her. Our authoress, on account of her charms, was called the beautiful rope-maker's wife, because her husband was of that trade; or rather, as father Colonia believes with probability enough, because he traded in cordage and cables; a name she left to the city in Lyons where she lived, and which it retains to this day, it being called *Ruë Belle-Codiere*.

[B] Her contemporaries lavished every kind of applause on her.] La Croix du Maine calls her a very learned woman, who wrote finely both in prose and verse, and adds that she had the following words for her anagram, *Belle à soy*. Paradin, who was at Lyons in her time, and very probably was acquainted with her, bestows an extravagant eulogium on her, and applauds particularly her virtue and chastity. "Louisa Labé (say he) had a face, which resembled more that of an angel than of a human creature; but this was nothing in comparison of the beauties of her mind, which was so chaste, so virtuous, so poetical, and filled with such excellent knowledge, that she seemed to have been created by Heaven, to be admired as a shining miracle among men. For she was not only skilled in the Latin tongue, in such a manner as is above the capacity of her sex, but she likewise excelled surprisingly in the poetry of the vulgar tongues, of which the works she has left to posterity are a proof (2)." James Poilleier, a physician, mathematician and poet, wrote an ode in her praise, where-

(2) Paradin, *Mém. de l'Hist. de Lyon*, pag. 355. fol.

in he highly applauds her learning and merit. Others also wrote verses in her commendation, and some of these are annexed to her works. Besides her knowledge in languages and her talent at composition, she played finely on the lute, and was a very skilful rider; a proof of her having been well educated, and that she was not so meanly descended as the profession of a rope-maker, which du Verdier ascribes to her husband, might make it to be supposed (3). The author from whom I now borrow, goes on to observe, that all the fine qualities which were admired in her, were depraved by a licentiousness, which though more refined, than that of Lais or Phryne's, was not therefore less blame-worthy (4).

(3) Nicéron, *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 23. p. 244.

(4) *Ibid.* pag. 245.

[C] We shall here give an account of her works.] All the compositions she left are comprised in a book which is extremely scarce, and entitled *Ouvres de Louise Labé, Lionnoise*. Lion. Jean de Tournes 1556, in 16mo, pag. 176 not figured. However du Verdier dates it 1555; but I nevertheless am of opinion that there was an edition before that of 1556. He perhaps put that year, because the dedication is dated the 24th of July 1555, and the book was published at the close of that year. Louisa Labé inscribed this dedication to A. M. C. D. B. L. that is, *A Mademoiselle Clemence de Bourges, Lionnoise*, who also was conspicuous for her merit and learning. I find by Mr. de la Monnoye's manuscript additions to the *Bibliothèques Françaises de la Croix du Maine and du Verdier*, that John Garou printed a second edition of them in Roan the same year 1556 in 16° (5). The pieces contained

(5) *Ibid.* pag. 247, 248.

very rarely met with. Among these are her elegies, of which we will give a specimen [D].
She

in this collection are as follow: *Debat de Folie & d'Amour*; i. e. "Contest of Love and Folly." This is a very ingenious dialogue in prose, the subject of which is as follows. Jupiter had invited all the Gods to a banquet. Love and Folly happened to come, at the same time, to the gate of the palace of that God, in order to be one of his guests; but the gate was shut, and only the wicket open. Folly seeing Love just going to step one foot in, advanced in order to get before him, Love being thrust upon, fell into a passion, but folly insisted that she ought to have the precedence: upon this they fell a quarrelling about their respective prerogatives: love finding he could not gain his point by reason and argument, bends his bow, and lets fly an arrow at folly, who baffles all his attempts by becoming invisible; and a moment after satiates her vengeance on love by tearing out his eyes, and covering the place with a bandage, which could not be taken off. Venus complains to Jupiter against folly, and the God is determined to hear their cause. Apollo is council for love, and Mercury for folly; when Jupiter after hearing the debates and consulting the rest of the Gods, pronounced sentence as follows: *On account of the difficulty and importance of your disputes, and the diversity of your opinions, we have suspended your contest from this day to three times seven times nine centuries. In the mean time we command you to live amicably together, without injuring one another. Folly shall lead love, and take him whither soever he pleases; and when restored to his sight, (after consulting the fates) Sentence shall be pronounced (6).* This charming fiction has since been exhibited in a variety of lights, several Poets having laid claim to it.

[D] Her elegies, of which we will give a specimen.] There are three elegies, part of the third of which we shall transcribe, because it relates to our Louisa Labé. Her lines are as follow:

Quand vous lirez, O Dames Lionnoises,
Ces miens écrits pleins d'amoureuses noies;
Quand mes regrets, ennuis, dépits & larmes
N'oserez chanter en pitoyables Carmes,
Ne veuillez point condamner ma simplesse,
Et jeune erreur de ma sole jeunesse,
Si c'est erreur: mais qui dessous les Cieux
Se peut vanter de n'être vicieux?
L'un n'est content de sa sorte de vie,
Et toujours porte a ses voisins envie.
L'un forcenant de voir la paix en terre,
Par tous moyens tâche y mettre la guerre.
L'autre croyant pauvreté être vice,
A autre Dieu qu'Or ne fait sacrifice.
L'autre sa soy a parjure il emploira
A decevoir quelqu'un qui le croira.
L'un en mentant de sa langue lezarde
Mille brocards sur l'un & l'autre darde.
Je ne suis point sous ces planetes nées,
Qui m'eussent pu tant faire infortunée.
Onques ne fut mon oeil marri, de voir
Chez mon voisin mieux que chez moi pleuvrir.
On ne mis noise ou discord entre amis;
A faire gain jamais ne me soumis;
Mentir, tromper, & abuser autrui,
Tant m'a déplu que medire de lui.
Mais si en moi rien y a d'imparfait,
Qu'on blâme amour, c'est lui seul qui l'a fait,
Sur mon verd âge en ses laqs il me prit,
Lors qu'exercois mon corps & mon esprit,
En mille & mille euvres ingenieuses,
Qu'en peu de temps me rendit ennuieuses,
Pour bien savoir avec l'aiguille peindre,
J'eusse entrepris la renommée estreindre
De celle là, qui plus docte que sage,
Avec Pallas comparoit son Ouvrage,
Qui n'eût vû lors en armes fiere aller,
Porter la lance & bois faire voler
Le devoir faire en l'estour furieux,
Piquer, volter, le Cheval glorieux,
Pour Bradamante, où la haute Marphise,
Sœur de Roger, il m'eust, possible, prise.
Mais quoi? Amour ne put longuement voir
Mon coeur n'aimant que Mars & le savoir,
Et me voulant donner autre souci,

En souriant, il me disoit ainsi:
Tu penses donc, o Lionnoise Dame,
Pouvoir fuir par ce moyen ma flame:
Mais non feras; j'ai subjugué les Dieux
Es bas Enfers, en la Mer & es Cieux:
Et penses tu que n'aye tel pouvoir
Sur les Humains, de leur faire savoir
Qu'il n'y a rien qui de ma main échape?
Plus fort se pense, & plus tôt je le frappe.
De me blamer, quelquefois tu n'as bonte,
En te fiant en Mars, dont tu fais conte:
Mais maintenant, voy si pour persister
En le suivant me pourras resister.
Ainsi parloit, & tout echauffé d'ire,
Hors de sa trouffe une fagette il tire,
Et decobant de son extrême force,
Droit la tira contre ma tendre corce;
Foible harmonis, pour bien couvrir le coeur,
Contre l'Archer, qui toujours est vanqueur.
La Breche faite, entre Amour en la place,
Dont le repos premierement il chasse;
Et le travail qu'il me donne sans cesse.
Boire, manger, & dormir ne me laisse,
Il ne me chaut de solail ne d'ombrage:
Je n'ai qu'Amour & feu en mon courage,
Qui me deguise & fait autre paroître,
Tant que ne peux moi même me connoître.
Je n'avois vû encore seize Hivers,
Lorqu'j'entrai en ces ennus divers;
Et jà voici le troizieme Eté,
Que mon coeur fut par amour arrêté.
Le temps met fin aux hautes Pyramides,
Le temps met fin aux fontaines humides,
Il ne pardonne aux braves Colosses,
Il met à fin les Villes plus prisées;
Finir aussi il a acoutumé
Le feu d'Amour, tant soit-il allumé.
Mais, las! en moi il semble qu'il augmente
Avec le temps, & que plus me tourmente.
Paris aimait Oenone ardemment,
Mais son amour ne dura longuement.
Medée fut aimée de Jason,
Qui tôt après la mit hors sa maison.
Si meritoient elles être estimées,
Et pour aimer leurs Amis, être aimées.
S'étant aimé, on peut amour laisser,
N'est il raison, ne l'étant, se laisser?
N'est il raison te prier de permettre,
Amour, que puisse à mes tourmens fin mettre?
Ne permets point que de Mort fasse épreuve,
Et plus que toi pitoyable la treuve:
Mais si tu veux que j'aime jusqu'au bout,
Fais que celui que j'estime mon tout,
Qui seul me peut faire plorer & rire,
Et pour le quel si souvent je soupire,
Sente en ses os, en son sang, en son ame,
Ou plus ardente, ou plus égale flâme.
Alors ton saix plus aisé me sera,
Quand avec moi quelqu'un te portera (7).

The sense is,

"Ye Ladies of Lyons, when you shall read these compositions of mine filled with amorous contests; when you shall hear me sing in doleful strains, my uneasinesses, vexations, woes and tears, condemn not my simplicity, and the error of my silly youth, if it be an error; but what mortal under the cope of Heaven can boast perfection in all respects? One is not contented with his condition of life, and is eternally envying his neighbour. A second, enraged to see the earth blessed with peace, sets every engine at work to light up a war on it. Another imagining poverty to be a vice, offers sacrifice to no other Deity but gold. A fourth employs his perjured faith, to deceive any person, who shall trust in him. And a fifth lying with his venomous tongue, darts out a thousand taunts and scoffs one upon another. Now I was not born under one of those inauspicious planets, which should make me so unhappy in myself. My eye was never pained to see my neighbour more favoured with the smiles of fortune than myself. I never created strife or discord among friends; and never was venal enough to hunt after profit; to lie, deceive and impose on another,

(7) *Œuvres de Louisa Labé, Lionnoise. Lyon, 1556.*

She also wrote twenty four sonnets [E], the first of which is in Italian. To the writings of our authorefs are annexed *Verses of various Poets in her praise*. These consist of twenty four pieces in different kinds of Poetry, one whereof is in Latin, four in Italian, and the rest in French; but there are none in Greek, notwithstanding the assertion of du Verdier. The last copy of verses is of a very great length (20 pages) some particulars whereof being of use, shewing especially her great bravery, we shall transcribe them below [F]. By them we find that she was born about the year 1526 (a). La Croix du Maine has committed two errors, 1st in calling our authorefs *Louisa L'Abé*, instead of *Labé*; and 2dly, in giving her Dialogue the title of the *Contest of Folly and Honour*, instead of *Folly and Love* (b).

(b) See Father Colonia's *Literary History of the City of Lyons*, vol. 1. and Nicéron, *Hommes Illustres*, vol. 23. pag 242. & seq.

(a) See the proof of this in the close of the remark [F].

“ther, would have been as ungrateful to me as to slander him. But if there are any imperfections in me, Cupid only, as being the cause of them, ought to be blamed. The amorous God caught me, when very young, in his snares, at a time when I exercised my body and mind in a thousand ingenious operations, which he soon rendred distasteful to me. So skilful was I in needle works, that I would have attempted to eclipse the renown of that mortal, who, more learned than prudent, set her works in parallel with those of Pallas. Any person who should have seen me at that time, proved in armour, carrying a lance, and shooting darts, doing duty in furious battle, riding forward, and turning the glorious horse, would very possibly have taken me for Bradamante, or the renowned Marphisa, a sister to Rogero. But Cupid could not long bear to see my heart inflamed with no other passions but those of war and learning; and being determined to involve me in different cares, spoke thus to me: O Lady of Lyons; thou fanciest thou mayest by this means, escape my flame; but thou art quite mistaken: for I have subdued the Gods, in Hell, in the Seas and in Heavens. And thinkest thou that I have no power over mortals; to make them sensible that nothing escapes me? The stronger a mortal thinks himself, the sooner I strike him. Thou sometimes dost not scruple to censure me, relying on Mars who is high in thy esteem. But now see whether, by continuing to follow his standards, thou canst be able to resist me. Saying these words, and inflamed with anger, he drew a shaft from his quiver, and letting fly with all his might, levelled directly at my frail body; too weak an armour to defend my heart from the ever-victorious archer. Cupid had no sooner made a breach, but he marches into the place, whence he first drives away quiet; and the incessant toils, which he obliges me to undergo, will not suffer me to eat, drink, or sleep. The sun or the shade are equally indifferent to me; I have nothing but love and fire in my courage, which disguises me to such a degree, that I do not know myself. I was not sixteen years old, when I was subjected to these various cares; and thirteen summers are now past since my heart was first captivated by love. . . Time destroys the most lofty pyramids, dries up the most copious springs; does not spare the most magnificent amphitheatres, nor the most renowned cities. He also used to extinguish the fire of love, how strongly soever it might blaze; but alas; time seems to encrease its ardors in me, and to torture me still more. Paris was fired with a strong passion for Oenone, but then his passion was not lasting. Medea was beloved by Jason, who soon after turned her out of doors. Nevertheless they merited esteem; and love ought to have been repaid with love. . . If a person may leave an object to whom he is dear; is it not reasonable that one who loves and is not loved again should grow tired? Is it not reasonable, O Cupid, for me to beseech thee to permit me to end my torments? Suffer me not to fall a victim to death, and to find it more compassionate than thou. But if thou wilt have my passion to be lasting, cause the dear man, whom I esteem as my only treasure; who alone has the power to make

me laugh or weep, and for whom I so often sigh; cause him, I say, to feel in his bones, in his blood, in his soul, a more ardent, or at least an equal flame. Thy burthen will then be lighter, when another shall assist me in supporting it.”

[E] She also wrote twenty four sonnets.] Our Louisa declares her real sentiments with regard to love, when she says at the end of the eighteenth:

*Permetts m'Amour penser quelque folie:
Toujours juis mal, vivant discrettement;
Et ne me puis donner contentement
Si hors de moi ne fais quelque saillie.*

The sense is,

“Suffer me, Cupid, to entertain some wild notions; living discreetly never agrees with me; and I am never well pleased, but when I indulge myself in some extravagant flight.”

[F] Some particulars being of use, we shall transcribe them.] They inform us of her courage, and present us with a date, which is of some service.

*Louise ainsi furieuse
En laissant les habits mols
Des femmes, & envieuse
De bruit, par les Espagnols
Souvent courut, en grand' noise,
Et maint assault leur donna,
Quand la jeunesse François
Perpignan environna.
Là sa force elle de ploye
La de sa Lance elle ploye
Le plus hardi assaillant,
Et brave dessus la selle,
Ne demonstroit rien en elle
Que d'un chevalier vaillant (8).*

(8) Idem, ibid.

The sense is,

“Louisa thus furious, laying aside the effeminate habit of her sex, and panting after fame, often rode fiercely among the Spaniards, and charged them several times when the French troops invested Perpignan. There she displays her strength, there she repulses, with her lance, the boldest assaillant; and fighting with great bravery on horseback, her every action seems to speak her a valiant Knight.”

Perpignan was besieged in 1542. Louisa Labé was present at it, in a man's habit, when but a *Pucelle*, as the author cited by me styles her, and before she knew what love was; and consequently at fifteen or sixteen years of age; since according to the elegy quoted above (9), her breast began to be fired by love, and occasioned her to quit a military life, before she was sixteen. But it was presently after this siege, that she laid aside the sword, as is manifest from the third elegy in question, where she says that *thirteen summers are now past, since my heart was first captivated by love*. For as this elegy was writ, the latest, in 1555, when our Louisa wrote the dedication to her compositions; subtracting 13 from that number gives us 1542, which was the very year of the siege of Perpignan. From all this it follows that Louisa Labé was about twenty nine years of age in 1555, and consequently was born about the year 1526 (10).

(9) In the remark [D].

(10) Nicéron, *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 23. pag. 257.

LABERIUS (DECIMUS) a Roman Knight, and a Poet, had a wonderful talent at making of *Mimi* or Farces. He did not dare to refuse Julius Cæsar, who was desirous he should play one of those pieces; though extremely unsuitable to his age and condition.

condition. He made the best excuse he could in the prologue [A]; and maliciously levelled some strokes against Cæsar [B], which determined that Prince to mortify him a little, by preferring another Poet before him [C]. Laberius was rallied by Ciceró that day (a), and paid him in his own coin [D]. He died ten months after Julius Cæsar (b). His

(a) That is, the day he played to please Jul. Cæsar.

(b) Ensch. in His Chronica.

[A] He made the best excuse he could in the Prologue.] Macrobius has preserved it; and says very judiciously, that a master, even when he beseeches, employs a kind of authority which cannot be resisted (1). Laberium asperæ libertatis equitem Romanum Cæsar quingentis milibus invitavit, ut prodiret in scenam, & ipse ageret mimos quos scriptitabat. Sed potestas non solum si invitet, sed et si supplicet, cogit. Unde se & Laberius à Cæsare coactum in prologo testatur his versibus:

(1) Aufonius, says more; Quod est potentissimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. Præfat. Centon. Nupt. i. e. "Which is the most powerful kind of command, he who might have commanded, desired."

Necessitas, cuius cursus transversi impetum,
Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,
Quo me detrusit pæne extremis sensibus?
Quem nulla ambitio, nulla unquam largitio,
Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
Movere potuit in juvena de statu:
Ecce in senecta ut facile labefecit loco
Viri excellentis mente clemente edita
Submissa placide blandiloquens oratio?
Etenim ipsi Dî negare cui nihil potuerunt,
Hominem me denegare quis posset pati? &c (2).

(2) Macrobi. Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. m. 342.

"Laberius, a Roman Knight was invited by Cæsar, upon the promise of a great reward, to come upon the stage, and act a part in a farce of his own writing. But power, not only when it invites, but also when it supplicates, compels: and therefore Laberius declares himself to have been compelled by Cæsar in the following prologue.

"Necessity, which all men strive to shun,
But few can do it, whither has it led me,
In my old age? I, whom nor vain ambition,
Nor bribes, nor fear, authority nor power,
Could influence in my gay, youthful years;
Behold how easily I'm drawn away
By the smooth Rhetoric of a mighty man!
For, can I any thing refuse to him,
To whom the Gods themselves can nought refuse?"

[B] He maliciously levelled some strokes at Cæsar.] Macrobius informs us of this (3). In ipsa quoque actione subinde se, qua poterat, ulcisceretur indulto habitu Syri, qui velut flagris cæsus præripientique se similis exclamabat:

(3) Macrobi. ibid. pag. 344.

Porro, Quirites! libertatem perdimus.
& paulo post adjecit:
Necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent.

Quo dicto universitas populi ad solum Cæsarem oculos & ora convertit, notantes impotentiam ejus hac dicacitate lapidatam.

The sense is,
"Whilst he was upon the stage he presently after had his revenge in some measure, in the character of Syrus, who, as tho' he were whipped, and running away, cried aloud

"Our darling liberties we (Romans) lose,
and added a little after
"He must fear many men, whom many fear."

"At which words, all the spectators turned their eyes on Cæsar, perceiving that he was affected with that raillery." Father Briet did not attend duly to this passage, he supposing that Laberius did not satyrise Cæsar till long after. Procedente tempore ipsum Cæsarem offendit, & maximè hoc versu

Porro Quirites libertatem perdimus,
Item & isto
Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent (4).

(4) Briet. de Poet. Lat. pag. 12.

The sense is
"In process of time he offended Cæsar himself, and particularly by the following verse,

"Our darling liberties we (Romans) lose,
and likewise by this
"He must fear many men, whom many fear."

[C] Cæsar... preferring another Poet before him.] Here follows another passage of Macrobius. Ob hæc in Publium vertit favorem. It... produciunt Roma per Cæsaris ludos omnes, qui tunc scripta & operas suas in scenam locaverant, provocavit, ut singuli secum posita invicem materia pro tempore contenderent. Nec ullo recusante superavit omnes; in quibus & Laberium: unde Cæsar arridens hoc modo pronuntiavit:

Favente tibi me victus es Laberi à Syro:

Statimque Publio palmam, & Laberio annulam auream cum quingentis sestertiis dedit. Tunc Publius ad Laberium recedentem ait: Qui cum contendisti scriptor hunc spectator subleva (5). i. e. "On this account he turned his favour to Publius. This person, coming to Rome during the time that Cæsar exhibited games, challenged all the dramatic writers to vye with him: they accepting the challenge, he was victorious over all of them; and among others over Laberius, which made Cæsar, smiling, say as follows:

"Crown'd with my favour, thou old bard (Laberius)
By Syrus art overcome."

"Immediately after which he bestowed the palm on Publius, and gave Laberius a gold ring and five hundred sesterces. Then Publius said to Laberius as he was going away: Him, whom you contended with when a writer, assist when a spectator." Laberius wrote some time after, a Mime or Farce, wherein he declared, that success is as doubtful on the stage as elsewhere; and that if he had fallen from the first rank, his successor would meet with the same disgrace. Sequenti statim commissione mimo novo interjectis versibus:

Non possunt primi esse omnes omni in tempore.
Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris,
Consistes ægre; & quam descendas, decides.

Cecidi ego, cadet qui sequitur, laus est publica (6):

(6) Macrobi. ibid. pag. 345.

The sense is,
"Immediately in the next context, he inserted the following verses in his new Mime:

"No man, at all times, can excell o'er others.
When you've attain'd the highest point of fame,
'Tis hard to stand; and when you once descend,
You'll fall. My self am fall'n, and he who follows
Will also fall. To th' public, praise belongs."

I will here insert a passage from Aulus Gellius (7). C. autem Cæsarem ita Laberii maledicentia & arrogantia offendebat, ut acceptiores & probatores sibi esse Publii quam Laberii mimos prædicaret. i. e. "Laberius's arrogant satyr was so displeasing to Cæsar, that he declared publicly, that he was better pleased with Publius's Mimes than with those of Laberius."

[D] Laberius was rallied by Ciceró that day, and paid him in his own coin.] After that Laberius had played his pieces, Cæsar presented him with a ring, and gave him leave to retire. Laberius went to look for a place among the Knights, but they ordered it so that he could meet with none. Ciceró seeing him perplexed, said, recepissim te nisi anguste sederem. i. e. "I am crowded, otherwise would have made room for you." Mirum, replied the other, si anguste sedes, qui soles duabus sellis sedere (8), i. e. "It is surprizing that you, who use to sit on two seats, should be crowded." Ciceró killed two birds with one stone: He laughed at Laberius, and the great number of newly created Senators, whose number had been greatly augmented by Cæsar; simul & illum respiciens, & in novum Senatum jocus, cuius numerum Cæsar supra fax auxerat (9). But the answer accused him of trimming (10), i. e. of not being the true friend either of Cæsar or Pompey: Ciceró male audiebat, tanquam nec Pompeio certus amicus, nec Cæsari, sed utriusque adulator (11). I will observe by the way, that Macrobius has confounded the seats of the Knights with those of the Senators;

(7) A. Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 14.

(8) Macrobi. lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 329.

(9) Idem, ibid. and lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 582. See also Seneca, Controvers. XLIII.

(10) Expressa levitate Ciceroni. Macrobi. ibid. Obiciens tanto viro lubricum sedit. Idem, Macrobi. lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 582.

(11) Seneca. Controvers. 12.

His verses were not so much contemned by Horace, as may be imagined [E]. Moreri has committed some errors [F].

(12) Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 582. nators; he imagining that the Senators used to sit on what were called the fourteen benches, (12), in which he is mistaken; *Quod Cicero dixit, nisi anguste sederem, scilicet fuit in C. Cæsarem, qui in Senatum passim tam multos admittēbat, ut eos quatuordecim gradus capere non possunt.* i. e. "When Cicero said, I am crowded, otherwise &c. it was to ridicule Cæsar, who admitted so many members into the Senate, that the fourteen seats or benches could not hold them." This had been the feat of the Knights ever since the law of Roscius Otho.

(13) Juvenal. Sat. 3. ver. 159. *Sic libitum vana qui nos distinxit Othoni* (13).
" ——— Such was the pleasure of vain Otho
" Who separated us."

[E] His verses were not so much contemned by Horace as may be imagined.] Here follows what Horace says:

(14) Horat. Sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 5. *Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera, nam sic Et Laberi mimos, ut pulchra poemata miror* (14):
" But this one sort of excellence allow'd
" Doth not infer that all the rest is good:
" For on the same account I might admit
" Laberius' Farce for Poems and for wit." CRÆCH.

Mr. Dacier's note is thus. "Horace does not absolutely condemn Laberius in this place, nor even censure his works, he speaking only comparatively of him. Laberius's Mimes were agreeable, but not beautiful and perfect Poems. And indeed they were not made for that end; the Mimes consisting only of obscene Pleasantries, for which reason Ovid calls them *Mimos obscena jocantes*, and they were written in no other view but to make the common people laugh. Had Julius Scaliger understood Horace's thought, he would not have condemned the judgment he here forms of Laberius's Mimes (15).

(15) Dacier, Remarques sur Horace, tom. 6. pag. 607. [F] Moreri has committed some errors.] I. Laberius's prænomen is not Decius but Decimus. II. He lived so short a time after Julius Cæsar, that it was not necessary to say he lived in Augustus's time. III. He never received presents from Augustus. IV; nor does Macrobius say so. V. It is a falsity to assert that Cæsar made him a Roman Knight. Laberius delivers

himself as follows in the prologue to the farce, which he played out of complaisance to that Emperor.

*Ergo bis tricenis annis ætis sine nota,
Eques Romanus Lars egressus meo
Dumum reuertar mimos* (16).

" I who spent thirty years twice told, with Fame;
" Who left my house, a Roman Knight, shall now
" Return a Farcer."

(16) Macrobius, Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 143.

This is an indisputable proof, that he was a Roman Knight independently of Cæsar. The circumstance which misled Moreri and many other writers (17) is, that Cæsar, at the end of the games, gave a ring to this farce player, as Macrobius informs us; but it is easy to find in this very place a proof of the justice of my censure. Here follows the whole passage.

(17) Julius Cæsar liked him so well, that he made him a Knight. Dacier, Rem. sur Horace, tom. 6. pag. 607.

Deinde cum Laberius in fine ludorum annulo honoratus a Cæsare e vestigio in quatuordecim ad spectandum transit, violato ordine, & cum detrectatus est EQUUS Romanus, & cum nimis remissus, ait Cicero prætereuntem Laberio & sedile querenti, recepissē te nisi anguste sederem (18). i. e. "Afterwards when Laberius, being honoured by Cæsar with a ring at the end of the Games, would have past over to the fourteen benches, a affront being put on the order; by a place being refused to a Roman Knight, and a Mime sent back; Cicero said to him as he was passing by, and looking about for a seat; I am crowded, Laberius, otherwise would have made room for you." It is plain Macrobius says, that the order of knights was dishonoured two ways; I, because a Roman Knight was refused a seat; and II, because a farce player was sent from the stage to that part, where the Roman Knights used to sit. From this we must necessarily infer, that Laberius was not obliged to Julius Cæsar for the honour of Knighthood. All that can be said is, that he did an action derogatory to his character by playing on the stage, but was restored to his honour by Julius Cæsar. The ring, which he received from that prince, might be considered as a fresh patent of nobility, but this does not excuse Moreri. Seneca confirms what was just now said. *Divus Julius ludis suis mimum produxit (Laberium) deinde equestri illum ordini reddidit jussit ire seffum in equestrio: omnes ita se coactaverunt ut venientem non reciperent* (19).

(18) Macrobius, Sat. lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 329.

(19) Seneca, Controvers. 18. sub fin.

LABOURLOTTE (CLAUDE) one of the bravest Captains of his age, owed his fortune entirely to his bravery, he being of so low an extraction, that it is still disputed whether he was a native of Lorrain or Franche Comté (a). It is said he had been Count Charles of Mansfeld's Barber [A], and that he did him a signal service [B]. He passed through

(a) See the remark [A].

[A] It is said he had been Count Charles of Mansfeld's barber.] Bongarsius affirms this, in a letter written to Camerarius the 6th of August 1596, in which he sent him advices with regard to the siege of Hulst. Some, says he (1), write that Labourlotte has been killed there (2); that man so renowned for his intrepidity and courage. He had formerly been barber to that Count Charles of Mansfeld who died in Hungary. The cardinal made use chiefly of this Labourlotte's intrepidity, and de Rons' counsel (3). The author, who published in 1693 the history of Archduke Albert, does not own that Labourlotte had been a barber, but he does not say any thing that can prove the contrary. His birth, says he (4), resembles that of great men, which is frequently doubtful, Lorrain claims this honour, and Burgundy does the same. The name Claude favours the Burgundians. Whatever country he may have been born in, he certainly is well descended. The great numbers of enemies he has had, are a manifest proof of his extraordinary merit. The thunder of every pass over bushes, and strikes lofty trees. They say that he was of mean extraction, and that he had handled the razor and lancet, before he wielded the sword and pike; but those who are exempt from prejudice speak otherwise. They say that he indeed knew how to cure wounds; but that he had been prompted to this study, not from necessity, but out of curiosity and covarity. When

(1) Bongarsius's Letters, pag. 493. Hague ed. 1695.
(2) That was not true. See the remark [E] above.
(3) It is thus we must translate the Rosnii confilio of Bongarsius, and not de Rosne, as is done in the translation of his Letters.
(4) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert. lib. 4. pag. 263.

d'Aubigne (5) relates that Labourlotte was killed at a skirmish in the counterfarp of fort Isabella, which he recruited and furnished with fresh provisions, he adds, that he was bewailed by the Archduke and his superiors; but not by his companions, who bursting with envy, could not bear to think that merit should have raised a country barber to the post of colonel.

(5) Hist. Universelle, tom. 3. liv. 5. chap. 19. pag. 729.

[B] . . . and that he did him a signal service.] He delivered him from a marriage that was very ungrateful to him. An author whom I have quoted won't believe this: he speaks thus. "It is said that he gained Mansfeld's favour by ridding him of his troublesome wife; but I do not believe any thing of this, he being a man of more honour than to commit so vile an action (6)." The action indeed would be a very vile one, whatever pleasure it might have given the Count. The reason why I say, that this writer's incredulity might be ill grounded is, that Grotius has hinted at this action; a plain indication that he did not believe that the report spread concerning it was idle. I will cite his words, they deserv'ing it, and informing us of Labourlotte's merit, with some circumstances which are well expressed. *Huc quo se Claudius Burlota transfulerat, bonamque & extremam navavit operam, trajecitque globo vir nobilis aurdacia, Lotbaringus ortu, curandis olim vulneribus vitam*

(6) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, liv. 4. pag. 264.

(7) That is, Isabella.

through all the military degrees, till he rose to be commander of the Walloon troops in the Spanish service. *Patria Lotharingus, virtutis suae suffragiis ex gregario milite per omnes militarium honorum gradus ad Tribunatum evectus. Vallones aliquot annos magna cum laude gubernavit* (b). He was more fortunate than judicious [C]; he never engaging more willingly in an enterprize, than when it was extremely dangerous (c). He was wounded on several occasions [D]; and at last was killed by a musket ball, the 24th of July 1600 [E], as he was making an intrenchment between Bruges and Fort Isabella. He had a great share in the barbarous actions, which the troops of the Admiral committed in the territories of the Emperor in the year 1598 [F]. He left a son [G], who was a Dominican Friar, and a daughter who married Robert de Celles Baron de Foi, in the county of Liege near Dinant (d).

(b) Angellus Gallucius, de bello Belgico, lib. 13. pag. m. 35.

(c) See Strada, Dec. 2. lib. 2. pag. 513.

(d) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, printed in the year 1693, pag. 264.

tam toleraverat: mox per facinus haud bonestum conciliatus Mansfeldio ferebatur; dictus uxorem ejus sustulisse: sed nactus bonores, ita se gesserat, ut mereri majora semper judicaretur, quo mors ejus nec lucru apud ducem, nec apud ipsius novitati invidentes gaudium caruit (8). i. e. "To this place came also Claude Labourlotte, who exerted himself to the utmost; he was surprizingly intrèpid; was born in Lorraine, and had supported himself by practising Surgery. It is related that he afterwards insinuated himself into the favour of Count Mansfeld, by an action no ways honourable, viz. ridding him of his wife. But when raised to honours, he behaved so well, that it was always thought he deserved more; and therefore the General was grieved at his death, but it was a subject of joy to those who envied his exaltation."

(8) Grotius, Hist. de Rebus Belgicis, lib. 9. ad ann. 1600, pag. m. 572.

[C] *He was more fortunate than judicious.* Father Gallucci writes as follows on that occasion (9). *Animosus magis quam cautus, accersere saepe non expectare mortem visus est.* i. e. "He was more courageous than circumspect; and was frequently seen to go in quest of death rather than wait for it." He was a man who would go upon any attempt, and was not intimidated at any danger; he began a fight as though he was sure of victory. He was ordered out upon, and headed all bold enterprizes. Those persons, who did not care to venture on those occasions, and were eclipsed by his success, called him a fortunate rash man (10)."

(9) De Bello Belgico, lib. 13. pag. m. 35.

[D] *He was wounded on several occasions.* At the siege of Noion in 1593, that of Andres in the year 1596, that of Hulst the same year, and at the battle of Newport in the year 1600. See Father Galucci (11). I fancy he is mistaken as to the last wound. I do not find any other Historian who mentions this; and besides, they all say that Labourlotte, a few days after the battle, led a considerable succour to Newport, which contributed greatly to the raising of the siege that Prince Maurice had laid to that place. As to the wound at Hulst, it was not mortal as Bongarsius pretended. What I cited from him in the first remark, was wrote the 6th of August 1596; he was not undeceived twenty days after; for he affirmed, in his letter dated the 27th of August of the same year, that Labourlotte was dead of his wounds; *Burlotta post Rosnium ex vulneribus obiit* (12). In this manner the ministers themselves of Princes are subject to publish false advices, and not to know quickly, that they are false. They ought to be more circumspect on this article, than the person I am speaking of was, whose abilities otherwise deserve great elogiums. But when we examine him attentively, we cannot forbear saying that he too lightly believed agreeable news, and communicated it in too hasty a manner to his friends. Here follows a proof of this, taken from the same letter, wherein he affirmed that Labourlotte was dead:

(10) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, pag. 264.

(11) In Historia Belli Belgici.

(12) Bongarsii Epist. pag. 500. Hagae ed. 1695.

You probably will rejoice, when you are told that the King of Spain is dead, and that the Spaniards will not accept of his son for King, as being born from an incestuous marriage. Rideas etiam, cum intelliges Regem Hisp. mortuum, & filium repudiari ab Hispanis natum nuptiis incestis (13). This he wrote to his friend the 6th of August 1596. At that time all advices, which were disadvantageous to Spain, were believed as easily as those now (14) are, which are of disadvantage to France.

(13) Idem, ibid. pag. 491.

(14) I write this in 1695.

[E] *He was killed . . . the 24th of July 1600.* The author of the History of Archduke Albert says, pag. 138. that it was the 25th of July in 264. he gives Labourlotte's epitaph, which says the twenty fourth of that month. This epitaph is of service in the history of that brave man, and therefore deserves to be copied here. "He lies buried at Lopogne, in a monument whereon is the following epitaph. Here lies the noble and illustrious Lord, Messire Claude Labourlotte Knight, a Counsellor of War to the King, Colonel of twelve Companies of Luxemburgers, Lord of Bernstein, Boncour, la Vallée, Lopogne and Basi. He was killed at Fort Isabella near Ostend the 24th of July in the year 1600 (15)." I do not think that this author copied accurately; for, to give an epitaph faithfully, the least letter ought not to be changed in it; the barbarisms and solecisms in it must be retained, unless the copyist gives only the substance of it. Here follows the epitaph as given by le Baron le Roi, which I fancy differs very little from the original. *Here lies the noble and illustrious Lord Messire Claude de Labourlotte, Knight, and of the council of war; Colonel of twelve companies of Luxemburgers, Lord of Berlestein, Lord of Boncourt, La Vallée, Loppogne, Basy, who was killed near Ostend in his Majesty's service the 24th of July 1600. Pray to God for for his soul.*

(15) Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert, pag. 264.

[F] *He had a great share in the barbarous actions, which the troops of the Admiral committed . . . in the year 1598.* Their exactions and inhuman actions strike with horror those who read them in History. Read the description which d'Aubigné has given of them in few words, in Chapter XIX, Book V of Vol. III. *Some Noblemen saying to Bourlotte, adds he* (17), *that the Emperor and the German Princes would resent such an outrage, he pointed to a cow, and said; as much as that stupid animal. It is to be observed that the Admiral who commanded those troops was Francis de Mendosa, whom I mentioned before* (18).

(16) In Topographia Gallic-Brabantiae, printed at Amsterlaus 1693, folio pag. 74.

(17) Pag. 718.

[G] *He left a son.* I here correct my author. He should have said that Labourlotte left two sons, Ernest and Francis. The former was Lord of Loppogne and died with issue; the latter was a friar, so that the sister inherited their father's estate. See Topographia Gallo-Brabantiae (19).

(18) Citat. (64) of the article GREGORY VII.

(19) Le Roi, Topographia Gallo-Brabantiae, pag. 74.

LACYDES, a Greek Philosopher and native of Cyrene, was the disciple of Arcefilas and his successor in the Academy (a). Some pretend that he did not follow his master's doctrine; but I fancy they are mistaken [A]. He was very poor in his youth; and

(a) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 59.

[A] *Some pretend that he did not follow his master's doctrine; but I fancy they are mistaken.* Diogenes Laertius asserts that Arcefilas was the founder of the second Academy, and that Lacydes founded the third. *Ἀρκεσίλαος ἦεν ὁ τῆς πρώτης Ἀκαδημίας κρητάρης ἀρχὴ. Ἀρκεσίλας πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἔστη ἡ δεύτερη Ἀκαδημία. . . . (1). Ἀρκεσίλαος ἦεν ὁ τῆς τρίτης Ἀκαδημίας κρητάρης. Λάκυδης ἦεν ὁ τῆς τρίτης Ἀκαδημίας πρῶτος ἀρχὴ.* Lacydes nova Academiae princeps fuit (2). But I had rather believe Cicero, who affirms that Lacydes retained Ar-

(1) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 28. See also the same author in Prooemio, num. 14.

(2) Idem, ibid. num. 39. See also the same author in Prooem. num. 14.

cefilas's method, and that Carneades reformed it. *Cujus (Arcefilae) primo non admodum probata ratio . . . proxime à Lacyde solo RETENTA est: post autem confecta à Carneade qui est quartus ab Arcefilae* (3). Most authors agree that Carneades founded the third Academy. They suppose therefore that Lacydes adhered to Arcefilas's doctrines without making any innovation in them. See the remark [A] of the article CARNEADES.

(3) Cicero, Academ. Quaest. lib. 4. cap. 6.

and nevertheless gained great reputation by his intense application to his studies ; not to mention that he spoke in a very graceful manner (b). He taught in a garden (c) which Attalus King of Pergamus had caused to be made [B]. This King sending for him to court, he answered, that the pictures of Kings should be viewed at a distance (d). He taught Philosophy twenty six years (e), and gave up his employment to his own disciples (f). He imitated his master in one laudable particular, viz. that he took a pleasure in doing good, without caring to have it known [C]. The affection which a goose had for him is very remarkable [D]. He died of a palsy caused by his drinking to excess [E]. The particulars which Numenius relates concerning him, have all the air of a pleasant fiction [F]. Moreri has committed some very egregious errors.

- (b) Idem, *ibid.*
- (c) It was in the Acad. *ivy.*
- (d) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 60.
- (e) Idem, *ibid.* num. 61.
- (f) Idem, *ibid.* num. 60.

[B] He taught in a garden which Attalus King of Pergamus had caused to be made.] Ο γῶν Λακιδης ἐσχολαζον ἐν Ἀκαδημία, ἐν τῇ κατασκευασθεῖσιν κήπῳ ὑπὸ Ἀτταλῶν τῷ βασιλευσιν· καὶ Λακιδίῳ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποσημασιότα. Lacydes igitur in Academia scbolam habebat in borto quem Attalus Rex feri curaverat, Lacydiumque ab ipso appellatus est (4). If we add to this the desire he had that Lacydes should reside at his Court, it will be evident that he loved Philosophy. Menage is grossly mistaken here : he applies (5) to this Attalus what Plutarch (6) and Justin (7) relate of another Attalus's delight in Husbandry. It is strange he should make such a confusion in chronology.

- (4) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 60.
- (5) Menage in Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 60.
- (6) Plutarch. in Demetrio.
- (7) Justin. lib. 36.
- (8) Plutarch. de Discrim. Adulat. & Amici, p. 63.
- (9) Plutarch had just before mentioned a secret good action of Arcefilas.

[C] He took a pleasure in doing good, not caring to have it known.] This was one of Arcefilas's good qualities, as has been seen in the remark [J] of his article. Here follows a passage from Plutarch (8). "Because that in Philosophy children are born like to their parents, Lacydes, one of Arcefilas's (9) disciples, assisted with several others, at the trial of a friend of his named Cephifocrates, impeached of high treason; at which trial the accuser required that Cephifocrates should produce his ring, which had just before dropped; which Lacydes perceiving, he immediately set his foot upon it, and hid it, because the whole proof depended on that ring. Cephifocrates being cleared, went to pay his respects, and return thanks to his Judges for the justice they had done him; but one among these having seen all that passed, spoke thus to him, Thank Lacydes for it; and so told him the whole story; Lacydes not having once mentioned it to any person."

[D] The affection which a goose had for him is very remarkable.] It used to follow him every where, both at home and abroad, by night as well as by day. Read the following words of Pliny. *Potest et sapientiae videri intellectus his (anseribus) esse. Ita comes perpetuo adhaesisse Lacydi philosopho dicitur, nusquam ab eo, non in publico, non in balneis, non noctu, non interdiu digressus* (10). When it died, Lacydes solemnized its funeral obsequies with as much magnificence, as if it had been his son or brother (11).

- (10) Plin. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. m. 408. See also Athen. lib. 13. pag. 606.
- (11) Aelian. lib. 7. *Hist. Animal.* cap. 41.
- (12) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 61.
- (13) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 10. pag. 438.

[E] He died of a palsy caused by his drinking to excess.] Ητθανεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπαράλυσις ἐν πρῶτῳ οἴνῳ. Mortuus est autem ex paralyti quam ex immodica potione contraxerat (12). Athenæus (13) relates that Lacydes and another Philosopher named Timon were invited for two days together to a feast; and that, in compliance with the humour of the company, they quaffed lustily. Lacydes gave it over the first day, and withdrew the instant he found he had enough. Timon seeing him quit the field cried out victory, but the next day he yielded first. He could not drink off the goblet that was carried to him. Lacydes was even with him. This is vastly unseemly. Philosophers ought never to dispute for such a victory. It is not only a fault to gain it, but also to strive for it; and though the ignominy of the victor is greater than that of the person vanquished, yet the latter deserves to be strongly censured. How many Christian Philosophers and even Divines have imitated Timon and Lacydes?

- (14) Numenius, apud Eusebium, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 7. pag. 734. & seq.
- (15) Τὸ ταμίσιον, *penus.*
- (16) I do not follow the Greek where it is said αἷς τῆ κλειῶν παραματιῶν, *cavea quadam in arcula.*

[F] The particulars which Numenius relates concerning him, have all the air of a pleasant fiction.] Here follows the substance of his relation (14). Lacydes was vastly penurious in his house-keeping. He never trusted his servants with any thing; the place where the victuals was lodged was inaccessible to them. He himself put in, and took out, whatever he wanted, and he never left it open; but to prevent his being troubled with the key, he laid it in a hole (16) which he sealed; after which he used to let fall his seal into

the pantry (17), through the key-hole. His servants discovering this cheated him whenever they pleased. They easily got the key; put it into the place whence they had taken it, and sealed the hole. They drank, they eat, they plundered whatever they thought proper, laughing at him at the same time. Lacydes soon found that his wine and provisions dwindled away; and not knowing whom to accuse, he remembered to have heard, that Arcefilas taught that neither our senses nor our reason comprehend any thing; and ascribed the emptiness of his bottles and baskets to that incomprehensibility. Such are the auspices, under which he began to philosophize in Arcefilas's school, against the certainty of human knowledge. He even made use of that domestic experiment to prove that he was in the right to suspend his judgment in all things. I do not, said he one day gravely to a friend, tell you a hearsay; I myself know by experience, what I am going to tell you, and can speak of it without the least doubt. Upon this he told him the whole story of his pantry. What could Zeno, added he, say against so powerful an argument, which has plainly shewn me the *acatalepsia*? Have I not reason to mistrust all things, since though I myself shut, sealed, unsealed, and opened my pantry with my own hands, I do not find, in my pantry, the provisions I had left in it? I find nothing but my seal, a circumstance that will not let me think I am robbed. Here his friend could hold no longer. He laughed so loud and so long that the Philosopher perceived his mistake, and resolved to take more care of his seal. However, his servants did not mind this; and whether they had learnt from the Stoics or other Philosophers to dispute against him, they unsealed his key, without minding to put his seal on it again; they would make use of another seal, and sometimes of none at all. Lacydes would be in a passion when he found out their roguery; but they affirmed that they had not broke up any seals, and that he had forgot to use his seal. He then would hold forth in a long discourse, to prove to them that he remembered perfectly well his having applied his seal, and would even swear it. They used to answer; you only joke, and mean to laugh at our simplicity. A Philosopher, such as you are, has neither opinion nor memory; for you yourself maintained the other day before us, that memory is an opinion. He would refute them by arguments different from those of the Academics; but they addressed a Stoic, who taught them how to answer their master, and to elude all his proofs by the doctrine of incomprehensibility, on which occasion they would throw out a great many pleasant jests. The worst of it was, they continued to plunder the provisions, and Lacydes saw his goods vanish away daily. He was strangely puzzled: his principles instead of being favourable to him, were the very contrary; and he was obliged to behave like the vulgar. The whole neighbourhood echoed with his clamours and complaints; he protesting by all the Gods and Goddesses that he was robbed. Πιστὸν οἷς ταμῆχανον, τὸς γυίτοις ἐνταράγῃ, καὶ τὸς Θείοις, καὶ ἐν ἰσ, καὶ φῖν φεῖ, καὶ ἐν τὸς Θείοις, καὶ ἐν τὸς Θείοις, ἀλλὰς τὶ ἴσαι ἐν ἀπιστίας διωλογομῖνῳ ὑπὸ ἀλλοῦ ἀπίστῳ, ταῦτα ἐπίση ἐλέγχετο καὶ ἀξίωσις. Inopi consilii vicinis inclamare, appellare Deos: *sepe hei mihi, prob facinus indignum, per Deos Deasque omnes ingeminare, ac cætera id genus argumenta, quæ homini gravioribus in querelis, ubi fidem non impetrat, sine arte natura suppeditat. Quæ quidem omnia magno clamore deplorata, magnam utique probabilitatis speciem ostendunt* (18): at last he resolved not to stir out of his house, but watch his pantry door. Οὐκ ἐξῆς ἐν φιλῶ τῷ ταμίῳ ἀρραπάθῃμῃ. *Domi deinceps barabat perpetuo, ac proculle*

- (17) Τὸ ταμίσιον, *penus.*
- (18) Numenius, apud Eusebium, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 7. pag. 736 [B].

errors [G]. The difference which Father Rapin found between Arcefilas and Lacydes is mere chimera. Philosophy, says he (g), grew *restless* under the former, and *contradicting* under the latter: now it is certain that it never was more contradicting than under Arcefilas.

(g) Rapin. *Reflex. sur la Philosophie*, num. 8. pag. m. 326.

(19) Idem, *ibid.* I approve of that translation more than that of Kuhnus, (who makes a friend watch on this occasion) in his notes on Diogenes Laertius, pag. 523. *Semper amicam calle penuria custodem domi reliquit.*

(20) Numenius, apud Eusebium, *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 14. cap. 7. pag. 736, C.

(21) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 59.

(22) Moreri says so under Arcefilas.

(a) Melch. Adam, in *Vita Petri Martyris*, pag. 33.

(b) Idem, *ibid.*

(c) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 34.

(d) Idem, *ibid.*

(e) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 35.

(f) See the lines which I quote from Horace in the remark [B] of the article LAMIA a Roman family.

(1) That is to say, *Longe distantes habent portas Læstrygoniam.* These two Greek words are borrowed from Homer, *Odys.* lib. 10. ver. 82.

calle suæ foribus affidebat (19). What did he get by disputing with his servants? He employed the method of the Stoics against them, and they answered him according to the manner of the Academics; they beat him with his own weapons. The affair ended at last thus. Lacydes being determined to rid himself once for all from the intolerable perplexity he was under, he plainly and frankly told his servants, we dispute one way in the schools, and live in a different manner in our families. Οὐδὲν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς σχολαῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ὡς οἰκίαις, ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. *Verum ubi nihil agit, secum ipse cogitans, quo sua sibi verfusia recideret: tandem animi sensum palam ac sine fuce aperiens, nimirum, inquit, famuli, aliter hæc in schola disputamus, aliter vivimus* (20). This is a pretty tale, and Mr. de la Fontaine could work it up in a very jocosé manner; but who does not perceive that it was forged by a pious fraud of the Stoics? This method is employed in all ages and countries. Men have always endeavoured, and they still endeavour, to ridicule the doctrine and person of their adversaries; and to effect this, they invent unnumbered fictions, if the least pretence can be found, to strain maliciously the consequences of their opinions. This passion or prejudice has been so blindly followed against the sceptics, that not only sincerity but even probability have been given up; for they never denied that, in the common conduct of life, men must govern themselves by the testimony of the senses. They only denied the certainty, that the absolute nature of objects is just as it appears. It is to be observed that Diogenes Laertius says no farther, than that our Lacydes, having sealed his pantry door, used to throw his key into it; and that his servants made use of that seal to steal provisions undiscovered by him.

[G] *Moreri has committed some very egregious errors.* I. Instead of saying that Lacydes's father was born in *Cyrene*, he should have said that Lacydes himself was born there. II. He ought not to have given into the error of Diogenes Laertius, with regard to his founding an Academy. III. He should not have fixed his death to the fourth year of the 36th Olympiad. This is not an error of the press; he adding, that it was the 113th of Rome. Had the Printers omitted something in the first calculation, they could not have mistook so exactly in the second. One may therefore be assured that they copied the manuscript exactly. Now what can be more absurd, than to imagine that Arcefilas lived in the 120th Olympiad, and that Lacydes his disciple died the last year of the 34th Olympiad (32)? IV. Though his death had been fixed to the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad, it nevertheless would have been an error; he not dying till about the second year of the 141st. This I prove as follows. Diogenes Laertius observes that Lacydes, who, began to be

Principal or Head of the Academy, the 4th year of 134th Olympiad, died after he had taught Philosophy twenty six years. Ἐβίβηθη δὲ σχολάρχῳ ἀρχέμειο τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτη τῆς τετάρτης ἢ τριακοτῆς ἢ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιαδῶν, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφῆγοντο μὲν ἐξ ἑσθῆς τοῖς κίοντι ἔτη. *Obiit autem cum scholam administrare cepisset quarto anno centesimæ trigesima quartæ Olympiadis, viginti sex annis in schola consumptis* (23). V. It is an absurdity to find in the above words, that Lacydes began to be in reputation. . . after he had taught twenty six years (24). VI. It would not be very just to say this of any Professor whatsoever; for if such a one should teach twenty five years without gaining any fame, he would run the hazard, generally speaking, to die without reputation.

I am to observe that Father Harjoun is mistaken with regard to the time in which Lacydes the Philosopher died. *Obiisse dicitur*, says he (25), *anno 4 Olymp. CXXX.* He cites the 120th page of the London edition 1664, in folio, of Diogenes Laertius. But besides that we there find (26) the hundred and thirty fourth Olympiad, and not the hundred and thirtieth; it is certain that it relates to Lacydes's entrance into his Professorship, and not to his death. Father Labbe has committed but one of these two mistakes; he says (27), citing Diogenes, that the Philosopher Lacydes died the last year of the 134th Olympiad. Some one will perhaps ask me, if it can be proved that he did not die at that time? I answer that two proofs of it can be given. The 1st is, that he was not Head of the Academic School till after Arcefilas's death (28); and we know that Arcefilas was contemporary with Eumenes Prince of Pergamus (29), who did not succeed Philetærus till the 129th Olympiad. Father Labbe says so (30); for in order that this Philosopher should correspond with Eumenes, it was necessary that he should have lived till the 130th Olympiad. This being so, it cannot be said that his successor died the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad, for he taught twenty six years. My 2d proof is drawn from this, viz. that Attalus King of Pergamus caused to be made the garden of the Academy in which Lacydes taught, and that he sent for this Philosopher to his Court. It is hardly probable that these two particulars relate to the first year of his reign, that is, to the 3d year of the 134th Olympiad (31). Let us therefore say, that Lacydes did not die the year following; and let us remember, that if he had taught but a very few months in that garden, it would be absurd to suppose he had no other school but that, and even to observe, that it took its name from him. He therefore must have taught several years there; and consequently that he did not die a year after Attalus's accession to the throne. Seth Calvisius (32) has committed the same error as Father Labbe.

(23) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 61.

(24) Moreri cites only Diogenes Laertius.

(25) Harjounus in Plin. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. 408.

(26) That is in the Greek, for the Printers have left out the word *quartæ* in the Latin translation.

(27) Father Labbe, *Cronol. Franc.* tom. 2. pag. 301. *ad ann. Romæ, 513.*

(28) Diogenes Laertius, lib. 4. num. 60. *says that Lacydes is the only Philosopher, who resided his Chair in his life time.*

(29) Diog. Laert. *ibid.* num. 38.

(30) Labbe, *Cronol. Franc.* tom. 2. pag. 285.

(31) See Father Labbe, *ibid.* pag. 300.

(32) Sethus Calvisius, *ad ann. Mundi 3709.* pag. m. 268.

LACISIUS (PAUL) a Regular Canon of the Congregation of Lateran in the sixteenth Century, was born at Verona (a). He taught the Latin tongue in the Priory of St. Fridianus, when Peter Martyr was Prior there (b), and as he approved the opinions of the Protestants, he accompanied him into Germany, where they both declared themselves Protestants in the year 1541. They continued some time at Zurich, and then at Basil (c), and going thence to Strasburg, they were detained there by Martin Bucer, who procured a Chair of Divinity Professor for Peter Martyr, and the Professorship of the Greek Tongue to Paul Lacisius (d), who died at Strasburg I know not when (e). His Latin Translation of Tzetzes's Chiliads was printed with the Greek Original in the year 1546 at Basil for John Oporin (f).

LÆSTRYGONES were a very brutish people, situated in Italy near Cajeta *. Their capital city was that which has been called *Formiæ* (a) [A]. Homer calls it Læstrygonia

[A] *This capital City was that which has been called Formiæ.* Cicero leaves us no room to question it; for he applies to the City of *Formiæ*, the Epithet, which Homer gives to the City, in which Lamus and Antiphates reigned. *Si in hæc τηλέπολι νεονοῖς Λαεστρυγονίῳ* (1) (*Formiæ Dico*) *qui fremitus hominum? quam*

irati animi (2)? i. e. "When you come to Læstrygonia, which has such wide gates (I mean Formiæ), what a blustering noise you hear, and how passionate ate the men you meet with?" See also the seventeenth ode of the third book of Horace; and add to it the following words of the foregoing ode;

(*) Now called *Gajetta.*

(2) Cicero, *ad Attic. Epist.* 13. lib. 2.

(b) Homer. *Od.*
lib. 10. ver. 81.

(c) Eustath. in
Homer. ibid.

(d) See Horat.
Ode 17. lib. 3.
and *Silius Ital.*
pag. m. 368.

(e) Homer. *Od.*
lib. 10. ver. 117.

(f) Ovid. *Fag.*
lib. 4. ver. 69.

Læstrygonia or the City of Lamus (b); it was because Lamus King of the Læstrygones and son of Neptune had built it (c). His dominions were pretty large (d). Antiphates, who reigned in that country when Ulysses landed there, was a very cruel man, who would have devoured all Ulysses's Deputies [B], had they not made their escape, after they had been witnesses to the dismal fate of one of their number (e). It is certain that the Læstrygones have passed for men-eaters [C]. Moreri, instead of observing this, tells us that they used to eat raw flesh. It is not known whether they passed from Sicily into Italy, or from Italy into Sicily; but that they had been settled in Sicily cannot be questioned; since the fields about the City of Leontium were called *Campi Læstrygonii* [D]. Ovid supposes them to have been descended from Greek ancestors (f). It is certain that Homer compares them with giants: but yet Bozius ought not to have inferred from thence, that according to the fables of the ancients, they waged war against the Gods; that Hercules fought against them, that they were destroyed by thunder-bolts, that for this reason the fields situated between Mount Vesuvius and Puteoli were called *Pblegræi Campi*, and that the flames of the Vesuvius come from those which burn the Læstrygones in hell. He pretends that Homer, Pindar, Polybius in his 2d book, and Strabo in his 5th book assert those particulars (g); but he is mistaken. The Læstrygones did not till the ground, but they had cattle (h). Homer betrayed a great ignorance in Cosmography, when he supposed them situated in a climate, where the nights were very short (i). It is not true that Thucydides imagined, the Læstrygones were a fabulous Nation (k): he observes only, that it had been related, the most ancient inhabitants of Sicily were the Læstrygones and the Cyclops, but that he has nothing to say of their origin, and that he does not know whence they came or what was become of them (l).

(g) See the book of Thomas Bozius, *de Italiae Statu antiquo & novo adversus Machiavellum*, pag. m. 64.

(h) Homer. *Od.*
lib. 10. ver. 85.

(i) Homer, ibid
ver. 86.

(k) Britannicus, in *Juven. Sat.*
14. ver. 20. asserts it.

(l) Thucydid.
lib. 6. init. pag. m. 410.

*Nec Læstrygonia Bacchus in Ampora
Languescit mihi*

i. e. "No wines by rich Campania sent
In my ignoble Casks ferment.

CREECH.

By which he means the wine of Formiæ. Pliny's words are very express. *Oppidum Formiæ, Hormiæ prius olim dictum: ut existimare, antiqua Læstrygonum sedes* (3). i. e. "The City of Formiæ, anciently called Hormiæ, is thought to have been the ancient habitation of the Læstrygones."

[B] *Antiphates . . . would have devoured all Ulysses's deputies.* I beg leave to call thus the three men he sent to take a view of the country. You will see by and by, that Antiphates devoured one of them, and vented his fury on Ulysses's ships, so that there was but one that escaped.

*Inde Lami veterem Læstrygonis, inquit, in urbem
Venimus; Antiphates terra regnabat in illa.
Missus ad hunc ego sum, numero comitatus duorum:
Vixque fuga quaesita salus, comitique, mibique.
Tertius è nobis Læstrygonis impia iuvavit
Ora cruore suo: fugientibus inflat, & agmen
Concitat Antiphates, cœnans, & saxa trabesque
Conjiciunt: merguntque viros, merguntque carinas.
Una tamen, que nos ipsamque vehebat Ulysses,
Effugit (4).*

"Forthwith outrush'd a Gulf, which backwards
" bore
" Our Gallies to the Læstrygonian shore,
" Whose Crown Antiphates the Tyrant wore.
" Some few commiffiond were with speed to treat;
" We to his Court repair, his Guards we meet.
" Two friendly flight preserved, the Third was
" doom'd
" To be by those curs'd Cannibals consumed.
" Inhumanly our helpless Friends they treat:
" Our Men they murder, and destroy our Fleet.
" In time the wife Ulysses bore away.

GARTH.

Hence it came, that this barbarous Læstrygonian used to be mentioned as an instance of cruelty and want of hospitality. *Quis non Antiphates Læstrygonia devoret?* Who does not curse Antiphates the Læstrygonian? says Ovid, in the ninth elegy of the second book of *Ponto*. In another place he express himself thus:

LÆVIUS, a Latin Poet. It is not well known when he lived, but he was, very probably, more ancient than Cicero. He had made a Poem intitled, *Erotopœgnia*, that is to say, *Love Games*. Aulus Gellius (a) quotes two lines from it. Apuleius (b) quotes

(a) *NoE. Attic.*
lib. 2. cap. 24.

(b) *Lib.* 17. ca. 21.

*Nec tu contuleris urbem Læstrygonis unquam
Gentibus, obliqua quas obit Ister aqua (5).*

"Never pretend to compare the City of Læstrygon,
" with those nations, who live where the Danube
" runs with turnings and windings."

(5) Ovid. *Eleg.*
10. lib. 4. de
Ponto.

I omit several other passages, and shall only transcribe the following lines from Sidonius Apollinarius.

*Bistonii stabulum regis, Bufiridis aras
Antiphates mensas, & Taurica regna Thoantis,
Atque libaci ingenio fraudatum luce Cycloperum (6).*

"The stable of the King of Biston, the Altar of
" Bufiris, the table of Antiphates, the reign of Thoon
" King of Taurica, and the Cyclop, who was blind-
" ed by Ulysses's artifice."

(6) Sidon. Apol-
lon. *Carm.* 22.
pag. m. 170.

[C] *The Læstrygones have passed for 'men-eaters'* Add to the proofs alledged in the foregoing remark the following words of Pliny. *Esse Scytharum genera, & quidem plurima, que corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicavimus. Id ipsum incredibile fortasse, ni cogitemus in medio orbe terrarum, ac Sicilia & Italia fuisse gentes hujus monstri, Cycloper & Læstrygonas* (7). i. e. "That there are nations amongst the Scythians, and even many, who feed upon human flesh, is what we have already shewed. This would perhaps seem incredible, if we did not know, that in the midst of the earth, even in Italy and in Sicily there have been such monsters, as the Cyclopes and the Læstrygones."

(7) Plinius, lib.
7. cap. 2. pag. m.
6.

[D] *The fields about the City of Leontium were called Campi Læstrygonii.* See Pliny (8) and his commentator Father Hardouin, who quotes a passage from Polybius, in which it is observed, that they who had been possessed of Leontium and the lands about it, were called *Læstrygones*. He quotes also these words from Silius Italicus:

(8) Idem, lib. 3.
cap. 8. pag. 344.

*Prima Leontinos vastarunt prælia campos
Regnatam dero quondam Læstrygonis terram (9).*

(9) Silius Itali-
cus, lib. 14. ver.
127. pag. m. 591.

"The first battles laid waste the fields of Leontium,
" where the cruel Læstrygon reigned of old."

See Daufqueius's notes on these words of the same Poet,

Post dirum Antiphates sceptram & Cycloperum regna (10).

(10) Idem, ver.
33. pag. 581.

"After the cruel government of Antiphates, and the
" reign of the Cyclops."

fix lines of this same Poet, but he does not tell us from what work he borrowed them. Lævius had also composed a Poem intituled, *The Centaurs*, which Festus quotes under the word *Petrarum*. I shall take notice of some mistakes [A].

(1) De Poet. Lat.

(2) Philip. Carolus, Animado. in A. Gallium, pag. 162.

(3) It is Licinius's passage in which a law is mentioned (3), which was made in the year 656 after the building of Rome; how I say,

[A] I shall take notice of some mistakes.] Since Vossius (1) was acquainted with the two quotations, I have set down, that it is very surprizing that he should have placed Lævius amongst those poets, of whom we know only that they lived before Charles the Great. But this is a trifling mistake, if compared with the blunder of an author (2), who corrects Lævius into Livius in Aulus Gellius, and pretends that this writer quoted Livius Andronicus. How could he quote from that Livius a passage in which a law is mentioned (3), which was made in the year 656 after the building of Rome; how I say,

could Livius Andronicus be quoted for this, who was already a grown man in the year 514 after the building of Rome? For one of his plays was acted that year (4). The author whom I refute pretends that Nævius and Pacuvius flourished after Livius Andronicus. But did he not observe a particular in Aulus Gellius, which proves that this Livius could not have the least knowledge of the Licinian Law. For Aulus Gellius tells us (5), that Nævius had his plays acted in the year 519 of Rome, and that he bore arms in the first Punic war.

(4) It is the first that was acted at Rome. See Cicero in Bruto.

(5) Lib. 17. cap. 21.

LAIS a famous curtezan was born at Hyccara a City of Sicily [A]. She was carried into Greece, when her native place had been plundered by Nicias General of the Athenians. She settled at Corinth, which was the most proper City in the world for women of her trade [B]; and she gained such a reputation there, that there was never a curtezan who enticed more people to her than she did [C]. She had been informed in a kind of

(1) Plutarch. in Nicia, pag. 533. See also in Alcibiade, sub finem.

(2) Eri xipm; fill a virgin. Idem, in Nicia, pag. 533, C.

(3) Thomæus, De Varia Hist. lib. 1. cap. 81. One of the Commentators on Alciat's Emblemata, pag. m. 330. Du Verdier Vau-Peiras, Diverses Leçons, liv. 3. chap. 6. pag. m. 184.

(4) Παϊδα ἔσται, being a child. Pausanias, lib. 2. pag. 45.

(5) Solin. cap. 5.

(6) Polemon, Nicophorus, and Timæus.

(7) Polemo, apud Athen. ibid.

(8) In voce Ταρπία.

(9) In voce Ευκαρπία.

(10) In voce Κραρπία.

(11) In Stephan. in voce Ευκαρπία.

(12) In Athen. pag. 869.

(13) Solin. cap. 5.

(14) See Pinedo in Stephanum, voce Ευκαρπία.

(15) Pinedo, under the word Κραρπία. See the same under the word Ταρπία.

[A] She was born at Hyccara a City of Sicily.] Plutarch acquaints us with this in the account he gives us of the taking of that City (1). The inhabitants of it were sold, and Laïs met with the same fate. She was carried into Peloponnesus; and was still a virgin then (2). Some moderns assert that she was sold at Corinth (3); but they did not consult Pausanias nor his translator, from whom they might have known that she was first sold at Hyccara, and then carried to Corinth. Pausanias agrees in every particular with Plutarch. He asserts, like the latter, that she was still a young maiden (4). Solinus observes only that she was born in Sicily (5), without telling us exactly in what City: but Athenæus, in his thirteenth book, page 588, quotes three authors (6), who assert expressly, that she was of Hyccara in Sicily. One of these three writers observes, that she was a slave when she went to Corinth. 'Αφ' ἧς αἰχμαλωτῆος ὑποπύμα ἦεν εἰς Κόρινθον. From which (City of Hecara) she went to Corinth being a captive (7). This refutes the moderns whom I have mentioned. Stephanus Byzantinus (8) also asserts that she was of Hyccara, and he quotes (9) Synesius, who called her ὑκαρπία ἀσκήματος, *The Hyccarian slave*. But on the other hand he quotes (10) Neanthes, who wrote the lives of Illustrious Persons, and who asserts that she was born at Crastus a City in Sicily. He quotes even Timæus as saying that she was born at Eucarpia in the same Island. And yet we have seen just now, that Timæus, as quoted by Athenæus, makes her a native of Hyccara. And as there is not one author, that mentions a City in Sicily named *Eucarpia*, I think that Berkelius's (11) conjecture is very probable, namely that Stephanus Byzantinus made use of a copy of Timæus, in which the transcriber wrote ὑκαρπία instead of ὑκαρπία. Casaubon observes (12) that Laïs's native place, like that of Homer and of some other illustrious persons, has not been exactly known; and he quotes Solinus, who says, *Lais eligere patriam maluit quam fateri* (13). i. e. "Lais would rather choose a country for her own, than declare which was her native soil," Casaubon adds that some suppose she was born at Pancarpia in Phrygia (14). But his memory deceived him here; he remembered in some measure to have read that some say she was born at Eucarpia in Sicily, a place which Stephanus Byzantinus mentions in the article of Eucarpia in Phrygia: hereupon his notions mingled together in his head; he imagined he had read that Pancarpia in Phrygia was the native place of Laïs, according to some writers. The Sieur Pinedo goes infinitely farther than Casaubon, in his Parallel of Homer with this Courtezan; he pretends that several Cities claimed the glory of being Laïs's native place. *Celebres meretrices urbes etiam si Diis placet illustrant: de qua (Laïde) decertabant quædam civitates haud secus ac de Homero* (15). i. e. "Even Courtezans, forsooth, illustrate their native places; several cities claimed the glory of having produced Laïs, as others did with regard to Homer."

[B] Corinth . . . was the most proper City in the world for women of her trade.] You ought not how-

ever to believe all that Lotichius relates of it. He asserts that the Corinthians in their solemn devotions prayed to the Gods to increase the number of the Courtezans (16): Whereupon he quotes Athenæus, who says nothing like it. But Lotichius was perhaps misled by giving too much credit to the following words of Erasmus. *Tantus Corinthi bonus habebatur meretricibus, ut quemadmodum ex autoribus docet Athenæus, illic in templo Veneris prostarent, atque in solemnibus precibus illud addi soleat, ut Dii auferent meretricum numerum. Quin & illud refert meretrices facto sacro Veneri, Civitatem extremo periculo laborantem servasse placata Veneri* (17). i. e. "Courtezans were so much honoured at Corinth, that they stood to be hired in the Temple of Venus, and in the publick prayers it was added, that the Gods would be pleased to increase the number of courtezans, as Athenæus relates from other authors; he tells us also, that the courtezans, having appeased Venus by a sacrifice offered to her, delivered the City of an imminent danger." Erasmus exaggerates here: Athenæus says only, that there was an ancient Law at Corinth, by which it was enacted, that when the City should make public supplications to Venus for some important affair, they should gather together as many courtezans as could be found, that they might assist at the procession, pray to that Goddess, and continue the last in her temple (18). The rest of Erasmus's account is very accurate; for it is certain that Athenæus relates, that it was thought the Courtezans of Corinth had very much contributed to the preservation of Greece, by the prayers they offered up to Venus at the time of Xerxes's invasion: He adds that the Citizens of Corinth used to promise a certain number of those creatures to Venus, if she granted them the favours they prayed for; and that Xenophon the Corinthian made such a promise to her, in case he should be conqueror at the Olympick Games. Having gained the victory, he performed his promise very punctually; he consecrated twenty five maidens to the service of Venus, and offered them to the Goddess during the Ceremony of the sacrifice, which he made to her after his return from the Olympick Games. These twenty five maidens began even the Hymn, which was sang whilst they were sacrificing the victim. Concerning this whoredom of the Corinthians, see Erasmus's proverbs (19), where he quotes a remarkable passage from Strabo (20)

This is sufficient to prove the assertion in my text, and at the same time to shew that the heathens could not pretend, that the abominable actions which they ascribed to their Gods, were only poetical stories: for we have here a most flourishing City, the very laws and worship of which shew it was believed there, that the Courtezans did a very acceptable service to Venus by prostituting themselves, and that their intercession with her was greatly effectual to divert public misfortunes: which shews that they believed the stories that were reported concerning the adulteries of this Goddess.

[C] There was never a Courtezan who enticed more people to her than she did.] Propertius (21) asserts it very positively.

(16) Lotichius in Petronium, pag. 232.

(17) Erasmus. Κορινθιακή Σάτις, in Proverb. id est: scortationibus ac lasciviis indulgere, innocentiæque excercere. It is in the 68th Proverb. Com. 3. Chilian. 4. pag. m. 904.

(18) Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 57. ex Chamæleonis Heracleote in Libro de Pindaro.

(19) Erasmus, in Proverbium Non est cuiuslibet Corinthum appellare. It is the 1st of the 4th Century, of the 1st Chilian, pag. m. 132.

(20) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. m. 261.

(21) Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. 6.

of revelation, that she would signalize herself, and get a considerable sum of money; for she dreamt once that Venus appeared to her to acquaint her with the arrival of some very rich customers [D]. The most illustrious Orators, and even the most unfociable Philosophers fell in love with her. All the world knows that Demosthenes went on purpose to Corinth to pass a night with her, but was disgusted by the high price she put upon her favours [E]. It is also well known how strong an affection Diogenes the Cynic had for her [F], and notwithstanding his poverty and slovenliness he found her very kind. It is pretended that she did not love him, and that he was ridiculed on that account. The answer he made to it was very smart [G]. Some assert (a), that the envy she

(a) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

(22) That is to say of Corinth, for the ancient name of that city was Epbyra. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 4.

Non ita complebant Epbyrae (22) Laidis aedes, Ad cunjs jacuit Graecia tota fores.

i. e. "Lais's house at Corinth was too small for the number of her lovers, for all Greece lay down at her door."

(23) Plutarch, in Amatoris, pag. 767.

Plutarch's expressions are as strong as they could be. He asserts that all Greece was in love with Lais, that the two seas fought together for that woman (23), and that she had an whole army of lovers (24). 'Ἰνι δὲ πύκνῳ αἰκοῦ Λαΐδα τὴν αἰσίδαμον ἐκείνην καὶ πολυήρατον ὡς ἐπιφύλαξι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς ἄλλοις ἢ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς. i. e. "You have heard, no doubt, of Lais, that celebrated and lovely woman, who enflamed the hearts of all Greece, so that even two seas fought for her." See her epitaph in the remark [K].

(24) Ἀποδράσασα τῶν ἄλλων ἡραστῶν κρύφα μίγαν ἑραστῶν. i. e. "Secretly escaping an whole army of other lovers." Idem, libid.

The Lady Jacqueline Guillaume asserts in page 77. of her *Dames illustres* (25), or *Illustrious Ladies*, that one of the chief lovers of Lais a publick Curtezian raised a statue to her like that of Pallas, and caused the following Inscription to be engraved on it; *To the Deity of Lais, for triumphing over the wit of all the Philosophers, and over the courage of all the conquerors.*" I wish some credible author, or some author at least, had been quoted for this particular; for the person whose words I have transcribed, is not so accurate as to make us depend upon her testimony.

(25) That book was printed at Paris in the year 1665.

[D] She dreamt once that Venus appeared to her to acquaint her with the arrival of some very rich customers.] It was Venus surnamed Melænis or the Black, who appeared to her. She had under that name a temple consecrated to her in one of the suburbs of Corinth

(26) Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(26). The reason of that surname was thought to be this, namely that men generally speaking apply themselves to the multiplication of their species in the night time (27), and not in the day time like brutes (28). If this be the true reason of the surname of Melænis, one cannot see why Venus the Black should appear in a dream to young Lais, who was not used to be so nice as to make any distinction between the day and the night with regard to the pleasures of love. However it be, there was an Orator, who mentioned that dream in one of his pleas. Read only the following passage from Athenæus. Ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἢ Μελανίς καλεῖται, τὴν δὲ ἐπιφάνισατον ἑμπίαν ἡραστῶν ἰσθόδῳ ἀποδράσασαν ἢ Τασπιδῆς μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους δυνάμει (29). i. e. "Venus surnamed the Black at Corinth appeared to her (Lais) in the night, and acquainted her with the arrival of some lovers, who were immenely rich, as Hyperides relates in his 3d Oration against Aristagoras."

(27) Idem, lib. 2. cap. 6.

(28) Compare this with what is observed above, in the article of the 3d Duke of GUISE, quoted in (45).

(29) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

[E] Demosthenes went on purpose to Corinth to pass a night with her, but was disgusted by the high price she put upon her favours.] This story has been very prettily dressed in the French tongue by Monf. le Puys (30). Aulus Gellius relates it as follows (31). *Lais Corinthia ob elegantiam venustatemque formæ grandem pecuniam demerebat: conventusque ad eam ditiorum hominum ex omni Græcia celebres erant: neque admittentur, nisi qui dabat, quod poposcerat. Poscebat autem illa nimum quantum. Hinc ait natum esse illud frequens apud Græcos adagium, οὐ πωτὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κορίνθον ἰσθ' ἢ πωλῶς. Quod frustra iret Corinthum ad Laidem, qui non quiret dare quod poposceretur. Ad banc ille Demosthenes clanculum adit; & ut sibi sui copiam faceret, petiit: at Lais prociâs δραχμῶν ἢ τάλαντων ποσέσσι. Hoc facit nummi nostratis denarium decem millia. Tali petulantia mulieris atque pecuniæ magnitudine iâns expavidusque Demosthenes avertit; & discedens, Ego, inquit, permittere tanti*

(30) In his *Amitias, Amours, & Amourettes.*

(31) Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 1. cap. 8. ex Sotionis. Libro cui Titulus, Κίρας ἀμαλδίας.

non emo. Sed Græca ipsa, quæ fertur dixisse, lepidiora sunt, cetera ἀνοῦμαι, inquit, μολίον δραχμῶν μολιμίλιον. i. e. "Lais the Corinthian got a great deal of money by her beauty; for a vast number of the richest men flocked to her from all parts of Greece; nor would she admit any man to her embraces but who paid her the price she asked: and she used to ask an extravagant price. Which gave rise to this proverb so common among the Greeks; *It is not in every man's power to sail to Corinth.* For they went thither to no purpose, who could not give her her own price. Demosthenes went secretly to her, and desired to lie with her. But Lais asked him ten thousand Drachms, or a talent, which makes ten thousand denarii, of our [that is Roman] money [about 317 pound sterling]. Demosthenes being shocked and frightened at the woman's sauciness, and at her extravagant price, went away; saying, he would not buy a repentance so dear. But the Greek words he is said to have spoken on this occasion are smarter still. *I will not pay ten thousand drachms, said he, for a repentance.*" [F] It is . . . well known how strong an affection Diogenes the Cynic had for her.] She did him the curtesty intire; he kissed her gratis. This is what Aristippus's servant represented to his master, when he saw him spend great sums upon that harlot. But Aristippus answered, I pay her well, not to prevent others from enjoying her, but that I may enjoy her myself. Οὐδὲ γάρ μοι ἐπὶ οὐκίβη, ὅτι σὸν μὲν αὐτῆς τοσούτων ἀργυρίου δίδως, ἢ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν Διογένην τῷ κυνὶ ἐνυγκολίβηαι. ἀπειρήναι, ἵνα αὐτῆς χαρῆσθαι πολλὰ, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσῃ, οὐχ' ἵνα μὲν ἄλλῳ. (32). Aristippus was the most easy man in the world with regard to his mistresses: he was not in the least jealous of them; nor did he care whether or not they bestowed upon others the same favours they granted him. This he declared to Diogenes, who had told him (3), *you lie with a common whore; either forsake her, or be a Cynic like me. Do you think it is impertinent, answered Aristippus, to lodge at a house, where there have been several other lodgers, or to embark on board a ship, which has carried several other passengers? No, said Diogenes: Well then, replied Aristippus, it is not more impertinent to lie with a woman, whom several other men have already known* (34). Here follows a very diverting description of the dress, in which these two Philosophers used to ramble about Lais's house, if we may believe Tassoni. *Ma che bel vedere Diogene Cynico col Mantello di romagnuolo squarciato, e rappezzato, la barba squalida, senza camicia, e lordo, e pidocchioso far dell' innamorato, passeggiando lungo la porta della famosa Laide, e dall'altra parte comparire il suo rivale Aristippo, tutto profumato, e attillato, sputando sibetto, e mirarlo di torto, e leuargli il muro; e la Signora starfi alla gelosia, pigliandosi gusto di vederli passeggiare al sereno* (35). i. e. "But what a pretty thing was it to see Diogenes the Cynic with a cloak of coarse cloth all ragged, and patched up, with a dirty face, without a shirt, and nasty and lousy, setting up for a lover, and walking before the famous Lais's door; and on the other hand to see his rival Aristippus appear, all perfumed, neatly dressed, spitting civet, looking with an evil eye upon the other, and climbing upon the wall; and the Lady standing at her window, and taking a delight in seeing them walk in the dew."

[G] The answer he made to it was very smart.] When he was told that Lais did not love him, he made the following answer; *I do not imagine that the wine I drink, or the fishes I eat love me, and yet I take a pleasure in living upon them.* Plutarch acquaints us with

(32) Aristippus was the most easy man in the world with regard to his mistresses: he was not in the least jealous of them; nor did he care whether or not they bestowed upon others the same favours they granted him. This he declared to Diogenes, who had told him (3), you lie with a common whore; either forsake her, or be a Cynic like me. Do you think it is impertinent, answered Aristippus, to lodge at a house, where there have been several other lodgers, or to embark on board a ship, which has carried several other passengers? No, said Diogenes: Well then, replied Aristippus, it is not more impertinent to lie with a woman, whom several other men have already known

(32) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

(33) Idem, ibid.

(34) See the *Nouvelles Lettres de la Critique du Calvinisme*, pag. 550. There is in Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque Française*, pag. 989 a very pretty Poem upon this subject, written by Peter de Brach, of Bourdeaux.

(35) Tassoni, *Pensieri Diversi*, lib. 7. cap. 11. pag. 228.

(6) It was Pbyne.

she bore another curtezan (b) made her admit the poor as well as the rich, that she might distinguish her self by the great number of her gallants. Others maintain that it was only when she was old that she used to prostitute her self for a trifle [H]. There are authors who tell us that she was only a bawd in her old age [I]. Some pretend that notwithstanding

with this particular; Amiot did not well understand his words, for he supposes that Aristippus answered, *I love neither wine nor fish, though I take some pleasure in using them.* Here follow the Greek words, which offer no such thought. *Ἀριστιππῶ τῷ καὶ φιλοσοφῶντι Λαίδῳ. πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ φιλοῦσθαι, ἀποκριθεὶς ἔειπεν ὅτι ἴσθαι οἴσται καὶ ἴχθυον μὴ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἰδίως ἰκαλεῖσθαι χερτίαι.* i. e. "A person representing to Aristippus, that Lais did not love him, do you think, answered he, that the wine or the fishes

(36) Plutarch. in Amatorio, pag. 750, D.

(37) Cicero, Epist. 26. lib. 9. ad Familiares.

(38) Lib. 12. pag. 544

(39) Lactant. lib. 3. cap. 15. pag. m. 184.

(40) Laert. 6, 7. Menag. ad Diog. Laert. lib. 2. num. 75.

(41) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. num. 84, 85.

(42) Epicrates, in Anti Laide, apud Athen. lib. 13. pag. 570.

love me? And yet I use both with pleasure (26)." On another occasion he made an answer, which has been mentioned by several authors, and which shews more evidently still, that though he used to go often to Lais, yet he was by no means a slave to his passion. *Cum esset obiectum habere eum Laida, habes, inquit, non habeor à Laide* (37). i. e. "It being objected to him, that he was in Lais's power; he answered I keep Lais, but I am not kept by her." The answer is shorter still in Athenæus (38), *ἔχω καὶ οὐκ ἔχομαι.* i. e. "I keep, but am not kept." This answer is mentioned by several authors; Diogenes Laertius does not omit it in his Life of Aristippus; and Lactantius relates it after the following manner. *Aristippo Cyrenaiorum magistro cum Laide nobili scorto fuit consuetudo, quod flagitium gravis illi philosophiæ doctor sic defendebat, ut diceret, multum inter se, & ceteros Laidis amatores interesse, quod ipse haberet Laidem, alii vero à Laide haberentur. O præclara, & imitanda bonis sapientia: huic vero liberos in disciplinam daret, ut discerent habere meretricem. Aliquid inter se, ac perditos interesse dicebat, scilicet, quod illi bona sua perderent, ipse gratis luxuriaretur. In quo tamen sapientior meretrix fuit, quæ philosophum habuit pro lenone, ut ad se omnis juvenentis doctoris exemplo, & auctoritate corrupta, sine ullo pudore concurreret* (39). i. e. "The founder

of the Cyreniac sect conversed with Lais the noted Curtezan, and that grave teacher of Philosophy pretended to vindicate that wickedness by observing, that there was a great difference between him and the other lovers of Lais, for that Lais was in his power, and they in her's. Oh! the noble wisdom, proper to be imitated by all good men! You may give him your children to educate, that they may learn to keep a whore. He pretended that there was some difference between him and profligate men, namely this, that they squandered away their estates, whilst he rioted gratis. Wherein however the Curtezan shewed the greatest wisdom, who made a pimp of a Philosopher, that the young students should not be ashamed to go to her, being encouraged thereto by the example of their teacher." This Father of the Church's reflection is not entirely well grounded; Lactantius, it seems, did not well understand the Philosopher's thought. His meaning was this. "I go to Lais's house; I have a right to do it"; *ἔχω γυναικὸν Ἕλῶν ἁπάντων, ὡς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοσοφῶντες, ὡς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοσοφῶντες, ὡς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοσοφῶντες.* *mulierem, de eo qui ad eam pro suo jure cum volebat, ventitabat. . . Latinae dictionis exemplum habes apud Terentium in Andria I. 1. Quis Chrysidem habuit? Qua de re Muretus variat.* (40); but she does not govern or rule over me: I am still the master of this correspondence, and can put a stop to it whenever I please." He did not mean, as Lactantius supposes, that this correspondence cost him nothing. We have seen above, how Aristippus's servant complained of his master's expences on this account. I must not forget to observe, that this Philosopher dedicated some of his works to Lais (41).

[H] Others maintain, that . . . when she was old she prostituted herself for a trifle.] Epicrates wrote some verses, in which he abused her most cruelly. When she was young, said he (42), she was so proud on account of her riches, that it was a more difficult matter to have access to her, than to Pharnabazus. But now she is old it is the easiest thing in the world to have one's will of her. She goes and drinks in any place. She admits to her embraces both the old and the young indifferently. She is become so humble and meek,

that she even begs for the curtesy. Athenæus relates these lines of Epicrates, extracted from a work entitled *Anti-Lais*. Monsieur Baillet has omitted it in his collection of the books entitled *Anti*. It is impossible to reconcile together the authors who mention Lais. According to Epicrates, she was almost inaccessible when she was young. Another author asserts that she was surnamed Axine on account of her shyness, and because she extorted large sums of money from her lovers. *Ὅτι Λαίη καὶ ἄξινη ἰκαλεῖτο. ἄλογον δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπὶ ἡλικίᾳ τῷ τῷ ἄδυνος ἀγνώστῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει, καὶ ἴδι μὴ δὲ λαιω σαφῶς τῶν ἔτινων, αἷς ἀπαλαττομένων θάπτῳ* (43). i. e. "Lais was called Axine; which surname was given her to signify her shy temper, and that she would get too much money, especially from strangers, because they were to go away very soon." She would demand too much, and gave no quarter in that respect. *Neque admittebatur nisi qui dabat quod poposcerat; posebat autem illa nimium quantum* (44). She was particularly guilty of an excessive covetousness with regard to strangers; for as they were soon to go back, she knew that they would not have time to bargain with her, and that if she did not receive a large sum at once from them, she should not meet with another opportunity to get again what she might have bated of her price. See Ælian's Greek words quoted above (45). Athenæus represents her of a much easier temper. He asserts that she made no difference between the poor and the rich, *ὡς διακρίσειν πτωχῶν καὶ πλουσίων* (46). She took nothing from Diogenes. She acted probably like the charitable Physicians, who visit their poor patients gratis; but she made the rich pay the more for it, as several Physicians do, who accept no money from the poor.

[I] . . . Some pretend that she was only a bawd in her old age.] There was no Deity among the Heathens, that was more faithfully served than Venus; for the women who prostituted themselves, used to make their prostitution last as long as they could; and when old age made them unfit for the trade, they did not however give over the service, but set up for teachers of young maidens, and procured interviews and meetings between lovers. This is what Claudian reproaches Lais with.

*Haud aliter juvenum flammis Ephyreia Lais
E gemino ditata mari, dum ferta refundit
Canities, dum turba procaax, molisque recedit
Ambitus, & raro pulsatur janua tactu,
Seque reformidat speculo damnante senectus,
Stat tamen, atque alias succingit lena ministras,
Dilectumque diu quamvis longæva lupanar
Circuit & retinet mores, quos perdidit ætas* (47).

i. e. "Thus the Corinthian Lais, grown rich by the love of young men, and the spoils of two seas, when old age came upon her, when the crowd of lovers forsook her, when she was obliged to lie alone all night, and there was seldom any knocking at her door, when she was frightened at her own face seen in the glass, yet she would continue her ancient trade; she turned a bawd, and though a decrepit old woman, she could not leave her beloved stew. Her inclinations were still the same, though she could not gratify them on account of her old age."

This puts me in mind of those invalids, who have sometimes been mentioned in our News-Papers. As they are no longer able to bear arms, they are sent on the sea-coast, to exercise the militia there. Or, if you want another comparison, consider that mule, of which a Greek Historian speaks (48). As she had served the Athenians a long time, she was discharged from any labour, and was suffered to graze wherever she would. But that she might not be entirely useless, she used to walk before the waggons, and encouraged in some manner the horses or oxen that drew them for which reason it was ordered that she should be nourished

(43) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 35. See also the 5th chap. of the 12th book, where Aristophanes Byzantius is quoted for this particular.

(44) A. Gellius, lib. 1. cap. 8. translated above, quotation (31).

(45) Quæstion on (43).

(46) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

(47) Claudian. lib. 1. in Eutrapiam, ver. 90.

(48) Plutarch. in Vita M. Cornelia.

notwithstanding the pleasure she took in distinguishing herself by the great number of persons who courted her favours, yet she left Corinth, where she had always a crowd of lovers, and went into Thessaly to meet a young man with whom she was passionately in love [K]. The women of that country entertained such a jealousy against this beautiful creature, that they got rid of her in a very cruel manner. They enticed her into the temple of Venus, and stoned her to death (c), or, according to others, they knocked her down with the chairs they happened to meet with there. It is not a general opinion amongst authors, that she died after that manner [L]. I have observed in another place (d), that Apelles taught her her trade; and it seems indeed, that he got her maidenhead, if we consider only the authors I have quoted. See (e) the answer he made to those who ridiculed him for choosing a raw unexperienced girl; but if we examine things critically we shall find reasons to question this story [M]. The conjecture of those who assert that

(d) In the article APELLES, remark [E].

(e) Ibid.

that

nourished all her life-time at the expence of the public.

I must not omit to observe a mistake of the learned Barthius. He imagined (49) that Synesius gives us the History of Lais in the letter in which he mentions a Curtezian, who was the first mistress of a master of a ship, then of a rhetorician, afterwards of a footman, then a public prostitute, and lastly a bawd. It is certain that Lais is not meant there, but the mother of a rhetorician, who was lately married to Synesius's niece, which unequal match he very much disliked. Here follows the whole passage. Πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι λέγουσιν ὅσοι καὶ τὸ νυμφίον ἡμῶν μὴ πρότερον ἀποσημειώσιν ἡμιλογησίντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φίμῃ Λαίδου. ἡ γὰρ Λαίς ἔφη τις ἦδη λογογράφου, ἀνδραποδῆν, ἢ Ἰταλικῶν ἐν Σικελίας ἐνομήσιοι, ὅθεν ἡ καλλιπεία ἢ τεκῆσα τὸ περιβόητον. καὶ αὐτὴ πάλαι μὲν ἰταλλοκλήστον ναυκλήρων διαπόνη. ἔπειτα μὲν τοῖς ῥήτορι, καὶ τέλος διαπένη. τρίτῳ μὲν ἐκείνους ἐμποδίσθη καὶ λάθρα τῆ πόλει. ἔπειτα λαμπρῶς τῆ πόλει, καὶ περιεστῆ τῆς πόλεως, ἢς ἐπειθὴ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὑπὸ χαλαρῶ ῥυθμὸν κατέλιπον, τὰς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδοτρέχει, καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἀντικαθίστησιν. i. e.

(49) Barthius, Animadv. ad lib. 1. Claudiani in Eutropium, ver. 95. p. 1291, edit. in 4to.

(50) Synesius, Epist. 3. pag. 21. Mr. Bayle followed Thonaeorgus's translation into Latin, and the Basil edit. 1588, in 8vo.

Unless it be, that they say something to the purpose, who extoll this bridegroom on account of his mother's family, making him descend from the famous Lais. Who, as a certain Historian relates, was a slave from Hyccara, bought in Sicily, whence came also this mother of beautiful children, who brought forth that celebrated man. And she herself was formerly kept by a master of a ship, who was a freeman, afterwards by a rhetorician, also a freeman, and then by one of her fellow-servants; to whom she prostituted herself in an unknown city, and afterwards became a public harlot, being the chief of her trade. But when the wrinkles of her face made her unfit for the service, she instructed young girls in it, whom she offered her customers instead of herself." Here is a person of whom it may be well asserted that her last state was worse than the first; for her prostitution was less pernicious than the trade of a bawd, which she followed at last.

[K] She went into Thessaly to meet a young man, with whom she was passionately in love.] What we have just now observed concerning Lais's poverty and her trade of a bawd, does not agree with Plutarch's account of her; for he asserts that when this Curtezian left Corinth she had a whole army of lovers there, and that the women of Thessaly killed her only out of envy for her great beauty. Ἐκεί δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπὸ φθόνῳ καὶ ζήλῳ διὰ τὸ κάλλος εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης παραγῆσαι κατέλιπον καὶ διέφθειραν (52). i. e. "The women there, out of ENVY and jealousy OF HER BEAUTY, having conducted her into the Temple of Venus, stoned her there to death." The Thessalian, with whom she fell in love, was named Hippolochus, if we may believe Plutarch; but Athenæus calls him Pausanias (53). They both agree that the Temple of Venus, in which she was killed, had a surname which signified that crime. According to Plutarch, it was called the Temple of Venus the Manslayer, Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνου, and according to Athenæus the Temple of Venus prophaned, ἀνοσίης Ἀφροδίτης. They built a tomb to Lais on the banks of the river Peneus with this epitaph.

Τῆς δὲ πόδος ἡ μεγαλαυχῶν Ἀνικητὴς τὴ πρὸς ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ἐδουλόθη καλλιῶν ἰσοθεία, Λαίδου, ἢ τίκουσαν Ἐρμῆ, θεῶν δὲ Κορῆθου, Κούται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θεσσαλιῶσι πεδίον (54).

(51) In the two preceding remarks.

(52) Plutarch. in Amatoris, pag. 768, A.

(53) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 589.

(54) Athen. ibid.

i. e. "Proud Greece, invincible by her courage, has

been vanquished by the heavenly beauty of this "Lais, whom Love begot, and Corinth educated; "here she lies in the celebrated fields of Thessaly."

By this particular Athenæus refutes those, who asserted, that she was buried in the suburb of Corinth called Clanton. It is true however that there was a monument erected to her in that suburb (55). But there might be one there and another at the same time in Thessaly; for though the Corinthians were not possessed of her corps, yet they would, no doubt, raise a tomb to her, on which they caused a lioness to be engraved, whose forefeet rested on a ram (56). See Alciat's Emblemata (57). According to Pausanias, the lover, whom Lais went to meet in Thessaly was named Hippostratus. Let us observe here that Geufius's conjecture does not in the least appear to be well grounded: he imagines that the women of Thessaly, made Lais fall a sacrifice to Venus, because she had rendered herself odious to that Goddess, by her ambition in pretending to be equal to her, or even to excell above her in beauty. He grounds his conjecture on their carrying her into the Temple of Venus, though they might very easily have killed her any where else. Verisimile est, says he (38), quod hæc Lais ab invidiis & furiosis istis sœminis non simpliciter necata, sed tanquam piacularis viclima Deæ Veneri in ejus templo immolata fuerit; quia forma sua & pulchritudine Veneris ipsius gloriam affectasse, imo obscurasse, & ita indignationem & iram ejus in se excitasse videbatur. Nam quare ipsam non in alio loco, in foro, platea, vel ædibus occiderunt? Quare ipsam in Veneris templo lapidibus & scamnis obruerant, nisi propterea, ut Laida Veneris amulam coram ipsa Veneri in sacrificium mactarent? i. e. "It is probable that Lais was not killed by these envious and furious women, but that she was offered up in the Temple of Venus as a peculiar sacrifice to that Goddess, because she pretended to vie with Venus, or even to excell her in beauty, by which she drew upon her the hatred and indignation of that Goddess. For why did they not kill her in any other place, in the market-place, for instance, in the street, or in an house? Why did they kill her by throwing stones and benches at her in the very Temple of Venus, if it were not to make Lais the rival of Venus fall a sacrifice in the presence of Venus herself?"

(55) Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 45.

(56) Pausan. ibid.

(57) The 74th, pag. m. 329.

(58) Jacobus Geufius, Theologus & Medicus Frisius, in Tractatu de Victimis humanis, Part 2, pag. 482, 483.

[L] It is not a general opinion amongst authors that she died after that manner.] Some assert (59) that she was choked with an olive stone, in which case her death had been much like Anacreon's. Others pretend she died in the venereal act. Οὐχὶ Λαίς μὲν τελευτῆσ' ἀπέθανε βουμένη. i. e. "Lais was not yet dead, she died in the venereal act." This was a glorious death for a person who had consecrated herself to the service of the Goddess Venus; it was dying in the bed of honour, and when she was giving signal proofs of her loyalty. It is as when a warrior is killed in battle. It has been said, that an Emperor ought to die standing. But according to the principles of the Heathens, a Curtesian ought to be in a quite different posture to die gloriously. Lais in her profession did what Vespasian required from the Emperors.

(59) Ptolema Hephæst. apud Photium, pag. m. 472.

(60) Philetærus, in Venatrice, apud Athen. lib. 12. pag. 587. See Bigar. de des Accords, liv. 1. folio 181 verso, 182, & 191.

[M] There are reasons to question this story.] Let us remember that Lais was born the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad; and that Apelles being at sea was by fires of weather forced to put into the harbour of Alexandria under the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus (61), and that the reign of that King could not begin before the 114th Olympiad. The most favourable

(61) Above, quotation (9) of the article APELLES.

that there have been two curtezans named Lais [N], is grounded on this observation, namely, that the applying all that is said of Lais to one and the same woman, is inconsistent with Chronology. It is not at all probable that she was Alcibiades's daughter (f), nor that she wrote books [O]. There is a very pretty epigram in Aufonius concerning this

(f) See the remark [T].

vourable supposition, which the authors of that story could make, would be to say, that Apelles was but twenty years of age, and Lais twenty five at the time they speak of, and that he arrived at Alexandria the first year of Ptolomy's reign; whence it would follow that he was born the first year of the ninety first Olympiad. But according to this supposition, would he not have been near fourscore and fifteen, when Ptolomy the son of Lagus begun his reign? And is it probable, that at such an age, he had been able to undergo the fatigues of the sea, and to perform what he is supposed to have done at the Court of Egypt? Would none of the authors who are extant, have mentioned his great age? These difficulties cannot be removed, but by making Lais's virginity last longer; that is to say, by supposing that this painter being twenty years old, sent for her to the entertainment, when she was already forty or at least thirty five years old. Now these suppositions are not in the least probable, and are inconsistent with the accounts we meet with in the ancient authors. It would be much more reasonable to suppose, that Apelles was twice as old as Lais; it is infinitely probable that this Lady begun her wicked trade very soon, and therefore that it was not Apelles who debauched her first. Observe that the fountain of Pyrene, whence it is supposed she was returning when her beauty struck him, was at Corinth. Wherefore if this story were true, it would follow from thence, that he continued some time in that city, and I do not believe that any author ever asserted it positively.

[N] It is conjectured that there have been two courtezans named Lais. She, who is the subject of this article was carried to Corinth, when Nicias commanded the army of the Athenians in Sicily; that is to say, the second year of the 91st Olympiad. She was then seven years old, if we may believe the Scholiast on Aristophanes (62). Now since Demosthenes did not dare to go to Corinth but secretly, in order to enjoy Lais, it follows that he was not a young scholar then, but a man who had already gained a great reputation. We ought therefore to suppose that he was at least thirty; so that Lais would have been then threescore and seven years old (63). There is not therefore the least probability, that Demosthenes would have cared to see her, nor that she would have asked him a large sum of money. It was therefore another Lais who asked the Orator that sum; whence it follows that there have been two courtezans named Lais. The difficulty will be very great still, though it were supposed, that Demosthenes took a journey to Corinth at the age of about twenty years; for our Lais would have been then about threescore. I find that several authors ground their opinion, that there have been two Lais's, on a passage in Athenæus, where it is asserted that Alcibiades always had two concubines with him, namely, Damasandra the mother of Lais the younger (64), and Theodota who took care of his funeral when he had been killed in a town of Phrygia. There is some strength in that passage of Athenæus, for it supposes that there had been one Lais before her who was Damasandra's daughter. But it is still liable to a great many difficulties. In the 1st place, Athenæus, who relates so many particulars concerning Lais, does never make the least distinction; he goes on throughout his whole discourse, as though there had never been but one Lais? Does an author express himself after such a manner, when he is persuaded that there have been two persons of that name, and when he would acquaint his readers with it? II. Plutarch, speaking of Lais the daughter of Alcibiades's concubine, asserts positively, that she was born at Hyccara in Sicily, and that she was carried from thence a slave. Τῆς δὲ Λαΐδας θυγατρὸς γυνώσκει Λαΐδα, τὴν Κορινθίαν μὲν ἀρπαγαυομένην, ἐκ δὲ Ἰακάρων Σικελικῆ πόλεως αἰχμαλώτου γινώσκουσα (65). i. e. "They say, that her daughter was Lais, who was called the Corinthian, though she was born at Hyccara a town in Sicily, whence she was carried away a slave." So that according to Plutarch, the same Lais, whom Athenæus

calls the younger, is she who was born in Sicily before the 91st Olympiad; so that if the courtezans who demanded a large sum of money from Demosthenes differ from this, it will follow from thence, that there have been three Lais's; for she, who would be the first according to Athenæus, would be anterior to the Sicilian, who was sold at Hyccara the second year of the 91st Olympiad, and would have been less capable still than the second of Athenæus, to have received a visit from Demosthenes. In the 3d place, the large sum of money demanded from that Orator, does evidently suppose that the courtezans who asked it, was still very young. A woman does not put so high a price upon her favours, when she is past thirty five. Now as it is very probable that Alcibiades's concubine had been already delivered of Lais, when that General died in the 1st year of the 94th Olympiad, it would follow from thence, that Lais was at least twenty five years older than Demosthenes. If therefore that Orator at the age of thirty had taken a journey to Corinth with a design to enjoy Lais, he would have loved a woman of fifty, who asked about four thousand livres for one night's lodging with her. Λαΐς πορναῖα θυγατρὸς τῆς Λαΐδας ἑπορεύθη, hoc facit nummi nostratis denarium decem millia (66). For my part, instead of supposing two Lais's, I should rather think that the authors, who were very inaccurate with regard to Chronology (67), applied to a courtezans of that name a story of Demosthenes, which related to another Lady of pleasure. Observe that Athenæus asserts in another place, that Alcibiades being General of the Army had two concubines with him, Timandra the mother of Lais the Corinthian, and Theodota the Athenian (68). This is hinting plainly enough that Timandra was then already mother of Lais; and it is certain, that the same Lais, who was born in Sicily, has been surnamed the Corinthian. Plutarch asserts it positively (69). Observe also that Athenæus calls the mother of Lais sometimes Damasandra, and sometimes Timandra, and that he ascribes to Theodota the care of Alcibiades's funerals. But Plutarch asserts, both that Timandra was Lais's mother, and that she buried Alcibiades (70).

[O] It is not at all probable . . . that she wrote books] Pliny (71) relates two particulars, which he had read in the works of a woman named Lais. He quotes her the first time with Elephantis, and the second with Salpe, and soon after he mentions a midwife called Sotira. It is well known that Elephantis had composed some books which abounded with obscenities. See the remark [P] of the article HELENA, and Suetonius, in the forty third chapter of the life of Tiberius, and the forty third Epigram of the twelfth book of Martial. Galen asserts (72) that Elephantis wrote a treatise of Cosmeticks. I have explained the sense of that word in another place (73). Salpe was of the Isle of Lesbos (74), and had composed a work of jests, of jokes and pleasantry, but it is not probable that Pliny quoted her with regard to this work. Lais & Salpe, says he (75), canum rabioforum morsus, & tertianas quartanasque febres, menstruo in lana arietis nigri, argenteo bracciali incluso. i. e. according to du Pinet's French translation; Lais and Salpe, both of them famous Courtezans, assert that if the menstrual blood be wrapped up in the wool of a black Ram, and put in a silver bracelet, it serves to cure the bite of a mad dog, as also the tertian and quartan ague. i. e. hinting very plainly, that both these women wrote books of prescriptions. Father Hardouin asserts that Salpe wrote de remediis muliebribus (76), of remedies proper for women. The second passage in Pliny, where Lais and Elephantis are mentioned together, hints the same thing. Quæ Lais & Elephantis inter se contraria prodidere de abortivis, carbone e radice brassicæ, vel myrti, vel tamaricis in eo sanguine extincto: item asinas non concipere tot annis, quot grana bordei contacta ederint, quæque alia nuncupaverunt monstrifica, aut inter ipsas pugnantia, cum hæc fecunditatem fieri iisdem modis, quibus illa sterilitatem, prænunderet, melius est non credere (77). That

(66) A. Gellius, lib. 1. cap. 8. Denarium decem millia, amount, according to Galsendi, to 3722 livres, French money.

(67) See Scaliger in Eusebium, num. 786. pag. 49.

(68) Athen. lib. 2. pag. 535.

(69) Plutarch. in Alcibiade, sub fin. pag. m. 213.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 7.

(72) Galen. in Libris contra venus.

(73) Above, remark [A] of the article CRISTO, num. 4.

(74) Athen. lib. 7. pag. 321, 322.

(75) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 7. pag. 588.

(76) Hardouin. in Indico Annot. Plinii.

(77) Plin. lib. 28. cap. 7. pag. 587.

(62) Ad Plautum.

(63) Demosthenes was born the 4th year of the 98th Olympiad. See Exercitationes Palmerii apud Lloyd, Voss Lais, & apud Menagium in Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. num. 75.

(64) Τῆς Λαΐδας πορναῖας θυγατρὸς. i. e. "The mother of Lais the younger." Athen. lib. 13. pag. 574.

(65) Plutarch. in Alcib. sub fin. pag. 213. D.

this courtesan's looking-glass [P]. I forgot to observe that she was so passionately in love with Eubates, that she obliged him to promise her marriage [Q], but he found means to evade his promise. Notwithstanding her great beauty, it was impossible for her to conquer

That is to say, according to du Pinet's translation; *As for what the Courtesan Lais (*) and the Poetess & Elephantis assert, of the menstrual blood, that it is proper to make the fetus melt away in the mother's womb, and of a coal of the root of a Cabbage, or of a Myrtle tree, or of a Tamarisk extinguished in the same blood, we ought not to believe it, for they absolutely contradict each other. We say the same of what they observe farther, namely, that a she-ass will continue as many years without conceiving, as she has eat grains of oats tainted with menstrual blood. Nay these two Courtesans relate monstrous things upon this subject, which ought by no means to be believed; for what the one prescribes as proper to get children, the other prescribes as proper to prevent conception.* This translator (Du Pinet) has took upon him to determine a particular, which Pliny does not mention. He asserts boldly that the Courtesan Lais is hinted at here, and he means undoubtedly the same, who is the subject of this article. If he had determined it only in a marginal note, it would not have been so great a rashness; but he asserts it as though it were a true translation of his original: Which is an inexcusable boldness. Father Hardouin has been infinitely more modest. He confesses, that he does not know whether Pliny quoted one of the two Courtesans, who were called Lais, and he cites her, whom Pliny quoted, a Midwife, *Obstetrix* (78). If I did not meet in Pliny's words with prescriptions for tertian and quartan agues; if they contained only remedies against barrenness, and prescriptions for miscarriages, I could easier believe, that he quoted a work written by our Lais, or ascribed to some famous Courtesan: for few persons are better acquainted with the means to facilitate or prevent conception, and to make a fetus vanish away, than women of Lais's trade; a trade which includes the wicked art of being serviceable to those, who dread a publick disgrace; in a word, a trade which ends in this art, to which alone it is at last reduced, when age does not suffer a woman to perform any longer the other functions of it. But upon the whole, I do not think it probable that our Lais wrote books. I would not however deny, that those which Pliny quotes, and which he opposes to those of another wicked woman, named Elephantis, have been ascribed to our Lais. I question, whether an honest matron, well skilled in the use of secrets, and a midwife by trade, would have been pleased with being named together with Lais: For that name as well as those of Chrysis, and Thais, and such others, was used to be particularly applied to bad characters in the works of the poets. And it was, no doubt, this custom which was followed in a book printed in France towards the beginning of the sixteenth Century with this title; *Dialogue de l'Aretin, où sont deduites les Vies, Mœurs et déportemens de Lais & Lamia Courtisanes de Rome*. i. e. "A Dialogue of Aretin and Lamia, Courtesans of Rome." Aristænetus gives his sweetheart the name of Lais (79), understanding by that name, not only his mistress, a girl, he loved (80), but also a girl, who loved him, and granted him all favours without exception; for he observes that her bones were almost flexible, and so soft that the impression of his embraces remained upon them almost as upon the flesh that covered him. Οὐτω μὲν τοὶ σύμμοτρα καὶ τρυφερά τῆς Λαίδας τὰ μέλη, ὡς ὑγροφωῶς αὐτῆς λογίζεσθαι τὰ ὅσα τῷ περιουσομένῳ δίκην τοιγαυρὶ ταῦτα μικρὰ γὰρ ὁμοίως δι' ἀπαλότῆρα συναπομαλατῆται τῆ σαρκεὶ, καὶ ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἀσκαλαῖς ὑπίκει. Lais's members are so soft and delicate, that if you press them a little close, her very bones seem to be tender and flexible. For by their tenderness they receive impressions almost like the flesh, and yield to the lover's embraces (81).

[P] There is an Epigram in Aufonius concerning this Courtesan's looking glass.] Aufonius only translated an epigram of Plato, which is in the anthologia; but he succeeded very well in his translation.

Lais anus Veneri speculum dico: dignum habeat se
Æterna æternum forma ministerium,

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At mihi nullus in hoc usus, quia cernere talem
Qualis sum nolo; qualis eram nequeo (82).

(82) Aufon.
Epig. 55.

i. e. "I Lais, being now an old woman, consecrate my looking-glass to Venus. Let her, whose beauty is everlasting, use it for ever, it is worthy of her: I have no longer any occasion for it; since I do not care to see myself in it as I am now, and I cannot see my self as I was formerly."

This supposes that Lais outlived her beauty, so that her looking glass became an useless and even disagreeable furniture to her. This agrees with the authors I have mentioned in the remarks [H] and [I], but not with Plutarch. See the remark [K].

You will meet, in the commentaries on Alciat's emblems, with some Latin verses, in which Lais's mournful complaints are very prettily described. They were grounded on two reasons; the first was, that she found herself quite ugly, when she looked in her glass; the second, that she still felt the fire of lust burn within her breast. She complained that she had all the warm desires of youth in a body almost decrepit. This was a sad thing indeed.

Et tamen idem animus stimulos sub pectore eosdem
Et motu sensit servida corda Deo;
Sic secum: Facie nimium vivacior, o mens,
Cur dudum hæc anus est, tuque puella manes (83)?

(83) Emblem.
Alciati, pag.
330. edit. Patav.
1662, in 4to.

i. e. "She has still the same inclination; the same lust inspires her breast; she feels still in her heart the arrears of that God who is not unknown to her: She speaks thus to herself, too much liveliness appearing in her face, O my mind, why should you continue young, when my face is long since grown old?"

The truth of the matter, is, that an old Courtesan of Venice was represented under Lais's name. *Accipi pridem a Viris Italici soli, id scriptum fuisse in quandam meretricem Venetam, quæ ætatis lapsa seu decussa fore, quoties se in speculo conspiceret, fronte jam rugis obfita, misere contabescebat, et nibilo segnius ardore sentiginis premebatur* (84). i. e. "I have been told lately by some Italians, that this was written against a certain Courtesan of Venice, whose face abounded with wrinkles, either through age or by the decay of her beauty, and who whenever she looked in her glass, was sadly grieved, and yet continued to feel the fire of lust rage never the less in her breast." This hint is borrowed from Horace.

(84) Ibid.

Dices, heu (quoties te speculo videris alterum)
Quæ mens est bodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Aut cur his animis incolumes non redeant genæ (85).

(85) Horat. Ode
10. lib. 4. ver. 6

i. e. "Ah thou shalt say, when'er the Glass shall shew thee quite another face, Ah whilst I was a vigorous boy, Why did not I this mind enjoy! Or since I now so freely burn, Why won't my former face return!"

CREECH.

[Q] She was so passionately in love with Eubates, that she obliged him to promise her marriage.) Her passion must have been exceedingly strong, since she would submit to the laws of wedlock (86), under which she would not have been at liberty to continue her trade. She communicated to Eubates the design she had to marry him: he seemed to consent to it; for he was afraid she would serve him some ill turn; but he did not lie with her: he put that affair off, till the games were over, in which he was to contend for the prize. He gained it; and never thought of performing his promise of marriage. He returned to Cyrene, his native place, taking only Lais's picture with him. He imagined that by doing this he acquitted himself of his promise. The wife he had at Cyrene thought herself under

(86) Ἡδὲ δὲ αὐτοῦ διαμύχια, καὶ πρὸς γάμου λόγους προσήκειν. i. e. "She loved him passionately, and offered to marry him." Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 2.

7 N

quer the Philosopher Xenocrates's continency [R]. She defended herself once very artfully against Euripides, who reproved her justly [S]. Tatian has censured the heathens for the monument which they erected to this dissolute woman (g). He mentions Turnus the Sculptor who had made it, whence we may infer that he was a famous master in his art; and yet neither Pliny nor any other writer mention him in the least. I shall take notice in one single remark of Moreri's error, and of those that occur in some other Dictionaries [T]. There never was a more extravagant boldness than that of Anthony de

(g) Tatian, *Contra Graecos*, pag. m. 170.

(87) Idem. *ibid.*
(88) Οτι Κυρηναίως Ἀριστοτέλης Λαίδα ἠρώσαν ὑπεράρα μιν, ὁμοκεκασ ἀν τῆ ἑταίρα, ἢ μὴ ἀτάξιν αὐτὴν εἶναι πατρίδα, ἢ συμπαρεῖν αὐτῶπινα πρὸς τοὺς ἀταξυνιστάς, ἢ πικρὴν διατραπέσοτο. χαρίεντος ἐκτελέων τῶν ἠρώτων, γρηγορήσας αὐτὸς ὡς οὗτο μάλιστα ἐκείνη ἀνοστούνει εἰς Κυρήνην. i. e.

Of all the lovers of Lais, Aristotele of Cyrene is the only one that slighted her. For after he had promised this courtesan upon oath, that he would take her with him into his own country, in case she assisted him in gaining the victory over his antagonists; when she had done it, he evaded his oath in a cynical manner, that he had raised a statue to her at Cyrene, which was very much like her."

Clemens Alexand. *Stromat.* lib. 3. pag. 447.
(89) In *Ukrat. Satyr.* 3. lib. 2.
(90) Diog. Laert. lib. 4. num. 7.
(91) Diogen. Laert. lib. 4. num. 7.
(92) *Cum se ad libidinem excitari praesensisset.*

(93) Machon. *apud Athen.* lib. 13. pag. 582.

(94) In his *Medea*, where we meet with this line, "Εἶπ' αἰσχροῦται, καὶ τίκων μισαροῖται. i. e. "Go and be hanged, you that commit obscene actions, and are tainted with the murder of your own children."

(95) *Apud Ath.* lib. 13.

(96) It is the 5th verse of Euripides's *Æolus* in Barnes's edition.

(97) Machon, *apud Athen.* lib. 13.

under an obligation to reward so noble an instance of continence; wherefore she caused a beautiful statue to be erected to her husband. I am apt to think, that Ælian, who relates this story (87), spoiled and enervated it entirely. Clemens Alexandrinus tells it in fewer words (88), but he calls Aristotle the person, whom Ælian names Eubates, and he quotes the Book of *Περὶ κατὰ ἰδιότητα ἀδελφῶν. Concerning the nature of exercises.* He does not agree with Ælian in every particular.

[R] *It was impossible for her to conquer the Philosopher Xenocrates's continency.* She had laid a wager that she would oblige this Philosopher to divert himself with her at the sport of love. She feigned to be frightened, and with this pretence she took sanctuary in his house, and continued there all night, but he did not touch her. When she was called upon to pay the wager, she answered that she did not pretend to lay a wager about a mere block, but about a man. Thus an ancient interpreter of Horace (89) relates this fact. Diogenes Laertius ascribes this to the Courtesan Phryne, and does not mention the wager. He tells us (90) that she took shelter in Xenocrates's house, pretending she was pursued, and as there was but one bed in the house, she desired the Philosopher to let her have half of his, to which he consented. Afterwards she proposed some other questions to him, but to no purpose. So that when she was asked, how things went between them, she answered, that she had lain with a block and not with a man. Some asserted that Xenocrates's Disciples put Lais once into his bed, and that he was so fully determined to keep his continency, that he suffered several times his privities to be cut and even burnt. *Εἶνος δὲ Λαίδα φασὶ παρακαλεῖσθαι αὐτὴ τῆς μωβήλας, τὸν δὲ ἔταος εἶναι ἰσχυρῆν, ὥστε καὶ τεμαῖς καὶ καίσις πολλὰκις ὑπερμῖναι πρὶ τὸ αἰδοῖν.* The Latin translation is as follows, *Quidam vero discipulos Laidem illi in seculo tradunt, illumque ad se fuisse continentem, ut cum se ad libidinem incitari praesensisset, et secare et urere verenda sepe pateretur* (91). We have reasons to complain here both of the Greek Author, and of his translator. The latter adds of his own accord, that Xenocrates perceived the rebellion of lust was coming upon him (92); and as for Diogenes Laertius, he does not tell us what became of Lais; he puts her into the Philosopher's bed, without relating what she did there, nor how she got out of it again, and instead of completing his account of this particular story, he falls upon discoursing on a general fact, namely the means which Xenocrates had several times made use of to be proof against love.

[S] *She defended herself once very artfully against Euripides, who reproved her justly.* Euripides with a pen in his hand was ready to compute something in a garden. Lais observing him in that situation went to him, and asked him; *Τὶ βυλόμοπος ἰσχυρῆς ἐστὶ τραγῶδιᾶ ἔπ' αἰσχροῦ (93);* i. e. "What do you mean by these words in your tragedy; Go and be hanged, you that commit obscene actions?" what he meant by certain expressions which he made use of in one of his tragedies (94), to represent in the general a man committing obscene actions. He was amazed at such an impudent question, and answered to Lais, *you are yourself one of those I hinted at.* *Σὺ γὰρ εἶπαι τις ἐφ' ἡμῶν δακτύ; Αἰσχροποιός, (95).* i. e. "You, says he, seem to be one of those who commit obscene actions." She fell a laughing, and quoted a line to him (96), in which he asserted, that no action was obscene, unless the person that committed it thought it obscene: *Τὶ δ' αἰσχρὸν εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρημῖναι δοκῆι;* "Is there any thing obscene, but what seems so to those who commit it (97)? We are not told whether Euripides was silenced by this argument *ad hominem*, or whether he made any reply; but it is certain that Lais could not get off more wittily, and more artfully puzzle her censurer. This maxim would extend the Philoso-

phical sin as far as is possible, and would be of the most dangerous consequence. Wherefore the Philosopher Antisthenes (98) corrected it after this manner, *Αἰσχρὸν πῶ' αἰσχρὸν καὶ σοφὴ καὶ μὴ δοκῆι.* i. e. "What is obscene, is so whether or not it seem obscene to the person who commits it." Stobæus ascribes this correction to Diogenes the Cynick (99), and not to Antisthenes as Plutarch does (100).

There are reasons to question the truth of this conversation; for since Euripides died in the 93d Olympiad (101), when Lais could be but about fifteen or sixteen years old, it is not in the least probable that this Poet discoursed with this courtesan either upon that subject or upon any other. The Reader will be the better convinced of this, if he consider that Euripides passed the latter part of his life at the court of Archelaus, whither it is not observed by any Author that Lais ever went. Though it be never so much supposed, that there have been two Courtezans of that name, this will not remove the difficulty. For the first must be she, who was sold when Hyccara was plundered by Nicias. But, according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes, she was then but seven years old. From this Chronological account that Scholiast urges a very good objection from the mention, that is made of Lais in Aristophanes's *Plutus*, a Play that was acted at a time when Lais could not yet be famous. *Docte et acute dubium movet, atque Aristophanem dicere ea, quæ rationi temporum nequeunt convenire; quippe cum eo tempore quo Plutus fabulam dabat, non potuerit Lais esse valde celebris, quippe quæ a Nicia imperatore captâ sit in Sicilia septennis* (102). i. e. "He does with learning and judgment start a difficulty, observing that what Aristophanes says is inconsistent with Chronology. For Lais could not yet be very famous, when his *Plutus* was acted, since she was but seven years old, when she was taken in Sicily by the general Nicias." The objection vanishes away, if it be supposed, that we must read Nais instead of Lais in that Poet's *Plutus*. You will meet with that correction in Athenæus (103). It is certain that there has been a Courtesan named Nais, and several Authors have probably mistook her for Lais. It was perhaps with Nais, that Euripides had the conversation we have mentioned.

[T] *I shall take notice in one single remark of Moreri's errors, and of those of . . . some other Dictionaries.* Moreri's first blunder is his asserting that Lais lived in the year 420 since the building of Rome. According to this supposition she must have lived towards the end of the 111th Olympiad. Judge whether this can be said of a person, who was carried from Sicily to Corinth the second year of the 91st Olympiad. We cannot have recourse here to the supposition of two Lais's; since Moreri mentions but one, and observes also expressly, that he means Lais born in a little Town in Sicily, called Hyccara. This Lais is evidently the same who was seven years old when Hyccara, her native place, was taken, the second year of the 91st Olympiad. Secondly, it is not true that Plutarch asserts, *she was thought to be the daughter of Alcibiades.* Moreri could not clear himself by charging Amiot with this fallacy, for it is plain that in this phrase, *l'on dit que Lais . . . étoit sa fille* (104), i. e. "it is said, that Lais . . . was her daughter," the word *Sa* (her) relates to Timandra, Alcibiades's concubine, and not to Alcibiades. The Greek words (105) leave not the least room for an equivocation. How could Alcibiades be Lais's father, since he did not go into Sicily but with Nicias? Was not Lais then already six or seven years old. Thirdly; it is not true that *Lais went to Alexander's Camp.* She had been dead a long while before Alexander was born. This blunder was occasioned by Amiot: for as he did not understand a passage in Plutarch (106), in which there are some words wanting, he took it into his Head to translate

(98) See *Prolegomena*, *Miscellanea*, lib. 6. cap. 19.

(99) See *Leopoldus*, *Emendat.*, lib. 2. cap. 6.

(100) Plutarch, *de audient. Pat.* pag. 33.

(101) See the remark [E] of his article.

(102) Valerius, *Not. in Nicias*, *Mausæus ad Herodotum*, pag. 124.

(103) Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 597. See also *Harporastion*, voce *Nais*.

(104) Amiot's French translation of *Alcibiades's Life*, towards the end.

(105) *Timandra*, *Alcibiades's*, *concubine*.

(106) In the *treatise of Lælius*, pag. m. 96. edit. in 8vo, 1621.

de Guevara. He has related a thousand ridiculous falsties concerning Lais [U], as though he had met with them in the writings of the Ancients. I had almost omitted to mention the story of Myron the Statuary [X].

translate it thus; Lais atteinte de l'amour d'Hippolochus quitta le Mont d'Acrocorinthe et s'en alla bonnêtement au grand Camp d'Alexander. i. e. "Lais being in love with Hippolochus, left Mount Acrocorinthus, and went modestly to the great Camp of Alexander."

Charles Stephens is mistaken, when he asserts, that Lais went from Sicily to Corinth, that she might get more money by prostituting herself. She was not seven years old when she went to Corinth; nor did she go thither of her own accord: she had been bought at Hyccara by a man, who took her with him into Greece as a slave. Neither Lloyd nor Hofman have corrected this blunder. I can hardly believe that Charles Stephens borrowed from credible Authors what he relates; I. that Lais being gone into Theffaly was so much beloved there by the young men of that country, that they used to pour wine before her door. II. That the Theffalian women out of envy stabbed her, whilst a divine Service was performing in the Temple of Venus, at which the men were not suffered to be present. III. That for this action the country of Theffaly was visited with the Plague, which did not discontinue, till they had built a Temple to Venus ἀλλοσία (107). Lloyd and Hofman have transcribed these three blunders.

(107) The Paris edition of the year 1620 has the word ἀλλοσία, which is right.

(108) Ant. de Guevara, Epit. dorées, liv. 1. pag. m. 262. of the French translation made by Guterry.

[U] Anthony de Guevara . . . has related a thousand ridiculous falsties concerning Lais]. I shall not lose my time in refuting them; and shall even transcribe but a few of them. He asserts (108) that she was of the Isle of Bithrith, in the Confines of Greece, and, according to what the Chroniclers wrote of her, she was the daughter of an High-Priest of Apollo's Temple, who lived at Delphos, a man highly skilled in the magical art, by which knowledge he foretold the ruin of his daughter. Now this lascivious Lais was in her prime under the reign of the celebrated King Pyrrhus . . . who being a young man of sixteen or seventeen, went into Italy, to wage war against the Romans . . . This lascivious Lais continued a long while in King Pyrrhus's Camp, she went with him into Italy, and returned with him from the war She retired into the City of Corinth, with a design to settle there, and was there waited upon and courted by several Kings, Lords and Princes. He relates afterwards the story of Demosthenes, and finishes his account with observing, that Lais died at Corinth at the age of three score and twelve. How can a man be so bold as to publish so many falsties? There was above an hundred and thirty years between the birth of Lais, and Pyrrhus's expedition against the Romans, and above forty between the death of Demosthenes and that same expedition. And yet such an Impostor has misled some men of wit: for it is from him Brantome relates a great many fabulous stories concerning Flora (109): not to mention Du Verdier Vau-Privas, who asserts, that Lais continued a long time in Pyrrhus's Camp in Italy (110). He had read this in Guevara, and he took it for current money.

(109) See the article of the second FLORA remark [F].

(110) Du Verdier, Diverses Leçons, liv. 3. chap. 6. p. 185.

(111) Aufon. Epigram. 17. pag. m. 17.

[X] The story of Myron the Statuary.] It is one of the ridiculous stories of a gray-haired lover. Myron, a man venerable by his hoariness, went to Lais, and asked to lie one night with her. He was sent back without hardly any hearing. He imagined he guessed at the true cause of his being thus slighted. He flattered himself, that if he did but present himself with brown hairs, he would certainly enjoy his love. He altered therefore the colour of his head, and returned to Lais; you fool, said she to him, you ask me a favour, which I have already refused to your father. Aufonius relates this very prettily (111).

Canus rogabat Laidis noctem Myron:
Tulit repulsam protinus.

Causamque sensu: Et caput fuligine
Fucavit atra candidum.
Idemque vulu, crine non idem Myron,
Orabat oratum prius.
Sed illa formam cum capillo comparans,
Similemque non ipsum rata,
Fortasse Et ipsum, sed volens ludo frui,
Sic est adorta callidum:
Inepte, quid me, quod recusavi, rogas,
Patri negavi jam tuo?

Costar has made a collection of witty sayings, which are ascribed to different persons, and has put this answer of Lais amongst them. "Spartian, says he (112) relates, that an old man, whose hair was quite grey, to whom the Emperor Hadrian had refused some favour, went some days after to ask it again, having painted his hair with the finest black he could meet with. The Prince discovering the artifice, answered him wittily, *The favour you ask me, I have already denied your father.* Yet according to Aufonius, it was the Courtezan Lais that made so ingenious an answer, though it be not mentioned by Athenus, who took so much care to transmit to us all the witty sayings of this beautiful Lady." If the conjecture of some moderns be well grounded, we ought not to wonder at Athenus's silence with regard to this witty stroke of Lais. For they pretend that Aufonius invented it (113). I mean that having read the Emperor Hadrian's answer, he feigned that Lais made it, and turned it into an epigram. I am apt to think, that this answer comes from a woman rather than from the Emperor Hadrian; for one cannot easily imagine plausible reasons why an old man after a refusal, should take it into his head, that if he appeared as a man without grey hairs, he would obtain from that Prince the favour he desired. But one can easily understand why he should entertain such hopes, if he had made his addresses to a Lady. It may therefore, in my opinion, be said that the writers of Hadrian's life, men of an indifferent taste, and very inaccurate, mistook for his own jests those which he only related. He had read somewhere what Lais is supposed to have answered to Myron; or perhaps he had read, that this answer was made to some other old lover by some other Courtezan; he told the story to his friends, which being told over and over again, lost its most material circumstances; so that at last Hadrian passed himself for the inventor. *Joca ejus plurima extant. Nam fuit etiam dicaculus. Unde illud quoque innotuit, quod quum cuidam canescenti quiddam negasset, eidem iterum petenti, sed infesto capite, respondit, Jam hoc patri tuo negavi (114).* i. e. "There are a great many of his jokes extant, for he used to jest, &c. *The rest is the story mentioned above, quot. (112).*

(112) Costar, Suite de la Description de Voiture, pag. 55.

(113) Scaliger in hunc locum Aufonii. Baptista Pius, in Annotationibus posterioribus, apud Vinnium in Aufonium, Epig. 17.

(114) Spartian. in Hadrian.

I must not close this remark without observing that Monsieur Costar does too much commend that witty saying of Lais. I confess that this answer does not want sprightliness, and that it was very proper to mortify the lover, and to afford the Courtezan the pleasure of ridiculing the good old man. But after all she argued very wrong, and against the rules of her own trade. *I have refused the son, how much more ought I to refuse the father?* This is the principle of a Courtezan, this the ground of all her arguments; but she on the contrary supposes, that because she denies the father, a decrepit old man, she ought also to deny the son a strong and vigorous young fellow. This is renouncing her own principle, and acting against the fundamental rules of her trade.

Let us observe that Myron must not have been young, when Lais was in her prime. He flourished in the 87th Olympiad (115) seven or eight years before she was born.

(115) Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 8. pag. m. 108.

LAMBECIUS (PETER) one of the most learned men of his time was born at Hamburg in the year 1628. He went very young to study in foreign countries, at the expence of his uncle the learned Luc Holstenius. He made such a considerable progress, that at the age of nineteen he published a work (a), which was extremely applauded. He continued eight months at Toulouse at the house of the Archbishop Charles de Monchal,

(a) Intituled, *Lucebrationum Gellianarum Prodrum.*

Monchal, and two years at Rome at Cardinal Barberini's. He was chosen Professor of History at Hamburg January the 13th 1652, and appointed Rector or Principal of the College of that same City January the 12th 1660. He had taken his degree of Doctor of Law in France some years before. He suffered a thousand vexations in his own country, both because the scholars would not obey him, and because his enemies charged him with heterodoxy, and even atheism, and censured bitterly his labours and writings. An unhappy marriage, which he contracted [A] in the year 1662, completed his misfortunes; so that he willingly hearkened to the hints which the Queen of Sweden gave him, who advised him to retire to another place. He left therefore his wife and his native place, and took a journey to Vienna, and having had the honour to pay his respects to his Imperial Majesty he went to Rome, and publicly professed there the Roman Catholic Religion: it was long before this he had abjured Lutheranism [B]; but he had continued nevertheless to profess it outwardly. He returned to Vienna towards the end of the year 1662, and was very kindly received by the Emperor, who appointed him immediately his Sub-Library-Keeper, and afterwards his Library-Keeper in Chief, with the title of his Counsellor and Historiographer. *D. 27 Novemb. 1662, Præfectura Biblioth. Augustæ vicaria, A. autem sequenti 1663 D. 26 Maij suprema ejusdem, qua Math. Mauchterus Tb. D. se abdicaverat, Eboria cum Consiliarii atque Historiographi Cæsarei titulo, collata (b).* He continued in that employment till his death, and gained a very great reputation by the works which he published [C]. He had begun several others,

(b) Mollerus, ubi infra, quotation (c), pag. 539. He refers to a Letter of Lambecius, which will be quoted in the remark [B].

[A] An unhappy marriage which he contracted.] One may say of several learned men, that they behave themselves with regard to matrimony, as Pomponius Atticus did with regard to Poetry. *Attigit quoque poeticon: credimus ne ejus expertus esset suavitatis (1).* They will taste it, that they may not be quite strangers to the sweets of it. But I do not think that Lambecius had such a design; for he married an old woman, and as she was very rich, it is probable that the only pleasure he expected from his marriage, was that of having a large estate. But he was very much disappointed in his hopes. The old Lady was so covetous, that she would not suffer her husband to make use of any of her riches. She declared her mind so soon upon this subject, that it was not yet a fortnight after the nuptials had been celebrated, when Lambecius being disgusted and tired with his condition, left his house and his native country, never to return thither any more. Here is my voucher. *Ad hæc adversa postquam tedium conjugii, inauspicato A. 1662. cum Vetula divite, sed parca, atque avara (A. 1690. Hamburgi defuncta,) contracti, accessit, haud difficulter a Christina, Suecorum Regina, Hamburgum delata, persuaderi sibi est passus, ut, duabus post nuptias Hebdomadibus vix elapsis, Patriam & Uxorem d. 14. Apr. 1662. desereret, ac Vindobonam commigraret (2).*

(1) Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Attici, cap. 18.

(2) Moller. Itaque ad Historiam Cberjonesi Cimbrica, Part 3. pag. 538.

(*) V. Epist. ad Ren. Franc. Slusium, Libro I Operis de Biblioth. Vindeb. insertam.

(3) Moller. in Itaque ad Historiam Cberjonesi Cimbrica, Part 3. pag. 538.

[B] It was long before this he had abjured Lutheranism.] Nihusius a famous profelyte to the Roman Catholic Religion, had the direction of Lambecius's studies in Holland. He began to be his converter, after which James Sirmond the Jesuit completed the work at Paris. He endeavoured to persuade his new convert to enter amongst the Jesuits, but he could not prevail with him. Let us see how these particulars are proved. *Cæui Ecclesiæ Romanæ publice se aggregavit. (*) Sacris enim ejus diu ante jam erat initiatus, cum in Batavia a Barth. Nibufio, Apostata celebri, ac Studiorum ipsius Academicorum Eboro, tum in Gallia a Jac. Sirmondo, Jesuitarum doctissimo; sed externa Lutheranismi Professione civis incautos hæcenus sefellerat. Constat id mihi ex Illustris Gudii, quo familiariter ille apud Exteros est usus, Narratione, & Gallica, quam idem asseruabat, Claud. Sarrauii, Senatoris Parisiensis, ad Salmasium Epistola. Huic enim ille jam A. 1647. significat, Lambecium, Holstenii ex Sorore Nepotem, a Sirmondo in Jesuitarum cum Societatem pertrahere conato, & Milleterio persuasum, ad Pontificios defecisse (3).* i. e. "He professed the Roman Catholic Religion publicly, for he had been already secretly instructed in that Religion, first in Holland by Barth. Nihusius, a famous apostate, who had the direction of his studies in the University, and afterwards in France by James Sirmond, one of the most learned Jesuits; but by professing the Lutheran Religion outwardly, he had till that time imposed upon the unwary. This I knew certainly from the illustrious Gudius's account, with whom he conversed familiarly abroad; and from a letter of Claudius Sarrau Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, to Salmasius; which the same Gudius kept. In that letter it is observed that even so early as the year 1647, Lambecius, Holstenius's ne-

phew by his sister, was gone over to the Roman Catholics, being persuaded to it by La Milletiere, and by F. Sirmond, who also endeavoured to draw him over into the society of the Jesuits."

[C] He gained a very great reputation by the works which he published.] Let us mention those which he had published before he was Library-keeper to the Emperor. The first was his *Prodromus Lucubrationum Gellianarum*; i. e. "An Essay of Observations on A. Gellius;" printed at Paris in the year 1647. The second, if I am not mistaken, was, *Origines Hamburgenses, sive Liber Rerum Hamburgensium primus ab V. C. & A. C. 808 ad 1225. Adjecta est tum duplex Vita Ansgarii à Remberto, & Gualdone scripta, ac notis Lambecii illustrata, tum diplomatum libri hujus historiam illustrantium Enneas (4).* i. e. "The Antiquities of Hamburg, or the History of that City from its building in the year 808, to the year 1225, Book the first. To which are added two Lives of Ansgarius, the one written by Rambertus, and the other by Gualdo, illustrated with Lambecius's Notes; as also nine ancient Records serving to illustrate the History contained in that Book." He designed to carry on that History till his own time, but he published only the second book of it. *Liber secundus Rerum Hamburgensium ab A. C. 1225 ad A. 1292, una cum diplomatum vetustorum, lucem ei afferentium, Mantissa Chronologia & Auxilio Libri I ab A. 808 ad 1072. Dissertatione de Asino ad Lynam, Monumento Aedis Cathedralis Sepulchrali insculpto, Scriptorum Autoris Catalogo, & Epistolis tandem Job. Christiani, L. Baronis à Boineburg, & H. Conringii ad eundem encomiasticis (5).* i. e. "The second Book of the History of Hamburg, from the year 1225, to the year 1292. To which are added ancient Records disposed in a Chronological Order, and a Supplement to the former Book from the year 808 to the year 1072, a Dissertation upon this inscription *An Asi playing on the Harp*, which is engraved on a tombstone in the Cathedral Church, a Catalogue of the Author's Works, and lastly commendatory Letters from John Christianus, Baron of Boineburg, and H. Conringius to Lambecius." Here follows the judgment, which the author, whom I often quote in this article, passes on these two words. *Ambo libri (in quibus, præter nimii in patriam Affectus vestigia, passim obvia, & ab eodem subinde proflexerunt, ωραωματα, nihil facile reprehendas) summa diligentia & fide sunt congesti, & Narrationum singularum Veritas Locis Scriptorum ac Diplomatum Antiquissimorum, cum judicio selectis, confirmata (6).* i. e. "Both these Books (in which there is hardly any thing to censure but his too great partiality for his native country, and some oversights, of which he is guilty in several places) are compiled with great care and faithfulness; and the truth of every particular is supported by passages quoted from ancient authors and records, very judiciously chosen." In the year 1655 Lambecius published at Paris a book in folio, in which he displayed very great learning; I mean his *Animadversiones ad Codicem Originis Constantinopolitanas,*

(4) Printed at Hamburg in the year 1652, in 4to.

(5) Printed at Hamburg in the year 1661, in 4to.

(6) Moller. in Itaque ad Historiam Cberjonesi Cimbrica, Part 3. pag. 541.

(c) Taken from Mollerus, *Isagoge ad Historiam Cbristofoni Cimbrici*, Part. 3. pag. 537, & seq.

others, which he had not time to finish, being surprized with death in April 1680 (c) [D].

tinopolitanas, & ad Anonymi Excerpta & ad Leonis Imp. Oracula. i. e. "Remarks on Codinus's antiquities of Constantinople, and on the Fragments of an Anonymous Writer, and on the Emperor Leo's Decrees." I shall say nothing of the Orations he published in the year 1660, nor of some other books of his which are extant. I come now to that voluminous work, which he compiled at Vienna, and of which the reader will get a true notion by the following words of Monsieur Baillet. "Tho' the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Emperor's library at Vienna be divided into eight volumes in folio, yet it is not compleat; the author's untimely death deprived us of so curious and important a work. Lambecius undertook to give us in this large work an account of the manuscripts which are lodged in that library, and he has done it in a critical and historical manner; for he designed to exert all his skill and learning in that catalogue; whereby he has very much distinguished himself from all the other compilers of catalogues, whom we have mentioned. It must be confessed that there are a great many very remarkable and curious particulars in that prolix and noble commentary. But the author might have brought the substance of the long discourses contained in so

"many volumes, within a much narrower compass, (7) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 2. pag. 250.

[D] He was surprized with death in April 1680.

I keep to that date, because I believe that Nesselius (8) deserves in this respect more credit, than they, who suppose (9) that Lambecius died in September 1679. Meibomius might perhaps be easily reconciled with Nesselius with regard to the day; for the 24th of March according to the old stile, belongs to the month of April according to the new stile. But these two authors differ widely with regard to the distemper of which Lambecius died. The one says it was the plague, the other a dropsy. *Henr. Meibomius Jun. (8) Peste illum Viennensi Epidemia obiisse perhibens, ad d. 24. Mart. A. 1680. Successor autem ipseus, Dan. Nesselius, qui Hydropem mortem ejus accelerasse testatur (†), ad M. Aprilem ejusdem A. 1680 (10).* i. e. "Henry Meibomius the Younger says, that he died March the 24th 1680 of the plague, which was epidemical at Vienna: but his successor Daniel Nesselius asserts that his death was occasioned by a dropsy, and happened in April the same year 1680."

(8) He succeeded Lambecius in the post of Library-keeper.

(9) Hennineus Witte supposed it in his *Diario Biographico*.

(10) In *Introd. ad Hist. Sax. inf.* pag. 62. 42.

(†) In *Supplemento Operis de Biblioth. Casarea, A. 1690 edito V. Tenuit Colloqu. Monfr. M. Oct. A.*

1690, pag. 946. (10) Moller, in *Isagoge ad Hist. Cbristofoni Cimbrici*, Part. 3. pag. 540.

LAMBERT, Bishop of Liege, or rather, of Maestricht. It is a pretty general opinion, as I have observed in another place (a), that he was killed by Pepin's order, at the instigation of Alpaide: but the fact is not very certain. We shall examine it below [A]. So many authors have wrote his Life, that the account of it is become exceedingly

(a) In the article of ALPAIDE.

[A] We shall examine it here below.] We shall make use of the arguments, which the Baron Le Roy urges in one of his books. His opinion is that neither Pepin nor Alpaide were concerned in St. Lambert's murder. He grounds his opinion (1) I. On the silence of Godecalcus a contemporary writer. Here then we have a reasoning grounded on the negative argument, of which Dr. John de Launoi knew so well how to make an advantage. This Godecalcus ascribes the massacre committed on the body of St. Lambert to no other cause, but to the murder of two brothers, who were related to Dodon. These two brothers had abused Lambert, for which reason they were killed by two of this prelate's relations. Dodon a powerful Lord, who had great credit with Pepin, would not suffer this murder to go unpunished, nor would he revenge himself only on mean and inconsiderable persons: he resolved therefore to get rid of St. Lambert, for whose sake his two cousins had been killed. This, according to Godecalcus, is the true cause of that Bishop's death: he does not say the least thing of Pepin nor of Alpaide. II. Monsieur le Roi (2) observes, that the first who charged Pepin with this murder, was a Canon of Liege named Anselmus, who lived in the eleventh Century. This Canon observes, as well as his predecessors, that Dodon caused St. Lambert to be murdered, in order to be revenged of the death of his two relations: but he gives us also an account of Alpaide's resentment against that prelate, as though this too had been a tradition. III. It is observed (3) that Sigebertus (4) suppressed the ancient cause, which all the authors had mentioned, and spoke only of the new cause, which Anselmus had begun to publish. Let us see how errors get ground and increase successively and by degrees. The authors, who wrote after Sigebertus, have not in the least mentioned the ancient cause, or they have blended it together with the new one, and added to the latter a thousand circumstances unknown to the former historians (5). Monsieur Le Roi quotes very grave authors, who intirely explode the new tradition, and who answer the arguments that are offered against the proof grounded on Godecalcus's silence. It is pretended that he suppressed the true cause of St. Lambert's Martyrdom, for fear of exasperating Pepin's successors. Father Mabillon answered to this, that since men did not scruple to publish that Charles Martel was damned, why would they not have been bold enough to as-

sert, that this Prince's Father caused a Bishop to be put to death? *Ut hæc ratio valuerit in Godecalco, inquit Mabillon, cur eam causam dissimulavit Stephanus, qui sub extremis Carolinæ stirpis regibus vivebat? Sane longe atrocior erat fabula de Caroli Martelli damnatione, quam tamen Hincmarus Remorum Archiepiscopus, Adrevaldus, alique auctores imperante Carolo Calvo Martelli abnepote in vulgus jactare non debuerunt. Unde omnino incertum videtur, an Landebertus ob increpitum de pellicatu Pipinum casus sit, at vero alienum omnino videtur a tanti Principis bonitate & clementia, ut cædis illius fuerit auctor (6).* i. e. "Though this reason might have prevailed with Godecalcus, says Mabillon, yet why should Stephanus omit that cause, who lived under the last Kings of the Caroline family? The story which is told of Charles Martel's damnation is more shocking still, and yet Hincmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, Adrevaldus, and other authors, who lived under Charles the Bald, the grandson of Martel's grand-child, did not scruple to publish it. It is therefore very uncertain, that Lambert was killed for reproving Pepin on account of his concubine; and such a murder seems to be quite inconsistent with that Prince's good nature and mild temper." Father Jourdan, quoted by Monsieur Le Roy, does not question but Pepin married Alpaide in due form, after he had divorced Plectrude. *Such marriages, indeed, and such divorces were prohibited by the Christian law, but yet, they were still permitted by the human laws in those times, even amongst Christians. These second marriages had nothing disgraceful nor infamous in them, in the eyes of the world (7).* That historian observes (8), that Pepin and Alpaide had been parted long ago, when Lambert was murdered in the year 708. Alpaide, adds he, was not concerned in that murder, since she had been parted from Pepin in the very beginning of that Century, and was retired into a Monastery. . . . *Ado, was the first who, after 180 years time, charged Pepin and Alpaide with the murder of that Saint.* Hadrian Valesius quoted by the same Monsieur le Roi, observes, that notwithstanding the Canons of the Church, men used to take a second wife during the life of the first, from whom they were divorced, and that Pepin followed that custom. He asserts however that others maintained, that Pepin was never divorced from Plectrude, and that he never married Alpaide, and that Bede favours that opinion. He is in the right to add, that when the Historians supposed that

(6) Idem, *ibid.*

(1) Jacobus Le Roi, in *Topogr. Hist. Gallo-Brabant.* lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 250.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 251. ex Carolo le Coigne, *Ann. Ecclesiast. Francor.* tom. 4. pag. 476.

(3) Idem Le Roi, *ibid.*

(4) *Sanctus Lambertus Pipinum Principem increpare ausus, quod pellicem Alpaidem Plectrudi legitime uxori suæ superdixerit, a Dodone fratre ipsius Alpaidis Lesdii martyrizatur.* Sigebert. ad *Cbrist* ann. 698. *under which he erroneously places Lambert's death.* Jacobus le Roi, in *Topogr. Hist. Gallo-Brabant.* pag. 251.

(5) Jacobus le Roi, in *Topogr. Hist. Gallo-Brabant.* lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 252.

(7) Jourdan, *Hist. de France & de la Maison Royale.* tom. 3. pag. 69, &c. quoted by Le Roi, *Topogr. Hist. Gallo-Brabant.* pag. 252.

(8) Quoted by the same, *ibid.* pag. 253.

ceedingly perplexed [B]. I have read only that which was printed at Liege in the year 1657, written by the Sieur de Bosc de Montandre. It is intitled, *Le Courtisan Cbretien immollé en Victime d'Etat à la passion de la Cour : ou St. Lambert Eveque de Tongres & Martyr, sacrifié pour les intérêts de l'honneur conjugal*. i. e. "The Christian Courtier made a State-Victim to the Passion of the Court : or St. Lambert Bishop of Tongres and a Martyr, offered a Sacrifice to the dignity of the married state."

that Pepin married Alpaide, it was probably with a design to flatter the defendants of that Prince, who reigned in France (9), lest Charles would be thought to have been a bastard, which had been a disgrace to the Royal Family. *Certe haud parum simile veri est, finxisse hoc in Principum suorum gratiam Auctores, qui dominantibus Pipini posteris, scripsere, & Alpaidem, quæ virva Plestrude justa et legitima Pipini conjux esse non poterat, uxorem Pipini posteriorem vocavisse, ne Carolus ex pellice susceptus crederetur, ceu regio generi aliqua inde nota inureretur* (9).

(9) Hadr. Valerius, *Rerum Francicarum*, tom. 3. lib. 23. p. 379. *apud Le Roy, ibid.*

We meet in the supplement to Moreri's dictionary, with Monsieur Godeau's arguments against those, who in this particular follow Siebertus's Chronicle. But these arguments do only perplex the matter. One thing seems certain to me, namely, that it is to no purpose, with regard to the true cause of St. Lambert's murder, to know whether Alpaide was married in due form, or whether she continued to be Pepin's concubine. For since the Church condemned severely those marriages which were contracted after a divorce, Bishop Lambert might still call Pepin's commerce with Alpaide a concubinage, though Pepin had married her. So that even the supposing of a marriage does not render improbable the opinion of those, who assert that Pepin was reproved. And as the mistress of a Prince has generally more power with him than a lawful spouse, one may easily understand that Alpaide might prevail upon Pepin to put the censorious Bishop to death, without supposing that Pepin had married her with all the necessary formalities. Father Jourdan's chronological observation is, in my opinion, the strongest argument that can be urged against Siebertus.

[B] So many authors have wrote his life, that the account of it is become exceedingly perplexed.] This is father Mabillon's observation. Monsieur le Roy has furnished me with it. *Sanctus Landebertus . . . plures habuit vitæ suæ scriptores, Godescalcum Diaconum Leodiensem supparem. Stephanum Episcopum Leodiensem in eunte sæculo x. Anselmum ejusdem Ecclesiæ Canonicum medio sæculo xi. Nicolaum itidem Canonicum, & Reinerum Monachum sæculo xii. Denique Ægidium Aurea Vallis Cænobitam medio sæculo xiii. Felicitior certe futurus, si vel unicum eumque diligentem habuisset. At S. Landeberto, id quod pluribus sanctis, accidit, ut dum auctores alius post alium ipsius res gestas illustrare exornando amplificandove moliti sunt; eas è contrario incertis ac fabulosis narrationibus inepte obscurarint atrocibusque mendis sedarint* (10). i. e. "Several authors have written St. Lambert's life, as Godescalcus a Deacon of Liege, who was almost his contemporary; Stephanus Bishop of Liege in the beginning of the tenth Century; Anselmus a Canon of the same

(10) Mabillonius, in *Commentario ad Vitam S. Lamberti*, *apud Baronem Le Roy, in Topogr. Gallo-Brabant.* pag. 251.

"Church in the middle of the eleventh Century; Nicholas also a Canon, and Reinerus a Monk in the twelfth Century; and lastly Ægidius a Monk of Orval in the middle of the thirteenth Century. "It had been happier for him, if he had had but one historian, but a careful and accurate one. But he met with the same fate as many other saints. "Whilst several authors one after another pretend to set off their actions, by commending or extolling them, they do on the contrary disguise and perplex them by uncertain and fabulous accounts, and spoil them entirely by false circumstances." This is very justly observed; it is hinting the true cause, and real spring of so many impertinent and false stories, with which the lives of the saints abound. The multiplying of panegyrics and lives will always produce that effect. No writer is fully satisfied with the wonders, which they, who went before him, have related; he must add new ones to them; and that much more for the sake of the book and of its author, than of the Hero whose actions are described.

Except, however, the writers of Legends; for very often they are much more concerned for the reputation of the Saint, than for any thing else; but it is because the greater the Saint's Reputation is, the more it is capable to increase the number of his Votaries, and consequently of alms given out of devotion. Let us transcribe here a beautiful passage of Lewis Vives, in which the Reader will see that false zeal condemned, which makes the lives of the Saints abound with so many idle and fabulous stories. *Quæ de iis sunt scripta, præter pauca quædam, multis sunt commentis sedata, dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, & non quæ egit divus, sed quæ ille egisse eum vellet, exponit: ut vitam dicat animus scribentis, non veritas. Fuere qui magnæ pietatis loco ducerent mendaciola pro religione confingere: quod & periculosum est, ne veris adimatur fides propter falsa, & minime necessarium: quoniam pro pietate nostra tam multa sunt vera, ut falsa tanquam ignavi milites atque inutiles oneri sint magis, quam auxilio* (11). i. e. "What has been written concerning them, a few particulars only excepted, is entirely spoiled with fictitious stories, whilst the Author, indulging his own zeal, relates, not what the Saint has really done, but what he wished he had done. So that it is the passion of the writer, and not the truth that dictates the story. Some have imagined that it was a great piece of piety, to tell lies for the sake of Religion: which is not only needless, but even dangerous, lest the false accounts discredit those that are true: and our Religion is supported by so many true facts, that those which are false ought to be exploded, as so many lazy and useless Soldiers, which are a burthen rather than a help."

(11) Ludov. Vives, *de tradendis Disciplinis*, lib. 5. pag. m. 360. See also lib. 2. pag. 90.

LAMBERT (FRANCIS) a Franciscan Friar born at Avignon, was one of the first in France, who left his Convents to embrace the Lutheran Religion. He arrived at Wittemberg in January 1523 (a). He taught Divinity, and set out with explaining the Prophecy of Hosea. The Commentary he wrote on that Prophet was printed at Straßburg in the year 1525 in 8vo. He dedicated it to Frederic Duke of Saxony, and inserted in it in his Dedication an account of the martyrdom of John Castellanus, who had been burnt at Mentz because he followed the Reformed Religion. He added to his Commentary on the fourth chapter of Hosea a treatise *De Arbitrio hominis vere captivo contra impios liberi arbitrii adsertores*. i. e. "Of man's will being really enslaved, against the impious assertors of free-will." He had published in the year 1524 his Commentary on Solomon's Song; and he observes in his dedication to Francis I, that he had already sent to that Prince his treatise on marriage *De sacro & fidei Conjugio*; and that he had inserted there a letter, in which he gave that Prince an account of the reasons why he renounced Popery, and married a wife (b). He published several other Commentaries on the Holy Scripture; and some books of Controversy [A], which have been

(a) See Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutheran.* lib. 2. pag. 40.

(b) Ex Gesneri *Bibliob. folio 249 verso, & 250.*

[A] He published several other . . . Books.] The following works are set down in the Oxford Catalogue. *Commentarii Evangelici in Regulam Minoritarum, unde palam fit quid de Monachorum Regulis sentiendum sit.* i. e.

(1) Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutherana*, lib. 2. pag. 41. Freher, in *Theatro*, pag. 104.

been long while out of date. He had a great share in Luther's esteem [B]. I do not well know when he left Wittenberg; but I believe it was in the year 1526; and I know that he settled at Marburg, that he was Divinity Professor there, and that he died there April the 18th 1530 (C). He was one of the chief persons whom the Landgrave of Hesse employed to establish the Reformation in his dominions [C].

i. e. "An Evangelical Commentary on the Institutes of the Franciscan Fryars, whence it appears plainly, what we ought to think of the Institutes of the Monks." in 8vo. *Commentarii in Amos, Abdiam, Jonam, Micbeam, Nabum et Habacuc*. i. e. "A Commentary on Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Michah, Nahum, and Habakkuk." Printed at Strasburg, in the year 1525. in 8vo. *Farrago omnium fere rerum Theologicarum. sc. Paradoxa*. i. e. "A mixture of all kind of Theological matters, as Paradoxes." in 8vo. *De Fidelium Vocatione in Ecclesiam, et ad ministeria ejus, deque Vocatione Matthiae per sortem*. i. e. "Of the calling of the Faithful into the Church, and to the office of Ministers there; and of the calling of Matthias by casting Lots." in 8vo. *Exegesis in Apocalypsin*. i. e. "A Exposition of St. John's Revelation." At Basil in the year 1539. in 8vo. This is not the first Edition of his Commentary on the Revelation: for here follows what Bullinger tells us of it. *Monsieur Francis Lambert, a learned and very pious man, has very much studied the Revelation; he read publick Lectures on that Book in the noble University of Marburg, and since composed and published an Exposition of it in seven Books in the said City in the year 1528* (1). Gesner mentions our Lambert's Commentary on Joel, and on St. Luke's Gospel (2). In Gesner's Epitome we find *Antitheses Verbi Dei et inventorum hominum*. i. e. "God's word opposed to the inventions of men." *Confessio de Symbolo fœderis nunquam rumpendo quam communionem vocant, in qua spectari potest quid Marpurgensi colloquio effectum sit* (3). i. e. "A Confession concerning the never breaking through the bond of the Covenant, which is called Communion, in which may be seen what has been done in the Conference held at Marburg." *De Prophetia, Eruditione, Linguis, deque Litera et Spiritu*. i. e. "Of Prophecy, Learning, and Languages; and of the Letter and the Spirit." *Commentarius de causis excecationis multorum seculorum*. i. e. "A Treatise concerning the blindness which prevailed during several ages." *In Acta Apostolorum et Libros Regum*. i. e. "On the Acts of the Apostles, and the Books of the Kings." *De Cœlibatu regni filii perditionis*. i. e. "Of Celibacy under the Reign of the Son of Perdition." *De Differentia Stimuli carnis et Satanae nunciis*. i. e. "Of the difference there is between the thorn in the flesh, and the messenger of Satan."

[B] He had a great share in Luther's esteem.] That Reformer spoke of him in the following words in a Letter he wrote to Spalatinus. *Adest Johannes ille Serranus, vero nomine Franciscus Lampertus, imaginibus quoque nobilis, inter Minoritas viginti annos versatus, & generali (ibi forte legendum est: Generalis (4)) officio functus, ob persecutionem exul, & pauper factus. De integritate viri nulla est dubitatio: testes sunt apud nos, qui illum & in Francia & in Basilea audierunt, tum Basileensis suffraganeus ille Tripolitanus, cum Pellicano, dant illi pulchrum testimonium. Et quamquam nos abundemus Lectioribus optimis, si quid poterit, non abjiciemus: mihi per omnia placet vir, & satis spectatus mihi est, quantum homo spectari potest, ut dignus sit, quem in exilio paululum feramus & juvemus. Sed tu meam nostri facultatem, ut non sit opis meæ illum alere, qui ipse alienis viro: videretur mihi Principi persuadendum, ut jam non perdat, sed in charitate Christo fœneret viginti aut triginta florenos, in eum collocandos, donec vel a suis tribulibus, vel proprio stipendio sese sustentet de labore suo* (5). i. e. "John Serranus, or, as his true name is, Francis Lambert, is with me, a man of a noble family; who continued twelve years amongst the Franciscans, and has been there General of the

"Order (or perhaps rather Superior of a Monastery) but being now persecuted and banished, he is in want. The man's honesty cannot be questioned. We have witnesses to it here, who have heard him both in France and at Basil, and the suffragan Bishop of Tripoli at Basil, with Pellicanus give him a very good Character. And though we have here a great many very good Readers, yet if he can do any thing, we shall not neglect him. I like him very well in every respect, and I am persuaded, as much as a man can be persuaded with regard to another, that he deserves to be a little supported and assisted in his banishment. But you know my estate is such, that I cannot assist him, since I myself live by other people's charity. I think we ought to persuade the Prince to grant him twenty or thirty gilders, till he be assisted by his own countrymen, or till he can get a livelihood by his own works: which will not be squandering the money away, but rather lending it charitably to Christ himself, and at an interest." We find by this passage, that our Lambert took the fictitious name of John Serranus, that he was of a noble family, that he had been a Franciscan during twenty years, that he had been preferred to some employment in that order, that he had made some stay at Basil, whence he had a good certificate of his morals. Luther (6) wrote a Preface to the Book which this Ex-monk of Avignon published concerning the Institutes of the Franciscans. It appears from another Letter of Luther that this Profelyte making himself ready to go to Zurich, that he might be nearer to France, some persons endeavoured to get him some money from the Elector to pay the expence of his journey (7). If that Letter of Luther had been written to Spalatinus in August 1523, we should infer from thence that Lambert altered his mind, because they gave him some employment in the University; so that what Seckendorf adds, namely, that he had nevertheless composed at Wittenberg, and dedicated to the Elector his Expositions of some Prophets, of Solomon's Song, and of St. Luke's Gospel (9), would not be referred to its proper times and there would be a *tamen* (nevertheless) pretty ill-placed. But it is probable, that Luther wrote that letter in August 1526, whence we must infer that the *tamen* is right, and that the journey to Zurich was not undertaken, because Lambert was called into the Country of Hesse, as I shall relate in the following remark.

[C] He was one of the chief persons, whom the Landgrave of Hesse employed to establish the reformation in his Dominions.] He had been recommended to that Prince as a man distinguished by his piety, by his wit, and by his learning, and capable to confound and silence all the Popish Doctors. He was sent therefore to the Synod that was held at Hamburg, October the 21st 1526. Lambert offered there to a publick disputation 150 Lutheran propositions, and defended them in a victorious manner against all the objections of the superior of the Franciscans of Marburg. The Landgrave gave every one leave to enter the lists, and ordered his Chancellor to translate Lambert's Theses into German, whenever any person desired it. After the disputation he commanded the Monks and Nuns to leave their Convents, and applied their income towards supporting the University and Hospitals of Marburg: he established Lutheran ministers in the churches, and caused all the images to be pulled down. Lambert was appointed Divinity professor in the University founded at Marburg in the year 1527 (10).

(1) Bullinger, Preface to his hundred Sermons on the Revelation. I make use of the French translation, printed for John Crespin, in the year 1525, in 8vo.

(2) Printed the same time at Strasburg in 1525, in 8vo.

(3) Printed in the year 1530.

(4) I think it should rather be *Guardiani*.

(5) Luther. Ep. lib. 2. pag. 121. apud Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutherana*, lib. 2. pag. 40.

(6) Genes. chap. iv.

(6) See his Letters, lib. 2. pag. 128.

(7) Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutherana*, lib. 2. pag. 40.

(8) Seckendorf mentions that month, but he does not mention the year.

(9) *Scripturæ tamen Lampertus Wittenbergæ & Electori dedicaverat, teste Chytraeus*, lib. 12. fol. 346, *Enarrationes in Prophetas aliquos, in Canticum Salomonis, & Historiam Lucae*. Idem, Observe that he dedicated his Commentary on Solomon's Song to Francis I, and that on St. Luke to Spalatinus; so that Chytraeus is mistaken.

(10) Taken from Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutherana*, lib. 2. who quotes Chytraeus. See also Paul Freher's *Theatre*, pag. 104. and observe that according to Freher and several others, the University of Marburg was founded in the year 1626.

LAMECH, descended from Cain in a direct line, was in the seventh generation, reckoning from Adam. It is observed in the holy Scripture (a) that he had two wives, the one named Ada and the other Zilla; it is imagined that there is some hidden mystery in this observation, and that it is designed to shew us whence Polygamy had its first rise. It did not begin amongst the descendants of Seth, who feared God, but in the wicked

wicked and corrupted posterity of Cain, and that too by such a man as Lamech [A], who himself tells his wives that he would kill a man. Such an origin, say they, cannot but be disgraceful. However it be, the marriage of this first transgressor of the Law of Monogamy, established in Paradise, would not appear to have been attended with any mark of reprobation, if we were to judge of it by temporal blessings; for there came from it some children, who had the skill to invent many useful things [B]. Now the inventors of arts have been so much esteemed, that most of them were placed amongst the Gods. It was therefore a very great honour, and consequently a considerable temporal advantage to have the wit necessary to invent; but it does by no means follow from thence that God approved Lamech's Polygamy. There are but four children of this man mentioned in Genesis (b); but Josephus asserts (c) that he had threescore and seventeen children by his two wives. Lamech's discourse to his wives is a riddle to me [C]; and I confess ingenuously that it is beyond my capacity. *I shall kill a man, says he to them (d), I being wounded, and a young man I being hurt; for if Cain be avenged sevenfold, Lamech shall be avenged seventy sevenfold.* A great many Commentators are of opinion, that Lamech asserts here he had killed Cain [D], and Tubal-Cain.

(d) Gen. chap. iv. Mr. Bayle quotes the French translation made at Geneva; and as it differs a little from our English translation, we thought it proper to follow the French here.

For

(b) See the remark [B].

(c) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(1) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for April 1685, Art. 1. and 2.

(2) *Polygam. triumph.* pag. 188.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 191.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Josephus supposes that the wife of Tubal-Cain's daughter.

(6) *Apud Genebrard.* in Chron. and in the margin of the French translation of Josephus.

(7) *Apud Rivetum.* Oper. tom. 1. pag. 186.

[A] *And by such a man as Lamech.* The author of the *Polygamia triumphatrix* was an odd man indeed, who spent his health to establish the doctrine of the plurality of wives, though one only had been too much for him (1). He tiles the resolution which Lamech took to marry two an heroic action (2), and he commends him extremely for being the first who examined with the utmost attention that order of God, *Be fruitful and multiply*; and who having duly weighed it, put himself in a condition to perform it to the utmost of his power by marrying two wives (3). None dared to undertake it before him; the memory of Eve's fault and the consideration of Adam's banishment, had filled people's minds with fear. Lamech was the first who dared to venture himself with an undaunted courage, without minding the difficulties he had considered. He made a commentary, not indeed in words, but by his actions, on the text of that universal law, *Be fruitful and multiply*; a law, which is a downright commandment, and not a mere blessing only. *Ipse autem insuper habitis omnibus imminentibus & præconcepitis difficultatibus, heroico animo hoc primus ausus, & proprio factæ verba legis catholice (crecite & multiplicamini) non benedictoria tantum, sed simul imperatoria, explanare, & bono exemplo omnibus suis posteris præire voluit* (4). By this means he paved the way, and gave a good example to those who should come after him. Thus you see, how that poor author had prepossessed himself in favour of Polygamy; it was his darling fancy, he imagined that the Scripture mentioned Lamech's two marriages as an admirable deed, whereas Divines maintain very justly that the Scripture designed thereby to condemn Polygamy in its very infancy.

[B] *The skill to invent many useful things.* Jabel and Jubal the sons of Adah, Tubal-Cain and Naamah (5) his sister, whose mother was Zillah, are Lamech's four children mentioned in the Scripture. Jabel invented the use of tents; Jubal invented some musical instruments; Tubal-Cain invented several bras and iron tools. The Holy Scripture, which acquaints us with these particulars, does not ascribe any invention to Naamah; but if we may believe the Rabbies, she invented the art of working wool, and of making linnen (6).

[C] *Lamech's discourse to his wives is a riddle to me.* It is not an easy matter to guess how the original words of Lamech's discourse ought to be translated. The French translation of Geneva, which I have quoted, renders them in the future tense, *I shall kill*, and represents Lamech to us as a man who is to receive some wound before he kills. But in the vulgar Latin translation it is rendered in the præter tense, *I have killed*; and as for the wound one does not know what to make of it; for this phrase, *occidi virum in vulnus meum*, is a barbarism, which signifies nothing in Latin, and which may signify any thing, as soon as we are got rid of the rules of Grammar. Some interpreters, who are very well skilled in the Hebrew tongue (7), translate that passage neither in the præter tense nor in the future tense; but they make a conditional proposition of the whole. *I would kill a man by wounding him, and even a young man with a stick or with my fist, if they offered to attack me.* Now how can we come at the

true construction of a period, which may be rendered in the future tense as well as in the præter tense, in the optative mood, as well as in the indicative? But though we could get over the Grammatical sense, it would signify but little, since we should still have to examine what Lamech designed to say to his two wives; now this is no trifling difficulty. Nothing seems more improbable to me, than the opinion of those, who imagine that all this is nothing but a rodomontade of Lamech (8). Others take it for a threatening to kill his wives, if they continued to vex him by their clamours and disputes (9). But others, on the contrary, take it for an interrogation designed to comfort them under their fears; they were afraid lest some person might kill him; and he encourages them by these words; *Have I killed a man &c (a)?*

* (a) *Others take it for an interrogation . . . Have I killed a man?* This is also the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Shuckford: and as Lamech's discourse may be a riddle to several of our readers, as it was to Mr. Bayle, we beg leave to lay here before them the explication of the ingenious Gentleman we have mentioned just now. "The descendants of Cain, says he (*), lived a long time in some fear of the family of Adam, lest they should attempt to revenge upon them Abel's death. It is supposed (§) that it was for this reason that Cain built a city, that his children might live near together, and be able more easily to joyn and unite for the common safety. Lamech endeavoured to reason them out of their fears, and therefore calling his family together, he argued with them to this purpose: *Why should we make our lives uneasy with these groundless suspicions? We have not killed a man, nor offered any injury to our brethren of the other family; and surely reason must teach them, that they can have no right to hurt us. Cain indeed, our ancestor, killed Abel; but God was pleased so far to forgive his sin, as to threaten to take sevenfold vengeance on any one that should kill him; if so, surely they must expect a much greater punishment who shall presume to kill any of us; if Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, surely Lamech or any of his innocent family seventy sevenfold.* This I take to be the meaning of the speech of Lamech to his wives, Gen. iv. 23. Moses has introduced it without any connection with what went before or what follows after, so that at first sight it is not easy to know what to apply it to; the expression itself is but dark, and the expositors have attempted to explain it very imperfectly . . . The most probable sense of the word is, I think, that which I have given them in the paraphrase above. *I have slain a man, should be read interrogatively, have I slain a man? i. e. I have not slain a man, to my wounding, i. e. that I should be wounded for it; nor a young man to my hurt, i. e. nor have I killed a young man, that I should be hurt or punished for it. And this is the sense, which the Targum of Onkelos most excellently gives the place. *I have not killed a man, says Onkelos, that I should bear the sin of it, nor have I destroyed a young man, that my offspring should be cut off for it.*" ADD. REM.*

[D] *A great many commentators are of opinion that Lamech*

(8) See Rivetum, Oper. tom. 1. pag. 187.

(9) See Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarch.* tom. 1. pag. 212.

(*) Shuckford's *Connexion &c.* vol. 1. pag. 9. &c.

(§) Menochius in Loc.

For it is a pretty general tradition, that Lamech, who always loved hunting, continued to take that diversion, even when he was almost blind with age (e). He used then to take his son Tubal-Cain with him, who not only served him for a guide (f) but also gave him notice when and where he was to shoot at any beast. Now it happened once that as Cain was lying down in a thicket, Lamech's guide observing something that moved there, gave him notice of it, whereupon Lamech shot his arrow and killed Cain. He was extremely vexed at it, and beat his guide so severely, that he left him dead on the spot. Thus, say they, one may put a reasonable sense on Lamech's words, which according to the vulgar Latin translation runs thus, *Occidi virum in vulnus meum, & adolescentulum in livorem meum.* i. e. "I have slain a man to my wound, and a young man to my bruise." Here is a distinction between the manner after which he killed the man, namely by a wound, and the manner after which he killed the boy, by bruises which rendered his body black and blew. This story and the circumstances with which it is attended, abound with absurdities [E]. Suidas pretends, that Lamech killed two brothers of Enoch, and married their wives (g).

You will meet with large collections upon all this in a Dissertation or Thesis (b), which was held at Wittemberg in the year 1673, *sub præsidio Joh. Wilhelmi Hillegeri*, under John William Hillegerus.

[Lamech asserts here, he had killed Cain.] A commentator (10), who is otherwise very judicious and learned, has been much mistaken here; for he imagines that to be the most probable explication of Lamech's speech. He alleges two arguments for it. First, says he, Cain's posterity continued till the flood; and yet Moses makes it end at Lamech and his sons, for which no other reason can be given but this, namely that Cain's life ended in the generation of Lamech who killed him. Secondly, says he, the only reason why Moses would relate the murder committed by Lamech, was to hint thereby the unhappy death of Cain. I could refute these arguments several ways, but I shall only observe that Pererius supposes a fact which is not the least probable, namely, that Moses designed to let the world know that Lamech killed Cain. If such had been his design, would he have left so great a darkness in the fourth chapter of Genesis with regard to that particular? Was there in Cain's death any thing mysterious, that must be wrapped up in so many enigmatical expressions? Indeed, if it could be proved that Moses had such a design, one might apply to him this verse of the Gospel, *Never man spake like this man* (11), and cry out, *Tacui, Domine, quia tu fecisti.* i. e. "I was dumb, O Lord, because thou didst it." One would never pardon this in an uninspired author. However, I do not pretend to refute, generally speaking, the opinion of those, who take for signs of inspiration in the accounts given us by Moses, some singularities, which are of such a nature, that an author would never have made use of them, had the direction of his work been left to him alone (12).

[E] This story and the circumstances with which it is attended, abound with absurdities. I. It is a very ill-contrived supposition to assert, that Lamech was almost blind (13), through age, whilst Cain his great-grand-father's father was still living. II. It is absurd to make him go a hunting in such a decrepit old age, that he could not see the game, and wanted a guide to tell him when he was to shoot his arrow. III. It is absurd to suppose, that the reason why he made the speech before us to his two wives, was, that they abused him in his old age, either because they could not resist his excessive lasciviousness, or on account of his children's savage temper. *Hanc tradunt historiam, Lamechum in senectute male tractatum esse ab uxoribus, vel propter nimiam ejus libidinem atque lasciviam, vel propter truculentam filiorum ejus ingenia* (14). What likelihood is there, that at such an age he would have given two wives reason to complain of his too frequent caresses? IV. It is absurd to suppose, that when Lamech had committed that double murder, his wives refused to lie any more with him, because that Cain's offspring was to perish

according to the oracle, after the seventh generation (15): this, I say, is absurd; for it is so far from being true that God threatened Cain to make his issue fail or perish after the seventh generation, that on the contrary, he had assured him, that whosoever should slay Cain, vengeance should be taken on him sevenfold. V. It is more absurd still to suppose (16), that Lamech took his two wives with him to Adam, and desired him to reprove them for refusing him their bed: and that when Adam had begun his lecture, he was interrupted in such a manner as loaded him with confusion. *You are a fine man indeed, says Lamech's wife to Adam, to reprove us: let your censure fall upon yourself first, you, who after so many years have not lain with your wife.* I omit observing that Lamech's supposed old age does not agree with the eagerness with which he endeavoured to bring his wives to reason with regard to conjugal embraces: I do not say, that the recrimination had been imagined with a little more probability, if it had been supposed, that Lamech was censured by Adam at the request of his two wives, and upon their complaint; but I assert, that since according to the fancies of the Rabbies, Adam continued but an hundred and thirty years after Abel's death, without lying with Eve, it is absurd to suppose that he was censured for it, as though he did not lie with Eve when Cain was killed. Vossius the younger mistook here Lamech Noah's father for Lamech who married two wives. *Judæorum est fabella, says he* (17), *Lamechum de uxoribus conquestum esse apud Adamum, illum his jussisse ut ad maritum reverterentur ac sui facerent copiam. Istas respondisse Adamo ut ipse prius juæ satisfaceret conjugii, à qua jam per centum & triginta annos propter scelus Caini esset separatus. Verum quis adco sit hebes, ut non videat narratiunculam hanc esse ineptissimam? Ex ea sequeretur Lamechum qui à Setho septimus fuit diu fuisse antequam Sethus nasceretur.* i. e. "The Jews relate the following story. Lamech, say they, complained of his wives to Adam, who commanded them to return to him, and to suffer him to enjoy them. But they answered him, that he should first satisfy his own wife, from whom he had been parted an hundred and thirty years on account of Cain's crime. But who is so blind as not to see the silliness of this story, since it supposes that Lamech, who was the seventh from Seth, existed long before Seth was born?" VI. It is absurd to suppose that Tubal-cain being still a boy was killed by his father. How could he have been the inventor of several brass tools, as the Scripture supposes he was? Let us observe here that Josephus does not in the least mention that pretended murder of Lamech; so that Tostatus, who quotes him for that ancient tradition (18), was deceived by his memory.

LAMECH the son of Methuselah, and Father of Noah, was the ninth person after the Creation including Adam (a); he lived seven hundred seventy seven years. Isaac Vossius (b) complains, that Sigismund Gelenius inserted in the Latin Translation of Josephus a particular, which is not in the Greek text of that Jewish Historian; namely, that Adam was still living in the time of Lamech: this critic, at the same time that he censures

(e) See Perer. in Genes. cap. iv. ver. 23, 24. Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. tom. 1. pag. 211.

(f) Others say, one of his servants led him.

(g) Suidas in As. 147.

(10) Pererius, in Genes. cap. 4. ver. 23, 24.

(11) In the Gospel of St. John, chap. vii. ver. 46.

(12) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, for July 1686, Art. 2. in the beginning.

(13) Some suppose him quite blind. See Polygamia triumphatrix, pag. 185.

(14) Pererius, in Genes. cap. iv. ver. 23, 24.

(a) Genes. v.

(b) De Vera etate Mundi, pag. 13, 14.

(15) Gedalia in Caton Fab. & H. tinger, Hist. Oriental. apud Lyserum, Polygamia triumph. pag. 192.

(16) Aben Ezra, apud eundem.

(17) Isaac Vossius, Dissert. de etate Mundi, cap. 4. pag. 14.

(18) See Pererius, in Genes. cap. iv. ver. 23, 24.

centures this blunder, commits another himself; for he mistakes Lamech Noah's father, for Lamech descended from Cain, as we have shewed it in the last remark of the foregoing article.

LAMIA, a Roman family. It was a branch of the family of the Ælii [A], and it was probably admitted into it only by adoption; for it was supposed to be descended from LAMUS (a) Neptune's son, and King of the Læstrygones, who lived in a city, which was afterwards called *Formia*. This is Horace's opinion [B]. Such an ancient descent as that, with which the Poet compliments his friend ÆLIUS LAMIA, was doubtless the reason why Juvenal, designing to hint at a Lady of the first quality, describes her in these words, *quædam denumero LAMIARUM* (b); i. e. "one of the family of the Lamiaë," that is, of an high descent. It is very probable that the person to whom Horace inscribes the seventeenth Ode of his 3d book, and whom he commends also in several other places, was the father of LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA (c), who died towards the latter end of Tiberius's reign in the year 786 after the building of Rome; he had been Governor of Syria [C], whence he was removed and appointed Governor of Rome. He was honoured with a Censor's funeral (d). From him was perhaps descended ÆLIUS LAMIA, Domitia Longina's husband, whom Domitian took away from him. He put him to death some time after [D]. There was also one LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA, who was banished, because he had taken Cicero's part against Piso with too much zeal. He afterwards was an Ædile, and then Prætor after Cæsar's death in the year 711 after the building of Rome. It is imagined that it was he, who being reputed dead, so that the funeral pile on which he was laid was already kindled, recovered his senses by the action of the fire [E]. Consult Streinius's Roman families, and Glandorp's *Onomasticon* (e).

(a) Homer, *Odyss.* lib. 10. ver. 18. mentions this Lamus, who lived, says he, in a great city.

(b) Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. ver. 383.

(c) Glandorp, *Onomast.* pag. 14. supposes the person mentioned by Horace to be the same who died in the year 786; but this is making him live too long.

(d) See the remark [C] quotation (5).

(e) Pag. 14. & seq.

[A] It was a branch of the family of the Ælii.] The Antonini, Roman Emperors, were descended from this family; it consisted of seven or eight branches, all plebeian; that of the Cati, that of the Tubero's, that of the Galli, that of the Stilo's, that of the Præconini, that of the Sejanii, and that of the Lamiaë (1). It is not asserted by any author, that the Ælii were descended from Lamus King of the Læstrygones, but it was said of the Lamiaë; the latter must therefore have been admitted into the family of the others by adoption.

(1) See Glandorp, *Onomast.* pag. 10, & seq.

(2) Ode 17. lib. 3. init.

[B] This is Horace's opinion.] He speaks thus:

*Æli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
Quando & priores hinc Lamias ferunt
Denominatos, & nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos;
Autore ab illo ducis originem
Qui Formiaram mœnia dicitur
Princeps, & innantem Maricæ
Littoribus tenuisse Lyrin
Late tyrannus.*

"Great Sire, from antient Lamus sprung,
"As noble a descent, as long;
"(From him, the spring, thy gen'rous blood
"In undisturbed streams had flow'd;
"From him the Lamias took their name,
"And swell the annals of our fame:
"Thy gen'rous blood rould nobly down
"From him that fill'd the Formian throne,
"Where swoln with rain swift Lyrin roars,
"And washes fair Maurica's shores;
"A potent scepter grac'd his hand,
"And measur'd out a wide command."

CREECH.

The antient Romans were as silly as men are at present with regard to genealogies. Of how many fa-

milies was it not said, that they were descended, either from one of Hercules's fellow-travellers, or from some other man famous in the fabulous times? Silius Italicus imagined, that Lamus had reigned at Cajeta (3). See Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (4).

(3) *Et regnata Lamo Cajeta.* Sil. Ital. lib. 8. ver. 530. See Dausque's *Notæ.*

[C] LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA... Governor of Syria.] He had only the title of it, which he did not keep long. The injustice he suffered in that respect, raised his reputation. *Extremo anni moti Ælii Lamiaë funere censorio celebrata, qui administranda Suria imagine tandem exfolutus urbi præfuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; & non permessa provincia dignationem addiderat* (5). i. e. "Ælius Lamia dying

(4) Lib. 1. cap. 34.

"towards the end of the year, was buried as a censor. "He was Governor of Rome, having been at length "discharged from his government of Syria, of which "he never had but the title. He was of a noble family, and enjoyed a lively old age. The refusing "his government to him added fresh glory to his "character." He had commanded in Africa (6).

(5) Tacit. *Ann.* lib. 6. cap. 27. ad ann. 786.

(6) *Idem*, lib. 4. cap. 13.

[D] ÆLIUS LAMIA... Domitian put him to death.] I mention him in the article of DOMITIA LONGINA, and quote there the necessary authorities. Juvenal hints at this Lamia's death in his fourth satire.

*Sed periit postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus
Cæperat, hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæds madente* (7).

(7) Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. in fine.

"But when he dreadful to the rabble grew
"Him, who so many Lords had slain they slew."

DRYDEN.

[E] LUCIUS ÆLIUS LAMIA... being reputed dead... recovered his senses by the action of the fire.] Here follows Valerius Maximus's account of this, *L. quoque Lamiaë prætorio viro æque vocem fuisse super rogum confisit* (8). i. e. "It is certain, that L. Lamia, who "had been a Prætor, recovered his speech on the "Pile." Pliny mentions it also (9).

(8) Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. m. 113.

(9) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 52.

LAMIA, a City in Thessaly. It is chiefly remarkable on account of the battle which was fought in its territories between the Athenians assisted by the other Greeks; and Antipater Governor of Macedonia, after the death of Alexander. This battle proved very fatal to the Athenians, and to several other Cities of Greece (a). Suidas is mistaken when he asserts that Antipater lost the victory (b).

(a) Diod. Siculus, lib. 18. Paulanias, lib. 7. pag. 213.

(b) Suidas in *Antipater.*

LAMIA, Neptune's daughter. The Greeks asserted that the Africans had called her *Sibylla*, that she was the first woman that ever prophesied, and that Jupiter had a daughter by her, who was called Hierophyle, and who was one of the Sibyls (a). Others assert, that Lamia was a beautiful African woman [A], by whom Jupiter got several

(a) Paulanias, lib. 10. pag. 327.

[A] Others assert that Lamia was a beautiful African woman.] There are many authors, who agree in

supposing that Lamia was born in Africa. Doris or Duris (1) asserts it; Hesychius does the same. 'The Scholiast

(1) In Suidas, under the word *Antipater.*

several children, all which Juno destroyed out of jealousy, which gave their mother such a terrible grief, that she not only became ugly, but even so cruel, that she used to take other people's children and murder them (b). This gave rise, undoubtedly, to the vulgar traditions, which the Poets followed in their Tragedies [B]. There is another particular related of Lamia, or of the LAMIAE, namely, that they could take and leave their eyes when they pleased. They put them by when they were at home, and took them again when they went abroad. This is the emblem of curiosity, and of self-love [C]. Philostratus describes them as very lascivious [D]. I cannot tell whether the first LAMIA [E] was thus called on account of what the fables reported of the Lamiae, or whether the latter borrowed their name from that fish. Moreri's blunders are not considerable [F].

(b) Suidas, in *Adama*. See what Aspasius in *Arist. de moribus* lib. 7. cap. 5. says of a Lamia of Pentus.

(1) *In Pecem*. Scholiast on Aristophanes (2) tells us, she was the daughter of Belus and Libya. Consider the following passage from Euripides.

Τὴς τέρουσι τὸ ἰωνίδειον θελοῦσι
Οὐκ αἰδῆ Λαμίασι τῆς Λιβυτικῆς γένεσσι (3).

(3) Euripides, *apud* Bochart. *Geograph. Sacra*. lib. 1. cap. 33.

i. e. "Who does not know the opprobrious name of "Lamia, a woman born in Arabia?"

Diodorus Siculus relates, that Ophellas King of Cyrene going to meet Agathocles, who was waging war against the Carthaginians, formed a Cave, in which, it was said, Queen Lamia was born (4). Bochart (5) imagines that the name of Lamia comes from the Punic word *Labam* or *Labama*, which is still in use at this time amongst the Arabians, and signifies to devote.

(4) Ἄρμον ἰωνίδης, ἡρώς καὶ οὐκ αἰδῆσι στυγαίᾳ ἐν ἡρώσι δῶκεται γένεσθαι βασιλοῦσαν Λαμίαν i. e. "A large cave, covered with ivy and stones, in which it is reported Queen Lamia was born." *Died.* Siculus, lib. 20. *Apud* Bochart, *Ibid.*

[B] *The vulgar traditions, which the Poets followed in their tragedies.* Horace gives them very good advice upon this subject.

*Fida voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
Nec quodcumque volas, poscat sibi fabula credi,
Nec praevisa Lamia vivum puerum extrahat alvo* (6).

i. e. "Be sure whatever pleasant tales you tell, "Be so like truth, that they may serve as well: "And do not Lamia's eating children feign? "Then shew them whole, and make them live "again.

CREECH.

(6) Horat. *de Art. Poet.* ver. 338.

Philostratus observes that the Lamiae were very fond of human flesh (7). Amongst the old womens tales, that are used to be told in some countries, there are many in which Fairies are introduced, that are great eaters of children.

(7) Σαρπην καὶ μάλα αἰσθητῶν ἡρώων ἴσθι. i. e. "They love flesh, especially human flesh." *Philostrat. in Vita Apollin.* lib. 4.

[C] *This is the Emblem of Curiosity and self-love.*

Consult Plutarch (8) who tells you, that after the example of Lamia, who was blind at home, and who when she designed to go abroad took her eyes out of a box, which she had on purpose to keep them in, each of us curiously pries into the defects of our neighbours, though we make no use of our eye-sight to discover our own vices.

(8) Plutarch. *de Curiositate*, *init.* pag. m. 515, 516.

[D] *Philostratus describes them as very lascivious.*

He observes (9), that out of lasciviousness they inticed the men they had a mind to devour at a proper time and place; and that they chiefly delighted to eat beautiful boys, when they were become very fat and plump. It was not, I think, an easy matter to grow fat in the service of those lewd creatures. Philostratus ought to have taken notice of this objection. One might perhaps apply here the explication which has been given of the fable of Diomedes King of France, who made his mares feed upon the flesh of his guests. This signifies, according to some persons, that he obliged them to gratify the lust of his daughters, till these men were nothing but skin and bones. *Diomedes Thraciae Rex, cum aliquot haberet filias salacissimas,*

(9) *In Vita Apollin.* lib. 4.

cogebat hospites ut earum libidinem satiarent; diis ob id equas humanis carnibus pascere: equa enim & mulier sola animalium appetunt marem etiam pregnantis; unde equitandi vocabulum, ut ait Aristoteles (9), trahitur maledicto in feminas procaces: comedunt verò carnes humanas, cum viros exsugunt, & coitu emaciatos ad tabem perducunt; ut rectè Solomon (†) à mulierum consuetudine revocet adolescentes, ne frustra gemere incipiant, postquam carnes suas consumpserint (10). i. e. "Diomedes King of Thrace having some very lascivious daughters obliged his guests to satisfy their lust: for which reason he was said to feed his mares with human flesh: for a mare and a woman are the only living females that long for the male, even when they are pregnant: hence, as Aristotle tells us, *equi to desire to go to the horse*, is applied to lascivious women by way of reproach. They eat human flesh, when they suck up the substance of the men, and throw them into consumptions by their frequent embraces: So that Solomon is very much in the right to dissuade men from conversing with women, lest they in vain mourn at the last, when their flesh and their body are consumed."

(9) Arist. *de Gener. Animal.* lib. 4. cap. 4. *Idem, Hist. Animal.* lib. 6. cap. 18.

(†) Prov. v. 11.

[E] *The fish LAMIA.* It is of a monstrous bigness, and prodigiously voracious. The whole body of a man has sometimes been found in the belly. See John Ray's history of fishes, and the following remark, where I censure Calepin.

(10) Balthasar Bonifacius, *Hist. Ludæa*, lib. 5. cap. 2. pag. mo 125.

[F] *Moreri's blunders are not considerable.* I. Phavorinus, who is a modern author (11) ought not to have been quoted, II. Lefs still should he have been quoted before Suidas. III. Instead of saying that the ancients gave the Lamias the name of *Lares, Genii,* or household Gods, it should be said *Larvae, Spectres.* IV. Rhodiginus should not have been quoted, but Philostratus, from whom he extracted all that he relates concerning the Lamias (12). V. However the twenty ninth book ought to have been quoted and not the forty ninth, for his *Antiquæ Lectiones* contain but thirty books. VI. Pliny ought not to have been cited, since he says nothing of the fish called Lamia (13). And yet Moreri wanted an author who considered the Lamias as an extraordinary fish. This calls to my mind a false quotation, which I have observed in Calepin. He quotes Pliny, *lib. 29. cap. 24.* immediately after these words. *Lamia item piscis est (unde & Lamiarum strigum nomen, quod ut Lamia sunt voracissima, à λαμῆος guttur) tanto oris rictu, tantaque voracitate, ut & loricatorum hominem devorasse comperitum sit. Itaque de hoc intelligunt, qui Jonam deglutivit.*

(11) He published this *Dictionary* in the year 1523.

(12) Lloyd and Hofman seem to have been ignorant of this.

(13) Father Hardouin in *bune Locum Plinii*, lib. 9. cap. 24. thinks it is a kind of Ray or Thornback.

i. e. "Lamia is also a fish (hence a kind of owls "are called Lamias, because like the Lamias they "are very voracious, from the Greek word λαμῆος, "the throat). Those fishes have such a large mouth, "and are so greedy, that it has sometimes been observed that they have swallowed a man armed with "his coat of mail. So that some persons imagine, "it was such a fish that swallowed Jonah." Pliny says nothing of all this; and after all, the ninth book and not the thirty ninth ought to have been quoted.

LAMIA a celebrated Courtezan was the daughter of an Athenian named Cleanor (a). She was by trade a player on the Flute, and became the concubine of Ptolemy the first of that name King of Egypt. But before that time she had already made her self famous in the character of a Lady of Pleasure [A]. She was taken with several of her companions

(a) Polemo *apud Athenæum*, lib. 13. pag. 577.

[A] *She had made herself famous in the character of a Lady of pleasure.* Plutarch asserts it: Let us quote his own words. *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμετέροις ἡ Λαμία,*

τῆν μὲν ἀρχῆν σπουδαῖον διὰ τὴν τέχνην, (ἰδοὺν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν σὺκταφρονήτοις) ἕταρον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἑρωτικοῖς λαμῆος ὑποκρίσθαι. i. e. "Lamia excelled in this, and "was

companions in the sea-fight in which Demetrius Poliorcetes gained the victory over Pro- lemy near the Island of Cyprus (b). Being carried to Demetrius she pleaded him so well, though she began to be in a declining age [B], that she was ever after the most beloved of his mistresses; whence it was said, that the others loved him, but that he loved this, which exposed him to some railleries [C]. He loaded her with so many fa- vours, that she was able to live in a very magnificent manner [D]. She excelled in witty sayings

(b) Plutarchus in Demetrio, pag. 895 E.

(1) Plutarchus, in Demetrio, pag. 895 E.

“ was at first esteemed for her art, for she played “ pretty well upon the flute: afterwards she became “ famous in the trade of a Courtezan (1).” When the art of fingering, or dancing, or playing upon musi- cal instruments, is practised by one of the fair sex with a design to be commended, I mean, when she makes a trade of it, and performs on the stage, it soon leads her to a downright prostitution. Do not won- der therefore that our Lamia from a Player on the flute turned a Courtezan. The descent is very steep and slippery from the one to the other.

[B] She pleased Demetrius very well, though she be- gan to be in a declining age] I should have made use of some expressions more proper to represent her as an old woman, if I had consulted Plutarch alone: But having read in Athenæus, that she had a daughter by Demetrius (2). I thought I was obliged to soften my expressions. Here follows what Plutarch tells us.

(2) Δημήτριος ὁ Πολιορκητὴς ὁ Παιστήριος ἢ Δαμνίας τῆς αὐτοκράτορος, ἢ τῆς Ἰσχυρῆς καὶ Στρατηγῆρα Φιλαν. Demetrius Poliorcetes (and not Pbalereus, as it is in the translation of Athenæus) was passionately in love with Lamia the Player on the flute, by whom he got a daughter named Phila. Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 577.

Τότε γὰρ ἔτι λίγην αἰῶνος, καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον ἐαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τὸν Δημήτριον, ἐκράτησε τῇ χάριτι καὶ καλέσθη ὡς ἐκείνης εἶναι μόνῃς ἰραστὴν τῶν δὲ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἰρό- μιν. i. e. “ Lamia, whose beauty began to de- cline, inspired Demetrius with love, though he was “ much younger than she; and she gained him so “ well by her engaging ways, that he was a lover “ to her alone, though he were beloved by the other “ women (3).” I shall quote below (4) another passage, which is not less to the purpose. It is generally said, that in families friendship descends much more than it ascends: Fathers love their children much more than children love their fathers. One may say the same with regard to the love of men towards wo- men. They are generally older than the women they love. But this rule is liable to a great many excep- tions; even in royal families; witness the Dauphin who was in love with an old widow under the reign of Francis I. I mention it in the Article of Diana of POITIERS. And here we see a young King, who suffers himself to be captivated by a woman, who was much older than her. It is no great wonder: for old Courtezans with some remains of beauty, supported by a great deal of craft and artifice, are capable to make a young man go a great length. However it be, if Demetrius met with great charms in Lamia the first time he saw her, he found her not less charming in his greatest intimacy with her. Φησὶ δὲ τὴν Δαμνίαν τὴν βασιλῆϊ ὑπερβολῶς καλεῖσθαι ὑπερπαισθηταίῳ. Idem ait Demetrium ab incubante Lamia concinne suaviterque sub- gignatum fuisse, & idcirco eam laudasse (5). It was not only her agility, that enchanted Demetrius so much. She used also to bite him amorously (6) at which that Prince was perhaps as much pleased, as his friends were displeased with his passion for that woman. They could not conceal their displeasure; for when his Em- bassadors had seen the scars which Lyfimachus shewed on his thighs and arms, they answered him, that the King their master had also scars on his neck, occa- sioned by the teeth of that cruel beast Lamia. You must know that Lyfimachus had fought with a Lyon, and shewed the Embassadors the marks of the wounds he had received in that fight. The words in the ori- ginal are more elegant than the summary account I have given of them. Ἀφικέσθον γὰρ τινες παρ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ πρῶτον πρὸς Λυσίμαχον, οἳ ἐκείνῳ ἄγαν σχολὴν ἐπέδει- ξον ἐν τοῖς μὲν καὶ τοῖς βραχέσσιν ὀνυχῶν βαθείας ὀφθαλμῶν λισσίων. καὶ διηγεῖτο τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς τὸ θῆριον, ὑπο Ἀλιζάνδρου συγκρατηθέντι τῷ βασιλεῖ. οἱ δὲ, γελῶντες ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖα δινῆ δρῆν δὴ γμάλα φέρον ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ Δαμνίας. i. e. “ Some “ Ambassadors (from Demetrius) came to Lyfimachus, “ who at his leisure hours shewed them the marks of “ a Lyon’s claws in his arms and thighs, and gave “ them an account of his fight with that wild beast, “ with which he had been shut up by King Alexan- “ der. At which the Embassadors answered with “ a smile, that their King had also been severely bit “ in the neck by a wild beast called Lamia (7).”

(3) Plutarchus, in Demetrio, pag. 895, F.

(4) In the re- mark [C].

(5) Machon, apud Athenæum, lib. 13. pag. 577.

(6) See above the remark [A] in the article of the 2d FLORA.

(7) Plutarchus, in Demetrio, pag. 901.

[C] . . . Which exposed him to some railleries] Men wondered to see that Demetrius, who had been very soon disgusted with his wife Philla, because she began to be of a declining age, had thus made himself a slave to Lamia, even when she was almost decayed, Ἦν δὲ θαυμάσιον ὅτι τῆς Φίλλας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν μὴ κατ’ ἡλικίαν διασχερῆσαν, ἔπειθε τῆς Λαμνίας, καὶ τοσούτοις ἡμᾶ χρόνον ἔδη παρακμακούσας. i. e. “ Men wondered, that he who was “ disgusted with Philla as soon as she began to decline, “ was thus conquered by Lamia, and loved her so “ much even when she began to grow old (8).” (8) Idem, ibid.

He asked Demo once what she thought of Lamia, who was playing on the flute whilst they were at table. She is an old woman, answered Demo. When the Desert was brought, Do you see, said he to Demo, how many things Lamia sends me. My mother, replied De- mo, would send you a great many more, if you would also lie with her (9). Observe that this was a Courte- zan, who had been the Concubine of Antigonus De- metrius’s father, and whom Demetrius himself loved afterwards (10). Plutarch asserts that she was furnished (10) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 578.

Mania; but Athenæus (11) speaks of Demo and of Mania as of two Courtezans. There arose a violent hatred between Lyfimachus and Demetrius; which was the reason why Lyfimachus cast very severe jokes on Demetrius on account of his love for Lamia. She is the first Courtezan, said he, I ever saw, who came from the play-house. Demetrius answered, I will have him to know, that my Where is more honest than his Penelope. Σωφρονεῖσθαι εἶναι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πόρνην τῆς ἐκείνου Πηνελόπης. i. e. “ That his own whore was more mo- “ dest, than the other’s Penelope.” James Amiot did not understand this passage in Plutarch; he makes Lyfimachus say, I had never seen before a Courtezan who acted in a Tragedy. Plutarch’s words do not signify this. Λυσίμαχος τοιδούτων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς Λαμνίας ἄλγος ἐν πρώτῳ ἰσρακίαις πόρνην προσφωμῆν ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς. Lyfimachus insectans eum ob Lamia amore, dixit abate nunc primum scortum se ex tragica prodens (13) scena vidisse. i. e. “ Lyfimachus ridiculing him on “ account of his love for Lamia, said, this is the “ first prostitute I ever saw coming from the tragic “ Theatre.” The best translation in the world would not explain that thought, if we did not know a par- ticular, with which Athenæus acquaints us (14); and which is this; Demetrius had said that Lyfimachus’s court was like a Comic Theatre; no person came from it, but whose name was of two syllables. Thus he ridiculed such men as Bithes, Paris, and some o- thers whose names were not longer, and who were Lyfimachus’s greatest favourites: when Lyfimachus was acquainted with this raillery, he only said, that he never saw at his court a prostitute who came from the tragic Theatre. He hinted at Lamia’s trade, who played on the flute (15), which was used to be practised in the acting of Tragedies.

[D] She was able to live in a very magnificent manner.] The Mistresses of Kings use to take a delight in im- mortalizing their name by stately buildings. Lamia was also of that temper. She caused a very beautiful Portico to be built at Sicyone, of which a certain Author (16) published a Description. The entertain- ment she gave Demetrius once was exceedingly grand. There was a book written upon this Subject. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αὐτὴ κατ’ ἐαυτὴν ἢ Λαμνία τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευάσασα δῖπαιον, ἠργυρολόγησε πολλὰς. καὶ τὸ δῖπαιον, ἕως ἡνθροσ τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὥστε ὑπὸ Λαμνίας, τῆς Σαμῆος συγκληθέντα. δι’ ἧ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τις ἐφώλου τὴν Λαμνίαν Ἐλίπολις ἀλεθῶς προσέειπε (17). i. e. “ Be- “ sides this Lamia did separately give an entertain- “ ment to the King, for which she exacted money “ from a great many persons. This entertainment “ was so much celebrated on account of the vast sum “ of money which was spent in it, that Lynæus of “ Samos gave an account of it in writing: and one “ of the writers of Comedies very justly titled Lamia “ Helepolis, i. e. the Conqueror of cities (18).” Plu- tarch

(9) Idem, ibid.

(10) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 578.

(11) Ibid.

(13) There is prodens in the Latin translation of Plutarch, which is a fel- cism or a fallacy; namely, as it makes Lyfima- chus say of him- self that he came from the The- atre.

(14) Athen. lib. 14. pag. 614.

(15) Τὴν αὐτοκράτορος Λαμνίας λύρον. i. e. “ Hinting at “ Lamia, who “ played on the “ flute. Idem, ibid.

(16) His name was Polemon. See Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 577.

(17) Written by an author, nam- ed Lynæus. See Athenæus, the beginning of the 4th book.

(18) Plutarch. in Demetrio, pag. 901.

fayings and smart repartees [E]. And as the Athenians carried their adulations with regard to Demetrius to the most extravagant impieties, they built a temple to this courtezan under the name of VENUS LAMIA [F], though on some occasions they had been very angry to see that their money was designed for this woman [G]. The Thebans committed the same impiety (c). The story which we read in Athenæus concerning Demetrius and Lamia is such, that it is not proper to tell it in English [H]. I question whether Ælian has been accurate in the account he gives us of these two persons [I]. Plutarch relates Lamia's censure of a sentence given in a love-affair [K]. What I have observed against Anthony de Guevara with regard to Lais, I repeat it here with regard to Lamia. He has related as many falsities of the one as of the other. Brantome has been misled by him [L]. As Morcri's account of this Lamia contains but three lines,

(c) Polemo, apud Athen. lib. 6. pag. 253.

(19) See the remark [G].

(20) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.

(21) Idem, lib. 6. cap. 14. pag. 253.

(22) Έπ' άδω, apud inferos, amongst the shades below, instead of Έπ' αιρου, sua estate, of his time.

(23) Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 65.

(24) Plutarch. in Demetrius, pag. 901. A.

(25) We meet with this marginal note in Amie's French translation of Plutarch. As for the Lamia's, all the soap and all the water in the world would not be sufficient to clean and wash those, who gave so many talents extorted from the people, to make Lands and Lordships everlasting memorials of the lasciviousness of such prostitutes, the execrable plagues of public States, and the eternal infamy of those, who trifled their time away with them; such women are proper instruments to rob both the great and the meaner sort of their money.

tarch had mentioned just before, the large sums of money which Demetrius had forced the Athenians to give to Lamia (19); and he adds here, that this woman on her part, and over and above these sums, obliged several persons to give her money for the entertainment, which she was preparing for Demetrius.

[E] She excelled in witty sayings and smart repartees. This is what Athenæus observes. Ητι δι, says he (20), Λαμία σφόδρα εύδουλθη και άπικη προς τας άσωπιους. i. e. "Lamia was very witty in her sayings, and very smart in her replies."

[F] The Athenians . . . built a temple to this Courtezan under the name of VENUS LAMIA.] They courted another to Leæna, the same Demetrius's concubine (21), and they paid the same respect to that Prince's favorites; you may be sure that neither Altars, nor Libations, nor Hymns were wanting in these temples. Demetrius himself was so much surprized at it, that he publicly declared there was then not one Citizen at Athens, who had any courage. His reflexion has been wretchedly spoiled by the Translator of Athenæus. He makes Demetrius say, that there would not be one courageous Citizen of Athens amongst the shades below. Admirante ipso Demetrio quæ tum ferent, palamque dicente, apud inferos nullum unquam futurum magni excelsique animi civem Atheniensem. One letter being put instead of two others (22) has occasioned the prodigious alteration of that reflexion. Here follow the Greek words as they are in Athenæus.

Ότι και αυτον Δημητριον θαυμάζειν ιωι τοις γνομονοις, και λιγειν οπιδις ιω αυτω Αθηναιων γιγνοι μεγας και ανδρος την ψυχην. This reflexion of Demetrius calls to my mind an exclamation of Tiberius. Memoria proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum, ô homines ad servitutum paratos! scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam prope servientium patientiæ tædebat (23). i. e. "It is reported that whenever Tiberius came from the Senate-house, he used to cry "berius in the Greek tongue; *how these men are ready for slavery!*" Himing thereby, that he himself, "who would not suffer the nations to be free, was yet ashamed of the base patience of those slaves."

[G] Though . . . they had been angry to see that their money was designed for this woman.] Amongst the several oppressions, which the Athenians suffered from Demetrius, nothing vexed them more than the order he gave them to find him immediately two hundred and fifty talents. They raised that money with a great deal of severity and haste; and when it was ready, he commanded them to send it to Lamia, and to the other Courtezans, who waited upon her; it is for their Soap, said he. These words and that use of the money grieved the Athenians more than the loss of their money. Ιων υδροισμειον το αργυριον, εκλυουσ Λαμία και ταις περι αυτην εταραις εις σμυγμα δαδηναι. η γαρ αισχυνη, τής ζημιας, και το ρημα το πρόγμαλο μάλλον ηνάχλησι τος άνδρας. Ubi coactum argentum vidit, Lamia jussit id, cæterisque meretricibus quæ circa eam erant, ad smagma præberi. Pupugit enim cives pudor magis quam jaçura, Ές verba, quibus est usus, quam exαλιο (24). We should say now Paragnante or Pin-money, rather than make use of that expression, Money for their Soap. See the margin (25).

[H] The story which we read in Athenæus concerning Demetrius and Lamia is such, that it is not proper to tell it in English.] Judge of it by the following Latin passage. De Lamia rursum Macbon hæc scribit, Deme-

trium aliquando inter pocula, varia genera unguentorum ostentantem Lamiaæ tibicinae, ut illa non ita jucundè olere dixit, non nihil commotum tanquam et vellicatum, quod improbens omnia petulantius illuderet, innuisse ut Nardinum quoddam afferretur; et cum pudendum manu confricuisset, ac digitis contrectasset, dixisse, hoc Lamia ofacito, quantum à reliquis distet, cognosces: illam verò subridentem respondisse, atqui, ô miser, omnium longè putidissimum hoc esse mihi videtur: regem mox subjecisse, è regia tamen glande per Jovem est, ô Lamia (26).

[I] . . . I question whether Ælian has been accurate in the account he gives us of these two persons.] Demetrius, says he (27), who reigned over so many nations, used to go often ready armed with his diadem on his head to the Courtezan Lamia. He would have disgraced himself very much had he sent for her; but he went very carefully to her house. I have a leis value for that Prince than for Theodore the player on the flute, who refused to hearken to Lamia's prayers, when she desired him to go and see her. Such is that Author's story; but I question the truth of it: For Demetrius did not see Lamia before she had been presented to him after the naval battle, in which he gained the victory over the King of Egypt. Lamia did no longer follow the trade of a common prostitute, she was a King's mistress. If it be urged, that even since she was Demetrius's mistress, she had a house to herself, and that therefore it was very possible that Demetrius was seen going to her house; I answer, that he did not go to her as to a common prostitute, but as to a mistress, whom he imagined he enjoyed alone, and to whom he had given means to be stately lodged. So that Ælian's censure falls to the ground; for when a Prince once indulges himself in the crime of a publick concubinage, it is the same thing whether he goes to his mistress's house, or sends for her. It is even a more scandalous thing to see her lodged in the royal palace, than to see her live in a house by herself. I am fully persuaded that Lamia lodged in Demetrius's palace, or at least, that Demetrius did not go to her as to a Courtezan any more of his visits. And yet this is what Ælian supposes, and on which he grounds the moral of his chapter.

[K] Lamia censured a sentence given in a love-affair.] The story is as follows: Thonis (28), an Egyptian Courtezan, had demanded a large sum of a young man, who was in love with her; whereupon the bargain was broke off; and the lover retired without doing any thing. He dreamt in the night that he enjoyed that woman, which cured him of his passion: Thonis hearing of this, pretended that the young man was obliged to pay her, and summoned him before the Judges. Bocchoris sentenced the defendant to put into a purse the sum he had been asked, and to move it to and fro, so as to make the shadow of it fall upon Thonis. The judge hinted thereby, that opinion is nothing but the shadow of truth, and that the enjoyment in a dream was but the shadow of a real enjoyment. Lamia, who was a competent judge in those matters, said one day, that that sentence was unjust, because the shadow of the purse did not cure the Courtezan of her longing to get that money, whereas that young man's dream had cured him of his love (29).

[L] Guevara has related as many falsities of Lamia, as of Lais. Brantome has been misled by him.] He relates some maxims (30), as though they had been spoke by Lamia, which yet are mere inventions of Guevara. If upon this subject, says he (31), we should ask advice of a woman, who was one of the

(26) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 577.

(27) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 17.

(28) That was her Egyptian name. The Greeks called her Archedice, or Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 63. and Kuhniius's Notes.

(29) Ex Plutarcho, in Demetrio, pag. 901.

(30) Memoires des Dames Galantes, tom. 2. towards the end.

(31) Epitres doctes, liv. 1. pag. m. 260, &c.

(d) Intituled, *Histoire de Ptolemée Auletes, &c.* See there the 7th chap. of the 2d Part, pag. 317, &c.

lines, I have not many errors of commission to charge him with [M]. I am surpris'd at a doubt of Monsieur Menage [N].

You will meet with a great elogy of this Lamia (d) in a work, which Monsieur Baudelot published in the year 1698.

the most celebrated Courtezans in her time, and who understood her trade perfectly well, I mean Lamia who used to say &c. One Francis Voilleret, Sieur de Florizel, Counsellor, Notary and Secretary to the King's Household and Crown of France, relates (32) as matter of fact, all the false stories, which he had read in that Spanish author, concerning the three Courtezans Flora, Lais, and Lamia. So true is it, that one bad author is sufficient to mislead several others.

(32) In a book printed at London in James I's reign, intituled, *Le Preau des Fleurs mesléées.* See there the 8th chap. of the 2d book, pag. 244, &c.

(33) Lloyd suppressed the quotation of Plutarch. Hofman has done the same.

(34) Menage in *Diog. Laert.* lib. 5. num. 76. pag. 221.

[M] *As Moreri's account of this Lamia contains but three lines, I have not many errors . . . to charge him with.* I. This expression, *The Thebans consecrated the Temple of Venus Lamia to her*, is equivocal, it may make us think, that the Thebans had already a Temple of Venus Lamia, which they consecrated to Demetrius's mistress. To prevent all equivocations, Moreri ought to have said, that the Thebans built a Temple to this mistress, and called it the Temple of Venus Lamia. II, It is not true that Plutarch mentions this; Athenæus should have been quoted for it. Moreri borrowed that false quotation from Charles Stephens (33).

[N] *I am surpris'd at a doubt of Monsieur Menage.* He questions whether the Courtezan Lamia was the same Athenian Lady, whom Demetrius Phalereus kept. *An eadem est ac illa nobilis fœmina quam amabat Phalereus* (34). When he styles her noble, he grounds

that expression on these words of Diogenes Laertius: *Ἀλλὰ ἀγῆ καὶ ἐργαῖοι σπουδαῖοι Λαμία τῇ ἐρωμένῃ.* i. e. "He enjoyed a noble Athenian woman, called Lamia, whom he loved." If you distinguish the sentence thus, you must deny without the least hesitation, that Lamia Demetrius Poliorcetes's mistress was beloved by Demetrius Phalereus; for Demetrius Poliorcetes's mistress was only a player on the flute, and was not, consequently, of a noble family. Monsieur Menage was in the right to censure Dalechamp, who translated the following words of Athenæus, *Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητὴς ἢ δημοσίως ἢ ἐκαμίας τῆς αὐτοῦ* (35), thus, *Demetrius Phalereus Lamiam tibicinem amavit perditissime*; i. e. "Demetrius Phalereus did passionately love Lamia who played on the flute." But he should also have censured Aldobrandinus, who asserted that the Thebans, out of complaisance for Demetrius Phalereus, built the Temple of Venus Lamia, with a design to honour the memory of his mistress Lamia (35). Aldobrandinus quotes here Cælius Rhodiginus, *Lib. 26. Cap. 5.* There are three critical observations to be made here. 1. The Thebans built that Temple, out of complaisance not for Demetrius Phalereus, but for Demetrius Poliorcetes. 2. Athenæus ought to have been quoted, and not Cælius Rhodiginus. 3. It should have been observed that the Athenians had the same complaisance, which the Thebans had.

(35) *Thebani autem Demetrio blandientes, Venus Lamia templum excitavisse, ut Lamia ab eo amata memoriam colerent, scribit Cælius Rhodiginus lib. 29. cap. 5. Aldobrandinus in Diog. Laert. lib. 5. num. 76. He must mean here Demetrius Phalereus, whom he had mentioned just before.*

LAMPONIANO (JOHN ANDREW) descended from an illustrious family in the Milanese (a), was one of the three servants of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, who conspired against that Prince, and killed him in St. Stephen's Church December the 26th 1476. Lamponiano gave him the two first strokes. He came as though he intended to disperse the crowd which surrounded that Prince, and pretended he had some letters to give him. He was exasperated against him on account of a law-suit [A], in which he had not been able to prevail upon that Prince to favour him against his party, and he expected to find his account in a revolution in the State; he wanted to retrieve his affairs, having spent the greatest part of his estate, and he was still as proud and as much given to luxury as he had been before. His two accomplices were Charles Visconti, and Jerom Olgiati. The latter was persuaded to enter into that wicked conspiracy by the instigation of a school-master, an enemy of the Duke, who represented to him that he would gain a great reputation by murdering a tyrant [B]. As for Charles Visconti

(a) Erenatus, *Exemptior.* lib. 3. cap. 2. sub fin. folio m. 95 verso.

[A] *He was exasperated against the Duke of Milan, on account of a law-suit.* Here follows an account of the whole matter according to Paul Jovius. *Ad audendum immane usque adeo & periculosum facinus vehementer incitabat illata sibi injuria à Castellione Comensum antistite, à quo sacri latifundii possessione contra jus interrupta locazione, se periniquè spoliatum querebatur. Totum autem ejus injuriæ odii que venenum vertebat in principem, qui à se suppliciter deprecante eam contumeliam, sæpe rogatus adversarium in extrahenda lite præpotentem, neque advertere, neque mollire voluisset* (1). i. e. "He was prompted to that cruel and dangerous attempt by the injury he had received from Castellioneus Bishop of Como, by whom he complained he had been very unjustly deprived of a piece of Church-land, which Castellioneus refused, against law, to let to him. He turned all the bitterness of his resentment for that injury against the Prince, whom he had often humbly but in vain requested to do him justice against his party, or at least to move his party to compassion, who being very powerful prolonged the process." This calls to my mind Philip King of Macedon, who was killed by a man (2), who could not prevail upon him to punish another by whom he had been very outrageously abused. *Pausaniam Attalus mero onustum nefariis conviviæ ludibrii exposuerat.* i. e. "Pausanias being in liquor had been exposed by Attalus to the base outrages of the company (3)." He did no longer think of revenging himself of the person who abused him, but of the Prince who refused to

(1) Paulus Jovius, in *Elogio Galeacci Sfortiæ*, lib. 3. *Elog.* pag. m. 244.

(2) Named Pausanias.

(3) Freinshemius, *Supplem. in Quint. Curt.* lib. 1. cap. 9.

him justice. *Adolescens . . . odium ab auctore injuriæ in negligentem ejus vindicem convertit* (4). [B] *Olgiati . . . was persuaded . . . by a schoolmaster, an enemy of the Duke, who represented to him that he would gain a great reputation by murdering a Tyrant.* His name was Cola Montanus; he had been tutor to Galeazzo Sforza, who remembering more than it was proper the lashes he had received from his tutor, caused him one day to be publicly whipped upon his bare buttocks. *Hic Cola quondam Galeacci pædagogus dirum in principem odium conceperat impotenti ejus contumelia percitus, quod ille pueritium verberum nimis memor, postquam adolevit, imperiumque suscepit, ipsi Colæ tanquam immiti subagrestique præceptoris, acceptas olim plagas nudatis clunibus loro palam rependi jussisset* (5). Cola being extremely exasperated at this injury, animated young Olgiati with a strong desire of Glory, of such a Glory, I mean, as should accrue to him, if he restored his country to its ancient liberty by the murder of a tyrant. He exalted to the sky the merit of Brutus and Cassius: In a word, it was he, who by his violent exhortations encouraged him to undertake and perform that attempt (6), as Olgiatus confessed on the rack. *Olgiatum penè imberbem, levissimumque adolescentem inani spe parandæ gloriæ inflaverat Cola Montanus litterarii luderi magister, si occiso tyranno patriam in libertatem asfereret; sæpe Cassios & Brutos in scabola magnis extollens laudibus, qui gloria ducti pulcherrimi facti consilium olim suscepissent* (7). So true is it, that wicked advice may be attended with very bad consequences, and that Princes ought to take care not to exasperate

(4) *Idem, ibid.*

(5) Jovius, *Elog. Gal. Sfort. Elog.* lib. 3. pag. 245.

(6) *Hujus Cole diris exhortationibus conjurationem imbecillam ad exitumque perducendam fuisse, Olgiatus ipse ex quaestione perscripsit. laem, ibid.*

(7) *Idem, ibid.* pag. 244.

(b) Lamponianus
insultantis plebis
& puerorum tur-
bae ad ludibrium
concessus, inje-
ctis per cunctas
urbis regiones
rapatus est. Jo-
vius, in Elogio
Galeacii Sfortiae.

Visconti he had two powerful motives to engage in that conspiracy [C]. Lamponiano was killed by a Moor whilst he endeavoured to make his escape through a crowd of women. His corps biting the ground [D] was delivered to the populace (b), who abused it for some time (c). Peter Crinitus wrote verses to the honour of this assassin [E]. It is reported that this Duke of Milan was adorned with eminent qualities (d), and governed his dominions like a good Prince, without any considerable blemish but excessive lewdness, in which he could so much the easier indulge himself, as the Ladies of his court took a pride in their amorous intrigues [F].

(c) Taken from
Paul Jovius in
Elogio Galeacii
Sfortiae.

(d) Jovius, *ibid.*

LANCELOT

rate even mean and inconsiderable persons. There are few enemies but can do a great deal of mischief. Cola being taken some time after fell into Laurence de Medicis's hands, who caused him to be hanged (8). The courage, with which he filled Olgiati's breast, by the hopes of an everlasting fame, was not daunted at the sight of the capital punishment to which he was condemned. Olgiati and his companion had time to make their escape, by means of the great disorder and confusion, which the Duke's murder had occasioned in the Church. But as no person dared to shelter them, they were taken two days after, and condemned to suffer the punishment which their crime deserved. Here follows an account of Olgiati's constancy. *Olgiatus ipse mirum visa audituque vesana constantia obstinatum animum in conspectu carnificis gerens, seseque in ipsa morte confirmans haec contumaci ore protulit verba; Collige te, Hieronyme, stabit vetus memoria facti; mors quidem erit acerba, sed tormentum brevis, atque ejus fama perpetua* (9).

(8) *Idem, ibid.*
Pag. 247.

(9) *Idem, pag.*
246.

i. e. "Olgiati himself, (it was wonderful to behold " and to hear it,) having an undaunted courage, " and steady mind at the very sight of the execu- " tioner, and comforting himself on the point of " death, spoke there with a haughty countenance; " Take heart, Jerome, the memory of thy action " will never perish: death indeed is bitter, but the " pain of it will be but short, and the glory ever- " lasting."

The reader will not perhaps be displeas'd to meet here with some verses, which he wrote in prison. They are a proof of his boldness, and an abuse of the Prince he had murdered.

*Quem non mille acies, quem non potuere phalanges
Sterneret, privata Galeaz dux Sfortia dextra
Concidit, atque illum minime juvere cadentem
Assantes famuli, nec opes, nec regna, nec urbes.
Hinc patet humanis quae sit fiducia rebus,
Et patet hinc saevo tutum nil esse tyranno* (10).

(10) *Idem, pag.*
247.

i. e. "Galeazzo Sforza, whom the most numerous ar- " mies could not conquer, fell by my own hand. " Nor could the servants who surrounded him, nor " his riches, nor his estates, nor his Cities save him. " Hence it appears, how little the affairs of this " world are to be depended upon; hence it appears, " that nothing can secure the life of a cruel tyrant."

[C] . . . As for Charles Visconti, he had two power- ful motives to engage in that conspiracy.] In the first place he was exasperated against the Sforza's for usurping the sovereign power to the prejudice of his own family. II. He had a sister, whom Galeazzo had debauched, and whom he afterwards yielded to the lust of a beautiful young man, who was his Gany- mede. *Germanæ sororis probro quam Galeacius ad- amaret, atque subigeret, permoveretur: tanto indignantius quod eam decore adolescenti, qui ætatis florem principis fruendam dedisset, conciliaffe & communicasse suspicaretur* (11). This Prince was reckoned to be so lascivious that men talked not only of his amorous intrigues, but even of his pimping. *Principem enim in amore improbum atque adeo impudentem plerique vel falso existimabant, ut alienæ libidini lenocinii obsequium lubens præbere crederetur.* i. e. "Most people, though " perhaps unjustly, thought this Prince so wicked in " his amours, and so impudent, that it was imagi- " ned, he was even willing to pimp for other peo- " ple (12)." We have here an instance of the wo- man's compliance. Francis Visconti's sister did not only favour this Duke of Milan with the use of her body, but was even ready to gratify the passions of his catamite, whenever he pleaded. I suppose it was not with a great reluctance that she gave him this proof of her complaisance, since it was in favour of a beautiful young man.

(11) *Idem, ibid.*
Pag. 244.

(12) *Idem, ibid.*
Pag. 246.

[D] *His Corps biting the ground.*] I may use this phrase in a literal sense, since Paul Jovius expressed

himself thus: *Ipsius Lamponiani cadaver solum lingua & dentibus commordens jacebat* (13). i. e. "Lampo- " niano's corps lay on the ground licking the dust " and biting the sand with his teeth."

[E] *Peter Crinitus wrote verses to the honour of this Assassin.*] You will meet with them in the second book of his poems (14); they are intitled, *de virtute Joannis Andreae Lamponiani Tyrannicidæ*. i. e. "On the courage of John Andrew Lamponiano " the tyrant-killer." Here follow the six first lines of that Poem.

(13) *Idem, ibid.*
Pag. 146.

(14) P. m. 833.

*Parabat olim sacra Bruti manibus
Antiqua virtus Italum.
Ac forte lætam dum rependit hostiam
Marti dicatam vindici,
Frontem retorfit illico ad acres Infubres
Mirata sortem dexteram.*

i. e. "The brave Italians of old prepared a sacri- " fice to the shade of Brutus, and being ready to " strike the chosen victim consecrated to the aveng- " ing Mars, they cast on a sudden an eye forwards " on the stout Infubrians, and admire the bold stroke."

We ought not to wonder at Peter Crinitus's com- mending this murderer. For amongst the sacred poems of Levinus Torrentius Bishop of Antwerp there is an hymn (15) in praise of Baltazar Gerard (16), in which amongst other elegies is the following enco- mium.

(15) *Hymnus in laudem Baltasaris Gerardi fir- tissimi tyranni- cidæ.*

*Morte inferendus calicolum choris
Æterno ab omni labe puram
Reddis ovans animam parenti.*

(16) He mur- dered the Prince of Orange in the year 1584.

i. e. "As death must introduce you into the af- " sembly of the saints in heaven, you return with " joy your untainted soul to your eternal Father."

[F] *The Ladies of his Court took a pride in their amorous intrigues.*] The description which Paul Jovius left us of the corrupt morals of the women of that country is shocking. They imagined that chastity was inconsis- tent with good manners; they thought that to prac- tise that virtue was not to know the world, it was, ac- cording to them, to behave like country girls. In a word, they did not think, that to lie with a Prince was doing any thing inconsistent with modesty; they pre- tended that the best method to raise the condition of their husbands above that of other men, was to make them wear golden horns. Galeazzo, who was an hand- some, young and vigorous man, found his ac- count in this. Paul Jovius's words are infinitely more expressive than mine, I shall therefore trans- scribe them in this place: *His artibus quum boni splendidissimique principis nomen tueretur, premebant ejus famam intemperantes vagæque libidines. Nam ea tum erat ex multo otio luxuriantis seculi conditio, in ipsis præcipue nobilioris matronis, ut totum pudicitiae decus ab humanitate aulae alienum proorsus & subagreste putaretur, ideoque princeps ad licentiam libidinis proclinatus, & juvenis vigore venustateque oris supra omnes spectatu dignissimus, procacibus foeminarum oculis & desiderii cupidissime deserviret. Erat enim tum vulgatum inter foeminas, nullam ex principis concubitu fieri impudicam, earumque maritos qui ineptis birici videri possent, ita excellere aureis cornibus, ut dignitate cunctos anticerent* (17). This is a corruption of manners carried to the utmost excess. for if any thing can prevent chastity from being quite banished, it is that the opposite vice carries with it a notion of shame and disgrace with regard to the women (18). This is the chief bar which God's Pro- vidence made use of to stop a little the progress of lasciviousness, and prevent its overflowing all mankind after the manner of the flood, which spared but very few persons.

(17) Jovius in
Elog. Galeacii
Sfortiae, pag. 243.

(18) Compare this with what is observed above in the remark [C] of the article JONAS (Ara- grinus).

(a) Vigneul Marville, *Mélanges d'Hist. & de Littérat.* pag. 123.

(b) *Ibid.*

LANCELOT (CLAUDIUS) a Benedictine Monk was born at Paris (a). Having (b) studied very well in his youth he was entrusted with the education of a child of Quality, and retired afterwards into the Abbey of Port-Royal in the Fields, where he taught polite learning with very good success. Some years after he entered Monk in the Abbey of St. Cyran, being very intimate then with the late Abbot de Barcos; at whose death this Society was suppressed, and the Monks dispersed, and Don Claudius Lancelot was sent into banishment in Lower-Britany, where he died two or three years ago (c). He wrote several good books [A]; but he did not put his name to them, and they were ascribed to the Gentlemen of Port-Royal in general.

(c) I imagine that this signifies in the year 1694, or thereabout.

(1) I have quoted it above in the remark [A] of the article AUSTRIA (Don Juan et).

(2) Vigneul Marville, *Mélanges d'Hist. & de Littérat.* pag. 126.

[A] He wrote several good books.] The *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre la Langue Latine, & la Langue Grecque*. i. e. "The New Method to learn the Latin and Greek tongues." *Le Jardin des Racines Grecques*. i. e. "The Garden of Greek Roots," (in French verse, with explanatory notes). An Italian Grammar, a Spanish Grammar (both in French). A French Translation of Phœdrus's Fables, and another of some of Terence's Comedies. A Treatise on the *Hemina* (1) (a); the second edition of this treatise, which was published in the year 1688, is much more compleat than the first. In a word all the pieces and observations which are to be met with at the end of the Bible printed at Vitré to serve as an introduction towards understanding the Holy Scripture (2) were written

by our Lancelot. The author from whom I have extracted this asserts that the *Grammaire Generale & Raisonnée* i. e. "The General and Rational Grammar" was invented by Monsieur Arnaud, and composed by Don Claudius Lancelot.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 125.

* (x) *A Treatise on the Hemina*. The *Hemina* was an ancient measure, which contained three quarters of a pint, or about eight ounces of liquor. St. Benedict allowed the Monks of his Order but an *Hemina* of wine a day, and fifteen ounces of bread, as F. Mabilon has shewed in a particular treatise upon this subject. Let us observe here, that Monsieur Furetiere (*) erroneously ascribes the treatise of the *Hemina* mentioned by Monsieur Bayle, to Monsieur Arnaud, whereas it was written by Don Claudius Lancelot. ADD. REM.]

(*) In his French Dictionary under the word *Hemina*.

(a) It is the 13th of the 6th book of Bembus's Letters.

LANDA (CATHERINE) ought to have a place amongst the learned women. She was but very young when she wrote a letter in Latin to Peter Bembus in the year 1526, which is printed amongst those of that writer (a), with the answer he made to it. Hilarion de Coste (b), who erroneously calls her LANDA, observes that she was of Placenza, and that she was very beautiful, and the sister of Count Augustine Landa, and the wife of John Fermo Trivulcio.

(b) Hilar. de Coste, *Eloges des Dames Illust.* tom. 2. pag. 728.

(a) *Mercuré Hist.* for October 1702 pag. 388. See also Lewis du May, *Etat de l'Empire*, Dial. 8. pag. m. 536. and Munster, *Co'm.* pag. 471.

LANDAU, a City of Lower-Alsace near the river Queich on the borders of the Palatinate, at an equal distance from Spires and from the Rhine, was mortgaged for a very small sum to the Bishop of Spires by the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria in the year 1308, but in the year 1511 Maximilian the first redeemed it, and restored it to all its ancient liberties (a). It is one of the ten Cities, which make up what is called the Provostship or Prefecture of Hagenau, and which pretended to hold immediately of the Empire [A], except

(1) Heifs, *Hist. de l'Empire*. Part. 2. pag. 452. of the edition printed at the Hague in the year 1685.

[A] It is one of the ten cities . . . which pretended to hold immediately of the Empire.] Monsieur Heifs will explain this to us. Hagenau, says he (1), "is the first of the cities of Alsace dependent on the Prefecture, of which the Court of Judicature was settled in the same city. After the peace of Munster, the French King, after the example of his predecessors the Landgraves of Alsace, continued to keep that Provincial Council there, at which his Grand Bailif or Lieutenant presided. But as that city has been entirely ruined in the last war, the Most Christian King removed that Council to Brisac. That city, as well as the other nine, acknowledged at that time the King for their Protector, on the same terms upon which they had acknowledged the Emperor and Princes of Austria as such, without renouncing their right of holding immediately of the Empire. But as they have been convinced of the French King's right to a sovereignty over them, they have given up that pretension of holding immediately of the Empire, and have submitted entirely to his Most Christian Majesty. The other nine cities are Colmar, Schlestadt, Weiffembourg, Landau, Oberkheim, Kaiserberg, Munster in the valley of St. Gregory, Rosheim, and Turcheim." These cities had not yet submitted to the yoke in the year 1673; far from it; do but read the following words of the Duke of Navailles. As I designed to go to Brisac, I took Colmar in my way. I found that the Inhabitants there, though in the neighbourhood of so strong a city as Brisac, affected a great independency. Their city was stored with all sorts of ammunition and provisions, and they seemed to be very little inclined to receive and obey the King's commands. They took not the least care to shew me that respect which they ought to have for persons to whom the King commits his authority. There were besides in that country Schlestadt, Hagenau, and four other small Imperial towns: they were all very

much united together, and had at all times their Deputies at the Diet of the Empire, and were continually endeavouring to take such liberties as were contrary to the allegiance they owed the King. When I was arrived at Brisac, these seven cities, which pretended to be Imperial, sent Deputies to me. Those of Colmar were at the head of the Deputation, and spoke for the rest. They harangued me after the same manner as they had done my predecessors. It seemed to me that they used some expressions, which did not sufficiently shew the submission they owed the King, styling him only their Protector: I answered them, that he had a more considerable title with regard to them, that he was their guardian, and that it was his right to rule and govern them. I spoke so stoutly to them, that the Intendant, who was present, told me before their faces, Sir, if your predecessors had taught them their duty as you do, the King would have had more power in this country, and these Gentlemen would not spend so much money in keeping Deputies at the Diet. These Deputies were very much amazed, and fell on their knees before me. I thought it was proper to mortify them a little, and therefore I sent the next day five hundred horse to take away some cattle at the very gates of their cities. This opened their eyes, and shewed them how much they were mistaken in pretending to be independent of France. They came a second time to speak to me, but I would not give them audience, and sent them word that I was obliged to go to Philipsburg (2). He told the King soon after, that there was a favourable opportunity to bring Colmar, and the other cities that pretended to be Imperial, to that condition, in which they ought to be (3). The King soon followed that advice; for he went into Alsace, and secured Colmar and Schlestadt (4). The other cities surrendered also to him on a bare summons, upon this pretence, that the King as Grand Bailiff of Hagenau had a right to those

(2) *Mémoires du Duc de Navailles*, pag. 268, &c. under the year 1673. The Amsterdam edition, printed in the year 1701.

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 273.

(4) *Mercuré Hollandois*, for the year 1673, pag. 479.

(b) Du Val, *Descrip. de l'Allemagne*, pag. 159.

(c) See the remark [A].

(d) Du Val, *Acquisitions de la France*, pag. 38.

(e) *Memoires de Puysegur*, pag. 113, 122. of the Dutch edition, under the year 1635, erroneously printed, for it should be 1634.

except in civil and criminal matters, which are brought before the Provost of Hagenau (b). They were yielded to France by the treaty of peace concluded at Munster, with this condition, that they should belong to the French King after the same manner as they had belonged to the Emperor; but this restriction wore insensibly out of date (c). It has been observed by some writer, that the Citizens of Landaw had not been cavillers, and that they kept their City in a flourishing condition, at a time when the others were plundered (d). This signifies, I think, that during the long war, which ended by the peace of Munster, and at other times like that, they were not obstinately resolved unseasonably to resist the strongest party. They gave an instance of this submissive temper in the year 1634, as may be seen in Puysegur's *Memoirs* (e). Another writer (f) observes, that they have not been subject to domestic broils, and that they endeavoured constantly not to exasperate the neighbouring Princes in words or deeds, and that in the year 1552 the troops of Henry II King of France, and those of Albert of Brandenburg did them a great deal of damage. The Sieur du Val asserts that *the wine of Landaw is the best Rhenish wine that can be drunk* (g). This city was but indifferently strong at the time of the peace of Ryfwick in the year 1697, but it has been fortified since with all the care imaginable: the famous Monsieur du Vauban exerted all his skill in it. The Imperialists, under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden blockaded it in April 1702, and opened the trenches the 17th of June following. The city was surrendered to them by a capitulation September the 10th. The King of the Romans arrived at the camp July the 17th [B]. What the News-writers published concerning this siege will give us an opportunity

(f) Munst. *Cof-mogr.* pag. 472.

(g) Du Val, *Acquisitions de la France*, pag. 38.

(5) *Ibid.*

those cities, and had secured them to prevent the Imperialists from taking an advantage of two such considerable places as these two cities were (5).

I remember that men reasoned very much on the surrendering these cities, and that some persons maintained, it was a folly to pretend that they could preserve their liberties. It was not impossible for them, added they, to be at once in the form of a commonwealth, and under the guardianship of the Landgrave of Alsace as long as this Landgrave was a German. But as soon as a King of France became Landgrave of Alsace, these cities must of necessity fall sooner or later under his absolute sovereignty. This was agreeable to the constant order of political affairs, and the natural course of human things. There was a kind of inconsistency between the nature of a free city, and a city which acknowledged for its Protector or Guardian, a King, who might be at war with the Emperor and with the Empire. Have clients a right to declare against their patrons? If they cannot do it lawfully, the Prefecture of Hagenau must side with France in such wars. Or if it could not do it justly, being a member of the Empire, it must either declare against France, or ask to stand neuter. In the former case the King of France had as much right to conquer Colmar, and the other Imperial cities of Alsace, as he had to take the four forest-towns. In the latter case, it was to be examined, whether the cities of the Prefecture of Hagenau did really desire to stand neuter, or whether they only pretended it with a design to secure themselves till such time as they could surrender to the Emperor's troops. If they demanded a neutrality with such a view only, they were to expect to be treated as a secret enemy, to whom it is not prudent to give time to shew his ill designs. But in case they had sincerely desired to stand neuter, it was still to be examined whether they could defend themselves against the German troops, that would have forced them to admit garrisons. It is plain that they were not strong enough to maintain themselves in a state of neutrality. It was therefore but proper that France should not suffer the Germans to have arsenals and store-houses there, especially considering that the Spaniards were masters of the French-Comté. The Protector and Guardian was under a necessity to prosecute his right, that his pupils might not declare against him. If as a Protector and Guardian he was under an obligation to defend those cities of Alsace against any enemy, who might do them some injury, he had also a right to prevent them from taking up arms against him. How absurd would it be, if a Monarch was obliged to protect a State, which should think it his duty to declare war against him? This is inconsistent with reciprocal obligations; and consequently they who gave up the Imperial cities of Alsace to the protection of France, did thereby unavoidably give room

to absolute dominion. It began even then to be spread abroad that it is impossible a city should continue to be Imperial and be at the same time under the protection of France; and if the Emperor had made arsenals and store-houses of Colmar and Schlestadt, to make afterwards an inroad from thence into France as far as Dijon and Lyons, the French had not been commended for suffering those cities to enjoy their privileges; but they would have been ridiculed for their imprudence and simplicity.

Men argued almost after the same manner, when the French seized upon Straßburg, a city which never would or could stand neuter, and which had yielded its bridge to the German armies *toties quoties* whenever it was demanded. This nettled the French too much to suffer it long. Either Straßburg must have sincerely desired a neutrality, and kept it faithfully, or that city must have been in a condition to resist those that should attempt to force it to take part with them. Now neither of these two things was true, said these reasoners. I believe that they who teach the law of nations in the Universities, could have refuted them very easily.

[B] *The King of the Romans arrived at the camp July the 27th.* The News-writers of his Party have asserted, that Count de Melac Governor of Landaw sent him the same Day a trumpeter, to pay his respects to him, and to desire him to let him know, where he would fix his Quarters, that the Garrison might not shoot that way. But the undaunted Monarch having given him thanks for his civility, sent him word at the same time, that he might order the garrison to shoot which way he pleased; for that his quarters were every where (6). An officer of the garrison relates this piece of news thus (7). "Monsieur de Melac sent a trumpeter July the 31st, at eight a clock in the morning to the Enemy's camp . . . to ask the Prince of Baden where the King's quarters were. The prince gave the King of the Romans notice of it, who answered, 'That his quarters were at Inphling, that he thanked him for the sword which he sent back to him (8), and that he might shoot every where, serving his King as he had done till then.'" It is certain that Monsieur de Melac did only what has been long since practised with regard to Monarchs, who are present at a Siege. The beleagued Governor pays them that compliment. As for the King of the Romans's answer, we have two observations to make here; the one is, that the accounts of the two parties do not differ in the main; the second, that such an answer being always noble, it is so chiefly the first time it is made. For when a King knows that another made it, he thinks himself in honour bound to imitate him, and even to go beyond him, if it be possible. It is no longer a matter of choice, but a kind of necessity. I have heard some persons say, that the late King William III. made that answer, when

(6) *Mercur* Hist. for August 1702, p. 159.

(7) *Journal du Siege de Landaw*, pag. 112, 113. of the Paris edition, 1702.

(8) It was that of an officer who had been taken prisoner in a Sally of the besiegers. *Ibid.* pag. 113.

portunity to offer some remarks [C], without hoping however that they will be any ways serviceable to them, nor proper to cure that deceitful credulity, which they know so well how to inspire their readers with. They could not fail to reflect on the long time which this

when the Governor of a place besieged sent him the same compliment: but I know perfectly well that he never besieged any place, of which the Governor owned his Title of King: and after all, he would not be the first Author of that answer; for not to mention those, who may have used it before the year 1667, there is a proof in print that it was made that year at the siege of Lisle in Flanders. Read the following passage. *As soon as Count de Brouay Governor of the place had notice that his Majesty (9) was arrived at the camp, he judged that there was no longer room to think the siege was only a feint, and made the Citizens of Lisle take the oath of Allegiance, and about ten thousand of them swore that they would all perish sooner than surrender. He sent afterwards a compliment to his Majesty, desiring him to choose any of the most beautiful boues at a league's distance from Lisle, and offering him all that he might have occasion for from the City during the siege; he also asked him where he would fix his quarters, that he might give orders not to fire that way. But he added, that he desired his Majesty not to take it amiss, if he defended the place with the utmost vigour, for the service of his master the Catholick King. His Majesty having given Count de Brouay thanks for his compliment, sent him no other answer, but that his quarters were throughout his whole camp, and that the more the Governor's defence was stout and obstinate to prevent this conquest, the more glorious would the success of it be to his Majesty (10).*

(9) That is to say Lewis XIV.

(10) Dalincourt, *la Campagne Royales années 1667 and 1668*, pag. 78, 79. of the Paris edition, 1668.

(11) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 296.

(12) Compare this with what has been observed in the remark [P] of the article AGRIPPA (Henry Cornelius) num. 1.

(13) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 295, 296.

(14) *Mercur Galant*, for September 1702, pag. 338.

(15) *Ibid.* pag. 340.

The King of the Romans gained a great reputation during this long siege; this first campaign was very glorious to him. Monsieur de Melac, who saw him the eleventh of September, was very much honoured and commended by him (11). He supped the same day with Prince Lewis of Baden, who loaded him with kindness, and told him that it was imagined in the Imperial Army, that he corresponded with Spirits (12); to which Monsieur de Melac replied, that "the Prince corresponded with them as much as he, but that that correspondence was better than his, since the Spirits had served the Prince better than they served him (13)."

[C] *What the News-writers published concerning this siege, will give us an opportunity to offer some remarks.*

Those of France asserted continually, that it did not in the least go forward, that the garrison repulsed all the assaults, and killed a numberless multitude of Germans. The News-writers on the other side asserted on the contrary, that the besiegers carried without much difficulty every thing they attacked, that the Imperialists lost very few men, that the mines of the besieged were always countermined; or if they were not, the enemy set fire to them so untimely, that they caused no damage at all. The Author of the *Mercur Galant* argued very much about the consequences, with which the conquest of that place might be attended. He pretended that it cost the Emperor at least five or six millions (14), and that the number of soldiers who perished before Landau amounted at least to fifteen thousand men (15). *I believe*, adds he, *that if I were to calculate the loss, which the Germans themselves confess in the Journals they are used to publish, I should find it amount to a much greater number, though these Journals do not contain a faithful account.* I do not know what Journals of the Germans he means, but I can hardly believe that he ever saw any others, but those which they sent to the News-writers in Holland, and which are printed in the *Lettres Historiques* and in the *Mercur Politique* of the Hague. Now it does not appear from these Journals that the Germans had above 800 men killed from the beginning of the siege till the beginning of September. We have not seen in those books a particular account of what happened the following Days; but we may judge that it could not mention but about forty men killed. The number of the wounded is incomparably greater, according to the same Journals; and yet since the Capitulation it has been asserted in some Dutch news-papers, that the number of the wounded was but double the number of those who were killed. The latter amounted to seven hundred or a few more, and the former (most of whom

were recovered) to fourteen hundred or a few more. It is not an easy matter to reconcile this with what had been asserted in the same news-papers, that for want of Infantry the Germans had been obliged to make use of the Dragoons, and that as most of them, who were wounded, died, they were persuaded that the besieged made use of a particular kind of bullets; but the question is not here, how the News-writers may be made consistent with themselves; the thing would be almost as difficult as to reconcile together the News-writers of two different parties. The question is only, whether or not the great loss mentioned by Monsieur de Vitzé be acknowledged in the Journals published by the besiegers. Let us observe by the by, that a prisoner, taken by the garrison of Landau July the 31st, asserted that the Germans had lost very near two thousand five hundred men, and that it was a general opinion amongst them, that the bullets of the besieged were all poisoned because none of those who had been wounded, recovered (16). The other news which he told are so false, that one ought to give but little credit to his testimony with regard to the loss of the Germans.

Monsieur le Noble asserts, that they lost at this siege 4 Princes, 286 officers, and twelve thousand Soldiers, or thereabout (17). I believe that with regard to the four Princes, he has been misled by the following passage. "The young Prince of Bareith died the first of this month, of the wound he received before Landau at the attack which was made in the night between the 16th and 17th of August. This is the fourth Prince, whom the war has carried off in a very little time; and I am to acquaint you with the death of them all in this single month (18)." If Monsieur le Noble had been a little more attentive, he would easily have known that the four Princes, mentioned here, are the Duke of Holstein, the Prince of Commerci, the Count of Soissons, and the Prince of Bareith. But the first of them lost his life in Poland, and the second in Italy; and the fourth recovered of his wounds, as Mon. le Noble might have learnt from the retraction of the very Author, whom I suppose he had misunderstood (19). Judge whether a writer, who commits such a gross blunder with regard to the number of Princes killed at a siege, deserves to be credited in what he asserts concerning the number of the officers and soldiers who perished at that siege.

One cannot sufficiently wonder at the ignorance which the Authors of the *Paris Gazette* and of the *Mercur Galant* betrayed with regard to the condition of the siege (20). They who credited their accounts would have sworn that the affairs of the besiegers were not more forward in the beginning of September, than they had been in the beginning of July, and that they were even in a worse condition by that terrible slaughter, which the besieged had made the 25th, 26th and 27th of August, by repelling the assaults of the Germans. These three assaults are chimerical. We meet with the following words in a *Mercur Galant* dated August the 14th (21). *It is very strange, that after a siege that has already lasted two months and an half, a large army should not yet have taken any of the outworks of Landau.* This Author might still have spoke thus a month after, if he had argued from his own accounts, and of those of the *Paris Gazette*, in which no progress of the besieged had been taken notice of since the 14th of August mentioned above. But what is more surprizing still, is, that the Author of the *Paris Gazette* continued to talk after the same rate the 16th of September, on which day it was known at Paris that Landau had surrendered; so that this Writer prepared his reader infinitely more for hearing that the siege was raised, than for the news of the place having capitulated. It may be asked hereupon, did these publick News-writers know how things went before Landau, or did they not know it? If they imagined things were as they published them, their ignorance was very gross and inexcusable; for in the very beginning of September there were private persons in the remote provinces, who

(16) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, published by the author of the *Mercur Galant*, pag. 121, 122.

(17) Le Noble, *Entretiens Politiques*, for Nov. 1702, pag. 17.

(18) *Lettres Hist.* for Sept. 1702, pag. 364.

(19) See the *Lettres Hist.* for October 1702, pag. 431.

(20) Observe that I only give an account of the reflections which I heard several persons make, and that I do not pretend to answer for nor to vindicate their uncivil expressions.

(21) *Mercur Galant* for July 1702, pag. 575. Observe that Landau was not surrounded with troops but about the 15th of June.

this siege lasted [D]. The 4th article of the capitulation was thought to be very extraordinary,

who knew very well that Landaw could not hold out at most till the tenth of the same month. There were Letters from them in Holland, in which this piece of news was positively told. Would it not be a shame for a publick News-writer to be more unacquainted with the condition of a siege than a mere merchant in a remote province? Would it not be a kind of disgrace for them to know nothing but from the accounts of deserters, men who endeavour only to make themselves acceptable by telling pleasing falsties, that they may be well received? If these News-writers were acquainted with all that passed at Landaw, their dishonesty is prodigious and absolutely inexcusable. Why did they thus misrepresent things? Were they afraid lest a true account might raise a rebellion? This fear, which might perhaps be well grounded in other countries, would be ridiculous in that in which they wrote. One does not know therefore how to account for the perplexity in which these writers intangle themselves, by the necessity they are under to find out some method to unravel the whole mystery, when at last they must come to tell the unexpected news of a capitulation. They had been loaded with such heavy censures (22) on account of the taking of Namur in the year 1695, that it is a wonder this did not render them more cautious. I imagine that the siege of important places will always be a dangerous stumbling block in the News-writers ways (23): I wish they would consider seriously that the taking of a Town is not liable to historical Pyrrhonism, as the gaining of a battle is (24); and that it is therefore much better to prepare the readers by degrees to hear the news of the taking of a city, than to surprize them at once with it, when they expect it the least. The indignation they have at being imposed upon exasperates their grief occasioned by a capitulation told suddenly, and which disappoints all the hopes they had conceived: I do not mention the outrageous raileries to which News-writers expose themselves, when they are at last forced to confess the surrender of a place, before which they had supposed that the enemies spent their time in vain, without suffering them to make the least progress. They expose themselves to be ridiculed by the News-writers of the opposite party (25).

Here follows another particular, which is very surprising. They did not know at the Elector of Bavaria's Court, what passed before Landaw, and this gives us room to think that Monsieur de Catinat was not better acquainted with it. The garrison beat a parley September the 9th (26), it was reduced to the last extremities, and even so soon as the 4th of September the Governor had represented to the council of war that it was high time to capitulate (27). It is asserted (28) that about the 22d of August he had sent a man (29), to Marshal de Catinat, to give him notice that he could not hold out above a week. And yet the French Envoy at the Duke of Bavaria's court imagined September the 9th, that the seizing upon the city of Ulm would oblige the enemy to raise the siege of Landaw. His Electoral Highness, this the Envoy wrote that very day (30), does not question but this will make the enemy give up the siege of Landaw . . . when his Troops will be joynd with those of France, we shall cut out so much and such dangerous work for the King of the Romans and for Prince Lewis of Baden in those countries, that they will not think Landaw a place important enough, to detain them on the other side of the Rhine. The Elector of Bavaria wrote to the King of France, "that a person whom he had sent to the Imperial camp before Landaw, brought him word, that this city could hold out a fortnight longer, so that it would still be time enough to relieve it, after Ulm was taken by surprize (31)." If these words may serve either to comfort or excuse the News-writers of Paris, I am glad that I have quoted them.

Some of them, who had been imposed upon by the fabulous accounts that were sent from Alsace, have themselves undeceived the publick they had misled: for here follows what we meet with in a work of the Author of the *Mercurie Galant*. "As for the chimerical stories which have been spread abroad of

the pretended sallies of the garrison, in which it was asserted that we (the French) had killed two or three thousand men, and of the desperate assaults made by the besiegers with thousands of men, in which assaults their loss was supposed to have been no less considerable; there has not been any such action. The garrison was not strong enough to make such sallies, and the enemy had not made breaches sufficient to venture such assaults. So that the very condition which things were in at that time, is a full answer to those who have told these news, and who gave credit to them, only because they were of too easy a belief. We do not meet with any action that might be stiled a battle, in the Journal you have been reading (32)."

Let us close this remark with another passage from the same Author (33). "It is unquestionably certain, that there will be no peace concluded, but the Emperor will be obliged to surrender this place (34), in case it be not taken again before that time. Whenever the King (of France) was pleased to consent to a peace, this Prince, for the security of the same peace, surrendered all the places he had beyond the Rhine, and it was agreed at the same time that he should keep all the places he was in possession of on this side of the Rhine, and this has been followed as a rule, because the Rhine is a kind of a Barrier." I wonder that the Author who speaks thus, did not know, that by the peace of Nimeguen the French kept Brisac and Friburg, two very important places beyond the Rhine. I might add that by the Peace of Munster they were suffered to keep Philipsburg as well as Brisac. Where then is that rule, which is here mentioned to us?

[D] The News-writers could not fail to reflect on the long time which the siege of Landaw lasted. Let me only transcribe the words of a man, who has a great deal of wit; he will furnish me not only with a commentary on my text, but also with proper additions to the foregoing remark. "This siege is so forward that we expect daily the news of a capitulation; the French reproach us with the slowness of this conquest, but I am apt to think it is a disgrace to them rather than to us. His Highness of Baden judged prudently, that he was to spare his men. With this judicious precaution this wise prince never followed that desperate and killing method, which makes so many brave soldiers perish, and by which all the choicest men of an army are sometimes lost. When Landaw is surrendered, the army on the Upper-Rhine will not have suffered any extraordinary fatigue, and will come out of their trenches, as it were from a camp, still fresh, and in a condition to go upon a new expedition. But since his Highness of Baden did not carry on his enterprize with vigour, it follows from thence that he gave the enemies all the time they could want to relieve the place. Why then did they not stir? Does it not seem as though the Prince of Baden acted with slowness, and without much diligence, on purpose to expose the weakness of France? Was not that General's wary conduct, and slowness, a kind of challenge, by which he defied the French to prevent him from accomplishing his design? It were to be wished for Monsieur de Catinat's reputation, or rather for his master's, that the city had been taken in a few days. The siege lingers, and yet the Marshal, who was to attempt to relieve the place, or to give the enemy a diversion, removes farther back, and entrenches himself, as though the noise of the besieger's guns discouraged him, and he suffers the town to be taken without offering to strike a blow . . . The French are very far from confessing that this long duration of the siege of Landaw is owing to the moderation and prudence of the Prince of Baden. As they are used to value themselves upon every thing, and to make their very losses subservient to the increase of their glory, they pretend that this delay was occasioned only by the stout and vigorous defence of the besieged. If you will credit their Journalist, the besiegers fall before Landaw like the leaves of a tree shaken by an high wind towards

(32) *Journal du Siege de la Ville & du Fort de Landaw*, pag. 318. *Mont. De Vize* is not the author of that *Journal*, but he has added his reflections to it, from page 292. to the end.

(33) *Mercurie Galant*, for Sept. 1702, pag. 346, 347.

(34) That is to say Landaw.

(22) In a pamphlet of 32 pages in 8vo, intitled, *Lettre au Gazetteur de Paris sur le Siege de Namur*, par l'Auteur du Salut de l'Europe.

(23) See the remark [D] of the article MOHAMMED II.

(24) That of Luzara for instance, which was fought August the 15th 1702, and about which the news-writers on both sides contended for the victory, with a great shew of objections and answers, which cannot prove any thing to the disadvantage of the French, but they must prove as much or more to the disadvantage of the Imperialists.

(25) See in the following remark a passage from the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*.

(26) *Journal du Siege de Landaw*, pag. 240.

(27) *Ibid.* pag. 225.

(28) *Mercurie Histor.* September 1702, pag. 317.

(29) That man was taken prisoner by the besiegers.

(30) See the *Lettres Historiques*, for Oct. 1702, pag. 415.

(31) See the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, for October 1702, pag. 413.

extraordinary, since the Governor of Landaw stipulated in it, that the inhabitants should

" towards the end of Autumn ; they lose a thousand men at the attack of one single outwork, which yet they do not carry ; if the next day they make themselves masters of that post, they are driven from it the third day ; you will see, that they will soon talk of raising the siege . . . How can men dare to publish such enormous falsities ? Can one put a greater affront on the publick, than to think it capable of believing such wretched nonsense (35) ?" Thus this man of wit reasons in his *Nouvelles* for the month of August 1702 : let us transcribe also what he offered to the publick the next month.

(35) *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, for August 1702, pag. 179, &c.

(36) *Ibid.* for Sept. 1702, pag. 314.

" The city of Landaw has at last changed its master (36) . . . A bad omen this, with regard to its consequences. And indeed they have taken all possible precautions in France to deceive the people, and to make it be believed that this misfortune would never happen. Never was the forgery of the news-mongers more worked at than on account of the siege of Landaw. If all that has been published of the besiegers were true, there would be nothing left of their army but broken remnants, and nothing could surprize us more than the surrender of that city. The Imperialists exposed themselves to be knocked down without carrying any of the works ; or if they were so lucky as to take one, they were driven from it very soon. These falsities are not very honourable at present, either to Monsieur de Melac, or to his garrison. How came this brave Governor to spoil at once his brave defence ? What panic fear seized upon him and seduced him ? Ought he not to have crowned his courage, and wearied the patience of the Germans ? A good commander never capitulates but in order to prevent a general storming of the place ; and it is pretended that the besieged had hardly lost one man. Now the city is taken, with what seasoning shall this pill be sweetened, that the people may the less taste the bitterness of it (37) ? . . . Let us not imagine, that though the French suffered Landaw to be taken without offering to prevent it, this lessens in the least the glory of this conquest. It can hardly be denied but the besieged made a very stout resistance ; the long time the siege lasted is a proof of it. Nay, if we may believe the French, they surrender'd only because the garrison was too much weakened. His most Christian Majesty is supposed to have said, that if Monsieur de Melac could have been supplied with only fifteen hundred men, the place had been safe. A sad comfort this, which only exasperates the wound ! But how can this be reconciled with the pretended good fortune of the besieged in losing but very few men in every assault ? The garrison must then have been very small at first ; which would be an unpardonable neglect with regard to a fortress of so great importance. Let us compromise the matter ; the vigour has been reciprocal : if the Imperialists have assaulted the town with a great deal of courage and resolution, the French have not answered them with less bravery and stoutness ; this circumstance however must be observed, that as the Prince of Baden wisely resolved to spare his troops ; he went on step by step, being sure to conquer, and bidding defiance to all oppositions (38) ."

(37) *Ibid.* pag. 315.

(38) *Ibid.* pag. 318.

Let us make some remarks upon this author's ingenious reflections, and let us observe in the first place, that considering the situation of affairs then, it had been much more for the common good of his Imperial Majesty and of his allies, that the city of Landaw had been taken after a siege of three weeks only. Prince Lewis of Baden might then have undertaken any expedition, if the French had not been in a condition to disappoint his designs ; whereas the long time which this siege continued gave them an opportunity to take such measures, as made those of the Imperialists miscarry, so that Prince Lewis of Baden could do nothing after the surrendering of Landaw. The only hope of France was that the enemy should spend a long time in this siege ; the Governor of the place received a letter from Monsieur de Catinat August the 10th, in which he

was ordered to hold out as long as was possible, that the enemy might not go upon any other expedition during the remainder of the campaign ; and that this would be the greatest service he could do the King (39). So that the loss of a greater number of soldiers and Officers, which the besiegers might have sustained, by pressing their attacks more vigorously, had been abundantly made up by the other designs, which they might have performed before the end of the campaign.

(39) *Journal du Siege de Landaw*, pag. 140, 141.

I observe in the second place, that our News-writer's thought is very well grounded, when he tells us that it would have been a disgrace for Monsieur de Melac to have behaved himself as he is reported to have done in the accounts published in France. This Governor would have imitated those Poets, who do wonders in the four first acts of a Tragedy, but succeed very ill in the fifth, in which good Poets chiefly exert the whole strength of their genius, and for which they keep their most noble expressions and exalted thoughts (40). It cannot but be denied that all the world was extremely surpris'd at the conclusion of this siege : even they, who were of the besieger's party, imagined that it would be very bloody, and that the last storm would prove fatal to a great many brave Officers. Whereas they heard that it proved the most easy thing in the world, so that men did not know what to think of it, nor how this would be at last accounted for. The News-writers related several things, which are not worth mentioning. The most probable account I have heard is, that the garrison was too weak to venture to stand the last assault. We find in the Diary of that siege, that as early as the 4th of September Monsieur de Melac represented, that there were a great many brave men in the garrison, which it was the King's interest to save ; that they were in want of the most necessary things, as money, remedies, and provisions ; that it was six days since they had had nothing but horse-flesh to make broth for the sick, and that besides this their ammunition had failed them (41). It is related in the same Diary (42), that when the enemies made the last assault, the besieged were retired into the half-moon over the bridge of communication ; which is the reason why the enemies met with very little resistance.

(40) *Ilud te ad extremum & oro & hortor, ut tanquam Poeta boni & aetere industrii silent, sic tu in extrema parte & conclusionem numeris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis.* Cicero, ad Quinct. fratrem, Epist. 1. lib. 1.

(41) *Journal du Siege de Landaw*, pag. 225.

(42) *Ibid.* pag. 238.

Thirdly, Let us consider these words. *The garrison must then have been very small at first ; which would be an unpardonable neglect with regard to a fortress of so great importance* (43). As soon as it was known that the place was surrounded with troops, the News-writers in Holland published, in emulation of one another, that the garrison was very small, and wanted a great many necessaries. I know some persons who blamed these News-writers, for thus lessening the glory of Prince Lewis of Baden. They will make amends for it at a proper time and place, answered other persons ; do not trouble yourself about it. For when the town shall have surrendered, they will be sure to publish a long catalogue of the ammunition and provisions, which the Imperialists will be supposed to have found there. They will not fail to tell you also, that the garrison was very numerous at first, but that most part of it perished by the fire and sword of the Germans, by desertion, by distempers, &c. It is not yet time to confess, that this town is well provided with every thing ; the only business at present is to make the reader hope it will be soon taken.

(43) *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe*, for Sept. 1702, pag. 318.

I have wondered at the silence of the Officer, who drew up the Journal or Diary of this famous siege. He ought to have told us of how many men the garrison consisted, when the place was first invested ; but he does not say one word of it. They who find every thing mysterious, pretend that out of court-flattery he chose rather to lessen the reputation of the garrison, than to reflect in the least on the King's prudence. If he had told us that the place was not well stored with the necessary ammunition and provisions, nor provided with a sufficient garrison, he would have charged the King his master with a prodigious negligence, and greatly extolled the long resistance of the besieged. Now it was much better that the latter should lose a part of the glory they deserved, than that their common Prince should be blamed. This, say some persons, was the true reason of that Officer's silence. Others observe that there was a method to do justice

should be maintained in the exercise of their Religions, and that the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion should be preserved uncorrupted [E].

to both; namely by observing on the one hand, the garrison and ammunition were far from being sufficient, and on the other, that the King might judge without imprudence that they were sufficient, since he had reasons to think that the Elector of Bavaria would declare against the Imperialists soon enough to make their design of taking Landaw miscarry, and such reasons as were proper to satisfy all prudent politicians.

I have read in a News-writer, that when the garrison of Landaw left that place, it was two thousand and two hundred men strong, and that the French report they left but 412 soldiers at that siege (44). If this be true, it consisted at first but of 2612 men, which is a number much too small for the defence of such a fortress.

(44) *Lettres Historiques*, for October 1702, pag. 432.

Let us not omit the following observation of a News-writer at Paris (45). The besiegers "had still a great way to go, and many assaults to make, and they would have had much more still, and had lost a much greater number of men, than they have done . . . had it not been for the treachery of an engineer, who went into their camp, and discovered several mines to them. Thus this engineer's perfidiousness, together with the want of a great many necessaries, are the reasons why the Germans made themselves masters of that place." The News-writers in Holland acknowledged, that the engineer, who deserted from the garrison, did the Imperialists a great deal of service (46); but what they add seems to be groundless, namely that "he was surprised on his return into the city, after he had taken an exact view of the works of the besiegers. The Prince of Baden would have him hanged immediately on a tree without any trial; but this engineer having offered to drain the ditches of the place, and to do other services, if they would save his life, General Thun-

(45) *Mrs. de Vize*, at the end of the *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 307.

gen represented that it would be proper to try whether he could do what he promised, and this advice was approved. The engineer was immediately put in chains, and they sent him word by the hangman of the army, that in case he did not effectually apply himself to perform his promises, he should be hanged at a gallows, which was shewed him (47). It is not in the least probable, that he had any intention to return to Landaw: he knew too well that he should be condemned there to suffer the most disgraceful punishment. We find in the Diary of the siege, that on the 26th of August, "Monsieur de la Roussilliere Captain of the Gates was commanded by Monsieur de Melac to deliver into the hangman's hands Ladoder's (48) commissions, and to see the said Ladoder's picture hung on a gibbet by the hangman, under which picture was this inscription, 'The unworthy engineer Ladoder, a traitor to his King and to his country.' They likewise put up a gibbet in an half-moon of the fort, where he was also hanged in effigy (49)." Monsieur de Melac was so exasperated against him, that when this Governor went to receive Prince Lewis of Baden's hostages for the capitulation, he commanded that if Ladoder should appear, they should fire an hundred musquets at him, notwithstanding the cessation of arms. But the hostages told him, that he had been wounded in the arm the day before (50) by a musquet ball.

(46) *Lettres Historiq.* for Sept. 1702, pag. 355.

(47) *Ibid.* pag. 359.

(48) This is the name of the Engineer who deserted.

(49) *Journal du Siege de Landau*, pag. 204, 205.

(50) *Ibid.* pag. 243.

The News-writer, who observed that the diversion intended by the surprising of Ulm did not prevent the King of the Romans from taking Landaw (51), did not remember the dates; for how could the taking of Landaw be retarded or prevented by the surprising of Ulm, of which the news was not yet known, when Landaw capitulated?

(51) *Mercure Hist.* for Jan. 1703, pag. 6.

[E] The Governor stipulated, that the Inhabitants should be maintained in the exercise of their religions,

and that the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion should be preserved uncorrupted.] This article was not granted but with this restriction, according to the treaties of Munster and Ryfwick. The two parts of this article seem surprising, when it is considered that the King of France who surrenders Landaw, and the Emperor to whom he surrenders it, are both of them Princes who have shewed great zeal for the extirpation of the Protestant religion, and for the propagation of the Roman Catholic. Was it reasonable to require from such an Emperor, that he should maintain the Roman Catholic religion in that city? Was not this a superfluous care? And farther, must his hands be tied up to prevent him from rooting heresy out of that city? He had a right to do it in a conquered town; for this the laws of war allowed him, unless the contrary were stipulated and granted by the articles of the capitulation. If his Imperial Majesty does not labour as effectually to reunite this whole city to the body of the Popish Church, as he has done to reunite it to the body of the Empire, will not the King of France be answerable for it, who has declared himself the Protector of the heretics at Landaw, by procuring a solemn promise that they should never be disturbed in the exercise of their religion (52)? He hoped, say some, that the place would be restored to him by the next treaty of peace. But do they observe, that in order to act consistently with his former conduct, and not to contradict himself, he ought to choose to recover Landaw, all the citizens being Roman Catholics, rather than to recover it with different religions professed in it? And consequently he ought to have given the Imperialists a full liberty to convert all the heretics by such means as they should think proper. If he thought it his duty not to suffer them to enjoy such a liberty, which might have been very prejudicial to the inhabitants who were heretics, in a word, if he designed to promote the advantage of those inhabitants, what is become of his zeal to convert? What irregularity, what inconsistency would this not be in his conduct? But after all, his fears would have been somewhat superfluous; for in the present situation of things, there is no danger that the Emperor would persecute the Protestants of Landaw; their whole party has laid so many obligations on his Imperial Majesty, and it is so much his interest to have a great regard for them, that there is not the least reason to fear that he would introduce the spirit of convertors and persecutors into the conquered places. One cannot therefore guess at the reason of this fourth article of the long capitulation presented to the besiegers.

(52) The author of the *Nouvelles des Cours de l'Europe* urges this very artfully in his month of Sept. 1702, pag. 320, 321.

Some persons, who by pretending to discover hidden mysteries, fall into chimerical notions, venture to assert, that the Court of France stipulated the preservation of the Roman Catholic religion so expressly, with a design to hint that the Catholics of Landaw wanted to have their religion secured to them, considering they were to be under the government of an Emperor, who was intirely devoted to the Protestants. What idle fancies are these?

As for the Roman Catholic religion being preserved uncorrupted, as is demanded by the besieged, I have not yet met with any person who could explain to me what this means. For to pretend that the design was to prevent the introduction of Janensism, or on the contrary the introduction of the superstitious practices, and loose maxims, with which the Jesuits and the Monks infect religion, would be indeed a very whimsical notion. Did they then dread some kind of Samaritanism? Would they provide against I know not what mixture of Lutheran or Calvinistical opinions with the articles determined in the Council of Trent? I understand very well that this is chimerical; but I am at a loss what to determine.

LANDO (HORTENSIO) a Physician born at Milan, lived in the sixteenth Century. He is the author of several works; and took a delight in publishing them under fictitious names. He is thought to be the author of a Dialogue published under the name of Philaethes, against the reputation of Erasmus. This conjecture, in my opinion, is very

very well grounded [A]. He wrote two Dialogues, which have been erroneously ascribed to Cardinal Aleander [B].

[A] *This conjecture, in my opinion, is very well grounded*] I shall perform here a promise, which I made in the remark [C] of the article ERASMUS. Here then follows what is contained in the memoirs which I have quoted there. Herold imagined that a physician born at Placenza, and named Bassiano Lando or Lando, concealed himself under the name of Philaethes. But for my part I think rather that it is Hortensio Lando of Milan, who was also a Physician, and a man of wit. He published several works both in Latin and in Italian, in which he always affected to disguise himself. He took that same name of Philaethes in a dialogue, which he intitled Forciane Questiones, in which he examines the manners and genius of several nations of Italy. It is true that in this last dialogue he calls himself Philaethes; Polytopienfis; whereas in that against Erasmus it is Philaethes Utopienfis, or ex Utopia Civis; which is so far from showing any real difference, that on the contrary it shows that the same Genius produced both the works. He also called himself sometimes Hortensius Tranquillus, of which Simler the Abbreviator and Continuator of Gesner was not aware, since he speaks of Hortensius Tranquillus, and of Hortensius Landus as of two different writers. We have a work of Lando intitled Un Commentario delle piu notabili & mostruose cose d'Italia, i. e. "A treatise of the most remarkable and wonderful things in Italia." in 8vo. It is a diverting work: as he did not prefix his name to it, he supplied this omission by a short advertisement, which is at the end, in which he says, Godi, lettore, il presente Commentario nato del costantissimo cervello di M. O. L. detto per la sua natural mansuetudine il Tranq. i. e. "Reader, peruse this treatise, the product of the most constant brains of M. O. L. who on account of his natural meekness is stiled, Tranq." Who is there but sees that these three letters M. O. L. signify Messer Ortenfio Lando, and Tranq. Tranquillo? After this there is un Catalogo de gli inventori delle cose che si mangiano, e delle bevande ch'oggi si usano. i. e. "A list of the inventors of such things as are fit to be eaten, and of the drinkables which are now a days in use;" at the end of which list or catalogue are the following capital letters, SUISNETROH SUDNAL ROTUA TSE, each separate word of which being read backwards, but in the same order as it stands here, you find, HORTENSIUS LANDUS AUTOR EST. Thus at the end of his Paradoxii (Paradoxes) printed at Venice in 8vo, in the year 1544, SUISNETROH TABEDUL, that is to say, HORTENSIUS LUDIBAT. It is therefore very probable that Hortensio Lando, and not Bassiano, is the author of the dialogue which Herold answered: What confirms me in this opinion is that, Hortensio desirous to prove in his paradoxes, that to be a bastard is no disgrace, quotes the instances of several men of letters, of Peter Lombard, de Giason Maino, of Longolius, of Celio Calcagnini, and of Erasmus, and of this last he speaks thus: O quanti letterati hannoci ancora dati i furtivi abbracciamenti &c. hannoci dato un Erasmo di Roterodamo, e per opera d'un valente Abbate ce lo dettero. i. e. "Oh how many more learned men have these secret embraces produced us, &c. They have pro-

duced us an Erasmus of Rotterdam, and as we are told, by the means of a valiant Abbot."

We must not omit a collection of letters, which he published at Venice *apresso Gabriel Giolito*, in the year 1548, in 12mo. It is intitled, *Lettere di molte valoroze donne, nelle quali chiaramente appare non esser ne di eloquentia ne di dottrina alli huomini inferiori.* i. e. "Letters of several eminent ladies, from which it appears evidently, that they are not inferior to the men, either in eloquence or learning." There is at the end of it a short advertisement (1) of Bartolomæus Pefalossa Rhetus, by which it appears that Hortensio Lando collected these letters into a volume, at the request of Oravianus Raverca, qui ob insignem animi pietatem Terracinae Pontifex designatus est, who for his eminent piety was made Bishop of Terracina (2).

[B] He wrote two dialogues, which have been erroneously ascribed to Cardinal Aleander.] What I am going to observe has been communicated to me by the author of the preceding remark. "The two dialogues, one of which is intitled *Cicero relegatus*, (Cicero banished) and the other *Cicero revocatus*, (Cicero recalled) were not written by Jerome Aleander, but by Hortensio Lando, of Milan, surnamed *Tranquillus*. They are dedicated to Pomponius Trivulzio, and as the inscription of the dedication is thus, *Pomponio Trivulzio H. A. S. D.* Henry Lewis Chastaignier Bishop of Poitiers imagined that the letters H. A. signified *Hieronymus Aleander*. But they were either put there for joke's sake, or perhaps H. A. was put by mistake for H. L. A. that is to say, Hortensius Landus, the author's true name. Simler the continuator of Gesner ascribes these dialogues to *Hortensius Tranquillus Mediolanensis* whom he erroneously distinguishes from Hortensius Landus. This Landus and this Tranquillus are but one and the same writer. He loved to conceal his name, and yet he was glad to be known. *L'Autore della presente opera*, says he under the name of Paulo Mascranico in an advertisement to the reader at the end of his *Paradoxes, il qual fu M. O. L. M.* (*) detto per soprannome il Tranq. i. e. "The author of this present work was master Hortensio Lando, surnamed the peaceable." At the end of his *Commentario d'Italia*, in another advertisement to the reader, under the name of *Nicolo Morra*, he speaks thus: *Godi lettore &c.* (3). At the end of his *Sermoni funebri delle bestie*, he calls himself at length and without any disguise, *Hortensio Lando ditto (†) il Tranquillo*. Now this Lando or Tranquillo owns in his last Paradox the *Cicero relegatus* for his own work. *Non dubito certamente*, says he, *che molti non si habbino da maravigliare che ancora fatto non habbia la pace con M. Tullio, qual gia sono poco meno di dieci anni (‡) chio mandai con suo gran scorno in effiglio.* i. e. "I do not question but a great many persons will wonder, that I have not yet made peace with Tully, who has been now almost ten years banished, which is a great disgrace to him: And a little lower. *Quando scrissi il Dialogo intitolato Cicero relegato.* i. e. *When I wrote the dialogue intitled Cicero banished.*"

(1) It is in Latin.

(2) I am obligated to Mr. Des Maizeaux for these particulars.

(*) That is to say, Messer Ortenfio Lando Lancese.

(3) See the rest in the preceding remark.

(†) After the Dialect of Lombardy for detto.

(‡) The Paradoxes were published at Venice in the year 1544; and the Dialogues of Cicero had been published at Lyons in the year 1534.

(a) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. b. 2. pag. 122. and Alben. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 220. edit. 2. London 1721.

(b) Idem, ibid.

(c) Idem, Fasti Oxon. vol. 1. col. 249.

(1) Alben. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 220.

(d) Idem, ibid. col. 257.

(e) Idem, Alben. Oxon. ubi supra.

(f) Idem, ibid.

(g) Idem, Fasti Oxon. vol. 2. col. 249.

LANGBAINE (GERARD), a learned English writer in the seventeenth Century, was son of Mr. William Langbaine, and born at Barton-Kirke in Westmorland (a) in the year 1608 [A], and educated at the Free-school at Blencow in Cumberland. He became a Student in Queen's College in Oxford under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Wetherall in the beginning of the year 1626, where he was entered a poor serving child (b). July the 24th 1630 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c); and June the 27th 1633 that of Master of Arts (d). He was afterwards chosen Fellow of his College (e). In 1644 he was unanimously elected Keeper of the Archives of the University; and in the latter end of the year following Provost of his College (f). June the 22d 1646 he was created Doctor of Divinity (g). His writings shew him to have been a man of most extensive learning [B]. He was highly esteemed by Archbishop Usher, Selden,

[A] Born... in the year 1608.] Mr. Wood tells us (1), that he was 18 years old when he became a student of Queen's College in Oxford in 1626.

[B] His writings shew him to have been a man of most extensive learning.] What he published are as follow. I. *Longinus de grandis Eloquentia seu sublimi*

and other great men of that age. He died February the 10th 1657, and was interred about the middle of the Inner Chapel of Queen's College, having a little before settled twenty four pounds *per ann.* on a Free-school at the place of his nativity; towards the purchasing

mi dicendi genere à Græco Latine redditus, & Notis illustratus. Oxford 1636 and 1638 in 8vo. II. *Brief Discourse relating to the times of Edward VI. Or, the state of the times, as they stood in the reign of King Edward VI.* By way of Preface to a book, intitled, *The true subject to the rebel: or, the Hurt of sedition, &c.* written by Sir John Cheek. Oxford 1641 in 4to. To this Dr. Langbaine prefixed the life of Sir John Cheek. III. *Episcopal Inheritance: or, a Reply to the bumble examination of a printed abstract; or the answers to nine Reasons of the house of Commons against the votes of Bishops in Parliament.* Oxford 1641 in 4to. To which is added *A determination of the late learned Bishop of Salisbury (Davenant) Englished.* These two pieces were reprinted at London in 1680. IV. *A Review of the Covenant: wherein the Original, Grounds, Means, Matter, and Ends of it are examined; and out of the principles of the Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, and Ordinances of the prime Covenanters, or the firmer grounds of Scripture, Law, and Reason, disproved.* Printed in 1644. It was reprinted at London 1661 in 4to to which edition is prefixed an Advertisement to the reader; in which it is said, "that this treatise being composed by our author in the heat of our late Civil Commotions, when the pen was no less than the sword, and each of them so furiously contended for victory over the adverse party, his prudence would not then suffer him publickly to own it, as for other reasons, so perhaps because of some harsh expressions against the framers of this covenant, which his zeal to his Majesty's righteous cause did against his moderate Genius prompt him to. But had it not by some sinister accident miscarried in its first birth, it might in all probability have proved an effectual means to compose those unhappy differences, which had fallen out amongst us, at least to withdraw such, as had not lost their judgment with their Loyalty, from a cause, whose foundation must needs therein have appeared so rotten. The suppression therefore of so useful a piece is to be looked upon as no small part of the public calamity of those times, wherein it was written, and its loss must have been prejudicial to ours, wherein, though we have seen the covenant reduced to ashes, yet even those ashes may be fruitful of issue, no less monstrous than its Parent." This treatise contains 13 chapters. Chapter the first: *By what means the Covenanters were reduced to the necessity of entering into this combination, confessed to be their last refuge.* Chapter the second: *The grounds of the Covenant, and false assertions laid down in the preface to it, disproved.* Chapter the third: *The unlawfulness of the Covenant in respect of the cause efficient, as made by subjects against the will of their superior in such things as necessarily require his consent.* Chapter the fourth: *The matter of the Covenant examined; and proved, first, to be against truth.* Chapter the fifth: *That the Covenant by reason of the many ambiguities in it, especially this, who shall be the authentic interpreter of it, cannot be sworn in judgment.* Chapter the sixth: *That the performance of sundry clauses in the Covenant cannot be without great inconvenience or injustice.* Chapter the seventh: *That many things vowed in the Covenant are not possible to be fulfilled.* Chapter the eighth: *That the very taking the Covenant and other avowed actions of the Covenanters are in fact contradictory to the formal words of their oath.* Chapter the ninth: *That many particulars vowed in the Covenant, and intended by the covenanters, are simply and absolutely unlawful.* Chapter the tenth: *That the Covenant is repugnant to those general ends, for which it is pretended to be taken.* Chapter the eleventh: *That the particular ends of the several articles are likewise inconsistent with the matter of them.* Chapter the twelfth: *The true end of framing and enjoying this Covenant, The bringing in of the Scots, absolutely unlawful.* Chapter the thirteenth: *From these premises the Covenant is concluded unlawful in respect of the form.* V. *Answer of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the*

University of Oxford, to the petition, articles of grievance, and reasons of the City of Oxford: presented to the committee for regulating the University of Oxford 24 July 1649. Oxford 1649 in six sheets in 4to. Reprinted there again in 1678, and likewise a book intitled, *A defence of the Rights and Privileges of the University of Oxford, &c.* published by James Harrington, then Bachelor (soon after Master) of Arts, and Student of Christ Church, at Oxford 1690, in 4to. VI. *Quæstiones pro more solenni in Vesperis propositæ ann. 1651.* Oxford 1658, in 4to. Published by Mr. Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bp. of Lincoln, among several little works of learned men. VII. *Platonicorum aliquot, qui etiamnum supersunt, Authorum, Græcorum imprimis, mox & Latinorum, syllabus alphabeticus.* Oxford 1667, in 8vo. It was drawn up by our Author at the desire of Archbishop Usher, but left imperfect; which being found among his papers, was, with some few alterations (where there was found good reason of so doing) placed at the end of Alcini, in *Platonicam Philosophiam Introductio*, published by Dr. John Fell Dean of Christ Church. VIII. There is also ascribed to our Author, *A view of the New Dictionary, and a vindication of the ancient Liturgy of the Church of England: in answer to the reasons pretended in the Ordinance and Preface, for the abolishing the one, and establishing the other.* Oxford 1645 in 4to. pagg. 112. Dr. Langbaine also published, 1. *The Foundation of the University of Oxford, with a Catalogue of the principal Founders and special Benefactors of all the Colleges, and total number of Students, &c.* London 1651, in three sheets in 4to. mostly taken from the Tables of John Scot of Cambridge, printed in 1622. 2. *The Foundation of the University of Cambridge, with a Catalogue, &c.* printed with the former Catalogue in three sheets, and taken from Mr. Scot's Tables. He likewise laboured very much in finishing Archbishop Usher's Book, entitled, *Chronologia Sacra*, but died when he had almost brought it to an end. Mr. Thomas Barlow completed it. He translated into Latin, *Reasons of the present judgment of the University concerning the solemn League and Covenant*, and assisted Dr. Robert Sanderson and Dr. Richard Zouch in the drawing up of those *Reasons*. He translated into English *A Review of the Council of Trent, written in French by a learned Roman Catholic*, Oxford 1638, in fol. wherein is represented the dissent of the Gallican Church from several conclusions of the Council. He left behind him 13 quartos and 8 octavos in manuscript, with innumerable collections in loose papers, all written with his own hand, collected chiefly from ancient manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, &c. He had also made several Catalogues of manuscripts in various libraries, and of printed books likewise, in order, as was supposed, for an universal Catalogue in all kinds of learning. Dr. Fuller tells us (2), that he took a great deal of pains in the continuation of Brian Twyne's *Antiq. Academ. Oxon.* and that he was intent upon it, when he died. But Mr. Wood observes (3), that he cannot find any ground for this assertion; and that Dr. Thomas Barlow and Dr. Lamplugh, who looked over his library after his death, assured him, that they saw nothing done towards such a design. Dr. Langbaine greatly assisted Dr. Arthur Duck in composing his book *De usu & autoritate Juris Civilis Romanorum in Dominio Principum Christianorum*, printed at London 1653 in 8vo. In the *Collection of three hundred Letters written between Archbishop Usher and most of the eminentest persons for piety and learning in his time both in England and beyond the seas*, published by Dr. Richard Farr at London 1686 in fol. we have several letters of our Author to that Prelate. In one dated from Queen's College, February 9th 1647. he writes thus: "For myself, I cannot tell what account to make of my present employment; I have many Irons in the Fire, but of no great consequence. I do not know how soon I shall be called to give up, and am therefore putting my house in order; digesting the confused notes and papers left me by several pre-

(2) Worthies of England, in Cumberland. See likewise David Lloyd's Memoirs, pag. 518.
(3) *Atten. Oxon.* vol. 2. col. 221.

(b) Idem, Atb. Omon. ubi supra.

purchasing of which he received twenty pounds from a certain Doctor of Oxford, who desired to have his name concealed (b). He had a son, GERARD, who was born in the parish of St. Peter in the East in the City of Oxford, July the 15th 1656, educated in

decessors both in the Univerfity and College, which I purpose to leave in a better method than I found them. At Mr. Patrick Young's request I have undertaken the collation of Constantine's Geoponics with two manuscripts in our publick library, upon which I am forced to bestow some vacant hours. In our College I am ex officio to moderate Divinity-disputations once a week. My honoured friend Dr. Duck has given me occasion to make some inquiry after the law. And the opportunity of an ingenious young man come lately from Paris, who has put up a private course of Anatomy, has prevailed with me to engage myself for his Auditor and Spectator upon three days a week, four hours each time. But this I do ut explorator, non ut transfuga. For though I am not sollicitous to engage myself in that great and weighty calling of the ministry after this new way; yet I would be loth to be λιπολόγητος, as to divinity. Though I am very insufficient to make a Master-builder, yet I could help to bring in materials from that publick store in our library, to which I could willingly consecrate the remainder of my days, and count it no loss to be deprived of all other Accommodations, so I might be permitted to enjoy the liberty of my conscience and study in that place. But if there be such a price set upon the latter, as the former, as I cannot reach without pawning the former, I am resolved, the Lord's will be done." Eleven other letters of our Author to Mr. Selden are published by Mr. Thomas Hearne in the first part of his Appendix to Leland's Collectanea, Vol. V. p. 270 and 282 & seqq. The first is dated at Queen's College, March 20th 1647. In one dated November 17th 1651. he has the following passage: "In pursuance of those injunctions (for such to me are all, which you call requests) which your last of the 6th instant laid upon me, I have made search into such Greek manuscripts, as our publick library affords of the First Epistle of St. John, which are not many. Of these latter we have only three copies, and one of them defective at the end, and so wanting some of the Canonical Epistles. The other two read that place, chap. 5. thus: Οτι τις ειςιν οι μαρτυροεις εν τη γη, το πνιυμα, και το υδωρ, και το αιμα, και υτας οι τρεις εν ειςι without any vestigium of that, which usually passeth for the 7th verse. You know what Beza has noted upon the place; to which I may add, that in the interlineary of Raphelengius in 8vo. 1612, those words, εις το εν ειςι, make the close of the 7th verse, and are totally wanting as in the 8th, with which agrees the Geneva edition in 4to. 1620. But I suppose it was not to your purpose to inquire after the varieties of editions, but manuscripts, and whether you meant only Greek and Latin too, I cannot tell; and therefore do yet forbear to trouble you with the several Lections in our Latin Copyes, some having nothing of the 7th verse, some putting it in the margin, some placing it after what we ordinarily account for the eighth, and those that have both varying diversly; which, if it may be usefull to you any way, I shall upon the first notice, more methodically digest, and more particularly certify." In another dated March 16th 1651 he has this passage. For myself, I have engaged a matter of a score of our ablest men in that kind to undertake a thorough survey of our publick library, intending to make a perfect catalogue of all the books according to their severall subjects in severall kinds; and when that's done, to incorporate in it all the authors in any of our private College libraries, which are wanting in the publick, so as he that desires to know, may see, at one view, what we have upon any subject. Dr. James made some beginning in this kind; but none yet has ventured either to perfect his, or begin a new. In another dated August 22d. 1653. he writes thus: "Upon occasion of the businesse of tythes now under consideration, some, whom it more nearly concerns, have been pleased to enquire of me, what might be said, as to the civil right

of them; to whom I was not able to give any better directions than by sending them to your History. Happily it may seem strange to them, yet I am not out of hopes, but that work (like Pelias' Hafta) which was looked upon as a piece, that struck deepest against the divine, will afford the strongest arguments for the civil right; and if that be made the issue, I do not despair of the cause. . . . It is a mere difficulty to me to imagine, what argument (as the law now stands) can be brought against the ministers title and propriety, than for it; but of this we shall hear (I doubt not) soon enough." In another dated September 19th 1653. he writes thus: "Touching the abolition or continuance of the judiciall law either to the Jews or Christians, I do not remember to have seen any peculiar tract. . . . With submission to your judgment, I should think these two propositions no paradoxes: 1. That the judiciall law of Moses, as such, (abstracting from what in it is of the law of nature and Nations, &c.) was never binding to Christians, as Christians. 2. That to the Jews, as Jews, it never ceased to be so, save only by accident, as countermanded by the civil fancies of those Princes and States, in whose dominions their lot of residence has fallen, since their final dispersion; with what variety and temperament, both in the Roman empire and other nations, no man knows better than yourselfe. I find in St. Austin (Epistola 49) out of Porphyry, of their law in general affirm'd: Procepit in fines Italos post Caium Casarem, aut certe illo imperante. Those severall laws in both Codes concerning sometimes the restraint, sometimes the toleration of it, I need not mention. For matter of fact, I know not, whether it be worth the while to take notice of that passage in Theodorus (or rather Diodorus) Tarfenus (apud Photium in Bibl. Cod. 223. ex Lib. 6. de Fato) who gives this testimony of the Jewish nation, that as formerly, so since their universall dispersion till that time (about 400 years after Christ) they never apostatized from their antient laws. And tho' that were a time, when the Jews (if ever) were in most flagrant favour with the Emperors; yet that the Christians of those days did not conceive themselves oblig'd by the Jewish judicialls, may be collected from that return of Basil to (as I suppose) the same Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, touching the case of a man's marrying the sister of his deceased wife (Basil. Ep. 187. & vid. Balsamon in eandem) where he waves the authority of the Mosaical law with οσα ε νόμος λεγει, τοις εν τη νεμω λεγει, &c. We have in our public library amongst the Greek MSS. given by Sir Thomas Roe, a great volume containing, inter alia, several Collections of Laws both Civil and Ecclesiastical, many of those already extant in the Basilica and Jus Græco-Romanum, with others (for ought I know) not yet in print: in which book betwixt some novels of Basilus and some others of Leo Imp. comes in a piece of about six leaves in quantity with this title: Έκλογή εν επιτομή τῶ παρα τῷ Θεῷ δια Μωυσίως δαδένῳ νόμῳ τοῖς Ἰσραηλῖταις. The first title thus: Περὶ κρίματῶν καὶ δικαιουσύνῃς ἐκ τῆς Ἐξοδῆ καὶ κ.κ. The beginning runs thus: Οὐ παραλήθη ἄκοη ματαίαν, εὐ συγκάθηση μετὰ τῷ ἁγιῷ γυνιάζ μαρτυρῶν ἀδικῶ &c. In the margin over-right against the title, there is this note in the rubrick, of the same hand with the rest, τῶς συμβάλλουσι ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς νομοθετημένοις; by which, as it is apparent at the time of the transcript, it was otherwise, so it may be doubted, whether in the first design of the collector those laws were not supposed to concern the Christians of those times as rule of life. The method of the collection is not much unlike that in the Collatio Legum Mosai-carum & Romanarum set out by Pithæus, of which, I think, you make Licinius Rufinus to have been the author. The whole volume was writ about 300 years since by one Constantinus Sapiens, for so I read in the close of the book, and sometimes belonged

in Grammar learning at Denton in the parish of Cudeston near Oxford under Mr. William Wildgoose, M. A. and bound apprentice to Mr. Nevill Simmons, a Book-feller in St. Paul's Church-yard, but soon after called thence by his mother upon the death of his elder brother *William*, and by her entered a Gentleman Commoner of University College in Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1672, "where though put under the tuition of a good tutor, says Mr. Wood (i), yet by his mother's fondness he became "idle, a great jockey, married, and run out a good part of the estate that had descended to him. But being a man of parts, he afterwards took up, lived for some years a retired life near Oxford, improved much his natural and gay genius, that he had to dramatic Poetry, and at first wrote little things without his name set to them; which he would never own." But he afterwards published some works, which he owned [C]. August the 14th 1690 he was elected Inferior Beadle of Arts in the University of Oxford; and on the 19th of January following was chosen Superior Beadle of Law. He died June the 23d 1692, and was interred in the Church of St. Peter in the East in Oxford (k).

(f) Idem, ibid. col. 892.

(k) Idem, ibid. col. 892, 893.

"to the monastery viz. *Evangelii in Insula Cbalce*. I can not tell whether any of later times, Carolostadius and the Anabaptists excepted, have maintained the Jewish Judicials to be universally and indispensably binding to Christians." In another letter dated November the 8th 1653 he writes thus: "I was not so much troubled to hear of that fellow, who lately in London maintained in public, that learning is a sin, as to see some men (who would be accounted none of the meanest amongst ourselves here at home) under pretence of piety go about to banish it the Unity. I cannot make any better construction of a late order made by those, whom we call visitors, upon occasion of an election last week at All-Souls College, to this effect, that for the future no scholar be chosen into any place in any college, unless he bring a testimony under the hands of four persons at the least, (not Electours) known to these visitors to be truly godly men, that he who stands for such a place is himself truly godly; and by arrogating to themselves this power, they fit judges of all men's consciences, and have rejected some, against whom they had no other exceptions (being certified by such, to whom their conversations were best known, to be unblameable, and statumly elected after due examination and approbation of their sufficiency by that society) merely upon this account, that the persons who testified in their behalfe, are not known to these visitors to be regenerate. I intend (God willing) ere long to have an election in our College, and have professed, that I will not submit to this order. How I shall speed in it, I do not pretend to foresee; but if I be baffled, I shall hardly be silent."

[C] He afterwards published some works which he owned. I. *The Hunter: a Discourse of Horsemanship*. Oxford 1685; in 8vo. This is subjoined to the third edition of a book, intitled, *The Gentleman's Recreation, in four parts, viz. Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Fishing, &c.* whereunto is prefixed a large Sculpture giving easy directions for blowing the Horn: With an Abstract at the End of each Subject of such Lords as relate to the same, &c. This *Gentleman's Recreation* was written by Colonel Edward Cook of Highnam in Gloucester-shire, who attended King Charles I. at Newport in the Isle of Wight, during the treaty between his Majesty and the Parliament, and was there when the King was carried thence to Hurst-Castle

in November 1648, when his Majesty commanded him to commit to writing the manner of his seizure, which he did. The Colonel died at London January the 29th 1683, and was interred on the 2d of February at Highnam abovementioned. There was published of his writing *Certain passages, which happened at Newport in the Isle of Wight November the 29th 1648, relating to King Charles I.* London 1690 in four sheets and an half in 4to. II. *Momas Triumphant: Or the Plagiaries of the English Stage expressed in a Catalogue of Comedies, Tragedies, &c.* London 1688 in five sheets in 4to. Which title, with the book, and a large preface of 15 pages of Mr. Langbaine's writing, being published by another hand contrary to the mind of the author, and 500 of the copies sold, he caused another title to be put to the rest of the copies, with an advertisement against the first. The title is thus: *A New Catalogue of English Plays, containing Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Operas, Masques, Pastorals, Interludes, Farces, &c. both ancient and modern, that have ever yet been printed, so this present year 1688. To which are added the Volumes and best Editions, with divers Remarks of the Originals of most Plays, and of the Plagiaries of several Authors.* London 1688. This is the ground-work of another book, written by Mr. Langbaine; and entitled, III. *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets: Or, some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings of all those that have either published Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces, or Operas in the English tongue.* By Gerard Langbaine. Oxford 1691 in 8vo. Dedicated to James Earl of Abington. IV. While he was Superior Beadle of Law, he wrote and published an *Appendix to a Catalogue of all the Graduates in Divinity, Law, and Physic, &c.* which Catalogue was written by Mr. Richard Peers, Superior Beadle of Arts and Physick. Mr. Langbaine's *Appendix* contains the names of all those, who proceeded in Divinity, Law, and Physic in the University of Oxford from the 14th of July 1688, where Mr. Peers left off, to the 6th of August 1699. V. Mr. Wood tells us; that he had been informed by Mr. Langbaine and others, that he had written the *Hermaphrodite: a Novel*; which perhaps might be the same with *The Gallant Hermaphrodite, an amorous Novel*, London 1687 in 8vo, translated from the French of the Sieur de Chavigny. T.

LANGIUS (PAUL) a German Monk, would be but little known by the Chronicle he composed, had he not inserted in it great complaints against the wicked lives of the Clergy, and bestowed elogies on Martin Luther (a). This is the reason why the Protestants have quoted him a thousand times over and over. He was born at Zwicka in Voigtland, and entered amongst the Benedictine Monks in the year 1487 in the monastery of Bozaw near Zeits in Misnia (b). The Abbot Trithemius sent him in the year 1515 to search all the Convents in Germany, in order to make a collection of all the manuscripts, which could serve to illustrate History; or to improve the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers (c). Langius laboured for himself also when he was visiting the Libraries; for it proved very useful to him when he wrote his Chronicle (d) [A]. It begins

(a) See Wolff, *Lib. Memorabilia*, tom. 2. pag. 169, & seq.

(b) Vossius, *de Hist. Latinis*, pag. 644.

(c) Idem, ibid.

[A] *His Chronicle.* It is intitled *Chronicon Citicense*. i. e. "The Chronicle of Zeits." But it does not follow from thence that Du Pleffis was in the right to call the author of it *Moine de Citique*. i. e. "A Monk of

(d) Vignier, *Theatre de l'Ance-Christ*, in the Index of the authors quoted.

begins with the year 1468 according to Voffius, but he is mistaken [B]. Coeffeteau had recourse to a very indifferent evasion [C], when he answered the *Mystere d'Iniquité*, in which some passages of Langius were quoted. There is a Reflection of Andrew Rivetus relating

“ of Citicus.” Coeffeteau instead of correcting that blunder, made use of the same words. Rivetus's expressions are not much better, *le Moine Citique*. See their passages in the remark [C]. Strangers have much reason to complain, that the French are used to alter and disfigure the proper names so, that one does not know what to make of them. Voffius made this observation against the celebrated Thuanus (1). But here the fault consists not only in disfiguring the name of a city; it is something worse, for because Langius composed the Chronicle of a Cathedral Church, they give him a name derived from that Church. Now such a name does not in the least belong to him.

(1) Voffius, *De Arte Historica*, cap. 12. pag. 69.

[B] Voffius is mistaken.] This work of Langius is a Chronicle of the Episcopal Church of Zeits. The Emperor Otho I founded this Cathedral in the year 968. Pope John XIII confirmed it. *Teste Paulo Langio in Chronico Citizenfi, quod a dicto anno (968) usque ad annum 1515 deduxit Episcoporum Citizenfium & aliorum in vicinia Antifitum res gestas commemorans* (2). Langius carries his Chronicle from that foundation to the year 1515: he does not only give us the History of the Bishop of Zeits, but he mentions also the other Bishops of the neighbouring cities.

(2) Aub. Miræus, in *Geographia Ecclesiastica*, pag. 124.

[C] Coeffeteau had recourse to a very indifferent evasion.] Du Pleffis Mornai could not omit to mention the Elogies, which Langius bestows on Martin Luther. “ Paul Langius, a Monk of Zeits (*), and a disciple of Abbot Trithemius just when Luther began to appear in the world, though he did not quit his Monastery, yet was greatly moved by Luther's preaching, and gives him such a noble character as could hardly be expected from a Monk. *This Martin, says he, was a most learned, and incomparable Divine, who endeavoured to restore the sacred Divinity to its primitive dignity, its ancient purity, and to the innocence, plainness and simplicity of the Gospel, despising intirely all worldly Philosophy. . . .* And in another place under the year 1503, he mentions him together with Carlostad and Melancthon, and observes of them all, that they handle and teach the sacred Theology so as to give the pure wheat of the word of God, without any straw: that is to say, without mixing Philosophy and Syllogisms with it; but confining themselves only to the Gospel of Christ, and to the Apostle St. Paul, whom they take for their patrons and the only authority; and with the study of the Holy Scripture they join the fear of God, and the seeds of all the moral virtues, which they sow into the hearts of their disciples, by their words, by their example, and by their writings. And that it might not be objected to us, that this was said before Luther had declared war against the Pope, here follows what Langius observes under the year 1520, after he had expatiated on the abuse and excess of indulgences. *The same (Luther) says he, by his doctrine and admirable preaching discredited intirely the indulgences; he raised doubts about them, and dissuaded the people from buying them, shewing that they were not in the least necessary to salvation, they not being a remission of sins, but serving only to make men careless of repenting, and neglectful of good works, nay, that they were a stumbling block and an excitement to vice: that the merits of Christ and the Saints were not the flock and store of these indulgences, since nothing of all this was ever written in the primitive Church nor even during a thousand years by the Saints and Doctors of the orthodox Church; so far were they from having such a value for them, and such an high opinion of them, as men have now, on account of the money they raise by them. He asserted also and proved that the Church of Rome is not the first and the head of the others by any divine right &c. And for this reason, adds he, they persecute him now like another Athanasius, particularly because he asserted this thesis, and some other great and sublime articles of doctrine, which not only the Romans but even some learned men, especially the Thomists continue to oppose. And yet this Martin, who is the first and wisest man of this time in matters of controversy, could never*

(*) This is a mistake. See the remark [A]. Du Pleffis says, *Moine de Citique*.

“ yet be vanquished, for he supports and proves his doctrine by passages from the Gospel, and from the Apostle St. Paul's Epistles, and even from the original works of the ancient orthodox Fathers (3).” Du Pleffis does not omit the *salvo* which Langius makes use of to soften so many bold propositions. *Thus speaks that Monk, says he, non assertive, sed admirative, not with a design to affirm any thing, but out of admiration, suspending his judgment after the example of several other persons, till the matter be determined by a general Council.* I have here transcribed Langius's own words. *Porro quæ de Martini Lutheri Doctrina differunt, non sicut discipulus ejus assertive, quod abfit, sed potius admirative posui: utpote nullius adhuc juratus in verba magistri. Sed cum sim & ego more suspensus multorum, quousque per Oecumenicum universale & generale Concilium, quid in tam ardua re tenendum sit, decretum fuerit, paratus nibilo tamen minus, & modo, semper a recte sapientibus doceri, quorum etiam & potissimam Romanæ Ecclesiæ judicio hæc præsentia, & alia qualiacunque mea scripta & corrigenda & examinanda subjicio, tametsi ego supra narrata, non de Romanis sed de Romanensibus, id est, non indigenis, sed aliunde ad eum confluentibus descripsim* (4). i. e. “ What I have observed of Martin

(3) Du Pleffis Mornai, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 573.

“ Luther's doctrine, I have not related affirmatively, as a disciple of his; God forbid; but rather by way of admiration, as a man who is not addicted to any party. For I am still in suspense, like many other persons, till it be decreed by a general Council, what we ought to believe in these difficult and abstruse matters. And yet I am always ready to learn from those, who think right, to whose judgment, and particularly to that of the Church of Rome, I submit both this and all my other writings, to be by them examined and corrected. However what I have observed above must be understood not of the native Romans, but of those, who from other parts flock to Rome.” These words are a strong proof of his being a Roman Catholic.

(4) Langius, *ad Wolfium*, *Lect. memorabil.*

Here follows Coeffeteau's answer to this. “ What the Sieur du Pleffis objects against us from Paul Langius a Monk of Citicus (Zeits) and a disciple of the Abbot Trithemius, shews us the sincerity of the Protestants, and with what honesty they publish the works of some authors. For they make Langius say such things concerning Luther, as are intirely inconsistent, not only with the doctrine, which Langius professed till his death, but also with what he wrote in that same Chronicle, which contains those commendations on Luther. The Protestants imagine perhaps, that they will make us believe this author was a Lutheran and a Papist, an Heretic and Orthodox, for indeed they cannot otherwise reconcile with his former writings what they make him say here. And let no man be imposed upon by the name of Pistorius, who published that work; for though he turned Catholic, yet it was some time after, and he was still a Protestant when he published this Chronicle, with some other works of German writers, and he does even declare, that he had it from Henry Petreus, who lived at Basil amongst the Heretics. Farther, the authors of this forgery are sensible that the world would hardly believe Langius spoke so honourably both of the doctrine and person of Luther; and therefore they added to it a pitiful and silly evasion, making him say, that what he wrote was not affirmative, but admirative, not to affirm any thing, but out of admiration, suspending his judgment &c. One would think that this Langius wants a master, and is not yet determined what religion he ought to choose (5).” This is a wretched reply. It were better to be silent than to make such an answer. Father Gretier waved it, and imagined he should find his account better in supposing that honest Paul Langius, who longed to take a woman in his arms, looked upon Luther as an hero, who would soon exterminate celibacy. Let us see what the Sieur du Pleffis's apologist replied to this railery, and to Coeffeteau's evasion.

(5) Coeffeteau, *Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1218, 1219.

“ Paul Langius a Citique Monk gives such a noble and beautiful character of Luther's doctrine, that

(c) See them in the 1st edition of that Dictionary. We shall set them down in the remark [E].

relating to Pistorius, who published this Monk's Chronicle in the year 1583, which Reflection is ill-grounded in my opinion [D]. Moreri's blunders are not considerable (c) [E].

" that our Monk (Gretser) cannot bear it, but he must charge those, who published Langius's work, with adding to it from their own brains all that is quoted from it to that purpose; thus he measures their Corn by the bushel of the Papists, who are used to falsify with additions and mutilations, all the writings that pass through their hands. And yet to deprive them of this objection, God suffered this work to be published by a man, who even then had already secretly designed to apostatise, which he did at last publicly: I mean Pistorius, who would certainly have since that time discovered this artifice, had he been concerned in it, or any other person to his knowledge. Gretser, who had it in his power to examine him upon this particular, had not the impudence to charge the publisher of this chronicle with falsifying it, though otherwise he be impudent to the highest degree. He chose rather to abuse this poor Monk in these words. *It is this Langius, who at the first preaching of the Lutheran Gospel longed to leave his Monastery, imagining that the happy time was now come, when the Monks would be at liberty to throw off their hood and marry Nuns.* But in those times the Monks knew very well how to find means to lie with Nuns, without marrying them: and if they had not been hindered by other considerations, Coeffeteau does not want to be told, that they had opportunities enough to gratify their desires (6)." These last words shew evidently, that the common topics which the Missionaries insist upon against the marriage of the Reformers, and of the Monks who improved the Protestant Religion, are not so favourable to them, as they imagine. They afford them indeed a large field for declamations; the most odious descriptions of sensuality drop very thick from their pen.

But it is an easy matter to retort their own objections upon them; for it is but too true that they who make a vow of celibacy, do not always keep it; and common sense teaches us, that if the Ministers of the Church have not power enough over themselves to abstain from women, it is much better that they should satisfy their passion with their own wives, than with their neighbour's wives.

[D] *A reflection of Andrew Rivetus . . . which is ill-grounded in my opinion.* We have seen just now, that he pretends Pistorius would have discovered his falsification after he was become a good Papist. I believe that he is mistaken. If Pistorius had falsified Langius's manuscript, he would never have boasted of it. The advantage which might accrue to the Church of Rome from such a confession; would have been very inconsiderable. Whether Langius commended Luther in the year 1520, or spoke ill of him, or did not mention him at all, it is after all of very little consequence. But Pistorius could not have discovered his wicked artifice, without making himself contemptible to the Roman Catholics, and exposing himself to the abuses of the Protestants, who from his own confession would have had an argument to prove him a dishonest man. Such faults are never confessed; they are attended with too bad consequences to be owned.

[E] *Moreri's blunders are not considerable.* He ought to have called Langius's native place *Zwiska* and not *Bozan* (7). His Monastery was called *Bozan* and not *Bozan*. The mistake of *Pistorius* instead of *Pistorius* has been corrected in the editions printed in Holland. It ought not to have been said, that his Chronicle begins with the year 1468; this is a blunder of *Vossius*, which I have already censured, and which *Zeillerus* has transcribed (1).

(6) Rivet, *Remarques sur la Réponse au Mythe de l'Iniquité*, Part. 2. p. 633.

(7) It is called *Zurickau* in the edition of *Moreri* printed in Holland.

(8) *Zeillerus, de Historicis*, Part. 1. pag. 85.

LANGIUS (RODOLPH a Gentleman of Westphalia, and Provost of the Cathedral Church of Munster towards the end of the sixteenth Century, distinguished himself by his learning, and by his zeal for the restoration of polite Literature. He went through his first studies at Deventer, and was afterwards sent into Italy; by his uncle the Dean of Munster, and applied himself to the greatest masters in Literature, Laurence Valla, Mapheus Vegius, Francis Philadelphus and Theodore Gaza. By this means he acquired a good taste of the Latin stile both in verse and prose, and confirmed himself in it by composing several pieces. His fellow-travellers in that journey were Maurice Count of Spiegelberg, and Rodolph Agricola: after they were returned into Germany, they laboured all three to banish ignorance, and were the first who by their example and by their exhortations established a good method of writing in Latin, and of teaching that tongue. Langius being sent to the Court of Rome by the Bishop and Chapter of Munster, under Pope Sixtus IV, acquitted himself very well of his Commission, and came back with letters from this Pope and from Laurence de Medicis, which made him still more considered than he was before, by those who had sent him to Rome, so that he was more able to prosecute his design of making the *Belles Lettres* flourish, by banishing from the schools the ignorance which prevailed there. He was obliged to struggle some years with those who protected it [A], and who objected that the

[A] *He was obliged to struggle some years with those who protected ignorance.* The University of Cologne thwarted Langius's commendable design; but it was approved by the Italians, and their suffrages had such a power with the Bishop of Munster, that they determined him intirely. You will see a more particular account of this in Chytraeus's words (1). *Causam bonarum literarum & emendationis studiorum doctrinæ barbaræ, passim in omnibus Collegiis & Scholis regnantium, majore cum fructu egit (Langius) tamen aliquot adhuc annos reluctans veteris Barbarici patronis, ac nominatim Academia Coloniensis, quæ datis ad Conradum Ritbergensem Episcopum, qui Henrico Swartzburgensi successerat, & summum Collegium, literis, usitatum tot seculis instituendæ adolescentiæ & docendi rationem & libellos, in scholis retineri, & mutationes novas, & studii & disciplinæ periculosas, severi flagitabant. Etsi autem erudite & graviter Consilii sui causas Rodolphus explicabat: tamen ad Italorum doctorem judicia ipsi provocare necesse fuit. Qui cum emendationem*

doctrinæ in scholis usitatæ necessariam esse & Langium recte, Lovanienses (2) perperam judicare, in responsis ad Episcopum suis pronunciaissent: Episcopus qui Italorum, apud quos olim vixerat, censuram magni faciebat, facultatem aperiendæ novæ bonarum literarum scholæ Collegio dedit. i. e. Langius strenuously asserted the cause of polite literature, and shewed effectually how necessary it was to alter the method of studying, which in those times of ignorance had prevailed in most of the colleges and schools; though the patrons of ignorance opposed his design for some years, particularly the University of Cologne, which sent a letter to Conrad Ritberg, who had succeeded Henry Swartzburg in the Bishoprick of Munster, and to the Chapter, desiring them to continue the old method of teaching, and the books that were in use for so many years, and to prevent all changings, which were dangerous to the studies and to the education of the youth. Though Rodolph explained the reasons of his de-

(1) David Chytraeus in *Saxonia*, lib. 3. pag. 20. 20.

(2) As the author had only mentioned the University of Cologne, and not that of Louvain, we ought perhaps to read *Colonienses* instead of *Lovanienses*. But he had perhaps forgot to observe, that the University of Louvain did also write to the Bishop of Munster to thwart Langius's design.

the introducing a new method of teaching was dangerous; but at last he got over all these difficulties, and persuaded his Bishop to found a school at Munster, the direction of which was committed to learned men. He pointed out to them the method they were to follow, and the books they were to explain, and gave them the use of his fine Library. This school being thus established a little before the end of the fifteenth Century, became very flourishing, and served as a nursery for Literature to all Germany till the Revolutions which were occasioned at Munster by the Anabaptists in the year 1554. Langius died in the year 1519 at the age of fourscore. He published some Poems, by which it appears that there were Latin Poets of some reputation in Germany before Conrad Celtes (a) [B]. Rodolph Agricola dedicated his Latin Translation of Plato's Axiochus to Langius (b).

(a) Taken from David Chytræus, in *Saxonia*, lib. 3. pag. m. 80, & seq. See also his *Oration de veteris Saxonie Provincia amplissima quæ Westphalia bodie nominatur*, pag. m. 108, & seq.

(b) Idem, in *es Oratime*, pag. 108.

“sign with a great deal of learning and wisdom, yet he was obliged to ask advice of the learned men in Italy, who gave it as their opinion, that it was necessary to alter the manner of teaching in the schools, that Langius had judged right, and that those of Louvain were in the wrong in their answers to the Bishop; whereupon the Bishop, who had a great respect for the judgment of the Italians, amongst whom he had lived formerly, gave the Chapter a power to open a new school for polite literature.”

(†) See the marginal note (2).

[B] He published some Poems, by which it appears that there were Latin Poets of some reputation in Germany before Conrad Celtes.] Let us quote again the same voucher. *Primus autem Germaniæ Poeta, ipseus Rodolphi Agricolæ judicio, ævorum ætate, aliquot ante Conradum Celten annos celebris, hic Rodolphus Langius fuit, editis, de excidio Hierosolymæ postremo, de obsidione Novæsi, de Paulo Apostolo, de Maria Virgine, Poëmaticis claris. Deque condiscipulo & æquali suo Hegius cecinit:*

Jam ferre Poetas
Barbarie in media Westphalis ora potest.
Langius hanc decorat majorum sanguine clarus,
Monasteriaci lautque decusque soli,

Primus Melpomenem qui rura in Westphala duxit,
Cum caneret laudes, maxime Paule, tuas.

i. e. “Rodolph Langius was, in Rodolph Agricola's opinion, the first amongst the German Poets; he was famous in our grandfather's days, some years before Conrad Celtes, having published the following poems, on the last destruction of Jerusalem, on the siege of Nuys, on the Apostle St. Paul, on the virgin Mary, by which poems he has gained a reputation. Hegius his schoolfellow and contemporary says of him: *Westphalia can now suffer Poets, in the midst of the darkness that covers it. Langius eminent by his noble extraction, the glory and ornament of Munster, illustrates this country. He is the first who led the muse into the fields of Westphalia, when he sung thy praise, O great Saint Paul.*”

Observe that Chytræus by using the word *editis*, published, hints that these poems had been printed: and yet the abbreviator of Gesner's Bibliothecque (3), who mentions some other poems of Langius, raises some doubts; for he observes that Herman Hamelman, who acknowledges that he had seen those poems, does not declare, whether they were printed or only manuscripts.

(3) *Epit. Biblioth. Gesneri*, pag. m. 714.

(a) *Cæsaremontanus*.

(b) Vossius, de *Scient. Mathem.* pag. 388.

(c) And yet the edition of 1512 is set down in the Oxford Catalogue.

LANGIUS JOSEPH) born at Keifersberg (a) in Upper Alsace, and Professor of Mathematics and of the Greek Tongue at Friburg a city of Brisgaw, was composing in the year 1612 his *Elementale Mathematicum* (b), which, according to Vossius, was not printed (c) till five years after (d). Isaac Habrecht a Philosopher and Physician made Additions to it, and adorned it with Notes and Plates, and published it thus (e) in the year 1625. Langius had published at Strasburg in the year 1598 a *Florilegium* [A] in 8vo, which some years after was followed by a work in folio intitled, *Polyanthea nova* [B]. He lived several years in the Protestant Communion, and then he turned Roman Catholic (f). I shall give the titles of his other works below [C].

(d) At Friburg.

(e) At Strasburg.

(f) Taken from the Preface of his *Polyanthea*.

[A] *A Florilegium.* It is a collection in an Alphabetical order of sentences, Apophthegmas, Comparisons, examples, and symbols. Such a work is very useful to young scholars, when they have some discourses or exercises to make upon any subjects. Learned men might also use it with some advantage, if all that is quoted there had been carefully compared with the originals. But nothing like this has been done. Our Langius did only transcribe modern compilers, and amongst others Thomas Hibernicus (1), whose work intitled *Flores Doctorum* (the flowers of the learned) abounds with errors.

(1) *Dietericus nihil aliud in Longio reprehendit, quam credulitatem, qua se ab Hibernico decipi passus.* Thomæsius, de *Plagio*, num. 482.

(2) At Basil, and then at Sarno in the year 1514, and at Cologne, in the year 1539. *Index Libror. prohib.* pag. 726, edit. 1667.

(3) It was printed at Venice in the year 1592.

[B] *Polyanthea nova.* The author follows in this work the same method as in his *Florilegium*. There are some passages of it corrected in the Spanish expurgatory Index, which contains also an history of the books intitled *Polyanthea*. I imagine that the reader will not blame me for giving here the substance of that history. The first *Polyanthea* was printed in the year 1512 (2): it was written by the Monk Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, the author of the *Monotesaron Evangeliorum*, or the harmony of the four Gospels. The second was compiled by a bookseller of Cologne named Maternus Cholinus, and published in the year 1585 (3). He added to Mirabellius's work, all that he thought fit to transcribe from three other books which had been published, I mean the collection of *Bartholomæus Amantius*, the *Sententiarum opus*

absolutissimum ex probatissimis auctoribus excerptum (4). i. e. “A most complete work containing sentences, collected from the most approved authors.” And an anonymous work printed at Lyons. Cholinus added to all this his own collections. The third, intitled *Polyanthea nova*, is our Joseph Langius's work: it was printed at Geneva in the year 1600, at Lyons in the year 1604, at Francfort in the year 1607, and several times since. The fourth, intitled *Polyanthea novissima*, is divided into twenty books, and differs from the preceding only with regard to some additions which it contains. The fifth with this title, *Florilegium magnum, seu Polyanthea floribus novissimis sparsa*, was published at Frankfort in the year 1621. The new additions contained in this work are owing to the Lucubrations of *Franciscus Sylvius Insulanus*. We have mentioned Gruter's Supplements in another place (5): they are in two volumes, so that the *Florilegium magnum* contains three. The 1st is of Sylvius Insulanus, the 2d and 3d, printed at Francfort in the year 1624, were compiled by Gruter.

(4) By *Franciscus Tertius*, or *De Tert*, of Anjou. This work was printed at Paris in the year 1560, and reprinted in the year 1580.

(5) In the article GRUTER (James) remark [1].

[C] I shall give the titles of his other works below.] He published an edition of Juvenal and Persius at Friburg in the year 1608. *Tyracinium Græcarum Litterarum* (an introduction to the Greek tongue for young beginners) printed in the same City in the year 1607. *Adagia, sive Sententiæ proverbiales*, (A collection of Proverbs, or proverbial sayings).

LANGLE (JOHN MAXIMILIAN DE) Minister of the Gospel, was born at Evreux in the year 1590. He was called to the Reformed Church of Roan in the year

1615, being then but twenty five years old. He performed there all the functions of a Minister during fifty two years, and always with a great reputation, piety and eloquence. We have of him two volumes of Sermons, the one on the eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the other on several texts of the holy Scripture, and a Dissertation in the form of a Letter being a defence of Charles I King of England. Seven years before his death he fell sick of a palsy, which caused an impediment in his speech; but yet he continued to please and edify by his conversations, which were both pious and witty. He died in the year 1674, at the age of fourscore and four years, leaving several children behind him [A], who have inherited his merit and virtue (a).

(a) This article is printed just as it has been communicated to me.

[A] He left several children behind him.] SAMUEL DE LANGLE his eldest son was born at London, and was carried into France when he was but a year old; he continued in that country till the last persecution obliged him to retire into England. He was a minister at about the same age as his father had been, and served the church of Roan with him during three years. He was afterwards called to Paris in the year 1671, to be a minister to the congregation which met at Charenton; he was very much esteemed in both on account of his strict morals, sound learning, and consummate wisdom: there was an intimate friendship between him and Monsieur Claude. The persecution which the reformed suffered in France, and particularly the King's Edict by which the fathers were deprived of their children, forced him to take sanctuary in England. The University of Oxford took a pride in conferring the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him, without his petitioning for it; and King Charles II. shewed him how much he esteemed him by making him a Prebendary of Westminster. He was born in the year 1622. In June 1693, when he was threescore and eleven years old, he fell sick of a violent distemper, in which however he enjoyed all

the strength of his mind, addressing continually excellent discourses to his relations, to his friends, and particularly to his children, to whom he had given the same education as he had received from his father. The publick has not yet seen any of his writings, but a letter concerning the controversy between those who are called Episcopals and Presbyterians in England. Doctor Stillingfleet now Bishop of Worcester (1) had it printed at the end of one of his books on the same subject. But they found amongst his manuscripts a treatise of the Christian truth, which he had begun some years ago, and which he had finished a little before he died. It is hoped that his eldest son Monsieur de Langle, who is also a minister, will soon publish that work. The illustrious deceased had also made several critical remarks on divers passages of the Scripture, and particularly on the Psalms, which it is thought he would have published himself, had he lived long enough to put them in that order and condition, which it seems he designed to do (2). As for the other children of John Maximilian de Langle, the memoirs I quote do not mention a word of them.

(1) He died since the first impression of this, namely in the year 1694.

(2) Memoirs communicated to me, which I publish just as they have been sent to me.

LANGUET (HUBERT) born at Viteaux in Burgundy (a), gained a great reputation by his learning and virtue in the sixteenth Century. Having read a book of Melanchthon in Italy, it created in him so strong a desire to be acquainted with that great man, that he went into Germany on purpose to visit him. There was the most intimate friendship between them [A]. He charmed him by his agreeable conversation; for with a strong memory he had also a very acute judgment (b). He continued a long while

(a) Thomas, lib. 74. towards the end, under the year 1581.

(b) See the remark [A].

[A] There was the most intimate friendship between Melanchthon and him.] All that I have to observe upon this subject is extracted from Joachim Camerarius's life of Melanchthon. Hunc (Languetum) lectio libri cujusdam in Italia, ubi tum ipse degeret, a Philippo Melanchthone compositi cupiditate incenderat videndi autorem illius, et ea stimulis perpetuo admoveens perpulcrat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret, et Wittenbergam se conferret (1). Languet arrived at Wittenberg in the year 1549 (2), and kept so constantly to Melanchthon that he never left him, except to take a journey now and then. Neque ab ipso discessit nisi interdum per intervalla quedam peregrinationum quibus mirifice delectabatur, donec Philippi Melanchthonis vita in terris duravit (3). Languet's conversation was admirable; he discoursed very pertinently on the interest of Princes, and was perfectly well acquainted with the history of illustrious Men. Erat autem Philippo grata atque jucunda multarum magnarumque rerum, quas ille tenebat, commemoratio, et oratio de Regibus Principibusque gubernationum, et altis sapientia, virtute, doctrina prestantibus borum temporum (4). i. e. "Melanchthon was very much pleased and delighted with his conversations, in which he gave him an account of several important affairs, which he remembered very well, and with his discourses concerning Kings and Princes, and other men of those times eminent for their wisdom, virtue, and learning." His memory never failed him with regard either to the circumstances of times, or to proper names; and he discovered the inclinations of men, and foresaw the success of things with a wonderful sagacity. The person who gives him that character had been particularly acquainted with him. Neque ego, says he (5), audivi ullum alterum, qui tam prudenter et certo, et plane, dilucide, disertè exponeret, quicquid narrare institisset. Non ille in hominum nominibus falli, non indicis temporum errare, non confundere rerum negotiorumque seriem. Erat

autem in eo singularis sagacitas in notandis naturis hominum, et conjiciendo, quo quisque suo ingenio deserretur, et quæ esset voluntatis inclinatio. Consiliorum etiam solertissimus estimator, et eventuum futurorum provisione admirabilis. i. e. "I never heard a man, who could expound with so much prudence, certainty, plainness, evidence, and eloquence, whatever he undertook to relate; he never mistook the names of men; he was never wrong in the circumstances of time; nor did he ever confound the order and series of things and events. He had also a wonderful sagacity to discover the Characters of men, and to conjecture which way men's tempers would lead them, and what was the inclination of their minds. He judged almost with certainty of their designs, and could most wonderfully foresee the event of things."

Let us add to this what Monsieur de la Mare relates. He observes that about the year 1548, a German gave Languet Melanchthon's Common Places or Body of Divinity; that Languet having read that book four or five times over that same year in his travels, found all his doubts removed which had a long time perplexed his mind, and conceived an extraordinary esteem for Melanchthon; that having conferred the most considerable divines at Leipzick, he embraced the Protestant Religion; and became a pupil of Joachim Camerarius who was professor of polite literature in the University of Leipzick; that he even lodged at that Professor's house; that seeing the troubles arising in that country he undertook a journey into Italy till such time as he could settle in Germany when the publick tranquillity should be restored there; that he studied the law a whole year at Padua, and took his Doctor's degree there; that he went afterwards to Bologna, and that at this time, as Joachim Camerarius relates it (6), he was so enchanted with the reading of a new book of Melanchthon, that he longed

(6) Quo tempore narrat in Philippo Melanchthonis Vita Joachimus Camerarius elegantis illius et multiplici eruditione referti de anima libri à Melanchthone non ita prius scripti lectione Languetum tanta aviditate incensum fuisse Et Philipp. de la Mare, in Vita Langueti, pag. 10.

(1) Joach. Camerari. in Vita Melanch. pag. m. 333.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(c) Thuanus, lib. 74. towards the end, under the year 1581.

(d) Idem, ibid.

(e) See *Essais de Literat.* for July 1702, pag. 23.

(7) *Melanchthonem ab eo tempore tanti aestimare, ut reliquos cœcutire ac propriis assensibus indulgere judicaret, unum autem sapere Melanchthonem.* Idem, ibid. p. 9.

(8) *Camer. in Vita Melanchthonis.* pag. m. 344.

(9) *Languet, Epist. 15. ad Joach. Camerari.* pag. m. 27.

(10) It is the 28th of those which he wrote to Camerarius the son.

(11) *Vie de Du Pleffis Mornai,* pag. 56. under the year 1581.

while one of the first Counsellors of Augustus Elector of Saxony (c), and if we may believe Thuanus, he left that Court only [B] because he was suspected to be one of those who advised Gasper Peucer to publish an Exposition of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper agreeable to the Geneva Confession of Faith. That Historian adds, that having left the Court of Saxony he retired with the Prince of Orange, and was employed in very important affairs; but that whilst he applied himself to them he fell sick and died at Antwerp September the 50th 1581 at the age of threescore and three years (d). He was very much esteemed by Monsieur du Pleffis Mornai [C]. He is thought to be the author of the Oration which was delivered before Charles IX King of France, December the 23d 1570, in the name of several Princes of Germany [D]. It is to him people ascribe the famous Treatise which is intitled, *VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS* [E]; i. e. "A Defence against Tyrants." The Latin Letters which he wrote to Sir Philip Sidney were printed at Frankfort in the year 1639 (e). Those which he wrote in the same tongue to both the Camerarius's, father and son, were published in the year 1646, and have been reprinted with some others (f) in the year 1685: there is a beautiful Preface (g) prefixed to them, which contains a noble Panegyric upon him.

They published at Hall in the year 1699 a large Collection of those Letters, which he wrote to his master the Elector of Saxony [F] during the course of the negotiations.

(f) Which he wrote to Augustus Elector of Saxony.

(g) Written by Joachim Camerarius, grandson to the author of Melanchthon's Life.

for nothing more passionately, than to return into Germany, to see the author of that book; which he did accordingly in the year 1549.

I find something in this account, which puzzles me; for it is not at all probable, that a man who has conceived such an esteem for Melanchthon, by reading his Body of Divinity, that he takes him for the only wife man in the world (7), should take a journey to Leipfick, continue there some time, and embrace there the Protestant Religion without waiting once upon that divine; and that he should be impatient to make him a visit, only upon reading at Bologna another work of that author. It is not true that Camerarius asserts this other work was the treatise *de Anima* (concerning the soul) and that it determined Languet to return into Germany. He expresses himself so as to hint, not a second journey, but the first, *pepulerat tandem ut in Germaniam veniret.* i. e. "Determined him at last to come into Germany (8)." Lastly it is very strange, that if Languet had been Camerarius's disciple and boarder at Leipfick in the year 1548, Camerarius should yet assert that Langius did not come into Germany till the year 1549, out of a desire to see Melanchthon, occasioned by a book he read in Italy. It is unquestionable that either Camerarius or Monsieur de la Mare must be here mistaken. It is most probable that the former is in the right, for Languet (9) himself relates, that having read Melanchthon's Body of Divinity in Italy in the year 1547, and not being thoroughly satisfied with what is there observed concerning the Lord's Supper, he was determined to go and consult the author himself, and saw him in the year 1549. Would he speak thus, if he had embraced the Protestant Religion at Leipfick, in the year 1547, and if Camerarius had been his professor and his Landlord that same year in the same city?

[B] If we may believe Thuanus, he left that court only &c.] Thuanus gives us too imperfect an account of this. The exposition of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was published in the year 1573. Languet was not then at the court of Saxony, but at the Emperor's; and he did not leave that employment till the year 1577 (10), that his Electoral Highness of Saxony had given him leave to retire where ever he pleased; and since that time he always kept up a great correspondence with that Prince, though he applied himself to the affairs of Prince Casimir, or to those of the Prince of Orange. All this is proved by the letters published in the year 1699.

[C] He was very much esteemed by Monsieur du Pleffis Mornai.] This appears from the following passage (11). "Du Pleffis at his arrival at Antwerp found his wife and children sick. And even a son whom God had given him in his absence, was soon after snatched away from him. But besides this, his intimate friend Monsieur Languet was dead: Madam du Pleffis, though sick herself, had attended him to his last moment. His dying words were these. That the only thing which grieved him was, that he had not been able to see Monsieur du Pleffis again before he died, to whom he would have

left his very heart, had it been in his power. That he had wished to live, to see the world reformed; but since it became daily worse and worse, he had no longer any business in it; that the Princes of these times were strange men; that virtue had much to suffer, and little to get: That he pitied Monsieur du Pleffis very much; to whose share a great part of the misfortunes of the times would fall, and who would see many unhappy days; but that he must take courage, for God would assist him. For the rest he begged one thing of him, in his last farewell, namely that he would mention something of their mutual friendship, in the first book he should publish. Which Monsieur du Pleffis did soon after in a short preface to the Latin translation of his treatise of the Truth of the Christian religion." The commendations, which he bestows on Languet in that preface, and what others have published upon the same subject, have been carefully collected by Voetius (12). The epitaph alone is worth a panegyrick. You will meet with it in the same Voetius.

Observe that Languet shewed himself a very affectionate and zealous friend to Monsieur du Pleffis, at the time of the massacre committed on St. Bartholomew's day (13).

[D] He is thought to be the author of the oration which was delivered before Charles IX. . . . in the name of several Princes of Germany.] Monsieur Colomies gives a very strong proof of it in his *Melanges Historiques* (14) or *Historical Miscellanies.* He takes it from a letter of Languet to his hero Sir Philip Sidney, dated from Vienna January the first, 1574.

[E] It is to him people ascribe the famous treatise, which is intitled *VINDICIÆ CONTRA TYRANNOS.* What I have observed upon this subject in the first sketch of this dictionary is too long to be conveniently inserted in this place; I thought it therefore more proper to refer it to the end of this work in the form of a dissertation.

Some persons suppose him to be the author of the book, entitied *de Furoribus Gallicis* (15), of the madness of the French: but without any just ground (16). It was thought in his family, that he wrote the famous apology for the Prince of Orange; the reason of this opinion was, that he had sent a copy of it to every one of his relations, as a work of his own composing. And yet Grotius ascribes (17) this apology to another French man, named Peter de Villiers (18).

[F] They have published . . . a large collection of the letters, which he wrote to his master the Elector of Saxony.] Monsieur Ludovicus professor in the University of Hall has given us this edition. We should be still more obliged to him, had he added to it an index of the principal subjects mentioned in them, and had he taken care to have the errors of the printers or of the transcribers with regard to proper names more exactly corrected. People wonder that he prefixed no preface to this book, and that whereas the editions published in Germany are generally considerable by their indexes, there is none to Languet's letters, where it was wanted more than in a great many other books; because each of these letters contains several particular

(12) *Dissert. Theologic.* vol. 4. pag. 238, & seq.

(13) See the *Vie de Mr. Du Pleffis,* pag. 22. See also pag. 12.

(14) *Pag. 13, 14.*

(15) Mentioned above in quotation (44) of the article BEZA.

(16) See Mr. de la Mare, in *Vita Langueti,* pag. 67, 68.

(17) *Lib. 3. Belgic. Annual.*

(18) La Mare in *Vita Langueti,* pag. 121, 122.

tiations. We must not omit what Thuanus relates of a conversation he had with him in the year 1579 [G].

facts, which are not in the least connected with any general subject. This work is intitled, *Arcana sæculi decimi sexti. Huberti Langueti, Legati, dum viveret, & Consiliarii Saxonici, Epistolæ secreta ad Principem suum Augustum Sax. Ducem & S. R. I. septemvirum. Ex APXEIΩ Saxonico descriptas primus à Museo edit. Jo. Petr. Ludovicus.* i. e. "The secret history of the seventeenth century, being a collection of letters written by Hubert Languet, Ambassador and Counsellor of the Court of Saxony, to his master, Augustus Duke of Saxony and Elector of the Empire, transcribed from the publick records of Saxony, and now published for the first time by John Peter Ludovicus." The Abbot Nicaise had told me for certain, that the author's life written by Monsieur de la Mare would be prefixed to these letters; but this did not prove true. It has been published by itself in the same city of Hall, in the year 1700, in 12mo. If I had met with it soon enough, this article would have been much better, more complete and more connected. Consult Monsieur Bernard (19), who has given a very full and accurate account of this piece; which is very well written and very curious.

(19) In his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for March 1701, pag. 286, &c.

[G] We must not omit . . . a conversation, which Thuanus had with him. . . . He got acquainted with Languet at the wells of Baden in the year 1579, and was so well pleased with this man's behaviour, and with his agreeable and learned conversations that he thought he should never be able to part with him. Here follows the elogy he bestows upon him; I transcribe it here, because neither Voetius nor Monsieur Teiffier mention it in the least. *Argentina Badam ventum, ubi Thuanus Languetum vacuum nactus ita mordicus per triduum ei adhaesit, ut ab eo divelli non posse putaretur. Ita candor hominis illum ceperat, insigni probitate, judicio non solum in literis, sed in publicis negotiis, quæ tota vita sub variis Principibus magna fide gesserat, præditi ad hæc rerum Germaniæ callentis. Ut Germanos ipsos res patrias suas doceret. Toto illo tempore cum eo assiduus, nisi quantum aquis sumendis impendebat, cum multa didicit, tum breviculum manu ipsius perscriptum, quod & nunc servat, postquam hinc discessit, ab eo accepit, quo generalis Germaniæ status, sicut hodie est,*

comitiorum jus, circularum numerus, consiliorum ordo describitur (20). i. e. "From Strasburg we came to Baden, where Thuanus meeting with Languet, who was free from all business, stuck so closely to him during three days, that it was imagined he could never part from him: so pleased was he with this man's eminent probity, and with his great judgment not only in the Sciences, but also in publick affairs, in which he had been engaged all his life-time, having served several Princes very faithfully: he was particularly so well acquainted with the affairs of Germany, that he could instruct the Germans themselves in the affairs of their own country. Thuanus being constantly with him all that time, except when he was drinking the waters, learnt a great many things from him; and when he had left that place, he received from him some memoirs, written in his own hand, containing an account of the present state of Germany; of the rights of the diets, of the number of the circles, and of the order or rank of the different councils of that Country, which memoirs he still keeps by him."

(20) Thuan. de *Vita sua*, lib. 2., towards the beginning, pag. in. 1176.

Thuanus also relates that Languet made him take notice of a German Lord who was at a window with his wife, and asked him afterwards with a smile, *If you were put to your choice, would you prefer a woman as beautiful as she is, before the Archbishopric of Cologne?* Thuanus who did not understand the design of this question, made no answer to it. Whereupon Languet explained the whole mystery to him, and told him that the German Lord was the Count of Isenburg, who had lately resigned the Archbishopric of Cologne, to marry Jane de Lignes, the Count of Aremburg's sister. He added that the suppression of Celibacy was burthensome to the great Protestant Lords in Germany; for whereas in the time of Popery they used to put their daughters into Nunneries, with certain hopes to see them soon raised to the dignity of Abbesses in some rich Nunnery, they were now obliged to provide husbands for them, though they lived in a country, where people were very prolific (21).

These inconveniencies which attend the suppression of celibacy in the noble Protestant families in Germany.

(21) *Filiæ omnes quibus homines proletarii abundunt, matrimonio elocare teneantur.* Idem, ibid.

LANSBERGIUS (PHILIP) had a rank amongst the Mathematicians of the seventeenth Century. He was born in Zealand (a) in the year 1561 (b), and was a Minister of the Gospel at Antwerp in the year 1586, and afterwards for several years [A] at Goes in Zeland; and being afterwards discharged of his functions on account of his old age, he retired to Middleburg (c), where he died in the year 1632. You will find the titles of his works below [B].

(a) Vossius, de *Scient. Matbem.* pag. 341.

(b) Lansberg. *Epist. Dedic. Uranometrie.*

(c) Vossius, de *Scient. Matbem.* pag. 341.

(1) *De Scient. Matbem.*

[A] He was a minister . . . for several years.] Vossius (1) asserts in page 237, that he was Minister at Goes thirty nine years more or less: but in page 341 he sets down but twenty nine years. There is certainly an error of the press here; but whether it consists in the omission or in the addition of an x, I own I cannot tell it: It must be one.

[B] You will find the titles of his works below.] *Chronologia Sacrae Libri VI.* "Six books of sacred Chronology"; printed in the year 1626. *Progymnasmata Astronomiæ restitutæ.* "Essays on the restitution of Astronomy"; printed at Middelburg in the year 1629. *Triangulorum Geometricorum Libri IV.* "Four books of Geometrical triangles"; printed in the same City, in the year 1631. *Uranometriæ Libri III.* "Of measuring the Heavens, in three books"; printed the same year, and in the same City. *Commentationes in motum terræ diurnum & annum, & in verum aspectabilis cæli typum.* "An account of the diurnal and annual motion of the earth, and of the true situation of the visible ce-

lestial bodies": In this work he declares himself openly for Copernicus's opinion, and even pretends to improve it. He composed this work in Dutch; but it was translated into Latin by Martin Hortensius, and printed at Middelburg in the year 1630. Fromond a Doctor of Louvain refuted it in his *Anti-Aristarchus, sive orbis terræ immobilis*: "A treatise in which it is proved that the earth stands still." Lansbergius, who did not live long enough to reply to this refutation, left a son, who published an answer to Fromond, and at the same time to Morin, Regius Professor at Paris, and to a Dane named Peter Bartholinus. This answer is intitled, *Jacobi Lansbergii Medicinæ Doctoris Apologia pro Commentationibus, &c.* i. e. "A defence of the account &c. By James Lansbergius, Doctor of Physick"; it was printed at Middelburg in the year 1635, and refuted in a new work of Fromond printed in the year 1634, and intitled *Vesta or Anti-Aristarchi Vindex*. "The earth, or a vindication of Aristarchus". I think the controversy ended here.

LANSDOWNE (GEORGE GRANVILLE, Lord) was descended of an antient and noble family derived from Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, and was second son of Bernard Granville, who was second son of Sir Bevil Granville, killed at the battle of Lansdowne in 1643, and younger brother of Sir John Granville, who was a chief instrument in the Restoration, after which he was created Earl of Bath and Viscount Lansdowne. The Nobleman, of whom we treat in this article, received the first tincture

tincture of letters in France under the tuition of Sir William Ellis, a Gentleman bred up under Dr. Busby, and who has since been eminent in many public stations. At eleven years of age he was sent to Trinity College in Cambridge, where he remained five years; but at the age of thirteen was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, having before he was twelve years old spoken a copy of English verses of his own composition to the Duchefs of York, at his College (a), when her Royal Highness paid a visit to the University of Cambridge. October the 6th 1688 he wrote a letter from Mar near Doncaster to his father upon the expected approach of the Prince of Orange's Fleet [A]. In 1690 he wrote a copy of verses to Mrs. Elizabeth Higgons in answer to one sent him by that Lady in his retirement [B]. In 1696 his Comedy called *The She-Gallants* was acted at

(a) These verses are printed in his *Genuine Works in Verse and Prose*, vol. 1. pag. 4. 5. edit. London 1736, in 12mo.

[A] *October the 6th 1688 he wrote a letter from Mar near Doncaster to his father upon the expected approach of the Prince of Orange's Fleet.* It was written before he was twenty two years old, and was as follows:

" Sir,
 " Your having no prospect of obtaining a commission for me, can no way alter or cool my desire at this important juncture to venture my life in some manner or other for my King and my country. I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying obscure and idle in a country-retirement, when every man, who has the least sense of honour, should be preparing for the field. You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I submitted to your commands upon *Monmouth's* Rebellion, when no opportunity could prevail with you to permit me to leave the Academy. I was too young to be hazarded; but give me leave to say, it is glorious at any age to die for one's country, and the sooner, the nobler sacrifice. I am now older by three years. My uncle *Baibe* was not so old, when he was left among the slain at the battle of *Newbury*; nor you yourself, Sir, when you made your escape from your tutors to join your brother at the defence of *Scilly*. The same cause is now come round about again. The King has been misled; let those who have misled him, be answerable for it. No body can deny but he is sacred in his own person, and it is every honest man's duty to defend it. You are pleased to say, it is yet doubtful, if the *Hollanders* are rash enough to make such an attempt. But be that as it will, I beg leave to insist upon it that I may be presented to his Majesty as one, whose utmost ambition it is to devote his life to his service, and my country's, after the example of all my ancestors. The Gentry assembled at *York* to agree upon the choice of Representatives for the country, have prepared an Address, to assure his Majesty they are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for him upon this and all other occasions; but at the same time they humbly beseech him to give them such magistrates as may be agreeable to the laws of the land; for at present there is no authority, to which they can legally submit. They have been beating for *Volunteers* at *York*, and the towns adjacent, to supply the regiments at *Hull*; but no body will list. By what I can hear, every body wishes well to the King; but they would be glad his Ministers were hanged. The winds continue so contrary, that no landing can be so soon as was apprehended; therefore I may hope, with your leave and assistance, to be in readiness before any action can begin. I beseech you, Sir, most humbly and most earnestly, to add this one act of indulgence more to so many other testimonies, which I have constantly received of your goodness, and be pleased to believe me always, with the utmost duty and submission,

" Sir,

" Your most dutiful, and most
 " Obedient Servant,
 " *Geo. Granville.*"

[B] *In 1690 he wrote a copy of verses to Mrs. Elizabeth Higgons, in answer to one sent him by that Lady.* That Lady's verses were as follow.

I.
*Why, Granville, is thy life to shades confin'd,
 Thou whom the Gods design'd
 In public to do credit to mankind?
 Why sleeps the noble ardour of thy blood,
 Which from thy ancestors, so many ages past,
 From *Rollo* down to *Bevil* flow'd,
 And then appeared again at last,*

*In thee, when thy victorious lance
 Bore the disputed prize from all the youth of France?*

II.

*In the first trials, which are made for fame,
 Those to whom fate success denies,
 If taking counsel from their shame,
 They modestly retreat, are wise.
 But why should you, who still succeed,
 Whither with graceful art you lead
 The fiery barb, or with as graceful motion tread
 In shining balls where all agree
 To give the highest praise to thee?
 Such harmony in every motion's found,
 As art could ne'er express by any sound.*

III.

*So loved and prais'd, whom all admire,
 Why, why should you from Courts and Camps retire?
 If Myra is unkind, if it can be,
 That any nymph can be unkind to thee;
 If penfive made by love, you thus retire,
 Awake your muse, and string your lyre;
 Your tender song and your melodious strain
 Can never be address'd in vain;
 She needs must love, and we shall have you back
 again.*

His Lordship's answer begins thus:

" Cease, tempting Siren, cease thy flatt'ring strain,
 " Sweet is thy charming song, but sung in vain:
 " When the winds blow, and loud the tempests roar,
 " What fool would trust the waves, and quit the
 " shore?
 " Early and vain into the world I came,
 " Big with false hopes and eager after fame:
 " Till looking round me, e'er the race began,
 " Madmen and giddy fools were all that ran.
 " Reclaim'd betimes I from the lists retire,
 " And thank the Gods, who my retreat inspire.
 " In happier times our ancestors were bred,
 " When virtue was the only path to tread.
 " Give me, ye Gods, but the same road to fame;
 " What'er my fathers dar'd, I dare the same.
 " Chang'd is the scene, some baneful planet rules
 " An impious world, contriv'd for knaves and fools."

He concludes with the following lines.

" Happy the man, of mortals happiest he,
 " Whose quiet mind from vain desires is free;
 " Whom neither hopes deceive, nor fears torment,
 " But lives at peace, within himself content,
 " In thought or act accountable to none,
 " But to himself, and to the Gods alone.
 " O sweetness of content! Seraphic joy!
 " Which nothing wants, and nothing can destroy.
 " Where dwells this peace, this freedom of the
 " mind?
 " Where, but in shades remote from human kind;
 " In flow'ry vales, where nymphs and shepherds
 " meet,
 " But never comes within the palace-gate.
 " Farewell then cities, courts, and camps, farewell,
 " Welcome, ye groves, here let me ever dwell,
 " From cares, from business, and mankind remove,
 " All but the Muses and inspiring love:
 " How sweet the morn! how gentle in the night!
 " How calm the ev'ning! And the day how bright!
 " From hence, as from a hill, I view below
 " The crowded world, a mighty wood in shew,
 " Where several wanderers travel day and night,
 " By different paths, and none are in the right."

at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn Fields [C]; as his Tragedy intitled, *Heroic Love*, was in the year 1696 [D]. He wrote likewise a Dramatic Poem, intitled, *The British Enchanters: or, no Magic like Love* [E], which was performed at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market; and altered Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, under the title of *The Jew of Venice*, which was acted with great applause, and the profits of it were designed for Mr. Dryden, but upon his death given to his son. In 1702 he translated into English the *second Olymbian* of *Demosthenes*. He was returned Member for the County of Cornwall in the Parliament which met in November 1710, and soon after made Secretary of War, next Comptroller of the Household, and then Treasurer, and sworn one of the Privy Council. The year following, by Letters Patents bearing date December the 31st, he was created Baron Lansdowne of Biddeford in Devonshire. In 1719 he made a speech in the House of Lords against repealing the Bill to prevent *Occasional Conformity* [F]. His Lordship died in February 1735. By his Lady, Mary, widow of Thomas Thynn Esq; (Father of Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth,) and daughter of Edward Villiers Earl of Jersey, he had issue four daughters, *Anne*, *Mary*, married March the 14th 1729 to William Graham of Platten near Drogheda in Ireland Esq; *Grace*, and *Elizabeth*. His Lordship's works have been printed together at London in 4to and 12mo. His Lady died but a few days before him.

[C] *His Comedy called, The She-Gallants.*] He afterwards altered this Comedy, and published it among his other works under the title of *Once a Lover, and always a Lover*, which, as he observes in the preface, "is a new building upon an old foundation. It appeared first under the name of the *She-Gallants*; and by the preface then prefixed to it is said to have been but the *Child of a Child*. By taking it since under examination so many years after, the author flatters himself to have made a correct Comedy of it. He found it regular to his hand; the scene constant to one place; the time not exceeding the bounds prescribed; and the action intire. It remained only to clear the ground; and to plant, as it were, fresh flowers in the room of those, which were grown into weeds, or faded by time; to retouch and vary the characters; enliven the painting; retrench the superfluous; and animate the action, where it appeared the young author seemed to aim at more than he had yet strength to perform."

[D] *His Tragedy intitled Heroic Love.*] Mr. Charles Gildon tell us (1), that "this is one of the best of our modern Tragedies, and writ after the manner of the antients, which is much more natural and easy than that of our modern Dramatists." The Prologue to it was written by Henry St. John Esq; and the Epilogue by Bevill Higgons Esq; Mr. Dryden wrote a copy of verses to our author upon this Tragedy, which begins thus:

*Auspicious Poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy, what I must commend!
But since 'tis nature's law in love and wit,
That youth should reign, and with'ring age submit,
With less regret those laurels I resign,
Which dying on my brow, revive on thine.*

[E] *The British Enchanters.*] In the preface our

author observes, that this "was the first essay of a very infant muse, rather as a task at such hours as were free from other exercises, than any way meant for public entertainment. But Mr. Betterton having had a casual sight of it many years after it was written, begged it for the stage, where it found so favourable a reception, as to have an uninterrupted run of at least forty days. The separation of the principal Actors, which soon followed, and the introduction of the Italian Opera put a stop to its farther appearance." Mr. Addison wrote the Epilogue.

[F] *In 1719 he made a speech in the House of Lords against repealing the bill to prevent Occasional Conformity.*] It is printed among his works. In this speech, among other things, he says thus: "I always understood the *Toleration* to be meant as an indulgence for tender consciences, not a licence for hardened ones; and that the act to prevent *Occasional Conformity* was designed only to correct a particular crime of particular men, in which no sect of *Dissenters* was included, but those followers of Judas, who came to the Lord's Supper for no other end but to sell and betray him. This crime, however palliated and defended even by so many Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, is no less than making the *God of Truth*, as it were in person, subservient to acts of hypocrisy; no less than sacrificing the mystical Body and Blood of our Saviour to worldly and sinister purposes: an impiety of the highest nature! which in justice called for protection, and in charity for prevention. The bare receiving the Holy Eucharist could never be intended simply as a qualification for an office, but as an open declaration, an indubitable proof of being and remaining a sincere member of the Church. Whoever presumes to receive it with any other view, profanes it; and may be said to seek his promotion in this world, by eating and drinking his own damnation in the next." H.

LARROQUE (MATTHEW DE) in Latin *Larroquanus*, one of the most illustrious Ministers the Reformed ever had in France, was born at Leirac a small city of Guienne near Agen in the year 1619. He was hardly past his youth when he lost his father and mother, who by their condition and by their virtue were the chief persons in their city. This misfortune was soon followed by the loss of his whole patrimony; nor could it be known by what fatality it happened, or to whose fraud it was owing. But this was so far from discouraging him, that on the contrary it animated him more strongly to comfort himself by studying, and to add to polite Literature, which he had already learnt, the knowledge of Philosophy, and above all that of Divinity. He made a considerable progress in these Sciences, and was admitted a Minister with great applause. Two years after he had been installed in his office, he was obliged to go to Paris to answer the cavils of those, who intended to ruin his Church. He could not prevent the effect of their artifices, but he happened to meet with such circumstances as proved favourable to him. He preached sometimes at Charenton, and was so well liked by the Duchels de la Tremouille, that she appointed him Minister of the Church of Vitre in Britany, and gave him afterwards a great many proofs of the particular esteem she had for

(a) Son to the Ducheſs De la Tremouille.

(b) Daughter to the ſame Ducheſs.

(c) Named Martin.

for him; as did alſo the Prince (a) and Princeſs of Tarente, and the Ducheſs of Weimar (b). He ſerved that Church about twenty ſeven years, and ſtudied the ancient Fathers with the utmoſt application. He gave very ſoon public proofs of the progreſs he had made in that ſtudy, for the answer he publiſhed to the motives, which a certain Miniſter (c) had alledged for his conversion to Popery, abounded with paſſages quoted from the Fathers. The works which he publiſhed afterwards raiſed his reputation exceedingly [A]. There was an intimate frienſhip between him and Meſſieurs Daillé father and ſon, which was kept up by a conſtant literary correſpondence. The journey he took to Paris procured him the acquaintance of ſeveral illuſtrious men of letters [B]. The Church of Charenton reſolved to call him in the year 1669, but the envy of ſome falſe brethren againſt him was ſo ſtrong, that they had recourſe to ſeveral artifices to prepoſſeſs the Court againſt him, ſo that his Majeſty ſent a prohibition to that Church not to think of calling him, notwithstanding the Deputy General of the Reformed (d) had offered to answer for Monſ. de Larroque's good behaviour. The grief he was under at being calumniated was very great, but the teſtimony of a good conſcience was his comfort. He was choſen to be both Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity at Saumur. He accepted the office of a Miniſter, but reſuſed the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, not thinking it conſiſtent with the ſtudy of Church-Hiſtory, for which he had a very ſtrong inclination. He was preparing himſelf for his journey to Saumur, when the Intendant of the Province (e) forbade him to go thither. The Church of Saumur brought in their complaints againſt this unjuſt prohibition, and petitioned very zealouſly for the neceſſary permiſſion, which ſhe obtained. But Monſieur de Larroque did not think it proper to make an advantage of it, nor to enter upon an employment in ſpite of the Intendant. He continued therefore ſtill at Vitré, where he did not ſuffer his pen to be idle. Three of the moſt conſiderable Churches of the Kingdom choſe him at once, namely the Church of Montauban, that of Bourdeaux, and that of Roan. He accepted the invitation of Roan, and there he ended his life January the 31ſt 1684, at the age of threeſcore and five years, having gained the reputation not only of a learned man, but alſo of an honeſt man, and

(d) The Marquis de Ravigni.

(e) Named Monſ. Voifin.

of

[A] The works which he publiſhed afterwards raiſed his reputation exceedingly.] In the year 1665 he publiſhed an answer to a book of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, intituled, *L'Office du S. Sacrement, ou Tradition de l'Eglife touchant l'Euchariftie, recueilli des Saints Peres & autres Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques*. i. e. "The Office of the Holy Sacrament, or the Tradition of the Church concerning the Lord's Supper, collected from the Holy Fathers and other Eccleſiaſtical Authors." This answer was very much eſteemed. *Mirâ cum ſolertiâ nimis Catholicorum virorum, qui ut legentibus ſuum facerent, SS. Patrum textum vel mutilaverant, vel pravo commento inquinaverant, pias fraudes vel impias dicam neſcio, retexit. Mirati ſunt omnes nihil inter reſpondendum illum fugiſſe, nihilque vindicandum intactum fuiſſe, tantâ ſagacitate ac diligentâ unum quodque expendens officium, ut in ejus meſſem nemo pedem, vel Spi-cilegii cauſa intulerit* (1). i. e. "He laid open with great ſubtlety the pious or impious frauds, I know not how to call them, of thoſe over-catholic men, who to impoſe upon their readers had caſtered the text of the Holy Fathers, or perverted the ſenſe of it by a wicked commentary. All the world wondered how he could remember every thing in his answer, and forget nothing that deſerved to be vindicated; he had diſcharged his whole taſk with ſo much ſagacity and diligence, that no man pretended to undertake it after him, even by way of eſſay." How good ſoever this book was, it was not to be compared with the excellent work, which the ſame author publiſhed ſome years after with this title, *Hiſtoire de l'Euchariftie*. i. e. "The Hiſtory of the Eucharift, or of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." There were two editions of it publiſhed in leſs than two years, and it has been tranſlated into Engliſh. The author's name was not put to the firſt edition, but it was prefixed to the ſecond, which was printed in the year 1671. It is true that his name was a little altered through an error of the Printer, who undoubtedly took a q for a g, in the author's manuſcript ſigning (2). Hence it came that ſeveral polemical writers of the Roman Catholic Church called him *Larrogue* inſtead of *Larroque*. In the year 1670 he publiſhed at Geneva two Latin diſſertations *de Photino & Liberio*, in which he took notice amongſt other things of ſome errors committed by Father Petavius concerning the time when Photinus was condemned. He reſuted in a third diſſertation what Mr. David had objected againſt the firſt. After this he undertook the defence of his good friend the learned Monſieur Daillé, (in La-

tin *Dallens*) againſt two celebrated Engliſh writers. That work is intituled, *Observationes in Ignatianas Pearsonii Vindicias, nec non in Beverigii Annotationes*. i. e. "Observations on Dr. Pearson's Vindication of Ignatius, and on Dr. Beveridge's Remarks." He had almoſt finiſhed his reply to Dr. Beveridge's answer; but being deſired by ſome friends to give up this controverſy, he very willingly granted them their requeſt. His book of the agreement between the diſcipline of the Reformed Church in France with that of the Primitive Church was publiſhed after the works I have been mentioning, and was followed by a treatiſe on receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, wherein he reſutes a work of the Biſhop of Meaux. This is what we find in the author's life, prefixed to a poſthumous work of his, which his ſon Monſieur Daniel de Larroque publiſhed in the year 1688. He does not mention there the treatiſe of the nature of the Church, nor that of the *Regale*: we muſt therefore add theſe two treatiſes to the former; and as for his poſthumous work, let us obſerve that it is intituled, *Matthæi Larroquani Adverſariorum ſacrorum libri tres. Opus poſthumum. Acceſſit Diatriba de Legione fulminatrice, in quo expenduntur Veterum teſtimonia quibus hætenus hæc Hiſtoria vera habitæ eſt. Authore Daniele Larroquano M. Filio*. i. e. "Three Books of Sacred Observations, by Matthew de Larroque: A Poſthumous Work: To which is added a Diſſertation on the Thundering Legion, wherein are examined the authorities of the Ancients on which this hiſtory has hitherto been admitted as true." Monſieur Daniel de Larroque the ſon, who had already given proofs of his learning and wit, is the author of that diſſertation on the *Thundering Legion*. He tells us that his father undertook to write a Church-hiſtory, and had finiſhed the three firſt centuries, and begun the fourth. It is to be hoped that the publick will ſome time or other be preſented with that work.

[B] The journey he took to Paris procured him the acquaintance of ſeveral illuſtrious men of letters.] Amongſt others that of Monſieur Juſtel, of Monſieur Amproux (3) and of Monſieur Conrart. They with Meſſieurs Daillé and Monſieur Allix were the Pro-teſtants, for whom he had the greateſt friendſhip. He alſo made himſelf known to ſeveral learned men of the church of Rome, particularly to the Abbot de Marollea, and to Monſieur de Launoi. They have found amongſt his papers ſeveral letters of theſe two gentlemen, and chiefly of the latter (4).

(3) Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris.

(4) Taken from his *Life* prefixed to his *Adverſariorum Sacrorum Libri tres*.

(1) Daniel Larroquanus, in *Vita Summa Matthæi Larroquani*, fol. 225.

(2) Compare this with what is obſerved above, in the remark [N] of the article CAYET.

(f) Taken from the Short Account of his Life, prefixed to a work, which his son Mr. de Larroque published at Leyden in the year 1688, intitled, *Matthæi Larroquani Adversariorum Sacrorum Libri tres.*

of a good Pastor (f). All these good qualities were united in him [C], though they be but too often separated. See his Elogy in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for March 1684, Article V.

[C] All these good qualities were united in him. I have referred you to his Elogy in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*; I refer you also to the preface from which I have extracted this article, and from which I shall again transcribe some lines of Gregory of Nazianzen. *Id duntaxat subjungamus colophonem huic elogio imposturæ, quod de suo parente nimirum dicebat Gregorius Nazianzenus, etenim nostro apprime accommodari potest* (5).

(5) Daniel Larroquanus, in *Summa Vitæ Matthæi Larroquani*, in fine.

Ἦν μοι πατήρ καλός τε καὶ γαδὸς σφόδρα,
Γρηγόριος, ἀπλῆς τῶν τρόπων, εὐλόγη βίῃ,
Πάτερρχο· ὄντως Ἀβραάμ τε δότιμχο.

Ὦν ἡ δοκῶν ἄριστος, ἡ τῶν νῦν τρόπος (6).
- - - - - Χριστὸν Φιλῶ.
Ἐπίστα σομῶν, ποιμῶν ὅτι κρείττο.

(6) This is the Elogy which Æschylus bestows on Amphiarus. See above, the remark [H] of the article AMPHARAUS before the 1st break, or a-linea.

That is, "To conclude this elogy, let us add here, what Gregory of Nazianzen said of his father, for it may very well be applied to mine. My father was a very good and honest old man, sincere, of a regular life, like another Patriarch Abraham; he chose rather to be than to appear good, which is not the fashion now. . . . He loved Christ, was a true pastor, and an ornament to his order."

LASCARIS (CONSTANTINE) left Constantinople his native place in the year 1454, and retired into Italy. He was one of those who restored polite Literature in the West. He taught it first at Milan, whither he was called by Francis Sforza. He went afterwards to meet Cardinal Bessarion at Rome, who gave him several proofs of his friendship. Then he went to Naples, where he taught Rhetoric and the Greek Tongue with reputation. Lastly he went to Messina, where he settled for the remainder of his days. He drew a great many scholars thither, and amongst others Peter Bembus, who was promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal by Pope Clement VII. He bequeathed his Library to the Senate of Messina: it contained excellent books, which he had brought with him from Constantinople. The Senate had complimented him (a) with the freedom of the City, and had him buried at the expence of the public. His marble tomb, which was in the Church of the Carmelites, has been ruined by the injury of the time, and has never been repaired (b). Our Lascaris has composed some works [A].

(a) In the year 1465.

(b) Taken from Jerom Ragusa, in *Elogiis Siculorum.*

[A] He composed some works. They treat of the Greek Grammar; Aldus Manucius printed them with some other small treatises of the same kind in Greek and Latin. Lascaris also made a collection of the lives of the learned men who flourished anciently in Sicily (1).

(1) The Jesuit Jerom Ragusa has inserted it in his *Elogia Siculorum*, a book printed at Avignon in the year 1690.

LASCARIS (JOHN) furnamed Rhyncacenus (a), was of the House of Lascaris, of which there have been some Emperors of Constantinople. He took sanctuary in Italy after the destruction of the Eastern Empire in the fifteenth Century, and was very kindly received by Laurence de Medicis. This great protector of the Learned judged him proper to collect the best manuscripts that were to be met with in Greece, and therefore he sent him to the Sultan [A]. This deputation was attended with very good success:

(a) Perhaps from a city named Rhyncacus situated between the Hellespont and Phrygia; Stephen of Byzantium mentions it.

[A] Laurence de Medicis . . . sent him to the Sultan. He sent him twice to him, if we may credit Paul Jovius, who adds that this Sultan loved Philosophy, and had a particular esteem for Laurence de Medicis. It is necessary to transcribe the very words of this Historian, because I must compare them with Monsieur Varillas's account. *Is (Laurentius Medices) tum absolvendæ Bibliothecæ studio tenebatur. Ob id Lascarem, adquirenda volumina Byzantium cum legatione ad Bajazetem bis misit: nec desuit honesta petenti, nusquam Barbarus Imperator, quippe qui erat totius Philosophiæ studiosus, Averroisque sectator eximius, & de Laurentio privatim tanquam de illustri cultore virtutis, optimè sentiret, quum paulo ante Bandinum percussorem fratris, fuga in Asiam elapsum in catenis ad supplicium tradidisset (1); singulari quidem religionis, atque justitiæ exemplo; quòd ille immane scelus in templo ausus, merita pœna plelendus censeretur. Itaque Lascares, tunc abdita Græciæ perscrutatus, quum patriæ opes victoribus effissent, nobiliora divitiis antiquæ dignitatis volumina collegit, ut in Italia servarentur (2).* i. e. "Laurence de Medicis had a strong desire to complete his library; for which purpose he sent Lascaris twice in the character of his Ambassador to Bajazet, that he might make a collection of books. Nor did the Sultan, who was by no means a barbarian, refuse to comply with his request; for he had applied himself to every part of Philosophy, and was an eminent follower of Averroes; he had also a great esteem for Laurence de Medicis as for a man distinguished by his virtues; he had given him a proof of it some time before, when he sent back to him in chains Bandini the murderer of his brother, who had made his escape into Asia; which was a remarkable instance of piety and justice; for he judged, that this wicked wretch

(1) Paul Jovius is here mistaken, it was not Bajazet II, but his father Mahomet II, who caused Bandini to be arrested, and who sent him to Laurence de Medicis in the year 1478. See Guillet, *Hist. de Mahomet II*, tom. 2. pag. 320, &c. and pag. 439. Observe that Mr. de Wicquefort has committed many blunders upon this subject. See his treatise de *L'Ambassadeur*, tom. 2. pag. m. 269.

(2) Jovius, *Elog.* cap. 31. pag. m. 74.

having committed that horrid attempt in a church, ought not to escape the punishment he deserved. Lascaris therefore, having searched all Greece without the least danger, instead of his paternal estate, on which the conquerors had seized, brought more valuable treasures with him; I mean considerable works of the ancients, to be kept in Italy." Monsieur Varillas imagined that this account, which Paul Jovius gives us, is too dry and lame, and therefore he has adorned it with a great many circumstances, as though instead of translating faithfully another's work, he had been ordered to turn it into a Romance. Here follows his relation (3). "Laurence de Medicis received Lascaris with open arms, and committed the care of his library to him. It happened one day, as they were discoursing together how they might improve it, it came into Lascaris's mind, that Bajazet II. Emperor of the Turks had an inclination for Philosophy, and that having caused Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle to be explained to him, he would not be sorry that the Peripatetics should be saved from the general ruin of literature. Laurence de Medicis promised that he would furnish him with all things necessary for a voyage to Constantinople, if he would undertake it with such a design. Lascaris took him at his word, and embarked without any credentials, except a letter which Laurence de Medicis gave him for his factors. However he found means to get access to the Grand Signior, and to be presented to his Highness, who received him even better than he expected. They had a pretty long conversation together, and Bajazet shewed him all the esteem, of which an Infidel is capable, for Laurence de Medicis's virtue, and gave Lascaris leave, for his sake, to buy all the manuscripts, that were to be

(3) Varillas, *Anecdotes de Florence*, pag. 183.

fold

for the Grand Seignor gave Lascaris leave to visit all the Libraries; by which means numberless scarce and valuable treasures of Literature were carried into Italy. Lascaris went afterwards into France, and was esteemed by Lewis XII, who sent him Embassador to Venice [B]. He went to Rome under Pope Leo X, and took another journey into Greece,

“ sold in his dominions. His Highness gave him some
 “ persons to escorte and conduct him to all the places
 “ where he knew there had been libraries formerly
 “ and to take care, that those who had plundered them,
 “ might not sell the books for more than they were
 “ worth. Lascaris therefore was able to travel conveni-
 “ ently over all Greece, and collect those scarce volumes,
 “ which are still kept in the King's library. And yet
 “ he brought but half of them with him in the first
 “ voyage he made, because the joy he had to be in
 “ a condition to shew to his patron the authors he
 “ had discovered, though they were thought to be
 “ lost for ever, made him return to Florence two
 “ years after he set out from thence. But Laurence
 “ de Medicis sent him back again three
 “ months after, and desired him to continue to
 “ search every place where there had ever been
 “ learned men. Lascaris waited again on Bajazet,
 “ and received new favours from him. He travelled
 “ over the whole Peloponnesus, and came back as it
 “ were in triumph on board a ship laden with the
 “ spoils of the Greek tongue. But he had not yet
 “ lodged his manuscripts in the stately building de-
 “ signed for them, when Laurence de Medicis died,
 “ leaving Italy in a state of tranquillity, which did
 “ not continue long. The French army entered Flo-
 “ rence, and dispersed both the books and all the
 “ other furniture of the house of Medicis.” There
 are here not only several circumstances, which Monsieur
 Varillas forged to adorn his account and make it more
 full, but also some falsifications of facts; for he sup-
 poses, I. That Lascaris had no credentials for the
 Grand Signor. If it be so, what can be the mean-
 ing of these words of Paul Jovius, *Byzantium cum*
LEGATIONE ad Bajazetum misit? i. e. “ He sent
 “ him to Byzantium in the character of his Embassa-
 “ dor to Bajazet?” II. That the scarce volumes
 which Lascaris collected, are in the French King's
 library, the French army having plundered the books
 and other furniture of the house of Medicis, under
 the reign of Charles VIII. To refute that Historian's
 assertion, we need only to put him in mind of what he
 has observed in another work (4), namely that the
 house of Medicis was plundered by the Florentines,
 before ever Charles the eighth's troops entered Flo-
 rence. He asserts positively that the Florentines *dis-*
persed the prodigious collection of statues, pictures, books
and medals which strangers used to behold with admira-
tion in the palace of Medicis. Observe that the books
 of that library, which may have been carried into the
 French King's library, were brought thither another
 way, than by the means of Charles the eighth's ex-
 pedition. They were lodged there much later: See
 father Jacob in his treatise of libraries; he tells you
 that Catherine de Medicis brought to her husband Hen-
 ry II. amongst other things, the manuscripts of the fa-
 mous library of Medicis, which were lodged in the
 royal library, where they still remain (5).

If it be ever proved that Monsieur Varillas does
 not ground the account he gives us of Lascaris in his
 Anecdotes (or secret history) of Florence, only on
 Paul Jovius's eulogies, I shall then examine whether
 I were in the wrong to charge him with forging most
 of the circumstances he relates. If he had been ac-
 quainted with what Paul Jovius relates in another
 book, he would have given us a story much more
 paraphrased still; it had been a scene adorned with
 a great many decorations. Paul Jovius relates, that
 the Bashaw Cherseoglis obtained leave for John Laf-
 caris to visit all the Libraries in Greece, when by
 Pope Leo the tenth's orders he was searching for an-
 cient manuscripts. *Nec illud quidem erga literarum*
studia eximia benignitatis officium prætermittendum vi-
detur, quod Lascari, quem supra memoravimus Græcorum
nobilissimo, pariter atque doctissimo antiquos codices
justa Leonis decimi conquiriti, cunctas Græciæ bibliothe-
cas impetrato ad id regio diplomate, liberè excutiendas
aperuit (6). i. e. “ Nor ought we to omit the fol-
 “ lowing remarkable instance of Cherseoglis's kind
 “ inclination to protect literature: for when Lascaris,

“ that most noble and learned Grecian, whom we
 “ have mentioned above, was by Leo the tenth's
 “ command searching for ancient manuscripts, Cher-
 “ seoglis got him a patent from the Sultan, by which
 “ he was permitted freely to search all the Libraries
 “ in Greece.” This historian had observed just be-
 fore, that the Bashaw, who was turned Mahometan
 out of spite, was still a Christian in his heart, and
 had a crucifix hid in his closet, which he used to wor-
 ship in the night time, when no man could be a
 witness to it. He shewed this Crucifix to John Laf-
 caris, who related afterwards all these particulars to
 Paul Jovius. Let us acquaint the reader with the
 reasons of that spite, which determined Cherseoglis to
 abjure the Christian religion outwardly. He was upon
 the point of marrying a beautiful maiden; when his
 father who liked her very much took her for him-
 self. This injury exasperated the son to such a de-
 gree, that he retired to the neighbouring garrisons of
 the Turks, and thence to Constantinople, where Ba-
 jazet received him very kindly, and promised him one
 of his daughters. Whereupon the young man turned
 Mahometan, renounced his name of Stephen, and took
 the names of Achomat and Cherseoglis, and became
 Bajazet's son-in-law (7). With what romances, with
 what flourishes should we not meet in the secret history
 of Florence, if Monsieur Varillas had been acquaint-
 ed with the following Latin passage? *Non, ut cæteri*
ferè omnes à prima pueritia per delictis Christianis
parentibus erepti, sed jam planè vir (Cherseoglis) *ita à*
majorum religione discessit, ut nunquam ex arcano vera
pietatis oblivisceretur. Is Chersechii regni in Illyrico,
ad montem Nigrum filius, quum adamata ei sponsa que
erat è Stirpe Serviciæ Despoti, ad paratas nuptias ducer-
etur, concupivit eam illico, quod esset egregia venustatis,
procaci oculo improbus pater, omnemque pudorem super-
ante libidine, sibi statim impotenter excluso filio nuptias
celebravit, frustra reclamantibus propinquis: qui id faci-
mus filio contumeliosum patrique & domui infame detesta-
bantur. Itaque juvenis tantæ injuriæ indignitate com-
motus, præcipitque aclus desperatione, &c. (8). i. e.
 “ Cherseoglis was not, like a great many others,
 “ snatched away from his parents in his childhood,
 “ but being already a grown man, he renounced the
 “ religion of his ancestors, yet so, that he could never
 “ forsake nor forget the truth from the bottom of his
 “ heart. He was the son of Chersechius, a petty
 “ King of Illyricum, near the black Mountain. He
 “ was going to marry the daughter of the governor
 “ of Servia, whom he loved intirely, when his wic-
 “ ked father finding her beautiful, looked upon her
 “ with a lustful eye, and his lust banishing all shame
 “ from his heart, he snatched her away from his
 “ son and married her himself, notwithstanding all the
 “ endeavours of his relations, who abhorred the fact
 “ which was an injury to the son, and a disgrace to
 “ the father. The young man being highly exasper-
 “ rated at so great an affront, and hurried away by
 “ a sudden despair, &c.”

I leave others to examine whether Paul Jovius did
 not mistake the voyages which John Lascaris made
 by Laurence de Medicis's command, with that which
 he supposes he made under Pope Leo X. Bajazet died
 before Leo X was chosen Pope, and I question much
 whether Cherseoglis had great credit under that Sultan's
 successor; it is certain that he never was any longer
 able to do John Lascaris service, than under the reign
 of Bajazet.

[B] Lewis XII. . . sent him Embassador to Venice.]
 I find that he sent him thither in that character in
 the year 1503, and in the year 1505. See Peter
 Bembus's history of Venice (9), where he relates the
 subject of these embassies, and gives us the substance
 of the embassador's orations. Vianoli (10) asserts,
 that in the year 1507 the republick being acquaint-
 ed with the league of Cambray dismissed Lascaris, Lew-
 is the twelfth's ambassador. But how could the repub-
 lick be acquainted at that time with a league, which
 was not concluded till December 1508? See the
 margin (11).

(7) Jovius, *ibid.*
255 verso.

(8) Jovius, *Hist.*
lib. 13. folio 255.
See also Melanch-
thon, in the 5th
book of *Carion's*
Chronick.

(9) Lib. 6. fol.
m. 144 verso, &
lib. 7. folio 152.

(10) *Historia*
Veneta, Part. 2.
pag. 76.

(11) I imagine
that the alliances
which were
forming before
the conclusion of
the treaty of
Cambray are
called the League
of Cambray by
way of anticipa-
tion.

What

(4) Varillas, *Hist. de Charles VIII.* liv. 3. under the year 1494, pag. 262. of the edition printed in Holland.

(5) Jacob, *Traité des Bibliothèques,* pag. 458.

(6) Jovius, *Hist.* lib. 13. folio, m. 256.

Greece, from whence he came with some young Gentlemen who were to be educated in the College which was founded on the *Mons Quirinalis*, in order to preserve the true pronunciation of the Greek Tongue (b). He returned into France under the reign of Francis I [C], and after he had continued there some time he went again into Italy, and died of the gout at Rome aged about fourscore and ten years. He was buried in the Church of St. Agatha. Though he had no settled income, yet he had always wherewithal to bear his expences, though he took no care of his domestic affairs, and loved to live in a grand manner. His laziness would not suffer him to write many books (c) [D]. He understood the Latin Tongue very well, and he did not judge it beneath

(b) Taken from Paul Jovius, in *Elog.* cap. 31.

(c) Ex eodem, *ibid.*

(12) Wicquefort, *de l'Ambassadeur*, liv. 1. pag. m. 166.

What Monsieur de Wicquefort relates of this embassy is not very obliging. The Pope, says he (12), discovered too late the fault he had committed in choosing so impertinent and ridiculous a Minister. John Lascaris, whom Lewis XII sent ambassador to Venice in the year 1503, was not much less impertinent. He was of a family, which had formerly afforded great Princes to the empire of Constantinople, and he was a very learned man; but he was not in the least acquainted with publick affairs. He had besides such a mean countenance, and lived in such a pitiful and fordid manner, that instead of appearing like an ambassador, and doing honour to the King his master, it seemed as though he affected to imitate the false modesty of those, who applying themselves entirely to speculative Philosophy, pretend to a wilful poverty, and are a kind of Cynicks. His commission was so much the more difficult, as he was ordered to borrow money, and to conclude an alliance, at a time when the senate was not in the least inclined to favour the French; because the King's affairs were not in a very good situation in Italy. Laurence Suarez de Figueroa, Ambassador from Ferdinand the Catholick, made an advantage of the republick's discontent, who could not bear that the King should have sent them a pedant instead of an Ambassador; Suarez therefore said in a full senate, that the republick might judge how the King of France would treat them, if after the conquest he pretended to make of the kingdom of Naples, he came to be superior, and in a condition to oppress all Italy without controul, since even at a time when he was in the utmost necessity, and wanted assistance, he shewed such a contempt for the senate, as to send them a Greek Philosopher newly come from the schools.

[C] He returned into France under the reign of Francis I. Paul Jovius's not mentioning this has been the occasion why Monsieur Varillas did not mention it neither. His paraphrase of the Italian historian is as follows. Lascaris not knowing what course to take, applied himself to Charles VIII; and as he was skilled in matters of state, he was sent ambassador to Venice, and acquitted himself worthily of that employment, under this Monarch, and under his successor Lewis XII. Lastly Leo X being raised to the Papal Throne, sent for Lascaris to Rome to be of his council (13). This, according to Monsieur Varillas, was John Lascaris's last employment. But there is more than one mistake here; for the Pope did not make him his counsellor,

(13) Varillas, *Anecd. de France*, pag. 184.

(14) See a Letter of Budæus, amongst those of Erasmus, it is the 30th of the 2d book, pag. 156.

but director of a college for the Greek tongue (14), and after that time this learned man had some employment at Paris. I imagine it was that of Library keeper to the King; the reason I have to think so is taken from a letter, which James Tusa wrote to Angelo Lascaris the son of John, in which we meet with the following words (15). *Fani patris tui excellentem in Romana lingua, nedum vestra, peritiam Græcæ literaturæ quantum usu, quantum scientiâ præcellat, ex hoc intelligi vel maximè posse, quod sum ex cunctis vestri generis hominibus de sententia doctissimum delectum Princeps noster Franciscus accersendum esse tenuerit, ut Musæo quod in hac urbe longe omnium Principe multo celeberrimum speramus excitatum iri, propediem, velut alter Apollo præsideat.* i. e. "I do not design to expatiate on your Father's eminent knowledge in the Roman, not to mention your own language; however I cannot but observe, that how much he excelled both in the practice and in the Theory of the Greek literature, appears from this,

(15) Gesner, in *Biblioth.* folio 39 verso.

that our King Francis judged him the most proper man, amongst all the learned of your nation, to be intrusted with the care of his library, which is to be erected in the most noble city in the world, and will, we hope, become much more considerable by his care, who is to preside over it as another Apollo." Here follows another passage, which is not free from errors, but yet it will serve us for an argument. I transcribe it from the Theatre of the antiquities of Paris composed by James du Breul (16), Emanuel Chrysoloras had for his scholar Angelo Tifernas, who being at Paris in the year 1523 taught the Greek tongue to John Lascaris and to William Budæus two learned men, who published several noble works, as Genebrard observes in his Chronology in these words. Anno 1523 Chrysoloræ, qui primus Litteras Græcas Florentiam Cosmo Mediceo Florentino Duce attulit, discipulus Tifernas in Franciam venit, Budæumque litteras Græcas docuit. Deinde Janus Lascaris, mortuo Laurentio Medico Mæcenate suo. Atque inde literatura Græca, deserta Italia, ad nos migravit. i. e. "Tifernas a disciple of Chrysoloras, who first introduced the knowledge of the Greek Tongue into Florence, under the grand Duke Cosmo de Medicis, came into France in the year 1523, and taught Budæus the Greek Tongue. After him came John Lascaris after the death of his protector Laurence de Medicis. Thus the Greek literature leaving Italy came over to us." Now Lascaris and Budæus, as the same author witnesses, were the first at whose persuasion King Francis I erected the library of Fontainebleau, and established afterwards Regius Professors, as the same author asserts. Lascaris & Budæo auctoribus, Franc. I. Bibliothecam Fontainebleam instruxit, indeque anno 1530 Linguarum & Mathematicum professores. Nam cæteri sunt adscriptitii. i. e. "Francis the first established the library of Fontainebleau at the persuasion of Lascaris and Budæus; and in the year 1530 he established Professors of the languages and of Mathematicks; for the others are supernumeraries".

(16) Du Breul, *Antiquitez de Paris*, liv. 2. pag. 563. of the Paris edition 1659, in 4to.

There are several things to censure in this passage. In the 1st place, Tifernas's Christian name was Gregory and not Angelo. 2. He died in the fifteenth century; how could he then come to Paris in the year 1523? Father du Breul had observed just before, that Chrysoloras, who died at Constance April the 15th 1415, had taught him the Greek tongue. Should not this have made du Breul sensible, that Tifernas was not alive under the reign of Francis I? 3dly. It is absurd to pretend that John Lascaris, who was a Greek by nation, learned the Greek tongue from an Italian (17). It is gross ignorance to assert, that he and William Budæus were young scholars in the year 1523. Budæus was then fifty two years old, and was reckoned to be the most learned man, and the greatest Grecian in France. 5. The passage quoted by Du Breul from Genebrard signifies, that John Lascaris came into France after Tifernas, and after the death of Laurence de Medicis. Du Breul did not understand it. Observe that Lascaris returned into France in the year 1518 (18), and that he was there still in the year 1528 (19). This proves Moreri guilty of a gross blunder, who asserts that Lascaris died soon after Leo X had been chosen Pope.

(17) Tifernas was an Italian.

[D] His laziness would not suffer him to write many books. They wished that he would translate Greek authors; but they could hardly force from him the translation of some treatises of Polybius on the military art (20). I find that the Oxford catalogue mentions his book *de veris Græcarum literarum formis ac causis apud Antiquos*; i. e. "Of the true Form and Origin

(18) See Erasmus's Letters, lib. 11. num. 4. pag. 548. and num. 5. pag. 549.

(19) See the same Letters, lib. 20. num. 72. pag. 1030.

(20) Paulus Jovius, in *Elog.* cap. 31. pag. 74.

beneath him to be a Corrector of the Press [E]. We must examine Giraldis's account [F].

I do not know how I came to forget a particular which deserves to be related; namely, that "he is the first who invented or at least restored and brought again into use the large letters, or to speak more properly, the capital letters of the Greek alphabet, in which he caused some moral sentences and other Greek verses to be printed in the year 1494, and dedicated them to Peter de Medicis, in a long Epistle, wherein he acquaints him with his design, and with the great pains he was at, to find out the true figure of those capital letters, in the most ancient medals and other monuments of antiquity (d)."

(d) Naude, *Ad-dit. à l'Hist. de Louis XI.*, pag. 303, 304.

(21) Gesner, *Biblioth. folio 39 verso.*

(22) In the remark [A] of the article MUSURUS.

(23) Jovius, in *Elog. cap. 31.* pag. 74.

(24) Mentioned above, in the remark [C] quotation (25).

(25) See Erasmus's Letters, pag. 1030, 1039, 1044, and in other places, of the London edition.

(26) Erasmus in *Ciceronians*, pag. m. 70.

(27) Henricus Stephanus in *Artis Typogr. Quæstionibus*, apud Almelovenium, de *Vitiis Stephan.* pag. 140.

(a) See the remark [B].

"of the Greek Letters;" printed at Paris in the year 1536 in 8vo, and his Orations printed at Francfort in the year 1573. Gesner (21) observes that his Greek and Latin epigrams were printed at Basil in the year 1537.

[E] He understood the Latin tongue very well, and he did not judge it beneath him to be a Corrector of the Press. It appears from a passage in Erasmus, which I quote in another place (22), that John Lascaris was a perfect master of the Latin tongue. Paul Jovius bestows the same commendation upon him. *Valubat Latina facundia, ita ut versus, qui extant, perscriberet* (23). i. e. "He was well acquainted with the Latin tongue, as appears by the verses he wrote which are extant." I might add other authorities to these two, and to that of Tusa (24), if it were necessary. Observe that Lascaris was not well pleased with the elogy which Erasmus bestowed on him, in the dialogue entitled *Ciceronians*. He joined with the discontented persons, who wrote satirical verses at Paris against the author of that dialogue (25). He was too exceptious on this occasion, and had no reason to be angry; for Erasmus had expressed himself as follows. *De Jano (Lascaris) quoniam adhuc superest, dicendum est parcius. Morum comitate generis nobilitatem præ se fert, acri judicio vir, multe in Epigrammatibus arguitur: poterat inter Ciceroniani cognominis candidatos numerari, ni crebra legationes ac regum negotia revocassent hominem à Musis* (26). i. e. "We must speak more cautiously of John Lascaris, considering that he is still living. His noble descent appears in his polite behaviour: he is a man of an acute judgment, his epigrams abound with smart touches; and he might have been reckoned amongst those, who aim at the title of Ciceronian, had not his frequent embassies and the affairs of Princes, in which he was engaged, diverted his thoughts from the Muses."

With regard to his functions of a Corrector of the Press, read the following passage from Henry Stephens (27). *Quid verò dicturus M. illum Musurum & Janum Lascarin putamus, in quibus primis Græcia reviviscere cepit, & qui Principes in pandendo nobis ad linguæ Græcæ adyta itinere fuerunt! quid, inquam, dicturus remur, si, quum ipsi tantum honoris arti typographicæ detulerint, ut non indignam existimarint cui suam*

operam navarent, fungentes munere correctorum (liceat enim de rebus typographicis typographicè loqui) id rem devenisse videntur, ut si quis &c. i. e. "What do we think would Mark Musurus and John Lascaris say, who are the first by whose means Greece began to revive amongst us, and who paved us the way to the most hidden recesses of the Greek tongue? what do we think, would they say, if they, who did so much honour to the Art of Printing, that they did not think it unworthy to receive assistance from them by their performing the functions of Correctors of the Press (for since we are speaking of things relating to printing, let us be allowed to make use of the technical words of that Art) if they, I say, should see, that things are now come to that pass, that if a man &c." Add to this the following words of Monsieur Chevillier (28). "I imagine it was Lascaris who corrected the proof-sheets of the *Avicenna*, printed at Lyons in three volumes in folio by John Trechsel and John Cleym in the year 1498, with the commentaries of James de Partibus; as I am apt to think from his prefixing to that book a dedication to John Ponceau the King's Physician.

[F] We must examine Giraldis's account. He tells us, that the Family of the Medicis being driven from Florence, Janus Lascaris wandered for some time from place to place, till Leo X invited him to Rome; that after this Pope's death he went into France at the invitation of Francis, who having employed him in the foundation of a College, and of a Library, sent him Ambassador to Venice; that he continued a long time there; and that at last after the death of Clement VII, he was determined by the many promises of Paul III, to return to Rome, where he died soon after, leaving behind him a son called Angelo (29). Let us observe first that there is a considerable omission here, Giraldis not saying one word of the embassy to Venice under Lewis XII. Observe next, that he supposes Francis I sent Lascaris to Venice in the character of an Ambassador, but I think he is mistaken. Lastly, take notice that he did not know, that this learned Greek was at Rome in the year 1532 under Pope Clement VII. See the 28th letter of Bunel, in which he tells us that he saw John Lascaris at Rome that same year (30).

(28) Chevillier, *Orig. de l'Impri-merie*, pag. 194.

(29) Taken from Lilius Gregorius Giraldis, de *Pœt. suor. temp.* Dial. 1. pag. m. 552.

(30) Bunell. Ep. 38. pag. 108. ed. Tolcl. 1687.

LASICIUS (JOHN) a Gentleman of Poland (a) in the sixteenth Century, gained some reputation by his writings [A]. Genebrard gives him a very bad character; he represents him as a downright Proteus, and as a weather-cock in matters of Religion. "This man, says he (b), favoured the Anti-Trinitarians about the year 1565; soon after

(b) Genebrardus, *Chronol. lib. 4.* under the year 1582, pag. m. 786.

(1) Pag. m. 464.

[A] He gained some reputation by his writings. It is observed in this epitome of Gesner (1), that he had published a work in his mother-tongue, in which he re-futed with great learning and judgment the new Samofatenians and Arians, and that he had also written a Latin treatise against their errors, which he dedicated to Duditi-us. The Oxford catalogue mentions the following works of his. *De Diis Samogitarum cæterorumque Sarmatarum & falsorum Christianorum: item de Religione Armeniorum, & de initio regiminis Stephani Batorii*. i. e. Of the Gods of the Samogitians, and of the other Sarmatians and false Christians; as also of the Religion of the Armenians, and of the beginning of Stephen Batorii's reign; printed at Basil in the year 1615. *Historia de ingressu Polonorum in Valachiam anno 1572, & Dantiscanorum clades anno 1577.* i. e. "An Account of the Poles entering Walachia in the year 1572, and of the overthrow of the Dantzickers in the year 1577;" printed at Basil in the

year 1582. *Vera Religionis Apologia & falsa Confusio*; printed at Spire in the year 1582, with the *Collectio variorum Authorum de Russorum, Muscovitarum, & Tartarorum Religione, Sacrificiis, & Nuptiarum ac Funerum Ritu*. i. e. "A Collection of several Authors, concerning the Religion, Sacrifices, Ceremonies in the Marriages and Funerals, of the Russians, Muscovites, and Tartars." This is the work which Genebrard meant. It is proper to observe that it contains a Latin translation made by Lascius of a manuscript, which the Great Duke of Muscovy gave in the year 1570 to a Protestant Minister, who accompanied the King of Poland's Ambassadors (2). *Qui Johannes Rokyta Anno Christi 1570 jussu seniorum suorum, Serenissimi Regis Poloniae Legatos in Muscoviam comitatus, ipse a sacris fuit Concionibus. Hic cum ipso Magno Moscoviæ Duce, Basilio (votatus in arcem Moscoviensem die 10 Maii) colloquium habuit, & in magna Procuratione gentis ejus frequentia fidei suæ rationem reddi-*

(2) Martinus Grut. de primo Ecclesiar. Unctis Fratrum in Polonia Narrat. ad Calcem. Jo. Lascii, Hist. Fratrum Boben. pag. 381.

“ after he turned Calvinist, and then became a Bohemian Brother or a Picard [B] : and
 “ in the year 1582 he declared himself a Lutheran in a work printed at Spires on the
 “ Religion of the Mahometans (c). It is to be feared that loaded with his sins he will
 “ become a Mahometan himself next year. This seems to be hinted by what he ob-
 “ serves in page 16. of that book, namely, that there are a great many various readings
 “ in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Scripture, the Heretics having
 “ suppressed some things in it, falsified others, and altered and added others, all which
 “ he proves by fine passages from Erasmus, Beza, Castalio, Francis Lucas, and Francis
 “ Junius; he is very angry with those who assert that Mahomet is the Antichrist, and
 “ who apply to him the number 666, which is mentioned in the thirteenth chapter of
 “ St. John’s Revelation. He declares himself the assertor of all kind of intempe-
 “ rance (d) : they who have seen him will not wonder at it ; for his gross bulk shews
 “ that he was born only for his belly ; if he be the same whom I was acquainted
 “ with at Paris, and whom I strengthened against the arguments of the Anti-
 “ trinitarians.” Such is Genebrard’s discourse ; the reader will not lay much stress
 upon it, if he does but remember, that this author used to slander with the utmost fury
 all those who were not Roman Catholics. Lascius travelled a great deal, and he had
 the character of Envoy from Stephen Battori King of Poland. He was still living in
 the year 1599. See the proof of these last particulars in the remark [B].

(c) See the re-
mark [A].

(d) *Illic gula
bibacitatis, vo-
luptatis, impu-
dicitiae patrum
agit. i. e.* “ He
“ pleads for
“ gluttony,
“ drunkenness,
“ pleasure, and
“ lasciviousness.”
Genebrard. *Chro-
nol. lib. 4. pag.
786.*

*dit. A quo etiam (die 18 Junii Librum Rbutenicis cha-
racteribus (quorum illic usus est) enarratum, accepit, quo
summa Religionis Moscoviticæ continetur. Qui liber a
Domino Joanne Lascio Latino donatus Spiræ Nemetum
Anno 1582 typis editus est, una cum Responsonibus,
quibus errores Moscovitarum deteguntur & refutantur.*
i. e. “ John Rokyta was appointed by his Elders
“ Chaplain to the King of Poland’s Embassadors in the
“ year 1570, and went with them into Muscovy. He
“ had a conversation with the Great Duke of Mos-
“ covy (being sent for to the castle of Moscow May
“ the 10th) and in a great assembly of the Nobles of
“ that nation, he gave an account of his faith. And
“ the 18th of June he received from the same Great
“ Duke a book written in Russian characters (which they
“ use) containing a summary account of the reli-
“ gion of the Muscovites. This book has been trans-
“ lated into Latin by John Lascius, and printed at
“ Spires in the year 1582, with a reply to it, in which
“ the errors of the Muscovites are laid open and re-
“ futed.” Regenvolcius mentions the same particu-
lar. *Hanc fidei Confessionem, à se, mandato Principis
Moschi, conscriptam, Rokita toti Senatui ipsius, eo præ-
sente exhibuit. Tum Moschus Dux Responsonem ad banc
Rokitæ Confessionem, libro eleganter in quarto Rubenicis
litteris scripto, & pretiosè tela auro textâ ornato, com-
prebensum, ei in manus porrexit. Autor hujus Historiæ
vidit librum hunc, in Bibliotheca eximii cujusdam Pa-
troni. Colloquium hoc, & Quæstiones ulro citroque inter
Moscovitarum Principem & Rokitam Ministrum ha-
bitas, descripsit Latino idiomate Job. Lascius, in Theo-
logiâ Moscovitarum, Spiræ Nemetum An. 1582 edita:
cum Refutatione superstitionum Russicarum & Evangeli-
corum, atque ipsius Lutheri Defensione (3).* i. e. “ This
“ Confession of Faith, which Rokyta wrote down,
“ by the Great Duke of Muscovy’s order, was by him
“ presented to the whole Senate in the Duke’s pre-
“ sence : who gave him an answer to this Confession,
“ fairly written in a book in quarto in Russian charac-
“ ters, and covered with a rich cloth interwoven with
“ gold. The author of this History has seen that
“ book in the library of an illustrious patron. This
“ conversation with the questions and answers that
“ passed between the Great Duke of Muscovy and
“ the Minister Rokyta, have been related in the Latin
“ tongue by John Lascius, in his Theology of the
“ Muscovites, printed at Spires in the year 1582 ;
“ with a refutation of the superstitions of the Russians
“ and of the Evangelics, and a vindication of Lu-
“ ther.” We shall mention another work of Lascius

in the following remark.

[B] *A Bohemian brother or a Picard.*] I find in the
 preface, which is prefixed to his history of the bre-
 thren in Bohemia (4), that he first embraced the Re-
 formation of Zwinglius, when the lesser Poland was
 reformed by some Ministers, who came from Zurich :
 that hearing afterwards that the Churches of Great
 Poland shaking off the yoke of Popery followed, some
 the Confession of Augsburg, and others the Confession
 of Bohemia, he enquired carefully into the reasons
 of this diversity ; that he travelled into Bohemia, Ger-
 many, and France ; that he examined very exactly
 all that was necessary ; that there was no discipline,
 nor Confession of Faith he liked so well as those of the
 Bohemian brethren ; and that finding there had been
 but very few and imperfect accounts given of them,
 he undertook to write their history ; that he applied
 himself several years to it, and composed a work di-
 vided into eight parts, and intitled, *Origo, Progressus,
resque tam prosperæ quam adversæ, nec non Mores,
Instituta, Consuetudinesque Fratrum Bobemicorum.* i. e.
 “ The Origin, Progress, fortunate and unfortunate
 “ Events of the Bohemian Brethren, together with
 “ their Manners, Laws, and Customs ;” that about
 the year 1585 he sent that work to Churches
 in Bohemia, desiring them to publish it, af-
 ter they had made such alterations and supplé-
 ments to it, as they thought proper ; that not meet-
 ing with the success he expected, he sent a more cor-
 rect copy of his work to Baron Charles of Zerotin (5),
 in the year 1591, desiring him to exert both his au-
 thority and his generosity to procure the printing of
 that manuscript ; but that all this proved unsuccessful,
 At last one of the Bohemian brethren published the
 eighth book of this History of Lascius, in the year
 1649, with some extracts of the seven others. Here
 follows the title of that edition. *Jobannis Lascii nobilis
Polonii Historia de Origine & Rebus Gestis Fratrum
Bobemorum Liber Octavus, qui est de moribus & institutis
eorum, ob præsentem rerum statum (6) seorsim editus.
Adduntur tamen reliquorum VII Librorum Argumenta &
particularia quedam Excerpta.* The History of the
 “ Origin and Deeds of the Bohemian Brethren by
 “ John Lascius, a noble Pole. Book VIII,
 “ which treats of the Manners and Laws of the said
 “ Brethren, now published by itself on account of
 “ the present State (*) of Affairs ; to which is ad-
 “ ded however the contents of the seven other Books,
 “ with some particular Extracts from them.”

(4) *Fuit Lascius
ille gente Polonus
natalibus ; Eques
dignitate ea ut a
Rege Stephano ad
exteros Principes
Legatus adhibe-
retur ; Religione
vero Evangelicus,
& Confessione
Helveticus, quam
scilicet Confessi-
onem Polonia mi-
nor, Reformatores
suis Tururo nacta,
suam f. erat.*
P. 101. pag. 10.

(5) Who was
soon after Govern-
nor of Moravia.
(6) That is to
say, on account
of the corrupt
morals of the
Bohemian Bre-
thren in that
dispersion ; which
made it necessary
to shew them
how much they
were degenerated
from the virtue
of their ancestors.
(*) See the mar-
ginal quotati-
on (6).

(3) *Adrian Re-
genvolcius, Syll.
Historico-Chron.
Ecclesiarum Sla-
vonicar. pag. 91.*

(a) *Gonsales of
Corduba, grand-
son to the re-
nowned Captain*

LATINUS (JOHN) a Moor by birth, was brought into Spain when a little boy,
 and was a servant in the Duke of Suesfia’s family (a) [A]. The happy genius which
 was observed in him, was the cause of his being permitted to share in the instructions
 and

[A] *He was a servant in the Duke of Suesfia’s fa-
mily.]* This he himself declared, in an inscription
 given by Don Nicholas Antonio (1). *Hæc Joannus
Æthiops Chresticola ex Æthiopia usque infans advectus
excellentiſſimi & invictiſſimi Gonsali Fernandi à Cordu-
ba Ducis Suesfiæ, Gonsalvi Magni Hispaniarum Ducis*

*nepotis servus, ab ipso infantia lacte simul nutritus, cum
ipso à rudibus annis liberalibus artibus institutus & doc-
tus, & tandem libertate donatus, Granatæ ab illustris-
simo pariter & reverendissimo Petro Guerrero Grana-
tensi Archiepiscopo extra omnem aleam doctissimo, S. Ec-
clesiæ Granatæ cathedram Grammaticæ & Latini ser-
monis*

(1) *Nicol. An-
ton. Bibliorb.
Hispan. tom. 1.
pag. 547.*

and lessons that were bestowed on his young master; and this gave him an opportunity of acquiring so much learning, that having obtained his freedom, the Archbishop of Granada made him master of the Grammar-School belonging to the Church of Granada. Here he acquitted himself worthily of his function for twenty years; and being no less esteemed for his morals than for the brightness of his parts, he married to very great advantage [B]. He published several Poems (b) [C]. Some say that Clenard brought him from Ethiopia into Spain [D], and taught him polite Literature; but this is not true. The mistake of these writers might easily be shewn. Moreri has committed but few errors, but they are very gross ones [E].

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minis accepit moderandam, quam per viginti annos feliciter moderatus est. i. e. "John the Ethiopian, a worshipper of Christ, brought an infant out of Ethiopia, servant to the most excellent and invincible Gonzales Fernando of Corduba, Duke of Suesfa, grandson to the great Duke Gonfalso, brought up with him from a child, and instructed with him in the liberal arts; being at last restored to his liberty, he was made master of the grammar school, belonging to the church of Granada, (and taught that school very successfully during twenty years,) by the most illustrious, most reverend and most learned Peter Guerrero, archbishop of Granada." Schottus the Jesuit has therefore committed an error, in saying that our Moor learnt the Latin tongue, by his having an opportunity of waiting on Mendoza at college. *Hic dum Mendozium Heroa, (I fancy this is an error of the press for Herum) Granatæ in ludum literarium comitaretur, linguam Latinam eadem opera arripuit (2).* The matter of our Latinus was not nam'd Mendoza. The reader will find in Aubertus Miræus (3), very near verbatim all that Schottus says of this learned Ethiopian.

(2) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hispan.* pag. 450.

(3) *De Scripturis Seculi 16.* pag. 92.

(4) Nicol. Anton. *Biblioth. Hispan.* tom. 1. pag. 547.

(5) *Idem, ibid.*

(6) Schottus, *Biblioth. Hispan.* pag. 450.

(7) Ludov. Nonnius, in *Hispantia Illustrata*, p. 83.

(8) *Extracted from Nicol. Antonio, Biblioth. Hispan.* tom. 1. pag. 547.

(9) It is in Nicholas Antonio, *ubi supra*, and in Moreri.

[B] He married to very great advantage.] He married Donna Anna de Carleval (4); *Charus omnibus propter ingenii ac morum dotes, matrimonio insuper bonæ nec ignobilis fœminæ supra conditionem ornatus* (5). i. e. "Being dear to all persons on account of his talents and worthy conduct, he married a virtuous lady of a very good family." 'Tis said that he was a handsome man; a circumstance which perhaps was as rare, according to the taste of the Europeans, as to see a Moor teach the Latin tongue. *Granatæ linguam Latinam publice profiteri cepit, stupendo exemplo in cathedra nigrum hominem Latine loqui* (6). . . *Ludum hic (Granatæ) parentum memoria aperuit (quis credat?) Joannes Æthiops genere, Latinus hinc dictus, at præstanti forma & Musicæ ac Poëticæ in paucis peritus* (7). i. e. "John the Ethiopian, in the memory of our fathers, open'd (who could believe it?) a school here, (in Granada) whence he was called Latinus; he being a very handsome person, and greatly skill'd in musick and poetry."

[C] He published several Poems.] One on the battle of Lepanto, another on the death of Pope Pius V. and a great number of epitaphs. Here follow their titles: *Auftriacos libri II, sive de victoria navali Joannis Auftriaci ad Echinadas Insulas. De obitu Pii V, ejusque in Philippum regem studio. De augusta regalium corporum ex variis tumultis in unum regale templum Escurialis translatione, atque illinc in Granatense Reginæ Joannæ, Epigrammatum, sive Epitaphiorum libri II, Granada 1576.* The inscription which I inserted in the first remark, is taken from this last mentioned book; and as the author observes that he was fifty eight years of age (8), we may know (will it be said) the year of his birth. A man who is in his fifty eighth year in 1576, must have been born in 1518. But we must not pretend to argue in that manner; for tho' Latinus's epitaphs and epigrams were published at Granada in 1576, it does not follow that the inscription we speak of was composed that year. This consequence or inference would not hold, even tho' we should know for a certainty that he was alive at that time; much less will it be conclusive, if we suppose that he died anno 1573, as his epitaph declares (9). Here follows what we may be certain of; since he died in 1573, this inscription was not made after that year; and therefore the author was fifty eight years old, at least, that year, and could not be born after the year 1515. Nicholas Antonio would have deserved censure, for not having mentioned, in case he could have done it, the year in which Latinus said he was fifty eight years old. I could wish, for the singularity of the thing, that our Latinus had found a place among Baillet's Poets.

[D] Clenard brought him from Ethiopia into Spain.]

The author of the academy of sciences (10) says, that Clenard left the court of Fez, followed only by an Ethiopian disciple, with whom arriving in Granada anno 1542, he wrote an elegant letter to the Emperor Charles V. died the same year, and left his Ethiopian disciple (known by the name of John Latinus) so well instructed in literature, that he wrote a fine Latin poem on the victory . . . of Lepanto. I am persuaded, for several reasons, that there are some falsities in this narrative. I. Latinus declares, that he was but a child when he was brought from Ethiopia into Europe (11); which would not be true, had he come out of Africa into Spain, with Clenard in 1542, he being then at least twenty seven years of age. II. He says that he was brought up and instructed, from his infancy (12), with Gonzales Ferdinand of Corduba his master, who at last gave him his liberty (13). Now would he have spoke in this manner, had he owed all his credit to James Clenard, as Bullart supposes? III. He does not say any thing that bears the least relation to Bullart's account. My third observation persuades me, that Aubertus Miræus is mistaken in saying (14), *Discipulum reliquit (Clenardus) Joannem Latinum Æthiopem (quod prodigii simile est) Rhetorem Illiberitanum, cujus Poëma extat panegyricum de navali Jo. Auftriaci ad Echinadas Insulas victoria.* i. e. "Clenard left a disciple, John Latinus, a Moor, (which is next to a prodigy) a schoolmaster in Granada, whose panegyric poem written on the naval victory of Don John of Austria at the islands Echinades (Lepanto) is extant at this time." Doubtless Bullart was misled by this passage of Aubertus Miræus, but then he added to it an error of his own, by supposing that James Clenard brought Latinus into Europe anno 1542. Probably his error proceeded from what follows. Clenard relates (15), that having been sent to Braga to set up a school there, he brought forth his three Moorish servants before his scholars, and commanded them in the Latin tongue, to perform certain postures. These Moors had learnt Latin enough, by rote, at his house, to be able to understand all his orders in that language. *Exant mihi Seruuli tres, quos supra (16) nominavi, non sane periti Grammatici, verum domestica consuetudine tantum consecuti, ut me perciperent, quicquid dicerem, & contra Latine responderent, licet idēntidem peccantes in Priscianum. Hos in ludum productos, dialogos agere jussi, spectantibus discipulis, & cum eis multis de rebus sermonem miscebam, attentissimo auditori, adeo miraculi loco fuit, quod Æthiopes loquerentur Latine. Heus Dento, inquam, alta, &c.* From this incident it might easily have been concluded, that John Latinus had been a disciple of that learned Grammarian.

[E] Moreri has committed . . . very gross errors.] It is not true that Gonzales Ferdinando of Corduba made our Latinus a slave, in his infant years. The inscription I have copied (17) intimates manifestly, that he and Latinus were pretty near of the same age; and therefore Gonzales, when but in his infancy, must have undertaken expeditions into Africa, or by sea, if it were true that he made Latinus a slave. I would fain know why Moreri did not endeavour to translate his originals faithfully. He had Nicholas Antonio's book before him; why therefore did he not content himself with saying, that Latinus was the slave of Gonzales Ferdinando of Corduba? Does this signify that Gonzales himself had taken this Ethiopian, and afterwards (18) took him to Spain? II. Latinus's employment in Granada was not merely to teach the young clerks or students of the Cathedral; he taught publicly Latin to all comers, this being the custom of the schools of Cathedral Churches, as Joli has shewn in one of his books. III. It shews great ignorance to speak of a poem entitled *Auftriacos* (19). 'Tis in vain to endeavour an excuse from the original, since Nicholas Antonio does not employ the genitive *Auftriacos*, without adding *libros duos*.

(10) Bullart, tom. 2. pag. 237.

(11) See the remark [A].

(12) *A rudibus annis.*

(13) *Et tandem libertate donatus.*

(14) Aub. Miræus, in *Elog. Belg.*

(15) Clenard. *Epist. lib. 2. pag. 303.*

(16) This word refers to the following words of pag. 295: *Præter Gulielmum ministrum tres seruos adduxerunt Æthiopes, Dentonem, Nigrinum, & Carbonem; nam sic eos nominavit Resendus.*

(17) In the remark [A].

(18) This is a consequence of Moreri's relation.

(19) This error has been corrected in the Dutch editions.

(a) Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or the Life and Death of Archbishop Laud*, lib. 1. pag. 42. edit. London 1671, in fol.

(b) *Diary of Archbishop Laud*, published by Mr. Henry Wharton in his *History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud*, pag. 1. edit. London 1695 in fol.

(c) Heylin, *ubi supra*, pag. 44.

(d) *Diary of Archbishop Laud*.

LAUD (WILLIAM) Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventeenth Century, was son of William Laud, a Clothier of Reading in Berkshire, by Lucia his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinson of Reading, and sister of Sir William Webb Lord Mayor of London in 1591 (a). He was born at Reading October the 7th 1573 (b), and educated in the Free-school there (c), and in July 1589 went to Oxford, and in June the year following was elected Scholar of St. John's College there (d), under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge (e). In June 1593 he was made a Fellow of that College (f); and July the 1st (g) the year following took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and June the 26th 1598 (h) that of Master of Arts, being Grammar Reader that year (i). January the 4th 1600 he was ordained Deacon, and April the 5th 1601 Priest; both which Orders were conferred on him by Dr. Young Bishop of Rochester (k). In 1602 he read a Divinity Lecture in St. John's College, which was maintained by Mrs. May (l). May the 4th 1603 he was chosen Proctor of the University of Oxford, and September the 3d following was made Chaplain to Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire. July the 6th 1604 he took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (m) [A]. December the 26th 1605 he married the Earl of Devonshire to Penelope, then wife of Robert Lord Rich; which action gave him afterwards the most sensible regret [B]. October the 21st 1606

(e) Heylin, pag. 44.

(f) *Diary of Archbishop Laud*.

(g) Wood, *Faßt Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 147. The Archbishop in his *Diary* says, it was in June.

(h) Wood, *Faßt Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 154. The Archbishop in his *Diary* says, it was in July.

(i) *Diary*, p. 1.

(k) *Ibid.* pag. 2.

(l) *Ibid.*

(m) *Ibid.*

he

[A] July 6th 1604 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.] Upon this occasion he performed an exercise, in which he maintained these two points: First, *The necessity of Baptism*. Secondly, *That there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops*: for which last, says Dr. Heylin (1), he was shrewdly rattled by Dr. Holland (2), as one that did endeavour to cast a bone of discord betwixt the Church of England and the reformed Churches beyond the seas. And for the first it was objected, that he had taken the greatest part of his *supposition* out of Bellarmin's works; as if the doctrine of the incarnation of the son of God, or any necessary truths, were to be renounced because they are defended by that leared cardinal."

(1) *Cyprianus Anglicus: or the Life and Death of Archbishop Laud*, lib. 1. pag. 49.

(2) Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

[B] Married the Earl of Devonshire to Penelope, then wife of Robert Lord Rich; which action gave him afterwards the most sensible regret.] The Earl being a younger brother of William Lord Montjoy, and while his brother lived, known only by the name of [Sir Charles Blount, had bore a strong affection to the Lady Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux Earl of Essex; and there passed between them some assurances of a future marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger brother, considerable only for his dependance at the Court, chose rather to dispose her in marriage to Robert Lord Rich, a man of independent fortune, and a known estate, but otherwise of an uncourtly disposition, unfociable, austere, and no very agreeable Conversation to her. Against this Blount had nothing to plead in Bar, the promises, which passed between the Lady and him, being made in private, no witnesses to attest to it there, and therefore not amounting to a Pre-contract in due form of law. But long she had not lived with the Lord Rich, when the old flames of her affection unto Blount began to kindle again in her; and if the Sonnet in the *Arcadia*, (a neighbour mine not long ago there was &c.) be not too generally misconstrued, she made her husband the sole instrument to acquaint him with it. But whether it were so or not, it is certain, that having first had their private meetings, they afterwards conversed more openly and familiarly with one another, than might stand with honour to either, especially when by the death of his elder brother, the title of Lord Montjoy, and the estate remaining to it, had accrued to him. Finding her, at his return from the wars in Ireland, to be free from the Lord Rich by a divorce, and not a voluntary separation only *à mensâ & thoro*, he thought himself obliged to make her some reparation in point of honour by taking her into his bosom as his lawful wife. Besides, he had some Children by her before she was actually separated from the bed of Lord Rich, (some of which afterwards attained to titles of honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capacity of legitimation by his subsequent marriage, according to the rule and practice of the civil laws, in which it passes for a maxim, that *subsequens matrimonium legitimat prolem*. And to that end he dealt so powerfully with his Chaplain, that he disposed him to perform the rites of that solemnization; which was accordingly done at Wan-

stead December 26, 1605 (3). "Nor did he want, says Dr. Heylin (4), some reasons to induce him to it (besides the persuasion of his friends) which might have gained upon a man not so much concerned in it as he was, and may be used for his excuse, if not for his justification also. He found by the avowment of the parties, that some assurances of marriage had passed between them before she was espoused to Rich; which though they could not amount to a pre-contract in *Foro Judicii*, in a court of judicature, yet he might satisfy himself in the truth thereof in *Foro conscientie*, in the court of his own private conscience. And thereupon he might conclude, that being satisfied in the reality, and truth of those assurances, and finding that Rich had quitted his pretensions to her by a formal sentence of divorce, he might conceive it lawful for him to perform that service, which was required at his hands. He had found also three opinions touching the lawfulness or unlawfulness of such marriages, which are made after a divorce. The first, *that such marriages are lawful unto neither party, as long as either of them liveth*, which is the doctrine of the Papists, determined positively in the council of Trent. The second, *That such marriages are lawful to the party wronged, but not unto the guilty also*; which opinion is maintained by some of the Calvinists, and divers of the ancient writers. The third, *that both the innocent and the guilty party may lawfully marry, if they please*; which Maldonate (5) makes to be the general opinion of the Lutheran and Calvinian ministers, as also of some Catholic Doctors. And then why might he not conceive that course most fit to be followed, in which all parties did agree, than either of the other two, which was commended to him but by one party only? And though he followed in this case the worst way of the three, yet may it serve for a sufficient argument, that he was no Papist, nor cordially affected unto that religion, because he acted so directly against the doctrines and determinations of the Church of Rome. If any other considerations of profit, preferment, or compliance did prevail upon him (as perhaps they might) they may with charity be looked on as the common incidencies of human frailty, from which the holiest and most learned men cannot plead exemption." But whatsoever motive either the Earl or he had to put a fair colour upon the business, it is certain, that it succeeded well with neither. The Earl found presently such an alteration in the King's countenance towards him, and such a lessening the value, which he formerly had set on him, that he was put to a necessity of writing an apology to defend his action; but finding how little impression it made both in Court and country, he became so uneasy upon it, that he died before the end of the year following. Nor did his Chaplain bear it long without such a check of conscience, as made him turn the annual festival of St. Stephen into an anniversary fast, and composed a prayer for that occasion. And though I doubt not, continues Dr. Heylin (†), but

(3) Heylin, *ubi supra*, pag. 52, 53.

(4) Pag. 53.

(5) In *Matth.* xix. 9.

(†) Pag. 54. *that*

he preached at St. Mary's in Oxford a Sermon, for which he was questioned by Dr. Airay, the Vice-Chancellor [C]. November the 13th 1607 he was inducted into the Vicarage of Stanford in Northamptonshire; and in April the year following he had the Advowson of North Kilworth in Leicestershire given him (n). June the 6th 1608 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (o); and August the 5th following was made Chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then Bishop of Rochester (p). September the 17th 1609 he preached his first Sermon before the King at Theobalds; and in October following exchanged his Advowson of North Kilworth for the Rectory of West Tilbury in Essex, in order to be near his Patron Bishop Neile, who in May 1610 gave him the Rectory of Cuckstone in Kent (q). October the 2d following he resigned his Fellowship of St. John's College in Oxford. The air of Cuckstone not agreeing with him, he exchanged it for the Living of Norton, into which he was inducted in November 1610 by proxy (r). About Christmas the same year the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere complained against him to the King, at the motion of Dr. Abbot, Archbishop elect [D]. May the 10th 1611 he was elected President of St. John's College; but his election being disputed, it was at last confirmed by his Majesty [E]. November the 3d the same year he was sworn the King's Chaplain. April the 18th 1614 Dr. Neile, then Bishop of Lincoln, gave him the Prebend of Bugden, and December the 1st 1615 the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In November 1616 he was advanced by his Majesty to the Deanery of Gloucester, and attended him towards Scotland, and returned a little before him in 1617. He resigned his Living of West Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibstock in Leicestershire August the 2d 1617 (s). January the 22d 1620 he was installed Prebendary of Westminster, having had the Advowson of it ten years the November before (t).
June

(n) Ibid. pag. 2.

(o) Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 180.(p) *Diary*, pag. 2.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid. pag. 3.

(s) Ibid. pag. 3.

(t) Ibid. pag. 4.

that the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not so mercifully dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was so frequently and reproachfully cast in the way of his preferment, that he was fain to make the Duke of Buckingham acquainted with the story of it, and by his means to possess King Charles, his gracious master, with the truth thereof; so long it was before his enemies had desisted from pressing this unhappy error to his disadvantage.

[C] *A Sermon, for which he was questioned by Dr. Airay, the Vice-Chancellor.* The Vice-Chancellor excepted against it as containing in it sundry scandalous and Popish passages; "the good man, says Dr. Heylin (5), taking all things to be matter of Popery, which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's Institutes; conceiving that there was as much idolatry in bowing at the name of Jesus, as in worshipping the Brazen Serpent, and as undoubtedly believing, that Antichrist was begotten on the Whore of Babylon, as that Pharez and Zarah were begotten on the body of Tamar. Which advantage being taken by Dr. Abbot, he so violently persecuted the poor man, and so openly branded him for a Papist, or at least very Popishly inclined, that it was almost made an heresy (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation as he walked the streets." Dr. Heylin observes likewise (6), that this scandal being raised at Oxford, it was not long before it flew to Cambridge also, when Mr. Joseph Hall (afterwards Bishop of Norwich) was exercising his pen in the way of epistles, in one of which, inscribed to Mr. W. L. it was generally supposed, that he aimed at him. The epistle was as follows (7). "I would I knew where to find you? then I could tell how to take direct aim; whereas now I must pore and conjecture. To day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to morrow in ours, the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs, your conscience finds you with both, and neither. I flatter you not: this of yours is the worst of all tempers. Heat and cold have their uses: lukewarmness is good for nothing, but to trouble the stomach. Those that are spiritually hot, find acceptance; those that are stark cold, have a lesser reckoning; the mean between both is so much worse, as it comes nearer to good, and attains it not. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Resolve one way, and know at last what you do hold, what you should cast off, either your wings or your teeth, or loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast. To die wavering and uncertain, yourself will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? It is dangerous deferring that, whose want is deadly, and whose opportunity is doubtful. God

(5) Pag. 49, 50.

(6) Pag. 50.

(7) Hall's *Epistles*, Decade, Epist. 3.

"cryeth with Jehu, *Who is on my side, who?* Look at last out of your window to him, and in a resolute courage cast down the Jezebel, that hath bewitched you. Is there any impediment, which delay will abate? Is there any, which a just answer cannot remove? If you had rather waver, who can settle you? But if you love not inconstancy, tell us why you stagger. Be plain, or else you will never be firm."

[D] *The Lord Chancellor complained against him to the King at the motion of Dr. Abbot, Archbishop Elect.* Dr. Laud writes thus in his *Diary* (8). "The Lord Chancellor Ellesmere's complaint against me to the King at Christmas 1610. He was incited against me by Dr. Abbot, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury Elect." Dr. Heylin informs us (9), that the Archbishop insinuated to the Chancellor, that "Dr. Laud was at the least a Papist in heart, and cordially addicted to Popery; that he kept company with none but professed and suspected Papists; and that if he were suffered to have any place of government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great detriment of religion and dishonour of his Lordship." The Chancellor hereupon informed the King of all that had been told him concerning Dr. Laud, which was like to have destroyed his hopes of being chosen President of St. John's College Oxford, notwithstanding his petition to the King to believe otherwise of him, if Bishop Neile had not acquainted his Majesty with the abilities of Dr. Laud, and the old grudge which Abbot had conceived against him.

[E] *Elected President of St. John's College; but his election being disputed, it was at last confirmed by his Majesty.* Rawlinson, once a Fellow of the same College, and afterwards Principal of Edmund Hall, was a competitor for the place of President. Each of them having prepared his party, the fellows proceeded to an election May the 10th 1611. The scrutiny being made, and the election at the point of being declared, one of the Fellows of Rawlinson's party, seeing which way the business was like to go, snatched up the paper, and tore it suddenly to pieces. The nomination being thus frustrated, an appeal was made to the King, who spent three hours in giving audience to both parties; and upon full consideration of the proofs and allegations on either side, gave sentence in favour of Dr. Laud on the 29th of August 1611; upon which he was sworn and admitted President. He could not, for example sake, but inflict some punishment on the person, who had torn the scrutiny; but knowing him to be a man of hopeful parts, industrious in his studies, of a courage not to be disliked, he not only released him from the censure, under which he lay, but took him into special favour, trusted him in all his weighty businesses, made him his Chaplain, preferred him from one good benefice to another, married him to his brother's daughter, and

(8) *Diary of Archbishop Laud*, published by Mr. Henry Wharton, pag. 3.(9) *Ubi supra*, pag. 56.

June the 29th 1621 the King gave him the grant of the Bishopric of St. David's [F], to which See he was chosen October the 10th following, and resigned the Presidentship of St. John's College on the 17th of November [G]. Soon after this he became intimately acquainted with George Villiers, then Marquis of Buckingham, before whom and the Countess his mother he had a conference with Fisher the Jesuit, which fixed them in the Protestant Religion [H]. January the 31st 1622 he was inducted into the Rectory of Creeke in Northamptonshire, which he held in Commendam with his Bishopric (u). In October 1623 he fell under the displeasure of Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal [I]. April the 17th 1623 he became Deputy Clerk of the Closet to King Charles I. for Dr. Neile, then Bishop of Durham, who was indisposed,

(10) Ibid. pag. 5, 6.

(10) Ibid. pag. 56, 57.

(11) Pag. 4.

(12) Pag. 4.

(13) Pag. 5-8.

and lastly promoted him to the very Presidentship, which had been the first cause of that breach, and to one of the best Deaneries in the Kingdom (10).

[F] June the 29th 1621 the King gave him the Grant of the Bishopric of St. David's. He writes thus in his Diary (11). His Majesty gave me the Grant of the Bishopric of St. David's. The general expectation in Court was, that I should then have been made Dean of Westminster, and not Bishop of St. David's.

[G] Resigned the Presidentship of St. John's College on the 17th of November. The King had given him leave to hold that place in commendam with the Bishopric of St. David's: but by reason, says he in his Diary (12), of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it. This passage is omitted by Mr. Prynne in his edition of the Diary. The Bishop resigned his Presidentship on the 17th of November.

[H] Had a conference with Fisher the Jesuit. In his Diary (13) he writes thus. 1622. April 23. being the Tuesday in Easter Week, the King sent for me, and set me into a course about the Countess of Buckingham, who about that time was wavering in point of religion. April 24. Dr. Francis White and I met about this. May 10. I went to the Court at Greenwich, and came back in the coach with the Lord Marquis Buckingham. My promise then to give his Lordship the Discourse he spake to me for. May 19. I delivered my Lord Marquis Buckingham the paper concerning the difference between the Church of England and Rome in point of justification, &c. May 23. My first speech with the Countess of Buckingham. May 24. The conference between Mr. Fisher a Jesuit, and my self, before the Lord Marquis Buckingham, and the Countess his mother. I had much speech with her after. September 1. My answer given to his Majesty about 9 articles delivered in a book from Mr. Fisher the Jesuit. These articles were delivered me to consider of August 28. The discourse concerning them the same night at Windsor in the presence of the King, the Prince, the Lord Marquis Buckingham, his Lady, and his mother. September 18 aut circiter, There was notice given me, that Mr. Fisher had spread certain copies of the conference had between him and me, May 24. into divers Recusant's hands. "October, I got the sight of a copy &c. made an answer to it. December, I was three times with the King this Christmas, and read over to him the answer, which I had made to Fisher, which he commanded should be printed; and I desired it might pass in a third person, under the name of R. B. 1622. January 11. I was with his Majesty to shew him the epistle, that was to be printed before the Conference between me and Fisher the Jesuit May 24. 1622, which he was pleased to approve. January 16. I was all day with Dr. White about my papers of the Conference, and making them ready for the press. Februar. 4. Dies Mercurii erat. Colloquium cum Fishero "Jesuita habitum Maii 24. 1622 jussu serenissimi Regis Jacobi scriptis mandatum, Regi ipsi antea perlectum, typis excudendum hodie traditur, cum approbatione Episcopi London. Nunquam antebac sub prelo laboravi. Nullas Controversas. Et ita oro, amet beaque animam meam Deus, ut ego bene & ad gloriam nominis ejus scriptas cupio conorque Ecclesie nunquam satis defendas distractiones. 1624 April 16 Friday, My Conference with Fisher the Jesuit printed, came forth." It was published in the name of R. B. i. e. Richard Baylie, afterwards President of St. John's College in Oxford, and Dean of Salisbury, who was at that time one of Bishop Laud's Chaplains. It was printed with Dr. Francis White's Reply to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to certain

Questions. This Conference is filed by Hammond L'Estrange Esq; (14) the exactest master-piece of Polemic Divinity of any extant at that time; and he observes, that the Bishop declared himself so little theirs [the Papists] as he had for ever disabled them from being so much their own as before they were. Sir Edward Deering also, his professed adversary, in the preface to his book of Speeches (15), tells us, that the Bishop in this Conference, especially in the last half of it, had muzzled the Jesuit, and should strike the Papists under the fifth rib, when he was dead and gone; and being dead, that wheresoever his grave should be, Paul's should be his perpetual monument, and his own book his epitaph. It was reprinted by him, with great improvements in 1637. It was answered by Thomas Carwel alias Thorold, a Jesuit, born in Lancashire, in a book intitled, Labyrinthus Cantuarenfis: Or Dr. Laud's Labyrinth: Being an Answer to the late Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference between himself and Mr. Fisher &c. Paris 1659 in folio. This was replied to by Dr. Meric Casaubon in a treatise intitled, Of the Necessity of Reformation in and before Luther's time, and what (wisely) hath most hindered the Progress of it: Occasioned by some late virulent books written by Papists, but especially by that intitled, Labyrinthus Cantuarenfis. Here, besides some other Points, the grand Business of these Times, Infallibility, is fully discussed. London 1664 in 4to. There was another edition of Bishop Laud's Conference in 1673 in folio.

[I] In October 1623 he fell under the displeasure of Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. We find the following passages in his Diary (16). "October 3d Friday. I was (16) Pag. 7, 8 with my Lord Keeper, to whom I found some had done me very ill offices; as he was very jealous of Lord Buckingham's favour. October 31. I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that which passed between the Lord Keeper and me. December 15th. on Monday morning, I went about business to my Lord Buckingham. We had speech in the Shield Gallery at White-hall. There I found, that the Lord Keeper had strangely forgotten himself to him, and, I think, was dead in his affections. December 27. St. John's day, I was with my Lord Duke of Buckingham. I found, that all went not right with the Lord Keeper, &c. He sent to speak with me, because he was to receive the next day. January 11. My Lord Keeper met with me in the withdrawing chamber, and quarrelled me gratis. January 14. I acquainted my Lord Duke of Buckingham with that which passed on the Sunday before between the Lord Keeper and me. February 6. Friday, my Lord Duke of Buckingham told me of the reconciliation the day before made with the Lord Keeper. February 18. Wednesday, my Lord Duke of Buckingham told me of the reconciliation and submission of my Lord Keeper, and that it was confessed unto him, that his favour to me was a chief cause. Invidia, quo tendis? &c. At ille de novo sedus pepigit." Dr. Heylin observes (17), that while (17) Ubi s. pro, the Duke of Buckingham was with Prince Charles in Spain, the Lord Keeper, and Lord Treasurer Cranfield, with others of the court endeavoured to ruin the Duke's interest with the King: of all which practices and proceedings Laud gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again Directions in his actions for him, From hence proceeded the constancy of Affection, which the Duke carried to him for ever after the animosity between Laud and Williams; the fall of Cranfield first, and of Williams afterwards, Laud by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.

(14) History of the Reign of King Charles I. pag. 178. edit. 1656.

(15) Collection of Parliament Speeches, pag. 5.

(16) Pag. 7, 8

(17) Ubi s. pro, pag. 107.

(x) *Ibid.* pag. 17.

(y) *Ibid.* pag. 26, 28.

(z) *Ibid.* pag. 34, 35.

(aa) *Ibid.* pag. 36.

(bb) *Ibid.* pag. 41.

(cc) *Ibid.* p. 43.

posed, and executed that office till the first of May following (x). February the 2d 162½ he officiated at the Coronation of his Majesty as Dean of Westminster [K], the King having commanded Bishop Williams, the Dean of that Church, not to be present at the ceremony (y). June the 20th 1626 he was nominated to the See of Bath and Wells, to which he was elected August the 16th (z). In the beginning of October the same year he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel (aa); and April the 29th 1627 was made Privy Counsellor to his Majesty (bb). July the 15th 1628 he was translated to the Bishopric of London (cc). About this time his ancient acquaintance Sir James Whitelocke a Judge, used to say of him, that "he was too full of fire, though a just and good man, and " that his want of experience in State-matters, and his too much zeal for the Church, " and heat, if he proceeded in the way he was then in, would set this Nation on " fire (dd)." April the 12th 1630 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford (ee). In May 1633 he attended the King into Scotland, and June the 15th was sworn Counsellor of that Kingdom (ff). August the 4th the same year, upon the death of Archbishop Abbot, the King resolved to advance him to the See of Canterbury (gg). The same morning a person came to him, and offered him to be a Cardinal [L].

(dd) *Memoria's of the English Affairs.* By Bulstrode Whitelocke Esq; pag. 34. edit. London 1732.

(ee) *Diary,* pag. 45.

(ff) *Ibid.* pag. 48.

(gg) *Ibid.* pag. 49.

September

[K] *Officiated at the Coronation of his Majesty as Dean of Westminster.* It was objected to him in the time of his fall, that in the digesting the form of the Coronation, he had altered the Coronation Oath, making it more advantageous to the King, and less beneficial to the people than it had been formerly; from which imputation the King cleared both himself and the Bishop, when they were both involved by common speech in the guilt thereof. To clear this point, we shall first set down the Oath itself, as it was taken by the King, and then the King's defence for his taking it. The form of the oath is as follows (18).

(18) *Essays Collection of Edward Husbands,* pag. 290. London 1643, in 4to.

Archbishop. *Sir, will you grant, keep, and by your oath confirm to your people of England the laws and customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors, and namely, the laws, customs and franchises granted to the clergy by the glorious King Saint Edward your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this Realm?* King. "I grant and promise to keep them."

Archbishop. *Sir, will you keep peace and goodly agreement entirely (according to your power) both to God, the holy Church, the Clergy and the People?* King. "I will keep it." Archbishop. *Sir, will you (to your power) cause law, justice, and discretion in mercy and truth to be executed in all your judgments?* "I will." Archbishop. *Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the law and rightful customs, which the commonalty of this your kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God so much as in you lieth?* King. "I grant and promise so to do."

Then one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the King before the people with a loud voice: *Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges and due law and justice, and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his kingdoms ought to be protector and defender of the Bishops and the Churches under their government.*

The King answers: "With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the Churches committed to your charge all canonical privileges and due law and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender, to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in right ought to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their government."

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion-Table where he makes a solemn Oath in sight of all the people to observe the premises; and laying his hand upon the book, saith, *The things, which I have before promised, I shall perform and keep: So help me God, and the contents of this book.* King Charles I. in his answer to a printed book, entitled, *A Remonstrance, or, The Declaration of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, the 26th of May 1642.* observes, that he had taken this oath at his Coronation, warranted, says he, and enjoined to it by the custom and directions of our predecessors; and the ceremony of their and our taking it they may find in the record of the Exchequer. Bishop Laud tells us himself (19), that upon his trial, on the eleventh day of

(19) *History of his Troubles and Trial.* Written by himself during his Imprisonment in the Tower. Published by Mr. Wharton, pag. 318, 319. edit. London 1694, in fol.

hearing, May 27th 1644, Mr. Serjeant Wild charged him with two alterations in the body of the King's Oath: one added, namely these words, *agreeable to the King's prerogative*; the other omitted, namely, these words, *Quæ populus elegerit, which the people have chosen, or shall choose.* "For this latter, says he, the clause omitted, that suddenly vanished; for it was omitted in the oath of King James, as is confessed by themselves in the printed votes (*) of this present Parliament. But the other highly insisted on, as taking off the total assurance, which the subjects have by the oath of their Prince for the performance of his laws. First, I humbly conceive, this clause takes off none of the people's assurance, none at all: for the King's just and legal prerogative and the subjects assurance for liberty and property may stand well together, and have so stood for hundreds of years. Secondly, that alteration, whatever it be, was not made by me; nor is there any interlining or alteration so much as of a letter found in that book. Thirdly, if any thing be amiss therein, my predecessor gave that oath to the King, and not I. I was merely ministerial both in the preparation and at the coronation itself, supplying the place of the Dean of Westminster. After this day's work was ended, it instantly spread all over the city, that I had altered the King's oath at his coronation, and from thence into all parts of the Kingdom; as if all must be true, which was said at the bar against me, what answer soever I made; the people and some of the Synod now crying out, that this one thing was enough to take away my life. And tho' this was all that was charged this Day concerning this oath, yet seeing how this fire took, I thought fit the next day that I came to the bar to desire that the books of the coronation of former Kings, especially those of Queen Elizabeth and King James, might be seen and compared, and the copies brought into the court, both from the Exchequer, and such as were in my study at Lambeth; and a fuller inquisition made into the business, in regard I was as innocent from this crime, as when my mother bare me into the world. A salvo was entered for me upon this; and every day that I after came to the bar, I called upon this business; but somewhat or other was still pretended by them, which managed the evidence, that I could not get the books to be brought forth, nor any thing to be done till almost the last day of my hearing. Then no books could be found in the Exchequer, nor in my study, but only of King James; whereas when the keys were taken from me there were divers books there, as is confessed in the printed votes of this Parliament; and one of them with a watchet fattin cover, now missing. And whether this of King James (had not my Secretary, who knew the book, seen it drop out of Mr. Prynne's bag) would not have been concealed too, I cannot tell. At last, the book of King James's coronation, and the other urged against me concerning King Charles, were seen and compared openly in the Lord's house, and found to be the same oath in both, and no interlining or alteration in the book charged against me."

(*) Pag. 706.

[L] *The same morning a person came to him, and offered*

(bb) Ibid. September the 19th he was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury (bb). May the 13th 1634 he received the Seals of his being chosen Chancellor of the University of Dublin in Ireland, to which Office he had been elected September the 14th 1633 (ii).
 (ii) Ibid. pag. 30. March the 14th 1634 he was named one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer, upon the death of Richard Lord Warton, Lord High Treasurer of England (kk).
 (kk) Ibid. pag. 52. March the 6th 1634 he procured the Staff of Lord High Treasurer of England for Dr. William Juxon Bishop of London [M]. June the 14th 1637 he made a speech, in the Star-Chamber at the censure of Dr. John Bastwick, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne Esq; [N]. In October following he fell under the displeasure of her Majesty for complaining of the increase and behaviour of the Romish Party [O]. In the beginning of the Long Parliament he was attacked on account of the Canons made by the Convocation in May 1640 [P]; upon which he wrote a letter to Mr. Selden dated November

(20) Pag. 49. offered him to be a Cardinal.] We find the following passage in his Diary (20). August 4. That very morning at Greenwich there came one to me seriously, and that would ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal. I went presently to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person. August. 17. Saturday, I had a serious offer made me again to be a Cardinal. I was then from court; but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday August 21.) I acquainted his Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it is.

[M] Procured the Staff of Lord High Treasurer of England for Dr. William Juxon, Bishop of London.] In his Diary he writes thus (21). "No Church-man had it since Henry VII's time. I pray God ble's him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the state service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more."

[N] Made a speech in the Star-chamber at the censure of Dr. John Bastwick, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, Esq;] It was printed at London 1637 in 4to. In this speech, he declares (22), I can say it clearly and truly, as in the presence of God, I have done nothing as a Prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a single Heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ professed, established, and maintained in the Church of England. He afterwards observes (23) with regard to the Prelates, that "he assured himself, they could not be so base, as to live Prelates in the Church of England, and labour to bring in the superstitions of the Church of Rome, upon themselves and it. And if any should be so foul, says he, I do not only leave him to God's judgment, but (if these libellers, or any other can discover that his base and irreligious falsehood) to shame also, and severe punishment from the state. And in any just way, no man's hand shall be more or sooner against him; than mine shall be. And for my self, to pass by all the scandalous reproaches, which they have most injuriously cast upon me, I shall say this only: First, I know of no plot nor purpose of altering the religion established. Secondly, I have ever been far from attempting any thing, that may truly be said to tend that way in the least degree. And to these two I here offer my Oath. Thirdly, if the King had a mind to change Religion, (which I know he hath not, and God forbid he should ever have) he must seek for other instruments. For as basely as these men conceive, yet I thank God, I know my duty well both to God and the King; and I know that all the duty I owe to the King, is under God." He then proceeds to consider the Innovations, which were charged upon himself and the rest of the Bishops.

[O] Fell under the displeasure of her Majesty for complaining of the increase and behaviour of the Romish party.] He writes thus in his Diary (24). October 22, Sunday, A great noise about the perverting of the Lady Newport: speech of it at the council; my free speech there to the King concerning the increasing of the Roman party, the freedom at Denmark house, of the carriage of Mr. Walter Montague and Sir Toby Matthews. The Queen acquainted me with all I said that very night, and highly displeas'd with me, and so continues:

[P] In the beginning of the long Parliament he was attacked on account of the Canons made by the Convocation in May 1640.] The Parliament, which met April 13th, had been dissolved May 5th; but the Archbishop persuaded the King to continue the sitting of the Convocation by a new commission granted to them for the conclusion of such matters, as were then in treaty among them. Yet by the opinion of Finch, Manchester, Littleton, Banks, Heath, and Shelton, signified to the King, the Convocation called by the King's Writ, was not to dissolve but by the King's Writ, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament. But it was held best, in order to clear all objections, to continue them by this new commission (25). In this Convocation there were made seventeen canons. The first, concerning the regal power. The second for the better keeping of the day of his Majesty's most happy inauguration. The third for suppressing the growth of Popery. The fourth against Socinianism. The fifth against Secularies. The sixth entitled, An oath enjoyned for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government: and the Oath itself was as follows: "I A. B. do swear, that I do approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish doctrine, contrary to that, which is so established. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ." By this canon it was ordered, that all masters of Art, (the sons of Noblemen only excepted) all Bachelors of Divinity, Law, or Physic, all that were licensed to practise Physic, all registers, notaries, and proctors, all school-masters, all such as being natives or naturaliz'd, do come to be incorporated into the Universities here, having taken any degree in any foreign University, should be bound to take this oath; and that it should be administer'd to all of the persons above-named residing in any University by the governors of their several houses; and by the Bishop respectively to all, who should from thenceforth be admitted to holy orders, or receive any institution, collation, or license for the serving of any cure; with several penalties to all benefited persons, and all such as were then in any Ecclesiastical dignity, for their refusal of the same; that is to say, a suspension *ab officio* for the first refusal, a *beneficio & officio* for the second, and deprivation for the third, a month's deliberation being granted betwixt each refusal. The seventh canon was entitled, A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies. The eighth of preaching for conformity. The ninth entitled, One book of articles to be used at all parochial visitations. The tenth concerning the conversation of the clergy. The eleventh concerning Chancellors patents. The twelfth entitled, Chancellors alone not to censure any of the clergy in sundry cases. The thirteenth, entitled, Ex-

(25) White-
locke's Memor-
ials of the English
Affairs, pag. 34
edit. London
1732.

vember the 29th 1640 [2]. December the 16th these Canons were condemned by the House of Commons "as containing in them many matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and tending to Sedition, and of dangerous consequence." December the 18th he was accused by the Commons of High Treason; upon which he was committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, and on the 1st of March to the Tower. March the 12th 1641 he was brought to his trial [R], which was carried on for twenty days of hearing till July the 20th 1644; and on the 21st of September he made his recapitulation. November the 13th a Bill of Attainder of him passed the House of Commons, and January the 6th 1645 it passed the House of Lords. He was beheaded on Tower Hill Friday January the 10th, aged seventy one years, thirteen weeks, and four days; and his body was interred in the Chancel of the Church of Allhallows Barkin; from whence in July 1663 it was removed to Oxford, and deposited in the Chapel of St. John's College. There are several pieces of his writing, besides his answer to Fisher [T]. "He was low of stature," says

communication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest. The fourteenth concerning commutations and the disposing of them. The fifteenth touching concurrent jurisdictions. The sixteenth concerning licences to marry. The seventeenth against vexatious citations.

[2] Wrote a letter to Mr. Selden dated November 29th, 1640. We shall give the reader this letter exactly as we transcribed it from the original amongst the papers of Mr. Selden, now in the hands of Nicholas Harding Esq; clerk of the honourable house of Commons.

"To mye much honored friend Mr. John Selden these.
"Sal. in Christo.

"Worthy Sir,

"I understand, that the byness about the late canons will be handled againe in your house to morrowe. I shall never aske any unworthy thinge of you; but give me leave to saye as followes. If wee have erred in anye point of legalitie unknowne unto us, wee shall be hartelye sorrye for it, and hope that error shall not be made a crime. We heare that shipmony is layd asyde as a thinge that will dye of it selfe; and I am glad it will have soe quiett a death. Maye not these unfortunate canons be suffer'd to dye as quietlye without blemishinge the Church, which hath to manye enemies both at home and abroad? If this maye be, I heare promise you, I will presentlye humblye beseech his Majestye, for a licence to reviewe the canons, and abrogat them; assuringe my selfe that all mye brethren will joyne with me to preserve the publicke peace rather then that any act of ours shall be thought a publicke greivance. And upon mye credit with you I had moved for this licence at the verye first sittinge of this Parliament, but that both my self and others did feare the House of Commons would take offence at it (as they did at the last,) and sayde, wee did it on purpose to prevent them. I understand you mean to speake of this busynesse in the house to morrowe, and that hath made me wright these lynes to you, to lett you knowe our meaninge and desyers. And I shall take it for a great kindnes to me, and a great service to the Church, if by your means the house will be satisfied with this, which is heare offerd of abrogatinge the canons. To God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

"Your lovinge poore friend

"Lambeth November
"29th 1640.

W. CANT.

"I mean to move the Kinge this daye for a licence, as is within mentioned."

[R] March the 12th 1641 he was brought to his tryal. The council assigned him were Mr. John Hearne, Mr. Matthew Hale of Lincolns-Inn, and Mr. Chaloner Chute of the Middle Temple, to whom afterwards was added Mr. Richard Gerard of Grays-Inn, and certain servants of the Archbishop to attend him in the tryal, viz. Mr. W. Dell his secretary, Mr. Richard Cobbe and Mr. George Smith. The managers against him were John Maynard Esq; Sergeant John Wyld, Samuel Brown of Lincolns-Inn Esq;

Robert Nicholas of the Temple Esq; and Roger Hill of the Temple Esq; Mr. Prynne had the care of providing all the evidence, and had on the last day of May 1643 by an order of the House of Commons taken from the Archbishop twenty one bundles of Papers, which that Prelate had prepared for his defence; his diary, his book of private devotions, the Scots service-book, and directions accompanying it &c (26),

[S] He was beheaded on Tower Hill Friday January 10th. In his speech upon the scaffold he says thus: "I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England established by law. In that profession. I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of religion. And therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant religion established in England, and in that I come now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt. Now at last I am accused of high treason in Parliament, a crime, which my soul ever abhorred. This treason was charged to consist of two parts, *An endeavour to subvert the laws of the land, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant religion established by law.* Besides my answers to the several charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses. It was said, *Prisoners Protestations at the bar must not be taken.* I can bring no witness of my heart and the intentions thereof: therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the bar, but my protestation at this hour and instant of my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of law or religion; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency in this and from all treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments. No, I understand them and the benefits that come by them too well, to do so. But I did mislike the misgovernment of some Parliaments many ways, and I had good reason for it. For *corruptio optimi est pessima*, there is no corruption in the world so bad as that, which is the best thing within itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest court, over which no other hath jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done: I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have."

[T] There are several pieces of his writing, besides his answer to Fisher. Several Sermons, as 1. Sermon preached before his Majesty at Wanstead, 19 June 1621. on Psalm 122. 6, 7. London 1621 in 4to. 2. Sermon at Whitehall 24. March 1621 being the day of the beginning of his Majesty's most gracious reign, on Psalm 21. 6, 7. London 1622 in 4to. 3. Sermon before his Majesty at Whitehall, on Psalm 75. 2, 3. London 1625 in 4to. 4. Sermon at Westminster 6 Feb. 1625 at the opening of the Parliament, on Psalm 122. 3, 4, 5. London 1625 in 4to. 5. Sermon at Westminster 17 March

(26) History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, cap. 18. pag. 205, 206.

(11) *Ubi supra*,
p. 507.

“ says Dr. Heylin (11), but of a strong composition; his countenance chearful and well-blooded; which chearfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the very block, notwithstanding the afflictions of four years imprisonment. Of apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a very sociable wit, and a pleasant humour; and one that knew as well how to put off the gravity of his place and person, when he saw occasion, as any man living whosoever.” We shall give the rest of his character from several writers in the note [U].

LAUDICE

March 1627, at the opening of the Parliament, on Ephes. 4. 3. London 1628 in 4to. 6. Sermon at Whitehall at a solemn fast before the King, 5 July 1626. on Psalm 74. 22. London 1626 in 4to. 7. Sermon at Paul's Cross on the King's inauguration, on Psalm 22. 1. These seven sermons were reprinted at London in 8vo 1651. The memorables of King James I. of famous memory. They are twenty nine in number, and were printed with the Archbishop's Diary by Mr. Prynne. They are called by the author, *Short Annotations upon the life and death of the most August King James*. They were drawn up at the desire of George Duke of Buckingham. Answer to the remonstrance made by the House of Commons in June 1628. *Officium quotidianum: or a manual of private Devotions*. London 1650 and 1663 in 8vo. A summary of Devotions. London 1667 in 12mo, published according to a copy written with his own hand in the library of St. John's College in Oxford. *Diary of his life*. This, which is partly written in Latin, but mostly in English, was published by Mr. Prynne in his *Breviate of the life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury: extracted (for the most part) verbatim out of his own Diary, and other writings under his own hand. Collected and published as the special instance of sundry honourable persons, as a necessary prologue to the history of his trial, for which the criminal part of his life is specially reserved*. London 1644 in fol. But Mr. Wharton observes (27) that Mr. Prynne did not publish the *Diary intire, nor faithfully, as far as he did publish it, but altered, mangled, corrupted, and glossed in a most shameful manner, accompanied with desperate untruths, as the Archbishop complains in this history, and therefore addeth: For this Breviate of his, if God lend me life and strength to end this (history) first, I shall discover to the world the base and malicious slanders, with which it is fraught. This the Archbishop wrote, when he despaired that ever his Diary should be recovered out of those vile hands, in which it then was, and be published faithfully and intirely, which would be the most effectual discovery of the baseness and malice of Prynne therein*. Mr. Wharton therefore prefixed to the *History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud* an exact and complete edition of the *Diary*, which came into his hands. *History of his Troubles and Trial written during his imprisonment in the tower*. He began to write this before the end of the year 1641, and continued it from time to time till the 3d of January 1643, which was the seventh day before his execution. He wrote in the first leaf of it, *Non apposui manum ultimam. W. Cant.* It was published by Mr. Wharton in 1694 in fol. with several marginal notes by Archbishop Sancroft. To this Mr. Wharton has added, 1. *His speech at his death on the scaffold*. 2. *His last will and testament, made in the Tower 13 January 1643*. 3. *Several passages of his conference with Fisher the Jesuit, from the edition of 1639, and referred to in the preceding history; besides other passages from other books, which are also referred to in the said history*. 4. *His answer to the speech of the Lord Say and Seal, touching the Liturgy: dated in the Tower December the 3d 1641*. 5. *His Annual accounts of his Province presented to the King in the beginning of every year, with the King's Apostills, or marginal notes. Those Annual accounts are from 1633 to the end of 1639*. 6. *His Notes on Rome's Master-piece or the grand conspiracy of the Pope and his Jesuited instruments to extinguish the Protestant Religion, &c.* which book is there reprinted. 7. *Several Letters, of which a large one to Sr. Kenelm Digby upon his embracing the Roman Catholic religion is dated March 27th 1636*. After Mr. Wharton's death there was printed *The second Volume of the remains of Archbishop Laud, written by himself, collected by Mr. Henry Wharton, and published, according to his request by the reverend Mr. Edmund Wharton, bis Fa- ther*. London 1700 in fol. This Volume contains, I.

An answer to the Lord Say and Seal's speech spoken in Parliament upon the bill about Bishops power in Civil affairs and Courts of judicature, anno 1641. 2. *A speech delivered in the star-chamber on Wednesday 14th of June 1637 at the censure of J. Bastwick, H. Burton, and W. Prynne*. 3. *An Historical account of all material transactions relating to the University of Oxford from Archbishop Laud's being elected Chancellor to his resignation of that Office. Written by himself*. There are about 18 letters of his in Latin to Gerard John Vossius printed by Colomesius in his edition of *Gerardi Joannis Vossii & clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistole*, London 1690 in fol. and some letters of his are published by Dr. Richard Parr among the letters written by and to Archbishop Usher. London 1686 in fol.

[U] We shall give the rest of his character from several writers in the note.] Sir Edward Dering (28), who had greatly opposed him in the House of Commons, speaks of him in these terms. “ I profess, I did and do bear a good degree of personal love unto him, and love unto some parts and qualities, which I think him master of. His intent of public uniformity was a good purpose, though in the way of his pursuit thereof he was extremely faulty. His book lately set forth, (especially for the latter half thereof) hath muzzled the Jesuit, and shall strike the Papists under the fifth rib, when he is dead and gone. And being dead, wheresoever his grave shall be, Paul's will be his perpetual monument, and his own book his lasting epitaph. It is true, the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him; yet would he often of himself find ways and means to sweeten many of them again, when they least looked for it. Lastly, he was always one and the same man; begin with him at Oxford, and so go on to Canterbury, he is unmoved, unchanged. He never complied with the times, but kept his own stand untill the times came up to him.” Fuller tells us (29), that he was generally charged with Popish inclinations; and the story is commonly told and believed of a Lady, still alive, who turning Papist, and being demanded of the Archbishop the cause of her changing her religion, tartly returned, My Lord, it was because I ever hated a crowd. And being desired to explain her meaning herein, I perceived, said she, that your Lordship and many others are making for Rome, as fast as ye can; and therefore to prevent a press, I went before you. “ Be the tale true or false, take Papist for a Trent Papist, embracing all the decisions of that Council; and surely this Archbishop would have been made fewel for the fire, before ever he had been of that persuasion. Witness his book against Fisher, wherein he giveth no less account of his sincerity than ability to defend the most domitative points, wherein we and the Papists dissent. However most apparent it is by several passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome, so to compromise the difference, and to bring us to a vicinity, if not contiguity therewith; an impossible design (if granted lawful) as every way his equals did judge.” Fuller remarks likewise, that “ amongst his human frailties, choler and passion most discovered itself. In the Star-Chamber, (where if the crime was not extraordinary, it was fine enough for one to be sued in so chargeable a Court) he was served always to concur with the severest side, and to infuse more vinegar than oyl into all his censures; and also was much blamed for his severity to his predecessor, easing him against his will, and before his time, of his jurisdiction. But he is most accused for over-meddling in State-matters, more than was fitting, say many, than needful, say most, for one of his profession. But he never more over-shot himself than, when he did impose the Scotch Liturgy, and was ἀλλοτρι-αρχιστεκετος over

(28) *Collection of Speeches*, Sect. 1. pag. 4, 5. edit. London 1642.

(29) *Church History of Britain*, B. 11. pag. 217.

(27) Preface to the History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, pag. 2.

LAUDICE, sister and wife of Mithridates, ought to be ranked in the catalogue of persons of unhappy memory. Her husband revolving a mighty design in his mind, stole from his Court in order to go and see incognito, and with very few followers, the situation of the places, which he resolved, one day, to make the seat of the war. Laudice, hearing no news of him, imagined that he was dead, and consequently would not return back; and therefore, instead of abandoning herself to grief, she immersed herself in the most impure pleasures. Her husband's return gave her prodigious uneasiness; and being under an indispensable necessity of concealing, if possible, her fault, she could not think

" a free and foreign nation. At home many grumbled at him for oft making the shallowest pretence of the Crown deep enough, by his powerful digging therein, to drown the undoubted right of any patron to a Church-living. But Courtiers most complained, that he persecuted them, not in their proper places, but what in an ordinary way he should have taken from the hands of inferior Officers, that he with a long and strong arm reached to himself over all their heads. Yet others plead for him, that he abridged their bribes, not their fees; and it vexed them, that he struck their fingers with the dead palsy, so that they could not, as formerly, have a feeling for Church-Preferments. He was conscientious according to the principles of his devotion; witness his care in keeping a constant *Diary* of the passages in his life. . . . He was temperate in his diet, and (which may be presumed the effect thereof) chaste in his conversation. Indeed in his *Diary* he confessed himself lapsed into some special sin with *E. B.* for which he kept an anniversary humiliation. Indeed his (*) adversary makes this uncharitable note thereon, *perchance he was unclean with E. B.* which is but an uncharitable suspicion. Now an exact *Diary* is a window into his heart, who maketh it; and therefore pity it is, that any should look therein but either the friends of the party, or such ingenuous foes as will not, especially in things doubtful, make conjectural comments to his disgrace. But be *E. B.* male or female, and the sin committed of what kind soever, his fault whispers not so much to his shame, as his solemn repentance sounds to his commendation. He was very plain in apparel, and sharply checked such Clergymen, whom he saw go in rich and gawdy cloaths, commonly calling them of the Church-Triumphant. Thus as Cardinal Wolsey is reported the first Prelate, who made silks and fattens fashionable amongst Clergymen; so this Archbishop first entrenched the usual wearing thereof. Once at a visitation in Essex, one in Orders of a good estate and extraction appeared before him very gallant in habit, whom Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, publicly reproved, shewing to him the plainness of his own apparel: *My Lord, said the Minister, you have better cloaths at home, and I have worse;* whereat the Bishop rested very well contented." Fuller likewise tells us, that he was not partial in preferring his kindred, except some merit met in them with his alliance; and that generally the persons promoted by him were men of learning and abilities, though many of them Arminians in their judgments. That he perfectly hated covetousness; and being a single man, and having no project to raise a name or family, he was the better enabled for public performances, having both a price in his hand, and an heart also to dispose thereof for the general good. Philip a Limborch, in the preface to the second edition of *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistola Ecclesiastica & Theologica*, speaking of the letters of our Archbishop inserted in that collection, tells us, " that he appears to great advantage in them, who though abused by so many grievous calumnies, yet in his familiar letters to Gerard John Vossius used no reproachful term against his most inveterate enemies, but after his Saviour's example, when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered threatened not, but blessed those, who cursed him, and prayed earnestly for those, who persecuted him. He is here so fully cleared from the shocking imputation openly cast upon him by his most implacable enemies, of endeavouring to bring Popery into the Church of England, that calumny itself cannot find any ground to accuse him. We find here continual solicitations in his letters to Vossius, to undertake the task of confuting *Baronius*; so that he never ceased to urge him to it; *I am greatly desirous, says he, before I*

*leave this world, to see Baronius falling under your attack; and you cannot expect any letters from me without reminding you of it." Sed imprimis admirabilem se ostendit reverendissimus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Gulielmus Laudus, ob causam religionis à feravidis zelotibus securi percussus; qui adeo graviter impetitus, tot calumniis oneratus, in familiarissimis ad Vossium Epistolis nullum contra ferocissimos inimicos maledictum profert, sed ad Servatoris sui exemplum, cum malediceretur, non maledixit, & cum peteretur non comminatus est, sed maledictibus benedixit, & pro persecutoribus se ardentissimè precatus est. Hic ab immani Criminatione, quâ ab insensissimis inimicis coram toto orbe palam & odioso est traductus, quasi Papatum in Ecclesiam Anglicanam reducere moliretur, adeo plenè purgatur, ut ne ipsa quidem diabolus quicquam quod admordeat reperire possit. Extant hic continuatæ ipsius flagitationes, vel decies in Epistolis ejus repetitæ, ut Vossius provinciam Baronium confutandi in se suscipiat, adeo quidem ut id urgere nunquam destiterit. Magnoperè, inquit, cupio, antequam fata mihi aperiant, sepulchrum Baronium videre sub tuis telis cadentem, nec Literas potes a me ullas expectare sine stimulo." Bishop Burnet (30) observes, that " he was a learned, a sincere and zealous man, regular in life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiscrete man, eagerly pursuing some matters, that were either very inconsiderable or mischievous, such as setting the Communion-Table by the East walls of Churches, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, the suppressing the Walloons privileges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of sports on the Lord's Day, with some other things that were of no value; and yet all the zeal and heat of that time was laid out on those. His severity in the Star-Chamber and in the High-Commission-Court, but above all his violent and indeed inexcusable injustice in the prosecution of Bishop Williams, were such blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner could have raised his character; which indeed it did to a degree of setting him up as a pattern, and the establishing all his notions as standards, by which judgments are to be made of men, whether they are true to the Church or not. His *Diary*, though it was a base thing to publish it, represents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and as a superstitious regarder of dreams. His *defence of himself*, writ with so much care, when he was in the Tower, is a very mean performance. He intended in that to make an appeal to the world. In most particulars he excuses himself by this, that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-Chamber or High-Commission voted illegal things. Now though this was true, yet a chief Minister, and one in high favour, determines the rest so much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occasions he says, the thing was proved but by one witness. How strong soever this defence may be in Law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me the strongest prejudice against him in that book is, that after he had seen the ill effects of his violent counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed in the hurry of passion in the exaltation of his prosperity, he does not in any one part of that great work acknowledge his own errors, nor mix in it any wife or pious reflections on the ill usage he met, or the unhappy steps he had made. So that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman persecution, his friends Heylin and Wharton have as much lessened him, the one by writing his *Life*, and the other by publishing his *Vindication of himself*."*

(*) Mr. Prynne in the *Breviate of his Life*, pag. 30.

(30) *History of his own Time*, vol. 1. B. 1.

think of a safer expedient than the poisoning Mithridates. Accordingly she was preparing for it, but one of her maid-servants betrayed her, and revealed the mystery; upon which Mithridates, without the least hesitation, put his wife to death (a). A modern author (b) affirms falsely, that the Monarch in question was actually poisoned by his wife; but that being accustomed to his antidote, he cured himself, though with much difficulty. Those who puzzle themselves, because of Justin's relating that Laudice was delivered of a child during her consort's absence [A], raise difficulties out of nothing. I have spoke elsewhere (c) of another LAUDICE, sister to this, and still more wicked than she. Justin is unjustly accused of contradicting himself, when he speaks of these two women [B].

(a) Extracted from Justin, lib. 37. cap. 3. pag. m. 544.

(b) Christ. Mathias, Theat. Hist. pag. m. 28.

(c) In the article CAPPADOCIA; remark [I] num. 3. to the end of the paragraph.

[A] *Laudice had been delivered of a child during her consort's absence.* This delivery was regular, and Mithridates could not take offence at it; the computation of the time allowed of his considering himself as father of the boy, of which Laudice was delivered in his absence. The circumstance, which makes me speak in this manner, is, Justin's observing that Mithridates was congratulated, at one and the same time, on his return and on the birth of a Prince. *Inter gratulationem adventus sui & filii geniti* (1). No person would have dared to congratulate him, as a felicity, on a shameful and indisputable proof of his being a cuckold; what then, (will be objected to me) could occasion Laudice's uneasiness? I answer, that in all probability she was with child, or was afraid of being so, by having sported with her gallants since her delivery. Hence she was prompted, in order to conceal her adulterous practices, to dispatch her husband. *Laudice, cum perisset eum crederet, in concubitus amicorum projecta, quasi admissum facinus majore scelere tegere posset, venenum advenienti paravit* (2). i. e. "Laudice . . . thinking her husband was dead, and abandoning herself therefore to her gallants, prepared to poison him at his return; as tho' she could cover or conceal the crime by the commission of a greater.

(1) Justin, lib. 37. cap. 3. pag. 544.

(2) Idem, ibid.

[B] *Justin is unjustly accused of contradicting himself, when he speaks of these two women.* Freinshemius charges him either with this, or with confounding history in a most egregious manner. *Aut contradicit sibi auctor, aut historiam mire confundit* (3). His reason is, that Justin relates in other places, I. that (4) Laudice, widow of Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, was killed by his subjects, for poisoning five of her children. II. That (5) Laudice, widow of Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, married Nicomedes King of Bithynia, whilst her brother Mithridates was preparing to succour her, against the Nicomedes in question, usurper of Cappadocia, in prejudice of Ariarathes the late King's son. There is no foundation for this charge of Freinshemius, Justin mentioning two Laudices, queens of Cappadocia. The first had married an Ariarathes, who died during the war of Aristonicus, about the year of Rome 622. The second was sister of Mithridates and wife to the Ariarathes who succeeded the former. Here therefore is neither contradiction nor confusion. I must observe, that Justin is censured in many places where he is right, and that no notice is taken of many incidents which are certainly misrepresented by him. The Commentator in *Usum Delphini* has repeated the accusation of Freinshemius.

(3) Freinshemius, in Justin, lib. 38. cap. 1. pag. 543.
(4) Justin, lib. 38. cap. 1.
(5) Idem, lib. 38. cap. 1.

LAUNOI (MATTHEW DE) (*), one of the most violent Leaguers in France, had exercised during several years the ministerial functions among the Calvinists; but having committed adultery, and not believing that the severity of the Laws would be softened in any manner on his account, he returned to the Romish Communion. I dare not affirm what I have read in great authors, viz. that he was a Priest when he turned Protestant [A]; but if he was not so at that time, he certainly became such after he had abandoned

(*) [He himself says that he was born in la Ferté-Macé, in the diocese of Sens. Tho' he wrote his name Launoy, he seems to have been generally called Launoy.] From the Remarks to the Paris edit. (1734) of Bayle's Diction.

(1) Thuan. Hist. lib. 36. pag. 112. ad ann. 1587. See also Malmibourg, Hist. de la Ligue, liv. I. pag. 55.

[A] *I dare not affirm . . . that he was a priest when he turned protestant.* This is affirmed by Thuanus. *Matthæus Launæus, says he* (1), *sacri Sueffonum collegii Sodalis, olim sacerdos, & postea egerata majorum religione doctrinam protestantium amplexus pastorisque officio diu inter eos functus, uxore etiam ducta, cujus cum propter egestatem etate jam inclinata tæderet, errore recantato ad nos redierat, sed incerta fide, quam mox ut se vere Catholicum approbaret, sacrilegus addixit.* i. e. "Matthew Launoy, canon of the Cathedral at Soissons, formerly a priest, and afterwards forsaking the religion of his forefathers, and embracing the faith of the Protestants, executed the ministerial functions a long time among them; having likewise married a wife, of whom growing weary, on account of the narrowness of his circumstances, when advancing in years, he recanted his errors and came back to us, but still doubtful with regard to his faith. However, he soon after joyned the Leaguers, to shew himself a true Catholic." The same thing is repeated in Book XCV (2), with a very considerable addition; for in enumerating the motives, which had prompted our Launoy to leave the Protestants; the punishment he had to dread, on account of his having been found guilty of adultery, is not omitted. He returned into the pale of the Church, says Thuanus, whether it was that he repented of his errors, or was grown weary of his wife, or feared the punishment which is inflicted by the protestants, on those who are found guilty of violating their conjugal faith. *Rursus seu penitentia ductus, sive uxoris partus, & adulterii penam, cujus convictus fuerat, metuens, ad sacerdotium relicta uxore redierat* (3). I shall transcribe another passage hereunder, in which Thuanus repeats part of these particulars. I pass over the following words of Du Verdier Vau Pri-

vas (4); *Matthew de Launoi, first priest, after a minister of the pretended Reformed Religion (a Protestant minister) and now return'd into the pale of the Christian Catholic Church.* The authority of Thuanus is sufficient to prove what I advance. Let us see whether there be any room to doubt that Matthew de Launoi was a priest, when he turned Protestant. The motive of my doubting is from the silence of our Launoy himself, on an occasion, wherein one would think he should have mentioned his being a priest, *I pass over, says he* (5), *what they say of my vocation, before they had drawn me out of the bosom of the Christian and Catholic Church, and of my deserting my former employment; for I have always been in public authority and office, ever since I left my studies: and notwithstanding my youth, which was very rare at that time, and far from maturity, I behaved with applause and honour, to the satisfaction of those I was concerned with, till some ministers and others of their sect turned my brain with their illusions and chimeras. And so great was their esteem for me, that the instant I went over to them (in 1560) they forced me to accept of an employment among them; and were so hasty on this occasion, that they did not give me time to breathe or recollect myself, so much they were afraid of losing me. They even obliged me to make but one probation sermon; nay, the moment they found I began to enter on my subject, being satisfied with my beginning, they made me leave off, and admitted me among them, in order that I might be sent to Champagne.* ["Launoy certainly was a priest when he turned Protestant; and John Bruneau the counsellor . . . says folio 7, of his *Discours Chrétien*, printed at Paris in 1581, 8vo. that Launoy having been honoured with the dignity of the priesthood, and quitted it industriously; being better advised, returned into the pale of the Church . . . and that he, at last, was re-established

(1) Bibliotheque de la ville de Paris, p. 860.
(2) Défense de Matthieu de Launoi & d'Henri Penancier . . . contre les fausses Accusations & perverses Calomnies des Ministres de Paris, Sedan, & autres, pag. 43, 44. This book was printed at Paris, for John du Carroi, in the year 1577, 8vo.
(3) Défense de Matthieu de Launoi & d'Henri Penancier . . . contre les fausses Accusations & perverses Calomnies des Ministres de Paris, Sedan, & autres, pag. 43, 44.
(4) Bibliotheque de la ville de Paris, p. 860.
(5) Défense de Matthieu de Launoi & d'Henri Penancier . . . contre les fausses Accusations & perverses Calomnies des Ministres de Paris, Sedan, & autres, pag. 43, 44.

(2) Pag. 280, ad ann. 1589.

(3) Thuan. ibid.

abandoned the Protestant faith. Though he had been branded at Sedan in a very ignominious manner [B], on account of his adulterous practices, he nevertheless was received with open arms by the Roman Catholics. They collected money for him (a); gave him a Canonry in the Cathedral of Soissons, and the Living of St. Mederic in Paris (b). He employed his tongue, his pen, in short all his abilities to foment the rebellion of the Parisians [C]; and made himself so considerable in the horrid faction of the Sixteen, that he presided in all the assemblies which were held, in order to put to death Barnabas Brisson, President in the Parliament of Paris [C]. Had he not made his escape suddenly, he would have accompanied those whom the Duke of Mayenne caused to be hanged (*), for being instrumental in the execution of that great man (d). He retired to Flanders (e); and, I believe, ended his days in that country. He published some controversial pieces; particularly one concerning the motives of his changing his Religion [D], and an answer to the calumnies which he pretended the Protestant Ministers had spread against him. He writes with great weakness in his answer to the charge brought against him, viz. of his committing adultery [E]; and as his conduct during the time of the League proves him a profligate wretch,

(a) *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. 6. pag. 349. Our Historians do not say that this Parsonage was given to him.

(b) *Mém. de la Ligue*, *ibid.*

(c) Thuan. lib. 95. pag. 220.

(d) Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, ad ann. 1591.

(e) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(*) [The author of the Remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary does not believe this. See vol. 5. pag. 899.]

“re-established in his first order and condition of the priesthood.”] From the remarks of the Paris edit. (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

(6) Tom. 6. pag. 351.

[B] He had been branded at Sedan in a very ignominious manner.] 'Tis related in the Memoirs of the League (6), that having been found guilty of getting his cousin with child, in Sedan, where he exercised the holy ministry, he was hanged in effigy there. [The author of the notes to the Paris edition (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary, is strongly of opinion that Launois was not hanged in effigy, for which he gives a variety of Reasons. See Vol. III. pag. 898. of that Dictionary.]

(7) Tom. 1. folio 508, & seq. ad ann. 1591.

[C] He presided in all the assemblies which were held, in order to put to death Barnabas Brisson, president in the Parliament of Paris.] Let the reader consult the Chronologie Novenaire of Peter Victor Cayet (7), and he will find a more particular account than in the following words of Thuanus: *Matthæus Launois qui olim Presbyter, postea egerata majorum religionis Minister uxorem duxerat, ejusque pertæsus ad sacra redierat . . . principem locum in iis conciliabulis semper tenuit* (8). i. e. “Matthew Launois, who being formerly a Priest, afterwards forsaking the religion of his ancestors became a Protestant minister, and married a wife, whom growing weary of, he returned to the Church, . . . was always the chief in those consultations.” This proof is sufficient for me.

(8) Thuan. lib. 102. pag. 443. ad ann. 1591.

[D] He published some controversial pieces, particularly one concerning the motives of his changing his religion.] 'Tis entitled, *The declaration and refutation of the false suppositions and perverse applications of some texts of Scripture, which the Protestant ministers have employed in these latter times to divide Christians; and with an exhortation to the said ministers to reunite themselves, and to bring back their bearers to the Catholic, Apostolic and Romish Church, from which they ought not to have separated. . . . By Matthew de Launois, and Henry Penmetier, late ministers of the pretended reformed (Protestant) Religion, and now returned into the pale of the Christian and Catholic Church, the whole digested and divided into three books, by the said de Launois.* The dedication (9) to King Henry III. informs us, that these two Protestant ministers met in the town of Guines in the reconquered country, the first of June 1576; Penmetier being returned thither from England some time before, and the other just come from Holland. 'Twas there (say they) that they drew up this work, and resolved to abjure publicly their heretical tenets.

(9) It is dated from Paris the 29th of September 1577.

[E] He writes with great weakness in his answer to the charge brought against him, viz. of his committing adultery.] He owns himself to be a weak man, and liable to fall into sin (10). He does not confess the fault he is accused of; but alledges, in justification of himself, only some little cavils. *My accusers*, says he (11) *have mistaken with regard to the time, for want of a good memory; I being in Holland in the year 1574.* They are guilty of several inconsistencies, (adds he;) they say that she was a young maiden who had been left me in trust, by honest people who fear God: and afterwards they say that she was a servant wench. Now there is a wide difference between the one and the other. For when a young woman is given in trust, she supposes her to be of a good family, and that she has a fortune; so that she is not a servant wench of six or seven French Livres a year. Besides; they wanted to beigh-

(10) *Défense de Matthieu de Launois*, pag. 45.

(11) *Ibid.* pag. 47.

ten still more the enormity of that pretended incident; for it would be a much greater crime to debauch a young woman, well born, who had been left in trust, than a servant wench, who lets herself out for hire, to serve and stay so long as her service is approved of, or till some other thing makes her quit her place. This is making but an ill defence. I have cited above (12), a writer who says, that Launois got his own cousin with child. In all probability 'twas a young woman who had been sent to his house during the persecutions in France; for at that time several Protestants made Sedan their asylum. Now as Launois was not in very flourishing circumstances, and his fair refugee perhaps had not money to pay for her board, 'tis probable enough, that by her domestick services she gave him an opportunity of living without a maid servant; and therefore, some might say (without inconsistency or contradiction) that he had lain with his *servant wench*; and others, that he had lain with a young woman who had been committed to his care.

Here follows another pretended contradiction. *They say, that having been found guilty of the fact in presence of the confessor, I confessed it to three or four among them (they are uncertain as to the number) (13); but they don't say in what manner I was found guilty.* It was not, continues he (14), *by my being caught in the fact by the Judge himself, attended by his Sergeants, and others of his court. 'Twas not by unexceptionable witnesses, for witnesses are not called on such occasions. 'Twas not by a violent presumption; for had there been any, they themselves would have greatly transgressed, according to their own principles. A presumption is grounded, either on the too great familiarity of the parties, or upon the woman's being with child. In case they grounded their presumption on familiarity, they ought to have given us notice of it, to prevent, by good remonstrances or exhortations, our committing evil; so that they would be greatly to blame, for having suffered us to continue in sin, without opposing it by a brotherly charity, or by proper censures. If their presumption arose from her being with child, it is not sufficient to accuse me, much less to condemn me. It would be a fine law, if a servant wench plays the fool in her master's house, and is got with child, that the master must be looked upon as guilty of the crime. What reason would there be for this? Fathers and mothers often find it an extremely difficult task to keep in their daughters, though they watch them ever so narrowly; how then could a master be accountable for a servant wench's being with child, since he cannot always have her under his eye? It would be much better, in such a case, for a person to be his own servant. Such a presumption therefore would be of no force. But when they saw their pretended young woman of a good family with child, they ought to have sent for, and enquired of her how all this had happened; and who had got her with child, and then they had known the truth. But they forgot to do this, and therefore they cannot alledge a presumption without condemning themselves; and still it would be of no force.* The weakness of this defence might easily be shewn, if one would be at the pains to do it; but 'tis really not worth while. I only say, that though he had sent the young woman in question out of the way, people might yet have had very convincing proofs of her being with child; so that he could not take any advantage of her not having been confronted or examined.

(12) In the remark [B].

(13) *Défense de Launois*, pag. 47.

(14) *Ibid.* pag. 48.

wretch, we must not give credit to the stories which he published against the Protestants [F].
That

The following pretended contradiction is not better than the foregoing ones. *They say that I was found guilty in presence of their consistory, which, according to them, was composed of seventeen Ministers and thirteen Elders, making in all thirty persons. Now they assert that I was found guilty by that confession, which, (say they), I made in presence of three or four: It therefore was not their consistory, twenty six or twenty seven persons being wanting* (15). An empty, childish cavil. 'Twas not pretended that he had confessed his crime in presence of the whole consistory; 'twas pretended that, without his confessing it before that assembly, he had been found guilty of it; and 'twas added, that he had confessed the charge, in private, to three or four people.

(15) *Ibid.* pag. 49, 50.

He complains (16) that they sentenced them both as being equally guilty of adultery, and to the same penalties. Now adultery, as distinguished from fornication, is committed between or by married persons. Nevertheless they say that it was a maiden; she therefore did not commit adultery in that sense. This is a pitiful argument; for, to commit adultery properly so called, it is not necessary that both parties should be married; if either of them be so, that is sufficient. " [Bayle " would not have called this argument of Launoi a " pitiful one, had he understood it. The question is " not, (in Launoy's answer) about the sin of adultery, " but concerning the punishment of this sin enacted " by the laws. You pretend, said Launoy, that having been judicially convicted, sentence was past; and you say that this sentence condemned the young woman and I, to the same punishment, as being equally guilty of adultery. A proof that this incident is false, and that the sentence is a mere calumny of your raising, is, that the laws enacted against adulterers relate only to a double adultery, that is, to such an one as is committed between married persons; but not against that kind of adultery which a married man commits with a maiden. In this latter case, the laws do not look upon the maiden as guilty of adultery. This sentence therefore which you say was past upon me, would not be agreeable to the tenor of the laws; and this authorized me to say, that 'twas you forged this incident, merely out of hatred to me &c. . . Had not Bayle endeavoured merely to condemn Launoy, but only to examine what relates to him, in order that he might be enabled to condemn or clear him after a mature enquiry, he would not have omitted a method, which, to me, appears sufficiently decisive, and which Launoi did not enough insist upon. You accuse me (might he say) of having committed a crime at Sedan in 1574, and I then had left that city. You pretend that I was found guilty in a full consistory, and even that I afterwards confessed the fact to three or four particular persons. Now nothing can be falser than all this; I had then left the city; and farther, neither the girl nor I were ever examined or confronted. To all this you add that, in consequence of the conviction and my confession, sentence was past upon me. It is plain that this is an untruth. Either produce the instrument of my conviction; the names of those persons who heard me own the fact; and the judicial sentence past upon me, or know that you will be looked upon every where as manifest calumniators." From the remarks on the Paris Edition (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. III, pag. 897, 898. The last thing he objects, is the respect to persons (17). He pretends that they had shewn great indulgence to the same kind of crimes; he names persons and places; and whether it were that he sought for a greater conformity between the crime he was charged with, and that with which he charged some of his brethren; or for other reasons, servant maids seldom fail of acting a part in his recriminations. He names a Protestant Minister, who made a figure in the frontispiece of some noble books, and who was called, in Holland, the *schoon Predikant* (18); if we may believe Launoy, the handsome minister in question would have made himself formidable to his landladies by his exploits on servant wenches, and have made an excellent use of the maxim of a Roman Poet,

(16) *Ibid.* pag. 50.

(17) *Ibid.* pag. 51, 52.

(18) i. e. the handsome Minister.

Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori (19).
" Blush not, my Friend, to own the love.
" Which thy fair captive's eyes do move.

(19) Horat. *Od.* 4. lib. 2. See the article BRISEIS, remark [E].

DUXE.

I shall observe in the following remark, that Launoi was not honest man enough, to injure those persons whom he slandered.

I will make a little digression. Either Clergymen should be allowed to marry, or they should be forbid to keep young maid servants; for all the horrid concubinage of priests, which has scandalized the publick for so many ages, owes its rise to the permission, which was granted them, of having women about them, to manage their household affairs. The design of the superiors was, that they should confine themselves to the business of maid servants; but they suffered themselves to be prevailed upon to serve to every other purpose: the office of concubine seemed so convenient to them in all respects (20), that their masters did not find it a very difficult task to bring them to it. Since Luther's reformation, the priests have lessened, by insensible degrees, this great scandal; but to this day their maid-servants, unless they are very antiquated, are strongly suspected to serve them in a double capacity. Every one knows the song,

(20) Compare what is said above, with the remark [E] of the article HADRIAN VI.

*De necessitate necessitante
Il faut que je baise ma servante.*

By strong necessity betrayed,
I'm forc'd to kiss my servant-maid.

A priest is supposed to say this. Generally speaking in all religions, if any lewd affair happens, which occasions complaints against unmarried Ecclesiastics, it almost always arises from their maid-servants. The reason of this is manifest; the temptations on both sides, and the opportunities for sinning present themselves more readily and conveniently; and doubtless hence it is why tender casuists greatly extenuate the sin of a servant wench, who is got with child by her master. The Latin of the lower ages furnishes us with a word which is of great weight here. The word *foecaria*, was taken, at first, in a virtuous sense; it signified a woman or girl who served in a house, and dressed her master's victuals, but it afterwards was made use of only to denote the concubines of clergymen (21): the reason was, most of their maid servants continued indeed to be cooks, but then they also lay with their masters. Let us conclude, that it ought to be a law in all countries, not to suffer unmarried young clergymen to keep young maid servants.

(21) See *De Cange's Glossary*, at the word *foecaria*, pag. 469, 470. Paris edit.

[F] We must not give credit to the stories, which he published against the Protestants.] Though we should even overlook the dreadful crimes which he committed during the league, we might with reason consider him as an impostor, with respect to many particulars he relates concerning the Protestant ministers, they being quite improbable. He says (22) that the Protestant Ministers who fled for refuge to Neuchâtel in Switzerland, having formed a resolution to ruin a young man, who had preferred the study of physick to that of divinity, accused him of many false doctrines, but that one of the most eminent among them opposed their evil design; that notwithstanding this they continued to do him all the injury in their power; *Some calling him wizard, others anabaptist, others atheist. Others would say to him; How dare you say that you do not believe all the doctrine of Calvin, by whose mouth we all speak? He answering that Calvin was a man liable to error as others were; immediately they cried aloud, O cursed Philosophy! O execrable Blasphemy! For to speak against Calvin's doctrine, and against the intention and will of these venerable doctors is, in their opinion, speaking against God, and lying against the holy Ghost: and they make no conscience of prosecuting a man on this account, even to death; if they can come at him* (23). The words he makes these Protestant Ministers say of Calvin (24) is so different from the spirit and maxims of the Protestant Church, and so inconsistent with the style of the Protestants, that this is sufficient to shew that he himself forged (and in the most gross

(22) *Déferse de Mathieu de Launoi*, pag. 38, 39.

(23) *Ibid.* pag. 42.

(24) See also what he relates Book 2. of his *Declaration and Refutation*, folio 136 verso.

That which relates to two pretended Demoniacks, is the most ridiculous [G].

gross manner) the slanders published by him. It therefore cannot be any prejudice to the memory of the parties concerned, if I take the liberty to insert in this place the following scandalous story. "The eldest Capel had, a little before, played another such mad trick to a lady of a good family, who being come to Sedan about business, would not shew herself to, or be known by any person. Nevertheless, his over great curiosity made him so rash, as to abuse the name and authority of the duke and dutchess de Bouillon to get into the chamber of the lady in question, and to see her. At the same time he played another prank, which shewed both his Genius and lewd and wicked inclinations. For coming out of Church, and moved by I know not what kind of devotion, he took by the arm a beautiful, virtuous, and nobly-descended young lady, and begged to speak a word or two with her. This being granted, he whispered to her as follows; "Young Lady, charmed with your shining qualities, both of body and mind, and particularly with your wit, I am so bold as to offer up a petition to you, but then I would not be denied. The Lady answering, that she could not grant him any favour till she first knew what it was; he then said to her: I would beg you to give me one hour's amorous pastime with you; we will find a place where there shall be no one but you and I. The poor gentlewoman quite ashamed, and surprized at the instructions which the Protestant Philosopher gave her at his coming out of church, flew immediately to her mother; to whom she told the whole story; which her mother told me, the same day, by way of complaint (25)".

(25) *Defense*, pag. 35, 36.

[G] That which relates to two pretended Demoniacks is the most ridiculous.] Here follows an abstract of this story. Matthew de Launoi was a famous Protestant Minister in 1562. Some Merchants of the Netherlands, who were his auditors at Aï in Champagne, were so pleased with his sermon, that they kept him at their houses, just as he was going for England. They admired both his stile and his diligence; he often preaching six times in different places, in four and twenty hours, upon which they appointed him their Minister at Tournay. Whilst he was in that city, advice was brought that several people possessed with the devil had been delivered by the exorcisms of

the Catholic Church. This displeased the Calvinists; they fearing that their sect would lose their credit, if their Ministers should not have the gift or power of driving out devils, which had been so conspicuous in the Apostles, and was seen also among the Papists. They therefore suborned two persons, a man and woman, and engaged them to act the part of demoniacks, upon condition of receiving a sum of money, and having a pension for life. The two persons in question played their parts to admiration; and thereupon Matthew de Launoi who knew nothing of this contrivance, was desired to go and succour the two demoniacks. Accordingly he went, offered up prayers, and preached; which brought so happy an effect, that the two demoniacks, after a great many tricks, which they had been directed to play, declared that the devil was come out of them. The miracle was spread univerfally, and gained de Launoi the highest veneration. However the knavery was discovered some time after, because that the two persons who acted the farce, not being paid the reward which had been promised them, brought their action against the seducers. A weaver and a rope-maker informed Launoi of this in Holland 1574. *Non ante sunt ea technæ à Matthæo intellectæ, quam pecuniis non præstitis litem movere debitoribus demoniaci cæperunt: totaque est ea fabula in Hollandia ad annum M. D. LXXIII. Matthæo à duobus, Christiano de la Quennoillerie textore lini, & Joanne Walle, qui chordis netendis vitam ducere consuevit, commemorata* (26). This was the motive of his conversion, if we may believe Sedulius the Franciscan, who has inserted this whole story at full length, in his answer to the Alcoran of the Franciscans, printed in 1607 (27). He says that Matthew de Launoi, being still alive in Brussels, and writing several pieces against the Calvinists, could vouch the truth of it. *Vixit hodieque Matthæus Bruxellæ Principum urbe Brabantia, & multa adversus illos scribit, quibus mendacio pallente non possunt rescribere* (28). Spondanus has inserted the substance of this fine story in his *Annals* (29). It would be needless to shew the impertinence of this relation; it is univerfally known that the Protestants made it their business to discredit all the miracles of the latter ages, and to assert that they were not any way necessary to justify the Reformation. Apply here what I say in the remark [T] of the article CALVIN.

(26) Sedulius, ubi infra, pag. 283.

(27) Henr. Sedulius, *Apologia adversus Alcoranum Franciscanorum*, pag. 280, & seq. He quotes Florentius vander Haer, de initiis tumultuum Belgicorum.

(28) Idem, Sedulius, *ibid.* pag. 283.

(29) *Ad annum 1562, num. 30.*

LAUNOI (JOHN DE) in Latin *Launoius*, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Paris, was born in a little village of Normandy near Coutances. He went through his philosophical and theological studies in Paris, with so much success, that he became a most formidable disputant. He was ordained Priest, and took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1636 [A]; he did not make these two characters of use to him for amassing of wealth, and soliciting for benefices [B]; he having no other view but to acquire learning

[A] He was ordained Priest and took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1636.] I have not followed Moreri, who affirms that John de Launoi entered into Holy Orders in 1634, and took his Doctor's degree in June of the same year. My reason is this: It is affirmed, in this Doctor's elogium, that he entered upon his course of Divinity in 1633; and that he made so great a progress therein in two years, that no one surpassed him; and that he excelled many persons of great genius and erudition. It is added that he was raised the following year to the Priesthood, and took his Doctor's degree in Divinity. *Studium Theologicum ingressus est anno trigesimo tertio supra millesimum & sexcentessimum, illudque biennio integro ita percurrit, ut multos ingenio & eruditione præstantes vinceret, & à nemine vinceretur. Ad ordinem sacerdotalem anno insequenti, & ad Theologiæ Magisterium evectus* (1). I believed it was proper for me to put this following year, after the two years of his studying Divinity; for had I fixed it immediately after the year 1633, it would follow, that this Doctor had studied Divinity one year, as a scholar, after he had taken his Doctor's degree. I would not, however, insist upon having the preference of Moreri; for the author of the elogium, did not perhaps pretend to great accuracy in such minute particulars relating to Chronology. Did he not say (2) that after

(1) *Elog. Launoi*, pag. 2.

(2) *Ibid.*

John de Launoi had spent five or six years in studying Philosophy and School Divinity, he began his course of Divinity and employed two years in it? Is this writing according to the strictness prescribed by the laws of accuracy? But how negligent soever he may have been, I prefer his authority to that of Moreri.

[The Latin word *studium* seems to be an error of the press for *studium*. This last word was employed by the author to denote what is called the course of *Licenses*, which is of two years continuance, and which presupposes five other years of Divinity, viz. three years, during which the student goes to the lectures of two Professors, after which he may be bachelor, and two years interval between the bachelor's degree, and the entrance into the *Licenses*. The bachelor is supposed to spend these two years in study, but privately. Besides the three years spent in study in the schools, the student must be Master of Arts, and consequently have gone through, during two years, a course of Philosophy in the University. By the way, the anonymous author is mistaken, in supposing that de Launoi began this *studium* or *Licenses* in 1633, it being in 1632.] From the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary, Tom. III. pag. 900.

[B] ... he did not make these two characters of use to him

learning, for which purpose he continued to apply himself to his studies with prodigious intenseness. He was not satisfied with reading of all sorts of books, but kept company with the most learned Divines [C], in order to have an opportunity of consulting them upon all the difficulties he met with (a). The conversation he had with the learned Father Sirmond proved most advantageous to him [D]. It was not for his own satisfaction, but

(a) Ex Elogio Joannis Launoi typis vulgato Londini 1685, in 3vo.

him for amassing of wealth and suing for benefices.] This requires a remark; for it is so very uncommon to find, even among Doctors of Divinity, any persons exempt from avarice and ambition, that when we meet with any such, the public ought to be carefully informed of them. Such examples ought to be consecrated; all the justice they merit ought to be immediately done to them, a circumstance that serves to the edification of the public, as it shews that Providence does not quite give up mortals to depravity and corruption. I say then that John de Launoi discovered from his childhood an entire indifference with regard to the good things of this world; and that these happy inclinations were not changed in him after he was more advanced in years, he then making over to his brothers and nephews all his pretensions to his father's estate. *Omnem ab ineunte adolescentia exuerat opum cupiditatem, quam divina vox flagitiorum fontem appellat. Sed ad firmam ætatem cum pervenisset, paternam hæreditatem, parvam illam quidem, fratribus nepotibusque reliquit* (3). He would never listen to the counsels of his friends, who advised him to sue for prebends and benefices. To put a stop to their officious exhortations, he declared to them, that he did not believe himself qualified either for singing or preaching; and that he would not enrich himself with the possessions of the Church, since he could not do it great service, by his ministerial functions. *Monitus aliquando ab amicis, ut paræciam præbendamque vacantem, eo nomine peteret ab eo, cui conferendæ illius munus incumbebat, respondit, se huic utrique officio parum aptum esse à natura, cum per latera parum firma, perque vocem minimè canoram, neque verba apud populum facere, neque psalmos hymnosque decantare posses. Ingerentibus nonnullis inde provenire non modicam copiam, quâ quis commodius ageret, continuo regebat, se si jure illo uteretur, prospicere, rem ita comparatum iri, ut Ecclesia sibi opibus suis fructum magnum, ipse nullum Ecclesie, aut cerè exiguum, Ministerio suo afferret, quod factum minimè sane vellet, tanquam iniquum nimis et invidiosum* (4). We are not to wonder at his acquiring so much erudition, since he applied himself to study with a frame of mind exempt from a desire of amassing riches and acquiring preferments. How many people would be very eminent in learning, if the torturing care of making their fortunes did not draw them perpetually out of their closets? Here follows what a Poet says with regard to the obstacles or impediments attached to his profession.

(3) Ibid. pag. 3.

(4) Elog. Launoi, pag. 3.

*Ad hæc animos ærugo et cura peculi
Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Poffe linenda cedro, et levi servanda cupressu* (5) ?

(5) Horat. de Arte Poet. ver. 330.

“ When once their minds are with low avarice
“ tainted,
“ Can generous actions be expected from them;
“ Can verses writ by persons thus brought up
“ Lay claim to immortality? —

I must not forget John de Launoi's will. The preamble to it was remarkable. After the usual words, *In the name of the Father, &c.* were the following; *I shall soon have done, for I have not much to bequeath* (6). Menage did not say all; the reason was also given why the testator did not leave much behind him, viz. that God had made him understand, that it is much more difficult for a Christian to make a right use of riches, than to live without them. *Præfatur ideo testaturum se de re tenui, quoniam à quo admotus fuerat studiis sublimioribus, singulari Dei beneficio intellexerat, facilius esse homini Christiano bonis carere, quam iis recte uti* (7). This is a remarkable circumstance; Mr. de Launoi left more money behind him than he thought he would be found master of; a manifest proof of his indifference with regard to the good things of this world. He did not give himself the trouble to count over his money, and sometimes forgot where he had laid it. (8) *Certum illum* (9) *fecit Launoius, plus penes*

(6) Menagiana, pag. 216.

(7) Elog. Launoi, pag. 35.

(8) Ibid. pag. 36.

(9) That is, the person who executed his last will.

se post obitum signatæ pecuniæ repertum iri, quam præbandis legatis requireretur; et revera longè plus repertum est, plusque quam Launoius ipse repertum iri crederet. Sed id tantum abest ut ei vitio verti possit; quin potius laudi duci debet, cum illud omne quantumcumque fuerit, non avara manus asservasset usquam, sed contemptor opum animus domi projectum oblivioni penè dedisset. i. e. “ He was assured by Launoi, that more money “ would be found at his decease, than was sufficient to pray “ the legacies; and indeed much more was found than “ Launoi himself could have thought. But this, so “ far from being imputed as a fault to him, should rather be looked upon as a virtue, since the whole sum “ of money, how great soever it might be, had not “ been heaped up out of avarice, but carelessly thrown “ about the house out of contempt.” We here have a proof, that an indifference with regard to riches, and a strong passion for amassing them, may produce the same effect; for some misers hoard up so much wealth, that they themselves do not know what they have.

*Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt,
Et dominum fallunt, et profunt furibus* (10).

(10) Horat. Epist. 6. lib. 1. ver. 45. See what Horace says of Lucullus a little before.

“ Ill furnished is that house where things superfluous
“ Abound so much, the master knows not of them;
“ Which rogues may steal, and no one be the wifer.

[C] *He kept company with the most learned Divines.* He was not contented with this; he used to consult by letter, such learned men as lived in the provinces of France or in foreign countries (11); and when he went to Rome, it was not in order to view the antiquities there, but to get acquainted with those who were famed for their erudition. He visited chiefly in that city, the Duke of Holstein and Leo Allatius (12). *Iter etiam suscepit in Italiam, non quidem ut flavios inspiceret et maria, non ut urbes lustraret, non ut vetera artium monumenta, novæque ædificiorum moles mirabundus intueretur, sed ut consuetudine fruere tur eruditorum* (13).

(11) Elog. pag. 70

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

[D] *The conversation he had with the learned father Sirmond proved most advantageous to him.* He used to go and propose his doubts to him, which the other would clear up without the least noise or heat. The Jesuit in question was quite averse to this contentious manner of disputing on the sciences. *Suam seu percontationem, seu sententiam, de maximi momenti capitibus proponentem benigne audiebat perspicacissimus et cordatissimus senex, mentem ei suam candidè aperibat, et cum esset ab omni quæ in scholis viget rixandi consuetudine alienus, abstinere à contentione et pugna verborum, locosque indicabat conciliorum aut patrum, quibus innixus ita sentiret* (14). i. e. “ This most sagacious and “ most prudent old gentleman listened with the great- “ est humanity to his enquiries or opinions, on such “ subjects as were of the greatest moment, and then “ would disclose his own sentiments to him with the “ utmost candour; and hating the custom which prevails in schools, of disputing with clamour, he forbore all contest or jangling; and would point out the “ places in the councils or fathers, on which he founded his sentiments.” Mr. de Launoi would examine these with the greatest accuracy, and return to visit father Sirmond, who after hearing him discourse on those matters would say; *At first I understood these matters better than you, but you now are a much greater master of them than I. Tunc ejus solertiam et sagacitatem suspiciens Sirmondus, dicere solebat, cum primum loqui hac de re cœpimus, erat in ea forsitan aliquid quod paulo melius perspexissem quam tu: nunc vero cum eam accurate pertractasti, nihil superest quod te fugerit, quodque plenius perfectiusque non teneas, quam ego unquam tenuerim* (15). No Jesuit had a greater share in his intimacy and confidence, than de Launoi, a circumstance which was no way pleasing to the society. *Cum nullum haberet inter sodales suos Sirmondus quocum fidentius loqueretur, de quo et ipse nonquam conquesti, sunt crebrius invisi, vehementer optabat à Launoi,*

(14) Elog. pag. 8.

(15) Ibid.

but for the benefit of the public that he got together so vast a treasure of learning ; very few Divines having printed a greater number of books [E]. He attacked several false traditions with great intrepidity [F] ; and was one of the strongest supports of the privileges of the Gallican Church. He extended his Critique even to subjects of devotion ; and some Saints would have been expunged from the Calendar, had his arguments been admitted. It may be proper to read what Gui Patin said on that occasion [G]. The subject

(16) Ibid.

Launio, cui nihil erat quod minus crederet quam sibi (16). I will add the following circumstance from the *Mona-giana*. "Father Sirmond used to say of Mr. de Lau-noi, that whenever he had heard him say some-thing that was good, he would go and write a book (17)."

(17) *Mona-giana*, pag. 223. of the 18 Dutch edit.

[E] *Very few divines have printed a greater number of books.*] See the catalogue of them in the history he published of the college of Navarre, in the year 1677. His bookseller had often published it sepa-rate. The following delicate remark deserves, in my opinion, a place here. "Of all his books, this (18) was his favourite ; whether it were that he took a pleasure in this glorious testimony he had given the publick, of his gratitude to that college of the faculty which he considered as his parent ; or that he was not quite insensible to the pleasure of seeing all his own works particularized in this book. For he has inserted in it the catalogue of all his com-positions, which he chose to draw up himself ; as well to make it more exact, as to explain with greater ease and readiness the titles and even sub-jects of his smallest tracts, and of all his letters in particular ; wisely judging that any other person would be discouraged at the great number of them, and at the so extensive amplification of their titles (19)."

(18) i. e. *The History of the College of Na-varre*.

(19) Baillet, *Jugemens des Sa-vans*, tom. 2. num. 139. pag. 171.

[F] *He attacked several false traditions with great intrepidity.*] Such as the arrival of Lazarus and Mary Magdalen in Provence ; Dionysius the Areopagite's mission, as an Apostle, in Gaul ; the cause of the retirement of St. Bruno founder of the Carthusians ; the vision of Simon Stoch ; the privileges of the Sabbatine Bull. Those whose interest it was to maintain this kind of sentiments, inveighed the loudest against him ; and declared him to be a destroyer of Religion. *Credi vix potest quantam invidia bis scriptis in se confluverit : licet enim antiquam atque adeo genuinam traditionem propugnaret, ejusque fidem, ut ipse saepe ad locum Tertulliani alludens dicere solebat, ex temporibus assereret, tamen qui historias quas expungebat à teneris annis imbiberant, quæ illas credula plebi non sine aliquo commodo suo ingererant, eas sibi eripi ægre patiebantur, nec qui id tentasset mitius incusabant, quam si firmissima religionis fundamenta convellere decrevisset* (20).

(20) *Elog. Laun.* pag. 10.

i. e. "It is scarce possible to conceive how much en-vy these writings drew upon him at first : for notwithstanding that he was a strenuous defender of the ancient, and therefore genuine tradition ; and vindicated its authority, as himself used frequently to say, alluding to a passage of Tertullian, from the times ; nevertheless, those who had believed, from their infancy, the stories or legends he had expung'd ; and had impos'd 'em, for their own profit, on the credulous vulgar, were exasperated at the loss of them ; and exclaimed with as much violence against him, for attempting this, as though he had resolv'd to destroy the strongest fundamentals of Religion." But de Launoi was not affected in any manner with their clamours, but still pursued his point ; and undeceived not only the true Literati, but also some of the vulgar. *Vicit tamen inexpugnabili constantia Launiois hominum imperitorum, & malè seriatotum importunas inofficinasque querelas, & aniles eorum fabellas ita revocit, ut nullum jam patronum inveniant inter eos, qui aliquâ curâ veritatem indagant, multo pauciores quàm antea apud vulgum, & apud eos qui ne literas quidem norunt* (21). He attacked with great vigour the Monks on two other heads (22), for he shewed the falsity of the pretended privileges, by virtue whereof they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Bishops ; and refuted the arguments they employed, to prove the right they had to administer the Sacrament of penance. I will here cite what Abbot de Marolles says of him. "He has found out the art of discovering the most hidden truths ; and those who love them are as much pleased with him for it ;

(21) Ibid.

(22) See his *Elogium*, pag. 10. *usque ad pag. 13.*

as those who are incapable of knowing and hon-ouring them, thought they had reason to com-plain of him, for having atchieved such glorious conquests. However, they have nothing to reproach him with ; and his adversaries have not hitherto been able to convict him of the least falsity, or of one wrong inference from the testimonies of the writers with regard to the points he has examined. It is true indeed that what we have seen of his writings, is but inconsiderable in comparison of what we may expect ; devoting himself, as he has done, to very serious studies on important subjects ; but persons of the greatest learning and abilities will always find benefit by the perusal of his works, either from his method, or the certain knowledge of those things, for which the ortho-dox Church will have no less reason to glory, than infamous superstition to repine and grieve (23)."

[G] *It may be proper to peruse what Gui Patin said on that occasion.*] "I give you notice that I have delivered a small packet to a young man of Lyons. Among other books you will find that of Mr. de Launoi, wherein he attempts to prove, that there never was any such Saint as Renatus, nor any Bishop of Angers of that name. 'Tis he who wrote against St. Dionysius the Areopagite, and de-clared that he had never been in France ; against the scapulary of the Carmelites, and against Mary Magdalen, affirming that she never came into Pro-vence. He is a Doctor of Divinity, a Norman, a person of a mean aspect, but learned, and chiefly in Church history. Some people here call him a de-sperate, damn'd wretch, saying, that people ought to be aware of him ; that he every year ejects a Saint from Paradise, and that there is reason to fear he will at last eject God himself from it ! Notwithstanding this, no one has answered him yet. One of his friends informed me that he had been a long time a boarder in the Jesuits Col-lege (24), who made use of him, in order to make an eulogium of their books ; but that they at last struck off his pension, because he would not give an approbation to a new doctrine they intended to publish (25)."

What follows is curious, which I borrow from Menage, and it is he who speaks (26). *Mr. de Launoi, Doctor of Divinity of the faculty of Paris, has pretended that some of our Saints never ex-isted ; which made Mr. Feramus say as follows of him* (*).

(23) The Abbot de Marolles, *Memoirs*, pag. 160. See also his Catalogue of such authors as pre-sented books to him, under the word *Launoi*.

(24) There is no probability he ever was so.

(25) Patin, *Let-tre* 49. pag. 207. tom. 1. It is dat-ed the 18th of Nov. 1650. See also *Letter* 151. pag. 594. of the same volume.

(26) Menage, *Ani-Baillet*, tom. 2. pag. 216.

(*) In his *Elegy* on the death of Mr. du Fay.

Tu quoque, Launoi, veri indagator & index,
Addita qui factis Numina falsa doces.

The sense is ;

"Thou too, Launoi, discoverer of truth,
Who pointest out to us the spurious Saints.

I myself made the following Greek Epigram upon him,

Τὸν Ἀνεοῖον ἄρτι, δὲ σφόδρα Οὐρανίου
Ῥίψι, ποδὸς τελευτῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναισθησίας.

The sense is,

"From the vast skies Launoi kicks scoundrels
down,
As Jupiter once treated prating Vulcan."

They say this last verse is taken entirely out of Homer, who has employed it in his *Iliad*, speaking of Jupiter who kicked Vulcan out of Heaven ; but this forms the beauty of my epigram. It would be ridiculous, were this verse my own ; and I dare presume to say that it is very beautiful, on account of this application, for which I have been often congratulated by the elder Mr. Daille, a gentleman extremely well vers'd in Homer. Abbot Faydit did not observe, that only the last verse of Menage must be ascribed to Homer : He has cited part of the first as though it was in the *Iliad* ; and, which is still worse, he pretends that Jupiter drove out the

subject suited the jocose humour of that Physician; and it was so whimsical in itself, that many

the whole rabble of the Gods. His words are as follow (27): "Rome could not bear without indignation, that Mr. de Launoi, how great a scholar soever he might be, should uncanonize five or six unknown Saints, who, in the ages of ignorance, had crept into the breviary; and that, like Homer's Jupiter, who expelled the whole rabble of Gods, and with a kick of the breech, threw 'em from Heaven to earth; this Doctor should, with one stroke of his pen, remove from the Throne of glory some Saints whom Rome had too credulously placed on it.

gard to the procession of the equinoxes; and whereas a bare subtraction of ten days sufficed for this latter reformation, the latter would require a subtraction by hundreds and thousands. The year has not, for a long time, been able to furnish a day for every canonized Saint; many Saints must be heaped upon one another in the same places; and 'tis now that one may say with Juvenal;

Nec turba decorum
Talis ut est bodie, contentaque fidera paucis
Numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere (33).

(33) Juven. Sat. 13. ver. 46.

The sense is
"E're Gods grew num'rous, and the heav'nly croud
"Prest wretched Atlas with a higher load."

CREECH.

How many Senators would be found *vitis creati* (34), in the celestial Court, were one to proceed rigorously in that affair? To how great a number of volumes the *Acta Sanctorum* are already swelled? One might apply to them the well known distich following (35);

(34) See the *Valesiana*, pag. 48, 49. Dutch edit.

(35) See *Observes diverses de Balzac*, Discours 16. pag. m. 409.

Scripta gigantea quorum sub pondere molis
Tristior Encelado bibliopola gemit.

The sense is,
"The Bibliopole, oppress'd beneath such works
"Gigantic, feels Enceladus's tortures."

Be this said without prejudice to the esteem, in which their learned compilers are held. It must even be said, in their honour, that they reject a great number of fables; and that their sincerity daily exposes them to the same complaints which have been made against de Launoi. See father Papebroch's (36) reply to the *Exhibitio errorum*, of a carmelite named Sebastian de Saint Paul; and it will be found that Jesuit has drove a great number of intruders out of the calendar, and that for very substantial reasons. These intruders are not modern Saints, but of very remote antiquity. Cardinal Bessarion, seeing in Rome the canonization of some persons whom he thought had been ill livers, cried out, these new Saints make me very much call in question the old ones: *asse che questi Santi moderni mi fanno assai dubitare delli passati. Bessarion cardinalis cum inter Divos inepta quadam auctoritate Romae quam plurimos referri videret quorum vitam improbat, se valde dubitare dixit utrum vera essent quae ab antiquis prodita fuerant* (37). But it may be said, that we are infinitely more certain with regard to modern Saints than with respect to many of the ancient ones. We cannot doubt but that the former have lived upon earth; but we have almost demonstrative proofs that the latter never did. A man of wit said the other day in good company, that if we were obliged to have recourse to the intercession of Saints, he would choose new-comers, for instance Capistran, or Thomas de Villeneuve, rather than a Saint Catherine or Saint Alexis. See the remark of the article PEREZ (*Joseph*). I shall observe below (38), that the inquisitors censured the work of Papebroch the Jesuit.

(36) It was printed in Antwerp in the year 1666, 4to.

(37) Bodinus, *Method. Hist.* cap. 4. pag. m. 72. See in the remark [F] of the article BELLAI (William du) how these words of Bessarion have been applied.

(38) Towards the close of the remark [Q].

A canon of Passaw, an able preacher and professor of divinity, in the fifteenth century, said in one of his sermons, that though there should be as many festivals as minutes, the year would not suffice to give each Saint his festival, and he cites Durandus Bishop of Mande, who observes that there are above five thousand Saints for each day. *Tanta (inquit ille) est Sanctorum numerofitas, quod totum tempus anni non sufficeret etiam si singulis horis, etiam singulis minutis, ageremus festum unius sancti: deinde Durandum citat: Quia sicut dicit (inquit) Gulielmus in rationali, pro qualibet die plusquam quinque millia sanctorum concurrerent* (39). The author who quotes the sermon of this German canon, adds, that the feast of all-Saints was instituted, to supply or make up for the too small number of days in the year, and to prevent the resentment of those Saints to whom no honour might have been paid: *Quo circa quum Pontificiorum divorum tanta illis auctoribus fore infinito sit, in supplementum cultus Sanctorum festum omnium Sanctorum excogitatum est. Quoniam humani cultus illos appetentes esse somniant, & in suos cultores prolixas*

(39) Pantus Wan, *Sermones de omnibus Sanctis*.

(32) Michael Renigerus, *de Pii quinti & Gregorii decimi furoribus contra Elizabetham Angliam Reginam*, cap. 13. fol. 108. edit. Lond. 1582.

(27) *Extrait d'un Sermon prêché le jour de St. Polycarpe*, pag. 296.

(28) All the errors in these Greek lines are, in all probability, errors of the press.

(29) Homer. *Iliad*. lib. i. ver. 591. There is, in lib. 15. of the *Iliad*, a passage which seems to favour Abbot Faydit more. It is in the article JUNO, citation (31); but, in the main, it is not favourable to him.

(30) *Suite de Menagiana*, pag. 293, 294. Dutch edit.

(31) The Greek distich follows here, in the sequel of the *Menagiana*, probably with some errors of the press.

(32) They are a long.

"Ο πρύπιος ἰπασίμων
" Πύλα πύδοι τεταγῶν ἰσῆς ἑδῆς θουρωτίσσι (28).

"She has inveighed against this attempt, as being the most horrid sacrilegious act that could be committed. She has delivered up his books to the Inquisition, as the author himself could not be delivered up to it. She has exclaimed against him as a man whose faith is suspicious, and as an enemy to the Saints." 'Tis certain Homer says no more, than that Jupiter taking Vulcan by the foot, precipitated him from Heaven (29). If Menage said the same thing in conversation as Abbot Faydit, we must conclude from it, either that he had not considered the matter so thoroughly, as when he was writing for the publick; or that he embellished that incident, in order to make it the more pleasing, and more capable of the parallel. Be this as it will, here follows a passage from the sequel to Menagiana, in which some words are falsely ascribed to Homer (30). "Mr. Godfrey the Historiographer, being gone out of his house very early on New years day, met, in Harpstreet, Mr. de Launoi, who was going to the Sorbonne. He went up to him, and embracing him, said, Good morrow Sir, and a happy new year to you. What Saint will you discard this year out of Heaven? Mr. de Launoi, surprized at this question, answered him; I do not discard, from Heaven, those true Saints, whom God and their merit have placed here; but those who, by the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar, have crept insidiously into it undeservingly, and without the approbation of God and the Literati. This answer gave occasion to the Epigram I made on Mr. de Launoi, in which I compare him to Homer's Jupiter, who drove from heaven the whole rabble of the false Gods who had crept into it among the true ones; and who giving them a kick on the breech, precipitated them, from the summit of his throne and the stars, down to earth (31)."

If I was not afraid of making too many digressions, I would say that it were to be wished that several learned men were allowed to imitate Mr. de Launoi. False Saints are as much increased as pretended or false Nobles: so that as Kings cause, from time to time, commissions of enquiry to be issued out, in order for discovering such persons as usurp titles without having any right to them, and reducing them to their Plebeian state; the clergy should also appoint some commissioners as rigid as Boisseau, to examine the titles and patents of saintship. No one can forget the verses (32), the substance of which is as follows:

For some years past, we've none but Nobles met,
On ev'ry street, loaded with sacks of Parchment.
These they perpetually turn o'er and o'er,
And scream: —behold my awful, splendid titles!
But scarce have they display'd the mussy heap,
E're Boisseau (dread Commissioner) arrives,
Who cries;—This instrument, I'll prove, is false;
That engross'd copy, there, I now reject;
And will see the soul Draught.

Were the forces of the Church triumphant to pass muster before honest commissaries, a great number of faggots would be found; not among the common soldiers; but among the high officers, I mean among the Saints who are invoked. The calendar has more need of being reformed in that respect, than with re-

many other people have told merry stories concerning it [H]. It was scarce possible but our learned Doctor must make himself a great number of enemies, as he wrote so many volumes against the maxims of the Pope's flatterers [I], and against the superstitious and pretended immunities of the Monks. He found, in the decline of life, that he had disgusted a most formidable party. He was forbid holding assemblies at his own apartment,

prolixos, ne omittis & præteritis divinis stomachandi ulla causa sit, quod suo cultu orbentur. Sic omnibus minutis etiam & manipularibus divinis, & non solum patriciis & majorum gentium, hoc omnium sanctorum festo & supplemento satisfactum esse putant. Atque hoc Gulielmi illius Minatensis Episcopi est, quasi salutari hoc pharmaco omnium divorum repulsæ & offensæ placari debeant. Durandi verba hæc sunt. (†) Propter ipsorum inquit multitudinem festare de illis specialiter non valeamus. Ergo ut antea idem ait propter omisso rum (inquit) festorum supplementationem institutum est festum omnium sanctorum (40).

(†) Guil. Durand. Rubrica de festo omnium Sanctorum lib. 7.

(40) Idem, Reniger, ibid.

i. e. "Since therefore there are almost a numberless multitude of Saints of the Pope's making, all-Saints day was thought upon, in order to complete the worship of them. Because, as it is vainly supposed they are very greedy of human worship, and are bountiful to their votaries, in order that such Saints as might have been omitted may not have any cause to resent their being deprived of worship; this festival of All-Saints is looked upon as a supplemental worship, not only of those of the highest order, but such as are of the lowest class. And this, according to the abovementioned William Bishop of Mande, is a kind of salutary remedy or expiation, to appease all such Saints as may have been omitted. The words of Durandus are as follow. There are so great a number of Saints, that we cannot give to each a particular holiday. Therefore, as the same author observed before; the festival of all-Saints was instituted, to make up for those who may have been omitted". Those who make it their business to draw parallels, cannot but call to mind, on this occasion, the provident care of the Athenians, who consecrated an altar to the unknown Gods (41), from the fear they were under of neglecting some revengeful deity whose names and qualities they might be ignorant of. They imagined they had suffered for it just before; and therefore, to play a sure game (42), they resolved to offer up worship even to such deities as they might not know; which was a sure way not to omit any God.

(41) See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for Jan. 1687, pag. 76.

(42) *Trip. orationes de divinis operibus*, i. e. "for the better security." Chrysost. *Homil. 38. in Acta Apostol.* See several other passages in Meursius's *Treatise de Piræto*, pag. 42, & seq.

(43) Vigneul Marville, *Mélanges d'Histoire & de Littérature*, pag. 266, 267. printed at Roan, 1699.

(44) *Valesiana*, pag. m. 48.

(45) Ancillon, *Mélanges Critique de Littérature*, tom. 2. pag. 329.

[H] Many other people have told many stories concerning it.] Here follows that of Vigneul Marville, which is as good as the story I borrowed from the Menagiana, "Mr. de Launoi was a terrible critic, formidable both to heaven and earth. He has expelled a greater number of Saints from paradise than ten Popes have canonized. He suspected the whole martyrlogy; and he sought for, or examined all the Saints in their turn, in the same manner as the Nobility are in France. The rector of St. Eustachius's church in Paris used to say: *Wherever I meet Dr. de Launoi, I bow as low as the ground; and never speak to him but with my hat in my hand, and with the utmost humility, for fear he should deprive me of my St. Eustachius, who indeed hangs but by a thread* (43). (a)". These last words are very true, and here follows a passage from the *Valesiana* which confirms them. "St. Eustachius's life is all so a heap of fables; and I am greatly surprized that the largest parish in Paris should have quitted the name of one of our most renowned and illustrious martyrs, for that of an unknown and very suspicious Saint (44)". Ancillon had heard Daillé say, that meeting him one day at Mr. Cramoisi the bookseller's shop in Paris, they expressed a great deal of esteem and friendship for one another; and that at their parting, Mr. de Launoi said to him; Sir, I expunge a Saint every month out of the breviary, do you strike out an error from it (45). If de Launoi spoke in that manner, it was only in jest; he did not speak seriously, but exaggerated; for the number of Saints he would have degraded, it is too inconsiderable to be compared to all the months of his life. But he might have compared, without exaggerating, the number of Saints, whether doubtful or fabulous, to the number of minutes comprized in his long life. See the excellent history of the Church, which Basnage published in the year

1699, in two vol. folio. There (46) are so many false Saints and false Martyrs discarded, that de Launoi's attempt is but a rivulet in comparison of that ocean. (*). This passage has been omitted in the Paris edition of 1713. REM. CRIT.

(46) See the pages referred to in the Index, under the words *Martyrs* and *Saints*.

[I] He wrote . . . against the maxims of the Pope's flatterers.] To go to the root of the evil, in refuting the immunities which the Monks claim, he thought it necessary to establish the following important truth, viz. that the Pope has no power with regard to the canons of Councils. He wrote several letters on this subject, which were so much approved of in England; and so proper to mortify the Italians, that they were reprinted in Cambridge (47). He fell chiefly on Bellarmine; and the following account is given of the victory he obtained over that mighty champion of the Popes. *In eo vero adversarium inter alios nactus est Cardinalem Robertum Bellarminum, qui absurdissima queque Romanæ curiæ placita defendenda susceperat. Si que porro in eorum confirmationem desumpta ex sacris libris testimonia adduxit, clarissimè demonstravit Launoius, fuisse ea in pravum detorta sensum, & aliter intellecta quam ea sanctissimi quique patres intellexerint, à quorum sensu in exponendis Scripturis recedere, nihil aliud est quam fidelissimos duces, & à Tridentina Synodo datos aspernari, & in errores omnes seipsum conjicere. Si que etiam canones aut patrum textus laudat Bellarminus, eos plerumque interpolatos ostendit Launoius, & malâ fide re-latos, Sicque hominem armis Scripturæ & traditionis nudatum exponit, velut nutritum in philosophica palestra tyronem, qui adversus invictam castrorum aciem irritò ridendoque conatu digladiatur; & tela ab Aristotele desumpta juvenitè vibrat* (48). i. e. "Among other

(47) *Ann. 1689*, folio.

(48) *Elog. Launoi*, pag. 21.

adversaries he met with, on this subject, was Cardinal Bellarmine, who had undertaken to defend the most absurd ordinances of the Court of Rome. But de Launoi demonstrated very clearly, that all the testimonies he had alledged out of the sacred writings to confirm them, were wrested from their genuine sense, and taken quite differently from what all the Fathers had understood them; the departing from whose sense in expounding the Scriptures, was contemning the most faithful guides, given by the Council of Trent, and running into errors of every kind. Whenever Bellarmine cited any passages from the Canons or Fathers, Launoi shewed that the greatest part of them were interpolated and unfaithful. Thus he pulls off the armour of scripture and tradition, with which this man had clothed himself; and exhibits him naked, like a youth just mutilated, foolishly contending with a very learned opponent, and brandishing, with an infantine air, the weapons borrowed from Aristotle." Reiserus a Lutheran Minister (49), published a book in 1685, which, in strictness of speech, is but an abridgment of our Doctor's letters. He put two titles to them which serve to our purpose. At the top of the pages, throughout the whole book, are the following words; the running title JOH. LAUNOI THEOL. PARIS. *Anti-Bellarminus*: but the title of the book is as follows; *Johannes Launoius Theologus & Sorbonista Parisiensis testis & confessor veritatis Evangelico-Catholicæ in potioribus fidei capitibus controversis adversus Robertum Bellarminum & alios quosdam sedis Romanæ Defensores egregius & luculentus, nunc post obitum contra Christianum Lupum Lovaniensem, Immanuelè Schelstrate Antverpiensem, Natalem Alexandrum Parisiensem, Dominicum Galesium & Franciscum Marchesium Romanos, vindicatus.* The author of this book pretends, that John de Launoi is a person proper to be inserted in Illyricus's *Catalogus testium veritatis*. Mr. Cousin has spoke, a little too late, of this work of Reiserus, in his *Journal des Sçavans*; he speaking of it only in the Journal of the 30th of July 1696, and in that of the 6th of August following. These two extracts are well enough adapted to acquaint us with Mr. de Launoi's character.

(49) A native of Augsburg, and Rector of St. James's Parish in Hamburg. His book is a 4to, of 862 pages.

(b) *Ex ejus Elo-*
gii, pag. 30.

(c) See the *Mercure Galant*, for
March 1678.

apartment (b) [K], as he had done for a long time once a week, and his Printer was brought into trouble [L]; but he bore those insults with great patience, and continued his writings for the public. It may be said that he died with his pen in his hand (c); there being not only a book of his in the press during his last sickness [M], but he himself correcting the proofs the day before he died. He was buried in the monastery of the Minims, as he had appointed by his will; but the epitaph which had been prepared for him, was not suffered to be engraved on his monument [N]. I forgot to observe that

(50) *Elog. Lau-*
noii, pag. 30.

[K] *He was forbid holding assemblies in his apartment.* These assemblies were perfectly innocent; the only violation was on learning and the sciences; and yet word was sent him, that the King desired they should be discontinued (50). It was thought that this was owing to the Archbishop of Paris, which made some people speak ill of him. But de Launoi did not take that liberty himself, and would not even suffer the Archbishop to be accused of it in his presence; yet he could not forbear saying, "that if he was justly accused, he must be guilty of the greatest ingratitude." *His animorum motus utcumque sedabat Launoius, rursus acerbitatem, benigna ut poterat interpretatione lenibat. Absinebat ipse semper ab omni atrocitate verborum. Archiepiscopum nec incusabat ipse, nec incusari ab alio, corpore eorum se patiobatur. Sed tamen cum vir esset candidissimus pectoris, diffidit non poterat, quin si id praesentis Parisiensis praesul, laboraret vehementer ingrati animi vitio, quo caetera omnia facile continentur (51).*

(51) *Ibid.* pag. 32.

[L] *His Printer was brought into trouble.* This was in 1675. He was printing his treatise on Simony, in which, among other particulars he writes against the Annates; and refutes Azorius the Jesuit, who, about the close of the sixteenth century, wrote a book to clear them from the charge of Simony. The copies of this work of Mr. Launoi were seized at the Printer's; all that could be found were carried off, and he was forbid to sell the rest; however this prohibition, on paying a fine of fifty livres, was taken off (52).

(52) *Elog.* pag. 28, & seq.

[M] *There was a book of his in the press during his last sickness.* It may be said that he died, in some measure, with his pen in his hand, since the day before he died, he corrected the proofs of a book he had writ in defence of the King's interest. It is by way of answer to an Italian writer, who, some time after, printed a treatise against the right of secular Princes, with regard to the impediments to matrimony. De Launoi had before asserted a quite contrary doctrine, in a book published in the year 1674, wherein the rights of the King, and at the same time of all secular Princes are established on so solid a foundation, that this work may be considered as one of the most useful to the State. It had been answered in Italy; and as this answer diverted secular Princes of their essential right, with regard to incapacitating or incapacitating their subjects to contract matrimony; this great man was not silent, and took care, as he was dying, of the impression of a work he had writ to refute the errors of the Italian author in question. Thus he spent all his days, either for the Church or for his Prince; and he may be called, not only *Doctor or Vindicator of the King's rights*, but also *Defender of the just authority of Bishops, the Destroyer of false privileges, and Doctor or Assertor of the liberties of the Gallican Church.* The author of the *Elogium* of Mr. de Launoi does not agree with the *Mercure Galant*, with regard to the book that was then in the press. It has not, according to him, an apology for the right of Princes over marriages, but a reply to father Alexander. He tells us that de Launoi began the treatise on this right of Princes, at the request of Cardinal Bentivoglio. De Launoi being in Rome, at the time that an enquiry was making in France, whether the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII, with the Princess of Lorraine, was valid, met with Cardinal Bentivoglio in the library of the Dominicans, and proposed this argument to him. If Princes have had the power to enact laws with regard to the impediments of marriage, they enjoy it still, in case they have not been divested of it. Now they have enjoyed it; and it cannot be proved that they have been deprived of it. Therefore, the Cardinal desired Mr. de Launoi to write on this subject, and to explain this

(53) *Mercure Galant*, for March 1678, pag. 116, 117. Dutch edit.

argument. See the margin (54). The book was small at first: but it grew very voluminous before it was published in 1674. Dominic Galeusius, Bishop of Ruvo in the Kingdom of Naples, wrote against this book. De Launoi had no sooner seen this Prelate's work, but he took up his pen in order to refute it. Scarcely had he ended the refutation (55) but he set about making a reply to father Alexander. *Qui Annatas à Simoniacis liberandas suscepit, et Summam Theologicam Thomae Aquinatis tanquam vero ejus auctori afferendam (56).* His answer was very near finished, when he was seized by the sickness which carried him off in a few days; and this last work had been some time in the press. This shows that Mr. de Vifé and the author of the *Elogium*, are not agreed with respect to the book that de Launoi had in the press at the time of his death.

(54) One must conclude from thence, that Ancillon is mistaken, when he says, pag. 330. of tom. 2. of *Melange, Critique de Littérature*, that de Launoi wrote this book, by order of a superior power, involuntarily, and against his own opinion.

(55) Huic titulum esse voluit Indictis locupletissimi eratorum in libro scriptoris Itali contentorum. *Elog.* pag. 33.

[N] *It is certain that the last book de Launoi was concerned in, and the proofs of which he corrected in his last sickness, was his answer to father Alexander concerning Annates.* From the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.]

(56) *Ibid.* pag. 34. See, concerning this work of P. Alexander, the *Journal des Savans* of Nov. 18, 1675.

[N] *The epitaph which was prepared for him was not suffered to be engraved on his monument.* Launoi had made his will eleven years before he died; and he had intreated Mr. le Camus, first President in the Court of Aids, his old and very intimate friend, to be his executor. Mr. le Camus discharged his duty faithfully on this occasion; and got Mr. Clément, ancient Counsellor of the Court of Aids, to write an epitaph for the deceased (57). The Minims having read and examined it, shewed a letter from their General, signifying, that this epitaph could not be admitted, as it praised de Launoi for having always maintained orthodoxy; and some time after they declared that the two powers, the royal and ecclesiastical, had enjoined them not to admit any inscription in praise of de Launoi. *Ubi illam (inscriptionem) expendunt, adhibent praepositi sui generalis litteras, quibus renunciabatur, nec probant nec recipi à se posse inscriptionem, quâ Launoi laus defensionis perpetuo venientis, et optime fœmæ, maximaque venerationis apud probos quaesita tribuatur. Postea vestitum sibi predicantur regia summi et sacra auctoritate, ne ullam apicem in capilla sua extare fœverent, quo Launoi nomen commendaretur (58).* See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (59), and especially a letter from a Prebte of the Court of Rome, on the decree of the Inquisition of the 7th of December 1690. I will extract a passage from it, which may be of use in the history of our Doctor. The Abbot who wrote that letter, observes that the Court of Rome maintains its rights with more policy than the Court of France does here. He observes that the Court of Rome recompences in a most splendid manner, those who write in its favour; but that those who write, in France, in favour of the Gallican Church, are neglected: "However, says the author of this letter, if I might advise, posterity should be informed by some mark of honour, of the esteem in which their merit was held, and the gratitude which has been shewn to their labours. But you know how this was done with regard to one of your friends. There has not been a man more zealous for the doctrine of the Clergy of France; nor whose labours were more indefatigable, in order to illustrate and defend it, than the excellent Mr. de Launoi, who likewise had a soul abhorrent of every thing that was venal. What has been done to honour his memory, you very well know. They would not so much as suffer to be engraved on his tomb, the slender testimony which his friends paid to his merit, and to the services he had done the Church of France; they had even stopp'd as it were his mouth, some years before his death, by forbidding him to continue certain conferences that were

(57) It is in the *Elogium*, pag. 37. [See the remark [A] of the Additions to this article of Mr. Bayle.]

(58) *Elog. Lau-*
noii, pag. 38.

(59) *For Sept.*
1686, pag. 1039.

(d) *Elog.* pag. 37. He therefore was not born the 11th of December 1603, as Moreti affirms.

that he died in the Hotel d'Etrées [O], the 10th of March 1678, at above seventy seven years of age (d). The public has great obligations to him. Had he published no other work but his *de Autoritate negantis Argumenti*, he would have done very great service to the Republic of Letters; he having given a thousand fine hints in that book, for the distinguishing of truth from falshood in historical matters. He was engaged in controversy with many persons, and among others with Father Nicolai a Dominican [P], and Mr. Thiers (e).

He drew upon himself the indignation of the whole Order of St. Dominick, for attacking with too much freedom the reputation of Thomas Aquinas. The testimonies of respect, which prudence and gravity prompted him to intermix with his censures, did not prevent the resentment of the Dominicans; for after all, it could not be denied but that the angelical Doctor was faulty, in point of ignorance, or that he was very insincere, in the alledging of several passages designed for the refutation of heterodoxy. Father Baron endeavoured to justify Thomas Aquinas, but was not very successful in his attempt. This circumstance will give me an occasion of making several observations [Q].

(e) See what Mr. Sallio, *Journal des Savans*, of March 16, 1665, says concerning Mr. Thiers against Mr. de Launoi.

"were held at his apartment on those subjects, and where it may be said that more persons were taught to defend our liberties than in any other place. It may even be looked upon as near to a miracle, that we have those pieces he got printed during his life-time, in favour of the superiority of Councils, and against the infallibility of Popes, and so many other subjects of that kind; and we owe it to his particular contrivance, which was, the giving it us by smaller portions in the letters he wrote to his friends; avoiding, by this means, the intolerable slavery of the censure of certain Doctors of his time, without whose approbation no book could be licensed; and who seem hired to prevent the publication of all good books, and make authors run mad."

[O] He died in the Hotel d'Etrées. The Cardinal d'Etrée, when only Bishop of Laon, had engrossed, in some measure, Mr. de Launoi. See Mr. de Ma

(60) In pag. 159 of his Memoirs, printed in 1656, are these words: The esteem he has for Mr. de Launoi, Doctor of Divinity, one of the greatest men of the age for learning and probity, is a mark of his judgment. And indeed, he cannot be too careful of so great a man, who is an inestimable treasure.

(61) *Journal des Savans* of April 9, 1668.

(62) *Ibid.* of Dec. 10, 1668.

(63) *Ibid.* of June 17, 1675.

(64) *Suite du Menagiana*, pag. 173. Dutch edit.

(65) The 11th of Part 1.

(66) A pagina 119. usque ad paginam 134.

(67) The 9th of Part 5.

(68) The 12th of Part 6.

[P] He had a dispute ... with father Nicolai a Dominican. The *Journal des Savans* mentions three works of this author. I. His two dissertations *De Concilio plenario, quod contra Donatistas Baptismi questionem definit* (61). II. His two dissertations *De Baptismi antiquo usu* (62). III. His book *De Jejunii Christiani & Christianorum Abstinentia vero ac legitimo ritu juxta veterem Ecclesie universalis usum* (63). The first of these three pieces is levelled entirely at de Launoi, who declared that St. Austin hinted at the Council of Arles, when he said that the error of the Donatists, with regard to the invalidity of the baptism of heretics, was condemned in a general Council. De Launoi drew from thence a good number of consequences disadvantageous to the Ultramontans. The second piece of this Dominican does not relate to de Launoi; a work which the Protestants of France took advantage of, because therein is found an exprets condemnation of those who constrain infidels to be baptised. The third piece of this Dominican is against de Launoi. Here follows a short passage in the sequel to the *Menagiana*. "I one day said to Mr. de Launoi, that he had disgusted all the Dominicans in the tracts he had writ against father Nicolai, and that they would all draw their pens against him. But he answered me with a malicious air; I dread their penknives much more than I do their pens (64)."

[Q] Father Baron endeavoured to justify Thomas Aquinas, but was not very successful in his attempt. This circumstance will give me an occasion of making several observations. Unprejudiced persons would judge thus of the success of this dispute, though they even should only compare his first tract, with the first tract of his antagonist; but much more will they form this judgment, if they should compare de Launoi's first and second reply, with father Baron's answer. I shall only just mention several tracts belonging to this controversy. A letter of Mr. de Launoi to Mr. Faure (65) is that in which Thomas Aquinas is animadverted on. Father Baron's answer is contained in three paragraphs of Sect. II, Book I, of his apology for the Dominicans (66). Mr. de Launoi's answer is in a letter to Mr. Fortin (67). I have not seen father Baron's reply; but I know that his adversary refuted it, in a letter dated from Paris the 11th of August 1667 (68). I know not whether this dispute went any farther. To give my reader a small specimen of the judg-

ment, which the Monks formed of the cast of mind of this Doctor of Sorbonne, I will quote some lines from father Baron. *Quisquis hominem privatim, seu publicis scriptis intimus noverit, etiam ex amicissimis, non abnuet meum de illo judicium, aut verius votum. Optandum plane, ne mores ingenios corruptisset nimio suarum cogitationum amore, & alios jure, vel injuriâ carpendi, in naturam inducât consuetudine. Unde ad minus, ut cetera omittam, illud incommodi accidit, ut magnum potius, quam bonum nomen videatur ambire, & doctiores viros voluisse inumbrare, neque, ut conveniebat sapienti Theologo, satis cordi fuerit effatum illud medicorum, malum bene positum ne moveto. Plura enim ab heroicis Temporibus communi piorum opinione recepta, quæ nihil Fidei adversa, pietati etiam opportuna, ausus est, longe debilioribus, quam niterentur, Argumentis laceffere; nullo alio opere pretio, quam ex summâ morositate comparati sibi hominis, & justis possessoribus, saltem ex probabili opinione juris plerumque inique erepti* (69). i. e. "Who-

soever has been very familiar with his person or writings (though his greatest friend) cannot deny the judgment I have formed, or rather my desire concerning him. It were greatly to be wished, that an overfondness for his own thoughts, joined to a habit he had contracted of censuring others right or wrong, had not depraved his happy disposition: whence this mischief, to omit the rest, arose, that he seems to have thirsted after a great name, rather than a good one; and that he wanted to eclipse men of greater erudition; nor to have sufficiently observed, as a wise Divine should do, that maxim of the Physicians, *remove not an evil that may prove advantageous*. For he has been so bold as to attack many traditions, which ever since the primitive ages, had been unanimously received by the faithful; and without clashing with their belief, were of advantage to their piety; and this he has attempted with much weaker arguments than those on which they were grounded; and all this with no other view but to acquire a name by his great moroseness; and to deprive other people of theirs, which they are generally thought to have a better right to." In the next leaf he contrasts the character of Thomas Aquinas to that of our Sorbonne Doctor; and declares that Thomas Aquinas would have made a scruple of conscience, and been ashamed of those things, which de Launoi gloried in. The angelical Doctor, adds he, would not have disturbed the French in their belief, that St. Dionysius the Areopagite was their first Apostle; he would not have robbed the inhabitants of Provence, of the glory they claim of having had Mary Magdalen among them; nor the Carmelites of their descent from Elias, and the scapulary of Simon Stoch; nor the monasteries of their exemptions. He had better subjects to write upon; and even had he met with some doubts with regard to those things, and some improbability, he would not have meddled with them, but paid a reverence to traditions; which promote piety without prejudicing religion. *Habebat meliora scribenda* (Divus Thomas) *& subodoratus etiam, ut erat emunctæ naris, aliquid incerti, aut minus verisimilis, ex medicorum præcepto, malum bene positum nolisset primus movere: atque ista longâ traditione rata & firma, quæ nihil obsunt fidei, præsumunt etiam pietati, in dispensationem revocare, credidisset pertinere ad illius generis questionem ab Apostolo damnatas, quæ lites generant*.

(69) Vincentius Baronius, *Apolog. Ordin. Prædicat. lib. 1. pag. 119.*

(f) See *Journal des Savans*, of Nov. 12, 1675, pag. 264. Dutch edit.

Father Alexander laboured with much greater success to prove that Thomas Aquinas is the true author of the summary of Divinity ascribed to him (f). De Launoi had proposed some doubts on that head (g). Of all his antagonists none shewed less regard for him

(g) See *Journal des Savans*, of Aug. 12, 1675, pag. 226.

(70) *Ibid.*, pag. 121.

non edificacionem (70). If all the circumstances set forth by this Dominican were true, there is no doubt but John de Launoi would deserve condemnation. He would be a man, who, to procure himself a name, and please his own peevish temper, had attacked general opinions, which had prevailed from time to time immemorial; were of service to the advancement of piety; no ways repugnant to religion, and grounded on proofs infinitely stronger than his objections. This last circumstance alone would be sufficient to make one condemn an author, who otherwise might be prompted by laudable motives; for it is beyond all dispute, that a long possession deserves so much reverence as to prevail with us to maintain it, all things else being equal on both sides. But if it be just to maintain it, when its titles are as valid as the pretensions of the innovator; how much must it be more so, to forbear all attempts to overthrow it, when they are much stronger than those of the adverse party? But this is not the case with our Sorbonne Doctor. The traditions which he opposes have no good title, and the arguments he objects to them are unanswerable. Now, in this case, it is plain that people have as just a right as possible to attack the most general and most ancient opinions; and especially when their falsity keeps up a criminal devotion. I would have my readers take notice, that the reasons alleged by our Doctor were so strong, that they undeceived numberless multitudes of people; but yet the abuses have not been removed; and things continue on the same foot in Provence and other places. They palm the same stories upon you, as they did on your ancestors, and you find the same worship and ceremonies there. This proves the difference there is between particular persons and the public. Periods come about, in which most people, in particular, are undeceived, and yet the public practice continues as before. Cicero affirms, that there was not so much as an old woman stupid enough to give credit to the stories, which had been antiently believed with regard to hell; and he employs this remark to prove that fabulous traditions vanish away by length of time; but that true doctrines, such as are grounded on the nature of things, are confirmed by age; and that it was to this circumstance we are to ascribe the long duration and increase of the worship of the Gods. *Videmus ceteras opiniones falsas, atque vanas diuturnitate extabuisse. Quis enim Hippocentaurum fuisse, aut Chimæram putat? quæve anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat?* Opinionum enim commenta delet dies, nature judicia confirmat. Itaque & in nostro populo, & in cæteris, Deorum cultus, religionumque sanitates existunt in dies majores, atque meliores (71). Juvenal also complains, that the antient doctrine with regard to hell was no longer believed by any one.

(71) Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. cap. 2.

*Esse aliquos Manis, & subterranea regna,
Et contum & Stygio vadus in gurgite nigra,
Atque una transire vadum tot millia cymba,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui mundum ære civantur.
Sed tu vera puta (72).*

(72) Juven. Sat. 2. ver. 149.

“ Ghosts, Stygian lakes, and frogs with croaking
“ note,
“ And Charon wafting souls in leaky boat,
“ Are now thought fables, to fright fools conceiv’d,
“ Or children, and by children scarce believ’d,
“ Yet thou giv’st credit.”

TATE.

Thus we see a great change in the opinions of particular persons, and yet the publick worship had not changed, either in the time of Juvenal or Cicero: There were still the same festivals, the same processions and sacrifices, not only in honour of the celestial Gods, but also in honour of Pluto, Proserpine, and the rest of the infernal Deities. This like inconstancy on one hand, and constancy on the other, will be ever observed. Some Doctors (men of learning) of greater parts and more courageous than their brethren, will undeceive a numberless multitude of people, and yet

cause no change in the publick ceremonies. The Ritual will last longer than the Faith or Religion on which it is grounded. Too many persons will find it their interest to maintain it, and will have influence enough for that purpose, though they can give no better reasons for it, than those urged to Cotta in the above-cited work of Cicero. They urged to him; and to prove the reality of these apparitions, they alleged the foundation of some Temples, a decree of the Senate, or a proverb . . . I expected reasons, replied he, and you bring only popular stories. *Tum Lucilius: An tibi, inquit, fabellæ videntur? Nonne ab A. Posthumio ædam Castori & Polluci in foro dedicatam; nonne S. C. de Vatiens vides? Nam de Sagrâ, Græcorum etiam est vulgare proverbium: qui quæ affirmant, certiora esse dicunt, quàm illa quæ apud Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri? Tum Cotta, Ramoribus, inquit, mecum pugnas, Balbe: ego autem à te rationes requiro (73).* i. e. “ Then Lucilius: Do you look upon these things as fables? Do not you behold a temple in the forum, dedicated, by A. Posthumius, to Castor and Pollux, and a decree of the Senate with respect to Vatiens? With regard to Sagra, there is a common proverb among the Greeks, who, when they would affirm a thing, say it is more certain than any thing in Sagra. Ought you not therefore to be moved by these authorities? . . . Cotta answered; O Balbus, you combat me with popular tales, but I insist upon your giving me reasons.” Mr. de Launoi might have employed the like answer, and many others; but, as I observed before, too many people were concerned, in point of interest, to oppose the innovation and maintain the tradition. They seem to have well weighed the consequences of the principle, which one of the interlocutors in Cicero has laid down, I mean that they were sensible, that to prove a tradition true, one must shew that it stood the test of many ages. It is supposed, in Cicero, that no Doctrine which is ill grounded can last for any considerable time (74). *Quid enim est hoc illo evidentius? quod nisi cognitum, comprehensumque animis haberemus, non tam stabilis opinio permaneret, nec confirmaretur diuturnitate temporis, nec una cum sæculis ætatibusque hominum inveterare potuisset. Etenim videmus ceteras opiniones, &c (75).* i. e. “ For what can be more manifest than this? which, had we not known and comprehended could not have remained so long an established opinion, have been confirmed by length of time, nor have grown old with the several ages of men; for we see that other false opinions, &c.” Doubtless the Monks are prompted by some more weighty motive than what this argument supplies, to oppose John de Launoi and persons of his character. We may observe by the way, that the argument drawn from antiquity is employed in Cicero to prove a falsity; it being made use of to prove the reality and existence of the false Gods of the heathen system. This therefore is a principle which may lead one into error; and nevertheless the maxim, that time destroys false opinions, *Opinionum commenta delet dies*, might have been long since urged against the false worship of the ancient Greeks and Romans; since for many ages, there is no country, in which their Religion, their Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Neptune, &c. have been acknowledged and worshipped. Thus their cause falls to the ground, when once it is supposed that length of years destroys false Doctrines. It is to be observed, that this principle can never be admitted as good proof, unless we fix and determine the number of years sufficient to distinguish truth from error. In case a thousand years are sufficient, then every opinion which has lasted that term of years is true; but if no time be limited, it is to no purpose to conclude, that since a Doctrine has lasted four thousand years it must necessarily be true. No man knows what will come to pass, or whether the fifth millenary may not put a period to that which resisted the four preceding ones. A reflexion of Horace may be applied on this occasion;

(73) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, lib. 2. cap. 5.

(74) *Ibid.*, lib. 2. cap. 2.

(75) The rest is quoted above, at citation (71).

Scire

(b) *Valefana*, pag. m. 36.

(i) *Confer quæ Sebastianus Kort-holtus, memorat. pag. 9. Dissertationis de Puellis Poëtiis.*

(76) Horat. Ep. 1. ver. 35. lib. 2.

Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus (76).
The sense is
"I'd know what time is necessary to give value
"To Poems. ———"

(77) See citation (44) of the article JOVIAN.

(78) See the remark [B] of the article JOVIAN.

(79) Of whom Statius, towards the close of the 10th book of the *Tib-tais*, says, *Paulum si tardius artus Cessissent, potuit fumen meruisse secundum*, i. e. "Who, had he lived but a very little longer, would have merited the thunder a second time, &c."

(80) See the remark [A] of the article BARBARA.

Du tonner dans l'air bravant les vains carreaux, Et nous parlant de Dieu du ton de Des-Barreaux (80).
The sense is
"Braving the thunder-bolts that play in air,
"And, with Des-Barreaux, still defying God.

(81) In his *Dissertation on the worship of unknown Saints*. See Balgaze, tom. 2. of his *History of the Church*, pag. 1038, 1039. and *Histoire de l'Ouvr. des Savans*, for August 1698, pag. 372, & seq.

(82) See the same works, *ibid.*

(83) For March 1700, pag. 356. and April 1700, pag. 382.

(84) See Pafquier, *Recherche de la France*, liv. 3. chap. 12.

(85) *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana vitæque*. Ennius apud Cicet. citatum ab August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 2. cap. 21. Vide etiam Volcatium Gallicanum, in Avidio Cassio, pag. 54. tom. 1.

(86) Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 6. pag. m. 39.

him than Father Theophilus Raynaud [R]. I will not omit observing (b), that he had expunged, from his Calendar, St. Catherine the Virgin and Martyr; and that he said that her life was a mere fiction; and to shew that he did not give any credit to it; he, every year, on the festival of this Saint, used to say a mass for souls departed (i). I must likewise observe, that his works written against the worship established in fabulous traditions have been of no service to the public (k). I shall present my readers with the judgment which de Vigneul-Marville formed of him [S]. This will give me occasion to mention a particular

(k) See the remark [R].

In our days, used a Sub-prior of St. Anthony to say, let us beware of innovations (87).

[R] Of all his antagonists, none showed less regard for him than father Theophilus Raynaud. We need but read his *Hercules Comœdianus*, which shows the utmost fire and passion. Those who will not take the pains to read it, and will only reflect on the following quotation, will be persuaded that our Doctor never met with more injurious treatment. *Infronsis vir ingenii Joannes Launojus, cui nihil adeo sacrum fuit, quod non fœderis scriptione aliqua petulant no plisquam censoria, Caricibus ipsis non peperciit, imo haec non semel conscripsit Is cum in me quoque incursisset, argente quondam infamioso Marjya, qui sua deleria, imò aperta heretica commenta, contra extremam præpè digitis in eo Antemurali, agrè talis, ex persona amici ac civis nostri S. Theologia D. castigatus est; patescatis primum ejus fragoribus, quibus Hercules prætulit. Tam mendacis, calumniis, loquacitate, scurrilitate, aliisque famintui generis maculis, quibus satyra vocis quam scriptis ab eo in nos exarata, debonissimatur ita ut Comœdi exemplis, Hercules simul terrificus, & famina, non nisi pallacis ac dolis armata, apparere voluisse in ea lacubrationis videatur. Quæ causa fuit, cur Hercules Comœdiani appellatione visus sit insignitendus* (88). i. e. "Of so silly and forward a turn of

(87) See the Preface to the new editions of the *Jesuits Catechism*, written by Pafquier.

mind was John de Launoi, that nothing, how sacred soever, could escape the pollution of his petulant, and more than satyrical writings. He did not spare the Saints themselves, but even declared war against Heaven more than once. . . . When this man thought fit to attack me likewise, excited by a certain dreaming Marjyas, who was displeased at my just glancing, in that counter-scarp, on his chimerical and even openly heretical positions, he was chastised by a Doctor of Divinity, my friend and fellow Citizen; having first laid open and exposed all the idle storming, by which he endeavoured to pass for another Hercules, and then the lies, calumnies, garrulity, scurrility, and other wretched faults, which disgraced his book, or rather satyr, written against me; inasmuch that, after the example of Commodus, he seemed desirous of appearing, in that work as a terrible Hercules, and a woman armed only with flattery and falsehood. For this cause he was dubbed with the title of Commodus's Hercules." In another place this Jesuit compares him to Ishmael. *Homo Israelita, cujus manus contra omnes, Joannes Launoy* (89). [T. Raynaud published this piece under the name of *Hortentus Leotardus*. He never employed more Gall than on this occasion. It is a Satyr from beginning to end. The author, who had a very virulent pen, queried whether his adversary's birth were legitimate; in imitation of father Guefnay, who had raised the same doubt with regard to de Launoi, in his *Triumph of Mary Magdalen*.] Addit. by the Transl.

(88) Theoph. Raynaud. *Synonym. de Libris propriis*, num. 63. pag. 67. & sequenti.

[S] I shall present my Readers with the judgment which de Vigneul-Marville formed of him. "How much soever Mr. de Launoi may be esteemed, it must be confessed that he had the predominant fault of Criticks, which is, to observe no measure, and obstinately to defend the worst causes. His book of *Extreme Unction, of Aristotle's Fortune*, and some others, are good pieces; but it may be said in general, that in all this Doctor's compositions, there is much more erudition than judgment and just reasoning. He commonly does not treat the principal subject best; but he handles incidental matters admirably, and frequently deceives the unattentive reader by their means (90)."

(89) *Ibid.*, tom. 72. pag. 70.

The author of the *Journal des Savans* has asserted (91), *That nothing can, with less justice, be laid to Mr. de Launoi's charge, than his defending the worst causes with obstinacy. It was his particular character to love truth above all things; to seek for it without prepossession, and to communicate it freely when he had found it &c.* De Vigneul-Marville answered (92), that

(90) Vigneul-Marville, *Mélanges & Hist. de Littérature*, pag. 267.

(91) See tom. 3. of Vigneul-Marville, pag. 266. *Roman edit.*

(92) *Ibid.* pag. 267.

But in combating, in this manner, the Inquisitors, they will render themselves useless with regard to the reformation of publick abuses; their criticism, tho' much severer than it is, would, at most, serve only to the instruction of particular persons. The disease is past cure. Father Mabillon has laid down some very good rules with respect to the worship of certain Saints, and the judgment to be formed of relics (81); but what has he gained by this? It was answered, *Physician cure thyself*. Reform first the worship which is paid, in some Monasteries of their order, (St. Benedict's) to Saints as dubious as any. He was told of the injury he does to the Church, and the advantage he gives the Protestants (82). Is not this shutting the door, as it were, to all his good designs? Mr. Thiers takes up his pen against false relics, he enquires where the bodies of the Martyrs lie, he publishes dissertations on the holy tear of Vendôme, and on St. Firmin. Now all this is lost labour. The King's Council suppresses his book on St. Firmin, as the Bishop of Amiens had condemned a letter that had been published on the same question. See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (83), and the third part of the *Bibliotheca volante*. All the Saints of a discreet zeal are nipt in the bud. They build on this principle, that it is dangerous to annul old customs; that old boundaries must not be removed; and that, according to the old proverb, *We should leave the minister where it stands* (84). The prosperity of Christian Rome, like that of Pagan Rome, is grounded on the preservation of the old Rites (85). Consecrations must be complied with, and Religion will not suffer any innovation to be made in them. *Sed illa mutari vetat religio, & consecratis utendum est* (86).

(1) See towards the close of the remark [S].

a particular not very much known; and which does not well agree with the little friendship there was between this Doctor and the Jesuits, and with the affection he bore Mr. Arnauld. The fact is, that his opinion concerning grace was contrary to the doctrine of St. Augustin (b).

that there are two ways of loving truth; the one to love it for its own sake; and the other, to love it in regard to one's self. . . . That St. Austin loved it for its own sake . . . that it is not quite the same with respect to the generality of Criticks, who only love truth, either for the glory it gives to those who first discover it; or, which is often the case, from a peevish humour of domineering over others. "I will not say, continued he, that de Launoi was one of those rambles who go in quest of truth as Knight Errants formerly did after mighty achievements. But then it cannot be denied, that numbers of very learned people have sometimes looked upon him as a Critick who over-shot the mark, and did not always find the truth he idolized. This will appear, if we cast an eye on such literati as have attacked him, or wrote severe answers to him." One may have seen him quite covered with the dust of his daily combats, and with the bruises he had met with on those occasions (93). This author adds that, even in Mr. Arnauld's opinion, he had not always maintained orthodoxy; he had declared too much in favour of a divine inferior to St. Austin; and from which the Protestants, of the Arminian principles, pretended to gain great advantage. From this we may infer that he did not approve St. Austin's doctrine with regard to predestination; but we shall be much better informed of his sentiments concerning that doctrine, by the preface to a treatise which is not yet published. Mr. Simon has inserted it in one of his letters (94) and has shewn that Dr. de Launoi condemns the sentiments of St. Austin in this work. This letter is not very advantageous to the Doctor, and gives us a very mean

idea of his erudition. See the Journal des Savans of November 14, 1701, pag. 722, Dutch Edition, and the Journal of Trevoux, of August 1703, pag. 1313. of the French edition. The Journal of Trevoux, for January 1704, Article I. speaks of a defence of St. Austin, by father Daniel, in opposition to the dissertation ascribed to de Launoi. ["The work Bayle speaks of, the preface whereof Mr. Simon had writ, was printed, probably under the direction of Mr. Simon, in 1702. it is a small 12mo. Many people are of opinion that it was not writ by Mr. de Launoi; but it is universally allowed, I believe, that it contains the real sentiments of that doctor. I read that book when it was first published; and did not perceive any particulars in it, which could make one judge that it was not writ by de Launoi. I since read (above twenty years ago) an Extract of a small discourse made by this Doctor at Sorbonne, in Mr. Arnauld's affair, in the year 1655; and I remember that it began in pretty near the following Terms (in Latin): "Every one knows that, on the Articles of Predestination and Grace, I am not of St. Austin's opinion; but adhere to what all the Greek and Latin fathers who preceded him, have taught on that subject. It was notorious that de Launoi persisted always in the same sentiments; but it is my opinion that he had not studied this subject sufficiently, in order to form a right judgment of it. And indeed this work published in 1702 is far from being a good one." De Launoi wrote a great deal, and did not think enough.] From the Remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

(94) It is the 21st of Lettres ecclésiastiques de Mr. Simon, printed in Trevoux in the year 1700.

It may be proper to add some few particulars to this article.

LAUNOI (JOHN DE) was born in Valdesie, a village of the Lower Normandy, in the diocese of Coutance, and not at Valagne, as some authors pretend. After going through his first studies in Coutance, where he was educated under the direction of William de Launoi, his uncle, he came to Paris, and pursued his studies during five or six years stay in that city (a). He afterwards received his Diploma, after which he was ordained Priest, and took his degree of Doctor in Divinity of the College of Navarre in 1634. He went the same year into Italy, and there contracted with several Literati a friendship, which he cultivated afterwards. At his return to Paris he devoted himself entirely to the study of the Fathers and Divines; and made great collections of passages from both, with which he afterwards interspersed his different works. About the year 1645, he was appointed Royal Censor of Books of Divinity; but it is not known how long he acted in that capacity (b). The approbation he gave in 1646 to a French History of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost of Montpellier, drew upon him the indignation of several of his brethren, who bore an animosity to him. They also accused him of saying in conversation before the Bachelors, that Clerks were not obliged, by any Canon Law, to repeat the Breviary. At last their artifices were so successful, that they caused him to be expelled the College of Navarre (c). It was then he retired to Abbot d'Estrées, who lived in Laon College (d). That Abbot having been made Bishop of Laon in 1653 was determined to serve his friend de Launoi; and thereupon gave him, at different times, two Canonries in his Cathedral; but he resigned them a little after, upon pretence that he had no voice, and consequently was not qualified for his employments. He refused other preferments, being void of all ambition, and contented with what he possessed. Below is his epitaph, which the Minims would not suffer to be engraved on his monument [A]. Du Pin gives the following character of this famous author [B].

(a) Nicéron, Hommes Illustres, tom. 32. pag. 84, 85. Paris 1735, 12mo. See also the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

(b) Father Nicéron, pag. 85.

(c) Idem, ibid. pag. 86.

(d) Idem, ibid. Abbé Marolles declares this to have been in 1644. but it was in 1648.

[A] Below is his epitaph, which the Minims would not suffer to be engraved on his monument. They were offended at certain expressions in it, particularly the following, veritatis assertor perpetuus. The epitaph runs thus,

D. O. M.
Hic jacet Joannes Launoius Constantiensis, Parisiensis Theologus; qui veritatis assertor perpetuus, Furium Ecclesie & Regis acerrimus vindex, vitam innociam exegit: Opep neglexit, & quantulumcunque ut reliquus satis habuit: multa scripsit nulla spe, nullo timore: Optimam famam maximamque venerationem apud probos adeptus. An-

num septimum & septuagesimum excessit; Animam Christo consignavit die 10 Martii anno 1678.

Hoc monumentum amico jucundissimo poni curavit Nicolaus le Camus, supremæ subsidiorum Curæ princeps (*). [B] Du Pin gives the following character of this famous author. "The number of books he wrote, and the manner in which they are writ, shew sufficiently his great compass of reading and vast erudition, and the ease with which he wrote, as well as his prodigious application. His diction is neither elegant nor polite, he employing harsh and unusual terms. He expresses himself after a very peculiar

(*) Nicéron, Hommes Illust. tom. 32. pag. 87, 88. Paris 1735, 12mo.

A very ample catalogue is given of all de Launoi's writings in Nicéron's *Hommes Illustres*, tom. 32. [C].

"liar manner, and gives a singular turn to the matters he treats of. He quite tires, not only his adversaries, but also his readers, with the tedious length of the passages which he transcribes entire, and repeats continually in his works. He exhaufts a subject when once he takes it in hand. He does not always reason justly; and he sometimes seems to have views very different from those which he proposes in his works. With regard to his morals, he was a person of great simplicity, was a good friend, disinterested, sober, laborious; an enemy to vice, void of ambition, charitable and beneficent; and ever observing the same tenor of life. But truth was especially his darling; nothing being more abhorrent to him than fables and forgeries. He has defended with resolution the rights of the Church and King; and boldly attacked the opposite maxims of the Italian divines of Rome. In a word, it cannot be doubted but that the literary world, the Gallican church, and the school of Paris are greatly obliged to him for his discoveries in many points of history and criticism; for the resolution with

"which he asserted the authority of councils, the rights of Kings and Bishops; for his sagacity in discovering the falsity of the legends of some Saints, and the forgery of many prerogatives".

[C] A very ample catalogue is given of all de Launoi's writings.] The following edition was published, not long since, of all his works. *Joannis Launoi Opera omnia, ad selectum ordinem revocata, ineditis opusculis aliquot, notis nonnullis Dogmaticis, Historicis & Criticis, Auctoris vita, variis Monumentis tum ad Launoi, tum ad scripta ipsius pertinentibus, Præfationibus cuicque volumini affixis, Indicibus locupletissimis, aucta & illustrata. Accessit tractatus de varia Launoi librorum fortuna. Coloniae Allobrogum 1731, 1732, five Vol. folio.* The author's works are here digested according to the order of the subjects; and the prefaces and notes are curious and instructive. At the end of the second part of volume IV, is the life of the author, and the history of his works, under the title of *Launoiiana*. The editor has likewise inserted there, the various elogiums which have been made of du Launoi.

LAURENS (ANDREW) in Latin *Laurentius*, Professor of Physic in the University of Montpellier [A], Chancellor of the University (*), and first Physician to Henry IV, died the 16th of August 1609, as we are told by Guy Patin (a), who informs us of several other particulars, that have been transplanted into Moreri's Dictionary, and which I will not repeat. I shall content my self with supplying what is wanting in that Dictionary. No particular mention is there made of the writings of Andrew du Laurens; and therefore I shall observe that he published several which were highly esteemed, and particularly his Anatomy [B], which he dedicated to Henry IV in the year 1599, and has

(*) [He was Professor in 1583 and Chancellor in 1603.] From the Paris edit. to Bayle's Dictionary.

(a) Patin, *Lettres* 31. pag. m. 142. of tom. I. See also the 27th Letter, pag. 117.

[A] Professor of Physick in the University of Montpellier.] It is remarkable that before they would permit him to act as professor, they obliged him to pass again through all his exercises, in order to take his doctor's degree a second time. *Cum Regio diplomate Monspelii Medicinam publice docendi munus obtinisset, admitti tamen non potuit, donec iterum factus fuisset primò Med Baccalaureus, deinde Licentiatus, tandemque doctor, & toties iterum de Medicina respondisset, quoties in Academia ex illius instituto opus fuit* (1) i. e. "When he had obtained, by the royal diploma, the professorship of physick in Montpellier, he nevertheless could not be admitted, till he again was made, first Bachelor of Physick, next Licentiate, and at last Doctor; and had again gone through all the disputations, in Physick, as the statutes of that university required". Riolanus confirms this. The Sieur de Laurence, says he (2), being a doctor of Avignon, was obliged, in order to reside in Montpellier, and there read a lecture, to commence doctor in the university of the last mentioned city, as one but just admitted. Patin doubtless did not know this particular, which he otherwise would have joyned with the following remark:

Du Laurens came to court with countess de Tonerre, by whose recommendation he was made one of the King's Physicians, and Regius Professor in Montpellier, contrary to the laws and statutes of that university, by an arret of the privy council, which he had much ado to get recorded in Toulouse (3). I am to observe that he founded a physick garden near one of the gates of Montpellier, and there placed the following inscription, *Argus esto, non Briareus* (4). i. e. "Be an Argus, not a Briareus".

[B] He published several pieces which were highly esteemed, and particularly his anatomy.] It was reprinted at Paris in folio in the year 1600, and the same year at Frankfort in folio. These two editions were followed by three others at Frankfort, in 8vo, in the year 1602, 1615 and 1627. The work is intitled *Historia Anatomica humani Corporis & singularum ejus partium, multis controversiis & observationibus novis illustrata* (5). i. e. "An anatomical history of the human body and its several parts, illustrated with several new controversies and remarks". The word *novis* gives us to understand, that the Paris edition of 1600 was not the first; it having been preceded by that of Lyons 1593, in 8vo, which is but half as large.

I have seen two translations of the Paris edition the one by Francis Size, and printed at Paris in the year 1610 in 8vo, the other by Theophilus Gelée physician at Dieppe. It was printed at Paris in folio in the year 1613, with several other treatises of du Laurens (6) translated by the abovementioned Gelée, or which had been already published in French by du Laurens (7), or had been collected from his lectures, when he used to read publicly to the surgeons of the University of Montpellier, in 1587, 1588. These last treatises are upon the gout, the leprosy, and the venereal disease. All the french treatises I just now mentioned have also been published in Latin. They are inserted in Tom. II of Du Laurens's works, Frankfort edition of 1621 folio, with the *Annotationes in Artem parvam Galeni, & Consilia Medica*. The treatise on Crises had been printed separately in Latin at Frankfort, in the year 1596, and 1606 8vo, (8). No notice is taken in *Lindeniis renovatus* of the Latin edition of all du Laurens works, made at Paris in two volumes, 4to, 1627, by Gui Patin, who gave a Latin translation of some treatises which du Laurens had writ only in his mother tongue.

The French version of the history of Anatomy, printed in 8vo at Paris, in the year 1610, has no plates, but Gelée's translation in folio has. The Printer who omitted them gives the following reason, among others for it, that du Laurens added figures with no other view but to please certain people, not that he thought them very useful, but that they would serve to amuse rather than instruct students. Farther, he himself declares, that he let the printer of the Latin edition take the plates or figures from those to be found among the common Anatomists, such as those of the Sieurs Paré & Guillemeau, surgeons to our most Christian Kings, or of Charles Stephens, doctor of physick in this University: so that if there be any errors in the figures, he desires they may be laid to the charge of the printer and engraver; and says that he has explained himself sufficiently in his history, so as not to want any help from figures; nothing being required but a sight of the annual dissections, without which no person can attain to a perfect skill in anatomy (9). As these particulars relate to the history of this work, I imagined the reader would not be displeased to find them here.

I must add, that although this physician was a very skilful anatomist, he nevertheless gave occasion to cen-

(1) Paulus Freher, in *Theatro*, pag. 1323, ex *II Parte Vitarum Virorum doctorum Jani Jacobi Boissardi*.

(2) Riolan. *Recherches des Eschol. de Medecine*, pag. 8. See also pag. 167.

(3) Patin, *Lettre* 26. pag. m. 117. of tom. I.

(4) Paulus Freher, in *Theatro*, pag. 1323.

(5) See *Lindeniis renovatus*, pag. 47. The Lyons edition of 1623, in 8vo, has been omitted.

(6) That on Crises, divided into three books, with the general method relating to the prognostics and crises of distempers, and that on the King's Evil, divided into two Books, the first whereof treats of the wonderful vertue of curing the King's Evil by the touch, conferred by the Divine Power on the Kings of France only; and the second explains the nature of the King's Evil, &c.

(7) That on the preparation of the fight; on catarrhs, and on old age.

(8) Ex *Lindeniis renovato*, pag. 47.

(9) Advertisement to the reader, prefixed to the *Anatomy* translated by Francis Size.

has borne several editions. They are mistaken who assert that he reaped advantage by Aquapendente's conversation [C]. His native place has not been justly expressed in *Lindenius renovatus* [D]. ANTHONY DU LAURENS, his youngest brother, was an Advocate in the King's Council, and died in the year 1647, at eighty three years of age. He married Anne Robert, daughter of the Advocate Anne Robert, who was living in 1662 [E]. Mr. DU LAURENS, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, was their son (b); and LOUISA DU LAURENS, wife to Mr. Baltazar Master of Requests, and Intendant of Justice in Languedoc, was their daughter (c). We are told in the *Mercuré Galant*, that PETER DU LAURENS Doctor of the Sorbonne, formerly Grand Prior and Vicar General of the Order of Clugni, died Bishop of Bellai the 17th of January 1705, aged fourscore and nine years; and that he was grandson of Andrew du Laurens, first Physician to King Henry IV (d).

(b) ExtraEct from Patin, Letter 251. pag. 389. and Letter 282. pag. 508. of tom. 2.

(c) Patin, Letter 356. pag. 59. of tom. 3.

(d) *Mercuré Galant*, for February, 1705, pag. 162.

sure. Peruse the following words. *All that the Sieur du Laurens has wrote by way of question, is an anatomy that is merely physiological. In his anatomy he has committed great errors; not those which Collado and Laürembergius have pointed out, and which are in his questions; but in the text of his anatomical history; which is so plainly demonstrated, that any man, who is ever so little versed in anatomy, will confess that he is not to be defended* (10).

"do not understand; now how will you do this? Not by your instruction, for you cannot give what you yourself have not; but by accident; like a hard and stupid bone, which, though blunt, can yet give an edge to steel. The perusal of your books will not make your readers more learned, but on the contrary more ignorant, if they should believe what you say; till by finding out the falsity of your doctrine, they become fired with a just zeal, and resolve to join with those who profess true and genuine physick; and gain the prize of excellent science, by radicating your most pernicious errors, out of their own minds and those of other people. You dwell too long on this subject, Colladon! those ought to be treated in a friendly manner, who labour for the publick good. If they have errors, a veil should be thrown over them. To err is human; but to attack errors with a virulent pen, and to raise a molehill to a mountain, is barbarous".

(10) Riolan. *Recherches des E-scholus de Medicine*, pag. 214. 215.

This Collado, or rather Colladon, has carried his censure much too far. He pretending that there was nothing good in du Laurens's anatomy. This very great prejudice and passion has been observed by John Sperlingen, professor of physick at Wittemberg. *Hæc & plura ejusmodi Collado, says he, quæ non hic saltem, sed ubique contra Laurentium magno sermore scriptitat. Ubi ita se gerit, ut oculati videant omnes, non tam amore veritatis quam antiquitatis, cordato huic contradixisse viro. Sed non obijcienda nova omnia, alius & ipse hic Colladonis liber è medio tollendus & è bibliothecis foret exterminandus. Quem tamen multa bona, multa acutè excogitata continens, non imus inficias. Interim etiam non omnia in Laurentio falsa, sed plurima vera, plurima non absque insigni legentium commodo scripta sunt. Fallit Collado, cum inquit: Laurentii Anatomie tota mundis scætet, ut de ea verè Prophetæ querimoniam posses queri, omnis princeps ægrotat, à vertice ad plantam pedis, & non est in corpore toto sanitas; adeo omnes libri partes insulubilibus errorum maculis imbutæ sunt, ut nescio, quâ creta aut cimelia absterge purgarique possint. Fallit & cum scribit: Docere vis, quæ non intelligis, quomodo id præstabis? non per te sanè, non enim potes dare quod non habes, sed uti vulgè dicitur, instar duræ & stupidæ cotis, acutum reddere quæ ferrum valet, expers ipsa secandi. Non facies sanè tuorum librorum lectores doctiores, imò si tibi fidunt indoctiores: sed tam deprehensa doctrinæ tuæ falsitate justo percitū zelo, veræ & genuinæ medicinæ auxiliatrices munus asserent, præmium clarioris scientiæ eruncatis tuis ex suo aliorumque animis erroribus perniciosissimis metent. Ne quid nimis, Collado! Amicè tractandi publici boni causa qui laborant. Neque si habent, & tegendi & detegendi illi. Errare humanum sed errata stylo atrocita lingua virulenta notare, ac è musca elephantem facere, inhumanum* (11). i. e. "These and more of the same sort, which Colladon writes with great heat and passion, not only there, but every where against du Laurens; on which occasion he so behaves, that all sagacious readers will see, that he contradicted this judicious man, not so much out of a love of truth, as of antiquity. But all new things are not to be rejected, for otherwise this very book of Colladon must be thrown away, and banished from libraries: which, we at the same time own, contains many valuable and sagacious particulars. With regard to the compositions of du Laurens, all he has wrote is not false, but many things are true, and may be of very great benefit to the reader. Colladon imposes upon us when he writes as follows: *The anatomy of du Laurens is quite full of errors, so that we may justly apply to it the complaint made by the prophet, every prince is sick from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, and there is no health in any part of his body: every part of his work is polluted with spots, so very black, that no fuller's earth can possibly take them out.* He likewise imposes upon us when he writes. *You go about to teach, what you yourself*

[C] They are mistaken who assert, that he reaped advantage by Aquapendente's conversation.] We will illustrate this by the following extract of a letter of Guy Patin. "Mr. Hofman . . . (12) observes somewhere, that du Laurens has published a certain anatomical truth or discovery, which would never have entered his mind, had he not heard it of Fabricio Aquapendente's, at whose table he eat for some years. Now this is absolutely false; the said Sieur du Laurens having never studied but at Paris under Lewis Duret, and that during seven years . . . So that he never studied in Padua; which I am very certain of, I having been, for these twenty three years past, Physician to the family of Messieurs de Laurens, who are two Counsellors and a Master of Requests, whose father, who was the younger brother of Andrew du Laurens, died but ten years since, of a quartan ague, aged fourscore and seven years; and who formerly gave me all the informations I could desire (13)."

(12) Gaspar Hofman, Professor of Physick in Altorf.

[D] His native place has not been justly expressed in *Lindenius Renovatus*.] The author of that book employs those words, *Natus in Academia Montpelienfi* (14). i. e. "Born in the University of Montpellier." This expression would have been improper, even though the mother of Andrew du Laurens had been delivered of him in a college at Montpellier. I am not certain that he was born in Montpellier, as the author (15) quoted in Freherus's *Theatrum* affirms. It is no conclusive argument to the contrary, that this Andrew had a brother (16) born at Arles; for it is no extraordinary thing for one man's children to be born in different towns. I therefore shall wait for a clearer proof of this point, as likewise of the following words in *Lindenius renovatus*, *obit in patria*, which signify that Andrew du Laurens died in Montpellier; but in the mean time shall be almost persuaded that he was born in Arles, since Guy Patin calls him *Arelatenfis*, in the title-page of the edition he published in 1627.

(13) Patin, Letter 27. pag. 127. of tom. 1. It is dated the 6th of Sept. 1649.

(14) Mercklin in *Lindenius renovatus*, pag. 47.

(15) *Paris II Vi-tarum Virorum de Forum Jani Jacobi Boissardi apud Freher, in Teatro*, pag. 1323.

(16) *Honore or Honoratus du Laurent*, Archbishop of Ambrun. See his article in Morecti.

[He certainly was born in Arles, but this is not asserted in *Boissard's Lives of Learned Men*, the very contrary being said, pag. 185. *Patria ei fuit Mons Pessulanus &c.*] From the remarks to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary,

[E] He married Anne Robert . . . who was living in 1662.] Patin affirms, in a letter dated the 26th of December 1662 (17), that on this very day he had ordered extreme unction to be given her, she being fourscore and seven years of age; but he had said elsewhere (18), that she was but fourscore and one in 1661.

(17) The 281st, pag. 507. of tom. 2.

(18) In Letter 251. pag. 380. of the abovementioned volume.

(11) John Sperlingen. *de Formatione Hominis in utero*, pag. 123. edit. Witt. 1647. He cites Collado in *Obs.* cap. 34.

LAURENTIO (NICHOLAS) vulgarly called *Cola de Rianzo*, was, in the sixteenth Century, one of those men whom the providence of God employs from time to time,

time, as a theatre or stage, on which men may behold the vicissitudes and caprices of human life [A]. He was son to a mean Vintner and a Laundress. His application to study in his youth, and the natural strength of his genius, made him very eminent. He became vastly eloquent; and could repeat by heart the finest passages in Cicero, Livy, Julius Cæsar, Valerius Maximus and Seneca. He was prodigiously fond of ancient inscriptions, and was very able to explain them. He got a Notary's place, which at that time was so honourable, that Gentlemen did not scruple to exercise it. The commissaries of the several divisions or districts of Rome having dispatched him to wait on Pope Clement VI, who kept his See at Avignon, he made so eloquent a speech, that he gained the esteem and benevolence of the Pontiff in question, and the admiration of that Court; which gave him the courage to declaim strongly against such great Lords in Rome as oppressed the citizens. Cardinal John Colonna was determined to make him suffer for this; but after considering the affair maturely, he discontinued the ill offices he was doing him with regard to the Pope. Laurentio grew more and more exasperated against these petty tyrants of Rome; and he one day made so bold a speech in the Capitol against them, that two boxes on the ear were given him when he had ended. The persons who struck him were a Lord of the Colonna family, at that time Chamberlain of Rome, and Thomaso Fortifiocca, Secretary of the Senate. Laurentio dissembled his resentment, and continued to deliver his speeches in the Capitol, and in various Churches; and to compose emblems, the whole in order to point out the evil administration of justice. The persons concerned looked upon all this as sport; and particularly when they observed that his speeches were blended with facetious sayings, and that he threatened some of them with capital punishment. In all probability they imagined, that, by reason of his wild extravagances, it would not be in his power to hurt them, but they were mistaken; for taking advantage of the absence of Stephen Colonna, who had marched out of Rome with his soldiers to fetch provisions, he got together the people, made a speech, enacted laws, drove all the great men out of the city, assumed the judiciary functions, and was declared Tribunus Augustus and deliverer of the people in 1346. The faction of the exiles were not powerful enough to make head against him, because of their divisions; whence he had an opportunity of managing things at pleasure, and saw himself at the head of a new Roman Commonwealth, in whose name he wrote to the other States, to the Emperor, and the Pope himself. The better to confirm his authority, he sentenced many persons to death; and, among others, he hanged Martin de Porto, one of the petty tyrants of Rome. He received embassies from several Princes and Commonwealths; and boldly summoned the Pope to come and reside in Rome with the College of Cardinals. He was so fortunate in the war he sustained against the faction of the Nobles, that he suppressed it entirely; but he then acted as most of those do, who take up arms upon the specious pretence of liberty; it is not the tyranny they hate, but the tyrants; they are vexed to see other people, and not themselves, exercise the supreme authority. Laurentio had no sooner crushed the tyranny of others, but he himself turned tyrant; upon which he was treated as he had treated others; he was forced to fly, and hanged in effigy at Rome as a traitor. After having been concealed some time, he presented himself before the Emperor, who gave him leave, but without advising him to it, to go and salute the Pope. He, at first, met with an unfavourable reception from him; but after having been imprisoned some months, he followed the Pope's Legate to Rome. He raised up his party again to so high a pitch, that he was enabled to renew the war against the Colonna's; but his rigorous treatment of the people, and his exactions, made him so odious, that they took up arms. He imagined that his eloquence would have the power to calm this storm, as it had done on so many other occasions, but was mistaken; and it was to no purpose that he shewed himself to the people, and harangued them from the windows; they setting fire to his palace. He endeavoured to fly in the disguise of a beggar; and was got almost out of danger, when he was discovered by a certain little man. Another thrust him thro' the belly with a sword; he was quite covered with wounds; his body was dragged through the streets, and hung up by the feet (a). It continued two years in that condition, after which the Jews burnt it in the fields (b). Some of his writings are still extant [B].

(a) Extracted from Prosper Mandozio's *Biblioteca Romana*, Cent. 2. num. 55.

(b) This was the 8th of Sept. 1353.

LAZZARELLI

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus (†).

(†) Ovid. *de Ponto*, lib. 4. *Elcg.* 3.

“All human things are but the sport of heaven.”

The play which our Laurentio acted on the great stage of the world, had the same kind of catastrophe, a tragical one.

*Tolluntur in altum,
Us lapsu graviore ruant* (2).

(2) Claudian. in *Ruffin.* lib. 1. *circa int.*

“They're rais'd aloft,
“That they may lower fall.”

[A] *As a theatre or stage, where men may behold the vicissitudes and caprices of human life.* The heathens used to call this the play or sport of fortune; but they might have added, that this Play ends commonly like a Tragedy.

*Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari* (1).

(1) *Juv. Sat.* 3. *ver.* 39.

“Fortune——
“Who, for her pleasure, can her fools advance,
“And toss them topmost on the wheel of chance.”
DRYDEN.

(*) *Plautus in Captivo. Proli.* *ver.* 22.

Di quasi pilas homines habent (*).
“The Deities make tennis-balls of men.”

[B] *Some of his writings are still extant.* The letter he wrote to the people of Viterbo is in a book entitled

LAZZARELLI (N.) a native of Gubio in Italy, was a very good Poet. He was for some time Auditor or Judge in the Rota of Macerata, after which he devoted himself to the Church, and was a Priest, and Provost or President of Mirandola. He died in 1694, at above fourscore years of age. He published a work intitled, *La Cicceide*, which is of a very singular kind [A]. It is a collection of Sonnets, and some other kinds of Poems, in which he inveighs with the utmost severity against Senior Arrighini (a), a native of Lucca, who had been his colleague in the Rota of Macerata. He describes him as a man *wholly made up of genitals* (b). His versification is extremely easy, natural and flowing. His Poems discover a surprizing fruitfulness of imagination, and lively and ingenious thoughts; but they all turn on a subject that is so very obscene; and the whole is animated with so vindictive, and sometimes so profane a spirit, that the readers of them may be justly offended. There are some apologies or excuses in the preface to his book, which I shall take some notice of [B].

(a) Author of some works, and particularly of a volume of *Configli criminali*, to which he prefixed a print of himself. See pag. 204. of the *Cicceide*.

(b) It is an expression of Balzac. See the *Chevrance*, pag. 276. of Part 2. Dutch edit.

LEE

(3) *Ad ann.*
1347.

(4) *Ex Biblioteca Romana Prop. Mandesii*,
Cent. 2. num.
55.

(1) Mr. Silvestro, Doctor of Physic, lent me a copy of it at his return from Italy in July 1700; and informed me of the particulars relating to the author mentioned in this article.

entitled *Prose antiche di Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, & altri nobili virtuosissimi ingegni*. There likewise are inserted the speeches which Pandolfo Franco, and Francesco Baroncelli, his Envoys to the Commonwealth of Florence, made to the Senate of Florence. Some letters written by him to Charles, King of the Romans, and to the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, are in Tom. XIV of Bzovius's Annals (3). Petrarch wrote a fine Italian Poem in praise of Laurentio (4).

[A] He published a work entitled *la Cicceide*, which is of a very singular kind. I have seen only the second edition of it (1), which is of 1692, and the complete title of it is as follows: *La Cicceide legitima: in questa seconda impressione ordinatamente disposta, notabilmente accresciuta, e fedelmente rincontrata con gli Originali dell' Autore*. i. e. "The Genuine Edition of the *Cicceide*, properly digested, greatly enlarged, and faithfully compared with the Author's Originals. The "Second Edition." This book is divided into two parts; the title of the first being *le Testicolate*, and of the second *le Sgbinaccate*. The person abused in this work is shadowed under the name of Don Ciccio. I am to observe, that Ciccio is, by the Neapolitans, made use of to signify Francesco, (Francis) and the Romans, instead of Ciccio, say Cecco. The chief design of the author is to prove that Don Ciccio is a Coglione, which is the burthen, if I may so call it, of all the 318 sonnets, which compose the first part of the *Cicceide*. This is the center of the sphere of its activity; and I believe that the second part will make up the complement to the number 360, which is the most usual division of a circle. Nothing is wanting in this sphere of slander; it has all its degrees, and they all terminate in the same point. Signior Lazarelli, in what manner soever he may begin, always ends with the *coglioneria* of Don Ciccio. It is the burthen of all his sonnets. This is going very far. It would not have been possible for Voiture to write any thing like this in honour of the great Prince, to whom he wrote as follows, *You who are a true Cæsar in genius and learning, a Cæsar in diligence, in vigilance, in courage, & per omnes casus Cæsar, you have deceived the opinion* &c. (2). Our Poet turns his Ciccio on every side, and exhibits him in every light,

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum (3),

and makes a Coglione of him *per omnes casus*. He follows him from the instant of his conception, to his death; and goes still farther, he jesting on his coffin, his burial, his epitaph &c; he pursues him to Charon's boat, wherein he places him, and declares that he shall be ferried over gratis; and he even says that he has no occasion of being wasted over. He supposes that Charon speaks as follows to him:

*E' privilegio a pari tuoi concesso
Il poter senza imbarco, e pagamento
Havere a l'altro margine l'accesso;
Mentre un tondo C... gonfio di vento
Galleggiando leggier, può da sè stesso
Andar di là dal fiume a salvamento* (4).

i. e. "Such as you, are allowed to pass to the opposite shore without going on board, or paying any thing; for Testicles, when swelled with wind, are able to waft themselves over the Styx."

He retrenched, in the second edition, such sonnets as were thought the most profane, and had occasioned the putting his book into the *Index Expurgatorius*. They related to the baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction of Ciccio, and some other ticklish subjects. A manuscript copy of them has been put into my hands, and I have been advised to insert at least one of them; in order that those who cannot procure a sight of the *Cicceide*, a work little known out of Italy, may form to themselves an idea of Lazarelli's genius. I have made choice of the sonnet which relates to extreme unction.

L'oglio santo:

*Da la febre, da l'asma, e da l'uscita,
Don Ciccio ritrovavasi ammalato
E già ridotto in sì cattivo stato
Che l' sear vicino all' ultima partita.
Quando, tal nuova il poverello udita,
Dimandò l'oglio santo, e gli sù dato
Rimanendo così fortificato
Per suo franco passaggio a l'altra vita.
Ma fatta il Parochian la sua funzione
Per la mente uno scrupolo gli corse
D'aver fallato nell' operazione.
Però che in vece d'applicar l'unzione
Sù i cinque sentimenti egli s'accorse
Ch' applicata l'havea sopra un coglione.*

Here follows some other verses (5).

*Io l'en prego, Don Ciccio, instantamente
Che a me non lice far queste funzioni
Se tu medesimo non vi sei presente,
Stante che le Canoniche Sanzioni
Prohibiscono a tutti espressamente
L'uso di celebrar senza coglione.*

i. e. "I conjure you, Don Ciccio, not to fail of being present, at the time of my solemnizing Mass; for you know that the Canons expressly forbid all persons, who have not their testicles, to celebrate on that occasion."

[B] There are some apologies or excuses, in the preface of his book, which I shall take some notice of. It seems to have been wrote by one of the author's friends, who protests, that he was extremely grieved on account of the first edition of his work; and that it was with reluctance he consented to the second, though it was in a better condition. His scruples were founded on certain allusions to the ceremonies of the Church; and on the opposition that might be found between the duties of Charity, and a book that was grounded on slander. He adds that this work is only a collection of sallies of wit, and poetical vein, notwithstanding which the author's sentiments are perfectly orthodox; that he submits all those pieces to the censure of his superiors, and detests whatever they shall judge worthy of being condemned; that he hopes the reader will be so equitable, as to make a just distinction between what are merely witty conceits, and a design of offending; and in fine, that although he wrote with some licentiousness, his actions were nevertheless pure. This is only a rude extract of his apology, and therefore I will set down the author's own words (6). *E' à dire il vero à l'uno, e l'altro degli accennati*

(5) These are from the Sonnet, the six last in which he desired him to assist at his first mass.

(2) Voiture, *Lettre au Duc d'Enghien après la bataille de Rocroi* in 1643. It is Voiture's 141st Letter.

(3) Virgil. *Æn.*
lib. 1. ver. 204.

(4) *Cicceide*, pag.
290.

(6) Preface to the *Cicceide*.

LEE (NATHANIEL), an eminent English Poet, was son of a Clergyman of the Church of England, and was educated at Westminster School under Dr. Richard Busby, from whence he was sent to Trinity College in the University of Cambridge. He wrote eleven Plays [A], which were acted with great applause. He became distracted in his senses, and was some years confined in the Hospital of Bethlem; and after he was dismissed from thence, was never perfectly recovered, but died in the street in the night-time (a). Mr. Addison tells us (b), that "among our modern English Poets, there is none who was better turned for tragedy than our author; if instead of favouring the impetuosity of his genius, he had restrained it, and kept it within proper bounds. His thoughts are wonderfully suited to tragedy, but frequently lost in such a cloud of words, that it is hard to see the beauty of them. There is an infinite fire in his works, but so involved in smoke, that it does appear in half its lustre. He frequently succeeds in the passionate parts of the tragedy, but more particularly where he slackens his efforts, and eases the stile of those epithets and metaphors, in which he so much abounds."

(a) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets, pag. 320. 8^{vo} 1691, and Gilson's Continuation of Langbaine, pag. 85.

(b) Spectator, num. 39. vol. 1.

*cennati motivi son degni di un animo, che professa esat-
tamente i dettami del Cristianesimo, nel quale si pregi-
a l'Autore di vivere, protestando, che questi suoi componi-
menti sono un mero sfogo di Poetico capriccio affatto
discordanti dalla pietà dell'animo suo, imbevuto de Sa-
grofanti Dogmi della Cattolica verità, come sarà pientissi-
mo sempre a testificare col sangue stesso, e che gli sotto-
pone intieramente alla Censura de' Superiori, detestando
adesso per all'ora tutto quello, che dal giudizio loro in-
fallibile sarà stimato per degno d'esser dannato. E
riflettendo, che questi sono più tosto scherzi di una penna,
per trastullarsi, che sentimenti d'un Cuore intento all'
offesa d'altri, ti piego a credere, ch'egli non mi ha-
rebbe permessa mai la libertà di rimandarli alle stampe, se
non si fidasse dell'ingenuità del tuo Cuore, che saprà tra-
stullarsi coll'ingegno senza trascorrere colla volontà a
denigrare nè pur col pensiero la fama incorrotta del suo
decentato Protagonista. Vivi dunque felice, mentr'io las-
ciar non voglio di ricordarti in difesa dell'Amico, che se
bene scrive con qualche licenza, può però dir di se stesso:
Lasciva est nobis pagina, Vita proba est.*

[A] He wrote eleven Plays.] They are as follow.
I. Nero Emperor of Rome, a Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal in 1675. Dedicated to the Earl of Rochester. II. *Sopponiba, or Hannibal's Overthrow*; a Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal 1676. Dedicated to the Dukes of Portsmouth. The Earl of Rochester, in his allusion to Horace's tenth Satyr of the first book, writes thus of this Tragedy:

"When Lee makes temperate Scipio fret and rave,
And Hannibal a whining am'rous slave,
I laugh, and with the hot-brain'd fustian fool
In Busby's hands; to be well lash'd at School.

III. *Gloriana, the Court of Augustus*: a Tragedy, act-

ed at the Theatre Royal 1676. Dedicated to the Dukes of Portsmouth. The Earl of Rochester, in a Satyr of his in imitation of Sir John Suckling's *Session of the Poets*, writes thus of this Play.

"Nat. Lee slept in next, in hopes of a prize;
Apollo remember'd he had hit once in thrice:
By the Rubies in's face he could not deny,
But he had as much wit as Wine could supply;
Confess'd, that indeed he had a musical note,
But sometimes strain'd so hard, that it rattled i'th'
throat.
Yet own'd he had sense; t'encourage him for't,
He made him his Ovid in Augustus's Court."

IV. *The Rival Queens: or, the Death of Alexander the Great*: a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1677. Dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave. Mr. Dryden has a copy of commendatory Verses upon this Play prefixed to it. V. *Mitridates King of Pontus*, A Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1678. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorset. VI. *Theodosius, or, The Force of Love*; a Tragedy acted at the Duke of York's Theatre. Dedicated to the Dukes of Richmond. VII. *Cæsar Borgia*; a Tragedy, acted at the Duke of York's Theatre 1680. Dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke. VIII. *Lucius Junius Brutus, father of his Country*; a Tragedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre 1681. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorset. IX. *Constantine the Great*; a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal 1684. X. *The Princess of Cleve*, a Tragic-Comedy, acted at the Queen's Theatre in Dorset-Garden 1689. Dedicated to the Earl of Dorset. XI. *The Massacre of Paris*; a Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal 1690. Our Author joined with Mr. Dryden in writing the Tragedy of *the Duke of Guise*, and that of *Oedipus*. H.

LEIBNITZ (GODEFROY-WILLIAM DE), an eminent Mathematician and Philosopher in the seventeenth Century, was born at Leipzig in Saxony June the 23d 1646, and son of Frederic Leibnitz Professor of Ethics, and Secretary of the University of Leipzig, by Catherine Schmuck, third daughter of a Doctor and Professor of Law. He lost his father (a) at six years of age; but his mother took a particular care of his education. He soon made a prodigious progress in polite Literature [A]; and at the age of fifteen years he applied himself to the study of Philosophy and Mathematics at Leipzig and Jena; and upon his return to Leipzig in 1663 maintained a thesis *de Principiis Individuationis*. The year following he was admitted Master of Arts. About this time he read with great attention the Greek Philosophers, and endeavoured to reconcile Plato with Aristotle, as he afterwards did Aristotle with Des Cartes. He was so intent on these studies, that he spent whole days in meditation in a forest near Leipzig. But the study of the Law was his principal view; in which Faculty he was admitted Bachelor in 1665. The year following he would have taken the degree of Doctor, but was refused it on pretence that he was too young, being but twenty years of age, but it is thought that he had raised himself several enemies by rejecting the principles of Aristotle and the Schoolmen. Upon this he went to Altorf, where he maintained a thesis *de Casibus*

Perplexis,

[A] He soon made a prodigious progress in polite Literature.] He did not shew any particular inclination to one kind of study more than another, but applied himself to all with equal vigour. And as his father had left him a considerable and well chosen library, he began, when he was master enough of the Latin and Greek languages, to read them all in order, as the

Poets, Orators, Historians, Civilians, Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Divines. He had a particular taste and talent for Poetry. He knew all the Poets by heart, and even in his old age he could have repeated Virgil almost word for word. He composed in one day a Poem of three hundred Latin Verses without any Elision (1).

(1) Fontenelle, Histoire de Renouveau de l'Academie Royale des Sciences in M. DC. XCIX. & des Eloges Historiques de tous les Academiciens, tom. 2. pag. 274. 275. 276. edit. Amst. 1720.

(a) He died Sept. 5, 1652.

Perplexis [B], with such applause, that he had the degree of Doctor conferred on him, and was offered a Professorship extraordinary in Law, which he refused. Thence he went to Nuremberg, in order to visit the learned men there, and was introduced into the acquaintance of several persons engaged in the pursuit of the Philosopher's stone [C]. The Baron de Boinebourg, first Minister of the Elector of Mentz, passing at that time thro' Nuremberg, and meeting Mr. Leibnitz at an entertainment, conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, that he advised him to apply himself particularly to the study of Law and History, and promised to engage the Elector John Philip de Schonborn to send for him to his Court. Upon this Mr. Leibnitz removed to Francfort upon the Mein in the neighbourhood of Mentz. In 1668 he wrote a treatise, to induce the Poles to choose the Elector Palatine their King [D]; which so highly pleased that Elector, that he invited the author to his Court. But he was prevented from accepting this invitation by the Baron Boinebourg, who procured the Elector of Mentz to appoint him Counsellor of the Chamber of Review in his Chancery. Mr. Leibnitz was then but twenty two years of age. In 1672 he went to Paris to manage some affairs of the Baron; and in that city contracted a friendship with the learned men there, and applied himself with vigour to the study of the Mathematics. Having observed some defects in the Arithmetical Machine of Monsieur Pascal, he invented a new one, the design of which he explained to Monsieur Colbert; and it was approved of by him and the Academy of Sciences, which offered him the place of Pensionary-Member. He might have settled to great advantage at Paris; but as it would have been necessary to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion, Mr. Leibnitz, who was born a Lutheran, refused all offers. In 1673, upon the death of the Baron de Boinebourg, he went to England, where he became acquainted with Mr. Oldenburg Secretary of the Royal Society, and Mr. John Collins Fellow of that Society [E]. Soon after this he received an account of the death of the Elector of Mentz, by which he lost his pension. Upon this he returned to France, whence he wrote a letter to the Duke of Brunwick-Lunenbug, to inform him of his circumstances. That Prince returned him a very kind answer, and as a pledge of his future favour appointed him Counsellor of his Court with a stipend, and gave him leave to continue at Paris till his Arithmetical Machine should be compleated. In 1676 he returned to England, and thence went to Holland, in order to proceed to Hanover, where he proposed to settle. Upon his arrival there, he applied himself to enrich the Prince's Library with the best books of all kinds. The Duke of Brunwick-Lunenbug dying in 1679, his successor Ernest Augustus, then Bishop of Osnabrug, shewed our author the same favour as his predecessor had done, and ordered him to write the History of the House of Brunwick. Mr. Leibnitz undertook it, and travelled over Germany and Italy, in order to collect materials; and returned to Hanover in 1690. In 1700 he was admitted a Member of the Royal Academy at Paris. The Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Prussia, founded an Academy the same year at Berlin by the advice of Mr. Leibnitz, who was appointed perpetual President, though his affairs would not permit him to reside constantly at Berlin. However he furnished their Memoirs with several curious pieces in Geometry, polite Literature, Natural Philosophy, and even Physic. He projected another Academy of the same kind at Dresden, and communicated the plan to the King of Poland in 1703. This design would have been executed, if it had not been prevented by the confusions in Poland. He was engaged likewise in a scheme for an universal language [F]. His writings had long

[B] *Maintained a Thesis de Casibus perplexis.*] It was printed at Leipzick with two other Theses maintained by him, under the following title: *Specimina Juris. 1. Specimen difficultatis in Jure, seu Dissertatio de Casibus perplexis. 2. Specimen Encyclopaediae in Jure, seu Quaestiones Philosophicae amantiores ex Jure collectae. 3. Specimen certitudinis seu Demonstrationum in Jure, exhibitum in Doctrina Conditionum.*

[C] *Introduced into the acquaintance of several persons engaged in the pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone.*] Being desirous to be initiated in their mysteries, he selected out of books of Chemistry several dark terms and expressions, from which he formed a Letter, which was unintelligible to himself, and addressed to the Director of that society; requesting to be admitted into it upon the proofs which he gave of his great learning. They not doubting, but that the writer of that letter was an Adept or very near one, admitted him with great honour into their Laboratory, and desired him to perform the office of Secretary, offering him a pension (2).

[D] *In 1668 he wrote a Treatise to induce the Poles to choose the Elector Palatine their King.*] This Treatise was published at Francfort upon the Mein under the following title: *Specimen Demonstrationum politicarum pro eligendo Rege Polonorum, novo scribendi genere ad claram Certitudinem exactum. Auctore Georgio Uli-covio, Lituano.*

[E] *Applied himself with vigour to the study of the*

Mathematicks.] He owns, that he principally owed the progress which he made in that study, to the writings of Pascal, and Gregory St. Vincent, and especially to the excellent book of Huygens *de Horologio oscillatorio.*

[F] *In 1673 . . . he went to England, where he became acquainted with Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, and Mr. John Collins, Fellow of that Society.*] It was by the communication and correspondence of these Gentlemen, that he received the first hints of the invention of the method of Fluxions from Mr. Isaac Newton's letters, who had discovered that method about the year 1664 or 1665. As there arose afterwards a dispute concerning the right to that invention, we shall give the reader the following account of it (3). The *method of Fluxions* and the *Calculus Differentialis* are the same method of Analysis under two different names. Sir Isaac Newton, and the English Mathematicians after him, call it the *Method of Fluxions*; but Leibnitz gave it the name of *Calculus differentialis*, in which he has been followed by almost all the Mathematicians abroad. The Marquis de l'Hospital published the elements of it under the title of *Analyse, des infiniment petits, i. e. the Analysis of infinitely small quantities.* Sir Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis principia mathematica*, printed at London 1687, in 4to. is almost wholly founded upon the method of Fluxions; though he has not made use of that method to demonstrate the great and sur-

(3) See Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Pre-cueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie Naturelle, &c.* par Mr. Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres Auteurs celebres, edit. Amsterdam 1720.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 291, 292.

prizing Theorems, which he has exhibited in that work. However we find there the principles of Fluxions in the second Lemma of the second book, where those principles are demonstrated, but always in a synthetical manner. He adds to that Lemma the following Scholium: *In literis, quæ mihi cum Geometrà peritissimo G. G. Leibnitio annis abhinc decem intercedebant, cum significarem me compotem esse methodi determinandi maximas & minimas, ducendi Tangentes, & similia peragendi; quæ in terminis juris æquæ ac in rationalibus procederet, & literis transpositis banc sententiam involventibus [Data æquatione quotcunque fluentes quantitates involvente, Fluxiones invenire, & vice versa] eandem celarem: rescriptis Vir clarissimus se quoque ejusmodi methodum incidisse, & methodum suam communicavisse à meâ vix abscondentem præterquam in verborum & notarum formulis. Utriusque fundamentum continetur in hoc Lemmate.* By this passage Sir Isaac Newton gives us to understand, that in the Letters, which he wrote to Leibnitz ten years before, that is, June 13th and October 24th 1676 (†), he had informed him of his method, before Leibnitz had mentioned his own; which he did not do till eight months after, viz. June 21st 1677 (‡). Besides, as it appears from Sir Isaac Newton's letter of October 24th 1676, that he had been engaged five years before (§), that is, in 1671, in writing a Treatise, in which the method of Fluxions and that of Series were joined together; by referring to this letter, he gives us to understand, that the method of Fluxions was known to him at least in 1671, six years before Leibnitz had discovered his method (*). Thus he asserted his right to the first invention of this method, and appealed in a manner to the judgment of Leibnitz himself, to whom these particulars were very well known, and who had nothing to object upon this occasion in the letter, which he wrote to Sir Isaac Newton in 1693, wherein he complimented him upon his *Principia*. He says in it, that it appeared from this work, that Sir Isaac had a method of Analysis much superior to the common Analysis; and only adds, that himself had also an Analysis, which was applied to the higher Geometry with great success. *Mirificè ampliavimas Geometriam tuis seribus, sed edito Principiorum opere ostendisti parere tibi, quæ Analysis receptæ non subsunt. Conatus sum ego quoque, Notis commodis adhibitis, quæ Differentias & summas exhibent, Geometriam illam, quam transcendentem appello, Analysis quodammodo subijcere, nec res male processit.* He claims to himself the invention of the Calculus Differentialis, but without any prejudice to the right, which Sir Isaac Newton had to the method of Fluxions. Leibnitz had published in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipsick for the year 1684 (¶), the elements of the Calculus Differentialis, that is, the Algorithm of that Calculus, which contained the application of it to Addition and Subtraction, to Multiplication and Division, to powers and roots under this title: *Novæ methodus pro Maximis & Minimis, itemque Tangentibus, quæ nec fractas nec irrationales quantitates moratur, & singularæ pro illis Calculi genus, per G. G. L.* The Brothers Bernoulli, famous Mathematicians, having afterwards observed the use, which Leibnitz made of this method, for the resolving of the most difficult Problems, applied themselves to the discovery of the secret, and by the Encouragement of Leibnitz himself arrived at it (†); so that this new Calculus was already famous in 1695. At this time Dr. John Wallis, who had published in the second tome of his *Mathematical works*, extracts of the letters of Sir Isaac Newton of June 13th and October 24th 1676, wrote to him, that he had been informed from Holland, that his method of Fluxions was received there with applause under the name of Leibnitz's Calculus Differentialis; and urged him to publish those two letters intire. He represents to him, that it would be neglecting too much his own reputation and that of the English nation, to bury in his study pieces of such importance, and to wait till others seized an honour, which was his right. He adds, that when he had received the account abovementioned, he had endeavoured to do him justice in an addition to the preface to the first Tome of his *Mathematical works*. The addition is as follows: *In secundo Volumine . . . habetur Newtoni Methodus de Fluxionibus (ut ille loquitur) consimilis naturæ cum Leibnitii (ut hic loquitur) Calculo differentiali (quod qui utramque methodum contulerit, satis animadvertat, ut ut sub loquendi formulis diversis) quam ego descripsi*

Algebrae cap. 91. &c. præsertim cap. 95. ex binis Newtoni literis (aut earum alteris) Junii 13, & Octob. 24. 1676. ad Oldenburgum datis, cum Leibnitio communicandis, iisdem serè verbis, saltem leviter mutatis, quæ in illis Literis habentur, ubi Methodum hanc Leibnitio exponit, tum ante decem annos, nulum plures, ab ipso excogitatum. Quod moneo, ne quis causetur, de hoc Calculo differentiali nihil a nobis dictum esse. The writers of the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipsic gave an extract of the two first Tomes of Dr. Wallis's *Mathematical works* in their journal of June 1696 (†), and insinuated that he treated in a very free manner the foreign Mathematicians; but they did not object to what he had said, that Sir Isaac Newton "had explained to Leibnitz in 1676 the method of Fluxions, which he had invented ten years before, or even earlier still," that is, in 1665 or 1666. They only remarked, that Dr. Wallis should have been more ample upon the Calculus differentialis, and have observed, that Leibnitz had that Calculus for above twenty years before, that is, in 1676 or 1677, when Sir Isaac Newton and he held a correspondence by means of Mr. Oldenburg; and that this was a fact acknowledged by Sir Isaac himself. *Cæterum ipse Newtonus non minus candore quam præclaris in rem Mathematicam meritis insignis, publice & privatim agnovit, Leibnitium tum cum (interveniens celeberrimo Viro Henrico Oldenburgio Bremensi, Societatis Regiæ Anglicanæ tunc Secretario) inter ipsos, ejusdem jam tum Societatis socios, commercium intercederet, id est, jam serè ante annos viginti & amplius, Calculum suum differentialem seriesque infinitas, & pro iis quoque Methodos generales habuisse; quod Wallisus, in Præfatione operum factæ inter eos communicationis mentionem faciens, præterit, quoniam de eo fortasse non satis ipsi constabat.* They observe afterwards, that Dr. Wallis would undoubtedly have done more justice to the German Mathematicians, if he had known them better, &c. The Doctor had no sooner seen this article in the *Acta Eruditorum*, but he wrote to Leibnitz (‡), to assure him, that if he had not treated at large of his Calculus Differentialis, it was really because he knew nothing of it before, and had not even heard of the name of it, when one of his friends wrote to him from Holland, that this Calculus made a great deal of noise there, and that it was very near the same with Newton's method of fluxions, which gave him occasion just to mention it in his Preface. Leibnitz wrote to him a very civil answer (§), and assures him, that he was extremely well satisfied with him. *De te autem queri, says he, nunquam mihi in mentem venit, quem facile apparet nostra in Actis Lipsiensibus prædita non satis vidisse.* Dr. Wallis wrote him a letter of thanks (*), at the close of which he says, that though the Method of Fluxions and that the Differential method appear to him to be the same, yet this ought not to lessen the honour due to those, who were the inventors. *Et ni fallor, (sic saltem mihi nuntiatum est) Newtoni doctrina fluxionum, res eadem (vel quam simillima) quæ vobis dicitur Calculus differentialis; quod tamen neutri præjudicio esse debet.* Leibnitz did not deny this in his answer (**). *Methodum Fluxionum profundissimi Newtoni, says he, cognatum esse Methodo meæ Differentiali, non tantum animadverti, postquam opus ejus & tuum prædidi, sed etiam professus sum in Actis Eruditorum, & alias quoque monui. Id enim Caudori meo convenire judicavi, non minus quam ipsus merito. Itaque communi nomine designare soleo, Analyseos Infinitesimalis, quæ latius quam Methodus Tetragonistica patet. Interim quemadmodum & Vietæ & Cartesiana Methodus Analyseos speciosior nomine venit, discrimina tamen nonnulla supersunt; ita fortasse & Newtoniana & mea differunt in nonnullis.* He afterwards mentions the reflexions, which had led him by degrees to the invention of his method; but does not take notice in what respect it differed from that of Sir Isaac Newton. This was what Dr. Wallis was extremely desirous of knowing, as appears from a letter, which he wrote soon after to Leibnitz (†). *Optaverim, says he, ut tibi vacet tuum Calculum Differentialem, & Newtono suam Fluxionum Methodum, justo ordine exponere, ut quid sit utriusque commune, & quid intersit discriminis, & utrumque distinctius intelligamus.* Leibnitz wrote an answer to Dr. Wallis; and there passed several letters between those Gentlemen, but without touching upon that point. Dr. Wallis published all these letters in 1699 in the third volume of his *Mathematical works*; and inserted among them, with the consent

(†) See Dr. Wallis's *Mathematical Works*, vol. 1. pag. 622, and 634.

(‡) See Mr. Leibnitz's Letter, *Ibid.* pag. 648.

(§) *Ibid.* pag. 636.

(*) See Sir Isaac Newton's Remarks, in Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Recueil*, tom. 2. pag. 87, 88.

(¶) Pag. 467, & seq.

(†) Leibnitz informs us how these Gentlemen attained it, in a *Memoire*, inserted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Nov. 1706, pag. 521. and in the *Memoires de Trevoux*, March 1707, pag. 540. See likewise those *Memoires* March 1708, pag. 491.

(†) Pag. 249, & seq.

(‡) December 7, 1696. See the 3d tome of Dr. Wallis's *Mathematical Works*, pag. 653, 654.

(§) Dated March 29. 1697. *Ibid.* pag. 673.

(*) Dated April the 9th. *Ibid.* pag. 675.

(**) Dated May the 28th. *Ibid.* pag. 678.

(†) Dated July the 30th. *Ibid.* pag. 681.

of Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, the letters which they had written to each other by means of Mr. Oldenburg, and among the rest those above cited. Though Dr. Wallis had given the world to understand, that Sir Isaac Newton had invented his method in 1665 or 1666, he would not determine the time when Leibnitz invented his, nor inquire which of them two was the first inventor. But Mr. Nicholas Facio Duillier proceeded further; for in his *Lineæ brevissimi descensus Investigatio Geometrica duplex: cui addita est Investigatio Geometrica solidi rotundi, in quo minima fiat resistentia*, printed at London in 1699, he declares Sir Isaac Newton to have been the first inventor, and insinuates that Leibnitz whom he calls the second inventor, had made use of the lights of Sir Isaac Newton. Newtonum primum, says he (*), at pluribus annis vetustissimum hujus calculi Inventorem, ipsa veri evidentia coactus, agnosco; à quo utrum quicquam mutuatus sit, Leibnitius secundus ejus Inventor, malo eorum quam meum sit judicium, quibus visæ fuerint Newtoni Literæ aliique ejusdem manuscripti codices. Leibnitz thought, that he ought not to leave unanswered this assertion, which detracted so much from his reputation. He wrote against Mr. Facio a memoir inserted in the *Acta Eruditorum* for the year 1700; in which he affirms, that he had not taken his Calculus from Sir Isaac Newton, and appeals even to the testimony of Sir Isaac himself. Certè, says he (†), vir egregius aliquoties locutus amicis meis semper de me bene sentire visus est, neque unquam, quod sciam, querelas jecit; publicè autem ita mecum egit, ut iniquus sim, si querar. Ego vero libenter ejus ingentia merita oblati Occasionibus prædicavi, & ipse scit unus omnium optimè satisque indicavit publicè, cum sua Mathematicæ Naturæ principia publicaret anno 1687, nova quædam inventura Geometrica, quæ ipsi communia mecum fuere, neutrum luci ab altero acceptæ, sed meditationibus quemque suis debere, & a me jam decennio ante exposita fuisse. Certè, adds he, cum Elementa Calculi mea edidi anno 1684, ne constabat quidem mihi aliud de inventis ejus in hoc genere, quam quod ipse olim significaverat literis, posse se Tangentes invenire non sublatis irrationalibus; quod Hugenius quoque se posse mihi significavit postea, etsi cæterorum istius calculi adhibere experts. Sed majora multo consecutus Newtonum, viso demum libro Principiorum ejus, satis intellexi. Calculum tamen differentialem tam similem ab eo exerceri, non ante didicimus, quam cum non ita pridem magni Geometræ Johannis Wallisii operum volumina primum & secundum prodire, Hugeniusque curiositati meæ favens locum inde descriptam ad Newtonum pertinentem mihi maturè transmisit. Leibnitz would not determine the question, whether Sir Isaac Newton or himself was the first or second Inventor of this method: he only asserts equally the invention to both. Quam, says he afterwards (§), ante Dominum Newtonum & me nullus, quod sciam, Geometra habuit; uti ante hunc maximi nominis Geometram nemo specimine publicè dato se habere probavit; ante Dominos Bernoullios & me nullus communicavit. Mr. Facio did not stop here; he sent to the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* his reply, with a defence of his treatise of the *Lineæ brevissimi descensus Investigatio* against Mr. John Bernoulli; but those authors suppressed what related to Leibnitz, and only remarked in general, that the aversion they had for disputes among Men of Letters, had induced them to retrench what was personal in Mr. Facio's memoir (†). This put an end to the contest; and it is probable, that there would not have been any more dispute upon this point, if a passage of the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had not given occasion to that, which rose at first between Mr. John Keill and Leibnitz, and afterwards between Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton himself. It was as follows. In 1704 Sir Isaac Newton published at the end of his *Optics* a treatise of the *Quadrature of Curves*, which he had written several years before. As this treatise is founded upon the method of Fluxions, Sir Isaac accompanied it with an introduction, in which he explains that method, and adds, that he had invented it in 1665 and 1666. Considerando igitur, says he, quod quantitates æqualibus temporibus crescentes & crescendo genitæ, pro velocitate majori vel minori, qua crescunt ac generantur, evadunt majores vel minores; methodum querebam determinandi quantitates ex velocitatibus motuum vel incrementorum quibus generantur; & has motuum vel incrementorum velocitates nominando Fluxio-

nes & quantitates genitas nominando Fluents, incidi paulatim annis 1665 & 1666 in Methodum Fluxionum, quâ hic usus sum in Quadraturâ Curvarum. The authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipzig gave an account of this book of Sir Isaac Newton in their Journal of January 1705 (3); and having taken occasion to explain (3) Pag. 30, & the differential method of Mr. Leibnitz, they compared it with Sir Isaac's method of Fluxions: Ingeniosissimus deinde Autor, say they, antequam ad Quadraturas Curvarum (vel potius Figurarum Curvilinearum) veniat, præmittit brevem Ifagoram. Quæ ut melius intelligatur, sciendum est, cum magnitudo aliqua continuè crescit, veluti Linea (exempli gratia) crescit fluxu puncti, quod eam describit, incrementa illa momentaneâ appellari differentias, nempe, inter magnitudinem, quæ antea erat, & quæ per mutationem momentaneam est producta, atque hinc natum esse Calculum differentialem, eique reciprocorum Summatorum; cujus Elementa ab Inventore Dn. Godefrido Gulielmo Leibnitio in his Actis sunt tradita, variique usus tum ab ipso, tum à Dn. Fratribus Bernoulliis, tum & Dn. Marchione Hospitalio (cujus nuper extincti immaturam mortem omnes magnoperè dolere debent qui profundioris Doctrinæ profectum amant) sunt ostensi. Pro differentiis igitur Leibnitianis D. Newtonus adhibet semperque adhibuit, Fluxiones, quæ sint quam proxime ut fluentium augmenta æqualibus temporis particulis quam minimis genita; iisque tum in suis Principiis Naturæ Mathematicis, tum in aliis postea editis eleganter est usus; quemadmodum & Honoratus Faber in sua Synopsi Geometricæ motuum progressus Cavallerianæ Methodo substituit. It was this comparison that occasioned the dispute. For as it is undoubted that Father Fabri is not the inventor of his method, but that he took it from Cavalieri, only changing the expressions; it was thought that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* designed to intimate, that Sir Isaac Newton was not the inventor of the method of Fluxions, but that he took it from Mr. Leibnitz. Mr. John Keill, being persuaded that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had this design, undertook Sir Isaac Newton's defence; and in a piece, which he wrote de Legibus Virium Centripetarum, addressed to Dr. Edmund Halley, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for September and October 1708 (4), asserted, (4) Pag. 174, & not only that Sir Isaac had first invented the method of Fluxions, as appeared by his letters published by Dr. Wallis; but that Mr. Leibnitz had taken this method from him, only changing the name and notation. Hæc omniaque sequuntur, says he, ex celebratissimâ nunc dierum Fluxionum Arithmeticâ, quam sine dubio primus invenit Dominus Newtonus; ut cuilibet ejus Epistolæ à Wallisio editas legenti facile constabit. Eadem tamen Arithmetica postea mutatis nomine & notationis modo, à Domino Leibnitio in Actis Eruditorum edita est. Leibnitz wrote a letter to Dr. Hans Sloane, then Secretary of the Royal Society, dated March the 4th 1711, in which he required in effect, that Mr. Keill should make him satisfaction for the injury, which, he said, had been done to him. He protested, that "he was so far from assuming to himself the method of Sir Isaac Newton, after having only changed the name and notation, that he was absolutely ignorant of the name of the Method of Fluxions, and the notation used by Sir Isaac, till they appeared in the mathematical works of Dr. Wallis." He desired therefore the Royal Society to oblige Mr. Keill to disown publicly the bad sense, which his words might bear. This letter was communicated to the Royal Society; and Mr. Keill, to justify himself to Sir Isaac Newton, shewed him the extract of his book of the *Quadratures of Curves* in the *Acta Eruditorum*. He desired the Society at the same time not to condemn him without hearing him, and to give him leave to explain and defend what he had advanced. This was the more readily granted him, as Sir Isaac and several other members of the Society found the same sense as he had done in the comparison of the *Acta Eruditorum*. Upon this Mr. Keill wrote to Dr. Sloane a letter, in which he observed, "that when he had asserted, that Mr. Leibnitz had published as his own Sir Isaac Newton's method, after having changed the name and notation, he did not mean, that the name, which Sir Isaac had given to his method, or the notation, which he made use of, were then known to Mr. Leibnitz; but only that Sir Isaac was the first inventor of the method of Fluxions or differential

(*) *Lineæ Brevissimi Descensus* &c. pag. 3.

(†) G. G. L. *Responsio ad Dn. Nic. Fatii Duillierii Imputationes.* See *Acta Eruditorum*, Martii 1700, pag. 203.

(§) *Ibid.* pag. 206.

(†) *Acta Eruditorum*, Martii 1701, pag. 134.

“rential method; and that the letters, which he had written to Mr. Oldenburg, and which had been sent to Mr. Leibnitz, furnished light enough to a man of Mr. Leibnitz’s penetration, to discover the principles of that method. But that not having found the name, which Sir Isaac Newton gave his method, and the notation used by him, it was natural for him to invent a new name and a new manner of notation.” Mr. Keill added, “that the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* had obliged him to publish what he had asserted, by their having affirmed in the extract of the book of *Quadratures*, that Mr. Leibnitz had invented the differential method, in the room of which Sir Isaac Newton had substituted his Fluxions. That he acknowledged with pleasure the great obligations, which the learned world had to Mr. Leibnitz, and his profound skill in the mathematics; but that as he had so great a fund of his own, there was no occasion to adorn him with the spoils of others. And that having observed, that Mr. Leibnitz’s countrymen gave him commendations, which did not belong to him, he thought that it would not be an instance of mistaken zeal for the English nation, if he endeavoured to maintain Sir Isaac Newton’s right.” He then entered upon the subject, and undertook to shew from divers writings of Sir Isaac, “that he was the first and true inventor of the method of Fluxions or the differential method; and that the two letters of Sir Isaac, which Mr. Leibnitz received from Mr. Oldenburg, contained hints of that method clear enough to enable him to discover it.” He concluded with saying, “that among the great services, which Mr. Leibnitz had done with regard to mathematics, his having first published this method was one; and that all lovers of that science were obliged to him, because he had been unwilling, that so useful an invention should be longer concealed. And he did not doubt, but that what he had written would justify his zeal for his country, and furnish a convincing proof, that he had not asserted rashly or out of a spirit of calumny in the *Philosophical Transactions*, what he now had demonstrated with so much clearness and evidence.” This letter having been read to the Royal Society May the 24th 1711, they ordered a copy of it to be sent to Mr. Leibnitz, who found new matter of complaint in it; and in a second letter, which he wrote to Dr. Sloane, dated at Hanover December the 29th 1711, he represented, that Mr. Keill had attacked his candour and sincerity more openly than before; adding, that it was not suitable to a man of his age and experience to engage in a contest with an upstart, who was unacquainted with what had passed so long before, and acted without any authority from Sir Isaac Newton, who was the party concerned. That it was in vain for Mr. Keill to pretend to justify his proceeding by the example of the *Acta Eruditorum*, since in that Journal no injustice had been done to any man, but every one had received what was his due. That “himself and his friends had several times shewn, that they considered Sir Isaac Newton as the inventor of Fluxions; but that himself had no less right to the invention of the differential method, as Mr. Huygens, a most able and impartial judge, had publicly declared. That however he had not hastened to assert it as his own; and that after the discovery, it was a long time before he published it, in order that no person might complain, that he had anticipated them.” He concluded with desiring, that the Royal Society would enjoin Mr. Keill silence, not doubting but that what he had written was disapproved by Sir Isaac Newton himself, who was well acquainted with what had passed formerly, and to whose judgment he was ready to submit. Mr. Keill seeing himself treated as an upstart, who was not informed of what had passed formerly, appealed to the registers of the Royal Society, and affirmed, that they would find there convincing proofs of what he had advanced. Sir Isaac Newton likewise being displeased at the comparison in the *Acta Eruditorum*, and that Mr. Leibnitz should have said, that in that Journal every one had received what was due to him, left the Society to act as they should think proper; who granted therefore to Mr. Keill what he desired. They appointed a certain number of their members, as well Foreigners as English, to examine the registers, and especially the papers of Mr. John Collins, who had a

correspondence with the most eminent mathematicians of his time, both in England and abroad. As soon as one of his correspondents had imparted to him any discovery, he communicated it to others. In short he was the Merfennus of England. The Society ordered the Committee to lay before them all the papers relating to the point in dispute, and subjoin to them their own judgment; which was at last given in these words: “We have consulted the letters and letter-books in the custody of the Royal Society, and those found among the papers of Mr. John Collins, dated between the years 1669 and 1677 inclusive; and shewed them to such, as knew and avouched the hands of Mr. Barrow, Mr. Collins, Mr. Oldenburg, and Mr. Leibnitz; and compared those of Mr. Gregory with one another, and with copies of some of them taken in the hand of Mr. Collins; and have extracted from them what relates to the matter referred to us; all which extracts herewith delivered to you, we believe to be genuine and authentic; and by these letters and papers we find,

“I. That Mr. Leibnitz was in London in the beginning of the year 1673, and went thence in or about March to Paris, where he kept a correspondence with Mr. Collins by means of Mr. Oldenburg, till about September 1676, and then returned by London and Amsterdam to Hanover. And that Mr. Collins was very free in communicating to able Mathematicians what he received from Mr. Newton and Mr. Gregory.

“II. That when Mr. Leibnitz was the first time in London, he contended for the invention of another *Differential Method* properly so called; and notwithstanding that he was shewn by Dr. Pell, that it was Mouton’s (*) method, persisted in maintaining it to be his own invention, by reason that he had found it by himself, without knowing what Mouton had done before, and had much improved it. And we find no mention of his having any other *Differential Method* than Mouton’s, before his letter of the 21st of June 1677, which was a year after a copy of Mr. Newton’s letter of the 10th of December 1672 had been sent to Paris to be communicated to him, and above four years after Mr. Collins began to communicate that letter to his correspondents, in which letter the method of *Fluxions* was sufficiently described to any intelligent person.

“III. That by Mr. Newton’s letter of the 13th of June 1676 it appears, that he had the method of *Fluxions* above five years before the writing of that letter. And by his *Analysis per Equations numeros Terminorum infinitas*, communicated by Dr. Barrow to Mr. Collins in July 1669, we find that he had invented the method before that time.

“IV. That the *Differential Method* is one and the same with the *Method of Fluxions*, excepting the name and mode of notation; Mr. Leibnitz calling those quantities *Differences*, which Mr. Newton calls *Moments* or *Fluxions*; and marking them with the letter *d*, a mark not used by Mr. Newton. And therefore we take the proper question to be, not who invented this or that method, but who was the first inventor of *the Method*. And we believe, that those, who have reputed Mr. Leibnitz the first inventor, knew little or nothing of his correspondence with Mr. Collins and Mr. Oldenburg long before; nor of Mr. Newton’s having that method above fifteen years before Mr. Leibnitz began to publish it in the *Acta Eruditorum* of *Leipsick*.

“For which reasons we reckon Mr. Newton the first inventor; and are of opinion that Mr. Keill, in asserting the same, has been no ways injurious to Mr. Leibnitz. And we submit to the judgment of the Society, whether the extract and papers now presented to you, together with what is extant to the same purpose in Dr. Wallis’s third volume, may not deserve to be made public.”

These Papers were presented to the royal society April 24th 1712, which ordered them to be printed, with the report of the committee, and every thing that could be found in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which might serve to give light into the history of this dispute. This collection appeared at the end of December under the title of *Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum de Analysis promotâ: jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum*. in 4to pagg. 112. It was never sold at booksellers shops, and only a certain number

(*) See the book intitled, *Observationes Diamentorum Solis & Lunæ apparentium, &c. Auctore Gabriele Mouton, Lugdunensi, Sacerdote in Ecclesiâ Collegiâ S. Pauli, Lyonæ 1670 in 4to.*

number of copies was printed off, in order for presents. An extract of it was given in the *Philosophical transactions*, which was afterwards translated into French, and printed at London under this title; *Extrait du Livre intitulé, Commercio Epistolicum Collinii & aliorum de Analyfi promoti; publié par ordre de la Société Royale, à l'occasion de la Dispute élevée entre M. Leibnitz & D. Keill, sur le Droit d'Invention à la Methode des Fluxions, par quelques-uns appellés, Methode Differentielle*. In 8vo, pagg. 38. This extract is inserted in the VII Tome of the *Journal Littéraire*. Mr. Leibnitz was at Vienna, when he heard of the publication of the *Commercium Epistolicum*. "I was at Vienna, says he (5), when I was informed of the publication of the book; but being assured, that it must contain malicious falsities, I did not think proper to send for it by the post, but wrote to Mr. Bernoulli, a Gentleman, who perhaps in all Europe has succeeded best in the knowledge and use of this Calculus, and who was absolutely neuter, to give me his sentiments. Mr. Bernoulli wrote me a letter dated at Basil June 7th, 1713, in which he said, that it appeared probable, that Sir Isaac Newton had formed his Calculus after having seen mine, since he had frequent occasion in his works, to make use of this Calculus, though there appears no trace of it; and that he had even committed some errors, which seemed incompatible with a true knowledge of that Calculus. One of my friends published this letter with reflections; and as I had enough of other affairs to employ me, I was unwilling to enter farther into this, especially as Sr. Isaac Newton had not said any thing himself. I thought it sufficient therefore to have opposed to the clamours of his adherents the judgment of a person of Mr. Bernoulli's learning and impartiality". These two Latin pieces were published in Germany in a loose sheet, dated July 29th 1713. And it is remarkable, that the writer of the letter, which Mr. Leibnitz ascribes above to Mr. Bernoulli, speaks here of Mr. Bernoulli in the third person, and cites him with a compliment: *quemadmodum*, says he, *ab eminente quodam Mathematico dudum notatum est*; which might make it suspected, that it was not written by Mr. Bernoulli. Mr. Leibnitz suppressed the citation, when he published this letter in French under Mr. Bernoulli's name in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* of December 28 1715. A friend of Mr. Leibnitz sent from Germany these two pieces to the authors of the *Journal Littéraire*, with Remarks of his writing upon the dispute between Mr. Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton. A letter written from London, and inserted in the first Tome of that Journal, gave occasion to those remarks; the author of which Remarks objects to the letter, as not giving an exact account of the dispute between Mr. Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton, and undertakes to give a true relation of what had passed. He asserts, that when Sir Isaac Newton published his *Philosophiæ naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687, he did not understand the true Differential Method (6); and pretends, that he took it from Mr. Leibnitz. Dr. John Keill opposed to all these pieces an answer printed at London in French, intitled, *Réponse de M. Keill, M. D. Professeur d'Astronomie Savilien, aux Auteurs des Remarques sur le Different entre M. de Leibnitz et M. Newton, publiées dans le Journal Littéraire de la Haye de Novembre & Decembre M. DCC. XIII*. There was but a few copies of this printed; but it was afterwards inserted in the IV Tome of the *Journal Littéraire*. Mr. Chamberlayne made an attempt about this time to reconcile Mr. Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton; for which purpose he intimated his design to the former, who was then at Vienna. Mr. Leibnitz thanked him for his obliging offer in a letter dated April 28th 1714 (7), in which he declares, that he had not given occasion to this dispute, and complains, that the Royal Society and Sir Isaac Newton himself had taken Dr. Keill's part against him; and without consulting him, had made themselves Judges, and condemned him by a pretended sentence of the society. Sir Isaac Newton, says he, *has procured a book to be published, which was written purposely to discredit me, and sent it into Germany, France, and Italy, as in the name of the Society*. He adds, *that learned men among the French, Italians, and other nations extremely disapproved of this manner of proceeding, and were amazed at it*; and that he hoped, that in the Society itself every one would not approve of it.

For my self, continues he, *I have always acted in the most civil manner towards Sir Isaac Newton; and though it appears now, that there was great reason to doubt, whether he knew my invention before he had it of me, I had spoken, as if he had discovered of himself something like my method, But being abused by some ill advised flatterers, he has suffered himself to be engaged in attacking me in a very sensible manner. Judge now, Sir, from which side the steps necessary to put an end to this contest ought first to be made*. Mr. Chamberlayne communicated this letter to Sir Isaac Newton, who answered in a few words (8), that he had no share in what Mr. Facio had written against Mr. Leibnitz; that Mr. Leibnitz had attacked his reputation in 1705, by intimating in the extract of the treatise of *Quadratures*, that he had borrowed from Mr. Leibnitz the method of Fluxions; that Dr. Keill had only defended him; and that the passage of the *Acta Eruditorum* was not known to him, till the coming of Mr. Leibnitz's first letter against Dr. Keill, in which Mr. Leibnitz demanded, in effect, that he should retract what he had published in the introduction to the treatise of *Quadratures*, viz. that he had invented the Method of Fluxions in 1665 and 1666: and lastly, that if Mr. Chamberlayne could point out to him any thing, in which he had injured Mr. Leibnitz, he would endeavour to give him satisfaction, but that he would not retract things, which he knew to be true; and that he believed likewise, that the Committee of the Royal Society had done no injustice to Mr. Leibnitz in the affair of the *Commercium Epistolicum*. The Royal Society being informed, that Mr. Leibnitz complained of having been condemned without being heard, though they had not taken any party in this contest, and being willing to prevent the disputes, which might arise upon it, declared on the 20th of May 1714, that they did not pretend, that the report of their committee should pass for a decision of the society, and ordered this declaration to be inserted in their journal. Mr. Chamberlayne sent a copy of it to Mr. Leibnitz with Sir Isaac Newton's letter, and Dr. Keill's answer to the pieces inserted in the *Journal Littéraire*. Mr. Leibnitz having seen the declaration of the Royal Society, assured Mr. Chamberlayne (9), that he was very well satisfied with the Society's conduct with regard to him, but thought, that Sir Isaac Newton's was written in no very civil manner; and he seemed to make little account of Dr. Keill's piece. *As to the Letter*, says he, *which you sent me a copy of, and which is written with very little civility, I consider it pro non scripta, as well as the piece printed in French. I am not of an humour to put myself in a passion against such people. Since it seems, that there are still other letters relating to me among those of Mr. Oldenburg and Mr. Collins, which have not been published, I could wish, that the Royal Society would order them to be communicated to me. When I shall return to Hannover, I shall be able to publish also a *Commercium Epistolicum*, which may be of service to the history of learning. I shall be ready to publish as well those letters, which may be urged against me, as those which favour me, and I shall leave the judgment of them to the publick*. This letter having been read to the Royal Society, Sir Isaac Newton observed, that the last words, which we have transcribed, were injurious to the Committee, since they supposed, that they had not made a disinterested choice of the papers, which the Society had ordered them to collect. He added, that as he had no share in the *Commercium Epistolicum*, but had left the Committee perfectly free to collect and print what they thought proper, he did not think it right for Mr. Leibnitz to publish himself a *Commercium Epistolicum*. Upon this he produced two letters, which had been written to him; one by Mr. Leibnitz in 1693, and the other by Dr. Wallis in 1695; and said, that though these letters were very favourable to him, he had waved the communicating of them to the Committee, that he might not seem to become himself a witness in his own cause. These two letters having been examined before the Society by Members of the Society, who knew the hands of the writers of the letters, they were read and deposited among the archives of the Society (10). Sir Isaac Newton remarked also the danger of sending to Mr. Leibnitz the originals even of the letters of Mr. Oldenburg and Mr. Collins, which he seemed to desire; but said that attested copies might be sent to him. He said, that if Mr. Leibnitz had letters to produce in his favour, and would send the originals to some of his friends in England,

(5) In the Postscript of a Letter to Count Balthazar Sec Des Maizeux's Recueil de diverses Pièces, tom. 2. pag. 44, 45.

(6) *Journal Littéraire*, tom. 2. pag. 447.

(7) Des Maizeux, Recueil, tom. 2. pag. 116, 117.

(8) Ibid. pag. 121, 122.

(9) Ibid. pag. 123, 124.

(10) They are published by Mr. Des Maizeux, Recueil, tom. 2. pag. 100 and 103.

land, to be shewn to the Royal Society, and examined by persons who knew the hands, the originals should be returned after authentic copies were taken, and that then these letters might be published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, or in Germany, as Mr. Leibnitz should think proper. The affair stood in this situation when the Abbé Conti, a noble Venetian, came to England in 1715. He had written against the Signior Nigrifoli, who endeavoured to revive the Hypothesis of Platonic Natures, and had imagined a certain Seminal Light, to which he ascribed the generation of living beings. The Abbé consulted Mr. Leibnitz concerning the opinions of his Antagonist, and Mr. Leibnitz wrote to him a Letter (*), in the Postscript to which, he congratulates him upon his arrival in England. "I am glad, says he (†), that you are in England; there are great advantages to be made there, and it must be owned, that there are Men of distinguished abilities in that country; but they are fond of passing for almost the only inventors in the world, and this is manifestly what they will not succeed in. It does not appear, that Sir Isaac Newton had before me the Infinitesimal Characteristic and Algorithmic, as Mr. Bernoulli has very rightly judged; though it would have been extremely easy to have attained to it, if he had turned his thoughts that way, as it would have been very easy for Apollonius to have attained to the Analysis of *Des Cartes* upon Curves, if he had turned his Thoughts that way. Those who have written against me having made no scruple to attack my Candor by forced and ill-grounded interpretations, they shall not have the pleasure of seeing me answer the slight reasons of people, who act in so ill a manner, and besides that deviate from the point. The question is concerning the differential method, and they turn it upon Series, in which Sir Isaac Newton preceded me without doubt; but I discovered at last a general method for Series; and after this I had no longer an occasion to have recourse to his Extractions. They would have done better to have published letters entire, as Dr. Wallis did with my consent; and he had not the least dispute with me, as these persons would persuade the world. My adversaries have published in the *Commercium Epistolicum* of Mr. Collins only what they thought capable of their false interpretations. I became acquainted with Mr. Collins in my second voyage to England; for in my first (which was but for a very short time, because I came with a publick minister) I had not the least knowledge of the improvements of Geometry, and had neither seen nor heard any thing of the correspondence between Mr. Collins and Mr. Gregory and Mr. Newton, as my letters exchanged with Mr. Oldenburg at that time and for some time after will sufficiently prove. But in my second voyage Mr. Collins shewed me part of his correspondence; and I observed, that Mr. Newton owned also his ignorance in several points, and said among other things, that he had not discovered any thing with regard to the dimension of the celebrated Curve-Lines, except the dimension of the Cissoïde. But all this has been suppressed. I am sorry, that I am able a man as Sir Isaac Newton has drawn upon him the censure of intelligent persons by having too much regard to the suggestions of some flatterers, who have been desirous of raising a contest between him and me." Mr. Leibnitz then attacks Sir Isaac Newton upon his Philosophy, especially his opinions about Gravity, Vacuum, the Intervention of God for the conservation of his creatures, &c. He accuses him of reviving the *Occult Qualities* of the Schools, or of supposing Miracles perpetually, &c. This Postscript was much talked of at Court, and some persons of distinction greatly solicited Sir Isaac Newton to write an answer. The Abbé Conti omitted nothing to engage him to it. But they could not prevail upon him to surmount his natural aversion to all kinds of disputes or personal contests. At last King George I. having one day asked, *When Sir Isaac Newton's answer to Mr. Leibnitz was to appear?* Sir Isaac could not excuse himself any longer. He addressed his answer dated February 26th old style to the Abbé Conti, when sent to Mr. Leibnitz, and wrote to him at the same time (†), that he had read with great attention and without the least prejudice

the *Commercium Epistolicum*, and the little piece, which contains the Extract; that he had also seen at the Royal Society the original papers of the *Commercium Epistolicum*, and some other original pieces relating to it. From all this, says he, I infer, that if all the digressions are cut off, the only point is, whether Sir Isaac Newton had the method of Fluxions or Infinitimals before you; or whether you had it before him. You published it first, it is true; but you have owned also, that Sir Isaac Newton had given many hints of it in his letters to Mr. Oldenburg and others. This is proved very largely in the *Commercium* and the extract of it. What answer do you give? This is still wanting to the publick, in order to form an exact judgment of the affair. He adds, that Mr. Leibnitz's own Friends waited for his answer with great impatience, and that they thought he could not dispense with answering, if not Dr. Keill, at least Sir Isaac Newton himself, who had given him a defiance in express terms, as he would see in Sir Isaac's Letter. He informed him at the same time, that the King had desired him to give him an Account of the whole affair. Mr. Leibnitz answered Sir Isaac Newton in a letter, which he addressed to the Abbé Conti; but at the time when the Abbé waited to receive that letter, he received a short letter (12), in which Mr. Leibnitz informed him, that he had sent it to Mr. Remond at Paris, who would take care that he should receive it. I have taken this way, says he, in order to have indifferent and intelligent witnesses, of our disputes; and Mr. Remond will communicate it to others. I have sent him at the same time a copy of your letter and of that of Sir Isaac Newton. After this you will be able to judge whether the unjust Cbicanery of some of your new friends perplexes me very much. Sir Isaac Newton thought it wrong, that Mr. Leibnitz should call in for witnesses of that dispute, persons, who probably had not read the *Commercium Epistolicum*. He thought, that London, as well as Paris, might furnish indifferent and intelligent witnesses. He resolved therefore to carry the dispute no further; and when Mr. Leibnitz's answer came from France, he refuted it by Remarks, which he communicated only to some of his friends. Mr. Leibnitz died six months after, that is, November 14th 1716; and as soon as Sir Isaac Newton heard of his death, he published at London the Postscript and Letter of Mr. Leibnitz to the Abbé Conti, with his own Letter to the Abbé, and the Remarks. To the Remarks was prefixed the following Advertisement, explaining the subject and occasion: *Cum D. Leibnitius adduci non posset, ut vel Commercio Epistolico responderet, vel probaret quæ pro lubitu affirmabat, cumque præcedentes Epistolas in Galliam prius mitteret, quam earum tertiam in Angliam veniret, & prætenderet se hoc facere, ut testes haberet, & alias etiam adhiberet contumelias: Newtonus minimè rescripsit, sed observationes sequentes in Epistolam illam tertiam scriptas cum amicis solummodo communicavit.* To these Pieces was added Mr. Raphson's *History of Fluxions*, as a kind of supplement. They were published in the same languages, in which they were written, viz. those of Mr. Leibnitz in French, and those of Sir Isaac Newton in English. The two last were translated into French, and printed also at London. Mr. Des Maizeaux has reprinted them in the second Tome of his *Recueil*, together with some other letters of Mr. Leibnitz upon the same subject. In 1720 Dr. John Keill published at London in 4to the following piece: *Joannis Keill M. D. & R. S. S. in Academiâ Oxoniensi Astronomiæ Professoris Epistola ad Virum clarissimum Joannem Bernoulli in Academiâ Basiliensi Mathematicum Professore: in qua Dominum Newtonum & seipsum defendit contra Censuras à Cruo quodam objectas, & in Actis Lipsiensibus publicatas. Ubi etiam queritur de novâ calculandi methodo ab Autoribus Actorum Lipsiensium inventâ & usurpatâ, quâ in Indicibus suis probra & convitia in alios fundunt.* In 1725 there was published at London in 8vo, a new Edition of the *Commercium Epistolicum* under the following title: *Commercium Epistolicum de variâ Re Mathematicâ, inter celeberrimos præsentis seculi Mathematicos, viz. Isaacum Newtonum Equitem Auratum, Dominum Isaacum Barrow, Dominum Jacobum Gregorium, Dominum Johannem Wallisium, Dominum J. Keillium, Dominum J. Collinsium, Dominum Gulielmum Leibnitium, Dominum Henricum Oldenburgum, Dominum Franciscum Stursum, & alios. Jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum; & jam una cum Re-*

(*) Des Maizeaux, *Recueil*, tom. 2. pag. 337.

(†) Ibid. pag. 3, & seqq.

(12) Ibid. pag. 26.

(11) Ibid. pag. 12, & seqq.

long before made him famous over all Europe [H]. Besides the office of Privy Counsellor of Justice, which the Elector of Hanover had given him, the Emperor, at the desire of Anthony Ulric Duke of Brunswick, appointed him in 1712 Aulic Counsellor; and the Czar made him his Privy Counsellor of Justice with a pension of a thousand ducats, after a conversation with him at Torgaw at the time of the marriage of the Princess

causam præmissâ insignis Controversiæ inter Leibnitium & Keillium de primo Inventore Methodi Fluxionum, & Judicio primarii, ut ferebatur, Mathematici subjuncto, iterum impressum. In the preface it is observed, that in the *Elogium* of Mr. Leibnitz published in the *Acta Eruditorum* for July 1717, his friends had declared, "that he had resolved to publish, in answer to the "English *Commercium Epistolicum*, one of his own, "larger than that; and that a few days before his "death he signified to Mr. Wolfius, that he would "really confute the English, who had attacked his "reputation; and that as soon as he was at leisure "from his Historical labours, he would give the world "something in Analysis, which was not expected, "nor had any affinity with the discoveries hitherto "published by Newton or any other person." But in the preface abovementioned, it is remarked, that it appears from Mr. Leibnitz's letters to the Abbé Conti, dated February 26th, 1712, and April 9th, 1716, that he had no *Commercium Epistolicum* to publish. And with respect to new inventions, which had no affinity with these, they were nothing to the point in question.

[G] He was engaged likewise in a Scheme for an universal Language. Dr. Wilkins Bishop of Chester, and Dalgarnie had been engaged in such a design; but our author when he was in England, had told Mr. Boyle and Mr. Oldenburg, that he did not believe, that these great men had come to the point. They might enable Nations, who did not understand each other, to correspond easily together; but they had not obtained the true real characters, which would be the best instrument of the human mind, and would extremely assist both the reason and memory, and the invention of things. These characters ought to resemble, as much as possible, those of Algebra, which are very simple and expressive, and are never superfluous or equivocal, but whose varieties are grounded on reason. Mr. Leibnitz speaks in some place of an Alphabet of human thoughts, which he was contriving: it is very probable, that this alphabet had relation to his universal language (13).

(13) Fontenelle, pag. 321.

[H] His writings had long before made him famous over all Europe. Besides those already mentioned he wrote the following. I. *Nova Methodus discendi docendæque Jurisprudentiæ.* Francfort 1668 in 12mo. II. *Corporis Juris reconciliandi Ratio.* Mentz 1668 in 12mo. III. *Marii Nizolii de veris Principiis & verâ ratione Philosophandi contra Pseudophilosophos, cum Præfatione & Notis G. G. Leibnitii.* Francfort 1670 in 4to. This work had been printed in 1553; but was entirely forgot, when Mr. Leibnitz thought proper to republish it, in order to expose the obstinacy of those, who were zealously attached to Aristotle, and whom Nizolius treats with great severity, and says, that the regard which had been for so long time paid to that Philosopher was only a proof of the multitude of Fools and the duration of Folly. Mr. Leibnitz has added critical notes, in which his only design is to seek the truth, without carrying his respect for Nizolius beyond what he deserves. And he has subjoined a letter to Thomasius, his former master, concerning the method of reuniting the new Philosophy with the old. IV. *Sacrosancta Trinitas per nova inventa Logica defensa.* 1671. Monsieur de Boinebourg having communicated to Mr. Leibnitz a letter of Willowatius Nephew of Faustus Socinus, in which he endeavoured to recommend the Socinian notions, our author answered in this tract the arguments urged in favour of them. V. *Confessio Naturæ contra Atheos.* Mr. Spitzelius inserted this piece in his treatise against the Atheists. VI. *Nova Hypothesis Physica, qua Phænomenorum natura plerorumque causæ ab unico quodam universalis motu in globo nostro supposito repetuntur, seu Theoria motus concreti & abstracti.* Mentz 1671. It was reprinted at London. He admitted in this work a Vacuum, and thought that matter was simple exten-

sion, absolutely indifferent to rest and motion; but he afterwards changed his opinion. Mr. Knoop de Rosenroth translated this book into German and joined it to his translation of Sir Thomas Brown's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* printed at Nuremberg in 1680 in 4to, under the name of *Christophorus Paganus.* VII. *Notitia Opticæ Promotæ.* This piece, which he addressed to Spinoza, and in which he teaches a new method of polishing Telescope-Glasses, is published in the *posthumous works* of the latter. VIII. *Cæsarini Furstuerii de jure Suprematûs ac Legationis Principum Germaniæ.* 1677. in 12mo. The Plenipotentiaries of the crowned heads appointed to negotiate the peace at Nimegue having refused to treat the ministers of the Sovereign Princes of Germany, who were not Electors, in the same manner with the ministers of the sovereign Princes of Italy, Mr. Leibnitz wrote in favour of the former this work, in which he took the name of *Cæsarius*, to shew that he was in the Emperor's interests, and that of *Furstuerus*, to shew, that he was likewise in the interest of the Princes, *Furst* in High Dutch signifying Prince. This book did him great honour. IX. *Entretiens de Philarete & d'Eugene sur la Question du temps agitée à Nimegue, touchant le droit d'Ambassade des Electeurs & des Princes d'Empire.* in 12mo. This is an abridgment of the preceding work. X. *De Arte combinatoria.* Francfort 1690 in 4to. This was printed without his knowledge: he had written it when he was very young in 1665, and it had been already published at Leipsic in 1668. XI. *De la Tolérance des Religions: Lettres de M. de Leibnitz, & Responses de M. Pellisson.* Paris 1692 in 12mo. Mr. Leibnitz is for toleration in these Letters, and Mr. Pellisson in his answers is against it. XII. *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus, in quo Tabulae Authentice Actorum publicarum, pleraque inedita vel selecta continentur.* Hanover 1693 in fol. This curious work, in which the several pieces are digested into order of time, begins with the year 1096 and ends in 1499. XIII. In 1693 he published a little treatise concerning the state of Germany, such as it might be supposed to have been before we have any account in History; and he gave it the name of *Protogæa*, a short Essay of which we have in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipsic for January 1693. This treatise was to precede the History of the House of Brunswick. XIV. *Novissima Sinica Historiam nostri temporis illustrantia.* 1697 in 8vo. He shews in this book the advantages which might be made from the missionaries being allowed to continue in China. XV. *Lettre sur la connexion des maisons de Brunswick & d'Este.* 1698. and translated into Italian by the Abbé Guidi. Mr. Leibnitz wrote this letter on occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Modena with the eldest daughter of John Frederick Duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg. XVI. *Accessiones Historiæ, quibus utilia superiorum Temporum Historiis illustrandis Scripta monumentaque nondum hactenus edita, inque iis scriptores diu desiderati continentur.* Leipsic 1698 in 4to. XVII. *Accessionum Historicarum Tom. 2. continens præcipuum Chronicon Alberici Monachi Triumfontium.* Hanover 1698 in 4to. XVIII. *Specimen Historiæ Arcanæ, seu Anecdota de Vita Alexandri VI. Papæ.* Hanover, 1696 in 4to. This fragment, to which Mr. Leibnitz has written a preface, was extracted from an history of that Pope written by John Burchard his master of the Ceremonies. Our author had only this piece in his hands, when he published it; but he afterwards procured the intire life, and was preparing to publish it when he died. XIX. *Mantissa Codicis Juris Gentium Diplomatici.* Hanover 1700 in fol. XX. *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium illustrationi inservientes, antiqui omnes & Religionis Reformationis priores.* Hanover in fol. three volumes; the first published in 1707, the second in 1710; and the third in 1711. XXI. *Essais de Théodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme, & l'Origine du Mal.* Amsterdam 1710 in 8vo. two volumes.

Princess of Wolfenbuttel with the son of that Prince. He undertook at the same time to establish at Vienna an Academy of Sciences; but his scheme was not executed. It is said that the plague was the occasion of it. However the Emperor, as a mark of his favour, settled on him a pension of two thousand florins, and promised him another of four thousand florins, if he would come and reside at Vienna. He would have complied with this offer, if he had not been prevented by death. Upon his return to Hanover in 1714 he found that the Elector, who was then raised to the throne of Great Britain, had appointed Mr. Eckhard for his colleague in writing the History of Brunfwick. This work was interrupted by others, which he wrote occasionally. The last affair he was engaged in was

his

volumes. This work contains, 1. A long preface. 2. A Preliminary discourse concerning the agreement of Faith with Reason. 3. An essay upon the goodness of God, the free-will of Man, and the origin of Evil, divided in three parts. 4. A Latin piece entitled, *Causa Dei asserta per Justitiam ejus, cum cæteris ejus perfectionibus cunctisque Actionibus conciliatam*. 5. Some reflections upon a book of Mr. Hobbes concerning Free-will, Necessity and Chance. 6. Some remarks upon a book of Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin, *de Origine Mali*. In this work his design is to answer the objections urged by Mr. Bayle with regard to the goodness of God, the liberty of man, and the origin of evil. In the *Discourse concerning the agreement of Faith with Reason*, he has the following passage: "We want no revelation to know, that there is a sole principle of all things, infinitely good, and infinitely wise. Reason teaches us the existence of that principle by infallible demonstrations; and consequently all the objections taken from the usual course of things, wherein we observed several imperfections, are grounded only upon false appearances. For if we could understand the universal harmony of the world, we should see, that those things, which we are apt to blame, are connected with the wisest plan that could be chosen; in a word, we should see, and not believe only, that what God has done is the best. By seeing I mean here what is known *a priori* by the causes; and by believing what we judge only by the effects, though the one be as certainly known as the other. To which we may apply what St. Paul says (2 Cor. v. 7.) that we walk by Faith, and not by Sight. For the infinite Wisdom of God being known to us, we judge that he had good reasons to permit natural and moral Evil; and we judge so by the effects or *à posteriori*, that is, because it exists. Mr. Bayle owns this truth; and therefore he should have been contented with it, without pretending that there should be no false appearances against it. It is just as if one should require, that there should be no dreams, nor any deception in opticks." He then observes, that the passages of several authors, quoted by Mr. Bayle, do not prove that there are any unanswerable objections against any revealed doctrine. As for what concerns the Fathers, they did not absolutely reject the use of reason; on the contrary, in their disputes with the Heathens, they applied themselves to shew that Paganism was contrary to reason, and that Christianity had a great advantage over it even in that respect. In the *Essay upon the goodness of God, the Free-will of Man, and the Origin of Evil*, he undertakes to answer several difficulties, which concern not only revealed, but also natural Religion. God, says he, is the first reason of things; for things that are limited, (as every thing is, which we see and know by experience,) are contingent, and have nothing in them, that renders their existence necessary; it being manifest that time, space, and matter, which are uniform in themselves, might have received quite different motions and figures, and in a different order. We must therefore look for the reason of the existence of the world, which is the whole collection of contingent things, in that substance, which carries the reason of its existence along with it, and is consequently necessary and eternal. That cause must also be intelligent; for this world, which actually exists, being contingent, and an infinite number of other worlds being equally possible; the cause of the world must have considered all those possible worlds to pitch upon one; which could not be done but by an understanding, that has the ideas of all possible things. This intelligent cause must be infinite in all respects,

and absolutely perfect in power, wisdom, and goodness, since it tends to every thing that is possible. And because all things are linked together, and connected together, there can be no reason to admit more than one first Cause. Its understanding is the source of *Essences*, and its will is the origin of *Existences*. This is our author's proof of one only God, with his perfections, and of the origin of things. That supreme wisdom, attended with an infinite goodness, could not but choose the best. If the works of God were not the best, something better might have been done; which is inconsistent with his infinite wisdom. If among all possible worlds, there was not one that is the best, God would have produced none. I call world the whole system and collection of things that exist; lest it should be said, that many worlds might exist at different times and in different places. For all of them must be accounted but one world, or, if you will, one *Universe*. And supposing that all places and times are filled up, it will be true still that they might have been filled up after an infinite manner of ways, and that there is an infinity of possible worlds, whereof God must needs have chosen the best, since he does nothing without acting according to the supreme reason. If it be said, that the world might have been without sin and misery, I deny that such a world would have been the best. For all things are linked together in each possible world: the universe, whatever it may be, is all of a piece, like an ocean: the least motion produces its effect to any distance, though that effect becomes less sensible in proportion to the distance. So that God has settled every thing beforehand, once for all, having foreseen prayers, good and evil actions, &c. and every thing ideally contributed before its existence to the resolution that was taken about the existence of all things; inasmuch that no alteration can be made in the universe (no more than in a number) without destroying its Essence, or, if you will, its numerical individuality. And therefore if the least evil that happens in the world, was wanting in it, it would not be this world, which, all things duly considered, was accounted the best by the wise Creator who chose it. It is true, one may imagine some possible worlds without sin and misery; but those worlds would be in other respects very much inferior to ours in Good. I cannot make you sensible of it by entering into particulars; for can I know and represent to you infinities? Can I compare them together? But you ought to believe so, as well as I, *ab effectu*, since God has chosen this world such as it is. Besides, we know that an Evil does frequently produce a good thing, which would not have happened, had it not been for that Evil. Nay, two evils have frequently occasioned a very good thing:

Et, si fata volunt, bina venena juvant.

A little acidity, acrimony, or bitterness is sometimes more pleasant than Sugar. Colours are heightened by shadows; and a dissonance well placed renders harmony more beautiful. We desire to be frighted by Rope-dancers, who are ready to fall; and to shed tears at the representation of a tragedy. Does any one sufficiently relish the happiness of health, who has never been sick? Is it not generally necessary, that a little Evil should render a Good more sensible, and consequently greater? It will be said, that evils are very great and numerous, if compared with good things. But it is a mistake. Want of attention is the only thing, that lessens our happiness; and it is necessary, that this attention should be raised by a mixture of evil. Let us supply by reflection what is wanting in our perception, to be more sensible of our happiness. Were it not for the knowledge of a future life, I believe

his dispute with Dr. Samuel Clarke, which was put an end to by Mr. Leibnitz's death, which was occasioned by the gout and stone November the 14th 1716, he being then seventy years of age (b). He was of a moderate stature, and of a thin habit of body. He

(b) See *Acta Eruditorum*, ann. 1717, pag. 312. Fontenelle, *Histoire de Renouveaulement de l'Academie Royale des Sciences en M. DC. XCIX.* & *les Eloges Historiques de tous les Academiciens morts depuis ce Renouveaulement*, tom. 2. pag. 274, & seqq. edit. Amsterd. 1720. *Europe sçavante*, Novembre, 1718; *Nouvelles Litteraires* du 14. Aoust 1717; *Memoires de Trevoux*, Aoust 1721. and Nicron, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes illustres*, tom. 2. pag. 64, & seqq.

lieve most people would be willing at the point of death to begin a new life, upon condition, that they should enjoy as much good, and undergo as many evils, especially if they were of another kind. They could be contented with a change, without requiring a more happy condition. Whoever considers the weakness and frailty of human bodies, must needs admire the wisdom and goodness of the author of nature, who made them so lasting, and renders our lives so tolerable. It is no wonder if men are sometimes sick; but it is a wonder they are not always so. This consideration ought to raise in us a greater admiration for the mechanism of our bodies, which though frail and subject to corruption, are capable of maintaining themselves; for nature cures us rather than physic. But that very frailty is a consequence of the nature of things; unless any one should say, that this sort of creatures, which are endowed with reason, and clothed with flesh and bones, should not be in the world. But it would be an imperfection, which some ancient Philosophers would have called *Vacuum Formarum*, a *Vacuum* in the order of species. Those, who far from complaining of nature and fortune, appear well pleased with them, though their condition be none of the best, seem to me the wisest. For, not to say that such complaints are ill-grounded, it is an actual rebellion against Providence. No man ought to be very ready to join with the male-contents in the state wherein we live; and none ought to appear discontented in the city of God, since it cannot be done without great injustice. Those books, that treat of the misery of mankind, such as that of Pope Innocent III. are none of the most useful. We increase our evils by reflecting upon them, instead of considering the good things, which are far more numerous. Much less should we value a sort of books, like that of Abbé Esprit, concerning the *falsity of human Virtues*. Such a book is only proper to make us put an ill construction upon every thing, and to render men such as they are represented by that author. However it must be confessed that there are several disorders in this life, which particularly appear by the prosperity of many wicked persons; and the unhappiness of many good men. But it ought to be considered, that the wicked are frequently punished in this world, and that virtue will be for ever rewarded in another life. It will be objected, that even after this life, misery will prevail above happiness, since there are but few elect; which appears inconsistent with the goodness of the Supreme Being. In answer to this difficulty, granting that the number of those, who are to be tormented in hell, will be incomparably greater than that of the blessed, the evil will still appear like nothing, if compared with the good, considering the true extent of the works of the author of nature; and St. Augustin, for want of knowing the modern discoveries, was not a little perplexed, when he undertook to justify the prevalence of evil. It was in former times a common opinion, that the earth was the only part of the world furnished with inhabitants; nay, the antients were afraid of admitting any *Antipodes*. They believed, that the rest of the world did only consist of some shining globes and chrystalline spheres. But in our days it will be acknowledged that there is an innumerable multitude of globes, as large or larger than ours, which may be inhabited by rational creatures, though it does not follow that they are men. Our earth is only a planet, that is, one of the six principal satellites of our sun. And because all fixed stars are so many suns, it is plain, that the earth is a very inconsiderable part of the universe, since it is only an appendix of one sun. Perhaps all the suns are inhabited by happy creatures; at least we have no reason to believe that many of their inhabitants will be damned. Besides, considering that there is no reason to affirm, that there are stars every where, it may very well be,

that there is a vast space beyond the region of the stars. Whether it be the *Empyrean Heaven*, or not, that immense space, which surrounds all that region, may be filled with glory and happiness. It may be conceived like an ocean, which receives the rivers of all happy creatures, when they have attained to their perfection in the system of the stars. What will then become of the consideration of our globe and its inhabitants? Will it not be a thing incomparably less than a Physical point, since our earth is like a point, with respect to the distance of some fixed stars? And therefore the proportion of that part of the universe, which we know, being left in a kind of nothingness, if compared to what is unknown to us; and all the evils, that can be objected, being only in that kind of nothingness; it may very well be, that all evils are almost nothing in comparison with all the good things, that are in the universe. Mr. Leibnitz proceeds to enquire into the cause of evil, that it is in the ideal nature of creatures, inasmuch as nature is comprehended in the eternal truths that are in the divine understanding, independently of the will of God. It must be considered, says he, that there is an *Original Imperfection in Creatures* before sin, because the creatures are essentially limited. Hence it is that they know not every thing, and may be mistaken, and commit other faults. The *Region of Eternal Truths* in the divine understanding ought to be placed in the room of *Matter*, when the question is to know the true cause of things. That region is the *Ideal Cause* of evil, (if one may say so) as well as of good; but properly speaking, the *formal* part of evil has no *efficient* cause; it consists in a *Privation*. Though *natural Evil* or misery, and *moral Evil* or sin be not necessary, yet they are possible by virtue of those eternal truths. And because that immense *Region* of truths contains all possibilities, there must be an infinite number of possible worlds; evil must come into many of them, and even the *best* of them all must contain some. This is what determined God to permit evil. That supreme Being could not be said to act according to his wisdom and goodness and all his perfections, if he did not choose what is absolutely the best, though moral evil be involved in it by the supreme necessity of eternal truths. Mr. Leibnitz's conclusion upon this head is, that God *wills* all manner of good *antecedently*, the best *consequently* as an *End*, and natural evil as a *means*; and that he only permits moral evil, as being connected and linked with what is best. And therefore the *consequent Will* of God is only permissive with respect to sin. In the next place Mr. Leibnitz answers the objections grounded upon the *Physical Concurrence* of God with the creatures, and those that concern the liberty of man. He places that liberty in spontaneity and choice, and not in an indetermination or *Indifference of Equilibrium*. Such an *Equilibrium*, says he, is impossible, and absolutely contrary to experience. Whoever examines himself, will find that there is some cause or reason that determines the will, though we are not always sensible of it, no more than we are sensible when we go out of a door, why we set the right foot before the left, or the left before the right. There is always a prevailing reason, that inclines the will, without necessitating it. The will is never moved but by the representation of a good, which prevails above the contrary representation. Every body owns it with respect to God, good Angels, and the blessed Souls, without pretending that they are not free. God does not fail to choose what is best, but he is not forced to it; and there is no necessity in the object of his choice, for another series of things is equally possible. His choice is free and independent upon necessity, because he chooses the best world among many that are possible, and his will is only determined by the prevailing goodness of the object. And therefore it is not an imperfection in God, nor in the Angels and blessed Souls. On the contrary, it would be a great imperfection, or rather a manifest absurdity, if it were otherwise,

He was short-sighted. In order to fix what he thought proper in his memory, he wrote it down, and never read it over again. His memory was so strong, that even in his old age he could repeat Virgil exactly. He was naturally of a very warm temper, which he generally took care to restrain in a proper manner. He was very sensible of the honour of being considered as one of the greatest men of Europe. He was solicitous to procure the

otherwise, even in men, and if they could act without any reason inclining them to it. No instance can be given of such a liberty, and when any body resolves upon a thing out of humour, to shew that he is a free agent, the pleasure or the advantage, which he thinks to reap from that affectation, is one of the reasons that move him to it. Every thing is certain and determinate beforehand in man, as every where else; and an human soul is a kind of *Spiritual Automaton*; though contingent actions in general, and free actions in particular, are not necessary of an absolute necessity, which would be inconsistent with contingency. XXII. *De Origine Francorum Disquisitio*. Hanover 1715 in 8vo. In this work Mr. Leibnitz asserts that the Franks or French came from Pomerania and the banks of the river Oder. He was attacked in Germany by Mr. Grundlingis, Professor of the University of Hall, and in France by Father Tournemine, the Jesuit. XXIII. *L'Anti-Jacobite*. 1715. In this book he answers some pieces, which had attacked the Lutheran Religion, with a design to inspire the English with an aversion to their new King. XXIV. *Réponse du Baron de la Hontan à la Lettre d'un particulier, opposée au Manifeste de S. M. le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, comme Electeur d'Hanovre, contra la Saxe*. XXV. *Collectanea Etymologica illustrationi Linguarum veteris Celticae, Germanicae, Gallicae, aliarumque inferviencia, cum Praefatione Jo. Georgii Ecardi*. Hanover 1717 in 8vo. XXVI. *A Collection of Papers, which passed between the late learned Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke, relating to the Principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion*. London 1717 in 8vo. Translated into High Dutch, and printed at Francfort 1720 in 8vo. XXVII. *Otium Hannoveranum, sive Miscellanea ex Ore & scribedis G. G. Leibnitzii quaedam notata & descripta, cum ipsi in colligendis & excerptis Rebus ad Historiam Brunsvicensis pertinentibus operam navaret Joachim Fredericus Fellerus*. Leipzig 1718 in 8vo. XXVIII. *Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathématiques, &c. par M. de Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres Auteurs celebres*. Amsterdam 1720 in 8vo. three volumes. Two disputes, which Mr. Leibnitz had with the learned men of England, are the principal subject of this collection. One of these disputes is merely historical, and turns upon a question of fact, whether himself or Sir Isaac Newton was the true or at least the first inventor of Fluxions. The other dispute is concerning the Newtonian Philosophy, attacked by Mr. Leibnitz, and defended by Dr. Samuel Clarke. Mr. Des Maizeaux, the editor of this collection, has prefixed to it a long and curious preface containing a particular account of those disputes. In the *Journal des Savans* Mr. Leibnitz has the following pieces. 1. *Extrait d'une Lettre touchant le Principe des Horloges portatives de son Invention*. Printed in the *Journal* of March the 25th 1675. 2. *Lettre écrite d'Hanovre le 18 Juin 1677 contenant la Relation & la Figure d'un Chevreuil coëffé d'une maniere fort extraordinaire*. In the *Journal* of July the 5th 1677. 3. *Observation nouvelle de la maniere d'esirayer si un nombre est primitif*. In the *Journal* of February the 28th 1678. 4. *Lettre touchant la quadrature d'un portion de la Roulette*. In the *Journal* of May the 23d 1678. 5. *Lettre sur la question, si l'Essence du Corps consiste dans l'Etendue*. In the *Journal* of June 18th 1691, and January 5th 1693. 6. *De la Chainette, ou Solution d'un Probleme fameux, proposé par Galilée, pour servir d'Essai d'une nouvelle Analyse des infinis avec son Usage pour les Logarithmes, & une Application à l'avancement de la Navigation*. In the *Journal* of March 31 1692. 7. *Lettre sur quelques Axiomes de Philosophie*. In the *Journal* of June 2, 1692. 8. *Nouvelles Remarques touchant l'Analyse des transcendentes differentes de celles de la Geometrie de M. Des Cartes*. In the *Journal* of July 14th, 1692. 9. *Conjectures sur l'Origine du mot Blason*. In the *Journal* of July 28 1692. 10. *Lettre à M. l'Abbé Nicaise sur la Philosophie de M. Des Cartes*. In the *Journal* of April 13, 1692. 11. *Lettre à M. Fou-*

cher, Chanoins de Dijon. In the *Journal* of August 3. 1693. 12. *Regle generale de la Composition des Mouvements*. In the *Journal* of September 7. 1693. 13. *Deux Problemes construits par M. de Leibnitz, en employant sa Règle generale de la Composition des Mouvements*. In the *Journal* of September 14. 1693. 14. *Lettre sur une Maniere de perfectionner la Medecine*. In the *Journal* of July 26. 1694. 15. *Considerations sur la Difference qu'il y a entre Analyse ordinaire, & le nouveau Calcul des transcendentes*. In the *Journal* of August 23. 1694. 16. *Système nouveau de la nature & communication des substances, aussi bien que la union qu'il y a entre l'ame & le Corps*. In the *Journal* of June 27. and July 4. 1695. 17. *Eclaircissement du nouveau Systeme de la communication des substances, pour servir de Réponse à ce qui en a été dit dans le Journal des Savans du 12 Septembre 1695*. In the *Journal* of the 2d and 9th of April 1696. 18. *Lettre sur la connexion des maisons de Brunswick & d'Este*. In the *Journal* of March 12. 1696. 19. *Lettre de M. de Leibnitz sur son Hypothese de Philosophie & sur le Probleme curieux, qu'un de ses amis propose aux Mathematiciens, avec une Remarque sur quelques points contestez entre l'Auteur de principes de Physique, & celui des Objections contre ces Principes*. In the *Journal* of November 19 1696. 20. *Lettre à M. l'Abbé Nicaise sur la Philosophie de Des Cartes, avec des Reflexions*. In the *Journal* of June 17, 1697. 21. *Réponse aux Réflexions precedentes touchant les consequences de quelques Endroits de la Philosophie de Des Cartes*. In the *Journal* of August 19 and 26 1697. 22. *Lettre à M. de Varignon, contenant l'Explication de ce qu'un a rapporté de lui sur le Calcul differentiel dans les Memoires de Trevoux Novembre 1701*. In the *Journal* of March 20. 1702. 23. *Remarque sur un Endroit des Elemens d'Algebre de M. Ozanam*. In the *Journal* of June 11 1703. 24. *Réponse aux objections que le P. Lamy, Benedictin, a faites contre le Systeme de l'Harmonie préétablie*. In the supplement to the *Journal* of June 1709. In the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipzig he has the following pieces. 1. *De verâ proportione Circuli ad Quadratum circumscriptum in numeris rationalibus*. Ann. 1682. p. 41. 2. *Unicum Opticæ, Catoptricæ, & Dioptricæ Principium*. Ann. 1682. p. 185. 3. *Meditatio de separatione Salis & Aquæ dulcis, novoque separationum Chymicarum genere*. Ibid. p. 386. 4. *Meditatio Juridico-Mathematica de Interferu simplicium*. Ann. 1683. p. 425. 5. *De dimensionibus figurarum invenientis*. Ann. 1684. p. 233 and 585. 6. *Demonstrationes novæ de resistentiâ solidorum*. Ann. 1684. p. 319. 7. *Nova Methodus pro Maximis & Minimis, itemque Tangentibus quæ nec fractas nec irrationales quantitates moratur, & singulare pro illis Calculi genus*. Ibid. p. 467. 8. *Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis*. Ibid. p. 537. 9. *Demonstratio Geometrica regulæ apud Staticos receptæ de momentis gravium in planis inclinatis, nuper in dubium vocatæ, & solutio casus elegantis de Globo duobus planis angulum rectum facientibus simul incumbente, quantum unumquodque planorum prematur determinans*. Ann. 1685. p. 501. 10. *Brevis Demonstratio Erroris memorabilis Cartesii & aliorum circa Legem Naturæ, secundam quam volunt à Deo eandem semper Quantitatem motûs conservari, qua & in re mechanicâ abutuntur*. Ann. 1685. p. 161. 11. *Meditatio nova de naturâ Anguli contactûs & osculi, horumque usu in practicâ Mathesi, ad figuras faciliores succedaneas difficilioribus substituedas*. Ann. 1686. p. 289. 12. *De Geometriâ reconditâ, & Analsi indivisibilium atque infinitorum*. Ibid. p. 292. 13. *De Lineis Opticis & alia*. Ann. 1689. p. 36. 14. *Schediasma de resistentiâ Medii, & motu projectorum gravium in medio resistentie*. Ann. 1689. p. 88, and Ann. 1690. p. 177. 15. *Tentamen de Motuum Cælestium Causis*. Ann. 1689. p. 82. 16. *De Lineâ Isochronâ in quâ grave sine acceleratione descendit, & de Controversiâ cum Dn. Abbate D. C. [de Caselan]. Ibid. p. 195. 17. De causâ Gravitatis, & Defensio sententiæ suæ de veris naturæ Legibus contra Cartesianos*. Ann. 1690. p. 228. 18. *Ad ea, quæ J. Bernoullius*

the favour of Princés, which he made use of for the advantage of learning as well as of himself. He was polite and obliging in conversation, and had an aversion to disputes. He was supposed to love money; and it is said, that though he left at his death sixty thousand crowns, he had put out between fifteen and twenty thousand crowns to interest; the rest was found in his chamber in corn-sacks. He professed the Lutheran Religion, but

- noullius de forte Alearum publicavit, responso. Ibid. p. 358. 19. Quadratura Arithmeticae communis sectionum Conicarum, quae Centrum habent, indeque ducta Trigonometria Canonica ad quantamcumque in numeris exactitudinem à Tabularum necessitate liberata, cum casu speciali ad lineam Rhomborum nauticam aptatumque illi Planisphaerium. Ibid. p. 178. 20. De Linea in quam flexile se pondere proprio curvet, ejusque usu insigni ad inveniendas quotcumque medias proportionales & Logarithmos. Ibid. p. 277. 21. De solutionibus Problematis Catarinarii vel funicularis à Dn. J. Bernoulli propositis. Ibid. p. 435. 22. De Legibus naturae & verâ estimatione virium motricium contra Cartesianos Responso ad Rationes à Dn. Papin propositas. Ibid. p. 439. 23. Additiuncula ad considerationes Ferdinandi Helfrici Liebscheid. Ibid. p. 500. 24. De Linea ex Lineis nympero infinitis ordinatim ductis inter se concurrentibus formata, easque omnes tangente, ac de novo in eâ re Analysis infinitorum usu. Ann. 1692. p. 168. 25. Solutio Problematis Florentini, seu Constructio Testudinis Quadrabilis Hemisphaericae. Ibid. p. 275. and Ann. 1693. p. 42. 26. Generalia de naturâ linearum Anguloque Contactus & Osculi, provolutionibus aliisque cognatis & eorum usibus nonnullis. Ann. 1692. p. 440. 27. Protogaea, Ann. 1693. p. 40. 28. Supplementum Geometriae practicae sese ad Problemata transcendentia extendens, opo novae Methodi generalissima per series infinitas. Ibid. p. 178. 29. De Problemate Bernoulliano. Ibid. p. 313. 30. Supplementum Geometriae dimensoriae, seu generalissima omnium Tetragonismorum effecto per motum; similiterque multiplex constructio Lineae ex datâ Tangentium conditione. Ibid. p. 385, 477. 527. 31. De prima Philosophiae emendatione, & de motione substantiae. Ann. 1694. p. 110. 32. Nova Calculi differentialis applicatio & usus, ad multiplicem Linearum constructionem, ex datâ tangentium conditione, Ibid. p. 311. 33. Constructio propria Problematis de curvâ Isochronâ paracentricâ. Ibid. p. 364. 34. Specimen Dynamicum pro admirandis naturae Legibus, circa Corporum vires & mutuas actiones detegendis, & ad suas causas revocandis. Ann. 1695. p. 145. 35. Notatiuncula ad constructiones Lineae, in quâ sacoma equilibrium cum pondere moto faciens incidere debet, datas à Marchione Hospitalio, & quaedam de quadraturis. Ibid. p. 184. 36. Responso ad nonnullas difficultates à Dn. Bernardo Nieuwentiit circa Methodum differentialem seu Infinitesimalem motus. Ibid. p. 310 and 369. 37. De novo usu centri Gravitatis ad dimensiones & speciatim pro arcibus inter curvas parallelas descriptas seu reÂngulis curvilineis, ubi & de parallelis in unumversum. Ibid. p. 493. 38. Relatio ad inclitam Societatem Leopoldinam naturae curiosorum de novo Antidysenterico Americano magnis successibus comprobato. Ibid. pag. 559. 39. Notatiuncula ad scriptum Jacobi Bernoulli. Ann. 1696. p. 145. 40. Communicatio suâ pariter duarumque alienarum ad edendum sibi primum a Dn. Jo. Bernoullio, deinde à Dn. Marchione Hospitalio communicatarum solutionem Problematis curvâe celerissimi Decensus à Dn. Joanne Bernoullio Geometris publicè propositis, una cum solutione suâ Problematis alterius ab eodem postea propositi. Ann. 1697. p. 201. 41. Epistola ad Aetorum Lipsensium Collectores. Ibid. p. 254. 42. De ipsa natura, sive de vi infinitâ actionibusque Creaturarum, pro Dynamicis suis confirmandis illustrandisque. An. 1698. p. 427. 43. Responso ad Dn. Nicolai Fatii Duellerii Imputationes. Accessit novae Artis Analyticae promotio specimine indicata, cum designatione per numeros assumptiis loco literarum Algebra ex combinatoriâ arte lucem capit. Ann. 1700. p. 198. 44. Specimen novum Analytico pro scientia infiniti circa summas & quadraturas. Ann. 1702. p. 210. & Ann. 1703. p. 19. 45. De Linea super Linea incessu, ejusque tribus speciebus, motu radente, motu provolutionis, & compositio ex ambobus. Ann. 1706. p. 10. 46. Epistola pro suâ Hypothese Physicâ motus Planetarii, Ann. 1706. p. 446. 47. Epistola de Hicchesii Thesauro Linguarum septentrionalium. Supplem. IV. p. 236. 48. Epistola ad Christianum Wolfium circa scientiam infiniti. Supplem. V. p. 264. 49. Observatio, quod Rationes sive Proportiones non habent Locum circa quantitates nibilo minores, & verò sensu methodi Infinitesimalis. Ann. 1712. p. 167. 50. Problema posthumum Augustini Thomae à S. Joseph solutioni commissum. Ann. 1717. p. 353. 51. Principia Philosophiae. Supp. VII. p. 500. In the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, he has the following pieces. 1. Demonstration courte d'une erreur considerable de M. Des Cartes & de quelques autres, touchant une Loy de la Nature, selon laquelle ils soutiennent que Dieu conserve toujours dans la matiere la même quantité de mouvement; de quoi ils abusent même dans la Méchanique, September 1686. p. 996. This demonstration, which is here followed by an answer, is translated from the Latin original printed in the Acta Eruditorum of Leipzig, Ann. 1686. p. 161. 2. Remarque sur l'Article V. des Nouvelles de la République des Lettres du mois de Février 1706. où il y a des Erreurs de fait qui le regardent. November 1706. p. 521. In the Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans he has the following pieces: 1. Remarques sur l'harmonie de l'Âme & du Corps. February 1696. p. 274. 2. Eclaircissement des Difficultez que M. Bayle a trouvées dans le système nouveau de l'union de l'ame & du Corps. July 1698. p. 329. Mr. Bayle answered him in the second Edition of his Dictionary in the article Rorarius. 3. Considerations sur les principes de vie & sur les natures Plastiques. May 1705. p. 222. In the Mémoires de Trevoux, he has the following pieces. 1. Lettre sur divers points de Littérature. January 1701: p. 177. 2. Lettre sur ce qu'il y a dans les Mémoires de Janvier & Février 1701 touchant la Generation de la Glace, & touchant la Demonstration Cartesienne de l'Existence de Dieu, par le P. Lamy, Benedictin. September 1701. p. 200. 3. Mémoire touchant son sentiment sur le calcul différentiel. November 1701. p. 270. 4. Lettre sur quelques Faits, qui le regardent, mal expliqués dans l'Eloge de M. Bernoulli prononcé à l'Académie des Sciences, March 1707. p. 540. 5. Remarques sur un endroit des Mémoires de Trevoux. March 1708. p. 488. 6. Trois Lettres à M. Hartsoeker sur la Dureté des Corps. 1712. March. p. 294. & April. p. 676. 7. Remarques sur la sixieme Lettre Philosophique imprimée à Trevoux en 1703. July 1712. p. 1235. 8. Lettre au P. Tournemine sur quelques points de Littérature. January 1715. p. 155. 9. Remarques sur les Horloges. March 1718. p. 531. In the Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres by M. Maïson he has the following pieces. 1. Lettre à M. Des Mailleux sur son Système de l'Harmonie préétablie. Tom. II. p. 72. 2. Réponse aux Reflexions contenues dans la seconde édition du Dictionnaire Critique de M. Bayle, Article Rorarius, sur le Système de la Harmonie préétablie. Ibid. p. 78. 3. Eloge Critique des Oeuvres de my Lord Shaftsbury. Tome X. p. 306. In the Europe sçavante he has the following piece. Principes de la Nature & de la Grace fondés en raison. Tom. VI. p. 101. In the Nouvelles Littéraires de la Haye, Tom. II. p. 289. he has a piece entitled, Remarques sur le premier Tome de ces Nouvelles. In the Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences he has a piece entitled, Explication de l'Arithmétique Binaire qui se sert des seuls caracteres O & I. avec des remarques sur son utilité, & sur ce qu'elle donne sens des anciennes Figures Chinoises de Fobry. Ann. 1703. In the Recueil de Littérature, de Philosophie, & d'Histoire, printed at Amsterdam 1730. in 12mo. he has these two pieces: 1. Lettre à l'Académie des Sciences du 26. Février 1700. sur la Correction du Calendrier Gregorien. p. 147. 2. Lettre sur les Phenomenes du Barometre, p. 152. In the Monumenta varia inedita of Joachim Frederic Fellerus he has the following pieces: 1. Lettre sur le Peché Originel. p. 1. 2. Brevis Disquisitio, utros incolarum Germaniae ceterioris aut Scandiae ex alterius initio profectos verisimilius sit judicandum. p. 132. 3. Epitre in vers à Madame de Scudery à la Louange du Roy Louis XIV. p. 63. 4. Trois Lettres sur différentes Matieres. p. 253, 254, 380. 5. Reflexions sur l'Esprit sectaire. p. 519. 6. Observa-

but never went to Sermons; and when he was upon his death-bed, his coachman, who was his favourite servant, desiring him to send for a Minister, he refused, saying, he had no occasion for one (c). He was never married. He had some thoughts of entering into that state when he was fifty years old; but the person whom he designed to marry desiring some time to consider of it, Mr. Leibnitz had an opportunity to do the same, and concluded, that *marriage was very good, but that a man of sense ought to consider of it all his life* (d). He had in his youth a natural son, who afterwards lived with him, and served him in a great many points, and had a considerable share in his confidence. He went by the name of *William Dinniger*, and extremely resembled Mr. Leibnitz. This particular we are informed of by the author of the *Recueil de Litterature* (e), who likewise asserts, that Mr. Leibnitz refused the place of Keeper of the Vatican Library offered him by Cardinal Casanata, while he was at Rome. Mr. Lœfserus, son of his sister by the mother's side, was his sole heir, whose wife died suddenly with joy at the sight of so much money left them by their uncle (f). Dr. Christopher Matthew Pfaffius affirms (g), that our author was of Mr. Bayle's opinion, though he seemed to attack it in this *Theodicée*; and that he confessed to him in a letter, that his own scheme would rather support than destroy Mr. Bayle. Mr. Le Clerc observes (b) that he had formed the same judgment of Mr. Leibnitz with Dr. Pfaff. But Father Tournemine the Jesuit assures us, that Dr. Pfaff and Mr. Le Clerc were mistaken, and that Mr. Leibnitz had written to him, that the *Theodicée* contained his real sentiments (i). Mr. William Molyneux in a letter to Mr. Locke dated at Dublin March the 16th 1697 speaking of our author's Reflections on Mr. Locke's *Essay on human Understanding*, writes thus: "He is certainly an extraordinary person, especially in Mathematics; but really, to speak freely of him, in relation to what he may have to say to you, I do not expect any great matters from him; for methinks (with all deference to his great name) he has given the world no extraordinary samples of his thoughts that way, as appears by two Discourses he has printed, both in the *Acta Erudit. Lipsiæ*, the first Anno 1694, pag. 110. *de primæ Philosophiæ Emendatione, &c.* the other Anno 1695, pag. 145. *Specimen Dynamicum*, which truly to me is, in many places, unintelligible." Mr. Locke in his answer to Mr. Molyneux, dated at Oates April the 10th 1697, writes thus: "To answer your great freedom with the like, I must confess to you, that Mr. L——'s great name had raised in me an expectation, which the sight of his paper did not answer; nor that discourse of his in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which he quotes, and I have since read, and had just the same thoughts of it, when I read it, as I found you have. From whence I only draw this inference, that even great parts will not master any subject without great thinking, and even the largest minds have but narrow swallows." And in another letter dated at Oates May the 3d 1697 Mr. Locke, having quoted a passage from a letter written to him from Holland concerning Mr. Leibnitz, proceeds thus: *I see you and I and this Gentleman agree pretty well concerning the man; and this sort of siddling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great man as has been talked of him.*

(c) Nicéron, ubi supra, pag. 75, 76.

(d) Idem, ibid. pag. 76, 77.

(e) Printed at Amsterdam in 1730.

(f) Nicéron, pag. 77.

(g) *Dissertationes Anti-Bælianae, in quibus Petrus Bælius, Philosophus Rotodamensis, qui in Dictionario Historico & Critico, eo titulo, quo Pyrrhonem agit sentit Abbatis Sceptici Læwæ, dogmata Christiana de SS. Trinitate, &c. adertus fuerat refellitur, & confutatur.* Dissert. 3. pag. 9. edit. Tubing. 1720 in 4to.

(b) *Bibliothèque Ancienne & Moderne*, tom. 15. pag. 179.

(i) Nicéron, tom. 10. Part. 1. pag. 77, 78.

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siones variæ de Linguis & Origine vocabulorum, necnon de continendo Dictionario & perpoliendâ Linguâ Germanicâ. p. 594. 7. *Observatio de superstitionibus quibusdam Sclavorum.* p. 693. 8. *Observatio de variis Ludis.* p. 642. 9. *Excerpta ex Litteris Leibnitii.* p. 111. In the *Mémoires de Litterature* of father Desmolets, Tome VIII. p. 211. we have a piece of our author entitled, *Lettres à M. Arnaud, où il lui expose ses sentimens particuliers sur la Métaphysique & sur la Physique.* His *Reponse aux objections du P. Tournemine contre la Dissertation de M. Leibnitz sur l'Origine des Francois* is published with his *Dissertation de Origine Francorum* at the end of a work of John George Ecard, entitled, *Leges Francorum & Ripuariorum, cum additionibus Regum & Imperatorum variis*, Francfort 1720 in fol. The additions to the dissertation of Mr. Leibnitz are by the Editor. Mr. Leibnitz had translated that work into French, and sent a MS. copy to Monsieur Remond to be presented to the Marquis de Torci, and even to King Lewis XIV. if that minister should think proper. This translation is printed in Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Recueil des Pièces de Messieurs de Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, &c.* printed at Amsterdam 1700 two Tomes in 8vo. The *Reponse aux objections du P. Tournemine* abovementioned is published likewise in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. VII. p. 13. He wrote also the *History of Balaam*, in which he endeavours to prove, that what is related of that Prophet did not happen really, but in a dream. Michael Gottlieb Hanschius has collected with care every thing, that Mr. Leibnitz had said in different passages of his works upon the principles of Philo-

phy, and formed a complete System, under the title of, *G. G. Leibnitii Principia Philosophiæ more Geometrico demonstrata cum excerptis & epistolis Philosophicis & scholasticis quibusdam ex Historiâ Philosophicâ.* Francfort. 1728 in 4to. At the end of Mr. Toland's *Posthumous works* printed at London in 1726, we find a piece of Mr. Leibnitz, entitled, *Annotatiuncula subitaneæ ad Librum de Christianismo mysteriis carente, conscriptæ 8. Augusti 1701.* He wrote likewise in French reflexions upon Mr. Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, printed in the *Familiar Letters of between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends*, and in the third volume of Mr. Des Maizeaux's *Recueil de diverses Pièces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, &c.* In 1734, and 1735, there was published a collection of his Letters by Mr. Christian Kortholt at Leipzig in two volumes in 8vo. under the following title; *Vir illustris Godefridi Guil. Leibnitii Epistolæ ad diversos, Theologici, Juridici medici, Philosophici, Mathematici, Historici, & Philologica argumenti. E. MSS. Auctoris, cum Annotationibus suis primum divulgavit Christian. Kortholtus, A. M. Ordinis Philosophici in Academia Lipsiensis Affector, & Collegii minoris Principum Collegiatus.* The Editor promises another volume at least, for he has in his hands a great many original Letters of Leibnitz, which he had obtained lately. Mr. John Bernoulli has promised to furnish him with some, which treat of very important subjects; and Mr. Nettelblatt, Professor of civil Law at Gryphswald, has engaged to recover those, which lie concealed in Sweden. He has hopes likewise of receiving others from divers parts of Germany, and also from England. T.

LELAND (JOHN) an Englishman, born in London, applied himself so assiduously to the search of English Antiquities, and was judged so well qualified to succeed in them, that Henry VIII honoured him with a very considerable pension and the title of Antiquary, an employment which began and ended in him. That he might well discharge the duties of it, he visited all the counties in England, examined all the remains of ancient monuments; perused the manuscripts of convents and colleges, and having spent six years in his perambulation, and collected all the materials he could possibly meet with, he undertook several considerable works [A]; but he had not time to finish, nor even to get them in any forwardness. The Court did not pay him his salary; and whether it were on this account, or for some other reasons, he fell into so deep a melancholy as deprived him of his senses [B], in which sad condition he died. His manuscripts are in the Bodleian Library. They consist of a huge heap of undigested materials [C], which at the same time shew the greatness of his capacity. This appears still more evidently, by a work which he completed [D], and which deserves to be printed (a). Camden was accused of having made a great use of Leland's manuscripts (b); a circumstance which was refuted by Dr. Smith.

(a) Extracted from Camden's Life, written by Dr. Thomas Smith, pag. 28, & seq.

(b) Ibid.

I must not omit that he studied at Paris under Sylvius; that he began in 1534 his perambulations in search after English Antiquities; that he abjured the Church of Rome some time before his death; and that he died the 18th of April 1552 (c).

(c) See Sir Thomas Pope Blount's Conf. Aurb. pag. 442.

[A] He undertook several considerable works. One book of the Topography of ancient Britain: de Topographia Britannia primæ, in quo vetustas etiam locorum quorum meminissent Scriptores Romani, appellationes spissa caligine obfusas in lucem a se revocaturus. Fifty books on the antiquities of Britain; de Antiquitate Britannica, sive de civilis Historia juxta comitatuum Angliæ & Walliæ, quæ tunc temporis obtinuerat, partitionem. Six books on the Islands lying about Britain; de Insulis Britannia adjacentibus. Three books on the British Nobility, de Nobilitate Britannica. This is what he promised in a petition he presented to Henry VIII, in the 37th year of his reign. This petition, entitled *Strena*, or new year's gift was published by Bale (1).

(1) Taken from Camden's Life, written by Dr. Thomas Smith, pag. 29.

[B] He fell into so deep a melancholy as deprived him of his senses. I will employ the nervous expressions of Dr. Smith. *Probris et rebus humanarum vitas! probris optimi deplorandam infelicissimamque sortem! Non enim multo postquam fidem quod susceperat præstandi quasi signatis tabulis obstrinxisset, sive apertis promissi difficultatibus deterritus, sive immensis laboribus fatigatus fractusque, sive dolore nimio & melancholiâ, quod fructum industriæ juxtaque expectationi parem nondum percepisset, forte oppressus, sive quacunque aliâ de causâ, abalienate mentis, nullis è Religione & Philosophiâ, nullis è Medicinâ patitis remediis ad pristinum sanumque statum revocandæ, ægritudinem perpessus est, vastâ interim observationum, quas in *Adversaria* suis ordine & præparato calamo, prout ipsi occurrissent, congesterat, male relicta (2).* i. e. "Oh deplorable vicissitude of human things! sad and most unhappy fate of a most excellent man! for, not long after he had engaged, under his hand writing as it were, to perform what he had undertaken, whether he was deterred by the difficulties of the promised work; or tired and broke with the immensity of his toils; or perhaps oppressed with excess of sorrow and melancholy, because he had not been recompensed in a manner any ways equal to his pains, and just expectation, or from what other cause, he ran melancholy mad; and could not be restored to his senses by any remedies borrowed from Religion, Philosophy or Physick, leaving behind him a prodigious heap of remarks, which he had thrown together in his *Adversaria* or notes, in a hasty, undigested manner, just as they came in his way."

(2) Tho. Smith, ibid.

[C] His Manuscripts . . . consist of a huge heap of indigested materials. This the reader may have known by the close of the passage just cited; here follows the sequel of it, which describes this much more particularly. *Harum (Observationum) quatuor libros, ut loquuntur in folio, & septem minoris formæ, manu Lelandi plerâque ex parte descriptos, in perpetuam ipsius memoriam Bibliothecæ Bodl. Oxon. dono dedit V. Cl. Gulielmus Burtonus, famæ, ob editam Agri Leicestrensis descriptionem, apud Antiquarios nostras notissimæ. Repertur quoque aliud volumen Collectionum Lelandi (*) in*

(*) Sub. Julio, C. 6.

Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ. Non irritabo Lelandi manes, si dixerò, totum opus, quod sæpè tractavi, mirè confusum, distractum, nulloque ordine digestum, limam ubique desiderari, & tanquam corpus exsuccum, exsanguè, animâque destitutum proflare (3). i. e. "The most learned William Burton, exceedingly well known to our Antiquaries, by the description he published of Leicestershire, to perpetuate the memory of Leland, gave to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, four folio volumes of remarks, and seven volumes in a smaller size, the greatest part of these eleven volumes being wrote in Leland's own hand. Another volume of Leland's collections is also found in the Cotton Library. I shall not offend Leland's manes, if I say that his whole work, which I have frequently perused, is greatly confused, and incoherent, and not digested into any order; that every part of it wants polishing; and is a kind of bloodless body, uninformed with a Soul." Here follows the judgment which Dr. Smith forms of Leland's vast design. *Vir miris vauis & omni procul ostentatione proficitur, se multa & magna . . . quæ infinitam illius industriam, solertiamque, & excelsæ mentis, ad maxima quæque aspirantis, præclarissimas cogitationes conatusque abunde restantur, moliri (4).* i. e. "This author, who was no ways vain, and abhorrent of all ostentation, declares that he had various and mighty undertakings in hand . . . which abundantly prove his prodigious industry, and application; and the excellent thoughts and efforts of his exalted mind, all aspiring to the noblest things."

(3) Thomas Smith, in Vita Camdeni, pag. 30.

(4) Idem, ibid. pag. 29.

[D] A work which he completed. Dr. Smith informs us of the substance of it, and its merit. *Quantus verò fuerit Lelandus, se non ex editis opusculis Collectionis, saltem ex eximio opere (quod perfectum reliquit) de Scriptoribus illustribus Britannicis, quod in publicam lucem exeat, dignissimo, colligere licet (5).* i. e. "How great an author Leland was, may be gathered, if not from his Notes or Collections which he published, at least from that excellent work, which he had completed before his death, concerning the eminent English authors; a book highly worthy of being published." And as a specimen of this work, he gives us Leland's collections with respect to Simon Stoch. Dr. Smith transcribed this Article, in order to send it to Papebroch the Jesuit, compiler of the *Acta Sanctorum*. We meet with the titles of some of Leland's printed works in the Bodleian Catalogue. Teiffier (6) should have informed the publick, that this work de illustribus Britannicis Scriptoribus; de Academicis Britannicis, de Typographia, &c. which he ascribes to John Leland, have not been printed. I fancy he has wrote *Typographia* instead of *Topographia*; which will give occasion to Leland's being ranked among the authors who have written on Printing.

(5) Idem, ibid. pag. 31.

(6) In Bibliotheca Bibliotecar. pag. 187.

LELAND or LEYLAND (JOHN). We shall add some particulars to Mr. Bayle's article of this learned writer [A]. He was born in London (a); but in what parish or year, appears not (b). In his younger years being deprived of his relations, he was taken into the protection of Mr. Thomas Myles, a great favourer of learning, who not only exhibited to his wants, but likewise took care to have him instructed in grammar under the famous William Lily, master of St. Paul's School at London (c); from whence he was sent to Christ's College in the University of Cambridge (d). He afterwards removed to Oxford, and spent several years in All-Souls College there (e). He went to Paris, where he made a great progress in learning under Budæus, Faber, Paulus Æmilius, Ruellus, and Francis Sylvius (f). Upon his return to England he entered into holy Orders, and became Chaplain and Antiquary to King Henry VIII (g), and Rector of Poppeling in the Marches of Calais. He was afterwards appointed Library-Keeper to his Majesty; and in 1533 had a Commission from him under the Broad Seal, whereby he was empowered to search after English Antiquities, and view the Libraries of all Cathedrals, Abbies, Priories, Colleges, &c. as also all places, wherein records, writings, and secrets of Antiquity were repositied. For this purpose having obtained in 1536 a dispensation for non-residence upon his Living of Poppeling, he spent above six years in travelling

(a) Balens, *Script. illustr. Britann. Cent. 8.* fol. 671.

(b) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. pag. 178.

(c) Idem, *ibid.*

(d) Leland, *de Scriptor. Britannicis*, cap. 57.

(e) Guil. Burtoni *Corollarium Vitæ Johanni Lelandi*, prefixed to the first volume of *Leland's Collectanea*.

(f) *Vita Joanni Lelandi*, prefixed to Anthony Hall's edition of *Leland. de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, edit. Oxon. 1709.

(g) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 83.

[A] *Learned writer.*—His writings are as follow.

I. *Næniæ in mortem Thomæ Viati Equitis incomparabilis.* London 1542. It is a Latin poem of one sheet and an half in 4to. II. *Genethliacon illustrissimi Eadwardi Principis Cambriæ, Ducis Cornitiæ, & Comitum Palatini, &c.* Printed in 1543. It is a Latin Poem in four sheets in 4to. III. *Syllabus & interpretatio antiquarum Dictionum, quæ passim per Libellum [prædictum] leetori occurrunt.* Printed with the preceding piece. IV. *Affertio inlyctissimi Arturii Regis Britannicæ.* London 1544 in 4to. There is an English translation of this book, printed under this title: *Ancient Order, Society and Untie laudable of Prince Arthur and his Knightly Armory of the Round Table; with a threefold Assertion &c. Englished from Leland by R. Robinson, 1583.* V. *Elenchus antiquorum Nominum.* Printed with the *Affertio* abovementioned. VI. *Cygnæ Cantio.* London 1545. It is a Latin poem in about five sheets in 4to. It was reprinted at London 1658 in 8vo. VII. *Commentarii in Cygnæam cantionem indices Britannicæ antiquitatis locupletissimi.* Printed with the two editions of *Cygnæ Cantio.* VIII. *Laudatio Pacis.* London 1546. A Latin poem in two sheets in 4to. IX. *A New Year's Gift to King Henry VIII.* (37th year of his reign) concerning his laborious journey and search for England's Antiquities. London 1549 in 8vo. It was published with notes upon it by John Bale, who has added of his own, *A Register of the Names of English Writers, whom the second part of his work de Scriptoribus Britannicæ, shall comprehend.* X. *Principum ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Angliâ Virorum Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, & Epithalamia, &c.* London 1549 in 4to. Published by Thomas Newton of Cheshire. XI. *Collectanea*, Collections from various authors, viz. from Chronologies, ancient Charters, Leiger-books, Histories, Annals, publick and private Writings &c. written with Leland's own Hand, mostly in Latin, in folio. Mr. Wood tells us (1), "that

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 83.

(2) *Præfatio in Lelandi Collectanea*, Sect. 2. pag. 45.

"there are in this book many needless additions and illustrations put in by William Burton of Lindley, who hath written some part of the life of Leland before, and has made a useful Index to it." But Mr. Thomas Hearne (2) observes, that Mr. Wood's censure on Mr. Burton's additions is unjust, since they are taken from the best authors and monuments, and supply, correct, and illustrate Leland. "But this censure, says he, is not to be wondered at in Mr. Wood, who in other places passes rash judgments upon the writings of others." *Quin & Burtono non tantum Vita Lelandi, e Baleo (antiquitatum Britannicarum diligentissimo perscrutatore) descripta, ejusque Corollarium à seipso Literis consignatum, verum etiam insignia illa è fenestris aliisque vetustatis reliquiis eruta, quæ cænobii aliquibus præfiguntur, adscribenda. Hæc omnia assumentia memoravit item Woodius in Athenis suis Oxoniensibus. In illo tamen cespitavit, quod flocci æstimanda esse subindicaverit. Ex optimis etenim auctoribus ac monumentis sunt desumpta, Lelandumque suppleant, corrigunt, & illustrant: sed hanc Woodii censuram non est cur miremur, quum alibi etiam minus considerate de aliorum scriptis pronuntiaverit.* Mr. Hearne published these *Collectanea* in six volumes at Oxford 1715 in 8vo. under the following title: *Joannis Landi Anti-*

quarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea. Ex autographis descriptis ediditque Tho. Hearne, A. M. Oxoniensis, qui & Appendicem subjecit, totumque opus (in VI Volumina distributum) Notis & Indice donavit. XII. *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate. Ex Autographo Lelandino nunc primus edidit Antonius Hall, A. M. Coll. Reg. Oxon. Socius.* Oxford 1709 in two Tomes in 8vo. The Editor in his preface observes, that Leland designed to have written four Books concerning the illustrious men of Britain, but was prevented by death from finishing and publishing them. He informs us likewise, that Dr. Thomas Gale had an intention to have published this work, and to have illustrated it by the means of that of Boston of Bury. And the same design was undertaken by Dr. Thomas Tanner, the late Bishop of St. Asaph. XIII. *An Itinerary throughout most parts of England: a manuscript in 4to.* Mr. Harrison in page 63 of his second edition of his *Description of Britain* writes of this work thus: *For so moth-eaten, mouldie, and rotten are those books of Leland, which I have, and beside that his Annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a manner) pick out any sense from them by a leaf together. Wherefore I suppose, that he dispersed and made his Notes intricate of set purpose; or else he was such that anie man should easily come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge and no less travell attained unto by experience.*

But Mr. Hearne (3) remarks upon this passage: "This great Antiquary [Leland] was of a noble, generous, and publick spirit, and could not be guilty of any such pitiful, mean trick, as this, which is mentioned by Harrison, who methinks should have studiously avoided all unbecoming reflections upon so great a man, from whom he borrowed the most valuable and most judicious passages in his said *Description of Britain*, his own remarks being generally very mean and trivial. . . . Nor do I think, that Harrison would have spoke contemptuously of these papers, had it not been out of a design to advance the credit of his own observations; which is a crime that some of our modern writers have been guilty of, when they have had occasion to speak of Leland." Mr. Hearne published an edition of our author's *Itinerary* at Oxford in 9 volumes in 8vo. XIV. *Codrui, sive Laus & Defensio Gallofridi Arturii Monumetensis contra Polydorum Vergilium:* printed by Mr. Hearne in the fifth volume of *Leland's Collectanea.* XV. *Ἐγκώμιον τῆς εἰρήνης, sive Laudatio Pacis;* printed by Mr. Hearne in the fifth volume of the *Collectanea.* XVI. *Bonia Gallo-Mastix in laudem victoria felicissimi Henrici VIII. Anglici, Francici, Scotici, &c.* reprinted by Mr. Hearne in the sixth volume of the *Collectanea.* Bale and Pits mention other writings of our author; whose manuscripts and collections were, after his death, by order of King Edward VI, put into the hands of Sir John Cheke, Tutor to his Majesty, who not long after gave the four volumes of his *Collectanea* to Humphry Purefoy Esq; afterwards of the Privy Council to Queen Elizabeth in the North; whose son Thomas Purefoy of Barwell in Leicestershire Esq; giving them to Mr. Will. Burton of Lindley in the same County in 1612, they came many years

(3) *Notes on Mr. Wood's Life of John Leland*, prefixed to the 1st volume of his edition of *Leland's Collectanea.*

travelling about England, and collecting Antiquities. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, he saw with great regret what havock was made of antient monuments of learning; and that, if no remedy should be taken, they would all perish. Upon this he wrote a letter to Secretary Cromwell dated July the 16th for his assistance in bringing to light many antient authors, and in sending them to the King's Library; adding, that "it would be a great profit to Students, and honour to this Realm; whereas now the Germans perceiving our desidiousness and negligency, do send daily young scholars hither, that spoileth them, and cutteth them out of Libraries, returning home, and putting them abroad as monuments of their own country." April the 3d 1542 he was presented to the Rectory of Hasely near Oxford; and in the beginning of April 1543 was preferred by the King to a Canonry of King's College, now Christ-Church in Oxford; and about the same time he was collated to the Prebend of East Knoll and West Knoll near Salisbury in Wiltshire. But he lost the Canonry in Christ Church in 1545, upon the surrender of that College to the King, and instead thereof had no pension allowed him, as the other Canons had, but preferment elsewhere. At last having made a vast collection of Antiquities, he retired to his house in the parish of St. Michael le Querne in London; "where spending about six years more in composing such books as he had promised to the King, he did at length (upon a foresight that he was not able to perform his promise, or, as the Roman Catholics say, that *he had degenerated from the antient Religion*) fall distracted and lost his senses." This his distemper being made known to the King and his Council, King Edward VI; by his Letters Patents dated March the 5th 1550, granted the custody of him by the name of John Laylond Junior of St. Michael's Parish in le Querne, Clerk, to his brother John Laylond Senior, and for his maintenance to receive the profits of Hasely, Poppeling, East Knoll and West Knoll abovementioned (b). He died April the 18th 1552 (i), and was interred in the Church of St. Michael le Querne (k). He was universally esteemed an excellent Orator and Poet, and was well skilled in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, British, Saxon, Welch, and Scottish tongues (l). His enemies, as Polydore Virgil, Dr. John Caius, &c. used to represent him as a vain-glorious person, who promised more than he was able to perform; and others said, that *his poetical wit made him so conceited, that it was the chief cause of his pbrensy* (m).

(b) Idem, *ibid.* col. 82, 83.

(i) Balzrus, *ubi supra.*

(k) Burtonus, *ubi supra.*

(l) Nicholson's *English Hist. Library, Part 2.* pag. 226.

(m) Wood, *Art. Oxon.* col. 83.

years after by his gift, when he had made use of them in compiling his *Description of Leicestershire*, into the Bodleian library at Oxford, together with the *Itinerary*. As for other of his collections, they came after the death of Sir John Cheke into the hands of William Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil, but to whom from them, does not appear. Perhaps among these collections were those, which came afterwards into Sir Robert Cotton's hands, and the *Itinerary*, which came into the possession of Mr. Burton. Camden made a considerable use of his collections in the writing of his *Britannia* (4); as Sir William Dugdale has likewise done in compiling his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* and his *Baronage of England*. John Bale was also greatly assisted in his book *de Scriptoribus Britanniae* by our author's work on the same subject. Mr. John Bagford in a letter to Mr. Hearne relating to the antiquities of London, and dated at the Charter-House, Feb. 1. 1713, and prefixed to the first Volume of Mr. Hearne's edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, observes, that what had been formerly done by Leland with respect to the antiquities of London, "seems now to be lost, though it must be owned, that many authors, that have written of the antiquities of England since his time, have made frequent use of his works, he alone laying the foundation of what hath since been discovered. For I do not in the least question, but that most of his writings, after his death, first came into the hands of *Reginald Wolfe*, the Printer, at whose house, I believe, Leland died, which was at that time situated in the Parish of St. Michael in the Querne, though afterwards he removed into the Parish of St. Faith's. I take this *Wolfe* to have been one of the first builders of a house in St. Paul's Church-yard, and to have been not only the first projector of the two Tomes of the *Chronicles of England* (which commonly go under the name of *Raphael Hollinshead* and *William Harrison*) out of Leland; but also to have been the first designer of a large map of England by the sketches he had taken from Leland's *New year's gift*; though nothing of the like nature was afterwards done till the time of

(4) See *Ralph Brook's Discovery of Errors in Camden's Britannia.*

Saxton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The second edition of *Hollinshead* is continued by *John Stow*; and I must be so free in my thoughts to tell you, that (to say nothing of what Camden borrowed from him) it is my opinion, that *Stow* had in his possession *Leland's* antiquities of London, and for want of Learning most grievously mangled the work on purpose to make it his own. This hint I have taken partly from the benefit of your last conversation, when you was pleased to read to me what *Leland* has upon the same subject; and partly from my own reflection upon the Qualifications of *Stow*, who certainly was not capable of making such a collection; and therefore I cannot but conclude that he must have been beholden to *Leland*; which I think is likewise confirmed from hence, that in his *Survey of London* he makes very little mention of *Leland*, although in his *Annals* he often takes notice of him. I had formerly, continues Mr. Bagford, a much greater veneration for *Stow*, before you acquainted me, that *Leland* had wrote the antiquities of this city, (of which he was a native) under the Britains, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and so down to the time himself lived in; by which work we might have seen what discoveries he had made from antient authors, most of which are since lost, and might likewise have had the benefit of divers useful remarks, grounded upon his own observations on the antient buildings of the Romans in this famous City; which remarks could not be expected from Mr. *Stow*, who was little acquainted with the Coins and other antiquities of the Romans. The best account we have from him is that relating to Monumental inscriptions in Churches; which brings to my mind a folio Manuscript, I have seen, of those in Christ-church (formerly the Gray-Friars) within New-Gate, which were not inserted in the first impression of the Survey. I gather from the hand, that this very book was collected by Leland; and it happened therefore very luckily, that the inscriptions in it were afterwards added in the edition set out by *Stow*.

T

LEMNIUS (LÆVINUS) a famous Physician, was born at Ziric-Zee in Zekand, the 20th of May 1505. One of his chief works is that *de occultis Naturæ*

(a) See the *Epist. Dedicat. to de occultis Naturæ Miraculis* of the second, and succeeding editions.

tura Miraculis [A]. WILLIAM LEMNIUS his son practised Physic successfully, for which reason Eric King of Sweden sent for him to his Court, and appointed him his first Physician (a). He adhered with so much fidelity to this Prince, that he was thrown into prison, and was put to death in 1568 when Eric was dethroned (b).

(b) Melchior Adam. in *Vit. Medicor.* p. 100.

(1) That which I make use of is of Frankfort 1593 in 8vo, ap. Job. Wechel. It is enlarg'd with some chapters; and there is annexed to the treatise *de Vita cum*

[A] *One of his chief works is that De occultis Naturæ Miraculis.* It has borne several impressions. Several editions (1) of it are mentioned in *Lindenijs renovatus*; but no notice is there taken of the first, which was that of Antwerp *apud Gulielmum Simonem* 1559 8vo. The work consisted then but of two books; and was dedicated, by the author, to Matthias *animi & corporis incolumitate recte instituenda*, then first published.

Gallomontanus *ab Heeswuijk, apud Metellburgum Antistes.* The second edition, printed by Plantin, at Antwerp in the year 1564, in 8vo, contains four books; and was dedicated, by the author, to Eric King of Sweden. We are told in the preface, that Lemnius intended to add two books more to the four in question.

LEMNOS, an island in the Ægean Sea, near Thrace, and Mount Athos [A], was famous on many accounts. It was so called from the great Goddess named Lemnos, and to whom young maidens were sacrificed (a). The Sinti, a people of Thrace, were the first who inhabited it (b). There were but two cities in it, the one called Hephæstia, and the other Myrina (c). Its labyrinth was one of the four edifices of that kind, mentioned by the ancients [B]. The inhabitants of Lemnos were the first who forged weapons of war (d); which doubtless was one of the reasons which obliged the Poets to feign that Vulcan, being precipitated from heaven to earth, fell into this island, where he met with a very kind reception, and set up a forge (e) [C]. The place where he fell was remarkable [F].

(a) Steph. Byzant. *Vocæ Ἀστυνοσ.*

(b) Idem, *ibid.*

(c) Plinius, lib. 4. pag. m. 461.

(d) *Hellenicus, apud Scholiast.* Apollonius in lib. 1. ver. 608. & Scholiastes Homeri in *Iliad.* lib. 2. ver. 594.

(e) See the close of the remark [F].

(1) Plin. lib. 4. pag. m. 161. *juxta editionem Harduini.*

(2) Solin. cap. 11. pag. 31.

(3) Belon, *Observat. de pluribus singularibus*, lib. 1. chap. 26. pag. 58, 59.

(4) Our Geographers generally assign 2500 paces to a common French league.

(5) Plut. *de facie in orbe Luna*, pag. 935, F. Note, Mr. Bayle made use of Amyot's version on this occasion.

(6) Salmf. in *Solinum*, pag. m. 184.

[A] *Near . . . mount Athos.* A great number of authors have observed, that the shadow of this mountain extends as far as the island of Lemnos. *Lemnos ab Atho LXXXVII. mill. passuum. Circuitu patet CXII. M. D. pass.* *Oppida habet, Hephæstiam & Myrinam, in cujus forum solstitio Athos ejaculatur umbram* (1). i. e. "Lemnos is fourscore and seven miles from Athos, and an hundred and twelve miles in circumference. Hephæstia and Myrina are its towns, into whose Forum Athos projects its shadow, at the "Solstice." We find by these words of Pliny, that mount Athos was 87 miles from the island of Lemnos, and Solinus supposes it but a mile less (2). However, this does not agree with the observations of Belon, an eye-witness, and consequently more worthy of credit than Pliny. I will copy his words. "The island is "more extended in length than in breadth, from "East to West; so that when the sun sets, the shadow "of mount Athos, which stands above eight leagues "from thence, falls on the harbour, and over a point "of the island, on the left side of Lemnos, a circum- "stance we observed the 2d of June: for mount Athos "is so high, that though the sun was not very low, "nevertheless the shadow touched the left angle of the "island (3)." Here is a testimony that ought to persuade us, that the ancients had reason to extend the shadow of this mountain, as far as the island of Lemnos, but that they were not well acquainted with the measure of that extent. The distance would be about thirty five French leagues (4), were we to compute according to the eighty seven miles of Pliny. But how great a subtraction must we make, since Belon speaks of only a little above eight leagues? We will here quote a passage which will shew that Plutarch had committed the same mistake as Pliny. *I am sensible that neither of us has been in the isle of Lemnos; yet both of us have frequently heard the following verses:*

Mount Athos shall project its mighty shade,
And screen the ox, in Lemnos's island fix'd.

For the shadow of this mountain reaches to the statue of a brazen ox standing in Lemnos, extending itself over the sea no less than seven hundred stadia; not that the mountain which projects the shadow is of that height as to cause it; but because the distance of the light makes the shadow of bodies many times greater than the bodies themselves (5). Plutarch's 700 stadia make 87500 paces; he consequently makes the interval or distance greater than either Pliny or Solinus. According to Apollonius, it was equal to the space that a ship can sail from day-break to noon. Salmasius proves that, according to the usual computation of the ancient Geographers, this signifies two hundred and fifty stadia (6); whence we may infer, that Apollonius lessened, by more than one half, which the other authors compleat between mount Athos and the island of Lemnos, and that he yet supposes it much greater than Belon found

it; eight French leagues containing but one hundred and sixty stadia. Note Apollonius observes, that the shadow of mount Athos extended as far as the city of Myrina.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ νοσημένωσι κ' ἴδω ἀνιέλλοι καλῶν
Θρηκίῃ, ἢ τόσσον ἀπέσπερον ἄλλοι ἴδωσι,
Ὅσσοι ἐς ἴσθμον καὶ ἰὺς ἄλῃ δὲλας ἀνίσταται,
Ἀερετάτη κορυφῇ σκιάει, π' ἰσάχη μυρίνης (7).

(7) Apoll. *Argon.* lib. 1. ver. 601. pag. m. 61.

"Then, as they sail'd, by the still doubtful light,
"They spied the Thracian Athos, which projects
"A shade quite to Myrina, in fam'd Lemnos,
"Whose shores the swiftest ship can scarce attain,
"E're mighty Sol has run through half his course.

Salmasius (8) quotes Stephanus Byzantinus (9) to shew, that according to Pliny and Solinus, the shadow of mount Athos could not have extended as far as the island of Lemnos. He objects to them that, according to this writer, the shadow did not extend above 300 stadia; but he might have refuted them in a more solid manner, as well as many others, by the testimony of Peter Belon.

(8) Salmf. in *Solin.* pag. 184.

(9) Steph. Byzant. *Vocæ Ἀστυνοσ.*

[B] *Its labyrinth was one of the four edifices of that kind, mentioned by the ancients.* The three others were, that of Egypt, that of the island of Crete, and that which King Porfenna built in Tuscany (10). *De Ægyptio & Cretico labyrinthis, satis dictum est. Lemnius similis illis, columnis tantum centum quinquaginta mirabilior fuit: quarum in officina turbines ita librati pependunt, ut puero circumagente tornarentur. Architecti illum facere Zmilus & Rholus, & Theodorus indigena. Exstantque adhuc reliquæ ejus, cum Cretici Italique nulla vestigia essent.* i. e. According to Pined's version; "So much for the labyrinths of Egypt "and Candy (Crete). That of Stalimene (*) was the "same, except that it had an hundred and fifty marble columns more than the rest, which had been so "artfully turned, that a child used to turn the wheel "which formed them; so finely polished were the "irons and axes that supported them. By the way, "it is said that Zmilus, Rholus, and Theodorus, all "natives of the said island, built the labyrinth in "question, of which some footsteps are still remaining; and yet not the least traces of that of Candy "or of Tuscany are found." This translator supposes, that the three architects who raised this labyrinth were Lemnians; but the original affirms this only of Theodorus, who perhaps is the same who wrote a book concerning a Temple of Juno. *Est is fortassis quem de æde Dorica Junonis quæ est Sami, commentarium condidisse Vitruvius prodidit in præfatione libri 7. pag. 124 (11).*

(10) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. pag. m. 305.

(*) Lemnos inf.

[C] *Vulcan . . . fell into this island . . . and set up a forge.* Some authors relate that Jupiter threw him headlong; and that had not the Lemnians held out their arms to him, whilst he was coming down through the

(11) Harduin. in *Plinium*, lib. 34. cap. 13. pag. m. 305.

remarkable for a kind of earth that was endued with great virtues; and it cured Philoctetes when bit by a serpent [D]. The Poets have very much sung the displeasing stay he made

(12) Lucian, do Sacrific. pag. 354. tom. 1.

(13) Homer, Iliad. lib. 18. ver. 396. pag. m. 556.

(14) Idem, ibid. lib. 1. ver. 591.

the air, he would have been killed (12). But he himself says in Homer, that Juno precipitated him, and that Eurynome and Thetis, the daughters of Oceanus, caught him, and saved his life (13). He declares in another part of the Iliad (14), that Jupiter took him by the foot, and threw him out of heaven; and that having taken up a whole day in falling, he fell into the island of Lemnos at sun-set; that he was almost dead, and that the inhabitants took him up. Homer, it will be objected, should have been a little more careful not to contradict himself; but what he says does not imply a contradiction, he only relating two different adventures. Valerius Flaccus supposes that Vulcan fell on the shore of Lemnos; that the inhabitants ran the instant they heard his voice, and furnished him with every thing he wanted, so that he retained, from that time, a great affection for this island.

Jam summis Vulcania surgit Lemnos aquis, tibi per varios defleta labores Ignipotens; nec te Furiis & crimine matrum Terra, fugæ meritique piget meminisse prioris. Tempore quo primum fremidus insurgere operios Cœlicolium, & regni sensit novitate tumentes Jupiter, ætheriæ nec stare silentia pænis: Junonem volucris primam suspendit Olympo. Horrendum chaos ostendens, pernamque baratri. Mox etiam pavida tentantem vincula matris Solvere, prærupti Vulcanum vertice cæli Devolvit: ruit ille polo, noctemque diemque Turbinis in morem; Lemni cum litore tandem Insouit: vox inde repens ut perculit urbem, Acclivem scopulo inveniunt, miserentique sœventque Alternos agro cunctantem poplite gressus. Hinc reduci, superas postquam pater amovit arces, Lemnos cara deo; nec fama notior Ætnæ Aut Lipares domus (15).

(15) Valer. Flaccus, Argon. lib. 2. ver. 78. pag. m. 91.

“ High above th’ abyss Vulcanian Lemnos rises,
“ By thee, great God of fire, thro’ various toils
“ Full long deplor’d; nor grieves it thee, O land,
“ To call to mind his flight, and wonted merit,
“ When secret murmurs rose, and the Gods arm’d;
“ When fierce rebellion brav’d almighty Jove;
“ Shook his bright throne, and broke the peace of
“ Heaven.
“ Jove first suspended Juno from Olympus,
“ And, to her aching eye, disclos’d dread Chaos
“ And all the tortures of the infernal shades.
“ Then Vulcan, who strove to unbind the chains
“ Of his affrighted mother, next he seiz’d,
“ And hurl’d him from the skies; swift round and
“ round
“ He fell, both night and day, till down he dropt
“ On Lemnos isle; and when his mournful voice
“ Had reach’d the neighbouring town, the gazing
“ crouds
“ Reclin’d against a rock, when mov’d to pity,
“ They soon consol’d him, lam’d by the dread fall.
“ Vulcan restor’d to Heaven, and recollecting
“ The courtesies the Lemnians had indulg’d him,
“ Their isle he favours; Lemnos not inferior
“ To Lipare, or Ætna.”

Homer affirms, that no country in the world was so dear to Vulcan as Lemnos.

Εἶσαρ Ἴριον ἐς Λήμνον ἐκκλίμασεν ἀπολιθῶρον,
Ἡ οἱ γυναικῶν πρὸς Φιλιάτῃ ἐστὶν ἀπασιών (16).

(16) Homer. Odyss. lib. 8. ver. 283. pag. m. 230.

Simulabat se iterum in Lemnum pulchrè fabricatum oppidum,
Quod illi terrarum multè charissimum est omnium.

We will now mention a circumstance, which shews the long duration of the most fabulous traditions. Belon who travelled in Turkey in the year 1548, says, “ that there is no inhabitant of Lemnos but knows something relating to Vulcan. And in like manner as the little children of the island of Corfula will relate the history of the Dolphin, as though it

“ happened but a little before; so every body in the island of Lemnos relates the adventures of Vulcan, “ but differently; for some say that he and his horse “ broke their thighs by a fall; and that he was speedily cured by the virtue of the earth on which he “ fell (17).”

[D] The place where he fell was remarkable for a kind of earth that was endued with great virtues, and it cured Philoctetes when bit by a serpent.] Philostratus relates an incident that differs greatly from the common tradition. He says that Philoctetes did not suffer in Lemnos the bitter pains which have been so much spoke of. This brave man, adds he (18), “ was “ instantly cured by the Lemnian earth, which is taken “ from the very spot where Vulcan fell antiently from “ heaven; for that earth has the virtue to soothe and “ heal all kinds of violent and furious diseases, and to “ stop all bloody fluxes; but it does not cure the bite “ of serpents except that of the hydra.” Here follow some particulars which I extract from the observations of Peter Belon, who travelled into that country about the middle of the sixteenth century. “ The antients, “ says he (19), had a kind of earth that was accounted an “ excellent remedy for many diseases, and is at this “ day as much used as ever. The Latins call it Terra “ Lemnia, or Terra sigillata, and the French Terre “ sellée. This earth is so great a rarity, that those “ Embassadors who return from Turkey, generally “ bring some of it away, in order to make presents of “ it to persons of high distinction; it being good, “ among other properties, against the plague and “ defluxions of every kind. Druggists indeed sell “ what is called Terra sigillata, but it is generally “ adulterated; the island of Lemnos being the only “ country where it is to be found.” He gives (20)

(17) Belon, Observat. lib. 1. chap. 29. pag. 68.

(18) Philostrat. in Heroicis. N. B. Mr. Bayle makes use of Vigenere’s translation, tom. 2. folio 253. edit. 4to.

(19) Belon, Observat. lib. 1. chap. 22. p. 51.

(20) Ibid.

the figure of several seals which are employed to mark that earth, and adds (21), “ that the whole crew of “ a ship which was come from Lemnos to Constanti- “ nople, assured him, that it was impossible to get any “ except by the Under-Bashaw of the island; and that “ those who were desirous of seeing it in its natural “ state must go thither, the inhabitants being forbid “ to export any, on pain of losing their heads. They “ declared farther, that if any of the inhabitants “ should sell only a small cake of it, or any was found “ in his house unknown to the Governor, he was fined “ a large sum of money; for no person is allowed to “ distribute or give any except the Under-Bashaw in “ question, who farms the island, and pays a tribute “ for it to the Grand Signior.” Belon got himself “ conducted to the place whence that earth is taken, and “ saw nothing but an oblique hole (22), that was stopped; “ and it was impossible for him to get it opened, that “ being done but once a year, the 6th of August, on “ which occasion great ceremonies are observed and prepa- “ rations made. “ This earth, continues Belon (23), “ shews how greatly ceremonies inhanse the value of “ things that are mean, and inconsiderable in them- “ selves; for notwithstanding that the earth in question “ is endued with such great virtue, yet was it so common “ that any person might go and procure any of it, it “ would be despised, were it not for the great cere- “ monies I speak of: so that if any other vein of earth, “ like that of Cochino, had been found in another “ part of the island in question, I do not doubt but “ that the Greeks would scruple to use it, unless the “ (*) Caloyers had been present at the digging it, and (*) Greek “ performed the usual ceremonies; and though they “ had got some from Cochino abovementioned, they “ yet would scruple to use, or give it to other people, “ had it not been dug the sixth of August: they ima- “ gining that part of its virtue proceeds from the cere- “ monies which are practised by men on those occa- “ sions; and would even think that it had no virtue, “ unless they themselves saw it dug up.” Nothing can “ be more judicious than these observations of Be- “ lon, who gives the two examples following. “ There “ are great quantities of the Iris’s growing on the “ mountains of Macedonia, and were to be sold at a “ dear price; yet it was thought that no persons “ should be allowed to gather it but such as were “ chaite

(21) Ibid. chap. 23. pag. 54.

(22) Ibid. chap. 28. pag. 63.

(23) Ibid. chap. 29. pag. 65.

(*) Greek Monks.

made in the island of Lemnos [E], whilst the Greeks were besieging Troy. Some other reasons gave rise to the fiction I related concerning Vulcan; for it was said, that in antient times strong flames used often to issue from the ground in the island of Lemnos [F], and particularly on the summit of Mount Moschylus. Two massacres were perpetrated in that island, which gave occasion to some proverbs (f). The first of those massacres is that which I mentioned under the article HYPPIPYLE; and this country would in a certain time have been quite depopulated, had not the Argonauts prevented it. The women had murdered all the men, and did not intend to give a reception to the first comers; for hearing that a vessel was come to their island, they ran armed to the shore, fully determined to oppose the invasion (g); but when they found these were not

(f) See Erasmus's *Civil. Cent.* 9. num. 27. and *Civil. 2. Cent.* 10. num. 44.

(g) Apollon. *Agon.* lib. 1. ver. 633.

" chaste; and that the earth must be sprinkled, three months before with holy-water, in order to pacify it. And several other ceremonies, which Theophrastus has described, were to be practised (24)." He then takes some notice of the antient ceremonies relating to the earth of Lemnos. "As early as Dioscorides, who wrote before Galen, it was a custom to mix he-goat's blood with earth, in order to make cakes of it. The reader is to know, that some ceremonies used to be performed in killing the he-goats consecrated to Venus, who, as the fables relate, makes the Lemnian women smell rank like goats; and their husbands having expressed a disgust at them, they all, with one common consent, killed all the men in that island. For this reason, the Priests used to seal those cakes with a seal on which was the image of a goat, whence they took their Greek name *Spragida egos*, which signifies a goat's seal... Galen being desirous to know the truth of what was related concerning this earth, as he returned from Troy, called then Alexandria, a colony inhabited by the Romans, in his way to Rome, he past by Lemnos, and enquired whether they still had the custom of mixing goat's blood with earth before it was sealed. But he being on the very spot in question, in Lemnos, found that this custom had been laid aside. He gives an account of what was performed when he was there; and relates that a Priestess threw, here and there, some wheat and barley on the ground, and practised certain other ceremonies according to the custom of that country; after which she filled a waggon with this earth, and had it carried with her into the city of Hephæstia. Galen relates this, and much more, which we will not relate for brevity sake (25)." With regard to the modern ceremonies, he tells us, *what had been confirmed to him by above six hundred men, who had seen them solemnized all their life-time.* "The chief persons both Greeks and Turks, with their Priests and Friars, meet together. The Greeks then go to the little chapel called *Sotira*, and there solemnizing Mass, after the Grecian manner, accompanied with prayers, they all go together accompanied by the Turks, and ascend the hill which is but two bow-shot from the chapel; and cause the earth to be dug up, by fifty or threecore men, till they have found out the vein, and are come to it; and when they are got to the earth, the Greek Monks fill small bags with it made of beast's skins, and these they give to the Under-Bashaw or *Vayvod*; and when they have taken enough for that time, the diggers immediately close or shut up the earth; after which the Under-Bashaw sends the greatest part of the earth that was taken up to the Grand Signior at Constantinople, and sells the rest to Merchants... Those who are present when the earth is drawn out of its vein, may every one take a little for their respective uses, but dare not sell it. The Turks are less scrupulous than the Greeks and many other nations. They suffer the Greek Christians to say their prayers on the sealed earth in their presence, and they themselves joy with them. And if what the oldest inhabitants relate be true, the custom of selecting one day only in the year, was introduced at the time that the Venetians were possessed of Lemnos, and the islands of the *Ægean sea* (26)." Stephen Albaricus, whom Busbequius sent purposely into the island of Lemnos, in order that he might inform himself of all those particulars, was more fortunate than Belon, he assisting in the ceremonies. See the relation he wrote of it to that illustrious Ambassador. See also the *Egea rediviva*, à *sua Chorographia dell' Archipelago* of

(24) *Ibid.* pag. 66.

(25) *Ibid.*

(26) Belon, *Observat. liv. 1. chap. 29.* pag. 67.

Francis Placentia, Professor of Geography at Modena (27).

Pliny (28) gives a long account of the virtues of the *Terra sigillata* of Lemnos, but he takes it to be a kind of vermilion, and confounds it with a red chalk which was dug in the same island. See Salmastius (29). The reader will meet with many particulars in Chapter III, Book III, Tom. II, of Lewis Guyon,

[E] *The Poets have very much sung the displeasing stay he made in the island of Lemnos.* Some relate that the Greeks sent him thither, because Vulcan's Priests could cure the bite of serpents. *Neque multo post Philocteta cum paucis ubi curaretur in Lemnum insulam mittitur, namque in ea sacri Vulcani antistes inhabitare ab accolis dicebantur solim mederi adversum venena hujusmodi* (30). He was left there till the end of the siege of Troy, and he bore with extreme impatience the rigours of his condition.

(27) This work is mentioned in the *Acta Erudit.* for Oct. 1688, pag. 521.

(28) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 6.

(29) Salmast. in *Solin.* pag. 1157.

(30) Diogenes Cretensis, lib. 2. pag. m. 171. See also Eustathius in Book 2. *Iliad.*

*Non te, Pœantia proles,
Expositum Lemnos nostro cum crimine haberet,
Qui nunc (ut memorant) sylvæstribus abditus antris,
Saxa movet gemitu, Lærtiadeque precaris
Quæ meruit, quæ (si dii sunt) non vana precaris.
Et nunc ille eadem nobis juratus in arma,
(Heu!) pars una ducum, quo successore sagittæ
Herculis utuntur, fractus morboque fameque
Venaturque aliturque avibus, volucresque petendo
Debita Trojanis excurret spicula satis* (31).

(31) Ovid. *Mæs.* lib. 13. ver. 45.

" Nor Philoctetes had been left inclos'd
" In a bare isle, to wants and pains expos'd,
" Where to the rocks with solitary groans,
" His sufferings and our baseness he bemoans;
" And wishes (so may Heaven his wish fulfill)
" The due reward to him who caus'd his ill.
" Now he, with us to Troy's destruction sworn,
" Our brother of the war, by whom are borne
" Alcides's arrows pent in narrow bounds,
" With cold and hunger pinch'd, and pain'd with
" wounds,
" To find him food and cloathing, must employ
" Against the birds the shafts due to the fate of
" Troy." DRYDEN.

The Tragic Poets displayed all their eloquence on this occasion. Read the following words from Tully (32). *Turpe putandum est non dico dolere (nam id quidem est interdum necesse) sed saxum illud Lemnium clamore Philoctetes funestare.*

(32) Cicero, lib. 2. de finib. cap. 29.

*Quod ejulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus
Resonando mutum flebiles voces refert.*

i. e. " It ought to be looked upon as shameful, I do not say to grieve, this being indeed necessary sometimes, but to be for ever wailing like Philoctetes's Lemnian rock;

" Which, with deep wailings, bitter sighs and groans
" Loud echoing, utters mournful sounds, tho' mute."

See also Sophocles's Tragedy entitled *Philoctetes*.

[F] *Strong flames used often to issue from the ground in the island of Lemnos.* Eustathius mentions this as the reason why it was feigned that Vulcan fell into that island. "Οτι ωπ' εν τω νηδου ανηδωτο πορε αυουμαρω (33). i. e. " Because antiently fire used to issue spontaneously from the ground in that island." The Scholiast on Lycophron, quoting Hellanicus's book of the foundation of Chios, relates, that the invention

(33) Eustat. in lib. 1. *Iliad.*

the Thracians their enemies coming to attack them, and that the vessel in question belonged to the Argonauts, they shewed them all manner of kindness; and told those brave men that they should have leave to come on shore, provided they would promise, upon oath, to lie with them [G]. The Argonauts accepted of the condition, and fulfilled it in so delightful a manner, that one would have concluded they had laid aside all thoughts

of fire and arms, was owing to the falling of lightning on a tree, in the island of Lemnos. This he says on some words of Lycophron, where the fire is called Lemnian (34). Almost the same things have been related of mount Mosychlus as of Ætna. See Hesychius and Nicander and the Scholiast on the latter, with the verses he quotes from Antimachus (35), and do not forget the following of Seneca.

(34) Ἰνσουλῶν γαῖα λημνίων πυρῆ. Comburens artus ignis Lemnio. Lycophr. ver. 227.

(35) They are in Bochart. Geog. Sacr. lib. I. cap. 12. pag. m. 432.

(36) Seneca in Hercule Octavo, ver. 1360.

Quæ tanta nubes flamma Sicilian bibit?
Quæ Lemnos ardens? quæ plaga igniferi palmi
Vetans flagranti currere in zona diem (36).

“ What are these flames that drink Sicilian clouds?
“ Say, is this fiery Lemnos? What burning clime
“ In heav’n’s high arch, not suffering the day
“ To run its course around the flaming zone.

At this rate it might well be said that Vulcan had forged in the island of Lemnos. Ἐν τῇ λῆμνῳ τὰ εὖ ἠφαισὺν ἰργασίην (37). In Lemno Vulcani fabriles Officina

(37) Schol. Sophocl. in Philoet. ver. 1000.

[G] Provided they would promise, upon oath, to lie with them. As this circumstance is contrary to the decorum which Poets commonly observe in their relations, it will be proper for me to produce a proof for it, in the words of the original. The Greek passage therefore is as follows: Αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἡλικίᾳ ἐν ὄπλοις φρεσὶ αὐτῆς ἀποδιδόναι χερμαζομένοις τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, μέχρις ἢ ὄρου ἰθαλοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι μνηστῆρας αὐτῆς. Σοφκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀημιῶνι καὶ μάχῃ ἰσχυρῶν αὐτῆς συνέψαι φρεσὶ (38). These words signify, that the Lemnian women took up arms; and would not leave off threatening the Argonauts buffeted by the storm, till they had sworn that they would lie with them. Euripides even says, that they really fought with great vigour. This incident cannot appear probable to any but those who well weigh the circumstances; but if we consider, on one hand, that these women in question had destroyed all the males who were in the island; and, on the other, that they resolved on such a massacre, merely because their husbands, unable to bear with their ill smells, had got concubines (39), the thing will appear extremely probable. One cannot wonder that the Lemnian women should have been so indiscreetly forward in their advances, and that the Argonauts should have discovered so little tenderness and gallantry. The military dress and warlike air of these women, was far from being alluring objects. The reflexion on the massacre they had just before perpetrated on their fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, was adapted to inspire no other passion but horror. Besides, the consideration of the motive of this slaughter, must necessarily have proved an obstacle to the love, with which the Argonauts might otherwise have been fired for them; and this motive was no other but the distaste of the Lemnians, arising from the ill smell of the Lemnians, which proceeded from their breath; but some are of opinion, that it came from their armpits, which was commonly call, to smell rank; and the antients, to smell like a be-goat. Laërtius, on the fifth book of Statius’s Thebaid, follows this opinion; he calling the smell of the Lamniades, hircinum odorem, a goatish smell. Dion Chrysostom says also to the same purpose, in his 33d oration, Ἀημιῶν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἰργασίῃσιν ἄγλυτοι ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς μνηστῆρας. As he related that Venus, being exasperated against

(38) Scholiast. Apollon. in lib. I. ver. 773. pag. m. 79.

(39) See the remark [A] of the article HYPSPYLE.

(40) Meziriac on Ovid’s Epistles, pag. 557, 558.

the wives of the Lemnians, infected their arm-pits (40). All things duly weighed, one may easily perceive that the antients did not transgress the laws of verisimilitude, in supposing that it was with reluctance, Jason’s companions could be prevailed upon to promise, upon the Lemnian shoar, what they would have asked for, and offered, in other places. The women who parleyed with them, deserved to be told what was said by Catullus against one Rufus, who was surprized to meet with none but cruel fair-ones.

Noli admirari, quare tibi fœmina nulla
Rufe, velit tenerum supposuisse femur:
Non illam raris labefactis munere vestis,
Aut perluciduli deliciis lapidis.
Lædis te quædam mala fabula, qua tibi fertur
Valle sub alarum trux habitare caper.
Hunc metuant omnes: neque mirum, nam mala valde est
Bestia, nec quicum bella puella cubet.
Quare aut crudelem vasorum interfice pestem:
Aut admirari desine, quæ fugiunt (41).

(41) Catul. Epig. 70. pag. m. 157.

The sense is
“ O Rufus, wonder not, if all the fair
“ Refuse to listen to thy fond Devoirs:
“ They are not won with the gay charms of dress,
“ Nor with the diamond’s ever-sparkling Rays.
“ A certain evil rumour says that Thou
“ Beneath thy Arm-pits hid’st a cruel Goat;
“ This frightens every one; and who can wonder
“ That each bright Nymph should constantly refuse
“ To take so foul a Beast to her embraces.
“ Therefore, or kill the stench that so offends them,
“ Or cease to wonder why they ever fly thee.

Ovid said

Quam sæpe admonui ne trux caper iret in alas,
Neve forent duris aspera crura pilis! (*)

(*) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. 3. ver. 193.

That is

“ I need not warn you of too powerful smells,
“ Which, sometimes health, or kindly heat expels:
“ Nor, from your tender legs to pluck with care
“ The casual growth of all unseemly hair.

CONGREVE.

Horace gave the like reason to a woman, who complained of the contempt with which he treated her.

Quid tibi vis mulier nigris dignissima barris?
Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas
Mittis, nec firmo juveni, neque naris obesa?
Namque sagacius unus odoror,
Polypus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quàm canis acer ubi lateat sus:
Quis sudor vietis, et quàm malus undique membris
Crescit odor, cum Et (42).

(42) Horat. 9 Epod. Od. 12.

The sense is

“ Thou Hag, whom only Elephants thou’d clasp,
“ Why pester me with Billet doux and Presents?
“ I am too weak, and of so fine a smell,
“ That never Hound discovered a boar’s Haunts
“ Sooner than I a lustful female’s stench.
“ How flows the sweat from her falacious limbs
“ When! &c.

i. e. According to the translation of Robert and Anthony le Chevallier d’Agneaux.

Que me demandes-tu, femme sur toute digne
D’elephans noirs? pour quelle cause à moy
Ny roide jeunesseau, ny d’épesse navine,
Fais-tu de dons Et de Lettres envoy?
Car plus subtilement, que la bauge, où se cèle
Le porc sanglier, le chien n’odore fin;
Je sen s’au nez le poulpe, ou si dessous l’aisselle
Au rouge poil loge un stair de bouquin.
Quelle senteur luy croist combien luy croist mauvaist
Es membres stacs un odeur, lors qu’étant Et.

There are some people who, by considering too attentively these circumstances, will perhaps be of opinion, that the rules of probability would have been better followed, if the same conduct had been ascribed to the Argonauts which Augustus observed, when Fulvia proposing peace or war to him (43), he made choice of the latter. But it is certain that verisimilitude has been sufficiently observed in the episode of Lemnos; the choice the Argonauts made being the most natural. Their ship lay in the road, and was buffeted by a storm;

(43) See the remark [C] of the article of the first GLAPHYRA; and the remark [F] of the article LYCORIS.

of the expedition to Colchos; but Hercules, who had remained in the ship, reprimanded them for giving a loose to pleasure in the manner they had done, and obliged them to return on board [H]. According to some writers, they passed two or three years with the women of Lemnos, and the island was repopled by this means. The other massacre was, when all the children which the Lemnians had by their Athenian concubines were slain [I]. I shall speak of this in a remark. This island was very much infested by

storm: they had occasion for a port in Lemnos, and it was highly necessary for them to land there: but this they could not do without coming to a battle, and they had already experienced the valour of the Lemnian women; they having fought with very great bravery, and had not been conquered. It was necessary, either to renew the attack, or retire, or take an oath to indulge all the wanton wishes of the women in question. To retreat would be ignominious, whether before the decision of a second battle; or, after fresh attempts as unsuccessful as the former. Could any success be hoped for (would all Greece say) from the expedition of Colchos since our Heroes have fallen in the island of Lemnos, where they were repulsed by silly women, and obliged to fly? The storm defeated all their hopes with regard to success, in case of a new battle. The only thing that remained then was, to submit to the necessity of the oath which was required. And perhaps they imagined that the cause of the occasion of the Lemnians was over, or in a great measure abated; and that, whatever might happen, they might soon be able to free themselves from the ungrateful yoke, since nothing particular was enjoined them, either as to time or other circumstances. Such might be the considerations which obliged them to take an oath; and we are not to believe that they once thought of equivocations or mental reservations, or the right or privilege which dispenses those persons from the observance of an oath, extorted by force, and *metu cadente in constantem virum*. The reader will find, by the following remark, that they were very true to their promise.

[H] Hercules, who had remained in the ship, reprimanded them, . . . and obliged them to return on board.] One may justly wonder that Hercules, loving the fair so passionately as he did, should not have diverted himself, in the isle of Lemnos, after the same manner as his companions; for altho' the Lemnian women, for the reasons already mentioned, could not be very tempting, yet one sees no reason why he should be more delicate than the rest of the Greeks who were with him. It will be answered, that the oath they required carried some suspicion along with it; and that since they did not look upon a bare promise as a sufficient tie, he concluded that they must be extremely diffident of the power of their charms; that here was something concealed; and that it was not worth their while to go on shore. But once again, how came Hercules, (than whom no one could be more lustful) to be more scrupulous than his companions? I will own that I know not how to answer this difficulty, and must therefore take up with the bare matter of fact. Apollonius declares, "that Hercules could never be prevailed upon to go ashore on the Island, but kept constantly on board the ship Argo, that he might have a just title to censure his companions, who gave too great a loose in the pleasures they took with the Lemnian women, and laid aside all thoughts of their enterprize; which he did with so much the greater freedom, as he himself was not liable to the censure in question (44)." According to Valerius Flaccus, our young heroes were so entirely devoted to the administering consolation to these Lemnian widows, that they thought no more of returning on board their ship. They quite forget themselves in the island; they are delighted with the game; Hercules must be obliged to drag them thence by dint of reproaches; and to address himself, in very severe terms, to Jason, the Chieftain of the enterprize.

*Urbe sedent læti Minyæ, viduisque vacantes
Indulgent thalms; nimboſque educere luxu:
Nec jam velle vias: Zephyroſque audire vocantes
Diſſimulant; donec refides Tyrinthius Heros
Non tulit; ipſe rati invigilians atque integer, urbis
Invidiſſe deos tantum maris æquor adortis,
Deſertaſque domos, fraudataque tempore Jegni*

(44) Meziriac, in Ovid's Epistles pag. 583, 586.

*Vota patrum: quid & ipſe viris cunctantibus aſſit?
O miſeri, &c (45).*

The ſenſe is
"With joy Minyans in the city ſtay,
"And wanton in the widow'd Lemnians arms:
"All thoughts of parting, now, are laid aſide,
"And they don't hear the winds that chide their ſtay;
"But Hercules was griev'd at their ſupinenefs,
"Himſelf unhurt, and watching o'er his ſhip;
"Then ſtrives t'inspire 'em with the pleaſing thoughts
"Of their own country; their deſerted houſes;
"Their parents wiſhes for their ſafe return;
"Next cries, O wretched men, &c."

(45) Valer. Flaccus, lib. 2. ver. 370. pag. m. 101.

I obſerved elſewhere (46), that the beſt prize fell to Jaſon's ſhare; the Queen of the iſland falling in love with him, and indulging him the fondeſt marks of her tendernes and paſſion. The remonſtrances of Hercules awakened the heroes; they returned on board, without once regarding the complaints and lamentations of the Lemnian women (47). Ovid (48) ſuppoſes that they continued two years with them; but Apollonius informs us that they made a much ſhorter ſtay, which ſeems more probable; for had they ſpent two years in thoſe delights, there had been no need of ſounding Orpheus's Lyre to draw them thence; that lyre whole power was to great, that even ſtones obeyed its harmony (49). Now it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the machine; for otherwiſe they could never have tore themſelves from the Lemnian women.

(46) In the article HYPSPYLYE.

(47) See Valer. Flaccus, lib. 2. ver. 393. & ſeq.

(48) Ovid. in Epifl. Hypſip.

(49) Ovid. Met. lib. 11. ver. 2 & 42.

*Ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοι ἔμικτο, καὶ ἐκλεάθειτο πορῆς,
Ἐὶ μὴ ἀποσπρωχθεὶς ἰσσωαῖς θελήσειεν θυμῷ
Ἥμισίην θελήσειεν ἔβαν ποτὶ νῆα μέλαιναν,
Ἐἰς ἴον πεδῖοντες, ἰσπεμνίσαντο δὲ μόχθῳ.
Aliæque alius commiſcebatur, & obliſi fuiſſent itineris
ſui.
Niſi quidem revocatoriis monitiſ, ſuaſive cantu
Noſtro perſuaſi, deſcendiſſent ad navem nigram,
Remigationem deſiderantes, recordatiſque fuiſſent labo-
ris (50).*

The ſenſe is,
"So thrilling were their joys, they'd now forgot
"The expedition, had not I recall'd
"Their roving thoughts, by the enticing ſounds
"Of my harmonious Lyre; and thus prevail'd
"With them to re-aſcend the mighty ſhip;
"Sail on, and re-aſſume their promis'd labours."

(50) Orpheus in Argonauticis, ver. 478. pag. m. 34.

I will here take notice of an error in Barthius. He ſays that Ovid makes the Argonauts continue three years in that iſland, and proves it thus (51): *Sic enim ipſum penes Jaſoni ſcribit bona noſtra Hypſipyla.*

(51) Barth. in Statium, tom. 3. pag. 228.

*Tertia meſſis erat, cum tu dare vela coactus,
Impleſti lacrymis talia verba tuis.*

That is,
"Our Hypſipyle writes to Jaſon as follows,
" 'Twas the third harveſt, when oblig'd to go,
" You thus addreſt me (weeping as you ſpoke)."

Had he taken notice of the preceding verſe (52), he would have ſaid only two years; and this is an inſtance to ſhew, how incumbent it is on writers not to go on too faſt; but to examine with patience the words before and after the paſſages they intend to quote. Three harveſts do not make three years, but are included pretty nearly in two years, as three ſundays in the compaſs of two weeks.

(52) Hic tibi biſque aſſas, biſque concurrat biems.

[I] The other maſſacre was, when all the children, which the Lemnians had by their Athenian concubines, were ſlain.] To give a juſt illuſtration of the words, I muſt obſerve (53), that the Athenians, having drove the Pelasgi out of Attica, gave them the tract of land which lies under the mountain Hymettus for an habitation (54). This was to reward the Pelasgi, for the pains they had taken, in building the wall of the ci-
tadel

(53) Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 137. & ſeq.

(54) Thus Herodotus calls it; others ſay Hymettus.

by grasshoppers; on which account every inhabitant was commanded, by way of tax, to kill a certain number of them; and those birds were worshipped which destroyed them [K]. Bacchus

tadel of Athens. They were so laborious in cultivating the country which was given them, that the soil which before was extremely ungrateful, was by them rendered extremely fruitful, for which reason the Athenians drove them from it. This is the only reason that Hecataeus the historian assigns for it; but they themselves would not own this injustice. They asserted that their children of both sexes (55) going to fetch water from the nine fountains, had met with very ignominious treatment from the Pelasgi, who, not contented with that insult, prepared to make an inroad, and were convicted of it. The Athenians asserted, that it was at their option to put them to death; and that they had shewn a great deal of clemency, in only driving them out of the country. The Pelasgi withdrew to different places, and particularly to the isle of Lemnos. They sought for opportunities to revenge themselves; and knowing the times on which the Athenians solemnized their festivals, they lay in ambush for those Athenian women, who were celebrating the festival of Diana in Brauron, and carried off a great number whom they made their concubines. They had a great many children by them, and taught them the language and manners of the Athenians. These children grew proud, and disdained to associate with those who were born of Lemnian mothers; and if any among them happened to fight with a child, who was a Pelasgian both by father and mother, they all ran to his assistance, and affected a superiority in every respect. The Pelasgi observing this, concluded that as these bastards might, from their infancy, unite together against legitimate children, and pretend to command over them, they would one day grow very formidable: they therefore put them all to death, and afterwards killed their Athenian concubines. This was followed by a remarkable sterility, which extended itself to their wives, their fields and their flocks. They then applied themselves to the oracle for some relief, when Apollo commanded them, to make the Athenians all the satisfaction that should be demanded. They went to Athens, and declared that this was their intention; but when a country was demanded of them, resembling a table that was spread in the Prytaneum, and covered with dainties of every kind, they replied, we will comply, when a ship shall come, in twenty four hours, from your country to ours, by a north wind. These imagined they had not bound themselves by any promise, considering the situation of Athens with respect to Lemnos. Miltiades, several years after, seized upon the Thracian Chersonesus, whence he set sail towards Lemnos; and declared to the inhabitants, that the condition contained in their promise was fulfilled, and consequently that they must quit the country. The Hephæstians obeyed, but the Myrinians made a resistance, alledging that the Chersonesus was not Attica; but Miltiades besieged them, and forced them to surrender; this is what we are told by Herodotus (56). This relation is not exactly like, in all respects, to that of Cornelius Nepos, with regard to the conquest of the island of Lemnos; for this last historian (57) supposes that Miltiades, before he subdued the Chersonesus, directed himself to the Lemnians, to summon them to retire voluntarily elsewhere, and that they made him the abovementioned answer; that having conquered the Chersonesus, he returned to Lemnos, and demanded the performance of what had been stipulated; and that the Lemnians not having dared to resist, gave up the island to him. Cornelius Nepos calls them Carians, and not Pelasgi. It appears from several passages of Thucydides, that the inhabitants of Lemnos sided with the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war. They at that time spoke the same language, and governed by the same laws as the Athenians (58).

Note, Herodotus observes, that the Greeks gave the name, Lemnian action, to a heinous crime, because of the massacre of the Athenian concubines &c. and the barbarity with which the Lemnian women had dispatched their husbands, without even sparing King Thoas. This is the true sense of the words of this historian; and it is without reason that a learned Critic finds some faults in them (59). Verba Herodoti, ubi

de Thoante sermo est, omnino mendosa sunt. Ἐνλαῶθα ἰδοξί σφισι κλέπειν τὰς παῖδας σὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικῶν γυναικῶν. Ἄπο τῆς δὲ τῆ ἔργη καὶ τῆ προλήμ τῆς τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες, τὰς ἀμα Θόαντι ἀνδρῶς σφίσις ἀποκτείνασαι, νομίσαι ἀπὸ τῆν ἰλλάδα τὰ σχήτλια ἔργη πάντα Λήμνια κατέσθαι (60). Nemo enim de Thoante hoc tradidit. Igitur due voces, ἀμα Θόαντι, aut glossemata sunt, aut corrupta est prior, & legendum: παρὰ Θόαντι. Barthius does not express his idea very clearly; for we do not know what he means by these words, Nemo de Thoante hoc tradidit. Does he mean, that no author has related that the Lemnian women, favoured or assisted by Thoas, dispatched their husbands? But this is not Herodotus's meaning. Does he mean that all authors are agreed, that Thoas was not killed; and therefore that there is an error in the passage of Herodotus, if it be pretended that Thoas is here included in the number of the Lemnians who were killed by the women? In that case he is mistaken; since some authors say, that the women having discovered that Hypsipyle had not killed her father Thoas, they made her narrow a search after her, that they found her, and appellantur.

Erasmus has committed some errors, in epitomizing Herodotus's relation. He says (62), in the first place, that the Lemnians carried off the Athenian women, during the celebration of a festival of Minerva at Brauron. He should have said Diana, and not Minerva. He adds, in the second place, that the Athenian concubines would not suffer their sons to marry the legitimate daughters of the Lemnians. Now Herodotus does not say this, but supposes that those bastards were killed before they had attained a marriageable age. Erasmus's third error is, his asserting that, after this massacre, the Lemnians were affected with barrenness, and many other evils. Herodotus mentions only the barrenness of the earth, and that of women Πυρόμενοι δὲ λιμῶν τε καὶ ἀπειθῆν. Pariter fame & liberorum orbitate vexati (63). Fourthly; Erasmus charges him most falsely with saying, that these evils partly gave rise to the proverb Lemnia mala. Fifthly; that the other circumstance which gave rise to this proverb was, that the Lemnian women, unable to bear the stench of their husbands, murdered them all, being assisted by Thoas. It is true indeed that Herodotus vouches occasionally, as one of the reasons of the proverb, the slaughter which the Lemnian women made; but he does not say that their husbands stunk; and affirms that Thoas met with the same unhappy fate as the rest. Benedict, in his paraphrase of Pindar, is grossly mistaken; for, instead of saying that the Lemnians were incommoded with the stench of their wives, he affirms that the latter were incommoded with the stench of their husbands. Quinetiam in Lemnium venerunt (Argonautæ) . . . & cum Lemniadibus mulieribus, quæ maritos omnes eorum graveolentia offensa occiderant, rem babuerunt (64). This error has not been corrected in the edition of Pindar, printed at Oxford in 1698. The Scholiast, from whom Benedict had taken a passage (65), not long before, might have kept him from falling into Erasmus's snare. Moreri falls into it headlong, though he did not copy all the errors of that learned man; and indeed he has only taken a very small number of incidents which he met with in his Adages. The Pelasgi, says he (66), carried off the Athenian women, and had children by them whom they afterwards killed, observing they had inclinations contrary to theirs. And they killed their husbands by the assistance of Thoas. It is plain to every one, that this is assigning in too indefinite and too unlikely a manner, the motive which prompted the Lemnians to murder their husbands. It is likewise plainly telling us, that the action of these women was after the massacre of the bastards; as extravagant a falsity as the pretended assistance of Thoas.

[K] Birds were worshipped . . . which . . . killed . . . Grasshoppers.] Here follows a very curious passage (67). In Cyrenæica regione lux etiam est ter anno debellandi cas, primo ova obtinendo, deinde scetum, postremo adultas: desertoris pœna in eum, qui cessaverit. Et in Lemno insula certa mensura præfinita est, quam singuli emecatarum ad magistratus referant. Graculos (68) quoque ob id colunt, adverso volatu occurrentes earum exitio. & 7.

(60) Here follows the Latin translation of this Greek, in the edition of Herodotus: Itaque placitum est ut eos filius è matribus Atticis suscepas necarent. . . . Ex hoc facinore, & illo superiore feminarum, quæ viros suos unacum Thoante interemerunt, usu receptum est per Græciam ut terribilissima quæque facinora Lemnia appellantur.

(61) See Mericac on Ovid's Epistles, pag. 561. See also pag. 558.

(62) Erasmus, Adag. Chil. Cent. 9. num. 27. pag. m. 302.

(63) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 139.

(64) Paraphr. Pindari, Od. 4. Pyth. pag. m. 371.

(65) Ad Stroph. 5. Od. 4. pag. 330.

(66) Moreri, under the word Lemnos.

(67) Plinius, lib. 11. cap. 29. pag. m. 528.

(68) Father Hardouin has a good remark here. Conicularum, says he, e genere avis est graculus veterum Latinarum; nos Choucas vocamus, ut restit Bellonius admodum, lib. 6. cap. 3.

(55) Herodotus observes, that neither the Athenians, nor the rest of the Greeks had slaves in those days.

(56) Herodotus, lib. 6. cap. 137. & 139.

(57) Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Miltiadis.

(58) Thucydides, lib. 7. pag. m. 436.

(59) Barth. in Statium Theb. lib. 5. ver. 328. pag. 167. tom. 3.

Bacchus and Diana were there had in great veneration; but not Venus [L], who, on the other hand, did not love that country. She had received a signal affront there, it being in the island of Lemnos that Vulcan exposed her linked with the God Mars (b); and gave all the Gods a fight of her, as caught in the amorous act; however Homer is not of that opinion; he supposing heaven to be the scene of this adventure (i). The Persians took this island in the reign of Darius son of Hyftaspes, and placed a Governor over it who treated the people with great inhumanity (k). It was subdued long after by Miltiades (l), on which occasion Herodotus tells us an incident which cannot be made to agree with that of Plutarch [M]. Ubbo Emmius affirms that the Amazons reigned in that island before it was inhabited by the descendants of the Argonauts (n). I should be glad to know in what good author he found that circumstance. I have read in Vitruvius, that the Romans gave the revenue of it to the Athenians (n). If what Strabo wrote concerning it had been preserved, I do not doubt but we should have met with some curious particulars in them; but this part of that excellent Geographer's work is lost; and

(b) See the Scholiast of Statius in Theb. lib. 5. ver. 59.

(i) Homer. *Odys.* lib. 8.

(k) Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 26, 27.

(l) Idem, lib. 6. cap. 140.

(m) Ubbo Emmius, lib. 7. de *Vetri Gracia*, pag. 141. I am to observe, that if he goes upon what Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 348. relates, viz. that the Amazons had built the city of Myrina, his foundation is quite bad, there being several cities called Myrina.

(n) Vitruv. lib. 7. cap. 7.

Moreri

i. e. "There is a law, in Cyrene for destroying them thrice a year; first by breaking their eggs, next their young, and lastly such as are full grown; and those persons who discontinued the slaughter were punished as deserters. And it is decreed in the island of Lemnos, that every man shall kill a certain number, and bring them to the magistrate. They also worship Jays, who fly forward when they go to destroy them." I will also quote Plutarch, though he differs from Pliny, with respect to the kind of bird which the Lemnians worshipped. The Egyptians, says he (69), honoured the Ox, the Sheep and Ichneumon, for the advantage and profit which they receive from them, as the inhabitants of Lemnos honoured Sky-larks, because they find out Grasshoppers eggs, and break them to pieces.

(69) Plut. de *Iside & Osiride*, pag. 380. N. B. Mr. Bayle made use of Amiot's version.

[L] Bacchus and Diana were there had in great veneration, but not Venus.] Thoas King of Lemnos, was the son of Bacchus and Ariadne (70); and therefore it is no wonder that the worship of Bacchus should be well established in this island. It was in the temple of this God that Hypsipyle concealed her father, the night of the massacre (71). Strabo informs us, that the mysteries of Samothrace and those of Lemnos resemble the ceremonies observed by the Bacchantes (72). Farther, this isle was so fruitful in wine, that this circumstance alone might make it be considered as a country consecrated to the God in question. Quintus Calaber calls it *ἀμπελόιστος*, abounding in wines (73), and travellers relate, that it very justly deserves this epithet to this day (74). With respect to the worship of Diana, I shall content myself with pointing out the place where Plutarch relates that the Lemnians, being drove from their island, carried with them wherever they went the image or statue of Diana, which they had carried off from Brauron (75). I likewise will observe that they stamped the figure of this Goddess on their *Terra sigillata*. See Salmastius in his *Exercitationes Pliniana in Solinum*, pag. 1156. All authors; who mention the brutal fury with which the Lemnian women were fired against their husbands, observe, that the stench which made them so distasteful, was owing to Venus's anger, at her being so much neglected and despised in that island! See Apollodorus (76), Hyginus (77), the Scholiast on Apollonius (78), &c. Barthius has committed another error. He is of opinion that the Lemnians, in process of time, consecrated an image of Venus, which was one of the most perfect statues of antiquity. Venerem etiam Lemniam, says he (79), inter pulcherrima simulacra cultam postea, discernimus ex Luciani Imaginibus. Item Lemniam Minervam, à Lemniis dedicatam, quod omnium fuerit Phidiae operum elaboratissimum, Pausaniae Atticis. i. e. "Lucian's images inform us, that the Venus of Lemnos was afterwards adored among the most beautiful statues: we learn also from Pausania's Atticks, that the inhabitants of Lemnos dedicated a Lemnian Minerva, which was the most elaborate of all Phidias's works." He has reason to say that the Minerva, which was Phidias's master-piece, was dedicated by the Lemnians. Pausania affirms that it was therefore firnamed the Lemnian. See the 28th chapter of his first book: but Barthius is in the wrong to distinguish it from the image mentioned by Lucian, and pretend that Lucian spoke of a Lemnian Venus. He has mentioned the Minerva of that name. This cannot be doubted, when we take notice of the re-

(70) Ovid. *Epist. Hypsipyl. Apolloni*, lib. 1. Argon. & multi alii apud Meziriac on *Ovid's Epistles*, pag. 532.

(71) Val. Flacc. lib. 2. ver. 254.

(72) Strabo, lib. 10. pag. 321.

(73) Quint. Calab. lib. 9. ver. 337.

(74) See Belon, *Observations*, lib. 1. chap. 25.

(75) Plutarch. de *Virtutib. Mulier.* pag. 247.

(76) Lib. 1. pag. m. 55.

(77) Cap. 5.

(78) In Lib. 1. ver. 209.

(79) Barth. in *Statium*, tom. 3. pag. 166, 167.

mark he has made, viz. that it was the most excellent work Phidias ever made, and to which he set his name (80).

[M] Herodotus tells us an incident, which cannot be made to agree with that of Plutarch.] This last mentioned author relates, that the Tyrrhenians having seized on the islands of Lemnos, and of Imbros, carried off the Athenian women from Brauron, and had children by them. This race was drove from those islands by the Athenians, who looked upon them as half barbarous. The race or people in question failed towards Peloponnesus, and went ashore at Tenarus, where they did good services to the Lacedemonians, in the war against the Heilotes, for which they were rewarded with their freedom, and liberty to marry into the Lacedemonian families; but not the privilege of serving publick offices, or being admitted into the council. This exclusion made the people in question be suspected of designing to embroil the state; upon which their persons were secured, and they were confined close prisoners, till such time as proofs should be got to prove them guilty of the plot. Now their wives having obtained leave to visit them, changed clothes with their husbands, by which means they got out of confinement, and left the wives in their room. Having possessed themselves of mount Taygetus, they joined the Heilotes, and became so formidable to the Lacedemonians, that it was thought proper to capitulate with them. Their wives were restored to them, they were furnished with money and ships; and a promise made, that they should be acknowledged as relations, and as a colony of Spartans, wherever they might settle. They accepted of these conditions, and part of them went and settled at Melos, and the rest in Crete. The latter, after fighting several battles, possessed themselves of Lyctus, with some other cities; and thence the inhabitants of Lyctus pretended, that they, by the mother's side, were related to the Athenians; and looked upon themselves as a Lacedemonian colony (81). This is Plutarch's relation. Those whom he calls Tyrrhenians, and a little lower Pelasgi, are the same people as those whom Herodotus calls Pelasgi. These two names belong to the same people (82); and we are not to imagine, that those authors who have said, that the isle of Lemnos was inhabited by the Tyrrhenians (83), differ from those who say it was possessed by the Pelasgi. Hitherto then there is no difference between Herodotus and Plutarch; but when the latter affirms, that the posterity of the Athenian women, carried off from Brauron by the Tyrrhenians, who had settled in the islands of Lemnos and Imbros; that this posterity, I say, were drove from those islands by the Athenians, he does not agree with Herodotus, who asserts, that the Lemnians themselves killed all the children which those Athenian women brought them. These two historians differ greatly with respect to the æra; one of them (84) declares that Miltiades drove out the Lemnians; and the other makes this expulsion to be of much more remote antiquity, or at least confounds what he ought to have separated. The history of these women, who procured liberty to their husbands, relates, in Herodotus, to a period that is much earlier than Miltiades, and has not the circumstances observed by Plutarch.

(80) Lucian. in *Imagin.* pag. 5. tom. 2.

(81) Extracted from Plutarch, de *Virtut. Mulierum*, pag. 247.

(82) See Cleverius in *Italia Antiqua*, lib. 2. cap. 1. and Strabo, lib. 5. pag. 153.

(83) Schol. Apollonii in lib. 1. ver. 608.

(84) i. e. Herodotus.

Herodotus's account is as follows (85). The inhabitants of Lemnos, descended from the Argonauts,

(85) Herodotus. lib. 4. cap. 145 & seq.

(p) Under the word *Lemnos*.
 (q) See Vianoli, *dell' Historia Veneta*, tom. 1. pag. 724.
 (r) Under the word *Stalimene*.
 (s) Under the word *Lemnos*.
 (t) Vianoli, *dell' Historia Veneta*, tom. 1. pag. 138.

Moreri (v) cites him as an author who speaks *pretty circumstantially* of it. Lemnos is now called Stalimene. The Turks besieged it in 1475, but were forced to raise the siege. It was on this occasion that a maiden named Marulla (p) displayed her great courage; a circumstance which Moreri has mentioned (q), but he falsely supposes that she lived in the fourteenth Century. He adds (r) that Mahomet II dispossessed the Venetians of that island; but this is not expressing himself with accuracy, since he became master of it only by a treaty of peace in the year 1478 (s). The Venetians reconquered it in the year 1656; and the Turks recovered it the succeeding year, after a long siege. I forgot to mention the flower called *Lychmis*. See the margin.

(t) The flower *Lychmis* did not grow more beautiful in any country than in the island of Lemnos. It sprung from the water in which Venus washed herself after she had lain with Vulcan. See *Arboreus*, lib. 15. pag. 681. Compare with this the remark [DD] of the article JUNO.

nauts, were drove from that island by the Pelasgi who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron. They retired to the country of the Lacedemonians, and informed them, that they were the descendants of the Argonauts; and that having been drove from their country, they returned to their ancestors, and desired leave to live with them. The Lacedemonians calling to mind that Castor and Pollux had shared in Jason's expedition indulged a very gracious reception to these fugitives; gave them lands, and incorporated them into their tribes. These refugees married other wives, after yielding to other men those whom they had brought from the isle of Lemnos. They soon grew proud; would govern others, and commit very heinous actions, upon which they were cast into prison; and a resolution was taken to put them to death, but their wives saved them, by changing their clothes in the manner abovementioned. The design was still continued of putting them to death; but Theras, who was preparing to found a colony, interceded for them; and promised to take them along with him, and by

that means prevent all fears of further dangers from them. His request was granted; most of these people dispersed themselves; and the rest followed Theras, who founded a colony in the island which went by his name (86). It is to be observed that he had been preceptor to Euristhenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, one of the chiefs of the Heraclidæ, who returned to Peloponnesus (87); and conclude from thence, that he flourished six hundred years, or thereabouts, before Miltiades. It is also to be remarked that the Scholiast on Pindar (88) relates the incident very near the same as Herodotus; and that both observe that Battus sprung from one of the Lemnians of Theras's colony, founded the city of Cyrene. It would be unjust for any person to assert that this is foreign to my subject. Two reasons would refute this reproach; first, because, as a critic, I am bound to shew the variations between Herodotus and Plutarch; and secondly, as an historian, I am obliged to collect the adventures of the inhabitants of the island of Lemnos.

(86) The island of Thera.

(87) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 147.

(88) Scholiastes Pindari in Od. 4. Pyth. ver. 88. pag. 218. edit. Oxon. 1698. He will have it that the prisoners were delivered by their mothers.

LENFANT (JAMES), a learned French writer in the eighteenth Century, was born at Bazoches in Beauvais April the 13th 1661. He was son of Paul Lenfant, Minister at Chatillon sur Loire, who died at Marbourg in June 1686, by Anne Dergnouvst of Preffinville, who died at Berlin December the 6th 1692. Our author studied Divinity at Saumur, where he lodged at the house of James Cappel, Professor of Hebrew, by whom he was always highly esteemed; and afterwards went to Geneva to continue his studies there. He left that city towards the end of the year 1683, and went to Heidelberg, where he received imposition of hands for the Ministry in August 1684. He discharged the duties of his function there with great reputation, as Chaplain of the Electress Dowager of Palatine, and Pastor in ordinary to the French Church. The descent of the French into the Palatinate obliged Mr. Lenfant to depart from Heidelberg in 1688. Two letters which he had written against the Jesuits, and which are inserted at the end of his *Préservatif*, would not permit him to continue at the mercy of a society, whose generosity is not very remarkable. He left the Palatinate therefore in October 1688 with the consent of his Church and Superiors, and arrived at Berlin in November following. Though the French Church of Berlin had already a sufficient number of Ministers, the Elector Frederick, afterwards King of Prussia, appointed Mr. Lenfant one of them, who began his functions there on Easter-day March the 21st 1689, and continued them in that Church thirty nine years and four months, distinguishing himself to great advantage by his writings [A]. In 1705 he married Emilia Gourgeaud de Venours, a young Lady of a good family in Poitou; but had no children by her. His merit was

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[A] His writings.] They are as follow. I. *Considérations générales sur le Livre de Mr. Bruys*. He wrote these considerations in the year 1683, when he was but between twenty two and twenty three years of age, and they were printed at Rotterdam the year following. II. *Lettres choisies de St. Cyprien*. Amsterdam 1688 in 8vo. III. *L'innocence du Catechisme de Heidelberg*. 1690 This little piece was reprinted in 1723 at the end of his *Préservatif*. IV. *De inquirendâ Veritate*. Geneva 1691 in 4to. It is a Latin translation of Father Malebranche's *Recherche de la Verité*. It appears from a letter of Mr. Lenfant to Mr. de Sauzet published in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* of February 15, 1716, that this Translation was finished in 1683; but that it was not printed till 1691 on account of some disorder, which happened in the affairs of the Bookseller, who had undertaken the impression. We find in the same *Nouvelles Littéraires* the letter, which Father Malebranche wrote to Mr. Lenfant upon his translation. V. *Histoire de la Papesse Jeanne fidèlement tirée de Dissertation Latine de Mr. Spanheim, Professeur en Theologie à Leyde*. Cologne, (that is, Amsterdam) 1694 in 8vo. The fourth part is by Mr. Des-Vignoles, who has added to it several articles in a second edition printed at the Hague in 1720. Mr. Lenfant had no

share in that edition. See the bookseller's advertisement. VI. *Remarques sur l'Édition Grecque du N. Testament par M. Mill*, dated June the 5th 1708. This piece is published in the *Bibliothèque choisie* of Mr. Le Clerc, Tom. XVI. p. 275. VII. *Lettre Latine sur le même sujet*, dated December the 31st 1708. Printed in the same *Bibliothèque*. Tom. XVIII. pag. 209. VIII. *Lettre Latine à Mr. Des-Vignoles sur l'Édition du N. Testament donnée par M. Kuster*. Dated June the 17th 1710, and published in the same *Bibliothèque*, Tom. XXI. p. 97. IX. *Réflexions & Remarques sur la Dispute du P. Martianay avec un Juif*: Inserted in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of May 1709, p. 479, and June, p. 599. X. *Mémoire Historique touchant la Communion sous les deux Especes*: Inserted in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of September 1709, p. 243. XI. *Critique des Remarques du P. Vavasseur sur les Réflexions du P. Rapin, touchant la Poétique*: Inserted in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of February 1710. p. 123, and March p. 253. XII. *Réponse de M. Lenfant à M. Dartis au sujet du Socinianisme*. Berlin. 1712 in 4to. Our author published another pamphlet at the same place in 1719, in which he replied to divers things advanced by Monsieur Dartis in a letter, which he

so conspicuous, that he had all the marks of distinction shewn him suitable to his profession. He was Preacher to the late Queen of Prussia, Charlotta Sophia, who was eminent for her admirable sense and extensive knowledge. After her death he became Chaplain to the late King of Prussia. He was Counsellor of the Superior Consistory, and Member of the French Council, which were formed to direct the general affairs of that Nation. In 1710 he was chosen a Member of the *Society for propagating the Gospel* established in England; and March the 2d 1724 was elected Member of the *Academy of Sciences* at Berlin. In 1707 he took a journey to Holland and England, where he had the honour to preach before Queen Anne; and if he had thought proper to leave his Church at Berlin, for which he had a great respect, he might have had a settlement at London with the title of Chaplain to her Majesty. In 1712 he took a journey to Helmstad, in 1715 to Leipfick, and in 1725 to Breslaw. His design was to search for rare books and manuscripts necessary for the compiling the histories which he was writing. He was honoured with several from the Electress of Brunswic-Lunebourg Princess Palatine; the Princess of Wales, now Queen of Great Britain; the Count de Fleming; Monsieur Dagueffeau,

he entitled, *Lettre Pastorale*. Our author did not think it worth his while to reply to several other pieces of Monsieur Dartis. XIII. *Lettre sur le sens litteral des anciens Oracles, à l'occasion de Dissertation sur le Pseaume CX.* published in the *Histoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres*, Tom. VI. p. 43. XIV. *Lettre sur un Dispute avec le P. Vota Jesuite:* Published in the *Bibliothèque Choise, Tom. XXIII. p. 327.* XV. *Histoire du Concile de Constance, tirée principalement d'Auteurs, qui ont assisté au Concile. Enrichie de Portraits.* Amsterdam 1714, two volumes in 4to. A new edition revised, corrected, and considerably enlarged, was printed at Amsterdam 1728 in two volumes in 4to. Father Niceron tells us (1), "that there are few Histories written so exactly and judiciously as this; and though compiled by a Protestant, it does not shew the least sign of partiality." Bishop Burnet in the preface to his third volume of the *History of the Reformation* gives the following character of it. "There is another History written in French, and which, I hope, is soon to appear in our own language, which I cannot recommend more than it deserves. It is Mr. Lefant's *History of the Council of Constance*, in which that excellent person has with great care, and a sincerity liable to no exception, given the world so true a view of the state of the Church and of Religion, in the age before the Reformation, that I know no book so proper to prepare a man for reading the *History of the Reformation*, as the attentive perusal of that noble work. He was indeed well furnished with a collection of excellent materials, gathered with great fidelity and industry by the learned Dr. Vander Hart, Professor of Divinity in the University of Helmstadt, and procured for him by the noble zeal and princely bounty of that most serene and pious Prince Rodolph August, the late Duke of Brunswic-Wolfembutte, who set himself with great care, and at a vast charge to procure from all places the copies of all papers and manuscripts, that could be found, to give light to the proceedings of that great assembly. That collection amounted to six volumes in folio. From these authentic vouchers the *History* of that Council is now happily compiled. And if that learned author can find materials to give us as full and as clear a History of the Council of Basle, as he has given of that Constance, I know no greater service can be done to the world. For by it Popery will appear in its true and native colours, free from those palliating disguises, which the progress of the Reformation, and the light, which by that has been given the world, has forced upon those of that communion. We have the celebrated *History of the Council of Trent* written with a true sublimity of judgment and an unbiassed sincerity. But how well and how justly soever the History, which Father Paul gave the world of that Council, is esteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late *History of the Council of Constance* even to that admired work, so far at least, as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the best of all that have written after that noble pattern, which the famous Venetian Friar has given to all the writers of Ecclesiastical History." It was translated into English by Mr. Stephen Whatley, and printed at London 1730 in 4to. XVI. *Apologie pour l'Auteur de l'Histoire du Concile de Constance contre le Journal de Trevoux du Mois de Decembre 1714.* Amsterdam 1716

in 4to. This apology is reprinted at the end of the second volume of the second edition of the *Histoire du Concile de Constance*. XVII. *Discours prononcé à Berlin dans l'Eglise de Werder le 26 Decembre de l'année 1715 jour de Jubilé, sur les 15 premiers versets du Chapitre XLIV de l'Ecclesiastique:* Berlin in 4to and reprinted more correctly in 12mo at Amsterdam 1716. XVIII. *Traaduction du N. Testament avec des Remarques, & d'amples Préfaces.* Our author made this translation of the New Testament in conjunction with Monsieur Beaufobre. It was printed at Amsterdam 1718 in two volumes in 4to. XIX. *Le Poggiana, ou la Vie, le Caractere, les Sentences, & les bons mots de Pogge Florentin, avec l'Histoire de Florence écrite par le Pogge. Et un Supplement de diverses Pieces importantes.* Amsterdam 1720 in 8vo. XX. *Lettre à M. de la Motte,* being a supplement to the *Poggiana* published in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. I. p. 112. XXI. *Lettre à M. de la Crose,* concerning some corrections of the *Poggiana:* Inserted in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. I. p. 240. XXII. *Réponse aux Remarques de M. de la Monnoye sur le Poggiana:* Inserted in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. IV. p. 70. XXIII. *Lettre à M. Des Vignoles sur les Prieres des Payens,* Ibid. p. 189. XXIV. *Dissertation sur cette Question; Si Pythagore & Platon ont eu Connoissance des Livres de Moïse & de ceux des Prophètes:* Inserted in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. II. p. 124. XXV. *Eclaircissement sur ce qu'il avoit fait descendre Charles VI de Charlemagne:* Ibid. p. 173. XXVI. *Lettre sur les paroles inutiles; Matth. xii. 36.* Inserted in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. III. p. 98. XXVII. *Préservatif contre la réunion avec le Siege de Rome. ou Apologie de notre separation d'avec ce Siege.* Amsterdam 1723 in 8vo five volumes, including *L'Innocence du Catechisme de Heidelberg démontrée contre deux Libelles d'un Jesuite du Palatinat, ou l'on a joint des Discours sur les Catechismes, sur les Formulaires, & sur les Confessions de Foi.* XXVIII. *Histoire du Concile de Pise, & de ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable depuis ce Concile jusqu'au Concile de Constance. Enrichie de Portraits.* Amsterdam 1724, two volumes in 4to. XXIX. *Seize Sermons sur divers Textes;* Amsterdam 1728 in 8vo. XXX. *Une Preface generale sur l'Ancien & le Nouveau Testament:* Prefixed to a French Bible, printed in 8vo at Hanover and Leipfick in 1728. XXXI. *Remarks upon Father Gijbert's Treatise upon Christian Eloquence,* published with the following title: *L'Eloquence Chrétienne dans l'idée & dans la Pratique. Par le P. Gijbert, de la Comp. de Jesus. Nouvelle Edition, ou l'on a joint les Remarques de Mr. Lefant.* Amsterdam 1728 in 12mo. XXXII. *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites & du Concile de Basle. Enrichie de Portraits.* Utrecht 1731, two volumes in 4to. It is dedicated by his widow to the Prince Royal of Prussia. This was the last work, in which our author was engaged. He hastened the finishing it as much as possible, and as if he had foreseen his approaching death. He had revised the copy of the first volume, and was actually reading over that of the second, when he was seized with the apoplexy. If he had not been prevented by this, he would have continued his History to about the year 1460, whereas it concludes with the beginning of the year 1454. To this History is added Monsieur Beaufobre's *Dissertation upon the Adamites of Bohemia.* XXXIII. He left behind him remarks on several works, and some tracts.

T.

(1) *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes illustres,* tom. 9. pag. 251.

Dagueffeau, Chancellor of France; and a great number of learned men, both Protestants and Papists, among [the latter of whom was the Abbé Bignon. It is not certain whether it was he, who first formed the design of the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, which began in 1720; or whether it was suggested to him by one of the society of learned men, which took the name of *Anonymous*. They ordinarily met at his house. When the King of Poland was at Berlin, in the end of May and beginning of June 1728, Mr. Lentant dreamt, that he was ordered to preach. He excused himself that he was not prepared; and not knowing what subject he should pitch upon, was directed to preach upon these words, Isaiah xxxviii. 1. *Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live*. He related this dream to some of his friends, but said nothing of it to his wife for fear of alarming her. It is not known whether this dream made any impression on him; for he was not at all credulous or superstitious; but it is certain, that he made the utmost haste to finish his *History of the war of the Hussites and the Council of Basil*. On Sunday July the 25th following he had preached in his turn at his Church upon *Matth. vii. 24, 25*. but on Thursday following, which was the 29th of the same month, he was surprized with a slight attack of the palsy; but on the 4th of August he was seized with a more violent fit of that distemper, of which he died on the 7th of that month, aged sixty seven years, four months, and six days. His body was interred at Berlin August the 9th at the foot of the pulpit of the French Church, called *Werder-Church*, from the quarter, where it is situated, in which Church our author ordinarily preached since the year 1715, when his Prussian Majesty appointed particular Ministers to every Church, [whereas before they were all served by the same Ministers in their turns. His stature was a little below the common height. His eye was very lively and penetrating. He did not talk much, but always extremely well. Whenever any dispute arose in conversation he spoke without any heat; a proper and delicate irony was the only weapon he made use of on such occasions. He loved company, and passed but few days without seeing some of his friends. But his writings lost nothing by this. He returned to his labour with new vigour, and never wrote better than when he had been enlivened with an agreeable conversation. He was a sincere friend, and an enemy to no man. He was remarkable for a disinterested and generous disposition. He had the reputation of an excellent Preacher, and was really so. His voice was good; his pronunciation distinct and varied; his style clear, grave, and elegant without affectation; and he entered into the true sense of a text with great force (a).

(a) See the *Memoire Historique de la Vie, de la Mort, & des Ouvrages de Mr. Lentant*, printed in the *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. 26. pag. 115. and prefixed to his *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites & du Concile de Basle*, edit. Utrecht 1731, in 4to.

LENTULUS (SCIPIO) was a Neapolitan, who quitted the Church of Rome, and embraced the Protestant Religion in the sixteenth Century. He was Minister at Chivavenne in the country of the Grisons; and employed his pen in defending an edict which the Grison Leagues published in 1570 against the Sectarists (a) [A]. These did not fail to attack this edict, with those arguments for toleration, which the Protestants themselves alledged against Roman Catholics, in countries where persecution was practised; but our Lentulus answered those arguments. He composed an Italian Grammar that was printed in Geneva in the year 1568 (b).

(a) *Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri*.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Pierre Gilles, *Hist. Ecclesiast. de Valées de Piedm.* pag. 110.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 105.

I add that he sometimes preached in Ferrara, before the Dutchess Renata of France (c); that he afterwards was Minister of St. John's Church in the Vale of Lucerne (d); that he made a reply to a work of Possévinus the Jesuit, who, in the year 1560 had been sent into that country to make converts [B]; that he suffered greatly by the caprices and injurious

[A] He . . . employed his pen in defending an edict . . . against the Sectarists.] In the Epitome of Gesner's *Bibliothèque*, this work of Lentulus is mentioned as a book which was not yet printed. *Ejusdem liber de jure Magistratum in puniendis hæreticis, quo Sylvii cujusdam Epistolam hereticis patrocinantem refutat nondum editus*. This is found in page 744 of that epitome, Zurich edition 1583. In fine, the work was printed at Geneva by John le Preux anno 1592 in 8vo. The title of it is this: *Responsio orthodoxa pro Edicto Illustrissimorum D. D. trium sæderum Rheticiæ adversus hæreticos, & alios Ecclesiarum Rheticiarum perturbatores promulgato; in qua de Magistratus auctoritate & officio in coercendis hæreticis, ex verbo Dei disputatur*. I know some people, who having read in the catalogue of the Bodleian library, that Lentulus's apology for the edict of the Grison leagues was printed in 1502, racked their imaginations to find out what this sect could be, which occasioned the enacting of this league among the Grisons, in the beginning of the XVI century. A great number of books were turned over; and even persons were consulted who had fine libraries, and who started a thousand conjectures. At last, the true date of the edition of the apology was discovered; and a fresh instance was given of the confusion, into which the errors of the prels throw authors on a thousand occasions. Voetius observes, that the sectarists, condemned by the edict of the Grison leagues were

Arians, or worse than Arians; and that Lentulus gave the particulars of their blasphemous Tenets in his preface (1). He likewise observes (2), that Lentulus's orthodox answer pro Edicto &c. refuted the complaints, which an anonymous author had published in 1570 against the edict of the Grisons, and that it was published in 1573. This differs widely from what is found in the epitome of Gesner.

(1) Gilbert, Voetius, *Polit. Eccles.* tom. 2. pag. 539.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 386.

[B] He made a reply to a work of Possévinus the Jesuit, who, in 1560, had been sent into that country to make converts]. Possévinus, but a few months before, had been made a Jesuit at twenty six years of age (3); and I therefore do not wonder that this title should not be given him, by the historian who furnishes me with the following passage. The Pope having signified to the Duke of Savoy, that it would be necessary to employ force, in order to convert the hereticks of the valleys of Piedmont, it was resolved, in his Highness's council, to comply with the Pope's advice; but that, to keep up some shew of a regularity in proceeding, some person, who was well qualified to point out, and convince the people in question of their errors, should be sent into the valleys; and that they should proceed to such measures as were needful, according to the success which this person should meet with; and, for the affair in question, they made choice of Anthony Poussévin, commander of St. Anthony de Fossano (4), a man of great reputation among them, but whose actions shewed he was not the man they took bim

(3) See Ale-gambe, pag. 42.

(4) Alegambe, pag. 41. observes that Cardinal Hercules de Gonzaga had given Possévin the Commandery of St. Anthony de Fossano. S. Antonii apud Fossanum, Præceptoria donatus.

rious treatment of Castrocara who commanded in the vallies of Piedmont; that he was obliged, on this account, to seek another dwelling in the year 1565, and that he retired to Chbiavenne in the country of the Grisons, and there continued the exercise of his ministerial functions till his death (e). No one ought to be surprized, upon pretence that Lentulus himself had been formerly persecuted, at his writing an apology for the edict which the Grisons had published against the Heretics; nothing being more common than to hear persons who fled for the sake of Religion, founding the alarm against Sectarists.

(e) Ibid. pag. 201.

bim for. His highness gave him his letters patents, dated the seventh of July, which declared him as sent to establish preachers of the Christian Doctrine in his dominions; and particularly in his vallies of Piedmont, with provisions necessary for their maintenance. Commanding, for this end, all persons bearing ecclesiastical or civil offices; all syndicks, communities, and in general all his subjects, to afford him all the assistance necessary for the execution of the said commission (5). This man having set out from Nice, where his Highness was, went directly to Courmayeur . . . and having assembled the people in the chief Church of the town, he went up into the pulpit; read the Letters of his commission, by way of text; explained them by enlarging and exaggerating on what he intended to do in the neighbouring vallies, viz. to convince and confound the ministers; to drive them away; to set up in their room persons who should preach up the Pope; to prove that the mass was good, to oblige all the inhabitants of those vallies to go to it; and to denounce extirpation with respect to all those who should refuse obedience to his commands (6). He went and did the same in Bubiano in the valley of Luferne, and in Luferne the capital of the valley, . . . and commanded the leaders of the Protestants to attend him, the 26th of July. He came into the assembly, together with a great number of the nobility, magistrates, and other principal men of the religion he professed, when he laid before them the reasons of his coming, and caused the letters of his commission to be read; he afterwards caused to be read the letters and petitions which the Protestants had writ to his royal Highness, and his council, which he had brought back with him, and demanded of them, Whether they owned the sending of such pieces or writings, and whether they would observe what they had promised in them. They answered yes (7). He then offered some reasons to prove the mass; when the protestant Ministers having proposed their difficulties to him, "he broke with the utmost fury into exclamations and abusive language; at which the persons who accompanied him seemed very much grieved and ashamed, to see that a man of so much reputation among them, had not been able to produce one single reason in defence of their religion; nor any thing to point out, to the other party, their errors; and besides, had behaved in so immoderate and abusive a manner. Coming a little to himself he said, that he was not come to dispute with the protestant clergymen, but to drive them away, and settle other preachers in their room, pursuant to the commission he had received for that purpose; and without hearing any thing, or making the least answer, he commanded Mr. Anthony Malingre, Notary of Bagnol, to draw up in form his command to the Syndicks of the several communities; and in their persons, to all the other inhabitants of the said places respectively, to drive away all the Lutheran Ministers who preached there, without hearing them any more either in public or private; and farther, to receive and hear the

(5) Peter Gilles, Hist. Ecclesiast. des Eglises Reformées des Vallées de Piedm. pag. 101. ad ann. 1560.

(6) Gilles, ibid. pag. 102.

(7) Gilles, ibid. pag. 103.

" preachers he should settle among them, as soon as the Protestant Ministers should be gone away; and to provide them with proper dwellings and maintenance, under the penalties contained in his Highness's edicts; ordering them to report to him the result of their deliberation in three days (8)." The Syndicks gave in their answer, to which he replied, "the fifth of August, by a long letter, informing them, that his commission implied a tacit authority to drive away the Protestant Ministers, since he was commanded to settle other preachers, which it would not be possible for him to do, so long as the Protestant Ministers should be there, who would be for ever contradicting what his preachers should say and do. This letter was filled with strong exhortations to the Protestants, to go over to the Church of Rome; with many promises to those persons who should do this spontaneously, and without constraint. He subjoined to this letter another writing, by which he endeavoured to repair part of the breach he had made in his reputation, in the assembly of the 27th of July; for he had collected some few passages of the holy Scriptures, and a few more from the Doctors of the ancient Church to prove some parts of the Mass, and likewise the practice of celibacy among the Clergy. But Scipio Lentulus, a Neapolitan, Pastor of St. John's Church, wrote a learned answer to him, which was printed a little after; and wherein he shews how greatly Poussévin was mistaken in the arguments produced by him; and how widely the new Romish Church had deviated, in such things, from the right way (9).

(8) Ibid. pag. 104.

(9) Ibid. pag. 105.

"The most reverend Poussévin (the greatest man of his party bestow this honourable title on him) perceiving that he could not repair the breaches made in his reputation, any more by his writings than his harangues; directing himself to those who were able to answer him, quite left them, and went and wreaked his indignation on such of the poor faithful (Protestants) as were scattered and dispersed among the Papists in the lowest part of the vallies, and particularly in Campillon and Fenil." He imprisoned the persons, and plundered the effects of the said scattered Protestants. . . . The greatest part of them fled, but such as were seized, met with ill treatment. Some, through infirmity, abjured the Protestant religion in the Church of Campillon, the 5th of August, in presence of all the aforesaid persons, who caused instruments thereon to be drawn up with great solemnity; they then set them at liberty, and restored to them their plundered possessions; however, the greatest part of them returned afterwards in the right way (10). . . . The greatest part of August was spent in these exactions. . . . Poussévin returned to the Duke's Court the beginning of September; and prevailed so far, by his odious and slanderous reports, that the resolution was confirmed, of proceeding against the Protestants of the vallies by force of arms (11). A strange way this of converting hereticks!

(10) Pierre Gilles, Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées des Vallées de Piedmont, pag. 106.

(11) Gilles, Hist. Eccles. des Vallées de Piedm. pag. 107.

LEO I, surnamed the Great, ascended the pontifical throne the 10th of May 440. He was a man of very great abilities; was very eloquent, courageous, and well skilled in affairs. He did not want for opportunities of displaying his exalted talents; he finding exercise enough for them in the heresies he was obliged to combat, and the wild havock committed in the Roman Empire. His zeal against the Manichees, the Priscillianists, the Pelagians, the Nestorians and Eutychians was wonderfully seconded by the penal Laws of the Emperors, which were severely executed. He did not disapprove of the extending them so far as the effusion of blood [A]: the deputation he sent to Atila was productive

[A] He did not disapprove of the extending them so far as the effusion of blood.] The reader will quickly have a proof of this, from a passage of Maimburg. It relates to the putting to death of Priscillian, and many of his followers, and the banishing several of them;

which Sulpitius Severus greatly condemned, as a very pernicious example. "Because he thought that nothing like it had been seen before. With regard to the point of banishment, no one can deny but that he was in the wrong: for it is universally known that

"Constantine

productive of very happy effects [B]; but the miracle which is added to it, is a mere fiction [C]. His eloquence had not the same success with respect to King Giseric; nor yet

“ Constantine banished those Bishops who refused to subscribe to the condemnation of Arius, that he likewise punished with banishment, which the other Emperors did after him. With regard to putting to death, it is true indeed, that Hereticks had not yet been punished capitally; but this does not imply that they may not be prosecuted with that rigour, as has often been done since. And without mentioning those who have proved in their writings, that this was not only very lawful but also very expedient, we need but peruse what St. Leo has writ on this subject, when giving (as we shall soon see) the necessary orders for proceeding in Spain against the heresy of Priscilian, he applauds Maximus for that action, and says; *that the rigour and severity of the Justice, he exercised against that heresiarch and his disciples, whom that Prince put to death, has been of very great service to the clemency of the Church. For though the Church contents itself with the lenity of Judgment, which the Bishops, pursuant to the Canons, pronounce against obstinate hereticks, and does not admit of any bloody executions; it is nevertheless greatly aided and supported by the severe ordinances of the Emperors, since the fear of so rigorous a punishment, sometimes prompts hereticks to have recourse to the spiritual remedy, to cure the mortal disease of their heresy, by a true conversion* (1).” Profit diu ista districtio Ecclesiasticæ lenitati, quæ est sacerdotali contenta iudicio cruentas refugit ultiones: severis tamen Christianorum Principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad spirituale nonnunquam recurrunt remedia, qui timent corporale supplicium (2).

[B] *The deputation he sent to Attila was productive of a very happy effect.* As this is one of the finest passages in the life of this Pope, it will be proper to enlarge a little upon it in this place. Attila had taken Aquileia, and burnt it almost to the ground: He had destroyed whatever was in his way, during his march from Aquileia to Pavia and Milan; he had made himself master of those two great Cities, and treated them as he had done all the rest, viz. had laid them quite waste. . . . (2) *So many calamitous expresses arriving upon one another's heels in Rome, threw the inhabitants of it into the utmost consternation* (3). The Senate was called together in order to debate, whether the Emperor should abandon Italy as Ætius advised him to do. In short they did not know what course to take. To defend Rome, in the condition it was then, against a numberless multitude of Barbarians, seemed a direct impossibility; to forsake it and fly, in order to seek an asylum elsewhere; this would reflect the highest ignominy on an Emperor, who ought to die honourably, rather than survive so shameful an act of cowardice. What then could be done? A medium was found between these two extremes, viz. to send a solemn embassy to Attila, in order to obtain peace from him, on conditions that might not be intolerable. This being resolved, it was thought that no person was better qualified for that employment than the holy Pope Leo, to whom strength of mind, consummate prudence, his address in engaging the hearts of men, his virtue, knowledge and eloquence joined to his dignity of Sovereign Pontiff, which made him venerable to the whole world, had acquired universally the reputation of being indisputably the greatest man of his age. The Emperor therefore conjured him to accept of that employment, which he did very willingly to save the capital of the empire, and the holy see from the invasion of Barbarians. To honour the embassy, and the Pope who was at the head of it, there were associated to him two of the greatest men of the Empire, Avienus and Trigetius, one of whom had been Consul, and the other Prefect of Rome. Some Senators were added, among whom was the father of Cassiodorus, who swayed by filial affection in one of his epistles (4); where he speaks as an orator, in making his father's eulogium, ascribes to him the whole honour and effect of this important Embassy. But in his chronicle, where he speaks as a true historian, he unsays it, and ascribes the whole to St. Leo, in like

“ manner as all other authors (4).” Attila gave a favourable reception to this Embassy, *Tota legatione dignanter accepta, ita summi Sacerdotis presentia Rex gavivus est, ut bello abstinere præciperet* (5); near Mantua, at a small distance from the place where the river Mincio discharges itself in the Po (6); and notwithstanding the fierce disposition of this Prince, he paid all kind of honours to the Pope; he listened favourably to his speech which he caused to be interpreted; and found it so beautiful, so judicious, so strong and so affecting; that Attila, this scourge of Heaven, that enemy to human nature, whose bare aspect struck the most intrepid souls with terror, and whose name alone made the earth to tremble, was softened on a sudden; grew gentle as a Lamb, he who before had been a ravenous Wolf, and immediately granted the peace he implored at his hands; and thus without exacting any grievous condition, promising to preserve it inviolably on his part; after which, turning back, he went on the other side of the Danube, whence he never returned (7).

[C] . . . but the miracle which is added to it is a mere fiction. Were I to quote a Protestant, I should startle all tender minds of the Romish Communion; and therefore I choose rather to cite a person who resided a long time among the Jesuits, and who is no ways disposed to favour those who are not of the Romish Communion. His words are as follow (8).

“ I know it is generally related, to make the incident more miraculous, that Attila's captains asking him why he had paid so much honour to this Pontiff, so far as to obey all his commands; that Pontiff answered trembling, that whilst Leo was addressing his speech to him, he saw near him a venerable old man, who holding a drawn sword, threatened to kill him in case he did not comply with all things the Pope desired. But I am obliged to say, that a person may scruple to believe any part of this, without being incredulous. And indeed this vision has not been inserted in the Paris breviary, since our learned Archbishop Francis de Harlay has restored it to its genuine state; having carefully expunged from it whatever was apocryphal or very doubtful; and substituted as the fathers of the Church, and such as are best adapted to the subject, and to the festival that is solemnized. I therefore will be so bold as to assert, that a person may, without being scruple, differ in opinion from those who give credit to this vision: for ancient authors, as Jornandes, Theophanes, Suidas, Count Marcellinus, Cassiodorus, Anastasius, and the rest who have written that embassy of St. Leo; not to mention St. Prosper who was then in Rome, and told us all the circumstances of it; and St. Leo himself who mentions it in one of his Sermons (9), take no notice of this vision, on which they however would not have been silent, had it been true. So far from it, instead of ascribing this condescension in Attila to the fear he was under from the vision and threatening sword we have spoke of, they all declare unanimously, that it was an effect of the majestic presence and powerful eloquence of St. Leo, which softened and mollified the heart of this Barbarian; and the holy Pope, who was far from glorying in it, said that it must be ascribed, not to the influence of the stars, as some of the profane would have it, but solely to the infinite mercy of God, who vouchsafed to soften and change the hearts of the Barbarians. *Quorum precibus divina censure flexa sententia est. Non sicut opinantur impii, stellarum affectibus, sed ineffabilis Dei omnipotentis misericordie deputatus est* (10). There is nothing here that intimates the vision in question. The circumstance which made it current of late years was, its being inserted in the history called *Miscella*, which is falsely ascribed to Paulus Diaconus. But besides its not being inserted in the ancient editions of that compiler, which shews that it was added at random without proof or authority; not to mention that a great many

(4) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Pontificat de St. Leon*, liv. 3. pag. 221.

(5) Prosper in Chron. à Duchesnois vulgato, cited by Maimbourg, *ibid.* pag. 222.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 224.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Miscell. lib. 15.*

(1) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Pontificat de St. Leon*, liv. 3. pag. 55, 56. edit. Holland.

(2) S. Leo, *Epist. 95. ad Turib.*

(3) *Ibid.* lib. 3. pag. 279, ad ann. 452.

(4) *Ibid.* pag. 280.

(9) *Variar. lib. 2. Epist. 4.*

(a) Printed at Paris in 1675. See the *Journal des Savans* of February 17, 1676; and Du Pin's *Biblioth.* tom. 3. Pars. 2. pag. 264. Dutch edit.

yet was it wholly fruitless [D]. Those writers who affirm that Leo cut off his own hand [E], because he felt some irregular impulses whilst a woman was kissing it, and who add that he got it restored by the great fervency of his prayers, relate two falfities. The best edition of his works is that of Father Quesnel (a). Some of the books which

are
 " more palpable falfities are included in this history ;
 " the vision in question is related there merely on a
 " doubtful report as follows, *Ferunt post discessum Pontificis interrogatum esse Attilam à suis, &c.* (i. e. It is related that, after the departure of the Pope, Attila was asked by his attendants, &c.) I therefore may justly say, that we are at liberty not to give credit to this vision; and that we are not to look for a greater miracle on this occasion than that which St. Leo wrought, in his mollifying, and changing to such a degree (merely by his eloquence) the heart of the fiercest and most formidable of men; that he obtained from him, on the spot, and without any conditions, a peace, and made him leave Italy. A very remarkable circumstance on this occasion is, that this great man, who softened the hearts of those barbarous infidels with so much ease, could not be able, by his Letters, to prevail as far over the hereticks." These last words furnish the historian with a happy transition.

[D] *His eloquence had not the same success with respect to King Giseric, nor yet was it wholly fruitless.* The Empress Eudoxia, widow to Valentinian, had been forced to marry Maximus, who had seized upon the throne after having caused Valentinian to be assassinated. This Maximus had the insolence to tell Eudoxia, that the passion he had to possess her, was the only motive which prompted him to murder the Emperor. Eudoxia being furiously exasperated at so horrid a declaration, . . . sent secretly to Carthage, one of her chief confidants to Giseric King of the Vandals, who had subdued Africa; conjuring him by all the most powerful motives she could suggest, (especially from the facility of the enterprize, every thing being in a defenseless state at Rome, as in a time of full peace) to come with all possible expedition, and revenge the death of Valentinian his ally; and rescue her from her oppression and tyranny of the most cruel and most wicked wretch living (9). This barbarous King, who at that time had a strong fleet in Carthage, did not let slip the opportunity; but embarked on board his ships, landed in Italy without resistance, advanced towards Rome, and, without drawing the sword, had the satisfaction to see that city surrender at discretion, all the gates being thrown open to him (10). "It was then that St. Leo, seeing his poor flock exposed to the fury of those wild beasts, like the good Shepherd who lays down his life to save his sheep, went in person, and addressed this Vandal and Arian King, whom he knew to be a mortal enemy to the Catholics and particularly to the Bishops, on whom he had discharged his fury in Africa, by treating them with greater cruelty and barbarity than any of the rest. Nevertheless this cruel tyrant, who was going to march into Rome, sully determined to destroy all things there with fire and sword, stopped on a sudden at the sight of that wonderful Pontiff; and, as if the august, the sacred majesty which shone on his face, had on a sudden changed his tyger-heart into that of a reasonable man, he paid him all the honour due to the head of the Church. He listened patiently to all he would say; and if his eloquence did not then work the same miracle as it had before done in the person of Attila, in causing him to return whence he came, yet it performed three very remarkable ones. In short his eloquence was so persuasive, that he made Attila promise, that neither the inhabitants should be put to the sword, the houses fired, nor the three chief Churches touched or prophaned, viz. the Constantian, that of St. Peter in the Vatican, and of St. Paul without the walls. He was as good as his word; and after giving up Rome to be plundered by the soldiers during fourteen days, he returned on board his ships loaded with plunder and rich captives, (in order that they might be ransomed) among whom were the Empress Eudoxia, with the Princesses Eudocia and Placidia her two daughters, all whom he treated with the utmost generosity.

[E] *Some say that Leo cut off his own hand.* It is

said that a devout, beautiful woman being admitted to this Pontiff, on Easter-Sunday, according to custom, to kiss his hand, he felt I know not what emotions too like those of flesh and blood; and imagined that it was his duty to follow literally the precept of our Saviour; *If thy hand offend thee cut it off. Fuerunt qui scriberent eum pie mulieris specie præstantis, osculo manui Pontificie religiose admoto percussum, muliere neque particeps neque conscius, cæni aliquid contraxisse* (11). *Cum ipso die Paschatis, pro more recepto, mulierculam ad figendum manui sue osculum admisset, humanum quippiam passus, manus illius abscissione se multavit: secutus illam Christi vocem: Si manus tua scandalizat, abscinde eam* (*). But as he was rendered incapable, by his maiming himself in this manner, of saying Mass, there arose murmurs among the people, which made him beg earnestly of God that his hand might be restored to him, and it accordingly was so. From that time we are told, the custom of kissing the Pope's hand was changed to that of kissing his foot. Others relate that St. Leo cut off his own hand, because of his being stung with a remorse of conscience, for having conferred holy orders on a person undeserving of them. *Cum autem sanctus Leo eam ob causam sacrificare desisset, idque in populo Romano murmur non leve excitaret, impetravit à Deo ardentissimis precibus, ut manus abscissa sibi restitueretur. Ex eo tamen tempore, abolito usu manibus Pontificis oscula figendi, inducitur est usus figendi osculum pedibus. Scribunt hæc de sancto Leone varii; ac nominatim Sabellicus lib. 5. Andreas Eboensis tit. de Castitate, ac Majorius lib. 1. de irregularit. cap. 14. n. 4. qui addit, aliquos asserere, contigisse ut sanctus Leo manum sibi abscideret, æt præcipitem indigni hominis initiationem* (12). i. e. "But when St. Leo left off, on that account, celebrating Mass, and the inhabitants of Rome murmured very much at it, he obtained, by most fervent prayers, that his hand which had been cut off should be restored. The practice of kissing the hands of the Roman Pontiff being from that time abolished, the custom was brought in of kissing his feet. Many authors write these things of St. Leo, especially Sabellicus in his fifth book, Andrew Eboensis in his section concerning Chastity, and Majorius in his first book upon irregularity, chap. 14, n. 4, who adds, that it is affirmed by some writers, that St. Leo cut off his own hand; fired with an holy hatred against himself, because he had inadvertently and rashly conferred orders on a man unworthy of them." The author from whom I borrow this passage, looks upon this story as fabulous, and observes, that the custom of kissing the Pope's hand on Easter Sunday has been continued without interruption to either sex; and with respect to the scruple of orders rashly conferred, he relates the origin of it as follows (13): *Quod ad eos attinet qui hanc narrationem referunt ad manus indigno appositas, videntur adducti ad hanc fabellam de sancto Leone confingendam, ex lectione revelationis ex Moscho descriptæ capite 149 Prati spiritualis. Quod scilicet sancto Leone pro peccatis suis ferventer precato, apparuerit ei B. Petrus, dicens exorasse se ei omnium errorum veniam, salva discussione peccatorum, si quæ fuissent ab eo admissa ob indignorum ordinationem. At aliud est quod hac revelatione continetur, aliud quod habet fabulosa calumnia quam retulimus.* i. e. "With regard to those persons who refer this relation to his conferring orders on an unworthy person, they seem to have been led to this fiction related of St. Leo, by the perusal of the revelation described from Moschus, in the 149th chapter of his *Spiritual Meadow*; viz. that St. Leo having prayed with great fervency on account of his sins, St. Peter appeared to him, and said, that he had obtained for him the pardon of all his sins, those excepted which he might have been guilty of, by ordaining of unworthy persons. But the fabulous slander we have related, is different from what is contained in that revelation."

Some assert that the hand St. Leo had cut off, to

(11) Theoph. Raynaud. *Hypothec. Scilicet. 2. Serie 3. cap. 10. pag. m. 361.*

(*) Idem, *ibid.* Serie 3. cap. 20. pag. 409.

(12) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 409.

(13) *Ibid.*

(9) Maimbourg, *Hist. du Pontif. de St. Leon*, liv. 4. pag. 246. ad ann. 435.

(10) *Ibid.* pag. 247.

are ascribed to him in that edition, are said, by other authors, to have been wrote by St. Prosper [F], which has given occasion to a learned dispute. A famous Protestant Minister was a little puzzled, by his fixing the æra of Antichrist under Pope Leo [G], who died in 461.

(14) Paulus de Angelis, ubi in- fra.

(15) Paulus de Angelis, in De- script. Basilicæ St. Mariæ Majoris de Urbe, a- pud Daniel. Pa- pebrochium, Resp. ad Exhib. Error. pag. 14.

(16) Papebroch. ibid.

(17) Printed at Paris in 4to, in the year 1689.

(18) See the Journal des Sa- vans 1689, pag. 290, 294, 301, 321. Dutch edit.

(19) Ibid. pag. 321.

(20) Du Pin, Biblioth. tom. 3. Part 2. pag. 157.

(21) Ibid. pag. 158.

(22) Pag. 150, & seq.

(23) In the re- mark [T].

(24) In the re- mark [N].

* Leo was born in Flo- rence in the year 1475, and was cre- ated Cardinal in 1489. From the Re- marks to the Pa- ris ed. (1734) of Bayle's Dic- tionary.

extinguish an unchaste fire, at libidinis ignem restringeret (14), was restored to him by the virtue or power of a picture of the Virgin Mary (15), and made by St. Luke. It is related by St. Antoninus and many others; and yet Baronius can scarce give credit to it (16).

[F] Some of the books which are ascribed to him... are said, by other authors, to have been wrote by St. Prosper. Father Quesnel declares, that the two books concerning the calling of the Gentiles, the letter to Demetrius, and the chapters concerning Grace and Free-will, were not wrote by St. Prosper as is commonly believed, but by St. Leo. See the book (17) entitled, De veris Operibus SS. Patrum Leonis Magni & Prosperi Aquitani, Dissertationes criticae, quibus Capitula de Gratia, &c. Epistolam ad Demetriadem, nec non duos de Vocatione omnium Gentium libros, Leoni nuper adscriptos abjudicat, & Prospero postliminio restituit Josephus Antelmius, Presbyter & Canonicus Ecclesie For- julienfis. Abbot Antelmi has strongly opposed this assertion; he even maintains that St. Prosper is certainly author of the sermons which are thought to be written by St. Leo. A remarkable circumstance in this dispute is, that both the combatants insist on the conformity of style; one to prove that St. Leo is author of the works in question; the other to prove that they are not so, but have St. Prosper for their author (18). The pains which Abbot Antelmi took on this occasion is very remarkable; he having made tables in two columns, wherein he compares several passages of St. Prosper, extracted from books which are confessedly his, and others which are disputed; and shews a great conformity between these passages respectively. These parallels or comparisons with regard to St. Leo's sermons, point out to us forms of speech so peculiar, expressions and turns so much studied and so composed, that it seems next to impossible that they should be made by different authors (19). Notwithstanding this Mr. du Pin says, that Abbot Antelmi's system with regard to the Sermons which go under St. Leo's name, appears to him chimerical; and that the Proofs he al- ludes for that purpose are extremely weak (20). What is much more, du Pin denies the conformity of style insisted upon by Antelmi, and the consequence he should draw from it. "Any person who should take the pains to compare the passages cited by him, would find that there is no conformity of style, between the passages of both authors, though the same words occur in both. And besides, though there should be some slight conformity of style between St. Prosper's writings and those of St. Leo, should we not have reason to say, that St. Prosper had imitated his master, whom he used to hear frequent- ly both speak and preach, whose Sermons he used to read, and perhaps copied, to preserve them in the archives of the Church of Rome, in scrinio Ro- manæ Ecclesie, supposing he had been Notary of the Church of Rome (21)?" Here we have an inci- dent which confirms the reflexions the reader may have seen in the Entretiens sur la Cabale ebimerique (22) See the Articles ERASMUS (23), and JULIUS II (24).

[I am of opinion, that those who ascribe the two books de Vocatione Gentium to St. Leo, have no proof for it; and that those have no better founda- tion who think they were wrote by St. Prosper. By the pieces which are extant of St. Prosper, we find that he was much more vehement in disputa-

tion than the author of those books was. In my humble opinion it is safest to say, that we do not know the author of those books, who indeed was a learned man and of a very pacifick temper, and contemporary with St. Leo and St. Prosper.] Remark from the Paris Edition (1734) of Bayle's Dic- tionary.

[G] A famous Protestant Minister was a little puzzled, by his fixing the æra of Antichrist under Pope Leo.] "He will be drove much farther. According to him, in the age of St. Leo, idolatry was so considerable in the Church, as to form an Antichristian Church, and make St. Leo himself Antichrist; and yet the Minister in question writes as follows, in the thirteenth letter of this year. Whilst Antichrist was little, he did not destroy the essence of the Church. Leo... and a few of his successors were good men, so far as goodness and piety are consistent with a boundless ambition. It is likewise certain that the Church, in his time, was DEEPLY IMMERSSED IN THE IDOLATRY of the worship of the creatures, which is one of the characteristics of Antichristianity; and though these evils were not yet extreme, nor such as to DAMN the person of Leo, who otherwise was possessed of good qualities; they nevertheless were suffi- cient to form the beginning of Antichristianity. You see then that a man is not damned, though he is not only an idolater, but also deeply immersed in the idola- try of the worship of creatures. If a man be not of the number of the saints, and if we should be obliged to erase St. Leo from that catalogue, he may at least be of the number of good men; and the sin of idolatry is not so great that a person shall be damned on that account. To urge this matter farther: it has been proved in the Book of Variations, and in other places (*), by the express words of St. John (+), that the beast and Antichrist have blasphemed and been idolatrous from their birth, and during the whole extent of the 1260 days of their continuance. The Protestant Minister would fain have dissembled this, to prevent his being obliged to charge these crimes, on the time and person of St. Leo, St. Simplicius, St. Gelasius, and other holy Pontiffs of the fifth century; but he at last was forced to out with it (†). It is certain that all the characteristics of the beast began from that time. As early as the time of Leo the Great, the Gentiles or Heathens began to tread the Church under foot; for heathenism, which is the worship of the creatures, entered into it. From that period began the blasphemy against God and his Saints; for the taking from God his true worship, to make Saints partake of it, is blaspheming against God. Thus we have Antichristian blasphemy and idolatry established under St. Leo. He could not be free from it, since he himself was the Antichrist; and indeed, it is certain, that he paid as much ho- nour to relics, and implored the assistance of the prayers of the Saints, as the rest. Here then we find not only an idolater, but also the chief or head of Antichristian idolatry in the number of the elect; and that idolatry does not hinder salvation (25)." As this is a dispute between man and man, and not a controversy on the general doctrines of the two Com- munion, I may be allowed to observe, that the author who was puzzled took the best course he could, accord- ing to the maxims of human prudence: he held his peace; and would not even seem to know, that the public had been made sensible of his confusion.

(*) Var. 23. no. 21. Apocal. 2. vertiff. aux Prole- n. 27, 28. pag. 612, 613.

(†) Apocal. XI, XII, 6. 14. XIII, 5, 6.

(‡) Lett. XIII, pag. 99. 2. 6.

(25) Mt. 22. Meaux, III A- vertissement aux Protestans sur les Lettres du Mini- stre Furieu contre l'Hist. des Variats pag. 86. edit. de Hollande.

LEO X, created Pope the 11th of March 1513, was called John de Medicis. He had been honoured with a Cardinal's * Hat at fourteen years of age by Pope Innocent VIII, and a great many years after with the dignity of Legate by Pope Julius II. He was in that quality in the army which was defeated by the French near Ravenna in the year 1512; was taken prisoner there, and, during his captivity, he made a wonderful experiment of the ascendant which superstition has, even over the minds of soldiers [A]. It

[A] He made a wonderful experiment of the ascendant which superstition has, even over the minds of soldiers.]

The soldiers who had overcome him, shewed him such great veneration, that they humbly asked his pardon

is pretended that no circumstance contributed more to the raising him to the Pontificate, than the wounds he had received in the battles of Venus [B]. He spent prodigious sums the day of his coronation [C]; and led such a life as was little suited to one who set up

for their gaining the victory; besought him to give them absolution for it; and promised never to bear arms against the Pope. It is Cardinal Palavicino informs me of these particulars, after observing that, in contempt of the royal authority, the Milanese looked with horror on the Cardinals who were assembled at Pisa. *In Milano con vilipensione dell' autorità Reale furono ricevuti non come Cardinali, Grado riveritissimo nella Christianità, ma come uomini pestiferi e scelerati, e comete di sciagura ne' paesi dove giungevano. Anzi, non ostante che i Francesi riportassero la memorabil vittoria di Ravenna, e conducessero prigione a Milano il Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici Legato dell' Esercito pontificio, che poi assunto al Pontificato prese il nome di Leon Decimo; non si temerò i soldati vincitori dall' andare con incredibile frequenza a venerar come Legato del Vicario di Christo il lor prigioniero; ricevendone l'assoluzione ch'egli aveva pedestra di dar loro per haver combattuto contro alla Chiesa, con promessa d'astenersi per innanzi (1).*

[B] No circumstance contributed more to the raising him to the Pontificate, than the wounds he had received in the battles of Venus.] I have so frequently given the reason, why I choose to cite, on such occasions, Romish authors rather than Protestant ones, that without farther preamble I shall here quote the words of a French historian who is a great enemy to the Protestants (2). "Three months were not past since Cardinal de Medicis was returned to Florence, when the death of Pope Julius II obliged him to leave it, to go to Rome. He caused himself to be carried in a litter, because of an imposthume he had in those parts which modestly will not suffer me to name; and travelled so slowly, that the Pontiff's funeral was over, and the Conclave begun, by that time he arrived there (3). The Conclave had not ended so soon as it did, the young and old Cardinals persisting in contrary opinions with equal obstinacy, had not an odd accident brought them to agree. Cardinal de Medicis having hurried about prodigiously in the great number of visits he used to make every night to the Cardinals of his faction, his imposthume or ulcer broke, and the matter which ran from it exhaled so great a stench, that all the cells, which were separated only by thin partitions, were poisoned by it. The old Cardinals, whose constitutions were less able to resist the malignant influence of so corrupted an air, consulted the Physicians of the Conclave, to know what they must do; these Physicians, who visited Cardinal de Medicis, and formed a judgment of his constitution, by the ill humours that flowed from his body, rather than by the strength of nature which drove them out, answered, after having been bribed by the promises of Bibiana, that Cardinal de Medicis could not live a month longer. Their passing this sentence of death upon him occasioned his being chosen Pope; in that the old Cardinals, thinking to outwit the young ones, would indulge them a satisfaction which they imagined would not be of long duration. They therefore waited upon them, and told them that they yielded at last to their obstinacy, upon condition that the same should be done for them another time. Thus Cardinal de Medicis was elected Pope on a false information, he not being at that time quite thirty six years old; and as joy is the most sovereign of all remedies, he soon after recovered so perfect a state of health, that the old Cardinals had reason to repent their too great credulity." To conceal nothing, it is incumbent on me to inform my readers, that Paulus Jovius does not fix this ulcer in the same part as Varillas, but in the anus, which would not imply an ignominious origin. *Propter innatum ab ima sede abscessum Romam medicis itineribus ad comitia contendit (4). Fuere qui existimarent vel ob id seniores ad ferenda suffragia facilius accessisse, quod pridie disrupto eo abscessu qui sedem occuparat, tanto factore ex profuente sanie totum comitium implevisset, ut tanquam à mortifera tabe infectus, non diu supervivendum esse vel medicorum testimonio crederetur (5).* From the same principle of sincerity I add, that this Pope, at his accession to the throne, was in great reputation for his chastity, if Guicciardin may

be credited (5); and was looked upon as very chaste from his youth, if Paulus Jovius may be believed. *Constat tamen cum, quod à prima adolescentia opinione omnium summam continentia laudem fuisse adeptus, non importuna quadam pudicitia castissimisque gratia quaesivisse: quando nequaquam pristinae vitae more tam multis delicatisque obsequiis uteretur (6).* One ought to conclude from hence, that the Pontificate proved the ruin of the morals of Leo X; and that he grew vicious where he ought to have grown virtuous. In fine, I observe, that it is only by consequences which are not absolutely necessary, that one may find in the words of Varillas, the sense in which I alledge them, and which Mr. de Sackendorf gives them (7). I submit them to the judgment of my readers.

[" Bayle has justly supposed, that every Protestant who first writes down an incident disadvantageous to the memory of a Pope, or does not give good proofs of it, may justly be excepted against. See his remark I. But then to act as a judicious and impartial critic, he ought to have supposed it as a truth, that among the Roman Catholics there are, and ever have been, authors, who have writ like open enemies against the Popes; and with as much fury as the Protestants, or the most passionate Heretics. Schisms, and the disputes of Kings and Princes with the Roman Pontiffs, were the cause and occasion of this. The jealousy, pride, or rage with which a writer has been fired, because a Pope would not gratify him in all he demanded, the itch of publishing a repartee, a pasquinade, or any other satire, and so many other passions, have also given rise to a numberless multitude of libels on the Popes. It is likewise very certain, that even among such historians as are less prejudiced against the See of Rome, many of them had not abilities sufficient for discussing incidents with great exactness; for making a judicious choice of the materials with which they were furnished; but are faulty in setting down one incident without good proofs, or of altering them &c. All this is indisputable. Consequently every critic who undertakes to speak of a Pope, and that pursuant to all the rules which a good historian ought ever to have before his eyes, and never deviate from, should be very much upon his guard, especially when he is to write of a Pope who was in such circumstances as obliged him, as it were, necessarily to be attacked by a numberless multitude of slanderers, and by whom it is certain that he has been prodigiously slandered."] From the remarks on the Paris edition (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary. The Popish author of these remarks makes some others which do not appear just.

[C] He spent prodigious sums the day of his coronation.] He would be crowned the same day he lost the battle of Ravenna and his liberty the year before, and he rode the Turkish horse he had mounted the day of that battle; for he had paid a ransom to the French for this horse; had a particular affection for it, and had it kept and pampered very carefully to an extreme old age. *Vetus est etiam in pompa illo eodem equo Ibracio in quo ad Ravennam captus fuerat, quem ab hostibus pecunia redemptum ita adamavit, ut postea usque ad extremam senectutem summa cum indulgentia alendam curavit (8).* And his imagination being filled with the magnificence of ancient Rome, and the triumphal days of the ancient Consuls, he endeavoured to revive those noble spectacles; and was so well seconded in his design, that ever since the irruption of the Goths, there had not been seen any sight more magnificent at Rome than his coronation. Read the description of it in Paulus Jovius (9), who says, with Guicciardin (10), that the expence of it amounted to an hundred thousand ducats. Gretser censures du Pleffis for saying it cost a million, *nec mirum agit Pleffius cum Leone X, quem die coronationis suae decies centena aureorum millia, hoc est ut vulgo loquimur millionem consumpsisse scribit (11).* This is found in the Latin edition which Father Gretser made use of; but in the French edition I use, du Pleffis Morvai mentions only the hundred thousand ducats of Guicciardin.

(5) See the remark [O].

(6) Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, pag. 193.

(7) Hist. Litterar. lib. 1. pag. 190. col. 2. num. 3. & col. 20. lit. E.

(1) Palavic. Historia de Concilio di Trento, lib. 1. cap. 1. num. 2. pag. m. 47. See also Paulus Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, lib. 2. pag. m. 110.

(2) Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, liv. 6. pag. 253.

(3) Ibid. pag. 257.

(4) Jovius, in Vita Leonis X. lib. 3. pag. 126.

(5) Ibid. pag. 128.

(8) Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, pag. 129, 130.

(9) Ubi supra.

(10) Guicciardin. lib. 11. folio m. 326 verso.

(11) Gretser. in Exam. Myth. Pleffiani, pag. 561. citing pag. 618. of the Myth. libr.

(*) Among others, Peter Ægineta, a Greek, who explained Aristophanes in Bologna, and had taught him the Greek tongue. See Langius's Letters, pag. m. 473.

up for a successor of the Apostles; a life, I say, that was wholly voluptuous [D]. He took too much delight in hunting. It is related that his eye was surprizingly quick at this sport [E]. Having been educated by Preceptors (a), who had taught him perfectly the *Belles Lettres*, he loved and protected men of wit and learning. The Poets were chiefly happy in his munificence, which he sometimes indulged, without preserving the gravity

[D] He led . . . a life . . . that was wholly voluptuous. Paulus Jovius cannot be accused of having been too sparing of his encomiums on Leo X; but, on the other hand, it must be confessed that he expresses himself with so much plainness on the vices of this Pontiff, that he does not leave an intelligent reader in doubt or suspense. The pleasures, says he, in which he too frequently immersed himself, and the lewd actions objected to him, sullied the lustre of his virtues. He adds, that a disposition more easy and complacent than corrupt, threw him down the precipice; he having been surrounded only with a set of people, who, instead of admonishing him of his duty, were for ever proposing some party of pleasure. The original is more emphatical than the extract I give of it, for which reason I will here add the words of Paulus Jovius. *Has præclaras liberalis excelsique animi virtutes, cum nimia sæpe vitæ luxuria, tum obiectæ libidines obscurabant: ita tamen, ut jucunditate blandæ facilisque naturæ potius, ac regia quadam licentia, quam certo depravati animi judicio in ea vitia prolabi videretur, quum frequenti blandientium turba cubiculi fores obfessæ paucos admitterent, qui aliqui docilis verecundique hominis solutos mores cobiberent, amicorum optimis ad ea coniventibus; ac libenter sese illecebrarum ministris immiscerentibus, ne gratiam apud summos principes in lubrico positam in discrimen adducerent, si ingratum auribus potentium reprehensionis officium honestatis atque benevolentia specie suscepissent. Verùm hominem hilaritati humanitate sensibus facile servientem mirum in modum incitabant plerique Cardinales opibus atateque florentes, qui illustri loco nati, ac liberaliter educati, regio luxu vitam in venationibus, conviviiis, atque spectaculis libentissime traducebant* (12). He confesses a little after that this Pope was accused of Sodomy (13): *Non caruit etiam infamia, quòd parum honeste nonnullos à cubiculariis (erant enim à tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, & cum his tenerius atque liberè joculari videretur. Sed quis vel optimus atque sanctissimus princeps in hac maledicentissima aula lividorum aculeos vitavit? & quis ex adverso tam malignè improbus ac invidiæ tabe consumptus, ut vera demum posset obesse, noxiùm secreta scrutatus est? i. e.* "He also was accused of being engaged in an ignominious commerce with some young Gentlemen of his bedchamber, who were of the noblest families in all Italy, and of sporting shamefully with them. But what Prince, though the worthiest and most pious, was exempt from the darts of envy in this very satyrical Court? And what person, on the other hand, was fired with so malignant and envious a spirit, as to pry into the secrets of the night, in order to get subjects for reproach?" I pass over what is related concerning the luxury of his table, and the buffonries acted at it. *Mire quoque favit Pogio seni, Pogii historici filio, itemque Moro nobili à gula intemperantia, articularibus doloribus distorto, & Brandino equiti, Marianoque sannioni cucullato facetissimis belluonibus, & in omni genere popinalium deliciarum eruditissimis . . . Verum festivissimis eorum facetiis, falsisque & perurbanis scommatibus magis quam ullis palati lenociniis oblectabantur* (14). I have made some mention of this in the article of HADRIAN VI (15), successor to Leo X, and who retrenched the luxury of that Pontiff, as the reader will now see. "The other day the grooms of the late Pope Leo deputed a person from among them, and sent him to the Pope, to speak in the name of all the rest. The Pontiff asked how many of them had been in the retinue of Leo; when the person deputed answered, an hundred. Adrian crossing himself, as astonished at so superfluous a number, answered, that four would be enough for him; but that he was content that twelve should be put upon the list, since some he must have, in order to exceed the number kept by the Cardinals. In a word, the common opinion is, that this Pope will be a good oconomist and treasurer for the Church; a thing that in reality is greatly

wanted, considering his predecessor's prodigality." This passage is found in a letter of Jerom Niger (*), writ from Rome the 1st of September 1522. It is inserted in the collection of Ruscelli, translated by Belleforest. [N. B. Mr. Bayle tells us, that he had made use of the version and marginal note of the last mentioned translator.]

(*) The name of this Italian author, in his own tongue, was *Negro*, and not *Niger*; he always subscribing his letters in the former manner. REM. CRIT.]

[E] His eye was surprizingly quick at hunting. This I shall take notice of, after mentioning the prodigious passion which Leo X had for the sport in question. He took a wonderful delight in it; he knew and observed the laws of it, much better than those of the scripture; he could not bear that any one should disturb him in his sport; and gave no quarter to those persons who, through imprudence or otherwise, made him lose the prey they were in quest of. On these occasions he would revile such persons in the sharpest manner. He was always so much out of humour when he failed of sport, that his courtiers were sure never to ask any favours of him at such times; but whenever he met with a great deal of game, he would be so overjoyed on this account, that these would be the most propitious moments (16) for obtaining all that might be requested. Paulus Jovius relates this with very great elegance. *Venationibus & aucupiiis nobilioribus adeo perditè studebat, ut spurcissimas sæpe teppestates insalubresque ventos, & frequentia mansionum ac itinerum incommoda obstinatè contemneret . . .* (17). *In venando autem scilicet præcepta artis ad normam exactioris disciplinae patientissime observare erat solitus, ita severitatem asperè admodum vir aliqui lenissimus semper exercuit; in eos præsertim, qui petulanti discursu aut vocibus temere editis improvisa feris effugia præbuisent: ita ut claros sæpe viros acerbissimis contumeliis oneraret. At si quando imperitia, vel fortuito errore hominum, aut feris subtiliore aliquo insperatæ fugæ compendio servatis, vel iis densò in nemore contumacius latentibus infeliciter venaretur, incredibile est quali vultus animique habitu dolorem iracundiamque præferret. Propterea amici familiares ea temporis momenta provocandæ liberalitati maximè adversa sedulo devitabant: quando aliàs secundum opimam venationem, ac præsertim vario ac insigni labore aliquo nobilem, maxima beneficia incredibili benignitate collocaret* (18). i. e. "He was so excessively delighted with hunting and hawking, that he would often obstinately contemn the most foul storms, the most insalubrious winds, and the many inconveniences of travelling. . . . But in hunting, as he observed very strictly the laws of that exercise, so he was extremely severe, though otherwise of the most gentle disposition, on these occasions; particularly towards those persons, who, by their petulant discourse or noisy clamour, gave the Game an opportunity of escaping; inasmuch that he would inveigh bitterly against persons of quality. But whenever it happened, either through ignorance or mistake of the sportsmen; or that the game unexpectedly escaped, or could not be forced out of its haunts, that he thereby was unsuccessful in the chase, he would appear surprizingly grieved and exasperated. And therefore his intimate friends were prodigiously careful not to sue for any favour at this time. But, on the contrary, when he was successful in the chase, and it was distinguished by the greatness of the toil, he would bestow the most considerable favours with prodigious liberality." With regard to his figure, here follows a passage from the *Bigarrures of the Sieur des Accords* (19). "Pope Leo having caused the following numerical letters to be engraved on a table, to denote the year of his Pontificate, they were thus interpreted M. CCCCLX. [This passage from the *Bigarrures*, has a very gross error in it which escaped Mr. Bayle, where it is said, *Pope Leo having caused the numerical letters MCCCCLX to be engraved . . . to denote the year of his Pontificate*

(16) Mollis additus & quæ molissima fandi Tempora. Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 423, & 293.

(17) Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, pag. 196.

(18) Idem, pag. 197.

(19) Des Accords, Bigarrures, chap. 12 folio m. 105 verso.

(12) Jovius in Vita Leonis X, pag. 188.

(13) Idem, ibid. pag. 192.

(14) Idem, ibid. pag. 191.

(15) Citat. (68).

(b) See the close of the remark [F].

gravity his character required [F]. This was visible on many occasions, and even in the privileges he granted to Ariosto's Poems (b). In short, it may be said, that men of learning

"Pontificate &c. These letters make 1460, and Leo was not born then." From the remarks to the Paris edition (1734) of *Bayle's Dictionary*.] "Multi Cardinales cæci creaverunt cæcum Leonem decimum. (Many blind Cardinals created the blind Leo X.) Now to speak it occasionally; I know not why he is called blind, since he could see in hunting, at the highest soar by the help of glasses, Hawks, Vultures, and Eagles. But then, on the other hand, whenever he read, he used to put the paper to his nose; and even then could not distinguish a letter, as Luke Gauricus informs us in *fibematibus cælestibus*. This puts me in mind of an honest sort of a Parson, who cannot read the large letters of the Church-books without spectacles; and yet shall distinguish the smallest dice that can be found, and cannot be imposed upon."

Paulus Jovius confirms but part of this; he asserting that Leo X could read the smallest character with great ease, when he brought the paper close to his eye. *Subtraherent magna ex parte oris suavitatem obfæ malæ & oculi extantes convolutique & hebetes, verùm si ad pupillam inspicienda propius admoveret, supra fidem acutissimi: supplices enim libellos, vel minutissimis literis, & crebris sillabarum compendiis properanter exaratos celerrimè & distinctissimè lætitabat: admota autem cristallo concava, oculorum aciem in venationibus & aucupiiis adè latè extendere erat solitus, ut non modò spaciis & finibus, sed ipsa etiam discernendi felicitate cunctis anteiret* (20). i. e. "A circumstance that very much lessened the sweetness of his aspect was, his bloated cheeks, and his eyes which were prominent, rowling, and dim-sighted; and nevertheless extremely sharp whenever he brought any thing near to the pupil; he reading with great quickness, and distinctly, petitions though in the minutest characters, and with many contractions; and, by using a concave glass, he would extend his sight to such a degree in hunting, that he surpassed every one, not only in space, but even in discerning acutely." I have just now consulted Luke Gauricus's book cited by Des Accords, and do not find he says that Leo X could not see at all when he put the paper to his nose. I will cite Gauricus, whose impertinence cannot fail of being wondered at, to find him ascribe to the planets, the various qualities of the two eyes of the Pope in question. *Sol cum stellis nebulosis, oculi dextri aciem penitus hebetavit cum multis lineis transversis. Luna in sexta cæli statione sub Geminorum asterismo ad Martis tetragonam radiationem defluens, oculi quoque sinistri lucem impediabat, adeo quidem quod nec legere, neque aliquid intueri poterat absque conspicio magno cristallino, non autem illius aciem prorsus desiderabat, quoniam salutaris Stella Jovis, Lunam trigonica radiatione intuebatur, & ita Literas lætitabat naso proximiores & oculo, sed cum illo vitreo oculo suspiciebat Accipitres, Aquilas, Astures alius volitantes, & longe melius quam alii venatores, ibatque sæpius ad venationes Leporum, Caprearum silvestrium, & vulpium, illasque optime suspiciebat, quæ à canibus leporariis & molossis capiebantur* (21). i. e.

"The Sun, with cloudy itars, quite dimmed (with a great number of transverse lines) the sight of his right eye. The moon, in the sixth house, in the constellation of Gemini, turning to the quartil of Mars, injured the sight of his left eye to such a degree, that he could not read at all without the help of a large crystal glass. However, the sight of it was not quite gone, because the salutary planet Jupiter was at that time in trine with the moon, and in this manner he read over letters by putting them near to his nose and eyes. But by the help of his glass, he could perceive Hawks and Eagles, when soaring aloft, much better than the other sportsmen; he often used to divert himself with hare-hunting, and that of wild goats and foxes; and had a perfect sight of them, when seized by the hounds and mastiffs."

[F] *The Poets were chiefly happy in his munificence, which he sometimes indulged without preserving the gravity his character required.*] The pleasures he sometimes used to indulge himself in with them, degenerated sometimes to buffoonry. Quernus, who had been crowned in a solemn manner, and raised to the

honour of Poet Laureat, might be considered as a Merry-Andrew. He used to come where Pope Leo was at dinner; and eat, at the window, the morsels which were handed to him. He was allowed to quaff liberally of the Pope's wine, but it was on condition that he should make some *ex tempore* verses on any given subject. He was obliged to compose two lines at least; and in case of his failure, or if his verses were good for nothing, he was sentenced to drink a large quantity of water with his wine (22). *Fuit diu inter instrumenta eruditæ voluptatis longè gratissimus, quum cæcante Leone porrectis de manu semefis obsoniis, stans in fenestra vesceretur, & de principis lagena perpotando, subitaria carmina factitaret: ea demum lege, ut præscripto argumento bina saltem carmina ad mensam, tributi nomine solverentur, & in pœnam sterili vel inepto longè diluissimè foret perbibendum* (23). Some-

(22) Jovius, in *Elogiis*, cap. 82.

(23) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 191.

times too the Pope would make *ex tempore* verses with his Poet-Laureat, at which the company would burst out a laughing. How ludicrous was all this! *Ab hac autem opulentiâ hilarique sagina, vehementem incidit in podagram; sic ut bellissimè ad risum evenerit, quum de se canere jussus, in hunc hexametrum erupisset;*

Archipoëta facit versus pro mille pœtis,

Et demum hæsitaret, inexpectatus Princeps hoc pentametro perargutè responderit;

Et pro mille aliis Archipoëta bibit.

Tum ærè astantibus obortus est risus, & demum multò maximus, quum Quernus stupens & interritus, hoc tertium non inepte carmen induxisset:

Porrige, quod faciat mihi carmina docta, Falernum.

Idque Leo repente mutuatus à Virgilio, subdiderit,

Hoc etiam enervat: debilitatque pedes (24).

(24) *Ibid.*

The sense is,

"The living in this luxurious manner brought a severe gout upon him; notwithstanding which he excited laughter, when being commanded to write some verses on himself, he broke into the following Hexameter.

"For just a thousand Bards the Laureat writes;

"And hesitating, the Pope unexpectedly added this very witty pentameter;

"The Laureat drinks for just a thousand more.

"This made the company fall a laughing; and they afterwards were ready to split their sides, when Quernus surprized, but undismayed, added this third pretty line;

"Give me Falernian wine to raise my Muse,

"To which Leo, instantly borrowing from Virgil, added;

"This likewise weakens and enerves the feet."

One day a Poet presenting to him some Latin verses, in rhyme, the Pope, for diversion sake, gave him no other reward but an extempore flight, containing the same number of verses, with the same rhymes. The Poet exasperated against Leo for not bestowing any recompence on him, let fly the following Distich;

*Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortunâ dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.*

The sense is,

"Had fate thus given thee only verse for verse,
"So great a crown had not adorn'd thy head."

Upon this the Pope exerted his usual beneficence to him (25). By this it appears that our Pope did all that lay in his power to divert himself. But here follows

(25) Extracted from a book intitled, *La sage folie*, translated from the Italian of Antonio Maria Spelta, Historiographer to the King of Spain, and printed at Roan in 1635. Part. 2. pag. 103, 104.

(20) Jovius, in *Vita Leonis X*, pag. 211.

(21) Lucas Gauricus, Gæpponenfis, Episcopus Civitatis in *Tractatu Astrologico*, in quo agitur de præteritis multorum hominum accidentibus per proprias eorum genituras ad unguem examinatis, folio 18 verso edit. Venetæ apud Curtium Trojanum Navo 1552 in 4to.

learning and buffoons shared equally his friendship [G]; but he had not the same affection for theological studies [H]. I would not take upon me to warrant the truth of a story which is related, viz. that he one day ridiculed the whole Christian doctrine as fabulous [I]. He had the address to ruin the Council, which the Emperor and King of France had opposed to Julius II, and made the Council of Lateran to triumph; he obtaining

lows an incident, which plainly shews the buffooning spirit that then prevailed in this Pope's palace. A man having a favour to sue for from Leo X; and being trifled with several days by inconvenient delays, which put him out of all hopes of being introduced, he thought of the following artifice. He told Leo's great chamberlain, that he had some of the finest verses that were ever read to shew him. The chamberlain, in the utmost transports of joy, flies to the Pope, and tells him that he had met with the Prince of fools; one who would give him the greatest diversion. It was the custom of the courtiers of Leo X, to look out for persons that were half crazed, and to make them quite so for the diversion of the head of the Church (26). But they were over-reached by the pretended Poet in question; for the moment he was introduced to the Pope, he confessed the true reason which had prompted him to counterfeit a crack-brained Poet, and told him his business. But those who understand Latin, will read this with more satisfaction in the following words of Nicius Erythraeus. *Hoc hominum ridicule insanientium genere non minimum delectabatur Leo X Pontifex Max. cujus Gnathones, quos circa se habebat, dabant operam, ut eos, quibus levis mens esset, ad insaniam adigerent, sequere eos esse, qui non essent, arbitrarentur. In quo mirabiliter lusus est à quodam, cui petenti aditum conveniendi non dabat: quicum multos dies expectasset, atque omnes ad Pontificem allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos interclusosque videret, seducto Pontificii cubiculi praefecto in aurem dixit, se esse poetam, solum praeter ceteros, qui sua vellet carmina Pontifici tradere, quibus lectis obstupesceret, borretur, ad incredibilem admirationem efferretur. Quo ille auditum, ventis atque avibus oculis advolarit in Leonis cubiculum, atque hilaritate letitiaque redundans, Invenimus, inquit, perfectae insaniae hominem, qui tibi voluptati maxima erit. At ille sine mora intromissus, ex illis se integumentis simulationis evolavit, causam, cur insaniam simulasset, aperuit, negotium, quod volebat, exposuit. Itaque ille deridiculo eos habuit, quibus ludendus tradebatur (27).* Was it observing the decorum which the dignity of Pontiff required, to issue out a Bull so favourable to Ariosto's poems? Cardinal Hyppolito di Este, to whom this Poet's Orlando Furioso was dedicated, formed a very true judgment of it, when he put the following question to the author, *Messer Lodoico dove Diavolo havete pigliato tante coimerie.* i. e. "Ariosto, whence, in the Devil's name, could you collect so much nonsense?" But Leo X was infinitely more gracious to this author. "Almost at the same time that he fulminated his anathemas against Martin Luther; he did not blush to publish a Bull in favour of Ariosto's profane poems; threatening to excommunicate those who should censure them, or any way impede the Printer's profit (28)." We shall see in another place (29), that he was a great admirer of pieces in a comic strain.

[G] Men of learning and buffoons shared equally his friendship.] Peter Matthieu the historian, having observed that Leo X had as great an affection for buffoons, as for the most learned men of Italy, and changed his humours from one extreme to another (30), quotes the following passage from Aretin. "E beato colui che e pazzo, ne la pazzia sua compiace ad altri e a se stesso. Certamente Leone hebbe una natura da' stremo à estremo, & non faria opra da ogniuno il giudicare chi piu gli dilettaffe, o la vertu de i dotti, o le ciancie de i buffoni, e di cio fa fede il suo hadato à l'una e à l'altra specie essaltando tanto questi quanto quegli." i. e. "Happy is that man who is a fool, and whose folly pleases others and himself too. Certainly the cast of Leo's disposition was for extremes; and it would be no easy matter to judge which gave him the greatest pleasure, the science of the Literati, or the jests of buffoons; and this is manifest by his favouring both these sorts of men, sometimes preferring the one, and sometimes the other." Peter Matthieu, who often cites our

Aretin, took much more pains than Menage (31).

[H] He had not the same affection for theological studies.] Cardinal Palavicino could not deny this. He owns frankly that Leo X had a greater regard for persons who understood mythology, the Poets of antiquity, and profane learning, than for those who were conversant in divinity, and ecclesiastical history. Here follow his words, which are more frank and less insincere than usual. *Gli oppone il Soave, ch'egli haveffe maggior notizia di lettere profane che sacre ed appartenenti alla religione: nel che io non gli contradico. Havendo Leone ricevuto da Dio un ingegno capacissimo e singularmente studioso; ed appena uscito dalla fanciullezza veggendosi tosto nel supremo Senato della Chiesa; mandò al suo debito con trascurar nella letteratura una parte non solamente la più nobile, mà la più proporzionata al suo Grado. E s'accrebbe tal mancamento quando in età di trentasett'anni costituito Presidente e Maestro della religione, non solo continuò di donarsi tutto alle curiosità degli studii profani; mà nella Reggia della medesima religione con maggior cura chiamò coloro à cui fosser note le favole della Grecia e le delizie de' Poeti, che l'istorie della Chiesa, et la dottrina de' Padri. Non lasciò ei veramente di remunerar la Scholastica Theologia, onorandola con la Porpora in Tommaso di Vio, in Egidio da Viterbo, e in Adriano Florenzio suo Successore, e coll' ufficio di Maestro del Sacro Palazzo in Silvestro da Prierio; le cui penne illustrarono immortalmente quella sacra disciplina. Mà nè co' Theologi usò di conversare come co' Poeti; ne promesse l'erudizione sacra come la profana; lasciando la Chiesa in quella scarsezza in cui la trovò di persone che dopo l'infelice ignoranza di molti secoli ravvivassero la prima, com' si ravvivava già la seconda (32).* i. e. "Fra Paolo objects to him, that he was better skilled in profane Literature than in sacred or religious learning, which I do not deny. Heaven had bestowed on Leo a consummate genius, and a singular industry; and, though but young, seeing himself seated in the supreme Senate of the Church, he yet was wanting in his duty, in neglecting, the species of Literature, not only the noblest in its kind, but the most suitable to his station. And this neglect increased, when, being seven and thirty years old, and being set, at the head of all religious affairs, he not only continued to devote himself wholly to the curiosity of profane studies; but, for the regulating of religion, was more assiduous in inviting those who were conversant in the fables of Greece, and the compositions of Poets, than such as were acquainted with ecclesiastical history and the doctrine of the fathers. He nevertheless encouraged school Divinity; he raising to the purple, Thomas di Vio, Giles da Viterbo, and Adrian Florenzio his successor; and appointing Silvester da Prierio master of the sacred Palace, whose Pens will illustrate to latest posterity that sacred science. But he did not converse with the Divines as with the poets, nor so much encourage sacred erudition as he did profane; leaving the Church in the same want as he had found it, of learned men, who, after the unhappy ignorance of many centuries, should revive the former, as the latter was revived." It were to be wished that these two historians, had agreed together so well on all occasions.

[I] It is related... that he one day ridiculed the whole Christian doctrine as fabulous.] (3). The tradition is, that upon his secretary Bembo's quoting something from the Gospel, he answered, "It is well known of old how profitable this fable of Jesus Christ has been to us;" *quantum omnibus nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus seculis notum.* This story is related in the *Mystere d'Iniquité* (33), and in a numberless multitude of other books, but without being supported by citations, or any other proof than the authority of Bale; so that the three or four hundred authors who, copying one another, have related this, ought to be reduced to a single testimony, and that is Bale; a testimony manifestly exceptionable,

(31) See citation (46) of the article ARE-TIN (Peter).

(32) Palavicino's *Historia del Concilio di Trento*, lib. 1. cap. 2. num. 2. pag. 50.

(33) Cardinal Bembo his Secretary (these two titles do not agree well. Bembo not being a Cardinal under Leo X) quoting a passage to him out of the Gospel, he had the presumption to say, what great service has this fable of Christ done to us and to our whole College? Du Plestis, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 584.

(26) See Paulus Jovius, in *Vita Leonis X*, lib. 4. pag. 189, 190. when he speaks of Tarascon the Musician, and Baraballus the Poet. See citation (58) and the following (*).

(27) Janus Nicius Erythraeus, *Pinacub.* 2. cap. 33. pag. 210.

(28) David Blondel, *Examen de la Bulle d'Innocent X*, pag. 3.

(29) In the remark [B] of the article MACHIAVEL.

(30) Matthieu, *Hist. de Henri IV*, liv. 3. tom. 2. pag. m. 716.

(c) See remark [G] of the article JULIUS II.

taining from Lewis XII all the submission he could desire from him (c). But he obtained from Francis I a much more solid advantage, by the Concordat concluded between them in the year 1515; which nevertheless did not incline him more to favour France. So far from

receptionable, as he wrote in open war against the Pope, and the Church of Rome in general. No court of Judicature in the world would admit the depositions of such a witness, making oath that he has heard so or so; for when once the person appears to be an open enemy to the man he accuses, the challenges of the party impeached would be declared valid. As therefore controversial books are produced by the contending parties in a cause pleaded before the publick; it is certain that neither the testimony of a Protestant controversial writer, with regard to an incident which reflects on the Roman Pontiff, nor the testimony of a Popish controversial writer with respect to an incident that reflects on the Protestants, ought to be considered as any thing. The publick, who are the judges of such causes, ought to reject all such depositions, and pay no more regard to them than to things that never happened. Particular persons are allowed, if once fully persuaded of Bale's veracity and honour, to believe what he affirms; but then they ought to keep their belief to themselves; and not exhibit it to the publick as a judicial proof of one's pretensions against the adverse party. This, in my opinion, is a circumstance that is not sufficiently observed.

§. (8) It was in the Pontificate of Leo X that Ulric de Hutten published his dialogue entitled *Trias Romana*. Now that author says as follows, in this ingenious satyr of the court of Rome; *Trias*, VADISCVS ait, paucissimi Romæ credunt, animarum immortalitatem, communionem Sanctorum, & Infernorum Pœnas. ERNH. Persuasit. Existimo enim, si animam crederent immortalem, utique eam excoleret quisque, ejusque commodis inserviret, nunc corporis voluptatem in tantum sectantur, ut animam premant modis omnibus. Illam verò beatorum communionem si quid facerent, etiam ejus participes esse vellent. Porro de pœnis Infernorum vel verbum dicere inter præclaros hos Quirites pro anili est FABULA (*).

(*) Pasquillon. *tom. des Elements*. 1544, tom. 2. pag. 258.

"It is observed, that very few in Rome believe three things, the immortality of the Soul, the communion of Saints, and hell torments. For did they believe the first, they would adorn it to the utmost of their power, and do all things for its advantage; instead of which they indulge so much in bodily pleasures, that they oppress the soul by all methods possible. Then had they any value for the communion of Saints, they would be partakers of it. Lastly, to mention but a word of hell torments before these illustrious Romans, is looked upon as an old wife's FABLE." This very probably may be the original of this story. REM. CRIT.] Another story is related, which is liable to the same objections as the first. It is said that Leo hearing two men dispute, one whereof denied, and the other asserted the immortality of the Soul, pronounced that the affirmative seemed true to him, but that the negative was more proper to give a man a chearful countenance. *Leonis X Papæ dictum refert* (Lutherus) *qui audita disputatione in qua unus immortalitatem animæ defendebat, alter oppugnabat, dixerit, tu quidem vera videris dicere, sed adversarii tui oratio facit bonum cultum, id est lætiores mentem* (Ital. buona cera) *ex Epicuri scilicet sententia.*

(34) *Commentar. In Caput XIX Genesios, ver. 13. folio 132. apud Seckendorf, Hist. Lutheran. lib. 3. pag. 676. col. 1.*

It is Luther says this (34). A person may, if he pleases, believe Luther; but then his testimony ought not to be admitted. He is a man who is engaged in open war with the Pope; he is an enemy persecuted and excommunicated; the practice of courts of Judicature requires that his testimony should be excepted against, and even that his oath should be refused; he ought to prove his assertions or say nothing. A famous professor of divinity in Zurick relates this incident on the authority of a book (35), that is as exceptionable as Luther himself. *Qualis fuerit Leo . . . constabit . . . si de ejus . . . impietate & atheismo nonnihil attexuerimus. Ille scilicet opus Johannis XXIV. animam in corporis domicilio sic insinuatam statuentis, ut extra illum carcerem non duret; jussit aliquando (uti Recusat. Synod. Trid. par. 2. caui. 8. pag. 266. comprobant videre est) personatos Philosophos duos, ceu moriones ex adverso ad mensam assistere; quos animi gratia de immortalitate animæ disputantes audiret; alterum qui affirmaret, & qui impugnet, alterum. Cumque*

(35) Intitled, *Recusatio Synodi Tridentinae*. See the article TUPPIUS.

finita disputatione judicium in arbitrium Pontificis bi rejicerent, ille sic definita sententia controversam diremit: Etsi tu, inquit ad affirmantem, pulchras & bonas rationes habeas; tamen ego sententiam hujus, negantis, approbo, ceu firmiorem, & quæ faciat bonum vultum (36). i. e. "It will appear what kind of man Leo was, if some particulars be added concerning his impiety and atheism. The Pontiff in question entertaining the same opinion with John XXIV. who supposed that the soul was so attached to the body that it could not exist separately from it, commanded one day (as is manifest from *Recusat. Synod. Trid. par. 2. cauf. 8. pag. 166*) two mimic Philosophers, like buffoons, to stand opposite to each other at a table; and to argue before him concerning the immortality of the Soul, the one to assert, and the other to deny it. The dispute being ended, and the decision of it referred to the Pontiff, he pronounced concerning this contest as follows: *Notwithstanding that you, says he to the assertor, have offered fine and good reasons, I nevertheless approve the opinion of this man* (the denier) *as the more solid, and what gives a man a more chearful countenance.*" He afterwards relates the answer, which it is said he made Bembus; and as he was fully sensible that all things of this kind ought to be proved by the testimony of Roman Catholick authors, he orders the matter thus; he quotes the famous Count of Mirandola's nephew: *Et ne ab hereticis hæc conficta clamitent ei & invidias, ejus rei auctoritas & auctoritas* (37) *testem damus, qui & scire debebat, & causam cur mentiretur non habebat, Johannis Pici, Mirandulani Comitiss nepotem ex fratre minime degenerem, qui in illo Pisani & Lateranensis Concilii consilio, quaestionem tractans, utrum Concilia vel Pontifices errare possint, inter alia de Leone hoc loquens: Meminimus, inquit, Pontificem creditum & adoratum, qui nullum Deum credens, omne infidelitatis (ἀθεϊσμοῦ) culmen excederet: pessimaque ejus opera in cœmendo Pontificatu, in omnigenis sceleribus exercendis, id ipsum testabatur: sed & pessima quoque dicta confirmabant. Namque factum eum affirmabatur domesticis quibusdam, nullum se Deum aliquando, etiam dum Pontificiam Sedem teneret, credidisse, quæ ejus verba libro de fide & ordine credendi, theorem. 4. pag. 259, 260. legere est* (38).

(36) Heidegger. *Hist. Popat.* pag. 204, 205. He may have found all this very near word for word in Bernegerus's *Tabularum*, pag. 272, 273. edit. 1624.

(37) Nevertheless, what Heidegger advances, is not mentioned by John Picus's nephew as a thing which it was said a Pope had confessed. He does not say that he heard the Pope himself say so.

(38) Heidegger, *Hist. Popatum*, pag. 205.

"And to prevent our antagonists from crying aloud, that these things are only fictions invented by hereticks, I shall present you with an eye witness, as well as ear witness, to this thing; a witness who both ought to know, and had no inducement to tell an untruth; I mean the excellent nephew of John Picus, Count of Mirandola, who, in that consist of the council of Pisa and Lateran, arguing on the following question, viz. *whether it be possible for Councils or Popes to err*; among other particulars, says as follows of Leo: *I remember a Roman Pontiff believed and worshipped, who himself not believing a God, exceeded the utmost limits of atheism. That this was true, is confirmed by his purchasing the Pontifical Throne; by his committing wickednesses of every kind; and even his abominable words. For it is affirmed, that he owned to some of his domesticks, even whilst he sat in the pontifical chair, that he did not believe the existence of a God, which words of this Pope you may find in the book de fide & ordine credendi, theorem. 4. pag. 259, 260.*" The reader will doubtless be pleased to see here more at large, and in English, John Picus's account. "Treating also the question, *whether it be possible for Councils or Popes to err*, which may be easily determined from his own notion, since he presupposes that they may swerve from the holy Scriptures, he tells us, that several councils have erred, and several Popes fallen into hereby; it often happening, that he who was looked upon as President or Head of the Church, either did not rightly preside, or was not capable of doing it: *For, says he, History informs us, that a woman was looked upon as Pope; and I remember that in our age, a learned man, of applauded morals, and raised to honours in the order to which he belonged, declared, but not in public, that he who was*

from it, he concluded Leagues against that Kingdom; and took, as we are told, this affair so much to heart, that when news was brought of the ill success the French had met with, he died through excess of joy (d) [K]. Not but there are writers who affirm that he was poisoned. He did not always take such measures as were agreeable to the Emperor Maximilian [L]. The fordid traffic to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences,

(d) In the beginning of December 1521.

" looked upon as Pope was not really such, because he had exercised the Pontifical office, before he had been elected by both parties of the Cardinals, in opposition to the laws of the Church, which decree, that such a man not only is not Pope; but that he also is absolutely unqualified and incapacitated for that office, as being under an anathema. II. We also remember another chosen and worshipped as Pope, whom nevertheless several great men thought was not, nor could be such, because he did not believe a God, and was arrived at the highest pitch of infidelity; which was evident from his most wicked works, he having purchased the Papal throne, and committing all kinds of vices in it; and even confirmed it by his most execrable discourses; for it is affirmed that he had owned to some of his domesticks, that even while he sat in the Pontifical chair, he did not believe the existence of a God. III. We have heard speak of another, who, when living, had declared to a particular friend of his, that he did not believe the immortality of the soul; but that when dead, he appeared to him, as he was awake; and declared that he experienced immortality, he being sentenced to everlasting fire by the just judgment of God (39)." Du Plessis was of opinion, that the first of these three things related to Julius II, and the second to Leo X. Coeffeteau (40); only answered, that du Plessis presuming to scrutinize the consciences of mankind in general, had made this application without proof or judgment; but Gretser made a better answer; he shewing that not one of these three things related to Leo X, because John Francis Picus's book was printed during the Pontificate of Julius II. *Intolerabilis porro est plane diabolica calumnia est, cum scribit Plessius, ea quæ Theoremate quarto Joannis Francisci continentur, de quodam Pontifice, qui domesticis confessus fuerit, nullum se Deum aliquando, etiam cum cathedram Pontificiam teneret, credidisse, ad Leonem X, pertinere; nam Joannes Picus edidit Commentarium de Fide & ordine credendi ante Leonis Pontificatum; inscriptum enim Julio II. Quomodo igitur relatione illa seu historia seu fabelle Leonem X denotare potuit (41)? Rivet acquiesced in this censure, his words being as follow:*

(39) Du Plessis Mornai, *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 590.

(40) Réponse au *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1233.

(41) Gretser in *Examine Mystere Pless.* pag. 573.

(42) *History of Italy*, liv. 1.

(43) Rivet, *Remarques sur le Réponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, Part 2. pag. 646.

(44) See the remark [O].

(45) In the remarks [P] and [Q].

" As to the application made by our author to Julius II and Leo X, of what he said of some Popes, viz. that many great men did not look upon them as such, for the reasons he gives; it matters not in reality to whom this assertion is directed, provided it is certain that it is to Popes, of one of whom he says it was asserted, that he did not believe the existence of a God; that he exceeded the highest pitch of infidelity; and even declared, in his discourses, that he did not believe in God. If we will clear Leo X of this imputation, (he perhaps not speaking of him, because he dedicates his books to Julius, unless he enlarged them afterwards, as is often done,) we yet cannot deny it of Alexander VI." There was in him, says Guicciardin (*), neither truth, faith, nor religion. These are Rivet's words (42). I am to observe that, according to Guicciardin (43), we cannot charge Leo X with simony or purchasing of the Pontificate.

Had Heidegger, who was happy in a good memory, remembered this, he would not have believed that John Francis Picus had been a witness to the impieties of Leo X. His mistake may and ought to serve as a lesson to a great number of others. I will conclude with observing that a Judge cannot, without infringing his duty, pronounce against this Pope, unless he has more authentic depositions. The reader will see in other remarks (44), whether those who apologize for him argue justly.

[K] When news was brought of the ill success the French had met with, it was said, he died through excess of joy. Having lighted up anew the war between the Emperor Charles and the King of France, in order to drive the French out of Italy; advice was brought him at Magliano one of his country

feats, of the dispossessing them of Milan and Parma, which gave him such an excess of joy, that he was seized that very night with a slight fever, and died of it a few days after (45)." These are du Plessis's words. It is agreed by all Historians that Leo X felt a prodigious satisfaction at hearing this good news; but I do not find many who affirm that this was the cause of his death; and though many had affirmed it, I would not believe it; for those who die through excess of joy, die suddenly, overpower'd, in all probability, by too great a flow of blood into the ventricles of the heart. If a person can withstand the first impressions of a rising joy, as the Pope did, he grows better afterward; so far from being seized with a dangerous fever, when other reasons do not occasion it. John Crespin's relation seems much more probable; for he supposes that Leo's death was sudden: but indeed not of that sudden kind occasioned by excess of joy. "Hearing that the French had been overcome at Milan by the Emperor's forces, and driven out of Italy, to which he indeed gave a helping hand; as he was carousing and indulging his appetite, and rejoicing in an extraordinary manner at the news, it is said that he suddenly gave up the ghost, he who always disbelieved a heaven and hell after this life (46)." The following distich (47),

*Sacra sub extrema si forte requiritis hora
Cur Leo non poterat sumere? vendiderat.*

" You ask why Leo in his dying moments Could not receive the Sacraments? He had sold 'em."

(45) Du Plessis *Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 590.

(46) Jean Crespin, *État de l'Église*, ad ann. 1521, pag. m, 516.

(47) Of Sannazar.

this distich, I say, alledged by that author favours the supposition of sudden death; but it is nevertheless certain that the sickness of which Leo X died, was of some days continuance (48). Famianus Strada has given two accounts of the death of this Pontiff (49); the one in Livy's style and the other in Tacitus's manner, both which are beautiful and elaborate.

I must here take notice of a mistake of the translator of Guicciardin. "Advice, says he, was brought, that Pope Leo died suddenly the first of December. For having received, in his Villa of Magliano, whither he went often to divert himself, news of the taking of Milan, he fell into such an excess of joy, that he was seized with a slight fever, that very night; and being on this account carried to Rome the next day, although the Physicians made light of at first of his indisposition, he yet died in very few days, not without a great suspicion of his being poisoned, as it was said, by Barnabas Malespina his chamberlain, who was appointed to give him his drink (50)." How absurd is it to say, almost in the same period, that a person dies suddenly, and that he dies of a slight fever which the Physicians made light of at first? Guicciardin could not possibly have made such a blunder, he not saying that he died suddenly *mori di morte inspetata* (51); nor has he connected the great joy of this Pope with the fever, as the cause with its effect. *Ricevutone incredibile piacere; sopra preso la notte medesima di picciola febbre, e fattosi il giorno seguente portare à Roma &c.* (52). This connection is more than a poetical licence of the translator. It may be observed by the way, how closely the words of an original ought to be followed, when a person would translate faithfully.

[L] He did not always take such measures as were agreeable to the Emperor Maximilian. This Monarch had flattered himself that Leo X would have favoured him; but when he heard of this Pope's correspondence with the French, he cried; *had not this Pope deceived me also, he would have been the only Pontiff whose honour and integrity I should have had reason to applaud.* Nisi me hic quoque Papa fefellisset, ille unicus esset cujus bonam fidem laudare possem (53).

(48) See Paulus Jovius, in *Vita Leonis X*, pag. 209.

(49) Prolus. *Academic.* 2. lib. 2. pag. m. 247, & seq.

(50) Homodei, Translation of Guicciard. Book 14. chap. 14. folio 143. ad ann. 1521. [This Homodei is an error of the press; it should be Comedy, as it is written in some other places.] Remarks from the Paris edit. (1714) of Bayle's Dictionary.

(51) Guicc. lib. 14. folio m. 415 verso.

(52) Idem, ibid.

(53) See Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutheram.* lib. 1. pag. 43. col. 1. See also Heidegger, *Hist. Papa*, 10, pag. 201.

indulgences [M], proved the occasion of the reformation established by Luther, as is universally known. It is related by some writers, that he at first bestowed the highest elogiums on that great Reformer [N]. I do not find that Guicciardin lashes this Pontiff with so much severity as Varillas insinuates [O]; but the apology of Paulus Jovius appears

to

[M] *The sordid traffic to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences.*] A kind of monopoly was made of them; indulgences were let out to farm; and the Commissioners appointed to collect the monies, bought their employments of the Pope; and this done, they were extremely rigorous in their exactions, and had so little regard to decency, that the powers for releasing souls out of purgatory were played for in taverns, as Guicciardin affirms. *Haveva sparso per tutto il mondo, senza distinzione di tempi e di luoghi, indulgentie amplissime, non solo per poter giovare conesse quelli, che ancora sono nella vita presente, ma con facultà di potere oltra questo liberare l'anime de defunti dalla pene del Purgatorio: lequali, percha era notorio che si concedevano solamente per estorquere danari da gli huomini; Et essendo essercitate imprudentemente da Commissarii deputati a questa esattione, la più parte de' quali comperavi dalla Corte la facultà di essercitare; haveva concitato in molti luoghi indignatione, e scandalo assai, e specialmente nella Germania, dove a molti de' ministri era veduto vendere per poco prezzo, ò giocarli sur la tavola la facultà del liberare l'anime d' morti dal Purgatorio* (54). i. e. "He dispersed throughout the whole

(54) Guicci. lib. 13. fol. 395, verso. See also Fra Paolo, lib. 1.

"world, without any regard to times or places, very ample indulgences, not only for the advantage of the present life, but endued with a power to free the souls of the dead from the pains of purgatory; which, as it was notorious that they were granted in no other view but to draw money out of people's pockets, and were levied imprudently by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, most of whom bought their employments of the Court of Rome; they therefore occasioned in many places, great indignation and scandal, particularly in Germany, where they were sold for little or nothing; and the power of freeing the souls of the dead from purgatory, was played for in taverns." The discontent of the people increased, when it was known to what use these sums were applied; for most of the money levied in Germany was for the use of the Pope's filter.

[N] *It is related by some writers, that he at first bestowed the highest elogiums on that great reformer.*] This circumstance would have been little known, had not Colomiesius mentioned it. Mr. de Seckendorf (55) learnt it from him; he having been told by a counsellor of Spire, that it was in the *Opuscula* of Colomiesius. The passage is this. "Vossius having told me, that he remembered to have read, in the tragical histories of Bandelli, an elogium bestowed on Luther by Pope Leo X, I went immediately into his library, where turning over that author's histories, I met with the following words in the preface to the twenty fifth novel of the third part: *Nel principio che la Setta Lutherana comincio à germogliare, essendo di brigata molti Gentiluomini, ne l'hora del meriggio, in casa del nostro virtuojo Signor L. Scipione Attellano, è di varie cose ragionandosi, furono alcuni che non poco biasmarono Leone X Pontefice, che ne i principii non si mettesse remedio, à l'hora che Frate Silvestro Prierio, Maestro del sacro Palazzo, gli mostrò alcuni punti d'heresia che Fra Martino Lutero haveva sparso per l'opera, la quale de le Indulgentie haveva intitolata; percioche imprudentemente rispose, che Fra Martino haveva un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie Fratresche.*" i. e. "When the sect of Luther began to make its appearance, several gentlemen being together, at noon, in the house of our excellent Signior L. Scipio Attellano, and discoursing upon various subjects; some of them greatly blamed Pope Leo X, for not taking care in time, when Silvester Prierio, master of the sacred palace, pointed out to him some heretical tenets which Friar Martin Luther had scattered up and down his treatise concerning indulgences; but he imprudently answered, that Friar Martin had a fine genius, and that these were mere surmises arising from the jealousy of the Monks." Sleidan would not have failed to prefix these words to his history, had he known them (56).

(56) Colomies. Recueil de Particularitez, pag. 3.

[O] *I do not find that Guicciardin lashes this Pontiff with so much severity as Varillas insinuates.*] This author wrote a great number of books against the house of Austria, which perhaps would have been printed, if Mr. Colbert had not represented, after the peace of the Pyrenees, that it would be no ways decent to disgust the Spaniards, by permitting the impression of so many volumes filled with such injurious particulars. The plan of this voluminous work has been seen in a piece entitled, *La Politique de la Maison d'Autriche* (the politics of the house of Austria.) The author sets out with a kind of apology, for the liberty he has taken to touch upon the vices of Princes. *Only, says he (57), imitate the style, and copy the reverse of the picture which Livy drew of Hannibal (*) ; and I have fallen so short of it, that the reader will not meet with a person of what rank or quality soever, so injuriously treated in my work, as Pope Leo X is in the elogium which Guicciardin has made of him (†), and for which he was not any way reproved that I can find (‡).* It is plain

"that this elogium of Leo X is represented as a very satirical piece; otherwise it would be absurd to mention his example. Now it is certain that we do not meet with any thing in Guicciardin, which answers to this idea. The twelfth book cited by Varillas, is less to his purpose than the two following. It is in the thirteenth book that we have an account of the trade of indulgences, as has been already seen; and in the fourteenth a censure of this Pope for squandering such sums, and for being so fond of musick and farcical entertainments (58). *Egli per natura dedito all' ocio, Et a' piaceri, Et hora per la troppa licenza, e grandezza alieno sopra modo dalle facende, immerso ad udire tutto' giorno musche, facette, e buffoni, inclinato ancora troppo più che l'onnesta a piaceri: pareva dovesse essere totalmente alieno dalle guerre.* i. e. "Being naturally prone to idleness and fond of pleasure; and now, by the exalted height he had attained, being utterly averle to business; spending whole days in hearing musick, jests and buffoonries; and being too much devoted to his pleasures, it was judged that he would be tally averle to war." *Quali sorte di buffonerie, e di facette piacesse a Papa Leone; si può raccogliere dal lib. 4. della vita di lui del Giovio: dove pone, che furono recitate Comedie, si fece professione di fare impazzire huomini, Et altre piacevolezze tali: onde il Tarascone si persuase d'essere gran Musico, il Baraballo fu laureato Poeta, e mandato su l'Elefante, Et i Parasiti furono sommamente favoriti.* i. e. "What kind of buffoonries were most pleasing to Pope Leo X may be gathered from book IV of his life written by Paulus Jovius, who says, that they acted plays; that they made it their business to make some self-conceited men quite frantic, and such like extravagancies; whence Tarascone imagined himself to be a great musician; Baraballo was created Poet Laureat and rode upon the Elephant; and parasites were highly favoured."

In a word, we find in the XIV book a general judgment on the conduct of this Pope; but this is a composition of praises and censures; and cannot pass for satirical, nor even disrespectful. Guicciardin's words are as follow: *Principe nel quale erano degne di laude, e di vituperio molte cose, e che ingannò assai l'espertatione, che quando fu assunto al Ponteficato s'haveva di lui: conciosa ch' criuscisse di maggior prudenza, ma di molto minore bontà di quello ch'era giudicato da tutti* (59). i. e. "A Prince who possessed many good and many ill qualities; and who greatly deceived the expectation, which people entertained of him when he was raised to the Pontificate; he displaying more wisdom and much less goodness than the world had imagined." When this historian speaks of the election of Leo X, he does it in such a manner as is extremely glorious to this Pope. He owns that it was no way simoniacal, or bad; and that not the least objection could be made to the moral conduct of the cardinal elected. *Senti di questa elezione quasi tutta la Christianità, grandissimo piacere, persuadendosi universalmente gli homini che haveva a essere rarissimo Pontefice, per la chiara memoria del valore paterno,* e

(57) Varillas, *Politique de la Maison d'Autriche*, pag. 73, 74. Hague edit. of 1688.

(*) In book 21. (†) In book 12. of his History.

(‡) Not even by de Beny.

(58) Lib. 14. folio 398, verso.

(59) Guicciard. lib. 14. folio 416.

to me very weak [P]; and occasioned its being made a question, whether he ought to be

per la fama che risonava per tutto della sua liberalità, e benignità, stimato casto e di perfetti costumi, e sperandosi che a esempio del padre dovesse a essere amatore de' letterati, e di tutti gli ingegni illustri: laquale aspettazione accresceva l'essere stata fatta l'elezione candidamente senza simonia, o sospetto di macula alcuna (60). i. e.

(60) Guicc. lib. 11. folio 326.

“ Almost the whole Christian world was highly pleased at this election; every one being persuaded that he would prove a most excellent Pontiff, from the great reputation of his father's valour, and the good opinion mankind in general entertained of his liberality, benignity, chastity and moral conduct; and hoping that, in imitation of his father, he would esteem and patronize learned men, and those who excelled in their talent: which expectation increased because his election was no ways simoniackal, and was quite exempt from the least suspicion of fraud!” See in the remark [R] a contradiction of Varillas.

[P] *The apology of Paulus Jovius appears to me very weak.* The methods this author takes to justify Leo X may be reduced to four, I. He says that it was not from a vicious nature, but from a soft, easy and generous temper that this Pope, surrounded with persons of a voluptuous turn, immersed himself a little too much in pleasures (61). This is but a poor excuse, and many common prostitutes might be justified from that way of reasoning. They are not naturally wicked, brutal or cruel, but their too great good nature, easy temper and complaisance, is the occasion of their falling into the tempter's snare. I will observe by the way, that Politian says wonders of Leo X, in a letter which he wrote to Pope Innocent VIII, when this youth was honoured with the purple. *Ita natus & factus, ita altus atque educatus, ita denique eruditus atque infuitus hic est, ut nemini secundus ingenio, nec æqualibus industria, nec præceptoribus literatura, neque gravitate senibus concesserit. Nativus in eo probitas, & genuina: diligentia quoque parentis ita impense culta est, ut ex illius ore non modo non verbum dictu scædus, sed ne levius quidem unquam aut etiam licentius exciderit. Non actio, non gestus, non incessus, in illo notatus: non aliud postremo quod in deteriore parte conspiceretur. Sic in viridi ætate cana maturitas, ut qui loquentem senes audiant, prævitam in eo, nos paternam certe indolem agnoscamus. Cultum pietatis & religionis pene etiam cum lacte nutricis exsuxit: etiam tum ab incunabulis sacra meditata officia* (29). i. e. “ This youth was fo

(61) See the words of Paulus Jovius, remark [D] citation (12) above.

(62) Politian. Epist. 5. lib. 8.

“ formed by nature and education, that not being inferior to any one in genius, he does not yield to his equals in industry; to his preceptors in erudition; nor to old men in gravity. He is naturally honest and sincere; and educated in so strict a manner by his father, that never drops a loose expression, or even a light one. No action, gesture or gait, or any other circumstance, distinguished him in such a manner, as might give an ill impression of him. His judgment appears so ripe and mature, though he be extremely young, that whenever old men hear him talk, they revere him as a parent. Together with his nurse's milk he sucked in piety and religion; preparing himself, even from his cradle, for the holy office.” Paulus Jovius says in the place, that Leo, if compared with his predecessors, will be found extremely chaste. *Si aliqua ex parte eo nomine sugillari incluta virtus potuit, Leo certe cum superiorum principum fama comparatus æstimatione reatissima continentie laudem feret* (63). This excuse is not much better than the other. III. He says that this Pontiff having been renowned for his continence, secured himself at last from the temptations of impurity, by discontinuing to indulge himself in high feeding, and by regular fastings, *Constat tamen eum, quod à prima adolescentia opinione omnium summam continentie laudem fuisse adeptus, non importuna quædam pudicitie castitatis præsidia quæfuisse: quando nequaquam pristina vitæ more tam multis delicatisque obsoniis uteretur: Itemque animo verè pudico die mercurii carnes non edere, die autem Veneris nihil gustare præter legumen & olera, ac die demum Saturni cæna penitus abstinere, incorrupta lege insituisse* (64). i. e. “ It is nevertheless certain, that

(63) Jovius, in Vita Leonis X, pag. 192.

(64) Ibid. pag. 193.

“ having gained an universal good reputation for continence from his youth, he did not look out for any importunate guardians of his modesty and chastity,

“ since he no longer indulged himself in eating of such a variety of dainties as formerly: For he did not eat flesh on Wednesdays; on Fridays he fed on nothing but pulse and herbs, and on Saturdays he did not so much as break his fast; which course of life he never swerved from.” This exceeds all the rest. In fine, he says that a great difference ought to be made between the vices which belong to a sovereign as such, and those which belong to him as a man. And he instances the emperor Trajan, who was so dear to the people of Rome, that it was the height of their wishes, that the succeeding emperors should reign as well as he; and yet Trajan's drunkenness and sodomitical practices were well known. The meaning of this is, that the vices of Leo X were not repugnant to the qualities of a good Prince; but only to those of a good Christian; and therefore that we ought to pardon the irregularities of his youth, since they did not prevent his being a good Prince. *Alia principis, alia hominis esse vitia quis nescit? hæc uni privata conditione quum noceant, etiam aliquibus fortasse profunt: illa verò ab dira potestate, & luctum & calamitatem universis mortalibus apportant: idque verissimum esse constat præclaro quondam populi Romani testimonio, qui neminem sibi principem Trajano meliorem exoptavit, quanquam eum illicitæ libidinis ac ebrietatis censura notasset. Sed demus ali- quid humanitati Leonis, uti in summa licentia fervida ætatis ac prosperæ valetudinis æstum ægerimè sustinenti, postquam in magnis salutaribusque virtutibus optimi atque benefici cognomentum facile meruerit* (65).

(65) Ibid. pag. 192, 193.

Generally speaking, this author's maxim is true. It is very possible for a Prince to be a good, a worthy man, and at the same time a poor Monarch; that is a Monarch who is not able to cause the Laws to be executed with vigour, nor to heal the disorders and evils of the State. On the other hand, it is very possible for a Prince to deviate very much from the rules of morality, which prescribe the duties of persons; and nevertheless he may be a good Monarch; that is, a Monarch who maintains order in his Kingdom; and who enacts, with wisdom, rewards and punishments, without loading his people with taxes, and pecuniary edicts. But it is very rare that a voluptuous and prodigal Monarch, like Leo X, is a good Prince; to supply his expences he must load his subjects with taxes; and he generally dispenses his favours, according to the caprice of those who administer to his pleasures; and consequently to unworthy persons, whose evil conduct he has not time to punish, he being too much taken up with his pleasures, to allow the functions of his kingly dignity the application which it requires. One might easily prove, that the subjects of Leo X were greatly loaded. Farther, it ought to be considered that Leo's chief dignity was a sacred and ecclesiastical dignity. To know therefore whether he discharged his duty, the chief question is not whether he has done what his temporal dignity required; it will be impossible to justify him, but by shewing that he diligently discharged the duty of his other function, that is, observed the precepts of the Gospel, and did all that lay in his power to make others practise them. These are his chief functions, and here his apologist is obliged to forsake him. *In his vero quæ rem divinam respicerent, nequaquam secunda fama prægravari est visus. Nam indulgentias vetera Pontificum ad parandam pecuniam instrumenta adeo plene atque affluenter provinciis dedit, ut fidem sacrosanctæ potestatis elevare videretur* (66). i. e. “ He does not seem to have a good character as to divine matters; for he was to extremely profuse of indulgences (old instruments by which the Pontiffs raise money) that the credit of the sacred authority seems to have been lessened by him.”

(66) Jovius, in Vita Leon. pag. 193.

I will observe by the way, that this uniting of the temporal and spiritual authority in the same person, is generally the ruin of the evangelical spirit. The heathens had this mixture of characters,

A reflection on the uniting the temporal and spiritual authority in one person.

Rex Anius Rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos (67).

(67) Virgil. Æn. lib. 3. vers. 80.

That is,

“ Anius a King, and likewise Phœbus' Priest.”

This

(6) Voetius, *Disputat. tom. 1.*
pag. 204.

be considered as an Atheist (e); but the rest of the Apologists have not succeeded much better [Q]. Varillas alone is sufficient to refute himself. I will copy a long passage from his Anecdotes, which contain a pretty just character, though in a concise way, of Leo X [R], and whence I entreat my readers to supply, whatever may be wanting in the

This mixture was not unuseful to the temporal good of Religion, and it has remarkably served the same ends under the Christian dispensation; but then it has occasioned an extreme corruption of manners. The ecclesiastical character ought to prevail and be predominant, since the other dignity is only an adjunct; and nevertheless it is generally swallowed up by its colleague. The joining of these two offices together, is joining a dead to a living body, a fatal conjunction, where the carcass communicates its rottenness and stench to the living body, and receives vital influence from it.

*Mortua quietiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,
Tormenti genus! Et sanie tabeque fluentes
Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat* (68).

(68) Idem, lib. 8.
ver. 485.

“The living, and the dead, at his command
“Were coupled, face to face, and hand to hand:
“Till choak'd with stench, in loath'd embraces ty'd,
“The lingring wretches pin'd away, and dy'd.

DRYDEN.

The world, the flesh, the weak part draws the resolutions and conclusions after it; the same as in a syllogism, the weakest of the two first propositions is the rule of the consequence or conclusion (69). The author of the *Critique Generale* (70) speaking of the distinction that has been invented between a Pope who pronounces *ex Cathedra*, and the same Pope who speaks in another manner, has given us the following smart jest of a peasant in the Electorate of Colen. I thought for a very long time that this jest had been preserved only traditionally, but I was mistaken, it having been printed above a century ago in books of a serious and grave character. Duaren has inserted it in one of his pieces (71), and copied it from Fulgofius (72). Here follows the whole story from old French. It is true indeed that an Elector of Colen is not expressly named. “There is a very merry story

(69) *Conclusio sequitur debiliorem partem.*

(70) Tom. 2.
pag. 161. 3d edito.

(71) *De sacris Eccles. Minister.*
lib. 1. cap. 4.

(72) Bapt. Fulgofius, *Factor. & Dilect. Memorab.*
lib. 6. cap. 2. folio m. 198.

“of a German peasant, who, being at work in a field of his, saw his Bishop pass by, with a long train more becoming a Prince, than one who called himself the successor or deputy of an Apostle. Being greatly scandalized at this, he could not forbear laughing, and laughed so loud, that Sir Reverend enquired the reason of it. The peasant answered “in his natural character, that is truly and simply; “I laugh when I think of St. Peter and St. Paul, and see Thee in this geer. How is that, says the Bishop? Do you ask how, says the rustic? It was very silly in them to trudge alone on foot through the world, as they were the head of the Christian Church, and deputies of Christ Jesus the King of Kings: whilst thou, who art no more than our Bishop, art so well mounted, and halt so long a train of bravoos, that thou resemblest a Prince more than a Pastor of the Church. Here Sir Reverend replied: But friend, thou dost not consider that I am a Count and Baron as well as thy Bishop. This made the clown laugh louder than before, when the Bishop asking him the reason of it, he answered; But, Zir; when this Count and Baron you are speaking of shall be in hell, where will the Bishop be? This so confounded the Right Reverend, that he rode away without speaking a word (73).”

(73) Peter Viel, Doctor of Sorbonne, in the *Treatise of Simony*, chap. 6.

(74) *Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1227.

(75) *In Vita Leonis X.*

(76) *Remarques sur la Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité*, Part 2.
pag. 640.

[Q] *The rest of the Apologists have not succeeded much better.* I will speak a word or two concerning the manner in which some authors have endeavoured to justify Leo X as to the article of impiety. Coeffeteau (74) produces no other apology but the following words of Onuphrius Panvinius (75): *Erat rerum divinarum diligens observator.* i. e. “He was a diligent observer of religious ceremonies, &c.” Rivet (76) answers thus: “There are many profane persons and atheists, who observe very exactly all the ceremonies of Religion, in order to conceal their impiety under this foliage, who, among friends, say they are *ad morem, non ad rem; legibus justæ,*

non Diis gratæ. Sannazarius, who makes him die “without receiving the Sacraments, because he had sold them before, does not represent him in the “light which Onuphrius would do.” It is to be observed particularly, that Sannazarius does not say that Leo refused the Sacraments. If this Pope did not receive the Sacraments &c. upon his death-bed, it was because he was light-headed. James Gretser, besides the words of Panvinius, alledges Leo Xth's bull against Luther. *Bulla qua Leo Lutheri errores damnat, immanem banc pseudologiam perspicue redarguit* (77). i. e. “That bull in which Leo condemns Luther's “errors, evidently refutes this egregious false assertion.” But this is pitiful; for though this Pope had had no Religion, he yet would have followed the ordinary style in his bull; and have displayed great zeal against a heretick, who contested with him an authority on which all his temporal felicity depended. Palavicino (78) endeavouring to take off the reproach which Father Paul makes to this Pope, viz. of his having very little regard to religion and piety: *Sarebbe stato un perfetto Pontefice, se con queste havesse congiunto qualche cognitione delle cose della religione, & alquanto piu d'inclinazione alla pietà: dell'una & dell'altra delle quali non mostrava haver gran cura* (79). Palavicino, I say, in his endeavours to take off this reproach, does three things. He alledges, 1. The testimony of Politian (80); 2dly, that Pope's fasting; 3dly, the majesty and good grace with which Leo solemnized mass. The second of these three particulars, if the fact be really as Paulus Jovius has told it (81), is, in my opinion, a good proof of religion, when we weigh well the several circumstances of it. The first is nothing; for children, till they come to a certain age, are always persuaded of the truth of the lessons of their catechists, and raise no objections to them. If they become impious, it is when they are from under the tuition of their preceptors; and when they corrupt themselves, either by bad company, or by following a false philosophy. The last circumstance is rather a corporal talent, than an indication of the persuasion of the soul. Let us see what Paulus Jovius says on this occasion. *Sacra confecit, singulaque ceremoniarum obivit munia singulari cum majesticate, ut non falso nemo superiorum Pontificum eo augustius & decentius sacrificasse diceretur* (82). i. e. “He solemnized “the several religious ceremonies with so singular a “majesty, that it was justly said none of the Pontiffs “his predecessors celebrated them with greater.” It is very probable that Onuphrius means only this, when he says, *fuit rerum divinarum diligens observator, & sacris ceremoniis deditus*: this being such a proof of piety as is altogether ambiguous and equivocal.

(77) *In Examine Mysteriorum Plessan.*
an. pag. 563.

(78) *Istor. del Concilio*, lib. 1.
cap. 2.

(79) Fra Paolo, *Istor. del Concilio*,
lib. 1. pag. 5.

(80) See the remark [P], citation (62).

(81) See the remark [P], citation (64).

(82) Paul. Jovius, *in Vita Leonis X.*, lib. 4.
pag. m. 212.

[R] I will copy a long passage from Varillas's *Anecdotes*, which contain a pretty just character, though in a concise way, of Leo X.] It is in the Preface to that work, and is as follows. “Guicciardin . . . exhibits this Pope to us (*), as a perfect model of “modern Politicks, and the greatest statesman of his “age. He makes him superiour to King Ferdinand “the Catholick; and causes him to triumph, in his “younger years, over the artifices of that old usurper. It is to him he ascribes the secret of causing “all his designs to be seconded by the council of Spain, “whether they would or no. After having established these wonderful principles, there are no shining “virtues but what heighten and illustrate the picture “of Leo X. He formed, at but twelve years of “age when he was created Cardinal, those vast projects which he afterwards put in execution, when “he was raised to the pontifical chair (†). He negotiated with the states of Venice to save the ruins “of his house, which had not been able to withstand “our Charles VIII. The seeing his brother drowned “as he was crossing a river, had not the power to “make him change his resolution. He thought of “nothing but the bringing up an only son, (in the cradle) whom this brother had left; and thereupon “he returns to Rome, where, by his intrigues, he “gains the favour of Pope Julius II, and they occasioned

(*) In the twelve first articles of his history.

(†) “[I do not doubt but that “the politics, “which Guicciardine ascribes “to Leo when “but 12 years “are a mere chimerical “Historian.”] From the Remarks to the Paris edit. (1734) of Bayle's Dictionary.

the text of this article. Varillas is also mistaken with regard to Paulus Jovius [S].
The Literati, of what Religion or Country they may be, ought to praise and blefs this Pope's memory, for the great zeal he shewed, in recovering the manuscripts of the Antients. He was not sparing of his care, nor of his money, in making the researches in question, and to procure very good editions. I have two Anecdote Letters that prove this [T], and

“ signed his being appointed Legate in the army de-
“ signed to drive the French out of Italy. He is
“ taken prisoner in the battle of Ravenna, but makes
“ his escape in a happy juncture, Julius II. expiring
“ just at that time. He goes into the Conclave, where
“ he takes so much advantage of the caprice of the
“ young Cardinals, who had flattered themselves with
“ the hopes of electing a juvenile Pope, that he causes
“ them to give their votes in his favour. He joins
“ with the Spaniards; and is tender of their friend-
“ ship so long as it is of service to settle his house in
“ the chief employments of magistracy in Florence;
“ but the instant fortune frowns on them, and that he
“ finds their council does not care to let him usurp
“ the dukedom of Urbino, in order to invest his
“ nephew with it, he treats with the French on that
“ condition; he draws up the famous concordate, in
“ which he eludes the stratagems and long experience
“ of Chancelour du Prat; he discovers the highest
“ friendship for Francis I, so long as that Monarch
“ is able to do him service; but the instant he has
“ obtained his desires, he abandons him, in order to
“ be reconciled to Charles V. He projects a league
“ with this Monarch, in order to establish the Sforza's
“ in the Dukedom of Milan. He succeeds in it sooner
“ than he expected; and is fired with such an excess
“ of joy as kills him at receiving this News.”

[S] *Varillas is also mistaken with regard to Paulus Jovius.* This historian, if Varillas is to be credited, has not so much written a history as a satyr with regard to Leo X. “ Paulus Jovius, says he (83), presents him as a man of a violent spirit, and who would gain every thing by forcible methods. He declares him to have been fired with the same martial disposition as his predecessor Julius II. He makes him entertain, even before his exaltation, a disdainful contempt for all the rest of the sacred College, founded on an imaginary precedence of the house of Medicis over the rest of Italy. He brings in this contempt into all actions of splendor, and even the most august ceremonies; he looks upon it as the source and foundation of the obdurate war which was waged against the Duke of Urbino, and of the other quarrels which broke out in the whole course of his Pontificate; in a word he declares that vanity, but a haughty, distasteful vanity, was his predominant passion. If you were very desirous of knowing how it was possible for Paulus Jovius to pierce so far into Leo's mind, as to form so decisive a judgment of it, he himself answers before hand, that he had been this Pope's creature; that it was he who made him leave the study of physick, and the pretensions to a chair in Padua, to devote himself to an ecclesiastical life; who made him Bishop of Como; who chose him for his confidant, and to assist in those councils where the most important and most secret resolutions were taken; who engaged him to write the history of his own time; who employed his good offices for him in France and Spain, in order that such authentick pieces might be communicated to him, as he believed were necessary for improving his work; and who revealed his whole soul to him, in frequent and familiar conversations.” The reader has seen in the foregoing remarks, that Paulus Jovius does not conceal the faults of Leo X; but it is certain that the vice of which Varillas speaks is that, of all others, the least, which Paulus Jovius imputes to him. It is even certain that he declares him possessed of the opposite virtue. *Pontifex*, says he (84), *cujus mite ingenium facilemque naturam in specimen ceterarum virtutum omnes illo tempore laudabant, clementius agendum sibi . . . existimavit.* i. e. “ The Pope, whose gentle disposition and easy nature were applauded by all, as a specimen of the rest of the virtues he possessed, was of opinion that it was incumbent on him to shew a little clemency.” This

author was never Bishop of Como; and was made a Bishop (85) by Clement VII. and not by Leo X. This intimate confidence and admission to the most secret councils are, in my opinion, a mere romantic fiction: and I have not found the least footsteps of them in the writings of Paulus Jovius.

[T] *I have two anecdote letters which prove this.* They were communicated to me by Mr. de Seidel, privy councillor to his Prussian Majesty. His father left him a fine library, which he has enlarged very considerably, and particularly with scarce books and manuscripts. He brought several from Greece, in a voyage he made thither. He is worthy in all respects of possessing such a treasure, he being a gentleman of profound erudition, and who takes great delight in favouring the sciences. The copy which he was so good as to send me of Leo the Xth's letter, is faithful and extremely accurate; and the originals, in Sadolet's own hand-writing, are still extant. It may be observed by the way, that there was printed in *Nova literaria Maris Baltici & Septentrionis* (86), for November 1699, a letter written, on a like account, to his Danish Majesty by Leo X. the 8th of November 1517. Mine are as follow:

Venerabili Fratri Alberto Moguntin. & Magdeburgen. Archiepiscopo, Administratori Halberstaten. Principi Electori ac Germaniæ Primati.

LEO PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Mittimus dilectum filium Joannem Heymers de Zowelben, Clericum Leodiensis diocesis, nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis Commissarium ad inclitas Nationes, Germaniæ, Daniæ, Suetiæ, Norvegiæ, & Gothiæ, per inquirendis dignis & antiquis libris qui temporum injuria periere, in qua re nec sumptui nec impensæ alicui parcimus, solum ut sicut usque à nostri Pontificatus initio proposuimus, quòd Altissimo tantum sit honor & gloria, viros quovis virtutum genere insignitos, præsertim literatos, quantum cum Deo possumus, foveamus, extollamus ac juvemus. Accipimus autem penes Fraternalitatem Tuam, seu in locis sub illius ditione positus esse ex dictis antiquis libris, præsertim Romanarum Historiarum, non paucos qui nobis cordi non parum forent. Quare cum in animo nobis sit tales libros, quotquot ad manus venire potuerint in lucem redire curare pro communi omnium literatorum utilitate, Fraternalitatem Tuam eâ demum quâ possumus affectione hortamur, monemus, & enixius in Domino obtestamur, ut si rem gratam unquam facere animo proponit, vel eorundem librorum omnium exempla fideliter & accuratè scripta, vel quod magis exoptamus ipsosmet librorum antiquos ad nos transmitti quanto citius curet, illos statim receptura, cum exscripti hic fuerint, cuncta obligationem per Camera nostram Apostolicam factam, seu quam dictus Joannes Commissarius noster præsentium lator ad id mandatum sufficiens habens nomine dictæ Cameræ denuo duxerit faciendam. Et quia dictus Joannes promissit nobis se brevi daturum trigesimum tertium librum Titi Livii de bello Macedonico, illi commisimus ut eum ad manus Tuæ Fraternalitatis daret, ut ipsa quam primum posset per fidum nuntium ad nos vel dilecto Filio Philippo Beroaldo Bibliothecario Palatii nostri Apostolici mittat. Quoniam vero eidem Joanni certam summam pecuniarum hic in urbe enumerari fecimus pro expensis factis & fiendis, & certam quantitatem debemus, volumus, & ita Fraternalitati Tuæ committimus & mandamus, ut postquam acceperit prædictum librum Titi Livii ipsi Joanni solvat seu solvi faciat centum quadraginta septem ducatos auri de Camera ex pecuniis indulgentiarum concessarum per illius provincias in favorem fabricæ Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum de urbe; quam quidem pecuniarum summam in computis Tuæ Fraternalitatis cum Camera Apostolica admittimus, prout in præsentia per præsentem admittimus & admitti mandamus. Juvet præterea eundem Joannem salvis conductibus literis & auxiliis, & illi per Provincias suas assistat pro libris extrahendis, & pro illo etiam fide jubeat, si opus est, pro dictis libris intra certum tempus à nobis

(83) The 13th of January 1528, according to Ughelli, Ital. Sacr. tom. 7. pag. 744.

(86) Page 348.

(83) Preface to the *Anecdotes of Florence*. He cites Paulus Jovius, in his book, and the particular eulogium of Leo X. Both these are unexact citations; the general History of Paulus Jovius including several books; and he not having written a particular eulogium, but the Life of this Pope.

(84) Jovius, *Historiar.* lib. 11. sub fin. See him also in *Vita Leonis X.* pag. m. 309.

and which my readers will doubtless be well pleased to see here.

LEO

à nobis restituendis & ad sua loca remittendis. Quod si Fraternitas Tua fecerit, ut omnino nobis persuademus, & ingens nomen apud Viros literatos consequetur, & nobis rem gratissimam faciet. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XXVI. Novembris M. DXVII. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

“ To our venerable Brother Albert, Archbishop of
“ Mentz and Magdeburg, Administrator of Hal-
“ berstat, Electoral Prince and Primate of Ger-
“ many.

LEO X.

“ Venerable brother, health and apostolical blessing. We send our beloved son John Heytmers de Zonvelben, Clerk of the Diocese of Leige, our Commissary and that of the Apostolical See, to the renowned Nations of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Gothland; to search for such ancient books of value as were lost by the injury of time, wherein we are not sparing of expence, only that, as we purposed from the beginning of our Pontificate, solely with the view to promote the honour and glory of the most high, we by the assistance of heaven, may cherish, raise, and assist men who excell in any talent, particularly the learned. We have been told, that there are, either in your possession, or the places subject to you, a great number of such ancient books, and particularly relating to the Roman history, which would be very acceptable to us. As therefore we design to procure the publication of as many of the books in question as we can get, for the common benefit of the Literati in general; we therefore exhort you in the most affectionate manner, and beseech you in the Lord, that if you ever propose to yourself the performing of a grateful action, that you would send to us, with all imaginable speed, accurate and faithful copies of all those ancient books, or rather the books themselves, which shall be sent back to you as soon as copied here, pursuant to an instrument or obligation drawn up by our apostolical chamber; or such as the aforesaid John our Commissary, bearer of the present letters, who has ample instructions for that purpose, shall think proper to be drawn up in the name of the said chamber. And because the said John promised us to deliver, in a little time, the thirty third book of Livy, relating to the Macedonian war, we have ordered him to put it into your hands; in order that it may be sent as soon as possible, by a faithful messenger, either to us, or our beloved son Philip Beroaldus, library keeper of our apostolical palace. And because we have ordered that the said John should be paid a certain sum of money, in this city, and that we owe him a certain sum, for expences made and to be made; we will, commission and command you, after you shall have received the aforesaid book of Livy, to pay or cause to be paid, an hundred and forty seven gold Ducats of the chamber, from the monies arising out of indulgences granted in those provinces, for the Church of the Prince of Apollis; which sum of money we will admit or allow in the accounts between yourself and the apostolical chamber; as we now allow, and command to be allowed by these presents. Farther, you must favour the aforesaid John with safe conducts; and assist him, through your provinces, in discovering Books; and, if it be necessary, engage your word for him, that the books in question shall be restored by us at a certain limited time, and sent to the places to which they respectively belong. If you shall perform this, as we are entirely persuaded you will, you will thereby gain great fame among the learned, and do a thing that will be extremely agreeable to us. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's ring, the 26th of November, 1517, in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

JA. SADOLET.

This is the first of the two letters in question, and here follows the second. From some particulars in it we may justly suppose that the whole history of Livy

was then in being. Mr. de Seidel has been credibly informed, that it is thought that a canon of Magdeburg, at that time one of the ministers of state, to the Marquis Joachim Frederick, administrator of the Archbishoprick, took advantage, of the confusion things were then in; and stole from the publick library several manuscripts, and particularly Livy, in order to enrich his own. His heirs preserved it; but they concealed to the utmost of their power, such manuscripts as were put into it by unlawful means. At last, the whole was destroyed when the city was plundered in the year 1631.

Venerabili Fratri nostro Archiepiscopo Moguntin. Principi Electori & Germaniæ Primate.

LEO PP. X.

Dilecti filii (87), Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Rettulit nobis dilectus filius Joannes Heytmers de Zonvelben Clericus Leodiensis diocesis, quem nuper pro inquirendis antiquis libris, qui desiderantur ad inclitas nationes Germaniæ, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Suetiæ & Gotthiæ nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis specialem Nuncium & Commissarium destinavimus, à quodam, quem ipse ad id substituerat, accepisse literas, quibus ei significat in vestra Bibliotheca reperisse Codicem antiquum, in quo omnes Decades Titi Livii sunt descriptæ, impetrasseque à vobis illas posse exscribere, cum originale codicem habere fas non fuerit. Laudamus profecto vestram humanitatem & erga sedem Apostolicam obedientiam. Verum, dilecti filii, fuit nobis ab ipso usque Pontificatus nostri initio animus, Viros quovis generis exornatos, præsertim literatos, quantum cum DEO possumus, extollere ac juvare. Ea de causa hujuscemodi antiquos & desideratos libros, quotquot recipere possumus, prius per viros doctissimos, quorum copia DEI munere in nostrâ hodie est curiâ, corrigi facimus; deinde nostra impensa ad communem eruditorum utilitatem diligentissime imprimi curamus. Sed si ipsi originales libros non habeamus, nostra intentio non plane adimpletur, quia hi libri, visis tantum exemplis, correcti in lucem exire non possunt. Mandavimus in Camera nostra Apostolica sufficientem præstare cautionem de restituendis hujuscemodi libris integris & illesi eorum Dominis, quam primum hic erunt exscripti, & dilecti Joannes, quem iterum ad præmissa Commissarium deputavimus, habet ad eandem Camera sufficiens mandatum, illam obligandi ad restitutionem prædictam, modo & forma quibus ei videbitur. Tantum ad commodum & utilitatem Virorum eruditorum tendimus; de quo etiam dilecti filii Abbas & Conventus Monasterii Corvianensis Ordinis S. Benedicti Paderbornensis diocesis nostri locupletissimi possunt esse testes, ex quorum Bibliotheca cum primis quinque libri Historiæ Augustæ Cornelii Taciti qui desiderabantur, furto substracti fuissent, illique per multas manus ad nostras tandem pervenissent, nos recognitos prius eosdem quinque libros & correctos à Viris prædictis literatis in nostra Curia existentibus, cum aliis Cornelii prædicti operibus, quæ extabant, nostro sumptu imprimi fecimus. Deinde vero, re comperta, unum ex voluminibus dilecti Cornelii, ut præmittitur, correctum & impressum, ac etiam non inordinate ligatum, ad dilectum Abbatem & Conventum Monasterii Corvianensis remisimus, quod in eorum Bibliotheca loco substracti reponere possent. Et ut cognoscerent ex ea substructione potius est commodum quam incommodum ortum, misimus eisdem pro Ecclesia Monasterii eorum indulgentiam perpetuam. Quocirca vos & vestrum quemlibet, ea demum qua possumus affectione in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ monemus, hortamur, & sincera in Domino caritate requirimus, ut si nobis rem gratam facere unquam animo proponitis, eundem Joannem in dilectam vestram Bibliothecam intromittatis, & exinde tam dilectum codicem Livii, quam alios qui ei videbuntur per eum ad nos transmitti permittatis, illos eosdem omnino recepturi, reportanturque à Nobis præmia non vulgaria. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die prima Decembris MDXVII. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

“ To our venerable brother Albert, Archbishop of
“ Mentz, Electoral Prince, and Primate of Ger-
“ many.

“ LEO X.

“ Beloved sons, health and apostolical blessing. We
“ have been informed by our beloved son John Heytmers, de Zonvelben, Clerk of the Diocese of Liege,
“ whom

(87) Mr. de Seidel thinks that this letter was wrote to the Canons of Magdeburg; since Albert of Brandenburg was Archbishop of Magdeburg as well as of Mentz.

(a) Schottus,
Biblioth. Hispan.
pag. 266.

(b) Philippus
Elfius, Encomi-
as. Augustin.
pag. 443.

LEON (ALOSIO, or LEWIS DE) in Latin *Legionensis*, Professor of Divinity in the University of Salamanca (a), son of a Gentleman of Castile, entered into the Order of the Hermits of St. Austin, the 29th of January 1549 (b). He was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, and explained the sacred Writings in his Lectures with great skill. In 1588 he drew up the rules of the discoloured Friars, who began then to appear under the name of Recollects. He was made Vicar-General of the Order and Provincial, the 22d of August 1591; and died the next day [A] at Madrid, aged sixty four years. He had been involved in a very troublesome affair before the tribunal of the inquisition; but had extricated himself honourably, after some years imprisonment (c) [B]. I do not doubt but this occasioned an explication he made of a verse in Solomon's Song [C]. This

(c) Extracted
from Elfius, ubi
supra.

"whom we lately appointed, for the searching after
"antient books, special Nuntio and Commissary from
"us and the Apostolical See, to the renowned nations
"of Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Gothland;
"that letters had been sent him by a person whom he
"had appointed for that purpose, by which he tells
"him, that he had found, in your library, an antient
"manuscript containing all Livy's Decads; and that
"he had got your leave to copy them; not being per-
"mitted to have the original book. We applaud
"your condescension and obedience to the Apostolical
"See. But, beloved sons, it was our intention, from
"our first accession to the Pontificate, to raise and pa-
"tronize, with the assistance of heaven, men who
"excel in any talent, and particularly persons of eru-
"dition. In this view, we get as many as we can
"of these so much wanted antient books, which are
"first corrected by men of vast erudition, of whom,
"God be praised, there are now great numbers in
"our Court; and afterwards very carefully printed at
"our expence, for the common advantage of the Liti-
"erati. But if we do not get the original books
"themselves, our views will not be compleatly an-
"swered; because these books, if only copies of them
"are inspected, cannot be published correctly. We
"have ordered, in our Apostolical Chamber, that a
"sufficient security be given, that such books shall
"be returned whole and undamaged to their respective
"owners, after they have been transcribed here; and
"the said John, whom we have again deputed for the
"aforementioned purpose, has a sufficient mandaté or
"order to the same chamber, to oblige it to make the
"said restitution, in such manner and form as he shall
"judge proper. The sole object we aim at, is the
"conveniency and advantage of learned men, of which
"our beloved sons, the Abbot and Friars of the mo-
"nastery of Corwey, of the order of St. Benedict of
"the diocese of Padeborn, are ample witnesses; out
"of whose library, when the first five books of Cor-
"nelius Tacitus's Roman History were stolen, and
"after passing through many hands, came at last into
"ours, we caused those five books to be first revised
"and corrected by the aforeaid Literati residing in our
"Court; and had them printed, at our expence, with
"the rest of the works of the said Tacitus. After
"this, the affair being discovered, we sent a volume
"of the said Cornelius Tacitus, corrected, printed,
"and neatly bound, to the said Abbot, and Friars of
"the monastery of Corwey, to be lodged in their li-
"brary in lieu of that which had been stole. And,
"that they might be sensible that this theft was rather
"of benefit than a loss to them, we transmitted to
"them a perpetual indulgence for the Church of their
"monastery. For this reason, with all imaginable
"affection, and by virtue of holy obedience, we ad-
"monish, exhort, and with sincere charity in the Lord
"require, you and any of you, that if you ever design
"to do any thing to oblige us, ye would suffer the
"said John to have access to your library, and per-
"mit him to send us from thence the said book of
"Livy, as well as any other he shall judge proper,
"all which shall be safely sent back by us, with a con-
"siderable reward. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's,
"under the Fisherman's ring, the 1st of December,
"1517, in the fifth year of our Pontificate."

JA. SADOLET.

[A] He was made Vicar-General of the Order and Provincial, the 22d of August 1591, and died the day after.] It is nevertheless said that he governed his Province in a laudable manner, and gave rise to a stricter discipline. *Vicarii Generalis officio, & Provin-*

cialis munere 1591. 22. Augusti honoratus, Provinciam laudabiliter rexit, arctiorisque vitæ initium fuit.... Obiit... altero ab electionis die in Provinciam (1). Who would imagine that an author could give such a relation as this? I know not whether Elfius did not mean, that Lewis de Leon had been some years Vicar-General of the Order, but that he was not appointed Provincial till the night before he died. By this we should know, that this Austin Friar had discharged an employment very worthily; but still Elfius's relation would be very defective.

[B] He had been involved in a very troublesome affair before the tribunal of the inquisition; but had extricated himself honourably, after some years imprisonment.] Let us cite an advocate for the Archbishop of Seville (2). "Fa- ther Aloysio de Leon, an Austin Friar, Scripture-Pro- fessor in Salamanca, was imprisoned near five years "in the Spanish Inquisition. But meeting at last with "an equitable Judge, he was cleared, was restored to "his employment and entered Salamanca in a trium- "phant manner, which filled his unjust censors with "confusion." According to Elfius, our Professor of Salamanca was imprisoned but two years; and this author takes a pleasure in relating the circumstances of his glorious re-exaltation. *Edidit Heroicum specimen præclaræ patientiæ, & magni animi indicium. Cum enim aliquorum invidia S. Inquisitioni delatus simulque confisus, ejusdem carceribus biennium integrum detentus fuisset, tandem infracti animi vir, publico triumpho, cum palma & laurea educitur, ac veste candida, in signum innocentiae amictus, præcone præeunte, deducitur, pristinisque honoribus, titulis, ac Professioni Theologica restituitur. Primam verò lesionem, post tenebras, ut auspiciabatur, pleno concessu ad novitatem evocato inquit: Dicebamus hesternæ die (3). i. e. "He gave an heroic "example of patience and strength of mind. For "being impeached, by the envy of some persons, to "the Inquisition, and imprisoned full two years in "it, this courageous man was brought out of it, "triumphing in a public manner; being dressed in a "white robe to denote his innocence, a Herald march- "ing before him; and was restored to his former ho- "nours, titles and his Professorship of Divinity. The "first lecture he read after his troubles, before a full "assembly, he began as follows, *We said yesterday.*"*

[C] I do not doubt but his imprisonment occasioned an explication he made of a verse in Solomon's Song.] I speak of the verse where the spouse says, *The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my veil from me* (*). Aloysio de Leon says, that the spouse speaks thus in the person of such good Christians as are per- secuted by powerful Ecclesiastics (3). He observes, that *such sort of vexations are trials of the hardest kind; such as are most difficult to be borne with, and which heaven often reserves for the most perfect.* "It will, "says he, be thought surprising, that the spouse should "always meet with the watchman in her way, from "whom she not only does not receive the least suc- "cour, but even receives injurious language and evil "treatment. Could one believe that those who are "appointed to preside over the faithful, and who go- "vern the Churches of God, (for these are to guard "the city and the walls,) so far from giving them the "least succour, should often afflict and persecute good "people, and such as love God best? Nevertheless, "this we are obliged to believe, according to all that "follows of that divine song. And indeed, as no- "thing is better, nor more useful to salvation than "good Bishops who are faithful to the duties of their "sacred Ministry; on the contrary, unjust and wicked "Pastors, who make the authority they have re- "ceived

(1) Philippus
Elfius, in Encomi-
as. Augustin.
pag. 443.

(2) Sincere Ad-
vice to the Catho-
lics of the United
Provinces, on the
decree of the In-
quisition of Rome
against the Arch-
bishop of Seville,
pag. 22, 23. edit.
1704.

(3) Elfius in
Encomiast. Au-
gustin. pag. 443.

(*) Solomon's
Song, chap. v.
ver. 7.

(4) See, Sincere
Advice to the
Catholics of the
United Provinces,
pag. 6, 7.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Schottus
Bibliob. Hispan.
pag. 266.
(f) Idem, ibid.

This Latin Commentary on this book of Scripture, was printed in Salamanca in the year 1589 (d). He published it likewise in Spanish (e). We have some other works of his composing, [D], which have made it be wished that the rest of his works were published (f).

“ ceived, to govern God’s people, subservient to their designs and temporal interest, are pernicious to mankind in general; and particularly to persons of the greatest goodness, and to the greatest saints, and can only ruin them. There have been always a great number of such Pastors in the Church; and it is properly to them that the verse in Solomon’s Song, “ which I explain, is to be applied.” He says several more things in the same strain, and still more home; all which may be seen in French in the work I quote (5). I should be glad to know, if any commentator, who had been thoroughly satisfied with his Bishop, and had always been of the strongest party, has given the same explanation of these words of Solomon’s Song. Persecutions sharpen the understanding,

(5) Ibid. pag. 8, 9.

and give a man a wonderful insight into the mystical sense.

[D] We have some other works of his composing.] A treatise printed at Salamanca in 1590, *de utriusque agni typici ac veri immolationis legitimo tempore*, wherein he asserts that the Paschal Lamb was slain the beginning of the 14th day of the moon (6), and that Jesus Christ, who conformed to this practice of celebrating the Passover, was crucified on that very day (7). A treatise *de probæ matrisfamilias Officio*; another *de divinis Nominibus* (8). A commentary on Psalm xxvi (9). It is to be observed that this author is one of those, who apply to Mahomet, the Prophecies of the Apostles relating to Antichrist (10).

(6) i. e. the evening of the day which we should call the 13th.

(7) Schottus, Bibliob. Hispan. pag. 266.

(8) Idem, ibid. (9) Printed at Salamanca, in 1580, and 1585. (10) See Heidegger, in *Myfter. Babyl. Magnæ*, pag. 70. tom. 1.

LEON (PETER CIECA DE.) author of a History of Peru. He left Spain, his native country, at thirteen years of age, in order to go into America, where he resided seventeen years (a); and observed so many remarkable things in it, that he resolved to commit them to writing. I will mention some of them, though it were only to shew the injustice of those who assert, that the Christians taught the Americans to be wicked [A]. Such an assertion cannot be true but with a great many restrictions. Possibly

(a) Cieca, in *Proemin.*

[A] I will mention some of them, though it were only to shew the injustice of those, who assert, that the Christians taught the Americans to be wicked.] He says that the great Lords of the valley of Nora, endeavoured to dispossess their enemies of as many of their women as they could possibly; that they lay with them, and that they sed the children they had by them in the most delicate manner; but that when they were twelve or thirteen years old, and were grown very fat, they killed and eat them, and that this was delicious food to the people in question (1). I will now speak of the manner in which the inhabitants of this country treated their prisoners of war. They made them slaves; obliged them to marry, and eat all the children sprung from these marriages, and afterwards eat the slaves themselves when they were no longer able to get children. *Mangiavano i figliuoli de quei schiavi, & poi mangiavano gli istessi schiavi quando erano tanto vecchi che non potevano generare* (2). The first time that the Spaniards entered this valley, a Lord named Nabonuco came to them in a very amicable way, accompanied by some women. Night being come, two of them laid themselves at full length on a carpet; another laid herself cross wife to serve as a pillow for Nabonuco, whilst the other two served him as a matress. He then laid himself down on these two, and took a fourth woman, who was very beautiful, by the hand; and being asked what he intended to do with her, he answered that he would eat her, and also to feed upon a child she had had (3). The author observes, that in the country of Quito, the women used to till the ground, and get the harvest in; and that the men were wholly employed in spinning, and affairs of the house (4). The Sun was worshipped in Peru, and one of the chief acts of adoration was to offer him six teeth, which the worshippers had pulled out of their heads (5). In many provinces of this country, the people had extinguished all the ideas of honour with respect to chastity. One of their diversions was to sing the illustrious actions of their ancestors; which was done by dancing to the sound of a Drum, and by drinking till they had quite intoxicated themselves, after which they singled out any woman they liked, and enjoyed her uncensured by any one. *Alcuni pigliano quelle donne, che gli piacciono, & condottele in certe case, sfuocano con quelle la lor lussuria, non se lo recando à biasmo, perche non conoscono qual dona si conserva con la verecondia, ne tengono conto di bonore, e manco riguardano al mondo* (6). This we should strongly observe to those, who speak so much in favour of the good morals of the Americans; and who pretend that we have taught those nations to be wicked, ever since we brought them the light of the Gospel. The greatest debauchees among the Spaniards had never seen in

(1) Pietro Cieca, *Historia del Peru*, cap. 12. folio m. 23.

(2) Idem, ibid. folio 23 verso.

(3) Idem, ibid. folio 24.

(4) Idem, ibid. cap. 40. folio 78 verso.

(5) Idem, cap. 49. folio 99.

(6) Idem, cap. 41. folio 82 verso.

their native country, what they saw in the new-discovered world; I mean the women run after them in furious transports of lust, and provided them with certain secrets or charms to heighten the pleasure. Here follows an Italian passage on that subject: *Nell’ Isporie del l’Indie narra Amerigo Vespucci d’esser capitato ad una certa costa, dove trovò femmine di tanta libidine, che come spiritate correvano dietro a’ suoi marinari, perche usassero con esso loro: e dice, che havevano un sugo di non so che erba, col quale bagnando le parti genitali de gli buomini, non solo cagionano, ut citius, ac sæpius erigerent, sed etiam quod eorum penis in insolitam excresceret magnitudinem: il che piaceva loro mirabilmente* (7).

What follows is much worse. The author relates that, in the province of Carthagea, the men, (if the women they are to marry have their maidenheads) consider this as a blemish; and for this reason they do not consummate the marriage till she has been well cleansed of this stain by her relations or friends. In some places this good office is done by the mother; but to prevent frauds, it must be done in presence of witnesses. *In certe parti della provincia Cartagena, quando maritano le figliuole, e che la sposa dove andare à marito, la madre della giovane in presentia d’alcuni suoi parenti le toglie la virginità con le dita, si che riputavano, che fusse piu honore mandarla à marito così corotta, che non la sua virginità. Ma tra questi costumi usati da loro, era miglior di alcune terre, che i parenti, o amici, toglievano la virginità alla giovane, & con questa conditione la maritavano, & il marito la riceveva* (8). Diodorus Siculus ascribes the same practice to the inhabitants of the islands we now call Majorca and Minorca (9). He affirms that, at their weddings, the bridegroom never enjoyed his bride till all the relations and friends, who were invited to the nuptials, had enjoyed her, each according to the precedency which his age gave him (10). It is very surprizing, that a nation so lascivious as this should have so little jealousy; for generally speaking, the more people are inclined to this brutal pleasure the more jealous they are. The Turks and Moors are a proof of this. The latter are far from having the same turn of mind with the Americans of the province of Carthagea. They require, above all things, a wife who has kept her virginity very scrupulously; and if they have not proofs of this the day after the wedding, they send her back to her relations. See an account of Morocco published by Mr. de St. Olon in 1694. Some nations have been found near the Red Sea, who are furiously jealous on this article; these would not be satisfied, had not certain measures been taken in the bride’s infancy, which would oblige the bridegroom to begin with a kind of Chirurgical operation. Cardinal Bembus’s Latin will let us into the meaning of this. *Aliis post bos relictiis populis, mare rubrum*

(7) Alessandro Tassoni, *Pensieri diversi*, lib. 5. cap. 30. pag. 145.

(8) Cieca, folio 99. cap. 49.

(9) Antiently called *Balares*.

(10) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 5. cap. 18.

(11) The inhabitants of the *Balares* were so lustful, that whenever a pyrate used to bring them women to sell, they gave three or four males for one female. Diod. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 17.

Possibly in some countries of the newly-discovered world, the rustick and simple inhabitants might have followed, with plainness and frugality, the laws of nature; and that they learnt deceit and riotous excess by their frequenting the Christians; but, in general, the depravity of the Americans was so brutal and enormous, that we cannot enough detest it. The design of our Cieca was to write a complete history of Peru, in four parts (b); it is not known whether he completed them; the only circumstance we are informed of is, that the first part was printed at Sevil in the year 1553. He began it in 1541, and ended it in the year 1550 (c). He was at Lima, the Capital of the Kingdom of Peru, when he gave the finishing stroke to it, and was then thirty two years of age (d). The work in question was translated into Italian [B].

(b) See Nicholas Antonio, *Bibliob. Script.* Hist. tom. 2. pag. 146.

(c) Cieca *in fine Operis.*

(d) Idem, *ibid.*

brum ingressi, complures nigrorum item & bonorum hominum, ac bello fortium civitates adierunt: qui natis statim scemina naturam consuunt, quoad urinæ exitus ne impediatur, easque cum adoleverint, sic conjatas in matrimonium collocant; ut sponsi prima cura sit, conglutinatas atque coalitas puellæ oras ferro intersecindere: tanto in honore apud homines barbaros est non ambigua ducendis uxoris virginitas (12). i. e. "Leaving other nations after these, and entering the Red Sea, they landed at several places inhabited by blacks, who were good men, and valiant in war. These, the instant a female child is born among them, sew up certain parts, but in such a manner as not to prevent the urine from passing; and when their females grow up, they marry them sewed up in this manner. Therefore the bridegroom's first care is to open the closed passage with an instrument; so honourable is it esteemed among these Barbarians, not to marry a woman, whose virginity is doubtful." Strange that man can be subject to follies so diametrically opposite!

lum cum finitimis gerente occurrerunt: quorum scemina virum passæ nullam partem corporis, præter muliebria, virgines ne illam quidem tegebant (17). This is very surprizing, since that the laws which relate to decorum allow, in all countries, a greater latitude to married women than to maidens.

(17) Petrus Bembus, *Hist.* Venet. lib. 6. folio 127 verso.

To return to the Americans. Most of them remove themselves the evil, there would be in their marriage, in case the bride should be a virgin. One would conclude that they trust only to themselves; they leave nothing for the friends and relations to do; I mean, that before ever they speak of contracts or any thing of that kind, they do whatever they have a mind to do with those who are to be their brides. *Si maritavano alla foggia de i lor vicini: & odo dire, che alcuni, ò la maggior parte, prima che si maritino, togliono la virginità à quelle, che s'havvamo da maritare, mescolandoli con quelle lussuriosamente (13).* By the way, all the Americans in general do not condemn maidenheads in this manner. In several countries of America, all husbands require their brides to be virgins, but few find them such, they coming too late; *La maggior parte de gli Indiani si maritano con le figliuole & sorelle d' altri, senza ordine, & pochi trovano le mogli vergini (14).* What this author observes with regard to Sodomy is horrid, it being practised publicly: *Non ostante ch' havvessino molte donne bellissime, tuttavia (si come da loro intesi) usavano pubblicamente il tristo vicio della sodomia, & anco se ne vantavano alla scoperta (15).* And there were even temples in which it was practised as a pious act (16); an abomination unknown to the heathens of antient Greece, though it was very common for them to prostitute women in honour of the Gods. I have not observed in Cieca, that some nations in this new found world never used to cover their pudenda; but other travellers affirm this in the most positive terms, and with this very odd circumstance, that such females as had their virginity did not conceal their pudenda; and that those who had lost it, only hid those parts: *Hispanis ulteriora tentantibus, terra est objecta, continens paulo minus decies centena millia passuum ab Hispaniola protensa meridiem versus: atque in ea populi sub rege bel-*

It is to be observed that this horrid depravity, which had extinguished the laws of humanity and modesty; and which had immersed these nations in the cruelty and ferocity of man-eating, and the most monstrous lasciviousness, had not yet extinguished or stifled the ideas of religion. They believed the immortality of the soul, as appears from all their funeral ceremonies (18); they worshipped the Sun (19); believed a creator of all things (20); offered sacrifices to their idols, and did not even spare human blood in them (21). The author observes very often, that they serve the Devil; but they look upon him as a being exceedingly powerful; and who, notwithstanding his wickedness, does yet partake in some little measure of the divine nature. *Indiani di Tacunga credono l'immortalità dell' anima, quanto intendiamo da loro, & che vi sia un Creatore del tutto. Considerando la grandezza del cielo, il movimento del Sole, della Luna, & altre cose maravigliose, quantunque acciecati dal Demonio, credono, che esso habbia possanza in ogni cosa. Benchè alcuni conoscendo le sue malvagità, & come è sempre buggiardo, & gli tratta pessimamente, lo hanno in odio, ma pur l'ubbidiscono per timore, credendo, che sia in lui qualche Deità (22).* i. e. "The Indians of Tacunga, as they relate, believe the immortality of the soul, and that there is a creator of all things. Considering the wide extent of the heavens, the Sun's motion, and that of the moon, and other wonderful things, notwithstanding they are blinded by the Devil, they believe that he has power over all things. However, some being sensible of his malice, and knowing that he is always a liar, and treats them vastly ill, hate him; and yet they obey him through fear, believing that there is something of divinity in him." He observes that their priests lead a holy life, and are had in great honour (23).

(18) See Cieca, cap. 8. 48, 51, & passim alibi.

(19) Idem, cap. 43. folio 87; & cap. 49. folio 99.

(20) Idem, *ibid.*

(21) Idem, cap. 4. folio 8 verso; & cap. 20. folio 39.

[B] The work in question was translated into Italian. Nicholas Antonio (24) observes, that the Spanish edition of Seville, 1553 in folio, was followed the year after by that of Antwerp in 8vo, and by an Italian edition of Rome 1555 in 8vo. He says that the Italian version was by Augustin de Gravaliz. I add that it was printed at Venice *appresso Giordano Ziletti* in the year 1557, 8vo. I make use of this edition, and such is the printer's name in the title; but I find the following words in the last page: *In Vinegia, appresso Domenico de' Farri, ad instantia di M. Andrea Arrivabene M. D. LVI.* This edition was not known to Nicholas Antonio, who says that the other parts of this history were impatiently expected by the publick reliques valde ab omnibus desiderantur (25).

(22) Idem, cap. 41. folio 8a verso.

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) Nicol. Antonio, *Bibliob. Script.* Hist. tom. 2. pag. 146.

(25) Idem, *ibid.*

LEO (GONSALEZ PONTIUS DE) was a native of Seville, and lived in the sixteenth Century. He resided in Rome in the year 1585, and there published a Latin answer (a) to a book, which a German Protestant named Leonhart Waramund, had wrote in defence of Gebhard Truchses, Archbishop of Colen. He wrote with great passion in this Reply; and, according to the practice at that time, vented a numberless multitude of injurious expressions against his adversary. He does not write ill, in Latin, for a Spaniard [A], and had read a great deal.

(a) It is a volume in quarto, and contains 185 pages.

LEONCLAVIUS

[A] He does not write ill, in Latin, for a Spaniard. I will not say but that there are Spaniards, who have

understood the Latin tongue extremely well, and have wrote it with great purity and elegance; my meaning

LEONCLAVIUS (JOHN) one of the most learned men of the sixteenth Century, was a native of Westphalia, and a Gentleman by birth. He spent near two years at the Duke of Savoy's Court, on the affairs of Lazarus Suendius, or Swend (a); after which he travelled a long time in the retinue of Baron Zerotini; he also resided some years with the Baron de Kilts. He had been invited to Heidelberg to be Greek Professor in that City; but Prince Cassmir's death made this invitation of no effect (b). During his abode in Turkey, he collected excellent materials for composing the Ottoman History; and it is to him the publick is indebted for the best account we have of that Empire [A]. To the knowledge in the learned languages he had added that of the civil law; whereby he was extremely well qualified to translate the *Basilica* [B]. His other versions were esteemed, though

(a) He was a General.

(b) Extracted from Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Philosphorum*, pag. 379.

(1) Intituled, *Respetitio solemnis ad l. unic. C. de Classic. tit. 12. lib. 11.*

(2) At Salamanca in 410.

ing is, that the writers of that country are generally too negligent in this particular. Some of them are careless even of the orthography, and write u instead of b, and y instead of i. Here follows an example of this. *Cujus (rei maritimæ) itidem polytica tractatio, dispositio & Archigubernatio à Magno Philippo nostro Hispaniarum Rege . . . tue sollicitudini & prudentiæ emandata prædicatur.* Thus writes the Licentiate Don John Baptiste de Urquiola & Elorriaga, in the preliminary epistle to a treatise on the civil Law (1) printed in 1663 (2), and dedicated to Don Francisco Ramos del Manzano. He always writes *Lyppius* instead of *Lippius*.

[A] It is to him the publick is indebted for the best account we have of the Ottoman empire.] Thuanus speaks of him as follows. *Juris Romani Græcique consultissimo, & rerum Turcicarum apprime perito, ad quas linguæ ipsius Byzantina peregrinatione comparatam cognitionem, exactam ultimæ Historiæ Græcæ lectionem, & acce ac admirandum judicium attulit, quod non solum scriptis ab ipso dum viveret publicatis, sed in iis quæ post mortem ejus edita sunt, elucet.* i. e. "He was extremely well skilled in the Greek and Roman laws, and in Turkish affairs; to the study whereof he brought the knowledge of the language itself which he learnt by travelling to Constantinople; a diligent perusal of the later history of Greece, and a subtle and admirable judgment; all which is manifest not only by his compositions published by himself, but likewise by those which appeared after his death." Leonclavius is author of *Historiæ Muslimicæ Turcarum libri 18.* [The complete title is, *Historiæ Muslimicæ Turcorum de Monumentis ipsorum exscriptæ libri XVII. Opus, quod Gentis originem, progressus, familias, & Principatus diversos, Res Osmaneas à Suleimano Schachæ ad Suleimanem II. memoriæ nostræ, cum aliis maximis, variis, & hæcenus ignotis continet. Accessere Commentarii duo, quibus fides Historiæ adstruitur, cum Onomastico gemino Vocabulorum Turcicorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum & aliorum. Francofurti 1591. fol. Addit. by the transl.] *Apologetici duo, prior est libitinarium index Osmanidarum, posterior continet Epistolas de rebus Turcicis. Commonefactio de præsentibus rerum Turcicarum statu. Annales Turcici cum supplemento, & pandectis Historiæ Turcicæ* (1). This last work is properly but a translation of a book written by the Turks themselves; I mean Turkish Annals which Jerom Beck of Leopoldsdorff, ambassador from Ferdinand, brought from Constantinople in 1551. Ferdinand caused them to be translated into German by John Spiegel (2); and Leonclavius translated them into Latin. *Annales etiam Sultanorum Othmanidarum à Turcis sua lingua scriptos, & studio Hieronymi Beck à Leopoldsdorff Constantinopoli aduersos, jussuque Ferdinandi Cæsaris interprete Turcico J. Spiegel Germanice translatos, Leonclavius Latine redidit illustravit, & ad annum 1588 usque auxit* (3). [Francofurti 1588 in 4to, It. Editio altera, Francofurti 1596 in folio. The Turkish Annals end at the year 1550, and Leonclavius had annexed to them the history of 37 years. He likewise added an ample commentary, containing several particulars relating to the state of Turkey, which he had very much studied during his abode in that country, and entitled it, *Pandectæ Historiæ Turcicæ liber singularis ad illustrandos annales*; and another work which had been published before in the collection of Simon Schardius, printed at Basil in 1574, and entitled, *Historia Viennæ Austriacæ a Turcicis obsessæ, conversa dudum e lingua Germanica* (*). There is also, "*Apomafaris Apotelesmata, sive de significatis & eventis somniorum, ex Indorum, Persarum, Ægyptiorumque disciplina, à Græco Latine, Interprete Joanne Leonclavio. Francof. 1577, 8vo.* Leonclavius found that he had mistook, in*

(1) Thuan. lib. 4. sub fin.

(2) Interpreter of the Turkish language to King Ferdinand.

(3) Melch. Adam, in *Vitis Philosphorum*. pag. 380.

(*) Father Nicéron, ubi supra, pag. 297, 298.

"publishing this work under the false name of *Apomafaris*. Rigaltius who published it since, with the addition of some chapters which were wanting in Leonclavius's edition, has restored it to Achmet or Achamet, the son of Seirim, who flourished about the year 800, and had wrote it in Arabick, whence it was translated into Greek. The title of Rigaltius's edition is as follows: *Artimedori & Achmetis Oneirocritica, seu de Divinatione per somnia; Astrophysici & Nicephori versus Oneirocritici; Græcæ & Latine ex versione Jani Cornari & Joannis Leonclavii, cum notis, Nic. Rigaltii. Paris 1603 in 4to.*" Addition by the translator.]

[B] He was extremely well qualified to translate the *Basilica*.] I mean the abridgment of the *Basilica*. This work is entitled *Verfio & Notæ ad Synopsim LX Librorum Basilicon, seu universi Juris Romani, & ad Novellas Imperatorum*. It was printed at Basil in 1575. Melchior Adam speaks thus of it (4); (4) *Ibid.* *Evulgavit cum annotationibus sexaginta librorum Basilicon, hoc est universi juris Romani auctoritate principum Romanorum in Græcam linguam traducti, Eclogam sive synopsim ante non visam: item Novellarum antea non publicatarum librum.* i. e. "He first published, with notes, an epitome of the sixty books of the *Basilica*, that is of the universal Roman law, translated into Greek by the authority of the Roman Emperors, likewise a book of Novellæ (ordinances) then first published." Mr. Teiffier will permit me to remark, that the manner of his expressing the title may mislead the reader. He has likewise published, says he (6), *Sexaginta libros Basilicon, Eclogam sive synopsim, & Novellas cum Notis*. This is specifying all the *Basilica*, and a second book entitled *Ecloga sive synopsim*, and consequently it is enlarging and confounding things. [The true title is as follows: *Basilicon Librorum, id est universi Juris Romani Principum Romanorum auctoritate Græcæ traducti Ecloga sive synopsim; nec non Novellarum antebac non evulgatarum liber; Græcæ & Latine, ex versione & cum notis Joannis Leonclavii. Basilea 1575, folio* (†). Addit. by the transl.] Teiffier, (†) *Ibid.* pag. 299.

quoting Melchior Adamus affirms, that Scaliger calls Leonclavius the most learned Civilian of his time, and even places him in a bigger rank than the great Cujas (6). Now Melchior Adam says nothing like this; and besides, the things said in Leonclavius's praise in the second *Scaligerana* are vastly beneath this Elogium. "Leonclavius is the best author who has wrote concerning the Turks." *Leonclavius fuit Westphalus, sed non Barbarus: bene intellexit Græcæ Constantinopolitanæ & inferioris ævi: omnia ejus scripta sunt utilia, imo necessaria; Græcæ Jurisconsultorum intellexit, sed Autorum Veterum non intellexit, ut H. Stephanus, qui paulo ante obitum muli scripsit ad me contra Leonclavii editionem Xenophontis. Leonclavius habebat scorta secum. Clusius eum novit familiarissimè* (7). i. e. "Leonclavius was a native of Westphalia, but not a Barbarian. He was well skilled in the Constantinopolitan Greek, and that of the last age of the empire. All his compositions are useful or rather necessary; he understood the Greek of the Civilians, but not that of the ancient authors, as Henry Stephens, who, a short time before he died, wrote to me, a great many things against Leonclavius's edition of Xenophon. Leonclavius kept harlots in his house. Clusius was vastly intimate with him." Thus speaks the second *Scaligerana*. Leonclavius's learning is more applauded there than his moral conduct, since it is affirmed that he kept prostitutes in his house. I must not omit his *Jus Græco-Romanum* (8) in two volumes folio, and his *Notæ ad Paratitla seu ad Collectionem Constitutionum Ecclesiasticarum*

(†) Father Nicéron, pag. 294.

(5) Teiffier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 187.

(†) *Ibid.* pag. 299.

(6) Teiffier, *Addit. aux Eloges*, tom. 2. pag. 186.

(7) *Scaligerana*, pag. m. 129.

(8) *Græcæ & Latine*, Francofurti 1596.

(c) Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Philosophor.* pag. 379.

though the critics pretend to have found many faults in them [C]. The dialogues he published of Cæsarius greatly exasperated J. Billius [D]. He died at Vienna in Austria in June 1593 (c), being near threescore years old (d).

(d) Thuan. *Hist.* lib. 104, sub fin.

(g) At Frankfurt 1593.

clasticarum (g) in 8vo. [The complete title of the former is, *Juris Græco-Romani tam Canonici quam Civilis tomus duo ex variis Monumentis Europæ & Asiæ erati, Græcè & Latine ex Versione Joan. Leonclavii; edente Marquardo Frebero, cum Auctuario, Chronologia Juris, & Præfatione, Francofurti 1596. 2 Vol. fol.* Leonclavius dying before he had an opportunity of publishing this work himself, Freher undertook to supply what was wanting and to publish it (*). The full title of the other is *Paratitulum libri tres antiqui de Græcis Latini facti, & Notatorum libri duo. Francofurti 1593, in 8vo.* These Paratitles, which are of Theodore Balsamon, were reprinted under the title of *Collectio Constitutionum Ecclesiasticarum*, with Leonclavius's version corrected, in the second volume of *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici Veteris, Guilielmi Voisili, & Henrici Juscelli. Paris, 1661, in folio* (†). Note the reader will meet with an ample catalogue of our Leonclavius's works, in father Niceron (‡), there being several which are but just mentioned by Mr. Bayle. Addit. by the translator.]

very sharp criticism on the translation of Xenophon (11), and was exposed to very severe complaints from his adversary. Baillet mentions this dispute, and Melchior Adam speaks of it as follows. *Litem tamen ei super ista interpretatione Xenophontea Criticam & Grammaticam movit Henricus Stephanus, vir & typographus clarissimus, edita in ejus errores insignes inquisitione autoscbediastica. Contra & Leonclavius de Stephano conqueritur, quod contra fidem datam, & præter officium viri boni Xenophontis a se latine redditi exemplar, sicut & Zozimi, detinuerit. Et fassus est Stephanus, accepisse se illam Xenophontis versionem ab annis circiter octodecim; post tredecim aut quatuordecim amplius annis sibi non visam, sed cum à sua supellectile liberaria, militum incuria, belli tempore aliquot libri incendio periissent, nescivisse, an in illorum numero Xenophon à Leonclavio versus, fuisset. Tandem, interjecto anni amplius spacio, librum inventum fuisse, situ oblitum, & membrana crassa, qua involutus erat, conservatum* (12). i. e. "Henry Stephens, a most renowned printer, was engaged in a critical and grammatical contest with him, concerning that translation of Xenophon, and printed extemporary remarks on his flagrant errors. On the other side Leonclavius exclaims against Stephens, for detaining, contrary to the promise he had given, and the duty of a man of honour, the copy of his translation of Xenophon and likewise that of Zozimus. Stephens confessed that he had received that version of Xenophon about eighteen years before; that for thirteen or fourteen years he had not seen it; but that when some books in his library, during the war, perished in the flames through the carelessness of the soldiers, he did not know but that Leonclavius's version of Xenophon might be among them. That at last, in a little more than a year, the book was found, quite mouldy, and preserved by its thick parchment binding."

(11) See above citation (7) the passage of the Scaligerana.

(12) Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Philosophor.* pag. 380.

(*) Father Niceron, ut supra, pag. 299.

(†) Idem, ibid. pag. 300.

(‡) Tom. 26.

[C] *His other versions were esteemed, though the Critics pretend to have found many faults in them.* "He is one of the most celebrated translators that Germany ever gave birth to. He has given us a translation of Xenophon revised three times; of Zozimus; of the Annals of Constantine Manasses; of those of Michael Glycas; of the epitome of the sixty books of the Basilica; and of several works of St. Gregory Nazianzen. . . . He also corrected Xylander's translation of Dion, and that of Chalcondylas by Clauser (10)." Baillet, whose words I have here borrowed, has transcribed the eulogiums, which are extremely advantageous, that Huetius bestows on this translator. [Huetius says, "no German has translated with greater skill than Leonclavius; he has translated, in the most perfect manner, the thoughts and expressions of his authors, without any way curtailing them; his Latin often corresponds word for word with the Greek; he observes the same construction and order as are found in his originals, by which means he transcribes his authors, entire, into another language. He also writes with great politeness and clearness; his Latin has that exact purity, that easy air, so seldom in other versions (†)." Addition by the translator.] The notes on Zozimus, in the English edition of 1679, do not give so advantageous an idea of our Leonclavius's capacity. Henry Stephens wrote a

[D] *The dialogues he published of Cæsarius, greatly exasperated J. Billius.* Leonclavius published four dialogues (13) of Cæsarius, brother to St. Gregory Nazianzen, which he had translated into Latin. It is disputed whether this work ought to be ascribed to Cæsarius. Father Labbe refers that enquiry to another opportunity. *Plura, says he (14), adversus Leonclavium primum eorum (dialogorum) editorem declamavit Jacobus Billius Prunæus præfatione in decimam orationem sancti Nazianzeni, quæ alias expendimus accuratius.* Lambecius (15) warmly defends Leonclavius against the invectives of James de Billi.

(13) *De Quæstionibus & Responsionibus Philosoph.* præcipue vero Theologic.

(14) *De Scriptis Eccles.* tom. 1. pag. 217.

(15) Lambecius, *Biblioth. Cæsari.* lib. 4. pag. 31, & seq.

(10) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, tom. 4. num. 833. pag. 457.

(†) Huet quoted in Father Niceron, ut supra, pag. 294, 295.

LEONICENUS (NICHOLAS) born at Vicenza in the year 1428, taught Physic in the University of Ferrara for above threescore years (a); he was not only a very able man in his profession, but also very well versed in polite Literature. He was the first who translated Galen's works into Latin (b). It is impossible to be more disengaged from all sensual pleasures than he was. He was distinguished in the most eminent manner by his temperance, chastity and extreme aversion for all kind of covetousness [A]; it was to this innocent life he ascribed that vigorous health [B], which he enjoyed even to a very

(a) Mercklinus, in *Lindenio Revocato*, pag. 837. See also Koniz. *Biblioth.* p. 468.

(b) *Primum Græca Galeni volumina Latina interpretando studiosè perscrutatus, demonstravit. Jovius, Elog. cap. 70.*

[A] *He was distinguished in the most eminent manner by his temperance, chastity, and extreme aversion for all kind of covetousness.* Had it not been for his cheerful temper and pleasant countenance, men would have took him for a perfect Stoic. He used to eat and to sleep very little, he abstained from wine and women; he did not much care whether they presented to him one kind of meat or another, he used without any choice the victuals that were offered him, and he cared so little for money, that he could not even distinguish one piece of coin from another. *Cibi & vini maxime abstinent, somnique minimi, præsertim verò Veneris continentissimus, usque adeò mollioris vitæ voluptates abdicavit, ut pecunias, luxuriæ instrumenta, nec agnita quidem monetæ nota contemneret; oblatum, & nulla delectum cura cibum caperet; nec unquam de fortuna quereretur. . . . Eum bene perfectum Stoicum putasset, nisi honesto oris liberalis hilaritas affuisset* (1).

heard him say this. *Quum ego aliquando comiter ab eo peterem, ut ingenè proferret, quoniam arcano artis uteretur, ut tanto corporis atque animi vigore vitia senectutis eluderet: Vividum, inquit, ingenium perpetua, Jovii vitæ innocentia, salubre verò corpus hilaris frugalitatis præsidio facillè tuemur* (2). i. e. "I desired him once civilly, to tell me with sincerity, what secret of his art he made use of, to avoid the infirmities of old age, and to enjoy such a strength of body and mind. Jovius, said he to me, we easily keep up a sprightly genius, by leading constantly an innocent life, and preserve the body in health, by a cheerful frugality." Jovius had observed just before (3), that Leonicenius at the age of fourscore and ten, had the perfect use of all his senses, and a very strong memory; that he walked without a stick, and that he did not stoop in the least, though he was very tall. Observe however, that an innocent life is not always attended with the happy consequences which Leonicenius ascribes to it. There are many persons,

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 163.

(3) *Pervenit ad nonagesimum annum, integerrimis sensibus, vigetæque memoria, nec incurva quidem cervicè, quum esset statum celsioris, & sine scipione venerabilis.* Idem, *ibid.*

(1) Jovius, *Elogior.* cap. 70. pag. m. 162.

[B] *It was to this innocent life he ascribed his vigorous health.* Paulus Jovius asserts that he

very great age, for he lived fourscore and sixteen years [C]. His merit must certainly have been very great, since both the Scaligers commend him [D]. I cannot tell whether we ought to believe what one of them observes, namely that Leonicensus, being troubled in his youth with an epilepsy, was weary of his life, and almost determined to lay violent hands on himself [E]. This learned Physician composed several considerable works [F], and wrote verses very well [G]. He died in the year 1524. He had set up for

persons, who might have disputed with him the crown of chastity and temperance, and whose conscience was not less clear than his, and whose days have nevertheless been few and evil; they did not live long, and were often out of order.

Let us quote another witness besides Paulus Jovius. I have read a particular in Melchior Adam, whence it seems we may infer, that Leonicensus told his disciple John Langius, that the chastity of his youth was, in his opinion, the cause of his long life. *Audiuit in Italia* (Joannes Langius) . . . *Nicolaum Leonicenum, Dioscoridis illustratorem: qui annum ætatis attigit nonagesimum sextum, cum amplius sexaginta annos Ferrariz docuisset. Hic dixit, se viridi vegetaque uti senectâ, quia castam juventutem virili ætati tradidisset, ediditque opusculum, in quo omnibus ægris salutem & vitam restitui conciliarique posse docuit* (4), i. e. "John Langius studied in Italy under Nicholas Leonicensus, who explained Dioscorides, and lived till he was fourscore and sixteen years old, having been above threescore years Professor at Ferrara. He said that he enjoyed a brisk and lively old age, because he came to the age of manhood having been very continent in his youth. He has published a work in which he maintains that it is possible to restore all sick persons to their health and life." You see in this passage, that he was the author of a book, made on purpose to prove that all sick persons may be restored to their health. He excepted doubtless those, who had no other distemper but old age, or at least he confessed that that distemper is incurable. He found it by his own experience; for here follows what Langius, an eye-witness, observes of him. *Ferrariam igitur venimus, ubi Leonicenum, elegantioris medicinz illustratorem, edentulum fere, & jam ex senii, marasmo tabescentem, convenimus: quem, senile ætatis ejus reveriti, perplexis de erroribus Plinii problematibus obtundere volebamus* (5). i. e. "We came to Ferrara, where we waited on Leonicensus, who illustrated the most polite part of Physic; he had lost almost all his teeth, and was quite spent with age. Out of respect for this worthy old man, we forbore to teize him with perplexing objections concerning Pliny's mistakes." The letter, where Langius speaks thus, is without any date; we cannot therefore judge from it, whether Paulus Jovius is not mistaken with regard to that vigour he ascribes to old Leonicensus.

[C] *He lived fourscore and sixteen years.* Naudé is very much mistaken, who makes him live above a whole century. I shall transcribe his own words because they contain some other particulars, which are very extraordinary. *Hippocrates, Galenus, Avenzoar, Leonicensus, cogitate vos quantum tempore, loco, vivendi ratione inter se discrepantes, hoc uno vitæ termino plane conveniunt, quem omnes ultra centesimum annum protraxerunt* (6). i. e. "Consider, that Hippocrates, Galen, Avenzoar, Leonicensus, how much soever they differed with regard to time, place, and their manner of living, yet met with the same fate in this, that they all lived above an hundred years."

[D] *Both the Scaligers commend him.* In these words (7). *Leonicensus à patre semper imprimis commendatus, & Medicorum sui temporis facile princeps judicatus.* i. e. "My father always very much commended Leonicensus, whom he judged to be the first Physician of his time." So much for the father: as for the son, he speaks thus. *De eo viro non nisi honorifice prædicare debemus, vel eo nomine quod primus Philosophiam & Medicinam ipsam cum humanioribus literis conjunxit. Primus enim ille nos docuit, homines, qui sine bonis literis Medicinam tractant, esse similes iis qui in alieno foro litigant* (8). i. e. "We ought not to speak of this man but in honourable terms, were it only for this, that he is the first who joined the study of polite literature, with Philosophy and even with Physic. He is the first who taught us, that they who pretend to treat of Physic without any skill

"in the *Belles-Lettres*, are like those, who plead in a foreign Court."

[E] . . . *One of them observes, that Leonicensus being troubled in his youth with an epilepsy, was weary of his life, and almost determined to lay violent hands on himself.* *Mirum præterea, continet he, accipi de viro. A pueritia, imo à cunabulis ipsi ad 30 annum morbo comitiali adeo tentabatur, ut cum ad se redierat, pertæsus vitæ pene sibi manus afferret. Sed post trigesimum annum plane eo malo defunctus, omnibus membrorum ac sensuum officiis integer, nulla morbi suspicione ad 94 annum pervenit: Et si bene memini, triduo antequam decederet à vita, operam dederat lectioni.* i. e. "What I have heard of this man is wonderful. From his childhood, nay even from his cradle, till he came to be thirty, he was so much troubled with the falling-sickness, that on his recovering from a fit, he was tired with his life, and ready to kill himself. But after the age of thirty, he was entirely free from that distemper, and had the perfect use of all his members and senses; and thus he lived in very good health, without feeling the least return of his former distemper, to the age of fourscore and fourteen years. And if my memory does not fail me, he had been reading but three days before he died." This was a fate worthy to be envied; not indeed, because Leonicensus lived fourscore and sixteen years; this would not be very considerable without the rest, nay, it would be a great evil rather than a happiness; but because in that very great age he had the use of his mind, of his memory, and of his senses, and because his last illness was very short (9).

[F] *Leonicensus wrote several considerable works.* He translated divers treatises of Galen into Latin, as also Hippocrates's Aphorisms, and Aristotle's first book *De Partibus Animalium*. Besides these, he wrote *De Plinii & plurium aliorum Medicorum in Medicina Erroribus.* i. e. "Of Errors committed in Physick by Pliny, and many other Physicians." *De tribus Doctrinis ordinatis secundum Galeni sententiam.* i. e. "Of the three well contrived Systems according to Galen's opinion." *De formativa Virtute.* i. e. "Of the Plastic Vertue." *De Dyspædia & pluribus aliis Serpentinibus.* i. e. "Of the Dipsas and several other Serpents." *Quædam de Herbis & Frustribus, Animalibus, Metallis.* i. e. "Some Observations on Herbs, Fruits, Animals, and Metals." *De Morbo Gallico, sive Neapolitano.* i. e. "Of the Venereal Disease." *Contra suarum Translationum obtrectatores Apologia.* i. e. "A Defense of himself against those who censured his Translations." A book intitled *Antisophista*, on which Paulus Jovius observes (10), that *nemo errores Sophistarum importuna garrulitate cuncta sædantium eloquentius atque validius confutavit* (11) quam Leonicensus. i. e. "None ever refuted the errors of the Sophists, who spoil every thing by their impertinent jargon, with more eloquence and strength of argument than Leonicensus." He translated Dion's History, and Lucian's Dialogues into Italian, to gratify Hercules Duke of Ferrara, who did not understand Latin (12). I forgot to mention his treatise *De Vipera* i. e. "Of the Viper", against which a learned man wrote, as Rhodiginus tells us (13). *Nec me fallit ex eruditioribus quendam edito etiam libello Marasum à vipera desparasse, quo Nicolai Leoniceni viri undecunque scientissimi placita uberius de hujus animalis natura convellat.* i. e. "I know that one of the most learned men distinguished the reptile called Marassus from the viper, in order the better to refute Nicolas Leonicensus's opinion, concerning the nature of that animal; of Leonicensus I say, a most learned man in every respect."

[G] . . . *And wrote verses very well.* Giraldi asserts it. *Erat & Leonicensus merito inter Poetas collocandus, nam cum senex optimos versus faceret, & interdum à Græco in Latinum transferret, tum in juvenili sua ætate non modo meditato arguè & doctè composuit,*

(9) I speak thus with regard to the passage quoted from Scaliger, and not to that quoted from Langius.

(10) Jovius, in *Elogiis*, cap. 70. pag. 162.

(11) He says also, *Imperatorum lastratibus publicatis summa eloquentia commentariis occurrerat.* Ibid.

(12) Idem, *ibid.* pag. 163.

(13) *Coetus Rhodigin. Antiq.* lib. 6. cap. 16. pag. m. 298.

(14) He calls him *nostri temporis plane Coryphaeus*, lib. 26. cap. 30.

(4) Melch. Adam, in *Vitis Medicor.* pag. 140, 141.

(5) Joannes Langius, *Epist. Medicin.* II. lib. 2. pag. m. 472.

(6) Naudæus, in *Pentade Quæst. Iutropbiol.* pag. m. 41.

(7) Scaligerana *Prima*, pag. m. 97.

(8) Joseph Scaliger, *Epist.* 19. pag. 104.

for a great censurer of Pliny, at which his disciple Calcagninus was not very well pleased. I shall transcribe his words [H] which are very much to Leonicenus's honour.

He did not apply himself to the practice of Physic; and when he was asked the reason of it, he answered that he was more serviceable to the publick, by teaching all the Physicians, than if he had visited the sick. *Idem mihi respondit Nicolaus Leonicenus Ferrariæ, demiranti cur artem medicandi, quam profitebatur ipse non exerceret, plus, inquit, ago docens omnes medicos (c).*

(c) *Erasm. A. popstbeg. lib. 3. pag. m. 163.*

When I said that he was born at Vicenza I only followed the general opinion of the authors who mentioned him; but I ought to have acquainted the reader with their mistake. They did not understand the meaning of the epithet *Vicentinus*, which he takes; it signifies only that he was born in the *Vicentine*. His native place is called *Lomigo* in Italian (d), and *Leonicum* in Latin; hence it was that he surnamed himself *Leonicenus*.

(d) *Leandro Alberti, Descrip. di tutta Italia, folio m. 470.*

sed etiam ut sepe mihi memorare solitus fuit, ex tempore & impræmeditata carmina cecinit (15). i. e. "Leonicenus deserves to be ranked among the Poets. "For as in his old age he wrote verses very well, and "sometimes translated some poems out of Greek into "Latin; so in his youth he composed some very wittily "and learnedly, not only when he took time to study "them, but even as he often told me, he sung some "extempore and without any premeditation."

(15) *Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de Poët. suorum tempor. Dial. 2. pag. m. 564.*

[H] *He had set up for a great censurer of Pliny . . . I shall transcribe Calcagninus's words.]* They are to be met with in a letter which he wrote to Erasmus July the 6th 1525. *Leonicenus medicus, says he (16), jam mensis aliquot vitæ minimum absolvit, vir, ad æternitatem natus, quem ego ultimum heroum & auri seculi reliquias appellabam. Ex illa enim ætate quæ magnam habuit ingeniorum proventus, & Hermolaos, Politianos, Picos, Merulas, Domitios nobis tulit, hic ultimus decessit jam propè centenarius, integris, quod mirum videri possit, adhuc sensibus. Multa scripsit, multa vertit à Græcis, multa in Sylva medica jam conclamata nobis restituit, Adversus barbaros medicos perpetuas inimicitias exercuit: quin & Plinium, à quo proposito frustra hominum sepe deterrui, inclementer nimis semper insecta-*

(16) *Apud Erasm. in Epist. 54. lib. 20. pag. 3019. Pope Blount ascribes this to Erasmus.*

us est. Denique quod paucis contigit, vivens posteritatem suam vidit: ejus obitum acerbe tuli, tum privato nomine, fuerat enim mihi præceptor, tum publico: videbam enim rem Latinam ejus morte insignem plagam accepisse. i. e. "Leonicenus the Physician died a few "months ago; he was a man born for eternity; and "I used to stile him the last hero, and the remains of "the golden age; for of all the great men, which "this age produced, as an Hermolaus, a Politian, "a Pius of Mirandola, a Merula, a Domitius, he was "the last; and he died being almost an hundred years "old, and, what is surprizing, having the use of all "his senses to the last. He wrote a great deal; he "translated many books out of Greek; he has re- "formed a great many things in Physic, with our ap- "plause; he opposed continually the ignorant Physi- "cians. Nay he even criticised Pliny too severely, "from which I often endeavoured to dissuade him, but "to no purpose. Lastly, what happens to very few, he "has seen his sect established in his life-time. His death "has grieved me very much, both on my own private account, for I studied under him, and on account of the public, being persuaded that his death "is a great loss to polite literature."

LEONINUS (ELBERT, or ENGELBERT) in Dutch *de Leeuw*, born in the Isle of Bommel in Guelderland, was one of the best Civilians in the sixteenth Century, and very well skilled in State-affairs. He studied first in his own country, then at Utrecht, afterwards at Emmerick, and lastly at Louvain. He did not only apply himself to the Belles Lettres in that City, under the learned Peter Nannius; he also studied the Law, and took his degrees in that Faculty in the year 1547. He went afterwards to Arras to learn the French tongue there, and at a year's end returned to Louvain, where he married the daughter of the first Professor of Civil Law [A]. A chair of a Professor of Canon Law happening to become vacant the second day of his marriage he was chosen to fill it; he acquitted himself very worthily of that employment, and gained a great reputation both by his lectures, and by his answers to the law questions which were proposed to him from all parts of Europe. In the year 1560 he succeeded Gabriel Mudæus first Professor of Law; and from that time his reputation increased daily, so that the great Lords and Magistrates in the Low-Countries consulted him, having a very great esteem for him. Even they who were at variance trusted him with their most secret affairs, and with the subjects of their disputes, and did not even scruple to choose him for their arbiter; but such was the obstinacy of their hatred that he could not reconcile them together. He had the honour to be intimately beloved by the Prince of Orange; and this was one of the reasons which determined him never to go over to the King of Spain's party, after he had once declared for those Lords and for those Provinces, who were resolved to assert their liberty. I shall relate below the other reasons he had for

[A] *He married the daughter of the first Professor of Civil Law at Louvain.]* Her name was Barba Van Haze (1). If her husband deserved to be surnamed *Longulus*, because he was very tall (2), she deserved also a particular surname on account of her long life. Valerius Andreas relates that she lived fifty two years with her husband, and continued thirty six years a widow. *Vixit in primo atque unico matrimonio annos quinquaginta duos. Superstes vidua Bruxellam ad suos reversa annis xxxvi marito, supervixit (3).* i. e. "He "lived fifty two years with his first and only wife. "His widow returned to her relations at Bruffels, and "survived him during thirty six years." She must have been twelve years old at least when she was mar-

(1) *Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 197.*

(2) *Idem, ibid.*

(3) *Idem, ibid. pag. 199.*

ried. Add all these sums together, and you will find a whole century; nor will there be an error in this calculation, as there is in Valerius Andreas's account. There was, according to him, a whole year at least, between the time when Leoninus took his degrees, and his nuptials. He took his degrees in the year 1547, whence it follows that he was married in the year 1548: now he died in the year 1598; how can it then be maintained that he lived fifty two years with his wife? I know that this is asserted in his epitaph (4); but we must infer from thence, that he married Barba van Haze in the year 1546, and that Valerius Andreas was in the wrong, not to observe that he was mistaken in his calculation.

(4) *It is inserted in Swert's *Atbe-ne Belgicæ*, pag. 223, 226.*

for this conduct [B]. He was appointed Chancellor of Guelderland after the Archduke Matthias's departure in the year 1581. He was one of the Embassadors whom the States sent to the French King after the death of the Prince of Orange in the year 1584, and he was their speaker at the audience they had of Henry III (a), and in the Conferences that were held concerning the offer which was made him of the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries. He made a speech at the Hague in the name of the same States to the Earl of Leicester, whom Queen Elizabeth had appointed their Governor; he insinuated himself into this Earl's familiarity, and into that of the other English Lords, and advised them to use their authority with a great deal of moderation; but other advices prevailed. He died at Arnhem December the 4th (b) 1598 at the age of threescore and nineteen (c). He never professed the Protestant Religion, and even behaved himself a little too freely in that respect [C].

(a) See the substance of his Oration in Strada, de Bello Belgic. Dec. 2. lib. 5. pag. m. 333, 334.

(b) It is set down the 6th, in his Epitaph, transcribed by Swert. Arnem. Belgic. pag. 225.

(c) Taken from Valerius Andreas, Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 179. &c.

There

[B] I shall relate below the other reasons he had for this conduct. We find in him an instance of a constancy which is very uncommon; for being engaged with the States, he continued in that engagement steadfastly till his death, though it was not a zeal for religion that prompted him to it. It is no extraordinary thing to see persons die in that party, which they declared for at the rising of a faction, or at the beginning of a revolution. But if such an undertaking was a long time carrying on; if it was attended with various consequences and events, sometimes favourable, sometimes disadvantageous; you will find, generally speaking, that the same persons forsake and join again with the same party three or four times; and if they end as they began, it is sometimes owing to mere chance: death surprises them when they are come to their first lodgings; a few years more would perhaps again have made them go over to the other side. The only means to be proof against all variations, is either to engage with the rebellious party, thro' a fervent zeal for religion; or to exasperate one's Prince to such a degree, that there can be no depending on a pardon, though never so solemnly promised. Leoninus's constancy was not owing to any of these causes; a constancy which continued a long while, and was never interrupted. What then could be his motives? They were as follow. The Prince of Orange had an entire confidence in, and an infinite friendship for him. This made him obnoxious to the Royalists, and to the King himself. They imagined that he was concerned in the rebellion, which yet, says he (5), was absolutely false; but he did not think it proper to serve persons who suspected him unjustly. But further, he was Counsellor of State to the new Commonwealth, he had been trusted with their most considerable affairs; and he thought it would have been a perfidiousness to discover them to their enemies, as he would have been obliged to do, had he gone over to them (6). Besides all this, he was determined to follow Solon's advice, which is, that in civil wars an honest man ought to declare himself for the weakest and most dangerous party. *Sed & Solonis dictum, inquit, & consilium ob oculos habebam, quod bonus vir in civilibus dissensionibus partem eligere debeat inferiorem & magis periculosam* (7). A man must be very much a Philosopher to give such advice, but he must be much more a Philosopher who follows it. But why did not Solon advise us to declare for the party which has right on its side? I imagine one might answer, that the different parties in a Commonwealth do all pretend to act from a public spirit for the good of the whole; and they all respectively assert their cause with such a shew of arguments, objections and answers, that it is a difficult matter for private persons to sift out the truth, and to find out who is in the right or in the wrong. And therefore what better course can they take but to declare themselves for the weakest party; nor is it such a difficult matter to discover which is the weakest, as it is to judge which is the most reasonable. The weakest ought to be preferred, both because it becomes a generous man to support the weak against the powerful, and because one is much more unavoidably engaged to commit unjust actions in that faction which has the greatest strength, than in that which is less powerful. It will be objected, that the latter would not be more moderate, if it were as powerful as the former. I am apt to believe it; but yet as long as its weakness puts it out of its power to oppress, you ought to join with it, that you may not be concerned in the violent measures of the other. If it gets the upper hand, forsake it

(5) Venisset in suspicionem apud Regios, atque etiam Regem ipsum alicujus molitionis contrariae, & quod deterius, seditionum consiliis consentire diceretur, quod à se scribit fuisse alienissimum. Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belgicæ, pag. 195.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Idem, ibid.

then, lest it should engage you to act the tyrant in your turn. Let this be observed by the way, with regard to Solon's maxim, and with the restriction I have added to it, namely, that it be not known which side is in the right or in the wrong.

[C] He behaved himself a little too freely with regard to religion. He would have it reduced to a great simplicity, and wished that all that is above the reach of human understanding were left to the judgment of God and his Angels. We ought rather, said he, to admire and revere the divine nature, than to define it. *Ego simplicem religionem amplectendam semper prædicavi, & etiam nunc prædico, prorsus divina & humani ingenii captum excedentia, divinitati & secreto Dei atque Angelorum judicio relinquens: honorandam potius & admirandam divinitatem quam definiendam judicavi. Evixit laboravi, ut nimium subtiles disputationes à Republica ejicerentur, de quo memini in Oratione ad Ordines habita, quæ post primam Centuriam Consiliorum meorum impressa est* (8). Sainte Aldegonde found nothing in him but what was lovely; except only his too great aversion for matters of Divinity. You keep close to your maxims, (said he, in a letter), to hurt no man, to live honestly, &c. But this, in my opinion, is making no account of the labour of the prophets and of the Apostles, and reckoning them almost useless. *Eibertus Leoninus, Haggæus Albada, aliique inter Præceteros religioni reformatæ nunquam nomen dederant. Ille Honestate civili contentus religionem omnem sulsque de quo habebat: uti eam ipsi graphice descripsit Phil. Marnixus in select. Epist. Belgarum centur. 2. epist. 44. "Nil enim est in te quod non sit suavissimum, si hoc unum demas, quod nimium es atheologus. Dum enim tuis illis formulis, quid dico formulis? oraculis, Neminem lædere, honestè vivere, aliisque immo tanquam scopulis in hæresis, videris mihi Apostolorum omnium ac Prophetarum laborem omnem propè inanem ducere* (9). i. e. Elbert Leoninus, Haggæ Albada and some other Lords never declared themselves Protestants: and Leoninus being contented with moral virtue despised all Religions; as Philip Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde very well describes him to himself, in a letter to him, which is the 44th of the 2d Century of the collection of choice letters from the Dutch, in which he speaks thus. *There is nothing in you but what is lovely, except only that you are too averse to Divinity. For whilst you adhere too closely to your maxims, what do I say, maxims? to your Oracles; Hurt no man, live honestly, &c. you seem to reckon the labours of the Prophets and Apostles almost useless.* The passage where Grocius mentions three illustrious men, who died in the Low-countries in the year 1598, deserves to be perused, The two first (10) began with being engaged in state affairs, and waxed old in a retirement from business; but the third, coming from the recess of his closet into publick business, spent the remainder of his days in great employments. He speaks of our Leoninus, and observes, that he was a man naturally possessed of that which the precepts of the Philosophers propose as the end we ought to aim at; I mean, that he had hardly any passion; he followed the republican party, not from a principle of self-interest, nor out of prepossession, but because he happened to be engaged in it. *Eibertus Leoninus in umbra studiorum quondam educatus, & ante pacem Gandavensem regiarum partium minister, tunc summus Geldriæ juridicus consiliis publicis immorabatur, homo natura contentus, quo veterum magistrorum præcepta nituntur, ut affectu pene omni vacaret, adeo quidem, ut partes quoque non studio ullo, sed quia sic inventerat, sequeretur* (11).

(8) Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belgicæ, pag. 199.

(9) Voetius, de Politia Ecclesiæ, tom. 2. pag. 458.

(10) Crunt de Cuylenburg, and Sainte Aldegonde.

(11) Grocius, Hist. de rebus Belgicis, lib. 7. pag. 506. edit. Amst. 1658, in 12mo.

There are several of his works extant [D].

[D] There are several of his works extant.] Most of them have been published after his death, as will appear from the dates added to the following titles. Centuria Consiliorum. i. e. "An hundred advices;" printed at Antwerp in the year 1584, in folio. We find at the end of this work Oratio habita in Conventu Ordinum Generalium, Antwerpice Anno 1579, tempore Colloquii Colonienfis, de bello, religione et pace per Belgium. i. e. "An oration delivered before the States General assembled at Antwerp in the year 1579, when the congress of Cologne was held, concerning the war, religion, and peace through the Low-countries." His seven books Emendationum sive observationum; i. e. "of corrections or observations;" were printed at Arnhem in the year 1610. in 4to. Praelectiones ad tit. Cod. de jure Emphyteutico. i. e. "Lec-

tures on the law concerning the right of copy-holders;" at Franfort, 1606, in 8vo. ad Lib. 9 Cod. in quo Tituli & Leges omnes ad instar processus criminalis explicantur; i. e. "On the ninth book of the Code, in which all the titles and laws are explained after the manner of criminal processes;" at Cologne 1604 in 4to. Commentarius ad tit. D. de usufructu. i. e. "A commentary on the law concerning the use and profits of such things, the property of which still belongs to another;" at Lich, 1600, in 8vo. His dissertation de Trapezitis Belgii, vulgo Lombardis, was published by Boxhornius (12). I do not mention several books, which he designed to print (13), and which remained in the closet of his grandson (14) Elbert Zofius; a lawyer at Utrecht.

(12) Taken from Valerius Andreas, Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 199.

(13) Valerius Andreas, ibid. gave the titles of them.

(14) E filia Nepos, idem, ibid. His grandson by his daughter.

LEONTIUM, an Athenian Courtezan, made her self famous, first by her lasciviousness, and afterwards by her application to the study of Philosophy. This last profession would have made amends for the disgrace of the former, had Leontium renounced all love-intrigues as soon as she took it into her head to philosophize; but it is pretended that she did not abate a jot of her former dissoluteness; and that when she studied under Epicurus, she prostituted herself to all this Philosopher's disciples. It is even asserted, that he himself took his share of her favours, and was not ashamed to own it (a). They who pretend that the slanders which have been spread against his character, are only malicious impostures of his enemies, will not confess that there passed any thing disgraceful between him and Leontium; they cannot however deny but he shewed in his letters, that he had a great friendship for her (b); however, they may grant this, since nothing can be inferred from it against Epicurus's reputation. Leontium was either the wife or the concubine of Metrodorus, by whom she had a son, whom Epicurus recommended to the executors of his last will and testament; and this affords us an argument against that letter, in which she is supposed to complain of the softer temper and loathsomeness of this old lover (c). Some imagine she is the same Leontium who was the Poet Hermesianax's mistress [A]. It is more certain that she applied her self seriously to Philosophy [B], and that she even set up for an authoress [C]. Observe that Metrodorus

(a) Taken from Athenæus, lib. 13. pag. 588. I quote his words in the article EPICURUS, quotation (94).

(b) See Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10. num. 5.

(c) See the article EPICURUS, remark [I].

was

[A] Some imagine she is the same Leontium, who was ... Hermesianax's mistress.] Athenæus (1) mentions this mistress, and even transcribes a pretty large number of verses, extracted from the third book of the elegies which Hermesianax wrote in honour of Leontium. Monsieur Menage (2), is fully persuaded that this woman is the same with Epicurus's good friend; whereby he proves Vossius guilty of a mistake, for placing (3) Hermesianax amongst those poets, whose age is unknown. This Poet's verses, quoted by Athenæus, contain a long list of persons in love, and it is very probable that the whole work was upon that subject; for Antonius Liberalis (4) extracted a love-tale from the second book of those elegies. Parthenius transcribed from the same Poet the fifth and the twenty second of his histories. With regard to the twenty second he quotes Hermesianax in the general; but with respect to the fifth he quotes him thus, Ἐρμηνισίαξ Διόνη. It is plain that we must read Διόνη, and not Δίονη (5). Monsieur Menage adds, that Hermesianax wrote an excellent poem on the city of Colophon his native place, which Poem is mentioned by Pausanias (6). Monsieur Menage has undoubtedly been misled by these words of Vossius. Hermesianax Colophonius, Poeta Elegiacus de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit, ut ex Pausania cognoscere est (7). Pausanias does not give us the least reason to ascribe this to him: He only says, that he does not believe Hermesianax was still living, when Lysimachus destroyed the City of Colophon: for, adds he, Hermesianax would certainly have lamented the ruin of that City. Ὡς Φόνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν, Κολοφώνιον, θρηνησάμενον τὴν ἀλωσιν. Ἐρμηνισίαξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἰλιγγία γράψας ἐκ τῆς (ἡμετέρας) πόλεως περιῆν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀλίση Κολοφώνιον ᾠδοῦντο. Phoenix Colophonius iamphorum scriptor eam excisionem deploravit; nam Hermesianax qui elegas scripsit, ad illud usque tempus superstitem fuisse non crediderim, neque enim is in aliqua carminum suorum parte excisionem Colophonem non desisset (8). You see that he had just mentioned the Poet Phoenix, a writer of Iambicks, born at Colophon, who made his muse bemoan the ruin of that City. We may infer from this pas-

(1) Lib. 13. pag. 597.

(2) Menagius, Histor. Mulierum Philosoph. ad calcem Diogenis Laertii, pag. 498. num. 70.

(3) In Traject. de Poet. Græcis.

(4) Metamorph. cap. 39.

(5) See Vossius, de Hist. Græcis, pag. 374.

(6) Est autem Hermesianax ille, idem qui de patria Colophone egregium carmen condidit... Pausania memoratum. Menagius, Histor. Mulier. Philosopharum, pag. 498.

(7) Vossius, de Poetis Græcis, pag. 90.

(8) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 8.

sage of Pausanias, that Hermesianax was contemporary with Epicurus, and therefore that their loving both the same Leontium is not inconsistent with chronology. Pausanias would not have expressed himself as he has done, had this writer of elegies flourished a great many years before Epicurus. Observe that Lysimachus, who destroyed the City of Colophon, was one of those, who shared Alexander's conquests among themselves.

[B] She applied herself seriously to Philosophy.] It was for this reason that Theodorus the painter drew her in a musing posture: Leontium Epicuri cogitantem (9).

[C] She set up for an authoress.] She wrote against Theophrastus, who was the strongest assertor of the Aristotelian Sect, and the ornament of his age. Cicero tells us that she wrote that work in a very polite style. Non modo Epicurus, says he (10), & Metrodorus, & Hermachus contra Pythagoram, Platonem, Empedoclemque dixerunt, sed meretricula etiam Leontium contra Theophrastum scribere ausa est, scito quidem illa sermone & Attico, sed tamen tantum Epicuri hortus habuerit licentia, & soletis queri. i. e. "Not only Epicurus, Metrodorus and Hermachus wrote against Pythagoras, Plato, and Empedocles, but even that little whore Leontium dared to write against Theophrastus, which she did indeed in a polite and elegant style: but yet such was the licentiousness that prevailed in Epicurus's school; and of which you are used to complain." The last words of this passage have given the critics a great deal of trouble, they construe them several ways; but I question whether it be well known how they ought to be construed: we may however know the author's meaning. He designed to exaggerate the licentiousness which prevailed in Epicurus's school: and the better to expose it, he instances in Leontium's boldness, who, being a prostitute, dared to write against Theophrastus. But how great a Rhetorician soever Cicero was, he did not succeed so well as Phiny, in giving us a strong notion of the indignity there was, according to him, in Leontium's attempt. Pliny tells us that this woman's audaciousness gave rise to a proverb, the sense of which

(9) Plinius, lib. 35. cap. 11. pag. m. 236.

(10) De Natura Deorum, lib. 1. cap. 33.

was one of Epicurus's chief disciples. Leontium had a daughter, who led a very wicked life, and died a violent death, as you will see in the remark below [D].

I cannot tell where Ludovicus Vives met with the reason he assigns for her writing a book against Theophrastus. He pretends that she did it, because this Philosopher had published several good observations concerning marriage [E].

was, that men had no longer any thing to do, but to go and hang themselves, since the learned were exposed to such indignities. *Ceu vero nesciam adversus Theophrastum, hominem in eloquentia tantum ut nomen divinum inde invenerit, scripsisse etiam feminam, & proverbium inde natum, suspendio arborem eligendi* (11). i. e. "As though I did not know, that even a woman wrote against Theophrastus, who, for his eloquence, deserved the surname of divine: her writing against him gave birth to this proverb, choose a tree to hang yourself on."

[D] *She had a daughter . . . who died a violent death, as you will see. . .* This daughter's name was DANAE. She followed her mother's example with regard to gallantry, but I do not know whether she ever meddled with Philosophy. Athenæus does not say a word of it; and he is the only author who acquaints me with some particulars concerning this woman. He observes (12), that she followed the trade of a Courtesan, and became the Concubine of Sophron governor of Ephesus. She insinuated herself into Laodice's favour so far, that the latter used to ask her advice in every thing, and trusted her with all her secrets. Danae knowing that Laodice designed to put Sophron to death, made him a sign to withdraw himself; he took the hint, and understood the danger he was in; he made believe as though he had forgot something, which he must remember in order to answer upon the subject that was given him to examine. He had time granted him to recollect himself; but he did not appear any more, and made his escape to Corinth in the night time. As soon as Laodice found out that Danae had been the occasion of his escape, she sentenced her to be thrown down a precipice. Danae knowing the danger she was in, was so proud that she would not answer one word to Laodice's questions: but she was not dumb when she was going to the place of execution: so far from it; she made a very outrageous complaint against providence. *It is with a great deal of reason, said she, that several persons despise the Gods; for all the reward they grant me for saving my husband's life, is that I shall now be precipitated, whilst Laodice, who killed her, enjoys the highest dignity.* Ἀσυγομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν κρημὸν ἔ-

πει, ὡς δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονεῖσι τῶ θεῶ, ὅτι ἰγὰ τὸν γινόμενον μοι ἄνθρω σῶσασα, τοιαύτων χάριτα παρὰ τῶ θεῶν λαμβάνω. Λαοδίκη δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκτείνουσα, ταλαιούτης τιμῆς ἀξιοῦται. *Cum ad præcipitium duceretur, dixisse, à multis non injuria Deos contemni. Nam quod, inquit, virum meum servavi, hanc mihi gratiam Dii rependant: quod autem Laodice maritum suum interfecerit, in maximo honore est* (13).

[E] *Vives pretends that she wrote her book against Theophrastus, because this Philosopher had published several good observations concerning marriage.* It is very probable that a woman who did not marry, and had gallants, could not like such writings; but yet this probability does not excuse Ludovicus Vives, if he gives us for matter of fact, as he does in the following passages, a particular, which he did not read in any credible author: *Novum malis non est, odisse bene monentes: sed in hoc ipso materiae genere Theophrastus, quum de conjugio gravissima multa scripsisset, meretrices in se concitavit: & profliit Leontium, Metrodori concubina, quæ adversus tantum & facundia & sapientia virum, librum sine mente sine fronte evomeret* (14). i. e. "It is no new thing for the wicked to hate those, who give them good advice: Thus Theophrastus, having wrote with great judgment concerning matrimony, raised the prostitutes against him; and Leontium, Metrodorus's concubine, rose up; and without sense or shame put out a volume against this man, who was so eminent for his eloquence and learning." This is a particular, which neither Cicero nor Pliny took notice of, when they mentioned the book, which Leontium wrote against Theophrastus (15): It should not therefore have been asserted, without a sufficient quotation to support the assertion. This is infinitely less necessary with regard to such particulars, as are to be met with every where. I shall observe by the by, that this passage and several others are omitted in the French translation of this work of Vives, made by Anthony Tiron, at Plantin's command, in the year 1579. I wonder at it; for I am apt to think, that these omissions are owing to Plantin's not making use of the editions, which Vives had revised, and to which he had made additions.

(11) Plinius, in Præfat.

(12) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 593.

(13) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 593. ex Phylarcho.

(14) Ludov. Vives, in Præfat. TraBatus de Fornica Christiana, pag. 22.

(15) See the remark [C].

The End of the SIXTH VOLUME.

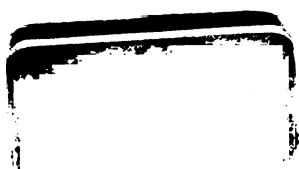
ERRATA.

In the Article HICKES (GEORGE) p. 155. in the margin, instead of 29 Feb. read 23 Feb. Ibid. at the bottom of Dr. Stanley's Letter, for 22 Feb. 1693. r. May 26, 1715.

Signature 7 C for p. 557, 558, 559, 560, r. 561, 562, 563, 564. and for the r. I shall for the catch word in p. 564.

RA
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