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THE
Tvvoo Bookes of
FRANCIS BACON.

Of the proficiencie and aduance-
ment of Learning, diuine and
humane.

To the King.

AT LONDON,

Printed for *Henrie Tomes*, and
are to be sould at his shop at Graies Inne
Gate in Holborne. 1605.

THE FIRST BOOKE
of FRANCIS BACON; of the
proficiencie and aduancement of
Learning diuine, and humane.

To the King.



Here were vnder the Lawe
(excellent King) both dayly
Sacrifices, and free will Of-
ferings; The one proceed-
ing vpon ordinarie obser-
uance; The other vpon a
deuout cheerefulnesse: In
like manner there belon-
geth to Kings from their Seruants, both Tribute of
dutie, and presents of affection: In the former of
these, I hope I shal not lue to be wanting, according
to my most humble dutie, and the good pleasure of
your Maieslies employments: for the later, I thought
it more respectiue to make choyce of some oblati-
on, which might rather referre to the proprietie
and excellencie of your indiuiduall person, than to
the businesse of your Crowne and State.

Wherefore representing your Maieslie many
times vnto my mind, and beholding you not with

*The entry
in the work*

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the inquisitive eye of presumption, to discover that which the Scripture telleth me is inscrutable; but with the obseruant eye of dutie and admiration: leauing aside the other parts of your vertue and fortune, I haue been touched, yea and possessed with an extreame woonder at those your vertues and faculties, which the Philosophers call intellectuall: The largeness of your capacitie, the faithfulness of your memorie, the swiftnesse of your apprehension, the penetration of your iudgement, and the facilitie and order of your elocution; and I haue often thought, that of all the persons liuing, that I haue knowne, your Maiestie were the best instance to make a man of *Platos* opinion, that all knowledge is but remembrance, and that the minde of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but her owne natiue and originall motions (which by the strangeness and darkeness of this Tabernacle of the bodie are sequestred) againe reuiued and restored: such a light of Nature I haue obserued in your Maiestie, and such a readinesse to take flame, and blaze from the least occasion presented, or the least sparke of anothers knowledge deliuered. And as the Scripture sayth of the wisest King: *That his heart was as the sands of the Sea*, which though it be one of the largest bodies, yet it consisteth of the smallest & finest portions: So hath God giuen your Maiestie a composition of vnderstanding admirable, being able to compasse & comprehend the greatest matters, & neuertheless to touch and apprehend the least; whereas

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wheras it should seeme an impossibility in Nature, for the same Instrument to make it selfe fit for great and small workes. And for your gift of speech, I call to minde what *Cornelius Tacitus* sayth of *Augustus Caesar*: *Augusto profluens & qua principem deceret, eloquentia fuit*: For if we note it well, speech that is vttered with labour and difficultie, or speech that fauoreth of the affectation of art and precepts, or speech that is framed after the imitation of some patterne of eloquence, though neuer so excellent: All this hath somewhat seruite, and holding of the subiect. But your Maiesties manner of speech is indeed Prince-like, flowing as from a fountaine, and yet streaming & branching it selfe into Natures order, full of facilitie, & felicitie, imitating none & inimitable by any. And as in your ciuile Estate there appeareth to be an emulation & contentiō of your Maiesties vertue with your fortune, a vertuous disposition with a fortunate regiment, a vertuous expectation (when time was) of your greater fortune, with a prosperous possession thereof, in the due time; a vertuous obseruation of the lawes of marriage, with most blessed and happie fruite of marriage; a vertuous and most christian desire of peace, with a fortunate inclination in your neighbour Princes thereunto; So likewise in these intellectuall matters, there seemeth to be no lesse contention betweene the excellencie of your Maiesties gifts of Nature, and the vniuersalitie and profecion of your learning. For I am well assured, that this which

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I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth: which is, that there hath not beene since Christs time any King or temporall Monarch which hath ben so learned in all literature & erudition, diuine & humane. For let a man seriously & diligently reuolue and peruse the succession of the Emperours of Rome, of which *Cesar* the Dictator, who liued some yeeres before Christ, and *Marcus Antoninus* were the best learned: and so descend to the Emperours of *Grecia*, or of the West, and then to the lines of *Fraunce, Spaine, England, Scotland* and the rest, and he shall finde this iudgement is truly made. For it seemeth much in a King, if by the compendious extractions of other mens wits and labours, he can take hold of any superficiall Ornaments and shewes of learning, or if he countenance and preferre learning and learned men: But to drinke indeed of the true Fountains of learning, nay, to haue such a fountaine of learning in himselfe, in a King, and in a King borne, is almost a Miracle. And the more, because there is met in your Maiesty a rare Coniunction, as well of diuine and sacred literature, as of prophane and humane; So as your Maiestie standeth inuested of that triplicitie, which in great veneration, was ascribed to the ancient *Hermes*; the power and fortune of a King; the knowledge and illumination of a Priest; and the learning and vniuersalitie of a Philosopher. This propriety inherent and indiuiduall attribute in your Maiestie deserueth to be expressed, not onely in the fame and admiration

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admiration of the present time, nor in the Historie or tradition of the ages succeeding; but also in some solide worke, fixed memoriall, and immortall monument, bearing a Character or signature, both of the power of a king, and the difference and perfection of such a king.

Therefore I did conclude with my selfe, that I could not make vnto your Maiesty a better oblation, then of some treatise tending to that end, whereof the summe will consist of these two partes: The former concerning the excellencie of learning and knowledge, and the excellencie of the merit and true glory, in the Augmentation and Propagation thereof: The latter, what the particuler actes and workes are, which haue been imbraced and vnder-taken for the advancement of learning: And againe what defects and vnderualewes I finde in such particuler actes: to the end, that though I cannot positively or affirmatiuelie aduite your Maiestie, or propound vnto you framed particulers; yet I may excite your princely Cogitations to visit the excellent treasure of your owne mind, and thence to extract particulers for this purpose, agreeable to your magnimitie and wisedome.

IN the entrance to the former of these; to cleere the way, & as it were to make silence, to haue the true testimonies concerning the dignitie of Learning to be better heard, without the interruption of tacite obiections; I thinke good to deliuer it from

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the discredit and disgraces which it hath received; all from ignorance; but ignorance severally disguised, appearing sometimes in the zeale and iea-
loulie of Diuines; sometimes in the seueritie and arrogancie of Politiques; and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves.

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ed of.*
I heare the former sort say, that knowledge is of those things which are to be accepted of with great limitation and caution, that th'aspiring to ouer-
much knowledge, was the originall temptation and sinne, whereupon ensued the fall of Man; that know-
ledge hath in it somewhat of the Serpent, and there-
fore where it entreteth into a man, it makes him swell.

Scientia inflat. That *Salomon* giues a Censure; *That there is no end of making Bookes, and that much reading is wearinesse of the flesh.* And againe in another place, *That in spacious knowledge, there is much contri-
stion, and that he that encreaseth knowledge, encreaseth
anxietie:* that *Saint Paul* giues a Caueat, that we be not spoyled through vaine Philosophie: that experience demonstrates, how learned men, haue beene Arch-heretiques, how learned times haue beene enclined to Atheisme, and how the contemplation of second Causes doth derogate frō our dependance vpon God, who is the first cause.

To discouer then the ignorance & error of this opinion, and the misunderstanding in the grounds thereof, it may well appeare these men doe not obserue or cōsider, that it was not the pure knowledg of nature and vniuersality, a knowledge by the light
whereof

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whereof man did giue names vnto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according vnto their proprieties, which gaue the occasion to the fall; but it was the proude knowledge of good and euill, with an intent in man to giue law vnto himselfe, and to depend no more vpon Gods commaundements, which was the fourme of the temptation; neither is it any quantitie of knowledge how great soeuer that can make the minde of man to swell; for nothing can fill, much lesse extend the soule of man, but God, and the contemplation of God; and therefore *Salomon* speaking of the two principall senses of Inquisition, the Eye, and the Eare, affirmeth that the Eye is neuer satisfied with seeing; nor the Eare with hearing; and if there be no fullnesse, then is the Continent greater, than the Content; so of knowledge it seife, and the minde of man, whereto the senses are but Reporters, he defineth likewise in these wordes, placed after that *Kalender* or *Ephemerides*, which he maketh of the diuersities of times and seasons for all actions and purposes; and concludeth thus: *God hath made all thinges beautifull or decent in the true returne of their seasons.* Also hee hath placed the world in Mans heart, yet cannot Man finde out the worke which God worketh from the beginning to the end: Declaring not obscurely, that God hath framed the minde of man as a mirrour, or glasse, capable of the Image of the vniuersall world, and ioyfull to receiue the impressiō thereof, as the

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Eye ioyeth to receiue light, and not onely delighted in beholding the varietie of thinges and vicissitude of times, but rayled also to finde out and discern the ordinances and decrees which throughout all those Changes are infallibly obserued. And although hee doth insinuate that the supreme or summarie law of Nature, which he calleth, *The worke which God worketh from the beginning to the end, is not possible to be found out by Man*; yet that doth not derogate from the capacitie of the minde; but may bee referred to the impediments as of shortnesse of life, ill coniunction of labours, ill tradition of knowledge ouer from hand to hand, and many other Inconueniences, whereunto the condition of Man is subiect. For that nothing parcell of the world, is denied to Mans enquirie and inuention: hee doth in another place rule ouer; when hee sayth, *The Spirite of Man is as the Lampe of God, wherewith hee searcheth the inwardnesse of all secrets*. If then such be the capacitie and receipt of the mind of Man, it is manifest, that there is no daunger at all in the proportion or quantitie of knowledge howe large soeuer; least it should make it swell or outcompasse it selfe; no, but it is meereley the qualitie of knowledge, which be it in quantitie more or lesse, if it bee taken without the true correctiue thereof, hath in it some Nature of venome or malignitie, and some effects of that venome which is ventositie

or

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or swelling. This correctiue spice, the mixture whereof maketh knowledge so soueraigne, is Charitie, which the Apostle immediately addeth to the former clause, for so he sayth, *Knowledge bloweth vp, but Charitie buildeth vp*; not vnlike vnto that which hee deliuereth in another place: *If I spake (sayth hee) with the tongues of men and Angels, and had not Charitie, it were but as a tickling Cymball*; not but that it is an excellent thinge to speake with the tongues of Men and Angels, but because if it bee seuered from Charitie, and not referred to the good of Men and Mankind, it hath rather a sounding and vnworthie glorie, than a meriting and substantiall vertue. And as for that Censure of *Salomon* concerning the excesse of writing and reading Bookes, and the anxietie of spirit which redoundeth from knowledge, and that admonition of *Saint Paule*, *That wee bee not seduced by vayne Philosophie*; let those places bee rightly vnderstoode, and they doe indeede excellently sette forth the true bounds and limitations, whereby humane knowledge is confined and circumscribed: and yet without any such contracting or coarctation, but that it may comprehend all the vniuersall nature of thinges: for these limitations are three: The first, *That wee doe not so place our felicitie in knowledge, as wee forget our mortalitie*. The second, *that we make application of our knowledge to giue our selues repose and contentment, and not distast or repining*.

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The third: that we doe not presume by the contemplation of Nature, to attaine to the misteries of God; for as touching the first of these, *Salomo* doth excellently expound himselfe in another place of the same Booke; where hee sayth; *I sawe well that knowledge recedeth as farre from ignorance, as light doth from darkenesse, and that the wise mans eyes keepe watch in his head whereas the foole roundeth about in darkenesse: But withall I learned that the same mortalitie inuolueth them both.* And for the second, certaine it is, there is no vexation or anxietie of minde, which resulteth from knowledge otherwise than meere by accident; for all knowledge and wonder (which is the seede of knowledge) is an impression of pleasure in it selfe; but when men fall to framing conclusions out of their knowledge, applying it to their particuler, and ministring to themselves thereby weake feares, or vast desires, there groweth that carefulnesse and trouble of minde, which is spoken of: for then knowledge is no more *Lumen siccum*, whereof *Heraclitus* the profound sayd, *Lumen siccum optima anima*, but it becommeth *Lumen madidum*, or *maceratum*, being steeped and infused in the humors of the affections. And as for the third point, it deserueth to be a little stood vpon, and not to be lightly passed ouer: for if any man shall thinke by view and enquiry into these sensible and material things to attaine that light, whereby he may reueale vnto himselfe the nature or will of God: then indeed is he

spoyled

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spoyled by vaine Philosophie: for the contemplation of Gods Creatures and works produceth (hauing regard to the works and creatures themselves) knowledge, but hauing regard to God, no perfect knowledg, but wonder, which is brokē knowledge: And therefore it was most aptly sayd by one of *Platoes* Schoole, *That the sence of man caryeth a resemblance with the Sunne, which (as we see) openeth and reuealeth all the terrestriall Globe; but then againe it obscurereth and concealeth the stars & celestiaall Globe: So doth the Sence discover naturall things, but it darkeneth and shutteth vp Diuine.* And hence it is true that it hath proceeded that diuers great learned men haue beene hereticall, whilest they haue sought to flye vp to the secrets of the Deitie by the waxen winges of the Sences: And as for the conceite that too much knowledge should encline a man to Atheisme, and that the ignorance of second causes should make a more deuoute dependance vpon God, which is the first cause; First, it is good to aske the question which *Iob* asked of his friends; *Will you lye for God, as one man will doe for another, to gratifie h m?* for certaine it is, that God worketh nothing in Nature, but by second causes, and if they would haue it otherwise beleeued, it is meere imposture, as it were in fauour towards God; and nothing else, but to offer to the Author of truth, the vncleane sacrifice of a lye. But further, it is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficiall

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knowledge of Philosophie may encline the minde of Man to Atheisme, but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind backe againe to Religion: for in the entrance of Philosophie, when the second Causes, which are next vnto the senses, do offer themselves to the minde of Man, if it dwell and stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on further, and seeth the dependance of causes, and the workes of providence; then according to the allegorie of the Poets, he will easily beleue that the highest Linke of Natures chaine must needs be tyed to the foote of *Iupiters* chaire. To conclude therefore, let no man vppon a weake conceite of sobrietie, or an ill applyed moderation thinke or maintaine, that a man can search too farre, or bee too well studied in the Booke of Gods word, or in the Booke of Gods workes; Diuinitie or Philosophie; but rather let men endeauour an endlesse progresse or proficiencie in both: only let men beware that they apply both to Charitie, and not to swelling; to vse, and not to ostentation; and againe, that they doe not vnwisely mingle or confound these learnings together.

And as for the disgraces which learning recei-
ueth from Politiques, they bee of this nature; that learning doth soften mens mindes, and makes them more vnapt for the honour and exercise of Armes; that it doth marre and peruert mens dispositions for
matter

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matter of gouernement and policie; in making them too curious and irresolute by varietie of reading; or too peremptorie or positie by stricktnesse of rules and axiomes; or too immoderate and ouerweening by reason of the greatnesse of examples; or too incompatible and differing from the times, by reason of the dissimilitude of examples; or at least, that it doth diuert mens trauielses from action and businesse, and bringeth them to a loue of leisure and priuatenesse; and that it doth bring into States a relaxation of discipline, whilst euerie man is more readie to argue, than to obey and execute. Out of this conceit, *Cato* surnamed the Censor, one of the wisest men indeed that euer liued, when *Carmeades* the Philosopher came in Embassage to Rome, and that the young men of Rome began to flocke about him, being allured with the sweetnesse and Maiestie of his eloquence and learning, gaue counsell in open Senate, that they should giue him his dispatch with all speede, least hee should infect and inchaunt the mindes and affections of the youth, and at vnawares bring in an alteration of the manners and Customes of the State. Out of the same conceite or humor did *Virgill*, turning his penne to the aduantage of his Countrey, and the disaduantage of his owne profession, make a kind of separation betweene policie and gouernement, and betweene Arts and Sciences, in the verses so much renowned, attributing and challenging the one to the Romanes, and
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leaving & yeelding the other to the Grecians, *Tu regere imperio populos Romane memeto, Haec tibi erunt artes,* &c. so likewise we see that *Anytus* the accuser of *Socrates* layd it as an Article of charge & accusation against him, that he did with the varietie and power of his discourses and disputations withdraw young men from due reuerence to the Lawes and Customs of their Countrey: and that he did professe a dangerous and pernicious Science, which was to make the worse matter seeme the better, and to suppress truth by force of eloquence and speech.

But these and the like imputations haue rather a countenance of grauitie, than any ground of iustice: for experience doth warrant, that both in persons and in times, there hath beene a meeting, and concurrence in learning and Armes, flourishing and excelling in the same men, and the same ages. For as for men, there cannot be a better nor the like instance, as of that payre *Alexander* the Great, and *Iulius Caesar* the Dictator, whereof the one was *Aristotles* Scholler in Philosophie, and the other was *Ciceroes* Riuall in eloquence; or if any man had rather call for Schollers, that were great Generals, then Generals that were great Schollers; let him take *Epaminondas* the Thebane, or *Xenophon* the Athenian, whereof the one was the first that abated the power of *Sparta*; and the other was the first that made way to the ouerthrow of the Monarchie of *Persia*: And this concurrence is yet more visible in times than in persons, by how much an age is greater ob-

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iect than a Man. For both in *Aegypt*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Grecia*, and *Rome* the same times that are most renowned for Armes, are likewise most admired for learning; so that the greatest Authors and Philosophers, and the greatest Captaines and Governours haue liued in the same ages: neither can it otherwise be; for as in Man, the ripenesse of strength of the bodie and minde commeth much about an age, saue that the strength of the bodie commeth somewhat the more early; So in States, Armes and Learning, whereof the one correspondeth to the bodie, the other to the soule of Man, haue a concurrence or nere sequence in times.

And for matter of policie and gouernement, that Learning should rather hurt, than inable thereunto, is a thing verie improbable: we see it is committed an errour, to commit a naturall bodie to Empe-
ricque Phisitions, which commonly haue a fewe pleasing receipts, whereupon they are confident and aduenturous, but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the complexions of Patients, nor perill of accidents, nor the true methode of Cures; We see it is a like error to rely vpon Aduocates or Lawyers, which are onely men of practise, and not grounded in their Bookes, who are many times easily surpris'd, when matter falleth out besides their experience, to the preiudice of the causes they handle: so by like reason it cannot be but a matter of doubtfull consequence, if States bee managed by

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Emperique Statesmen, not well mingled with men grounded in Learning. But contrary wise, it is almost without instance contradictorie, that euer any gouernement was disastrous, that was in the hands of learned Gouvernors. For howso euer it hath beene ordinarie with politique men to extenuate and disable learned men by the names of *Pedantes*: yet in the Records of time it appeareth in many particulars, that the Gouvernements of Princes in minority (notwithstanding the infinite disadvantage of that kinde of State) haue neuertheless excelled the gouernement of Princes of mature age, euen for that reason, which they seek to traduce, which is, that by that occasion the state hath been in the hands of *Pedantes*: for so was the State of Rome for the first five yeeres, which are so much magnified, during the minoritie of *Nero*, in the handes of *Seneca a Pedanti*: So it was againe for ten yeres space or more during the minoritie of *Gordianus* the younger, with great applause and contentation in the hands of *Misibheus a Pedanti*: so was it before that in the minoritie of *Alexander Severus* in like happinesse in handes not much vnlike, by reason of the rule of the women, who were ayded by the Teachers and Preceptors. Nay, let a man looke into the gouernement of the Bishops of Rome, as by name into the gouernement of *Pius Quintus*, and *Sextus Quintus* in our times, who were both at their entrance esteemed, but as preiudiciall Friers, and he shall find that such Popes doe greater thinges, and proceed vpon truer principles

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principles of Estate, than those which haue ascended to the Papacie from an education & breeding in affaires of Estate, and Courts of Princes; for although men bred in Learning, are perhaps to seeke in points of conuenience, and accommodating for the present which the Italians call *Ragioni di Stato*, whereof the same *Pius Quintus* could not heare spoken with patience, tearing them Inventions against Religion and the morall vertues, yet on the other side to recompence that they are perfite in those same plaine grounds of Religion, Iustice, Honour, and morall vertue; which if they be well and watchfully pursued, there will bee seldome vse of those other, no more than of Phisicke in a sound or well dieted bodie; neither can the experience of one mans life, furnish examples and presidents for the euent of one mans life. For as it happeneth sometimes, that the Graund child, or other descendent resembleth the Ancestor more than the Sonne: so many times occurrences of present times may sort better with ancient examples, than with those of the later or immediate times; and lastly, the wit of one man, can no more counteruaile learning, than one mans meanes can hold way with a common purse.

And as for those particuler seducements or indispositions of the minde for policie and gouernement, which learning is pretended to insinuate, if it be graunted that any such thing be, it must be remembered withall, that learning ministreth in euery

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of them greater strength of medicine or remedie, than it offereth cause of indisposition or infirmitie; For if by a secret operation, it make men perplexed and irresolute, on the other side by plaine precept, it teacheth them when, and vpon what ground to resolve: yea, and how to carrie thinges in suspence without preiudice, till they resolve: If it make men positive and regular, it teacheth them what thinges are in their nature demonstratiue, & what are conjecturall; and aswell the vse of distinctions, and exceptions, as the latitude of principles and rules. If it mislead by disproportion, or dissimilitude of Examples, it teacheth men the force of Circumstances, the errors of comparisons, and all the cautions of application: so that in all these it doth rectifie more effectually, than it can peruert. And these medicines it conueyeth into mens minds much more forcibly by the quicknesse and penetration of Examples: for let a man looke into the errors of *Clement* the seuenth, so liuely described by *Guicciardine*, who serued vnder him, or into the errors of *Cicero* painted out by his owne pensill in his Epistles to *Atticus*, and he will flye apace from being irresolute. Let him looke into the error of *Phocion*, and he will beware how he be obstinate or inflexible. Let him but read the Fable of *Ixion*, and it will hold him from being vaporous or imaginatiue; let him look into the errors of *Cato* the second, and he will neuer be one of the *Antipodes*, to tread opposite to the present world.

And for the conceite that Learning should dis-

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pose men to leasure and priuatenesse, and make men slouthfull: it were a strange thing if that which accustometh the minde to a perpetuall motion and agitation, should induce slouthfulnesse, whereas contrariwise it may bee truely affirmed, that no kinde of men loue businesse for it selfe, but those that are learned; for other persons loue it for profite; as an hireling that loues the worke for the wages; or for honour; as because it beareth them vp in the eyes of men, and refresheth their reputation, which otherwise would weare; or because it putteth them in mind of their fortune, and giueth them occasion to pleasure and displeasure; or because it exerciseth some faculty, wherein they take pride, and so entertaineth them in good humor, and pleasing conceits toward themselves; or because it aduanceth any other their ends. So that as it is sayd of vntrue valors, that some mens valors are in the eyes of them that look on; So such mens industries are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their owne designements; onely learned men loue businesse, as an action according to nature, as agreeable to health of minde, as exercise is to health of bodie, taking pleasure in the action it selfe, & not in the purchase: So that of all men, they are the most indefatigable, if it be towards any businesse, which can hold or detain their minde.

And if any man be laborious in reading and study, and yet idle in busines & action, it groweth from some weakenes of body, or softnes of spirit; such as *Seneca* speaketh

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speaketh of: *Quidam tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbide esse, quicquid in luce est*; and not of learning; wel may it be, that such a point of a mans nature may make him giue himselfe to learning, but it is not learning that breedeth any such point in his Nature.

And that learning should take vp too much time or leasure, I answer, the most actiue or busie man that hath been or can bee, hath (no question) many vacant times of leasure, while he expecteth the tides and returnes of businesse (except he be either tedious, and of no dispatch, or lightly and vnworthily ambitious, to meddle in thinges that may be better done by others) and then the question is, but how those spaces and times of leasure shall be filled and spent: whether in pleasures, or in studies; as was wel answered by *Demosthenes* to his aduersarie *Aeschynes*, that was a man giuen to pleasure, and told him, *That his Orations did smell of the Lampe: Indeede* (sayd *Demosthenes*) *there is a great difference betweene the thinges that you and I doe by Lampe-light*: so as no man neede doubt, that learning will expulse businesse, but rather it will keepe and defend the possession of the mind against idlenesse and pleasure, which otherwise at vnawares may enter to the preiudice of both.

Againe for that other conceit, that learning should vndermine the reuerence of Lawes and gouernement, it is assuredly a meere deprauation and calumne without all shadowe of truth: for to say that a blind custome of obedience should be a surer obligation

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ligation, than dutie taught and vnderstood, it is to affirme that a blind man may tread surer by a guide, than a seeing man can by a light: and it is without all controuersie, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, amiable, and pliant to gouernment, whereas Ignorance makes them churlish thwart, and mutinous; and the euidence of time doth cleare this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and vnlearned times haue bene most subiect to tumults, seditions, and changes.

And as to the iudgement of *Cato* the Censor, he was well punished for his blasphemie against learning in the same kinde wherein hee offended; for when he was past threescore yeeres old, he was taken with an extreame desire to goe to Schoole againe, and to learne the Greeke tongue, to the end to peruse the Greeke Authors; which doth well demonstrate, that his former censure of the Grecian, Learning was rather an affected grauitie, than according to the inward sence of his owne opinion. And as for *Virgils* verses, though it pleased him to braue the world in taking to the Romanes, the Art of Empire, and leauing to others the acts of subiects: yet so much is manifest that the Romanes neuer ascended to that height of Empire, till the time they had ascended to the height of other Arts: For in the time of the two first *Cesars*, which had the art of gouernement in greatest perfection, there liued the best Poet *Virgilius Maro*, the best Historiographer *Titus Livius*, the best Antiquarie *Marcus Varro*, and the

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the best or second Orator *Marcus Cicero*, that to the memorie of man are knowne. As for the accusation of *Socrates*, the time must be remembered; when it was prosecuted; which was vnder the thirtie Tyrants, the most base, bloody, and enuious persons that haue gouerned; which reuolution of State was no sooner ouer, but *Socrates*, whom they had made a person criminall, was made a person heroycall, and his memorie accumulate with honour diuine and humane; and those discourses of his which were then tearmed corrupting of manners, were after acknowledged for soueraigne Medicines of the minde and manners, and so haue bene receiued euer since till this day. Let this therefore serue for answere to Politiques, which in their humorous seueritie, or in their fayned grauitie haue presumed to throwe imputations vpon learning, which redargution neuerthelesse (saue that wee know not whether our labours may extend to other ages) were not needefull for the present, in regard of the loue and reuerence towards Learning, which the example and countenance of twoo so learned Princes *Queene Elizabeth*, and your Maiestie; being as *Cassiope* and *Pollux*, *Lucida Sydera*, Starres of excellent light, and most benigne influence, hath wrought in all men of place and authoritie in our Nation.

Now therefore, we come to that third sort of discreditte, or diminution of credite, that groweth vnto learning from learned men themselues, which commonly cleaueth fastest; It is either from their
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themselves

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Fortune, or frō their Manners, or from the nature of their Studies: for the first, it is not in their power; and the second is accidentall; the third only is proper to be hadled. but because we are not in hand with true measure, but with popular estimation & conceit, it is not amisse to speak somewhat of the two former. The derogations therefore, which grow to learning from the fortune or condition of learned men, are either in respect of scarcity of meanes, or in respect of priuatenesse of life, and meanness of employments.

Concerning want, and that it is the case of learned men, vsually to beginne with little, and not to growe rich so fast as other men, by reason they conuert not their labors chiefly to laker, and encrease; It were good to leaue the common place in commendation of pouertie to some Frier to handle, to whom much was attributed by *Maccianell* in this point, when he sayd, *That the Kingdome of the Cleargie had bene long before at an end, if the reputation and reuerence towards the pouertie of Friers had not borne out the scandall of the superfluities and excesses of Bishops and Prelates.* So a man might say, that the felicitie and delicacie of Princes and great Persons, had long since turned to Rudenes and Barbarisme, if the pouertie of Learning had not kept vp Ciuilitie and Honor of life; But without any such aduantages, it is worthy the obseruation, what a reuerent and honoured thing pouertie of fortune was, for some ages in the Romane State, which neuerthelesse was a State without paradoxes. For we see what *Titus Li-*

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uius sayth in his introduction. *Ceterum aut me amor negotij suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica, nec maior, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec inquam tam serae auaritia luxuriæque immigrauerint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit.* We see likewise after that the State of Rome was not it selfe, but did degenerate; how that person that tooke vpon him to be Counsellor to *Iulius Caesar*, after his victorie, where to begin his restoration of the State, maketh it of all points the most summarie to take away the estimation of wealth. *Verum hæc & omnia mala pariter cum honore pecunie desinent; Si neque magistratus, neque alia, vulgo cupienda venalia erunt.* To conclude this point, as it was truely sayd, that *Rubor est virtutis color*, though sometime it come from vice: So it may be fitly sayd, that *Paupertas est virtutis fortuna*. Though sometimes it may proceede from misgouernement and accident. Surely *Salomon* hath pronounced it both in censure, *Qui festinat ad diuitias non erit insons*; and in precept: *Buy the truth, and sell it not: and so of wisdom and knowledge*; iudging that meanes were to be spent vpon learning, and not learning to be applied to meanes: And as for the priuatenesse or obscurenesse (as it may be in vulgar estimation accounted) of life of contemplatiue men; it is a Theme so common, to extoll a priuate life; not taxed with sensualitie and sloth in comparison, and to the disadvantage of a ciuile life, for safety, libertie, pleasure and dignitie, or at least freedome from indigni-

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tie, as no man handleth it, but handleth it well: such a consonancie it hath to mens conceits in the expressing, and to mens consents in the allowing: this onely I will adde; that learned men forgotten in States, and not liuing in the eyes of men, are like the Images of *Cassius* and *Brutus* in the funerall of *Iunia*; of which not being represented, as many others were *Tacitus* sayth, *Eo ipso prefulgebant, quod non viscebantur.*

And for meanesse of employment, that which is most traduced to contempt, is that the gouernment of youth is commonly allotted to them, which age, because it is the age of least authoritie, it is transferred to the disesteeming of those employments wherein youth is conuersant, and which are conuersant about youth. But how vniust this traducement is; (if you will reduce thinges from popularitie of opinion to measure of reason) may appeare in that we see men are more curious what they put into a new Vessell, than into a Vessell seasoned; and what mould they lay about a young plant, than about a Plant corroborate; so as the weakest Termes and Times of all things vse to haue the best applications and helpes. And will you hearken to the Hebrew *Rabynes*? *Your young men shall see Visions, and your old* ^{men} *shall dreame dreames*, say the youth is the worthier age, for that Visions are neerer apparitions of God, than dreames? And let it be noted, that how soeuer the Conditions of life of *Pedantes* hath been scorned vpon Theators, as the Ape of Tyrannie;

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and that the modern loosenes or negligence hath taken no due regard to the choise of Schoolemasters; & Tutors; yet the ancient wisdom of the best times did alwaies make a iust complaint; that States were too busie with their Lawes, and too negligent in point of education: which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort reuiued of late times, by the Colledges of the Iesuites: of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, *Quo meliores, eo deteriores*, yet in regard of this, and some other points concerning humane learning, and Morall matters, I may say as *Agessilaus* sayd to his enimie *Farnabazus*, *Talis quum sis, utinam, noster esses*. And thus much touching the discredit drawne from the fortunes of learned men.

As touching the Manners of learned men, it is a thing personall and indiuiduall; and no doubt there be amongst them, as in other professions, of all temperatures; but yet so as it is not without truth, which is sayd, that *Abeunt studia in mores*, Studies haue an influence and operation, vpon the manners of those that are conuersant in them.

But vpon an attentiu, and indifferent reuiew; I for my part, cannot find any disgrace to learning, can proceed frō the manners of learned men; not inherent to them as they are learned; except it be a fault, (which was the supposed fault of *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, *Cato* the second, *Seneca*, and many moe) that because the times they read of, are commonly better than the times they liue in; and the duties taught,

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better than the duties practised: They contend sometimes too farre, to bring things to perfection; and to reduce the corruption of manners, to honestie of precepts, or examples of too great height; And yet hereof they haue Caueats ynough in their owne walkes: For *Solon*, when he was asked whether he had giuen his Citizens the best laws, answered wisely, *Yea of such, as they would receiue*: and *Plato* finding that his owne heart, could not agree with the corrupt manners of his Country, refused to beare place or office, saying: *That a mans Countrey was to be used as his Parents were, that is, with humble perswasions, and not with contestations*: And *Casars* Counsellor put in the same Caueat, *Non ad vetera instituta renouans iura iam pridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt*; and *Cicero* noteth this error directly in *Cato* the second, when he writes to his friend *Atticus*; *Cato optime sentis, sed nocet interdum reipublice; loquitur enim tanquam in repub: Platanus, non tanquam in sece Romuli*; and the same *Cicero* doth excuse and expound the Philosophers for going too far, and being too exact in their precepts; when he saith; *Isti ipsi preceptores virtutis & Magistri; videntur fines officiorum paulo longius quam natura vellent protulisse; ut cum ad ultimū animo contendissemus, ibi tamen, ubi oportet, consisteremus*: and yet himself might haue said: *Monitis sum minor ipse meis*, for it was his own fault, though not in so extreame a degree.

Another fault likewise much of this kind, hath bene incident to learned men; which is that they haue esteemed the preservation, good, and honor of

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their Countreys or Maisters before their owne fortunes or safeties. For so sayth *Demosthenes* vnto the Athenians; *If it please you to note it, my counsels vnto you, are not such, whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians: But they be of that nature as they are sometimes not good for me to giue, but are alwaies good for you to follow.* And so *Seneca* after he had consecrated that *Quinquennium Nervonis* to the eternall glorie of learned Gouvernors, held on his honest and loyall course of good and free Counsell, after his Maister grew extreamey corrupt in his gouernment; neither can this point otherwise be: for learning endueth mens mindes with a true sence of the frailtie of their persons, the casualtie of their fortunes, and the dignitie of their soule and vocation; so that it is impossible for them to esteeme that any greatnesse of their owne fortune can bee, a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment; and therefore are desirous to giue their account to God, and so likewise to their Maisters vnder God (as Kinges and the States that they serue) in these words; *Ecce tibi lucre feci*, and not *Ecce mihi lucre feci*: whereas the corrupter sort of meere Politiques, that haue not their thoughts established by learning in the loue and apprehension of dutie, nor neuer looke abroad into vniuersalitie; doe referre all thinges to themselves, and thrust themselves into the Center of the world, as if all times should meet in them and their fortunes; neuer caring in all tempests what becoms of the shippe of Estates,

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Estates, so they may saue themselves in the Cocke-boat of their owne fortune, whereas men that feele the weight of dutie, and know the limits of selfeloue, vse to make good their places & duties, though with perill. And if they stand in seditious and violent alterations; it is rather the reuerence which many times both aduerse parts doe giue to honestie, than any versatile aduantage of their owne carriage. But for this point of tender sence, and fast obligation of dutie, which learning doth endue the minde withall, howsoeuer fortune may tax it, and many in the depth of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receiue an open allowance; and therefore needes the lesse disprooffe or excusation.

Another fault incident commonly to learned men, which may be more probably defended, than truly denyed, is; that they fayle sometimes in applying themselves to particular persons, which want of exact application ariseth from two causes: The one, becaute the largenesse of their minde can hardly confine it selfe to dwell in the exquisite obseruation or examination of the nature and customes of one person: for it is a speech for a Louer, and for a wile man; *Satis magnum alter alteri Theatrum sumus*: Neuerthelesse I shall yeeld, that he that cannot contract the sight of his minde, as well as disperse, and dilate it, wanteth a great facultie. But there is a second cause, which is no inabilityie, but a reiection vpon choise and iudgement. For the honest and iust bounds of obseruation, by one person vpon another,

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ther, extend no further, but to vnderstand him sufficiently, whereby not to giue him offence, or whereby to be able to giue him faithfull Counsel, or whereby to stand vpon reasonable guard and caution in respect of a mans selfe: But to be speculatiue into another man, to the end to know how to worke him, or winde him, or gouerne him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and clouen, and not entire and ingenuous; which as in friendship it is want of integrity, so towards Princes or Superiors, is want of dutie. For the custome of the Leuant, which is, that subiects doe forbear to gaze or fixe their eyes vpon Princes, is in the outward Ceremonie barbarous; but the morall is good: For men ought not by cunning and bent obseruations to pierce and penetrate into the hearts of Kings, which the scripture hath declared to be inscrutable.

There is yet another fault (with which I will conclude this part) which is often noted in learned men, that they doe many times fayle to obserue decencie, and discretion in their behauiour and carriage, and commit errors in small and ordinarie points of action; so as the vulgar sort of Capacities, doe make a Iudgement of them in greater matters, by that which they finde wanting in them, in smaller. But this consequence doth oft deceiue men, for which, I doe referre them ouer to that which was sayd by *Themistocles* arrogantly, and vnciuilly, being applyed to himselfe out of his owne mouth, but being applyed to the generall state of this question pertinent-

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ly and iustly; when being inuited to touch a Lute, he sayd: *He could not fiddle, but he could make a small Towne, a great state.* So no doubt, many may be well seene in the passages of gouernement and policie, which are to seeke in little, and punctuall occasions; I referre them also to that, which *Plato* sayd of his Maister *Socrates*, whom he compared to the Gally-pots of Apothecaries, which on the out-side had Apes and Owles, and Antiques, but contained within in soueraigne and precious liquors, and confections; acknowledging that to an externall report, he was not without superficialle leuities, and deformities; but was inwardly replenished with excellent vertues and powers. And so much touching the point of manners of learned men.

But in the meane time, I haue no purpose to giue allowance to some conditions and courses base, and vnworthy, wherein diuers Professors of learning, haue wronged themselues, and gone too farre; such as were those *Trencher Philosophers*, which in the later age of the *Romane State*, were vsually in the houses of great persons, being little better than solemne Parasites; of which kinde, *Lucian* maketh a merrie description of the Philosopher, that the great Ladie tooke to ride with her in her Coach, and would needs haue him carie her little Dogge, which he doing officiously, and yet vncomely; the Page scoffed, and sayd: *That he doubted, the Philosopher of a Stoike, would turne to be a Cynike.* But aboue all the rest, the grosse and palpable flatterie, whereunto

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many (not vnlearned) haue abbased & abused their wits and pens, turning (as *Du Bartas* saith,) *Hecuba* into *Helena*, and *Faustina* into *Lucretia*, hath most diminished the price and estimation of Learning. Neither is the morall dedications of Bookes and Writings, as to Patrons to bee commended: for that Bookes (such as are worthy the name of Bookes) ought to haue no Patrons, but Truth and Reason: And the ancient custome was, to dedicate them onely to priuate and equall friendes, or to intitle the Bookes with their Names, or if to Kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the Booke was fit and proper for; but these and the like Courses may deserue rather reprehension, than defence.

Not that I can taxe or condemne the morigeration or application of learned men to men in fortune. For the answere was good that *Diogenes* made to one that asked him in mockerie, *How it came to passe that Philosophers were the followers of rich men, and not rich men of Philosophers?* He answered soberly, and yet sharpely; *Because the one sort knew what they had need of, & the other did not;* And of the like nature was the answere which *Aristippus* made, when hauing a petition to *Dionisius*, and no care giuen to him, he fell downe at his feete, wheupon *Dionisius* stayed, and gaue him the hearing, and graunted it, and afterward some person tender on the behalfe Philosophie, reprooued *Aristippus*, that he would offer the Profession of Philosophie such an indignitie,

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tie, as for a priuat Suit to fall at a Tyrants feet: But he answered; *It was not his fault, but it was the fault of Dionisius, that had his eares in his feete.* Neither was it accounted weakenesse, but discretion in him that would not dispute his best with *Adrianus Caesar*; excusing himselfe, *That it was reason to yeeld to him, that commaunded thirtie Legions.* These and the like applications and stooping to points of necessitie and conuenience cannot bee disallowed: for though they may haue some outward basenesse; yet in a Iudgement truely made, they are to bee accounted submissions to the occasion, and not to the person.

Now I proceede to those errours and vanities, which haue interueyned amongst the studies themselves of the learned; which is that which is principall and proper to the present argument, wherein my purpose is not to make a iustification of the errors, but by a censure and separation of the errors, to make a iustificatiō of that which is good & sound; and to deliuer that from the aspersiō of the other. For we see, that it is the manner of men, to scandalize and depraue that which retaineth the state, and vertue, by taking aduantage vpon that which is corrupt and degenerate; as the Heathens in the primitive Church vsed to blemish and taint the Christians, with the faults and corruptions of Heretiques: But neuerthelesse, I haue no meaning at this time to make any exact animaduersion of the errors and impediments in matters of learning, which are more secret and remote from vulgar opinion; but

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onely to speake vnto such as doe fall vnder, or neere vnto, a popular obseruation.

There be therefore chiefly three vanities in Studies, whereby learning hath been most traduced: For those things we do esteeme vaine, which are either false or friuolous, those which either haue no truth, or no vse: & those persons we esteem vain, which are either credulous or curious, & curiolitie is either in mater or words; so that in reason, as wel as in experience, there fall out to be these 3. distēpers (as I may term thē) of learning: The first fantastical learning: The second contentious learning, & the last delicate learning, vaine Imaginations, vaine Altercations, & vaine affectatiōs: & with the last I wil begin, *Martin Luther* conducted (no doubt) by an higher prouidence, but in discourse of reason, finding what a Province he had vndertaken against the Bishop of *Rome*, and the degenerate traditions of the Church, and finding his owne solitude, being no waies ayded by the opinions of his owne time, was enforced to awake all Antiquitie, and to call former times to his succors, to make a partie against the present time: so that the ancient Authors, both in Diuinitie, and in Humanitie, which had long time slept in Libraries, began generally to be read and reuolued. This by consequence, did draw on a necessitie of a more exquisite trauaile in the languages originall, wherein those Authors did write: For the better vnderstanding of those Authors, and the better aduantage of presing and applying their words: And thereof grew

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again, a delight in their manner of Stile and Phrase, and an admiration of that kinde of writing; which was much furthered & precipitated by the enmity & opposition, that the propounders of those (primitive, but seeming new opinions) had against the Schoole-men: who were generally of the contrarie part: and whose Writings were altogether in a differing Stile and forme, taking libertie to coyne, and frame new terms of Art, to expresse their own sense, and to auoide circuite of speech, without regard to the purenesse, pleasantnesse, and (as I may call it) lawfulnessse of the Phrase or word: And againe, because the great labour that then was with the people (of whome the Pharisees were wont to say: *Execrabilis ista turba que non nouit legem*) for the winning and perswading of them, there grewe of necessitie in cheefe price, and request, eloquence and varietie of discourse, as the fittest and forciblest accesse into the capacitie of the vulgar sort: so that these foure causes concurring, the admiration of ancient Authors, the hate of the Schoole-men, the exact studie of Languages: and the efficacie of Preaching did bring in an affectionate studie of eloquence, and copie of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excesse: for men began to hunt more after wordes, than matter, and more after the choisenesse of the Phrase, and the round and cleane composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their workes with tropes and figures:

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then after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundnesse of argument, life of inuention, or depth of iudgement. Then grew the flowing, and watrie vaine of *Osius* the Portugali Bishop, to be in price: then did *Sturmius* spend such infinite, and curious paines vpon *Cicero* the Orator, and *Hermogenes* the Rhetorican, besides his owne Bookes of Periods, and imitation, and the like: Then did *Car* of *Cambridge*, and *Ascham* with their Lectures and Writings, almost die for *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, and allure, all young men that were studious vnto that delicate and polished kinde of learning. Then did *Erasmus* take occasion to make the scoffing Eccho; *Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*: and the Eccho answered in Greeke, *One; Asine*. Then grew the learning of the Schoole-men to be vtterly despised as barbarous. In summe, the whole inclination and bent of those times, was rather towards copie, than weight. ✕

Here therefore, the first distemper of learning, when men studie words, and not matter: whereof though I haue represented an example of late times: yet it hath beene, and will be *Secundum maius & minus* in all time. And how is it possible, but this should haue an operation to discredit learning, euen with vulgar capacities, when they see learned mens workes like the first Letter of a Patent, or limmed Booke: which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a Letter. It seemes to me that *Pigmaliions* frenzie is a good embleme or portraiture of this vanitie:
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for wordes are but the Images of matter, and except they haue life of reason and inuention: to fall in loue with them, is all one, as to fall in loue with a Picture.

But yet notwithstanding, it is a thing not hastily to be condemned, to cloath and adorne the obscuritie, euen of Philosophie it selfe, with sensible and plausible elocution. For hereof we haue great examples in *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, and of *Plato* also in some degree, and hereof likewise there is great vse: For surely, to the seuerer inquisition of truth, and the deepe progresse into Philosophie, it is some hindrance; because it is too early satisfactorie to the minde of man, and quenchem the desire of further search, before we come to a iust periode. But then if a man be to haue any vse of such knowledge in ciuile occasions, of conference, counsell, perswasion, discourse, or the like: Then shall he finde it prepared to his hands in those Authors, which write in that manner. But the excesse of this is so iustly contemptible, that as *Hercules*, when hee saw the Image of *Adonis*, *Venus* *Migmon* in a Temple, sayd in disdain, *Nil sacri es*. So there is none of *Hercules* followers in learning, that is, the more seuerer, and laborious sort of Enquirers into truth, but will despise those delicacies and affectations, as indeede capable of no diuinesse. And thus much of the first disease or distemper of learning.

The second which followeth is in nature worse then than the former: for as substance of matter is

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better than beautie of words: so contrariwise vaine matter is worse, than vaine words: wherein it seemeth the reprehension of Saint *Paule*, was not onely proper for those times, but propheticall for the times following, and not only respectiue to Diuinitie, but extensiuē to all knowledge. *Deiuta prophanas vocum nouitates & oppositiones falsi nominis scientie.* For he as signeth two Markes and Badges of suspected and falsified Science; The one, the noueltie and strangenesse of tearmes; the other, the strictnesse of positions, which of necessitie doth induce oppositions, and so questions and altercations. Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solide, do putrifie and corrupt into wormes: So it is the propertie of good and sound knowledge, to putrifie and dissolue into a number of subtile, idle, vnwholesome, and (as I may tearme them) vermiculate questions; which haue indeede a kinde of quicknesse, and life of spirite, but no soundnesse of matter, or goodnesse of qualitie. This kinde of degenerate learning did chiefly raigne amongst the Schoole-men, who hauing sharpe and stronge wits, and aboundance of leasure, and smal varietie of reading; but their wits being shut vp in the Cels of a few Authors (chiefly *Aristotle* their Dictator) as their persons were shut vp in the Cells of Monasteries and Colledges, and knowing little Historie, either of Nature or time, did out of no great quantitie of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out vnto vs those laborious webbes of Learning which are extant in their

Bookes.

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Bookes. For the wit and minde of man, if it worke vpon matter, which is the contēplation of the creatures of God worketh according to the stufte, and is limited thereby; but if it worke vpon it selfe, as the Spider worketh his webbe, then it is endlesse, and and brings forth indeed Copwebs of learning, admirable for the finesse of thread and worke, but of no substance or profite.

This same vnprofitable subtilitie or curiositie is of two sorts: either in the subiect it selfe that they handle, when it is a fruitlesse speculation or controuersie; (whereof there are no small number both in Diuinity & Philosophie) or in the maner or method of handling of a knowledge; which amongst them was this; vpon euerie particular position or assertion to frame obiections, and to those obiections, solutions: which solutions were for the most part not confutations, but distinctions: whereas indeed the strength of all Sciences, is as the strength of the old mans faggot in the bond. For the harmonie of a science supporting each part the other, is and ought to be the true and briefe confutation and suppression of all the smaller sort of obiections: but on the other side, if you take out euerie Axiome, as the stickes of the faggot one by one, you may quarrell with them, and bend them and breake them at your pleasure: so that as was sayd of *Seneca*: *Verborum minutijs rerum frangit pondera*: So a man may truely say of the Schoole-men *Questionum minutijs Scientiarum frangunt soliditatem.* For were it not better

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Schoolemen

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for a man in a faire roome, to set vp one great light, or braunching candlesticke of lights, than to goe about with a small watch candle into euerie corner? and such is their methode, that rests not so much vpon euidence of truth prooued by arguments, authorities, similitudes, examples; as vpon particular confutations and solutions of euerie scruple, cauillation & obiection: breeding for the most part one questiō as fast as it solueth another; euē as in the former resemblance, when you carry the light into one corner, you darken the rest: so that the Fable and fiction of *Scylla* seemeth to be a liuely Image of this kinde of Philosophie or knowledge, which was transformed into a comely Virgine for the vpper parts; but then, *Candida succinctam, latrantibus in-guina monstris*: So the Generalities of the Schoolemen are for a while good and proportionable; but then when you descend into their distinctions and decisions, in stead of a fruitfull wombe, for the vse and benefite of mans life; they end in monstrous altercations and barking questions. So as it is not possible but this qualitie of knowledge must fall vnder popular contempt, the people being apt to contemne truth vpon occasion of Controuersies & alterations, and to thinke they are all out of their way which neuer meete, and when they see such digladiation about subtilties, and matter of no vse nor moment, they easily fall vpon that iudgement of *Dionysius* of *Syracusa*, *Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum.*

Notwithstanding certaine it is, that if those
Schoole-

The first Booke. 21

Schoole men to their great thirst of truth, and vnwearied trauaile of wit, had ioyned varietie and vniuersalitie of reading and contemplation, they had prooued excellent Lights, to the great aduancement of all learning and knowledge: but as they are, they are great vndertakers indeed, and fierce with darke keeping. But as in the inquirie of the diuine truth, their pride enclined to leaue the Oracle of Gods word, and to vanish in the mixture of their owne inuentions: so in the inquisition of Nature, they euer left the Oracle of Gods works, and adored the deceiuing and deformed Images, which the vnequall mirrour of their owne minds, or a few receiued Authors or principles, did represent vnto them. And thus much for the second disease of learning.

For the third vice or disease of Learning, which concerneth deceit or vntruth, it is of all the rest the fowlest; as that which doth destroy the essentiall forme of knowledge; which is nothing but a representation of truth; for the truth of being, and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beame, and the beame reflected. This vice therefore brauncheth it selfe into two sorts; delight in deceiuing, and aptnesse to be deceiued, imposture and Credulitie: which although they appeare to be of a diuers nature, the one seeming to proceede of cunning, and the other of simplicitie; yet certainly, they doe for the most part concurre: for as the verse noteth.

Of the advancement of learning,

Percontatorem fugito, nam Garrulus idem est:

An inquisitive man is a prater: so vpon the like reason, a credulous man is a deceiuer: as we see it in fame, that hee that will easily beleue rumors, will as easily augment rumors, and adde somewhat to them of his owne, which *Tacitus* wisely noteth, when he sayth: *Fingunt simul creduntq;* so great an affinity hath fiction and beleefe.

This facilitie of credite, and accepting or admitting thinges weakely authorized or warranted, is of two kindes, according to the subiect: For it is either a beleefe of Historie, (as the Lawyers speake, matter of fact:) or else of matter of art and opinion; As to the former, wee see the experience and inconuenience of this errour in ecclesiasticall Historie, which hath too easily receiued and registred reports and narrations of Miracles wrought by Martyrs, Hermits, or Monkes of the desert, and other holy men; and there Reliques, Shrines, Chappels, and Images: which though they had a passage for time, by the ignorance of the people, the superstitious simplicitie of some, and the politique tolleration of others, holding them but as diuine poesies: yet after a periode of time, when the mist began to cleare vp, they grew to be esteemed; but as old wiues fables, impostures of the Cleargie illusions of spirits, and badges of Antichrist, to the great scandall and detriment of Religion.

So in naturall Historie, wee see there hath not
beene

The first Booke. 22

beene that choise and iudgement vsed, as ought to haue beene, as may appeare in the writings of *Plinius*, *Cardanus*, *Albertus*, and diuers of the Arabians, being fraught with much fabulous matter, a great part, not onely vntryed; but notoriously vntrue, to the great derogation of the credite of naturall Philosophie, with the graue and sober kinde of wits; wherein the wisdom and integritie of *Aristotle* is worthy to be obserued, that hauing made so diligent and exquisite a Historie of liuing creatures, hath mingled it sparingly with any vaine or fayned matter, and yet on thother sake, hath cast all prodigious Narrations, which he thought worthy the recording into one Booke: excellently discerning that matter of manifest truth, such wherevpon obseruation and rule was to bee built, was not to bee mingled or weakened with matter of doubtfull credite: and yet againe that rarities and reports, that seeme vncredible, are not to be suppressed or denyed to the memorie of men.

And as for the facilitie of credite which is yeelded to Arts & opinions, it is likewise of two kindes, either when too much beleefe is attributed to the Arts themselues, or to certaine Authors in any Art. The Sciences themselues which haue had better intelligence and confederacie with the imagination of man, than with his reason, are three in number; Astrologie, Naturall Magicke, and *Alcummy*: of which Sciences neuerthelesse the ends or pretences are noble. For Astrologie pretendeth to discover that

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correspondence or concatenation, which is betweene the superiour Globe and the inferiour. Naturall Magicke pretendeth to cal & reduce naturall Philosophie from variety of speculations to the magnitude of works; And *Alcummy* pretendeth to make separation of all the vnlike parts of bodies, which in mixtures of nature are incorporate. But the deriuations and prosecutions to these ends, both in the theories, and in the practises are full of Errour and vanitie; which the great Professors themselues haue sought to vaile ouer and conceale by euigmaticall writings, and referring themselues to auricular traditions, and such other deuises, to saue the credite of Impostures; and yet surely to *Alcummy* this right is due, that it may be compared to the Husband man whereof *Aesope* makes the Fable; that when he died; told his Sonnes, that he had left vnto them gold, buried vnder ground in his Vineyard; and they digged ouer all the ground, and gold they found none, but by reason of their stirring and digging the mold about the rootes of their Vines, they had a great Vintage the yeare following: so assuredly the search and stirre to make gold hath brought to light a great number of good and fruitfull inuentions and experiments, as well for the disclosing of Nature; as for the vse of mans life.

And as for the ouermuch credite that hath bene giuen vnto Authors in Sciences, in making them Dictators, that their wordes should stand, and not Counsels to giue aduise; the dammage is infinite that
Sciences

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Sciences haue receiued thereby, as the principall cause that hath kept them lowe, at a stay without groweth or aduancement. For hence it hath comen; that in arts Mechanicall, the first deuiser coms shortest, and time addeth and perfecteth: but in Sciences the first Author goeth furthest, and time leeseeth and corrupteth. So we see, Artillerie, sayling, printing, and the like, were grossely managed at the first and by time accommodated and refined: but contrarywise the Philosophies and Sciences of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Hypocrates*, *Euclides*, *Archimedes*, of most vigor at the first, and by time degenerate and imbaled, whereof the reason is no other, but that in the former many wits and industries haue haue contributed in one; and in the later many wits and industries haue ben spent about the wit of some one; whom many times they haue rather depraued than illustrated. For as water will not ascend higher, than the leuell of the first spring head, from whence it descendeth: so knowledge deriued from *Aristotle*, and exempted from libertie of examination, will not rise againe higher, than the knowledge of *Aristotle*. And therefore although the position be good: *Oportet discipulum credere*: yet it must bee coupled with this, *Oportet edoctum iudicare*: for Disciples doe owe vnto Maisters onely a temporarie beleefe, and a suspension of their owne iudgement, till they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation, or perpetuall captiuitie: and therefore to conclude this point, I will say no more, but; so let great Authors

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haue.

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haue their due, as time which is the Author of Authors be not deprived of his due, which is further and further to discover truth. Thus haue I gone ouer these three diseases of learning, besides the which there are some other rather peccant humors, then fourmed diseases, which neuertheless are not so secret and intrinsike, but that they fall vnder a popular obseruation and traducement; and therefore are not to be passed ouer.

The first of these is the extreame affecting of two extremities; The one Antiquity, The other Nouelty; wherein it seemeth the children of time doe take after the nature and mallice of the father. For as he deuoureth his children; so one of them seeketh to deuoure and suppress the other; while Antiquity enuieth there should be new additions, and Nouelty; cannot be content to add, but it must deface; Surely the aduise of the Prophet is the true direction in this matter, *State super vias antiquas, & videte quam sit via recta & bona, & ambulate in ea.* Antiquity deserueth that reuerence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way, but when the discovery is well taken then to make progression. And to speake truly, *Antiquita seculi Iuuentus Mundi.* These times are the ancient times when the world is ancient, & not those which we count antient. *Ordine retrogrado,* by a computation backward from our selues.

Another Error induced by the former is a distrust that any thing should be now to be found out which

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which the world should haue missed and passed ouer so long time, as if the same obiection were to be made to time, that *Lucian* maketh to *Iupiter*, and other the heathen Gods, of which he woondreth, that they begot so many Children in old time, and begot none in his time, and asketh whether they were become septuagenarie, or whether the lawe *Pappia* made against old mens mariages had restrayned them. So it seemeth men doubt, least time is become past children and generation; wherein contrary wise, we see commonly the leuitie and vnconstancie of mens iudgements, which till a matter be done, wonder that it can be done; and as soone as it is done, woonder againe that it was no sooner done, as we see in the expedition of *Alexander* into *Asia*, which at first was preiudged as a vast and impossible enterprize; and yet afterwards it pleaseth *Liue* to make no more of it, than this, *Nil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere.* And the same happened to *Columbus* in the westerne Nauigation. But in intellectuall matters, it is much more common; as may be seen in most of the propositions of *Euclide*, which till they be demonstrate, they seeme strange to our assent; but being demonstrate, our mind accepteth of them by a kind of relation (as the Lawyers speak) as if we had knowne them before.

Another Error that hath also some affinitie with the former, is a conceit that of former opinions or sects after varerie and examination, the best hath still preuailed; and suppressed the rest; So as if a

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man should beginne the labour of a newe search, hee were but like to light vpon somewhat formerly reiected; and by reiection, brought into oblivion; as if the multitude, or the wisest for the multitudes sake, were not readie to giue passage, rather to that which is popular and superficiall, than to that which is substantiall and profound; for the truth is, that time seemeth to be of the nature of a Riuer, or streame; which carryeth downe to vs that which is light and blowne vp; and sinketh and drowneth that which is weightie and solide.

Another Error of a diuerse nature from all the former, is the ouer-early and peremptorie reduction of knowledge into Arts and Methodes: from which time, commonly Sciences receiue small or no augmentation. But as young men, when they knit and shape perfectly, doe seldome grow to a further stature: so knowledge, while it is in Aphorismes and obseruations, it is in groweth; but when it once is comprehended in exact Methodes; it may perchance be further polished and illustrate, and accommodated for vse and practise; but it encreaseth no more in bulke and substance.

Another Error which doth succeed that which we last mentioned, is, that after the distribution of particular Arts and Sciences, men haue abandoned vniuersalitie, or *Philosophia prima*; which cannot but cease, and stoppe all progression. For no perfect discouerie can bee made vpon a flatte, or a leuell.

Neither

Neither is it possible to discouer the more remote, and deeper parts of any Science, if you stand but vpon the leuell of the same Science, and ascend not to a higher Science.

Another Error hath proceeded from too great a reuerence, and a kinde of adoration of the minde and vnderstanding of man: by meanes whereof, men haue withdrawne themselues too much from the contemplation of Nature, and the obseruations of experience: and haue tumbled vp and downe in their owne reason and conceits: vpon these Intellectualists, which are notwithstanding commonly taken for the most sublime and diuine Philosophers; *Heraclitus* gaue a iust censure; saying: *Men sought truth in their owne little worlds, and not in the great and common world*: for they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of Gods works, and contrarywise by continuall meditation and agitation of wit, doe vrge, and as it were inuocate their owne spirits, to diuine, and giue Oracles vnto them, whereby they are deservedly deluded.

Another Error that hath some connexion with this later, is, that men haue vsed to infect their meditations, opinions, and doctrines with some conceits which they haue most admired, or some Sciences which they haue most applyed; and giuen all things else a tincture according to them, vtterly vntue and vnproper. So hath *Plato* intermingled his Philosophie with Theologie, and *Aristotle* with Logicke, and the second Schoole of *Plato*,

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Proclus, and the rest, with the *Mathematiques*. For these were the Arts which had a kinde of *Primo geniture* with them severally. So haue the *Alchymists* made a Philosophie out of a few experiments of the Furnace; and *Gilbertus* our Countrey man hath made a Philosophie out of the obseruations of a Loadstone. So *Cicero*, when reciting the severall opinions of the nature of the soule, he found a *Mulitian*, that held the soule was but a harmonie, sayth pleasantly: *Hic ab arte sua non recessit, &c.* But of these conceits *Aristotle* speaketh seriously and wisely, when he sayth: *Qui respiciunt ad pauca de facili pronuntiant.*

Another Error is an impatience of doubt, and hast to assertion without due and mature suspension of iudgement. For the two wayes of contemplation are not vnlike the two wayes of action, commonly spoken of by the Ancients. The one plain and smooth in the beginning, and in the end impassable: the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while faire and euen, so it is in cotemplation, if a man will begin with certainties, hee shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to beginne with doubts, he shall end in certainties.

Another Error is in the manner of the tradition and deliuerie of knowledge, which is for the most part Magistral and peremptorie; and not ingenuous and faithfull, in a sort, as may be soonest beleued; and not easiest examined. It is true, that in compendious Treatises for practise, that forme is not

The first Booke. 26

not to bee disallowed. But in the true handling of knowledge, men ought not to fall either on the one side into the veyne of *Velleius* the Epicurean: *Nil tam metuens, quam ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur;* Nor on the other side into *Socrates* his ironicall doubting of all things, but to propound things sincerely, with more or lesse asseueration: as they stand in a mans owne iudgement, prooued more or lesse.

Other Errors there are in the scope that men propound to themselves, whereunto they bend their endeauours: for whereas the more constant and deuote kind of Professors of any science ought to propound to themselves, to make some additions to their Science; they conuert their labours to aspire to certaine second Prizes; as to be a profound Interpreter or Commenter; to be a sharpe Champion or Defender; to be a methodicall Compounder or abridger; and so the Patrimonie of knowledge cometh to be sometimes improoued, but seldome augmented.

But the greatest Error of all the rest, is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge: for men haue entred into a desire of Learning and knowledge, sometimes vpon a naturall curiositie, and inquisitiue appetite; sometimes to entertaine their mindes with varietie and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to inable them to victorie of wit and contradiction, and most times for luke and profession, and seldome sincerely to giue a true account of their

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gift of reason, to the benefite and vse of men: As if there were sought in knowledge a Cowch, where vpon to rest a searching and restless spirite; or a tar- ralle for a wandring and variable minde, to walke vp and downe with a faire prospect; or a Tower of State for a proude minde to raise it selfe vpon; or a Fort or commaunding ground for strife and contention, or a Shoppe for profite or sale; and not a rich Store-house for the glorie of the Creator, and the reliefe of Mans estate. But this is that, which will indeed dignifie and exalt knowledge; if con- templation and action may be more neerely and straightly conioyned and vnited together, than they haue bene; a Coniunction like vnto that of the two highest Planets, *Saturne* the Planet of rest and contemperation; and *Iupiter* the Planet of ci- uile societie and action. Howbeit, I doe not meane when I speake of vse and action, that end before mentioned of the applying of knowledge to laker and profession; For I am not ignorant howe much that diuerteth and interrupteth the prosecution and aduancement of knowledge; like vnto the goulden ball throwne before *Ata- lanta*, which while shee goeth aside, and stoo- peth, to take vp, the race is hindred,

Declinat cursus, atrumque volubile tollit:

Neither is my meaning as was spoken of *Socrates*, to call Philosophy down from heaue to conuerse vpon the earth, that is, to leaue natural Philosophy aside & to apply knowledge onely to manners, and policie.

But

The first Booke. 27

But as both heauen and earth doe conspire and contribute to the vse and benefite of man: So the end ought to bee from both Philosophies, to se- parate and reiect vaine speculations, and whatso- euer is emptie and voide, and to preserue and augment whatsoeuer is solide and fruitfull: that knowledge may not bee as a Curtezan for pleasure, & vanitie only, or as a bond-woman to acquire and gaine to her Masters vse, but as a Spouse, for genera- tion, fruit, and comfort.

Thus haue I described and opened as by a kinde of dissection, those peccant humors (the principall of them) which hath not onely giuen impediment to the proficiencie of Learning, but haue giuen also occasion, to the traducement thereof: wherein if I haue bene too plaine, it must bee remembred; *Fidelis vulnera amantis, sed dolosa oscula malignantis.* This I thinke I haue gained, that I ought to bee the better beleued, in that which I shall say pertayning to commendation: because I haue proceeded so freely, in that which concerneth censure. And yet I haue no purpose to enter into a laudatiue of Lear- ning, or to make a Hymne to the Muses (though I am of opinion, that it is long since their Rites were duely celebrated) but my intent is without varnish or amplification, iustly to weigh the dignitie of knowledge in the ballance with other things, and to take the true value thereof by testimonies and ar- guments diuine, and humane.

First therefore, let vs seeke the dignitie of know-

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ledge

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ledge in the Arch-type or first plat forme, which is in the attributes and acts of God, as farre as they are revealed to man, and may be obserued with sobrietie, wherein we may not seeke it by the name of Learning, for all learning is knowledge acquired, and all knowledge in God is originall. And therefore we must looke for it by another name, that of wisdom or sapience, as the scriptures call it.

It is so then, that in the worke of the Creation, we see a double emanation of vertue frō God: the one referring more properly to power, the other to wisdom, the one expressed in making the subsistence of the mater, & the other in disposing the beauty of the forme. This being supposed, it is to bee obserued, that for any thing which appeareth in the historie of the Creation, the confused Masse, and matter of heauen and earth was made in a moment, and the order and disposition of that *Chaos* or Masse, was the work of sixe dayes, such a note of difference it pleased God to put vpon the workes of power, and the workes of wisdom: wherewith concurrith that in the former, it is not sette downe, that God sayd, *Let there be Heauen and Earth*, as it is set downe of the workes following, but actually, that God made Heauen, and earth: the one carrying the stile of a Manufacture, and the other of a lawe, decree, or Councell.

To proceede to that which is next in order from God to spirits: we finde as farre as credite is to bee giuen to the celestiall Hierarchie, of that supposed

Dionysius,

The first booke.

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Dionysius the Senator of Athens the first place or degree is giuen to the Angels of loue, which are tearmed *Seraphim*, the second to the Angels of light, which are tearmed *Cherubim*, and the third; and so following places to thrones, principalities, and the rest, which are all Angels of power and ministry; so as the Angels of knowledge and illumination, are placed before the Angels of Office and domination.

To descend from spirits and intellectuall formes to sensible and materiall fourmes, wee read the first forme that was created, was light, which hath a relation and correspondence in nature, and corporall thinges, to knowledge in spirits and incorporall thinges.

So in the distribution of dayes, we see the day wherin God did rest, & contēplate his owne works, was blessed aboue all the dayes, wherein he did effect and accomplish them.

After the Creation was finished, it is sette downe vnto vs, that man was placed in the Garden to worke therein, which worke so appointed to him, could be no other than worke of contemplation, that is, when the end of worke is but for exercise and experiment, not for necessitie, for there being then no reluctation of the creature, nor sweat of the browe, mans employment must of consequence haue ben matter of delight in the experiment and not matter of labor for the vse. Againe the first Acts which man perfourmed in Paradise,

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consisted

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consisted of the two summarie parts of knowledge, the view of Creatures, and the imposition of names. As for the knowledge which induced the fall, it was, as was touched before, not the naturall knowledge of Creatures, but the morall knowledge of good and euill, wherein the supposition was, that Gods commaundements or prohibitions were not the originals of good and euill, but that they had other beginnings which man aspired to know, to the end, to make a totall defection from God, and to depend wholly vpon himselfe.

To passe on, in the first euent or occurrence after the fall of Man; wee see (as the Scriptures haue infinite Mysteries, not violating at all the truth of the Storie or letter) an Image of the two Estates, the Contemplatiue state, and the actiue state, figured in the two persons of *Abell* and *Cain*, and in the two simplest and most primitiue Trades of life: that of the Shepherd (who by reason of his leasure, rest in a place, and liuing in view of heauen, is a liuely Image of a contemplatiue life) and that of the husbandman; where we see againe, the fauour and election of God went to the Shepherd; and not to the tiller of the ground.

So in the age before the floud, the holy Records within those few memorials, which are there entered and registred, haue vouchsafed to mention, and honour the name of the Inuentors and Authors of Musique, and works in mettall. In the age after the Floud, the first great iudgement of God vpon the
ambition

The first Booke.

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ambition of man, was the confusion of tongues; whereby the open Trade and intercourse of Learning and knowledge, was chiefly imbarred.

To descend to *Moyse* the Law-giuer, and Gods first penne; hee is adorned by the Scriptures with this addition, and commendation: *That he was seene in all the Learning of the Egyptians*; which Nation we know was one of the most ancient Schooles of the world: for, so *Plato* brings in the Egyptian Priest, saying vnto *Solon*: *You Grecians are euer Children, you haue no knowledge of antiquitie, nor antiquitie of knowledge.* Take a view of the ceremoniall law of *Moyse*; you shall find besides the prefiguration of Christ, the badge or difference of the people of God, the excercise and impression of obedience, and other diuine vses and fruits thereof, that some of the most learned *Rabynes* haue trauailed profitably, and profoundly to obserue, some of them a naturall, some of them a morall sence, or reduction of many of the ceremonies and ordinances: As in the lawe of the Leprousie, where it is sayd: *If the whitenesse haue ouerspread the flesh, the Patient may passe abroad for clean; But if there be any whole flesh remayning, he is to be shut up for vncléane*: One of them noteth a principle of nature, that putrefaction is more contagious before maturitie than after: And another noteth a position of morall Philosophie, that men abandoned to vice, doe not so much corrupt manners, as those that are halfe good, and halfe euill, so, in this and verie many other places in that lawe, there is to bee found be-

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sides the Theologicall sence, much asperision of Philosophie.

So likewise in that excellent Booke of *Iob*, if it be reuolued with diligence, it will be found pregnant, and swelling with naturall Philosophie; as for example, Cosinographie, and the roundnesse of the world: *Qui extendit aquilonem super vacuum, & appendit terram super nihilum*: wherein the penitenesse of the earth, the pole of the North, and the finitenesse, or conuexitie of Heauen are manifestly touched. So againe matter of Astronomie; *Spiritus eius ornauit caelos & obstetricante manu eius eductus est coluber tortuosus*: And in another place, *Nunquid coniungere valebis micantes stellas plejadas, aut gyrum arcturi poteris dissipare?* where the fixing of the starres, euer standing at equall distance, is with great elegancie noted: And in another place, *Qui facit arcturum, & oriona, & hyadas, & interiora austru*, where againe hee takes knowledge of the depression of the Southerne pole, calling it the secrets of the South, because the southerne starres were in that climate vnseene. Matter of generation, *Annon sicut lac mulsisti me, & sicut caseum coagulasti me, &c.* Matter of Mynerals, *Habet argentum venarum suarum principia: & auro locus est in quo conflat, ferrum de terra tollitur, & lapis solutus calore in aes vertitur*: and so forwards in that Chapter.

So likewise in the person of *Salomon* the King, wee see the guift or endowment of wisdom and learning both in *Salomons* petition, and in Gods

The first Booke.

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Gods assent thereunto preferred before all other terrene and temporall felicitie. By vertue of which grant or donatiue of God, *Salomon* became inabled, not onely to write those excellent Parables, or Aphorismes concerning diuine and morall Philosophie; but also to compile a naturall Historie of all verdor, from the Cedar vpon the Mountaine, to the mosse vpon the wall, (which is but a rudiment betweene putrefaction, and an hearbe) and also of all things, that breath or mooue. Nay the same *Salomon* the King, although he excelled in the glorie of treasure and magnificent buildings of shipping and Nauigation, of seruice and attendance, of fame and renowne, and the like; yet hee maketh no claime to any of those glories; but onely to the glorie of Inquisition of truth: for so he sayth expressly: *The glorie of God is to conceale a thing, But the glorie of the King is to find it out*, as if according to the innocent play of Children the diuine Maiestie tooke delight to hide his workes, to the end to haue them found out, and as if Kinges could not obtaine a greater honour, than to bee Gods play-fellowes in that game, considering the great commandement of wits and meanes, whereby nothing needeth to be hidden from them.

Neither did the dispensation of God varie in the times after our Sauour came into the world; for our Sauour himselfe did first shew his power to subdue ignorance, by his conference with the Priests and Doctors of the lawe; before he shewed his power

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to subdue nature by his miracles. And the coming of the holy spirite, was chiefly figured and expressed in the similitude and guift of tongues; which are but *Vehicula scientie*.

So in the election of those Instruments, which it pleased God to vse for the plantation of the faith, notwithstanding, that at the first he did employ persons altogether vnlearned, otherwise than by inspiration, more evidently to declare his immediate working, and to abbase all humane wisdom or knowledge; yet neuertheless, that Counsell of his was no sooner performed, but in the next vicissitude and succession, he did send his diuine truth into the world, wayted on with other Learnings as with Seruants or Handmaidens: For so we see *Saint Paule*, who was only learned amongst the Apostles, had his penne most vsed in the scriptures of the new Testament.

So againe, we finde that many of the ancient Bishops and Father of the Church, were excellently redde, & studied in all the learning of the Heathen, insomuch, that the Edict of the Emperour *Iulianus* (whereby it was interdicted vnto Christians to bee admitted into Schooles, Lectures, or exercises of learning) was esteemed and accounted a more pernicious engine and machination against the Christian faith; than were all the sanguinarie prosecutions of his Predecessors; Neither could the emulation and lealouise of *Gregorie* the first of that name, Bishop of *Rome*, euer obtaine the opinion of pietie or deuotion:

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deuotion: but contrarywise receiued the censure of humour, malignitie, and pusillanimitie, euen amongst holy men: in that he designed to obliterate and extinguish the memorie of Heathen antiquitie and Authors. But contrarewise it was the Christian Church, which amidst the inundations of the *Scythians*, on the one side from the Northwest: and the *Saracens* from the East, did preferue in the sacred lappe and bosome thereof, the pretious Reliques, euen of Heathen Learning, which otherwise had bene extinguished, as if no such thing had euer bene.

And wee see before our eyes, that in the age of our selues, and our Fathers, when it pleased God to call the Church of Rome to account, for their degenerate manners and ceremonies: and sundrie doctrines, obnoxious, and framed to vphold the same abuses: At one and the same time, it was ordayned by the diuine prouidence, that there should attend withall a renouation, and new spring of all other knowledges: And on the other side, we see the Iesuites, who partly in themselves, and partly by the emulation and prouocation of their example, haue much quickned and strengthened the state of Learning: we see (*Isay*) what notable seruice and reparation they haue done to the *Romane Sea*.

Wherefore to conclude this part, let it bee obserued, that there be two principall duties and seruices besides ornament & illustration, which Philosophie and humane learning doe perfourme to

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faith

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faith and Religion. The one, because they are an effectuall inducement to the exaltation of the glory of God. For as the Psalmes, and other Scriptures doe often inuite vs to consider, and magnifie the great and wonderfull workes of God: so if we should rest onely in the contemplation of the exterior of them, as they first offer themselues to our senses; we should do a like iniurie vnto the Maiestie of God, as if wee should iudge or construe of the store of some excellent Jeweller, by that onely which is set out toward the streete in his shoppe. The other, because they minister a singuler helpe and preseruatue against vnbeleefe and error; For our Sauour saith; *You erre not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God:* laying before vs two Bookes or volumes to studie, if we will be secured from error: first the scriptures, reuealing the will of God; and then the creatures expressing his power; whereof the later is a key vnto the former; not onely opening our vnderstanding to conceiue the true sence of the scriptures, by the generall notions of reason and rules of speech; but chiefly opening our beleefe, in drawing vs into a due meditation of the omnipotencie of God, which is chiefly signed and ingrauen vppon his workes. Thus much therefore for diuine testimonie and euidence, concerning the true dignitie, and value of learning.

As for humane proofes, it is so large a field, as in a discourse of this nature and breuitie, it is fit rather to vse choise of those things, which we shall produce,

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duce, than to embrace the variety of them. First therefore in the degrees of humane honour amongst the heathen, it was the highest, to obtain to a veneration & adoration as a God. This vnto the Christians is as the forbidden fruit. But we speake now separately of humane testimonie; according to which, that which the Grecians call Apotheosis, and the Latines, *Relatio inter diuos*, was the supream honour, which man could attribute vnto man; specially when it was giuen, not by a formall Decree or Act of State, as it was vsed amongst the Romane Emperours; but by an inward assent and beleefe; which honour being so high, had also a degree or middle tearme: for there were reckoned aboue humane honours, honour heroycall and diuine: In the attribution, and distribution of which honours; wee see Antiquitie made this difference: that whereas founders and vniers of States and Cities, Law-giuers, extirpers of Tyrants, Fathers of the people, and other eminent persons in ciuile merite, were honoured but with the titles of Worthies or Demy-Gods: such as were *Hercules, Theseus, Minos, Romulus*, and the like: on the other side, such as were Inuentors and Authors of new Arts, endowments, and commodities towards mans life, were euer consecrated amongst the Gods themselues, as was *Ceres, Bacchus, Mercurius, Apollo*, and others, and iustly: for the merit of the former is confined within the circle of an age, or a nation: and is like fruitfull showers, which though they be profitable and good: yet serue but for that season,

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season, and for a latitude of ground where they fall: But the other is indeed like the benefits of Heauen, which are permanent and vniuersall. The former againe is mixt with strife and perturbation; but the later hath the true Character of diuine presence; com- in *aura leni*, without noise or agitation.

Neither is certainly that other merite of learning, in repressing the inconueniences which grow from man to man; much inferiour to the former, of relieuing the necessities which arise from nature; which merite was liuely set forth by the Ancients in that fayned relation of *Orpheus* Theater; where all beasts and birds assembled; and forgetting their seuerall appetites; some of pray, some of game, some of quarrell, stood all sociably together listening vnto the ayres and accords of the Harpe; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some lowder noyse; but euerie beast returned to his owne nature; wherē is aptly described the nature and condition of men; who are full of sauage and vnreclaymed desires; of profite, of lust, of reuenge; which as long as they giue eare to precepts, to lawes, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and perswasion of Bookes, of Sermons, of haranges; so long is societie and peace maintained; but if these instruments bee silent; or that sedition and tumult make them not audible; all thinges dissolue into Anarchie and Confusion.

But this appeareth more manifestle, when Kings themselves, or persons of authoritie vnder them or
other

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other Governours in common wealthes, and popular Estates, are endued with Learning. For although he might be thought partiall to his owne profession, that sayd, *Then should people and estates be happie, when either Kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings*: yet so much is verified by experience; that vnder learned Princes and Governours, there haue been euer the best times; for howsoeuer Kings may haue their imperfections in their passions and Customes; yet if they be illuminate by learning, they haue those Notions of Religion, policie, and moralitie; which doe preserue them, and refraine them from all ruinous and peremptory errors & excesses; whispering euermore in their eares, when Counsellors and seruants stand mute, and silent; and Senators, or Counsellours likewise, which bee learned, doe proceede vpon more safe and substantiall principles; then Counsellors which are onely men of experience; the one sort keeping dangers a farre off; whereas the other discover them not, till they come neere hand: and then trust to the agilitie of their wit, to ward or auoide them.

Which felicitie of times, vnder learned Princes, (to keepe still the Lawe of breuitie, by vsing the most eminent and selected examples) doth best appeare in the age, which passed from the death of *Domitianus* the Emperour, vntill the raigne of *Commodus*: comprehending a succession of sixe Sciences, all learned or singuler fauourers and Advancers of learning: which age for temporall respects, was

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 the most happie and flourishing, that euer the Ro-
 mane Empire, (which then was a modele of the
 world) enioyed: a matter reuealed and prefigured
 vnto *Domitian* in a Dreame, the night before he was
 flaine; for hee thought there was growne behinde
 vpon his shoulders, a necke and a head of gould,
 which came accordingly to passe, in those golden
 times which succeeded; of which Princes, we will
 make some commemoration: wherein although the
 matter will bee vulgar, and may be thought fitter
 for a Declamation, then agreeable to a Treatise in-
 folded as this is; yet because it is pertinent to the point
 in hand, *Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo*, & to name
 them onely were too naked and cursorie, I will not
 omit it altogether. The first was *Nerua*, the excel-
 lent temper of whose gouernement, is by a glaunce
 in *Cornelius Tacitus* touched to the life: *Postquam di-
 uis Nerua res olim insociabiles miscuisset, imperium & li-
 bertatem:* And in token of his learning, the last Act
 of his short raigne left to memorie, was a missiue to
 his adopted sonne *Traian*, proceeding vpon some
 inward discontent, at the ingratitude of the times,
 comprehended in a verse of *Homer*;

Telis Phæbe, tuis, Lachrymas ulciscere nostras.

Traian, who succeeded, was for his person not
 learned: But if wee will hearken to the speech of
 our Saviour, that sayth, *Hee that receiueth a Pro-
 phet in the name of a Prophet, shall haue a Prophets re-
 ward, hee deserueth to bee placed amongst the
 most learned Princes: for there was not a greater
 admirer*

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admirer of learning or Benefactor of Learning, a
 founder of famous Libraries, a perpetuall Aduancer
 of learned men to office, and a familiar conuerser
 with learned Professors and Preceptors, who were
 noted to haue then most credite in Court. On the
 other side, how much *Traians* vertue and gouerne-
 ment was admired & renowned, surely no testimo-
 nie of graue and faithfull History doth more liuely set
 forth, than that legend tale of *Gregorius Magnus*, Bi-
 shop of Rome, who was noted for the extream enuy
 he bare towards all Heathen excellencie: and yet he
 is reported out of the loue and estimation of *Tra-
 ians* morall vertues, to haue made vnto God, passio-
 nate and feruent prayers, for the deliuerie of his
 soule out of Hell: and to haue obtained it with a
 Caueat that he should make no more such petitions.
 In this Princes time also, the persecutions against
 the Christians receiued intermission, vpon the cer-
 tificate of *Plinius secundus*, a man of excellent lear-
 ning, and by *Traian* aduanced:

Adrian his successor, was the most curious man
 that liued, and the most vniuersal enquirer: in so much
 as it was noted for an errour in his mind: that he de-
 sired to comprehend all thinges, and not to re-
 serue himselfe for the worthyest thinges, falling
 into the like humour that was long before noted
 in *Philip* of *Macedon*, who when hee would
 needs ouer rule and put downe an excellent Mu-
 sitian, in an argument touching Musique, was well
 answered by him againe, *God forbid Sir* (saith hee)

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that your fortune should be so bad, as to know these things better than I; It pleased God likewise to use the curiositie of this Emperour, as an inducement to the peace of his Church in those dayes: for having Christ in veneration, not as a God or Saviour, but as a wonder or noueltie: and having his picture in his Gallerie, matched with *Apollonius* (with whom in his vaine imagination, he thought he had some conformitie) yet it serued the turne to allay the bitter hatred of those times against the Christian name: so as the Church had peace during his time, and for his gouernement ciuile, although he did not attaine to that of *Traians*, in glorie of Armes, or perfection of Iustice: yet in deseruing of the weale of the Subiect, he did exceede him. For *Traiane* erected many famous monuments and buildings, insomuch as *Constantine* the Great, in emulation was wont to call him *Parietaria*, Wall flower, because his name was vpon so many walles: but his buildings and workes were more of glorie and triumph, than use and necessitie: But *Adrian* spent his whole Raigne, which was peaceable in a perambulation, or Suruey of the Romane Empire, giuing order and making assignation, where he went for reedifying of Cities, Townes, and Forts decayed: and for cutting of Ri- uers, and streames: and for making Bridges and passages, and for pollicing of Cities, and Commonal- ties, with new ordinances and constitutions: and graunting new Franchises and incorporations: so that his whole time was a very restauration of all the
lapses,

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lapses and decayes of former times.

Antonius Pius, who succeeded him, was a Prince excellently learned; and had the Patient and subtile witte of a Schoole man: insomuch as in common speech, (which leaues no vertue vntaxed) hee was called *Cymini Sector*, a caruer, or a diuider of *Comine* seede, which is one of the least seedes: such a patience hee had and settled spirite, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes: a fruit no doubt of the exceeding tranquillitie, and serenitie of his minde: which being no wayes charged or incombred, either with feares, remorse, or scruples, but having been noted for a man of the purest goodnesse without all fiction or affectation, that hath raigned or liued: made his minde continually present and entier: he likewise approached a degree neerer vnto Christianitie, and became as *Agrippa* sayd vnto *S. Paule*, *Halfe a Christian*; holding their Religion and Law in good opinion: and not only ceasing persecution, but giuing way to the advancement of Christians.

There succeeded him the first *Diui fratres*, the two adoptiue brethren, *Lucius Commodus Verus*, Sonne to *Elius Verus*, who delighted much in the softer kind of learning: and was wont to call the Poet *Martiall* his *Virgill*: and *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, whereof the later, who obscured his colleague, and suruiued him long, was named the Philosopher: who as he excelled all the rest in learning, so he excelled them likewise in perfection of all royall ver-

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tues;

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ties: insomuch as *Julianus* the Emperor in his booke intituled, *Cesares*, being as a Pasquill or Satyre, to deride all his Predecessors, fayned that they were all invited to a banquet of the Gods, and *Sylenus* the lesser sate at the neather end of the table, and bestowed a scoffe on euerie one as they came in, but when *Marcus Philosophus* came in, *Sylenus* was grauelled, and out of countenance, not knowing where to carpe at him, saue at the last, he gaue a glaunce at his patient towards his wife. And the vertue of this Prince continued with that of his Predecessor made the name of *Antoninus* so sacred in the world, that though it were extreemely dishonoured in *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, and *Heliogabalus*, who all bare the name, yet when *Alexander Severus* refused the name, because he was a stranger to the familie, the Senate with one acclamation sayd, *Quomodo Augustus sic Antoninus*. In such renoune and veneration, was the name of these two Princes in those dayes, that they would haue had it as a perpetuall addition in all the Emperours stile. In this Emperours time also, the Church for the most part was in peace, so as in this sequence of sixe Princes, we doe see the blessed effects of Learning in soueraigntie, painted forth in the greatest Table of world.

But for a Tablet or picture of smaller volume (not presuming to speake of your Majestie that liueth) in my iudgement the most excellent, is that of *Queene Elizabeth*, your immediate Predecessor in this part of *Brittaine*, a Prince, that if *Plutarch* were
now

now aliue to write lines by parallels, would trouble him I thinke, to find for her a parallell amongst women. This Ladie was endued with learning in her sexe singular; and grace euen amongst masculine Princes: whether we speake of Learning, of Language, or of science, moderne, or ancient: Diuinitie or Humanitie. And vnto the verie last yeare of her life, she accustomed to appoint set houres for reading, scarcely any young Student in an Vniuersitie, more dayly, or more dully. As for the gouernement, I assure my selfe, I shall not exceed, if I doe affirme, that this part of the Island, neuer had 45. yeres of better times; and yet not through the calmnesse of the season; but through the wisdom of her regimēt. For if there be considered of the one side, the truth of Religion established; the constant peace and securitie: the good administration of Iustice, the temperate vse of the prerogatiue, not slackened, nor much strayned: the flourishing state of Learning, sortable to so excellent a Patronesse; the conuenient estate of wealth and meanes, both of Crowne and subiect: the habite of obedience, and the moderation of discontentments: and there be considered on the other side, the differences of Religion, the troubles of Neighbour Countreys, the ambition of *Spaine*, and opposition of *Rome*, and then, that shee was solitary, and of her selfe: these things I say considered: as I could not haue chosen an instance so recent and so proper: so, I suppose, I could not haue chosen one more remarqueable, or eminent, to the purpose nowe

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in hand; which is concerning the coniunction of learning in the Prince, with felicitie in the people.

Neither hath Learning an influence and operation onely vpon ciuile merit and morall vertue; and the Arts or temperature of peace, and peaceable gouernement; but likewise it hath no lesse power and efficacie in inablement towards martiall and militarie vertue and prowesse; as may be notably represented in the examples of *Alexander* the Great, and *Cæsar* the Dictator mentioned before; but now in fit place to bee resumed, of whose vertues and Acts in warre, there needes no note or recitall, hauing beene the wonders of time in that kind. But of their affections towardes learning, and perfections in learning, it is pertinent to say somewhat.

Alexander was bred and taught vnder *Aristotle* the great Philosopher; who dedicated diuers of his Bookes of Philosophie vnto him; he was attended with *Callisthenes*, and diuers other learned persons, that followed him in Campe, throughout his Iourneys and Conquests: what price and estimation hee had learning in, doth notably appeare in these three particulars: First, in the enuie he vsed to expresse, that he bare towards *Achilles*, in this, that he had so good a Trumpet of his prayles as *Homers* verses: Secondly, in the iudgement or solution he gaue touching that precious Cabinet of *Darius* which was found among his Iewels, whereof question was made, what thing was worthy to be put into it, and he gaue his opinion for *Homers* workes. Thirdly, in his

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his letter to *Aristotle* after hee had set forth his Bookes of Nature; wherein he expostulateth with him for publishing the secrets or misteries of Philosophie, and gaue him to vnderstand that himselfe esteemed it more to excell other men in learning & knowledge, than in power and Empire. And what vse he had of learning, doth appeare, or rather shine in all his speeches and answeres, being full of science and vse of science, and that in all varietie.

And herein againe, it may seeme a thing scholasticall, and somewhat idle to recite things that euery man knoweth; but yet, since the argument I handle leadeth mee thereunto, I am glad that men shall perceiue I am as willing to flatter (if they will so call it) an *Alexander*, or a *Cæsar*, or an *Antoninus*, that are dead many hundreth yeeres since, as any that now liueth: for it is the displaying of the glorie of Learning in Soueraigntie that I propound to my selfe, and not an humour of declayming in any mans praises. Obserue then the speech hee vsed of *Diogenes*, and see if it tend not to the true state of one of the greatest questions of morall Philosophie; whether the enioying of outward thinges, or the contemning of them be the greatest happinesse; for when he saw *Diogenes* so perfectly contented with so little: he sayd to those that mocked at his condition: *Were I not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes.* But *Seneca* inuerteth it, and sayth; *Plus erat, quod hic nollet accipere, quam quod ille posset dare. There were more things which Diogenes would haue refused, thã*

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those

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those were which Alexander could haue giuen or enioyed.

Obserue again that speech which was vsuall with him, That hee felt his mortality chiefly in two things, *Sleepe & Lust*: & see if it were not a speech extracted out of the depth of naturall Philophie, and liker to haue comen out of the mouth of *Aristotle*, or *Democritus*, than from *Alexander*.

See againe that speech of Humanitie and poesie: when vpon the bleeding of his wounds, he called vnto him one of his flatterers, that was wont to ascribe to him diuine honor, and said, *Looke, this is very blood: this is not such a liquor as Homer speaketh of, which ran from Venus hand, when it was pierced by Diomedes.*

See likewise his readinesse in reprehension of Logique, in the speech hee vsed to *Cassander*, vpon a complaint that was made against his Father *Antipater*: for when *Alexander* happed to say: *Doe you thinke these men would haue come from so farre to complaine, except they had iust-cause of grieffe?* and *Cassander* answered, *Yea, that was the matter, because they thought they should not be disproued*: sayd *Alexander* laughing: *See the subtilties of Aristotle, to take a matter both w^{ayes}, Pro & Contra, &c.*

But note againe how well he could vse the same Art, which hee reprehended to serue his owne humor, when bearing a secret grudge to *Callisthenes*, because he was against the new ceremonie of his adoration: feasting one night, where the same *Callisthenes* was at the table: it was mooued by some after supper, for entertainement sake, that *Callisthenes* who

was

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was an eloquent man, might speake of some theme or purpose at his owne choise, which *Callisthenes* did; chusing the praise of the Macedonian Nation for his discourse, & performing the same with so good manner, as the hearers were much rauished: wherupon *Alexander* nothing pleased, sayd: *It was easie to be eloquent, vpon so good a subiect*: But saith hee, *Turne your stile, and let vs heare what you can say against vs*: which *Callisthenes* presently vndertooke, and did with that sting & life; that *Alexander* interrupted him, & sayd: *The goodnesse of the cause made him eloquent before: and dispiet made him eloquent then againe.*

Consider further, for tropes of Rhetorique; that excellent vse of a Metaphor or translation, wherewith he taxed *Antipater*, who was an imperious and tyrannous Gouvernor: for when one of *Antipaters* friends commended him to *Alexander* for his moderation; that he did not degenerate, as his other Lief-tenants did into the Persian pride, in vse of purple; but kept the anciēt habit of Macedon, of black; *True* (saith *Alexander*) *but Antipater is all purple within*. Or that other, when *Parmenio* came to him in the plaine of *Arbella*, and shewed him the innumerable multitude of his enemies, specially as they appeared by the infinite number of lights; as it had beene a new firmament of starres; and thereupon aduised him to assaile them by night; wherupon he answered, *That he would not steale the Victorie.*

For matter of policie, weigh that significant distinction so much in all ages embraced, that he made between his two friends *Ephestion* and *Craterus*, whē he

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sayd,

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sayd, That the one loued Alexander, and the other loued the King; describing the principall difference of Princes best seruants, that some in affection loue their person, and other in dutie loue their crowne.

Weigh also that excellent taxation of an Errour ordinarie with Counsellors of Princes, that they counsell their Maisters according to the modell of their owne mind and fortune, and not of their Maisters, when vpon Darius great offers Parmenio had said: Surely, I would accept these offers were I as Alexander: sayth Alexander, So would I, were I as Parmenio.

Lastly; weigh that quicke and acute reply, which he made when he gaue so large gifts to his friends, & seruants, and was asked what he did reserue for himselfe, and he answered, *Hope*: Weigh I say, whether he had not cast vp his account aright, because *Hope* must bee the portion of all that resolute vpon great enterprises. For this was *Cesar's* portion, when he went first into *Gaule*, his estate being then vtterly ouerthrowne with *Largesses*: And this was likewise the portion of that noble Prince, howsoeuer transported with ambition, *Henry Duke of Guise*, of whom it was vsually sayd: that he was the greatest *Vsurer* in *Fraunce*; because he had turned all his estate into obligations.

To conclude therefore, as certaine *Critiques* are vsed to say hyperbolically: That if all *Sciences* were lost, they might bee found in *Virgill*: So certainly this may be sayd truely; there are the prints, and foot-

steps

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steps of learning in those fewe speeches, which are reported of this Prince: The admiration of whom, when I consider him, not as *Alexander* the Great, but as *Aristotles* Scholler, hath carryed me too farre.

As for *Julius Cesar*, the excellencie of his learning, needeth not to be argued from his education, or his companie, or his speeches: but in a further degree doth declare it selfe in his writings and workes, whereof some are extant and permanent, and some vnfortunately perished: For, first we see there is left vnto vs that excellent Historie of his owne warres, which he entituled onely a *Commentarie*, wherein all succeeding times haue admired the solide weight of matter, and the reall passages, and lively Images of actions, and persons expressed in the greatest propriete of words, and perspicuitie of Narration that euer was: which that it was not the effect of a naturall giift, but of learning and precept, is well witnessed by that worke of his, entituled *De Analogia*, being a grammaticall Philosophie, wherein hee did labour to make this same *Vox ad placitum*, to become *Vox ad licitum*: and to reduce custome of speech to congruitie of speech, and tooke as it were the pictures of wordes, from the life of reason.

So wee receiue from him as a Monument, both of his power and learning, the then reformed computation of the yeare, well expressing, that he tooke it to be as great a glorie to himselfe, to obserue and know the law of the heauens, as to giue law to men vpon the earth.

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So likewise in that booke of his *Anticato*, it may easily appeare that he did aspire as well to victorie of wit, as victory of warre: vnder taking therein a conflict against the greatest Champion with the pen that then liued, *Cicero* the Orator.

So againe in his Booke of *Apothegmes*, which he collected, we see that he esteemed it more honour to make himselfe, but a paire of Tables, to take the wise and pithy words of others, than to haue euery word of his owne to be made an Apothegme, or an Oracle; as vaine Princes, by custome of flatterie, pretend to doe. And yet if I should enumerate diuers of his speeches; as I did those of *Alexander*, they are truely such as *Salomon* noteth, when hee sayth; *Verba sapientum tanquam aculei, & tanquam clau in altum defixi*; whereof I will only recite three, not so delectable for elegancie, but admirable for vigor and efficacie.

As first, it is reason hee be thought a Master of words, that could with one word appease a mutinie in his Armie; which was thus. The Romanes when their Generals did speake to their Armie, did vse the word *Milites*; but when the Magistrates spake to the people, they did vse the word, *Quirites*: The Soldiers were in tumult, and seditiously prayed to be cassiered: not that they so meant, but by expostulation thereof, to drawe *Cesar* to other Conditions; wherein hee being resolute, not to giue way, after some silence, hee beganne his speech, *Ego Quirites*, which did admit them already cassiered; where-
with

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with they were so surprised, crossed, and confused, as they would not suffer him to goe on in his speech, but relinquished their demaunds, and made it their suit, to be againe called by the name of *Milites*.

The second speech was thus: *Cesar* did extremely affect the name of King; and some were set on as he passed by, in popular acclamation to salute him king; whereupon finding the crie weake and poores he put it off thus, in a kind of Iest, as if they had mistaken his surname; *Non Rex sum, sed Cesar*, a speech, that if it be searched, the life and fulnesse of it, can scarce be expressed: For first it was a refusall of the name, but yet not serious: againe it did signifie an infinite confidence and magnanimitie, as if he presumed *Cesar* was the greater title; as by his worthinesse, it is come to passe till this day: but chiefly, it was a speech of great allurements toward his owne purpose: as if the State did strue with him, but for a name; whereof meane families were vested: for *Rex* was a surname with the *Romanes*, as well as *King* is with vs.

The last speech, which I will mention, was vsed to *Metellus*: when *Cesar*, after warre declared, did possesse himselfe of the Citie of *Rome*, at which time entring into the inner treasure, to take the the monney there accumulate, *Metellus* being Tribune forbad him; whereto *Cesar* sayd, *That if hee did not desist, hee would laye him dead in the place*: And presently taking himselfe vp, hee added: *Young man it is harder for me to speake it, than*

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than to doe it; *Adolescens, durius est mihi; hoc dicere, quam facere.* A speech-compounded of the greatest terrour, and greatest clemencie, that could proceede out of the mouth of man.

But to returne and conclude with him, it is evident himselfe knewe well his owne perfection in learning, and tooke it vpon him; as appeared, when vpon occasion, that some spake, what a strange resolution it was in *Lucius Sylla*, to resigne his Dictature; he scoffing at him, to his owne aduantage, answered; *That Sylla could not skill of Letters, and therefore knew not how to Dictate.*

And here it were fit to leaue this point, touching the concurrence of militarie vertue and learning; (for what example should come with any grace, after those two; of *Alexander* and *Cesar*) were it not in regard of the rarenesse of circumstance, that I finde in one other particular; as that which did suddenly passe, from extreame scorne, to extreame wonder: and it is of *Xenophon* the Philosopher, who went from *Socrates* Schoole into *Asia*, in the expedition of *Cyrus* the younger, against King *Artaxerxes*: This *Xenophon* at that time, was verie yong, and neuer had seene the Warres before: neither had any commaund in the Armie, but onely followed the Warre, as a voluntarie, for the loue and conuersation of *Proxenus* his friend: hee was present when *Falinus* came in Message from the great King, to the Grecians; after that *Cyrus* was slaine in the field; and they a handfull of men left to themselves in

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in the midst of the Kings Territories, cut off from their Country by many nauigable Riuers, and many hundred miles: The Message imported, that they should deliuer vp their Armes, and submit themselves to the Kings mercy: To which Message before answer was made, diuers of the Army conferred familiarly with *Falinus*; and amongst the rest *Xenophon* happened to say: *Why Falinus, we haue now but these two things left; our Armes, and our Vertue: and if we yeeld up our Armes, how shall we make use of our Vertue? Whereto Falinus* smiling on him, sayd; *If I be not deceiued, young Gentleman, you are an Athenian; and I beleene, you studie Philosophie, and it is pretty that you say; but you are much abused, if you thinke your vertue can withstand the Kings power: Here was the scorne;* the wonder followed; which was, that this young Scholler, or Philosopher, after all the Captaines were murdered in parlye by treason, conducted those ten Thousand foote, through the heart of all the Kings high Countreys from *Babilon* to *Grecia* in safetie, in delpight of all the Kings forces, to the astonishment of the world, and the encouragement of the Grecians in times succeeding, to make inuasion vpon the Kings of *Persia*; as was after purposed by *Iason* the Thessalian; attempted by *Agefi'aus* the Spartan, and atchieued by *Alexander* the Macedonian; all, vpon the ground of the Act of that young Scholler.

To proceede now from imperiall and militarie vertue, to morall and priuate vertue; first, it is an as-

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ured truth, which is contained in the verses;

Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,

Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

It taketh away the wildnesse and barbarisme and fiercenesse of mens minds: but indeed the accent had need be vpon, *fideliter*. For a little superficial learning doth rather worke a contrary effect. It taketh away all leuitie, temeritie, and insolencie, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the minde to ballance reasons on both sides, and to turne backe the first offers and conceits of the minde, and to accept of nothing but examined and tryed. It taketh away vaine admiration of any thing, which is the roote of all weakenesse. For all things are admired, either because they are new, or because they are great. For nouelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation throughly, but will find that printed in his heart, *Nil noui super terram*: Neither can any man maruaile at the play of Puppets, that goeth behinde the curtaine, and aduiseeth well of the Motion. And for magnitude, as *Alexander* the Great, after that hee was vsed to great Armies, and the great Conquests of the spacious Prouinces in *Asia*, when hee receiued Letters out of *Greece*, of some fights and seruices there, which were commonly for a passage, or a Fort, or some walled Towne at the most, he sayd; *It seemed to him, that he was aduertised of the battailes of the Frogs, and the Mice, that the ould tales went of.* So certainly, if a man meditate

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meditate much vpon the vniuersall frame of nature, the earth with men vpon it (the diuinesse of soules except) will not seeme much other, than an Ant hill, whereas some Ants carrie corne, and some carrie their young: and some goe emptie, and all too and fro, a little heape of dust. It taketh away, or mitigateth feare of death, or aduerse fortune: which is one of the greatest impediments of vertue, and imperfections of manners. For if a mans minde, be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortalitie and corruptible nature of thinges, hee will easily concurre with *Epicetus*, who went forth one day, and sawe a woman weeping for her Pitcher of earth, that was broken; and went forth the next day, and sawe a woman weepinge for her Sonne that was deade, and thereuppon sayde: *Heri, vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori.* And therefore *Virgill* did excellently, and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes, and the Conquest of all feares, together, as *Concomitantia*.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,

Quique metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum

Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis auari.

It were too long to goe ouer the particlar remedies, which learning doth minister, to all the diseases of the minde, sometimes purging the ill humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping digestion, sometimes encreasing appetite,

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appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and exulcerations thereof, and the like; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath *rationem totius*; which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the minde, not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof; but still to be capable, and susceptible of growth and reformation. For the vnlearned man knowes not, what it is to descend into himselfe, or to call himselfe to account, nor the pleasure of that *Suauissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem*: The good parts hee hath, hee will learne to shew to the full, and vse them dexterously, but not much to encrease them: The faults he hath, he will learne how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them; like an ill Mower, that mowes on still, and neuer whets his Syth: whereas, with the learned man, it fares otherwise, that he doth euer intermix the correction and amendment of his minde, with the vse and employment thereof: Nay further in generall and in sum: certain it is, that *Veritas*, and *Bonitas* differ, but as the Seale and the Print: for Truth prints Goodnesse, and they be the cloudes of Error, which descend in the stormes of passions and perturbations.

From morall vertue, let vs passe on to matter of power and commandement, and consider whether in right reason, there be any comparable with that, wherewith knowledge inuesteth and crowneth mans nature. We see the dignitie of the commandement, is according to the dignitie of the commaunded: to haue commaundement ouer beasts, as

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Heard-men haue, is a thing contemptible: to haue commandement ouer children, as Schoole-Masters haue, is a matter of small honor: to haue commandement ouer Gally-slaues, is a disparagement, rather than an honour. Neither is the commaundement of Tyrants, much better ouer people, which haue put off the Generositie of their mindes: And therefore it was euer holden, that honors in free Monarchies and Common-wealths, had a sweetnesse more, than in Tyrannies, because the commandement extendeth more ouer the wils of men, and not only ouer their deeds and seruices. And therefore when *Virgill* putteth himselfe forth to attribute to *Augustus Caesar* the best of humane honors, hee doth it in these wordes:

Victorque volentes

Per populos, dat iura, viamque affectat Olympo:

But yet the commandement of knowledge, is yet higher, than the commandement ouer the will: for it is a commaundement ouer the reason, beleefe, and vnderstanding of man, which is the highest part of the minde, and giueth law to the will it selfe. For there is no power on earth, which setteth vp a throne or chaire of Estate in the spirits, and soules of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beleeves: but knowledge and learning. And therefore wee see the detestable and extreame pleasure, that Arch-heretiques, and false Prophets, and Impostors are transported with, when they once finde in themselves, that they haue a superioritie in the faith

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and conscience of men; so great, as if they haue once tasted of it, it is seldome seene, that any torture or persecution can make them relinquish or abandone it. But as this is that which the Author of the Reuelation, calleth the depth or profoundnesse of Sathan: so by argument of contraries, the iust and lawfull soueraignie ouer mens vnderstanding, by face of truth rightly interpreted, is that which approacheth neere to the similitude of the diuine rule.

As for fortune and advancement, the beneficence of learning, is not so confined to giue fortune only to states and Common-wealthes: as it doth not likewise giue fortune to particular persons. For it was well noted long agoe, that *Homer* hath giuen more men their liuings, than either *Sylla*, or *Cesar*, or *Augustus* euer did, notwithstanding their great largesses, and donatiues, and distributions of Lands to so many legions. And no doubt, it is hard to say, whether armes or learning haue advanced greater numbers. And in case of soueraignie, wee see, that if armes or descent haue carried away the Kingdome, yet learning hath carried the Priest hood, which euer hath been in some competition with Empire.

Againe, for the pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning, farre surpasseth all other in nature: for shall the pleasures of the affections so exceede the senses, as much as the obtayning of desire or victorie, exceedeth a song, or a dinner? and must not of consequence, the pleasures of the intel-

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lect or vnderstanding exceede the pleasures of the affections? we see in all other pleasures, there is satietie; and after they be vsed, their verdour departeth; which sheweth well, they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the noueltie which pleased, and not the qualitie. And therefore we see, that voluptuous men turne Friars; and ambitious Princes turne melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satietie, but satisfaction and appetite, are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth to be good in it selfe simply, without fallacie or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacie, and contentment to the minde of man, which the Poet *Lucretius* describeth elegantly,

Suauemari magno, turbantibus equora ventis. &c.

It is a view of delight (sayth he) to stand or walke vpon the shoare side, and to see a Shippe tossed with tempest vpon the sea; or to bee in a fortified Tower, and to see two Battails ioyne vpon a plaine. But it is a pleasure incomparable for the minde of man to bee settled, landed, and fortified in the certaintie of truth; and from hence to descie and behould the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and downe of other men.

Lastly, leauing the vulgar arguments, that by learning, man excelleth man in that, wherein man excelleth beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heauens and their motions; where in bodie he cannot come; and the like; let vs conclude with the dignitie and excellency of knowledge and learning, in that wherunto mans nature doth most aspire;

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which is immortalitie or continuance; for to this tendeth generation, and rayfing of houfes and families; to this buildings, foundations, and monuments, to this tendeth the desire of memorie, fame, and celebration; and in effect, the strength of all other humane desires; wee see then howe farre the monuments of wit and learning, are more durable, than the monuments of power, or of the hands. For haue not the verses of *Homer* continued 25. hundred yeares, or more, without the losse of a sillable, or letter: during which time, infinite Pallaces, Temples, Castles, Cities haue been decayed, and demolished? It is not possible to haue the true pictures or statuaes of *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Cesar*, no nor of the Kings, or great personages of much later yeares; for the originals cannot last; and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth. But the Images of mens wits and knowledges remaine in Bookes, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetuall renouation: Neither are they fitly to be called Images, because they generate still, and cast their seedes in the mindes of others, prouoking and causing infinit actions and opinions, in succeeding ages. So that if the inuention of the Shippe was thought so noble, which carryeth riches, and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits: how much more are letters to bee magnified, which as Shippes, passe through the vast Seas of time, and make ages so distant, to participate of the wisdom,

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illuminations, and inuentions the one of the other? Nay further wee see, some of the Philosophers which were least diuine, and most immersed in the senses, and denyed generally the immortality of the soule; yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirite of man could act, and perfourme without the Organs of the bodie, they thought might remaine after death; which were only those of the vnderstanding, and not of the affection; so immortall and incorruptible a thing did knowledge, seeme vnto them to be. But we that know by diuine reuelation, that not onely the vnderstanding, but the affections purified, not onely the spirite, but the bodie changed shall be aduanced to immortalitie, doe disclaime in these rudiments of the senses. But it must be remebred, both in this last point, and so it may likewise be needfull in other places, that in probation of the dignitie of knowledge, or learning, I did in the beginning separate diuine testimonie, from humane; which methode, I haue pursued, and so handled them both apart.

Neuerthelesse, I doe not pretend, and I know it will be imposible for me by any Pleading of mine, to reuerse the iudgement, either of *Aesops* Cocke, that preferred the Barly-corne, before the Gemme; or of *Mydas*, that being chosen Iudge, betweene *Apollo* President of the Muses, and *Pan* God of the Flockes, iudged for Plentie: or of *Paris*, that iudged for Beautie, and loue against Wisedome and Power: nor of *Agrippina*, *Occidat matrem, modo im-*

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peret: that preferred Empire with condition neuer so detestable; or of *Vlysses, Qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati*, being a figure of those which preferre Custome and Habite before all excellencie; or of a number of the like popular Iudgements. For these thinges continue, as they haue beene: but so will that also continue, whereupon learning hath euer relyed, and which sayleth not: *Iustificata est sapientia à filij suis.*

THE SECOND
Booke of FRANCIS BACON; of
the proficiencie or advancement
of Learning, Diuine and
Humane.

To the King.



It might seeme to haue more conuenience, though it come often otherwise to passe, (Excellent King) that those which are fruitfull in their generations, & haue in themselves the foresight of Immortalitie, in their descendents, should likewise be more carefull of the good estate of future times; vnto which they know they must transmitt and commend ouer their dearest pledges. *Queene Elizabeth* was a sojourner in the world in respect of her vnmarried life: and was a blessing to her owne times; & yet so as the impression of her good gouernement, besides her happie
A a memorie,

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memorie, is not without some effect, which doth furuiue her. But to your Maiestie, whom God hath alreadie blessed with so much Royall issue, worthe to continue and represent you for euer: and whose youthfull and fruitfull bedde doth yet promise manie the like renouations: It is proper and agreeable to be conuersant, not only in the transitory parts of good gouernment: but in those acts also, which are in their nature permanent & perpetuall. Amongst the which (if affection do not transport mee,) there is not any more worthe, then the further endowment of the world with sound and fruitfull knowledge: For why should a fewe receiued Authors stand vp like *Hercules Columnes*, beyond which, there should be no sayling, or discovering, since wee haue so bright and benigne a starre, as your Ma: to conduct and prosper vs? To returne therefore where wee left, it remaineth to consider of what kind those Acts are which haue bene vndertaken, & performed by Kings and others, for the increase and aduancement of learning, wherein I purpose to speake actiuelly without digressing or dylating.

Let this ground therefore be layd, that all workes are ouercōmen by amplitude of reward, by soundnesse of direction, and by the coniunction of labors. The first multiplyeth endeuour, the second preuenteth error, and the third supplieth the frailty of man. But the principal of these is direction: For *Claudius in via, antevertit cursorem extra viam*: And *Salomon* excellently setteth it downe; *If the Iron be not sharpe,*

it requireth more strength: But wisdom is that which preuaileth: signifying that the Inuention or election of the Meane, is more effectuell then anie inforcement or accumulation of endeuours. This I am induced to speake; for that (not derogating from the noble intention of any that haue bene deseruers towards the State of learning) I do obserue neuertheless, that their workes and Acts are rather matters of Magnificence and Memorie, then of progression and proficiencie, and tend rather to augment the masse of Learning in the multitude of learned men, then to rectifie or raise the Sciences themselves.

The Works or Acts of merit towards learning are conuersant about three objects, the Places of learning; the Bookes of learning; and the Persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dewe of heauen, or the springs of the earth, doth scatter and leese it selfe in the ground, except it be collected into some Receptacle, where it may by vnion, comfort and sustaine it selfe: And for that cause the Industry of Man hath made & framed Spring-heads, Conduits, Cesternes, and Pooles, which men haue accustomed likewise to beautifie and adorne with accomplishments of Magnificence and State, as well as of vse and necessitie: So this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from diuine inspiration, or spring from humane sense, would soone perishe and vanishe to oblyuion, if it were not preserved in Bookes, Traditions, Conferences, and

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Places appoynted, as Vniuersities, Colledges, and Schooles, for the receipt & comfort of the same.

The works which concerne the Seates and Places of learning, are foure; Foundations, and Buylings, Endowments with Reuenewes, Endowments with Franchizes and Priuiledges, Institutions and Ordinances for gouernment, all tending to quietnesse and priuatenesse of life, and discharge of cares and troubles, much like the Stations, which *Virgil* prescribeth for the hyuing of Bees.

Principio sedes Apibus, statioq; petenda.:

Quo neq; sit ventis aditus, &c.

The workes touching Bookes are two: First Libraries, which are as the Shrynes, where all the Reliques of the ancient Saints, full of true vertue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved, and reposed; Secondly, Newe Editions of Authors, with more correct impressions, more faithful translations, more profitable glosses, more diligent annotations, and the like.

The workes pertaining to the persons of learned men (besides the advancement and countenancing of them in generall) are two: The reward and designation of Readers in Sciences already extant and inuented: and the reward and designation of Writers and Enquirers, concerning any partes of Learning, not sufficiently laboured and prosecuted.

These are summarilie the workes and actes, wherein the merites of manie excellent Princes, and other worthie Personages haue bene conuerted

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The second booke.

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tant. As for any particular commemorations, I call to minde what *Cicero* saide, when hee gaue generall thanks. *Difficile non aliquem; ingratum quenquam praeterire.:* Let vs rather according to the Scriptures, looke vnto that parte of the Race, which is before vs; then looke backe to that which is already attained.

First therefore amongst so many great Foundations of Colledges in *Europe*, I finde strange that they are all dedicated to Professions, and none left free to Artes and Sciences at large. For if men iudge that learning should bee referred to action, they iudge well: but in this they fall into the Error described in the ancient Fable; in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomache had bene ydle, because it neyther performed the office of Motion, as the lymmes doe, nor of Sence, as the head doth: But yet notwithstanding it is the Stomache that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: So if any man thinke Philosophie and Vniuersalitie to be idle Studies; hee doth not consider that all Professions are from thence serued, and supplied: And this I take to bee a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these Fundamental knowledges haue bene studied but in passage. For if you will haue a tree beare more fruite then it hath vsed to do, it is not any thing you can do to the boughes, but it is the styrring of the earth, and putting newe houlde about the rootes, that must worke it. Neyther is it to bee forgotten, that this dedicating

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