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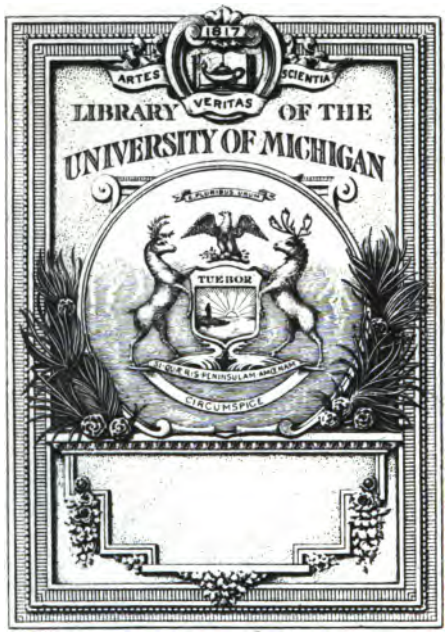
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THE

LIFE of *Pythagoras*,

WITH HIS

Symbols and Golden Verſes.

Together with the

LIFE of *HIEROCLES*,

AND HIS

Commentaries upon the VERSES.

Collected out of the Choiceſt Manuſcripts, and Tranſlated into *French*, with Annotations.

By M. *DACIER*.

Now done into *ENGLISH*.

The GOLDEN VERSES Tranſlated from the *Greek* by *N. ROWE*, Eſq;



LONDON, Printed for *Jacob Tonſon*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1707.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE following Sheets contain the Life, and Doctrine of Pythagoras, *by which the Reader will be able to judge if he deſerves the Character he has hitherto maintain'd. This Work is owing to Mr.* Dacier, *who in the following Preface, to which this ſerves as an Introduction, acquaints the World with the Nature and Deſign of his Undertaking. The Reader will not be diſpleas'd at the Commendation he gives his Maſter the* French *King, ſince it's no more than he deſerves on that Account, for his very Enemies muſt own he has been a great Encourager of Learning; as if by this popular Act he hoped to ſecure to himſelf a Repatation with Poſterity, who, he may imagine, will hardly be induc'd to believe that a Prince, who was ſo great a Favourer of the Muſes, could be guilty of thoſe many Violences, with which*

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his Memory muſt too deſervedly be charged. It was thought a Book of this Nature would be of ſome uſe in this degenerate Age; for ſince our Modern Libertines refuſe to hear Moſes *and the Prophets, let 'em behold one riſen from the Dead to convince 'em; let 'em with Confuſion hear him reaſon 'em out of their abſurd Maxims, and ſhame 'em into better Principles.*

Beſides, it will appear that a Work of this Nature is very proper, to give us a juſt Notion of Pythagoras *himſelf: Many things were father'd upon him, which bore no Relation to him, and ſeveral Abſurdities paſs'd upon the World as Part of his Doctrine, which could not but leſſen his Character among Men of Judgment and Learning. So that he now appears reform'd of thoſe many Errors, with which they had diſguis'd him, and comes forth cloath'd in his Primitive Simplicity.*

Upon theſe Conſiderations we thought an Engliſh *Tranſlation would be no improper Undertaking; and we hope the Reception* Pythagoras *found in* France *will be no Reaſon why he ſhould not meet with a Welcome here, ſince a brave Man ought to be well receiv'd every where He had a natural Antipathy to Tyranny, and therefore he ſeems to claim a Reſpect from a free People; and ſure his Doctrine ought to flouriſh no where better than among generous* Engliſh *Spirits.*

M. *DA-*

M. *DACIER's*

PREFACE.

I Have not forgot the Debt I owe the World upon the Publication of my firſt Volumne of *Plutarch*, and two of *Plato*. They met with a Reception ſo favourable, that I thought my ſelf oblig'd to proceed, 'till the Promiſe I had made the Publick was perform'd. If God grants me Life and Health, I ſhall apply both intirely to this End, and hope in a ſhort time to preſent the World with all *Plutarch*'s Lives, together with his Morals, and the Dialogues of *Plato*. 'Tis neither a want of Reſolution, nor an uneaſineſs under the Attempt has interrupted me in my Deſign, but ſome weighty Reaſons ariſing from the Senſe of my Duty, which muſt be always preferr'd to our private Inclinations.

Among all thoſe Princes that have been renown'd for their Love to Letters, no one has honour'd 'em with a Protection ſo eminent, ſo efficacious, ſo glorious, as *Lewis the Great*. Amidſt his moſt important Cares, which fill up each Hour of his Life, and in the Heat of the moſt Expenſive Wars, his Majeſty has ſtill perſiſted in his Encouragement of Learning, and has appropriated ſome Moments to the Cheriſhing and Improvement of it; for which Reaſon it never appear'd in a more flouriſhing Condition than under his Reign. *Athens* it ſelf, in its

greateſt Splendor could never ſhew an Aſſembly of Men ſo celebrated in all Sciences, diſtinguiſh'd by ſuch a variety of Talents, as meet every Day at the *Louvre*, under his Majeſty's Order and Protection. The Arts and Sciences have in Honour to this Age recover'd their ancient Luſtre, and the nicety of Taſte, ſtrength of Judgment and politeneſs of Wit, break out afreſh, after an Eclipſe of ſeveral Ages; which is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing Characters of the moſt glorious Reigns: For, as I have elſewhere made appear, Arts and Sciences ſympathize with the Fortune of the Prince; for the Influence that a good Soil, and friendly Climate, has upon Seed and Fruit, the ſame has the Glory of Princes, their Grandure, Magnificence, and Liberality over the Arts and Sciences, which may be ſaid to thrive not ſo much under their Reigns, as thro' their Means. 'Twas this gave the Ancients ſo juſt and ſublime an Idea of an *Hercules* conducting the Muſes, *Hercules Muſarum*, *Hercules Muſagetes*; thereby to denote the Eternal and inviolable Union there is between the Muſe and the Hero.

His Majeſty having Ordain'd a new Regulation for the Academies of Medals, and being unwilling it ſhould be wholly employ'd in Medals and Inſcriptions, but rather that it ſhould, by a general Application, extend it ſelf to all the Parts of Learning, to make this Eſtabliſhment ſtill more uſeful, he ſeem'd deſirous, that beſides thoſe Studies, which all the Members were to embrace in common, each of them ſhould undertake ſomething in particular. Thus the Muſes, who according to the Fable, work together under *Apollo*'s Care and Diſcipline, are not content to unite in a general Conſort, but moreover apply themſelves each to ſome particular Employment. An ingenious Fiction, by which we are to underſtand, that in all learned Aſſem-

Aſſemblies, and Academies founded by Princes, it is not ſufficient that every Member contributes according to his own Abilities, and communicates his Knowledge to the Perfection of ſomething undertaken in common, but that each engages in ſome Deſign peculiarly his one; ſo that none of their Talents may be loſt to the Publick, who will by that means receive the full Benefit of their ſeveral Labours. There can be nothing more effectual to the Advancement of Learning; ſo that we have great Reaſon to hope the Succeſs will be anſwerable to his Majeſty's Expectation, and that thoſe benign Influences, which he is pleas'd to extend to this Academy, will be attended by ſuitable Productions. Each Member is earneſt to undertake ſomething agreeable to the Courſe of his Studies, and his own Inclinations: For my Part, that I may the better keep my firſt Deſigns in View, and make my ſelf ſtill more capable for the Performance of them, I have attempted two things of the ſame Stamp and Quality, and which I hope will contribute ſomething to the Benefit of the Publick.

The firſt is the Life of *Pythagoras*, with an Explication of his Symbols, and Golden Verſes, and a Tranſlation of *Hierocles* his Commentaries, wherein the whole Doctrine of this Philoſopher is fully explain'd.

The ſecond is a Tranſlation of *Epictetus* his Manual, and *Simplicius* his *Greek* Commentaries, together with a new Manual of the ſame *Epictetus*, collected out of *Arian*'s Diſſertations, and which comprehend ſuch Noble, ſuch Inſtructive Maxims, as well deſerve to be recover'd out of the Oblivion in which they have lain.

I ſhould have eſteem'd it a great Affront if any other had been before hand with me on this Occaſion, where our Obedience to the King, and a Submiſſion to his Pleaſure is concern'd. My Inclina-

clination, Duty, Gratitude, and the Obligation I lay under of making ſome Acknowledgment for his Majeſty's Favours to me; all theſe Conſiderations conſpir'd together to make me diſtinguiſh my ſelf at leaſt by my Diligence, ſince that was the only Advantage to which I could preſume to aſpire. My Ends are anſwer'd; the two things I undertook are finiſh'd, and I here preſent the Reader with the firſt, which contains the Birth of Philoſophy; for tho' the *Ionick* Sect was founded by *Thales*, before *Pythagoras* had eſtabliſh'd his, yet ſince that Sect was of no long continuance, but was eclipſ'd by the *Italick*, which gain'd ground in an Inſtant, and ſpread it ſelf into all Parts, *Pythagoras* muſt be regarded as the firſt of Philoſophers, and the Father of Philoſophy.

For this Reaſon I have publiſh'd with all convenient ſpeed the Life of this Great Man, whoſe Wiſdom is equal to his noble Extraction. If *Diogenes Laertius*, *Jamblicus*, and *Porphyry* had handſomely acquitted themſelves, my only Buſineſs had been to tranſlate them; but they have written the Life of this Philoſopher after ſo irregular and incoherent a manner, and what is worſe, with ſo little Judgment, that their Writings are no better than confus'd, indigeſted Memoirs; conſiſting of ſeveral frivolous, childiſh Matters, not only unworthy of *Pythagoras*, but often contrary to his real Sentiments; but this is not all, they who follow'd 'em have more groſly miſrepreſented the Life and Doctrine of this great Man, attributing to him ſeveral Miracles, or rather Deluſions, becoming a Magician or Quack better than a Philoſopher. Such are the Stories we have of his Magical Mirror, his ſuperſtitious Arithmetick, and his *Onomantic Wheel*. I have therefore rejected all thoſe idle Notions, which the deſire of fathering their Chimerical Imaginations upon the Authority of ſo great a Man, has

has made ſome divulge, which the Credulity and Superſtition of others by degrees have ſwallow'd, and of all which the unprejudic'd Antients were utterly ignorant.

If the ſame Method was follow'd in writing the Lives of the reſt of the Philoſophers that ſucceeded *Pythagoras*, we ſhould plainly obſerve the Progreſs thoſe great Genii have made in their Diſcoveries of Truth, than which nothing would be more uſeful or agreeable; for what greater Profit or Pleaſure can we have, than to ſee the Steps Human Underſtanding has made in the ſearch of that which is our ſovereign Good, and to obſerve by what Guides it has been conducted, what it is that has ſeduc'd it, and hinder'd it from diſcovering the Truth it was in ſearch after, or from adhering to it when once it had diſcover'd it.

I confeſs we are not to have recourſe to the Writings of the Heathens for our Inſtructions, they are at ſuch Variance among themſelves, ſo oppoſite in their Opinions upon the moſt important Points, that as *Plato* ſaith of Men, they have divided Folly amongſt 'em, ſo may it be ſaid of theſe Philoſophers, that each of them has put in for his Share of Ignorance; whilſt on the other hand all the Doctors of the Chriſtian Religion, from *Moſes* down to the laſt of the Apoſtles, appear ſo uniform, concur ſo exactly in the ſame Principles and Doctrine, that as *Pythagoras* ſaid God was Harmony, ſo may it be more juſtly ſaid of this Harmony, that it is God himſelf, for nothing under God could be able to inſpire it. I don't therefore compare the moſt inlighten'd of the Philoſophers to any of theſe Doctors, but place them beneath the moſt ignorant Chriſtian, and refer the Reader to what I have ſaid on this Point in my Diſcourſe upon *Plato*; however this is no reaſon why the Diſcoveries of the Heathens ſhould not be of great uſe and eſteem among

among us, for flowing originally from the *Jewiſh* Revelation, deſign'd by God to re-eſtabliſh natural Religion, which Paganiſm had almoſt aboliſh'd, and to prepare the World for the Reception of Chriſtianity, which was to be more perfect than the *Jewiſh* Revelation, and to ſupply its Defects, we find in their Writings ſeveral exalted Principles, continuing to the World that true Light, which by the infinite Goodneſs of God never ceas'd intirely to enlighten Mankind, by which means thoſe Principles become invincible Arguments of the Truth of our Religion.

Beſides, theſe firſt Philoſophers being Men of excellent Parts, illuſtrated thoſe known Truths with ſuch cogent Demonſtrations, as were ſufficient to enlighten the Underſtanding, to remove a multitude of Doubts, and refute an infinite Number of Errors, from which ſeveral conſiderable Advantages ariſe. For it being highly requiſite that Knowledge ſhould precede Deſire, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the Mind ſhould firſt be purg'd of its Errors before it can be prepar'd for a Reception of that Knowledge; and to this *Pythagoras*, *Socrates* and *Plato* have exceedingly contributed, as approaching nearer to the Truth, and cloathing their Principles in ſuch a forcible ſtrength of Reaſon, and Evidence, as is ſufficient to diſarm the moſt reſolute Incredulity, and convince the moſt obſtinate Libertine.

I ſhall here preſent the Reader in a few Words, and at one View, with the moſt exalted Principles diſcover'd and profeſs'd by *Pythagoras*. The Reader will be ſurpriz'd to find the Dawnings of Philoſophy ſo bright in an Age of ſo much Darkneſs, and that now ſo many Ages after ſuch a clear Manifeſtation of the Truth, when nothing more is to be deſir'd, when all is accompliſh'd, and the Sun of Righteouſneſs ſhines in full Glory upon us, we ſhould now, notwithſtanding all this, meet with

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ſome pretending Philoſophers, whoſe whole Buſineſs is to call in Queſtion thoſe Truths which have been acknowledg'd, and reverenc'd by all Antiquity, and to betray us again into ſuch abominable Errors, as were we guided by them, would be the Reverſe of what happen'd to the *Egyptians* in the Days of *Moſes*, the People of * God would be ſhut up in horrible Darkneſs, whilſt the Pagans walk'd in the Light.

Pythagoras acknowledg'd that God was one, and explain'd himſelf on this Point after ſo clear and agreeable a manner, as ſufficiently ridicules the Plurality of Gods: An Inſtance of this we find in theſe Verſes of *Pythagoras*, handed down to us by St. *Juſtin*.

Εἷις ἐρεῖ Θεὸς εἰμι παρεξ ἐνὸς ἔτω ὀφείλῃ
Κόσμον ἴσον τούτῳ ϛήσας εἰπεῖν, ἐμὸς ἔτω·
Κ' ϗχὶ μόνον ϛήσας εἰπεῖν ἐμὸς, ἀλλα καὶοικεῖν
Ἀυτὸς ὃν ᾧ ποιήκε, ποιῇ δ' ἀπὸ τούτε
Καὶ περὶ τῦ δὲ.

St. Juſtin de Monarch. p. 67.

If any one ſhould ſay I am God, beſides the only true God, let him create a World like this, and ſay this is my Work; but he ought not only to ſay this is my Work, but he muſt inhabit and fill the World he has created, for ſo has the true God done by this.

He likewiſe had a Notion of God's having begotten a Son like himſelf; this Son the Heathens call'd *The Word of the Father*, and confeſs'd, that *this Word* created and regulated the Univerſe.

He

* *Et facta ſunt tenebræ horribiles in univerſa terra Egypti tribus diebus. Ubicunque autem habitabant filii Iſrael lux erat.* Exod. 10. 22. 23.

He extoll'd the Truth of that Doctrine, which teaches that God has enter'd into a Treaty with his Creature, which Treaty is no other than natural Religion, in Conſequence of which Man is born to a Religious End, and Religion is the principal Deſign of his Being; ſo that God being the Foundation of our Duty, true Virtue is relative, and conſiſts in a ſteadfaſt Faithfulneſs to him; he likewiſe knew the Corruption of Nature, and the Neceſſity of a Satisfaction to deliver the Soul from the Bondage of Sin.

In ſhort, he maintain'd, that Man being a free Agent, voluntarily plung'd himſelf into all his Misfortunes by an ill uſe of his Liberty, and an obſtinate Reſolution not to ſee the good things that lye juſt before him, and which God has put into his Power. He knew how to reconcile this Free-Will in Man with the Providence of God, without which Reconciliation St. *Auſtin* aſſures us we know not how to believe, or live as we ought. Out of all theſe Principles he has rais'd admirable Rules for the Regulation of our Manners, ſhewing us the indiſpenſible Obligation we lye under of being Devout, Thankful, Charitable, Diſintereſs'd, Faithful, Juſt and Temperate, governing our Appetites by the Dictates of Reaſon, which ought always to hold the Reins.

Theſe are the firſt Rays, which diſpell'd the Clouds of Idolatry; ſpringing originally out of the *Jewiſh*, their Light grew incorporated with that of the Chriſtian Religion; and having effectually aſſiſted the Fathers of the Church in baffling the other Superſtitions of Paganiſm, they now ſerve to unravel the idle Cavils and frivolous Evaſions of the Atheiſt and Libertine.

The firm Perſuaſion the Heathen Philoſophers had of the Neceſſity of the Soul's being releas'd from her Corruption, before ſhe could become capable

pable of an Union with God, threw 'em upon a multitude of Expedients in order to effect that Deliverance; from hence flow all thoſe Purifications, Initiations, and other ſuperſtitious Rites in uſe among them; for the Ways of Truth are not more uniform, than are the Windings of Error intricate and uncertain. For Inſtance, in the moſt myſterious of their Ceremonies, which was that of *Inſpection*, Ἐποπτείας, the Prieſts bury'd thoſe they initiated up to the Neck, ſo that nothing remain'd above Ground but the Head. By which they were to learn, that in this Life they were to diveſt themſelves of their corruptible Body, and bury all their Paſſions with it, raiſing their Souls up to the intelligible Light, of which the ſenſible Light is a Symbol. For, as I obſerv'd before in *Plato*, the Heathen Ceremonies were nothing but Types, for Falſhood always ſtudy'd to mimick Truth. But all theſe Efforts ſerv'd only to lead 'em farther out of the Way; they were ſtill at a Loſs how this Deliverance was to be effected. No Being under God made Man was able to reveal it to 'em, or teach 'em how it was to be accompliſh'd. God had himſelf foretold by the Mouth of his Prophets, that the Meſſias *ſhould be a Light to the Gentiles, and a Salvation unto the End of the Earth.* How could the Heathens be able to diſcover this Salvation, which lay conceal'd under ſo many Types, when moſt of the *Jews* themſelves, to whom theſe Prophecies were addreſs'd, could not comprehend thoſe grand Characteriſticks of our Saviour, which are now become ſo familiar to us? This God Man, *who was to bear our Griefs, to be wounded for our Tranſgreſſions, and to take on him the Iniquity of us all, upon whom the Chaſtiſement of our Peace was to be laid, and by whoſe Stripes we were to be healed,* was to them an inexplicable Enigma. Jeſus Chriſt was to be the Saviour of the Nations, but he

Ecce poſui te in teſtamentum generis, in lucem gentium, ut tu ſis in ſalutem uſque ad extremum terræ. *Iſai.* 49. 6.

Iſai. c. 53. *According to the Septuagint Tranſlation*

he was first to be their Light, by which they were to discover their Salvation. So that the Means of their Redemption were to be conceal'd from 'em 'till the Redeemer was ready to appear. All their Sagacity, all their Penetration was ineffectual. This Ignorance was foretold, but by whom? by him who enlightens or obscures the Mind of Man, as it seemeth best to him. Wherefore this Ignorance was invincible 'till the Saviour came, whom alone God had empower'd to remove it, and who in effect has remov'd it, according as it was foretold of him. For which Reason this Ignorance in the Heathens is so far from deserving our Contempt, that it ought the rather to be admir'd and respected by us, as one of the most evident Instances of the Accomplishment of the Prophecies, and as convincing a Proof of the Truth of the Christian Religion, as all their Knowledge and Understanding. For my part I must confess that this Ignorance, impos'd for a certain space on a Nation the most penetrating in the Universe, and that under such plain Predictions as might have open'd their Eyes, and at length remov'd when the Fulness of Time was come, appears to me no less a Miracle than the Sun standing still at the Command of *Joshua*, or the Waves of the Sea rearing themselves up as into a Wall on each Side, to open a Passage for the *Israelites*.

From so evident a Principle may be drawn the Explication and Proof of several important Truths, but that is not my Design in this Place. It is sufficient if I have shown what use we are to make of the Writings of the Philosophers, and with what wholesome Instructions we may be supply'd even from their Ignorance; and this may serve as a Justification of my Design, in explaining and translating their Works. At first I engag'd in this sort

of

of Study for my own peculiar Advantage, and have purſu'd it for the Benefit of the Publick.

To the Life of *Pythagoras* I have added a Collection of his Symbols, which is more copious than any that has been yet publiſh'd. *Lilius Giraldus*, a great Scholar, and learned Critick, printed one with ſome *Latin* Notes, which are very prolix. I have taken care to follow him where-ever he ſeems to retain the Spirit of *Pythagoras*, but have left him where I find he has left the Author. It's uſually ſaid, and that with good Reaſon, that all ſound Senſe is couch'd in Proverbs; and yet a Symbol has an Advantage over a Proverb, as being more conciſe and figurative, and containing a Moral more delicate and perfect. This the Reader may eaſily obſerve in the Symbols of *Pythagoras*, which he will find worthy his Curioſity.

Next to theſe Symbols follows the Life of *Hierocles*, or rather a Diſſertation upon that Author, who has given us ſo fine an Explication of *Pythagoras's* Verſes. Since theſe Commentaries are ſuperior to any thing of the like Nature, as ſhining with a Genius peculiarly beautiful, a Strength of Reaſon, a Sublimity of Thought, and a Truth and Solidity of Precepts, adorn'd with an uncommon Gravity, Energy, and Beauty of Style, before I proceeded to explain 'em, I was willing to be inform'd who was the Author of ſo excellent a Work, which, if two or three Errors were removed, might deſerve the Character of a truly Chriſtian Treatiſe: For the Notion which has hitherto prevail'd, that this *Hierocles* was the ſame with him who wrote againſt the Chriſtians, and perſecuted 'em with ſo implacable a Malice, as to deſerve the Favour of his Prince for his Cruelties, rais'd an invincible Prejudice in me; for I imagin'd that thoſe Heathens who could teach ſo well, and

yet practis'd ſo very ill, were unworthy to be our Inſtructors.

Upon this Occaſion there recurr'd to my Memory a grave Scruple in the *Lacedemonians*, who one day ſummoning their Council upon ſome extraordinary Danger that threaten'd the State, it happen'd that a very vicious Perſon propos'd to the Senate an Expedient the moſt proper in that Conjuncture. The *Lacedemonians*, who were always extream nice in their Conduct, thought it diſhonourable in 'em to owe the Preſervation of their Country to a Man of ſo diſſolute a Character, and therefore they had the ſame Expedient propos'd by another, that they might be able to embrace it without any Blemiſh upon their Reputation. I was willing the ſame Method ſhould have been obſerv'd in regard of *Hierocles*, had he prov'd the ſame he has been hitherto thought; but, as good Luck will have it, there is no need of that Expedient: I have prov'd from invincible Arguments, that the Author of theſe Commentaries is quite different from that Enemy and Perſecutor of the Chriſtians. I muſt confeſs I was highly pleas'd at this Diſcovery, and fell to work with new Aſſurance, and more Application; for if it be neceſſary that he who teaches Eloquence ſhould be an honeſt Man, how much more neceſſary is it that he ſhould be ſo who undertakes to teach Morality?

Theſe Commentaries, as I have already ſaid, are exceeding valuable; and I dare affirm that they are now to be look'd upon in a manner as new, for they appear in this preſent Tranſlation not only more correct but more entire. Hitherto the Text has been very corrupt, ſo that we are not to be ſurpriz'd if *John Courtier's Latin* Tranſlation, publiſh'd towards the End of the ſixteenth Century, is defective. The Errors of the Text made him commit

commit a great many Miſtakes, but then he has added ſome more of his own, which is owing to the ſmall Skill he had in the Original, and an utter Ignorance of this Ancient Philoſophy.

A conſiderable time before *Courtier*'s Tranſlation, another was publiſh'd in *Latin* by *John Auriſpa* a *Sicilian*, Apoſtolick Secretary to Pope *Nicholas* V. a very learned Man, a great Orator, and no leſs a Poet. There is a Volume of Letters, a great many Epigrams, and other fine Verſes aſcrib'd to him; beſides which, he has the Character of having been very converſant in the *Greek* Authors; ſome of theſe he expounded to *Laurentius Valla*, who made him a publick Acknowledgment for it, confeſſing that in that Reſpect he regarded him as his Maſter and Father. But the great Knowledge *Auriſpa* had in the *Greek* Tongue appears yet more in his Tranſlation of *Archimedes*, and this of *Hierocles*, the laſt of which he did when he was fourſcore Years of Age. The King's Library, the richeſt in *Europe*, has ſupply'd me with two Editions of this *Latin* Tranſlation, publiſh'd under the Pontificate of *Sixtus* IV. the firſt at *Padua* in 1474, the other at *Rome* in the Year following. No Character more honourable can be given *Pythagoras* or *Hierocles*, than that which this venerable old Man has given them in his Dedication to *Nicholas* V. He tells him, * *That whilſt he was at* Venice, *whither he had*

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* Cum Venetiis eſſem tuo juſſu, libros aliquot Græcos emi, inter quos repperi Hieroclem ſuper verſibus Pythagoræ aureis appellatis, in quibus omnis Pythagoreorum Philoſophis continetur. Tantaque in eis eſt Doctrina, tanta legenti Utilitas, ut octogenarius jam nihil ego aut Græce, aut Latinè legerim, quod magni mihi profuiſſe intelligam; parum enim, aut nihil, ubi miracula non fuerunt, a fide Chriſtiana differt hoc Opuſculum. Latinum feci, & nomini Sanctitalis tuæ dedicavi, oroque.

had been ſent by him, he had bought ſome Greek *Books, among which he found* Hierocles *his Commentary upon the Golden Verſes of* Pythagoras; *wherein he diſcover'd ſo large a ſtock of Learning and Profit, that old as he was, he never remember'd he had read any thing, from which he receiv'd ſo great an Advantage. For this little Book, ſetting Miracles aſide, differs in little or nothing from the Chriſtian Religion; for which reaſon,* continues he, *I have tranſlated it into* Latin, *and dedicated it to your Holineſs, deſiring you to give it one Reading, and can aſſure you that tho' your Knowledge and Virtue admits of no Addition, yet you will be pleas'd when you find ſomething in it that may ſerve to confirm you in your Sentiments.* He calls it *a very excellent Work, conformable to the Chriſtian Religion*; Opuſculum præſtantiſſimum, & Religioni Chriſtianæ conſentaneum.

I had no notice of *Auriſpa*'s Tranſlation 'till my Work was finiſh'd, and this Preface was in the Preſs: So that having no Opportunity of examining it narrowly, I can give no exact Account of it; and it would be a Preſumption in me to give a Character at Random of the Writings of a Perſon ſo famous for his Learning, and ſo venerable for his Age. Beſides, he being the firſt that ventur'd to recover theſe Commentaries, at a time when Learning juſt began to revive under the Protection of Pope *Nicolas* V. we ought to judge favourably of the Work, and to give it grains of allowance. I have run it over, and find *Auriſpa* wanted neither Learning, Judgment or Expreſſion, but more correct Manuſcripts. It unhappily fell out, that thoſe he bought at *Venice* were as faulty, and more imperfect

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quæ ut ſemel legas; nam quam vis ità doctus, ità omnium virtutum genere præditus ſit, ut neque doctrinæ, neque Virtuti tuæ, quidquam addi poſſit, placebit nihilominus legere ea quæ ſententiam tuam confirmabunt.

perfect than such as were discover'd afterwards, and from which the *Greek* Text was printed off. For I have observ'd the same Errors in his Version, as we find in those that follow'd him, besides several others which without doubt are owing to the Imperfection of his Manuscript. Setting this aside, there are several Passages more happily expres't, and more correct than what we find in *John Courtier*'s Version: This last, how imperfect soever it was, seems to be something more correct. It doth not appear that the Author had any Intimation of the former, since he makes no mention of it. But when all is done, the first ought to be valu'd, and may safely be consulted as a Manuscript by any that have a mind to publish a new Edition in *Greek*: And *Aurispa* himself is highly to be commended for his Courage, who tho' fourscore Years of Age, and depriv'd of all those Advantages we now enjoy, ventur'd on a Translation of a Philosophical Tract so profound and intricate, as the Commentary of *Hierocles*, and overcame so many Obstacles to oblige the Age he liv'd in with so advantageous and profitable a Piece. This Opportunity of paying him a Debt he so justly deserv'd, and of recovering his Memory out of the Jaws of Oblivion, is a Pleasure I readily embrac'd.

Meric Casaubon, the great *Casaubon*'s Son, in an Addition of *Courtier*'s Translation, which he publish'd at *London*, added some Notes, in which he has restor'd several Passages, notwithstanding which, the Text still continu'd imperfect.

M. *L'Abbé Renaudot*, whose Learning is equal to his Virtue and Judgment, lent me an Edition of *Courtier*, furnish'd in the Margent with several judicious Corrections, written by an unknown but learned Hand. At first I could not tell if they were any better than meer Conjecture; but at last I perceiv'd they were the Result of several Readings

upon the moſt correct Manuſcripts. This learned *Abbé* did not think it ſufficient that he had ſupply'd me with ſuch a valuable Treaſure, but moreover obtain'd me the Aſſiſtance of M. *Antonio Maria Silvani*, *Greek* Profeſſor in *Florence*, Member of the Academy *della Cruſca*, and of the Academy at *Rome degli Arcadi*, a Man of great Judgment, well acquainted with the *Greek*, and a general Scholar; and what is to be admir'd in one of his Accompliſhments, a Perſon of ſingular Modeſty, always ready to ſuſpend his own Studies, when he may be able to aſſiſt thoſe of others in a generous Communication of whatever is valuable at *Florence*, or may contribute to the Advancement of Learning. M. *Salvini* took care to extract with his own Hands, and ſend me all the different Lections found in an excellent Manuſcript of *Hierocles* in St. *Laurentius* his Library, the beſt furniſh'd with all ſorts of choice Manuſcripts, eſpecially in *Greek*, which *Coſmo* the Great, the Father of his Country, *Laurentius* his Son, Pope *Clement* VII. and the great Duke *Coſmo* I. have collected at a vaſt Expence, and which the two laſt have depoſited in a Caſe of admirable Architecture, perform'd after the Deſign of *Michael Angelo*. This Manuſcript juſtifying moſt of the Corrections which I found in the *Paris* Copy, ſupply'd me with ſome others that were very neceſſary and important, and indeed often furniſh'd me with ſeveral Words, and intire Lines, which were apparently wanting; ſo that I may be bold to ſay, *Hierocles* his Text is at preſent as intire as it poſſibly can be, and the ſame with that the Author left behind him. To this I have related the principal Corrections in my Notes, that is, ſuch as differ from the Senſe of the printed Text. As for ſuch as are properly meer Elegancies of Style, and no way relate to the Author's Senſe, I have omitted 'em as too cumberſom, and of no uſe in a *French* Tran-

Tranſlation: However, they will be of great uſe in a *Greek* Edition, which ought to ſee the World in that Perfection to which this Manuſcript has reſtor'd it. I have paſs'd by thoſe Niceties which ſeveral learned Men have diſcover'd in Manuſcripts, but have highly valu'd whatever ſerv'd to explain ſeveral obſcure Paſſages, without which they would have been unintelligible, and gave a beautiful Turn to ſeveral Expreſſions, which 'till then had none at all, and open'd a way to many happy Diſcoveries. Theſe are the Advantages we are to gather from Manuſcripts, with which that of *Florence* happily abounds, where every Page is enrich'd with ſomething particularly valuable.

I hope my *French* Verſion, being ſupported with ſuch material Aſſiſtances, will have all thoſe Advantages which are wanting in the two *Latin* Tranſlations. I have taken all imaginable care to render it intelligible, and to give the Reader a juſt Idea of the Precept, and to convince him of the Reaſonableneſs of the Precept. On which account I have ſometimes indeed made uſe of ſuch Expreſſions, as I would not have ventur'd in a Treatiſe of another Nature. Philoſophical Subjects admit of a Liberty not to be allow'd on other Occaſions; nay, ſometimes we are forc'd upon it, as *Cicero* has obſerv'd and practis'd in his Treatiſe of Philoſophy.

Hierocles is a Genius of the firſt Rank; his Ideas are Noble and Sublime, and ſometimes very hard to be underſtood; ſo that a bare Tranſlation would be of no uſe, for there are ſeveral Paſſages not to be underſtood, eſpecially by ſuch as are not intimately acquainted with the ancient Philoſophers; for which Reaſon it was neceſſary to illuſtrate the Tranſlation with ſome Notes. *Theodorus Marſilius* has written ſome upon *Pythagoras* his Verſes, and *Meric Caſaubon*, as I have before obſerv'd, has beſtow'd a few on ſome Paſſages in *Hierocles*, but they

were design'd rather to correct the Text than explain it. But no Person has hitherto undertaken an intire Explication of *Hierocles*, and that is what I have at present attempted. I have been sparing neither of my Time or Study, to explain all the difficult Passages that occur in my Author, and there is not one, which I have not illustrated, or at least have not endeavour'd to illustrate, to render this System as clear and intelligible as it was in the Days of *Pythagoras*.

Since *Hierocles* did not flourish 'till in the fourth or fifth Century, we are not to doubt but Christianity assisted him to unfold several of *Pythagoras* his Dogma's, which had not been rightly understood before. 'Twas that alone was able to dissolve the Darkness, and remove the Veil which was drawn over the greatest Truths; however, this Assertion is not to be push'd too far, nor are we to imagine *Hierocles* alter'd *Pythagoras* his System to render it more beautiful, and make it conformable to the Christian Dispensation; he only recover'd by the Light of our Holy Religion, the genuine Spirit of *Pythagoras* his Doctrine, and which he had borrow'd from the Books and Traditions of the *Jews*; and that after this manner are we to understand the Writings of the Heathens; for, as I have observ'd before, in my Dissertation upon *Plato*, we are not to explain the Principles of our Religion by the Notions of the Philosophers, but on the contrary we are to unfold those Notions by the Principles of our Religion. This is what we may observe in *Hierocles*; for 'tis certain, that the Foundations of his Doctrine are to be found in *Timæus* and *Plato*, as I have observ'd in my Remarks.

For Example, when *Hierocles* saith the Sons of God are the Images, the incorruptible Images of the Father, he undoubtedly had regard to those Descriptions our Religion has given of our Saviour, who

who is the expreſs Image of his Father, and who never knew Sin; and yet this Doctrine was certainly taught by *Pythagoras*, ſince *Timæus* and *Plato* receiv'd it from him. At the ſame time we are to wonder how it was poſſible for him to over-look, in ſo clear a Light, the Abſurdity of a Plurality of Gods, and that he did not embrace the truth of an only Son; a Truth known and promulgated by the Poet himſelf, their own Poet, whom they call'd *Orpheus*, whoſe Writings were held in ſo great Authority among the Heathens; for he has told them in expreſs Terms,

Εἰς ᾧ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τοῦτῳ προσοίδρει.

Lifting the Eyes of thy Underſtanding up to the Divine Word, repoſe thy ſelf on him. And the ſame Poet ſaith elſewhere, that *Pluto*, the Sun, and *Bacchus* are only different Names for one and the ſame God. *Plato* likewiſe makes mention of *the moſt Divine Word*, which he calls the Cauſe of Beings, and confeſſes that our Well-being in this World, and Happineſs in the next, depend upon our Knowledge of this *Word*, which alone is able to open to us the Knowledge of the moſt ſublime Truths. *Hierocles* therefore may be reckon'd among thoſe unhappy Perſons of whom *Pythagoras* ſpeaks, who wilfully create their own Misfortunes, and who neither perceive or underſtand the good things within their Reach, and which God has put into their Power; and what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, *He ſlept at Noon-Day*, if I may be allow'd to make uſe of *Pythagoras* his own Expreſſion; a fatal Sleep, which was a juſt Judgment upon him for having ſo tenaciouſly adher'd to the groſs Elements of Philoſophy, after ſo clear and perfect a Manifeſtation of the Truth; and who, tho' born at a time when Chriſtianity

Tom. 2. *p.* 986. *and* *Tom.* 3. *p.* 313.

Symbol XXXIII *p.* 110.

ſtianity ſo egregriouſly triumph'd over Ignorance and Error, yet obſtinately ſhut his Eyes againſt that Divine Light.

In his Explication upon the three firſt Verſes of *Pythagoras*, where he divides rational Beings into *Immortal Gods*, *Heroes*, and *Terreſtrial Demons*, aſcribing to the Angelick Nature the Name of *Heroe*, he may be thought to contradict the Doctrine of the old Philoſophers, who did not term the Angels Heroes, but call'd thoſe Perſons ſo, who had been conſecrated after their Deceaſe; witneſs theſe Inſcriptions upon their Medals, *Heros Antinous*; *Heros Eurypulus*: Witneſs likewiſe thoſe Temples call'd *Heroa*, which were built to the Honour of ſuch Men as after their Deaths were number'd among their Gods; for theſe are the three Degrees, *the Gods, the Demons, and Heroes.* But this Objection will prove to be of no Weight, when we conſider, that ſince the Ancients divided into ſeveral Sorts the rational Beings, which they plac'd in a middle Station between Gods and Men, and call'd indifferently *Angels*, *Demons*, or *Heroes*; the Author of theſe Verſes might upon good Grounds call thoſe of the firſt Degree *Heroes*, as *Hierocles* aſſures us they uſually did. *Others*, ſaith he, *aſcribe to this middle Sort only one of theſe three Names, calling 'em Angels, Demons or Heroes, for the Reaſons we mention'd before.*

A ſmall Reflection upon the Neceſſity of Religion, and the Corruption of our Nature, will ſerve to ſhow us plainly how ready Men have been to abuſe the Means God has afforded 'em to know him, and to teach us, that Idolatry is no other than the Shadow of Religion.

God had manifeſted his Glory in the Heavens, and imprinted ſuch Perfections on all his Works, as are ſufficient to convince Mankind that there is a Superior Being infinite in Power and Goodneſs,

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by whom we were created, and to whom a Religious Worſhip is due. But Man, by his natural Depravity, has been ſeduc'd to pay the Creatures the Honour, which thoſe very Creatures demanded of him to pay his Creator. This is the Beginning of Paganiſm and Idolatry, which is no other than a Corruption of natural Religion, and a falſe Religion founded upon that which is true and lawful; for, as I obſerv'd before, Error always imitates Truth.

This Diſorder God deſign'd to correct by Revelation; which teaches Men that God is One, and gives 'em an Idea of a Saviour, whom God has repleniſh'd with his Spirit, and who is no other than the Meſſiah, the Chriſt, and Son of God. It diſcovers to 'em rational Beings more perfect than Man, which Beings were created and ordain'd by God for his immediate Service. In ſhort, they are taught by Revelation that thoſe Perſons, who whilſt alive were the Sons of God, become more nearly united to him after their Deceaſe. Theſe Truths have been corrupted by Error, which has introduc'd ſeveral monſtrous Imaginations into this Unity of the Godhead, and inſtead of an only Son has produc'd an infinite Number of Children; inſtead of Angels, thoſe Miniſters of the moſt High, it has conceiv'd ſeveral good and evil Spirits, which are to be atton'd by Sacrifices: And inſtead of wiſe Men, who dy'd in a virtuous Courſe, and by that means became the Sons of God, and Citizens of Heaven, and who for that Reaſon might deſerve a ſubordinate ſort of Worſhip, it has deify'd the moſt vicious of Men, who grew famous for their monſtrous Crimes; to theſe were Temples rais'd, and by degrees they challeng'd the ſame religious Honours, as were paid to the Gods themſelves.

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Pythagoras, who had been ſufficiently inſtructed in the *Hebrew* Theology, and could not be ignorant that the Judgments under which that Nation ſo often groan'd, were for the moſt part Puniſhments their Idolatry had drawn down upon 'em, was offended at theſe abominable Exceſſes, and endeavour'd to correct 'em by recalling his Diſciples to Reaſon, and by teaching 'em to pay thoſe Beings a Worſhip proportionate to their Dignity, which he calls ἔννομα φέζειν, *to pay a reaſonable Worſhip, conformable to the Law.* But theſe Limitations were ſo far from ſuppreſſing, that they eſtabliſh'd Idolatry; which ſhows it a Work too great to be accompliſh'd by Man, who is unable to rectifie the Propenſities of his Mind. His Precepts might probably have ſome Influence upon a Few, but the Generality of Mankind continu'd bury'd in the ſame Superſtition, and Idolatry tyranniz'd with as much Superſtition as ever. Chriſtianity it ſelf found it difficult to put an entire Stop to ſo impetuous a Career, 'till by degrees it made a full Diſcovery of the Truths, of which the ancient Philoſophers had entertain'd an imperfect Idea; then their Scholars were guided by it to examine their Dogma's more thoroughly, and ſet 'em in a better Light, than they had been plac'd in before. This is what *Hierocles* has done in his Explication of *Pythagoras*'s Verſes, which has made his Commentaries ſo inſtructive, and, if I may be allow'd the Expreſſion, ſo truly Chriſtian.

I ſhall only inſtance here in his Notes upon the three firſt Verſes, which are the moſt conſiderable. It's certain the Explication he has given 'em is conformable to *Pythagoras*'s Meaning; for *Plato*, a long time before *Hierocles*, had obſerv'd the ſame Diviſion and Subordination, requiring us firſt to worſhip the Gods, next the Demons, and laſtly

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the Heroes. * *A wiſe Man having firſt ſacrific'd to the Gods,* ſaith he, *will in the next Place pay the ſame Worſhip to the Demons, and laſtly to the Heroes.* This is *Pythagoras* his own Doctrine, with only this Difference, that *Pythagoras* calls thoſe *Heroes,* which *Plato* terms *Demons,* and calls thoſe *Terreſtrial Demons,* which *Plato* calls *Heroes*; which makes no Difference in the main. But it muſt be allow'd that *Hierocles* has drawn from the Chriſtian Religion the Knowledge of thoſe Limits ſo juſt and reaſonable, which he has aſſign'd to theſe different Degrees of Worſhip, together with the chief Deſcription he has given of Angels, and of Men receiv'd into the Celeſtial Quire, that is of the Saints. The Heathens, before his Time, had ſome Knowledge of the Angelick Eſſence. *Plato* ſaith in his tenth Book *de Legib. That in all the Conflicts we are to undergo in this World, we are no longer able to vanquiſh, than whilſt God, or his Angels, are preſent to aſſiſt us.* But no Heathen ever ſpoke like *Hierocles.* At leaſt, I never met with this Paſſage of his any where elſe, *That the Angels are not only beneath God, and higher than Man, but they know no farther than God thinks fit to enlighten them; that they are made all glorious by the Light which reflects from God upon them; that they ſerve as Channels to convey this Divine Light to us; that, inſpir'd by their Love to God, they induſtriouſly aſſiſt us in our Paſſage out of an earthly to an heav'nly State*; and in ſhort, *that they are ordain'd to declare to us the Rules of a good Life, and the Way to Eternal Happineſs.*

But the Aſſiſtance *Hierocles* receiv'd from the Writings of the Chriſtians, appears yet more conſpicuous

* Μετὰ Θεὸς δὲ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ὅγ' ἕμοιγε ἀρχαιότατ' ἄν· ὃ μετὰ τέτυς. *In his Book of Laws,* Tom. 2. p. 717.

ſpicuous in what he ſaith of good Men, who after having paſs'd this Life in the Practice of Virtue, are receiv'd into the heav'nly Quires, that is, into a State of Beatitude. *Pythagoras* had call'd 'em ſimply *terreſtrial Demons*; † terreſtrial, becauſe they are Men by Nature, and Demons, becauſe being united to God in Heaven, they are repleniſh'd with Light and Knowledge; and *Plato* ſaith no more, than that the Souls, when ſeparated from their Bodies, retain notwithſtanding a Care of this World below; that in particular they protect thoſe of their own Families as are left behind 'em, and that they deſerve to be honour'd. But *Hierocles* carries it yet farther, and deſcribes the Saints in ſo clear and preciſe a manner, as makes it plain he could not take thoſe Deſcriptions out of any but the Books of the Chriſtians. Where elſe could he learn, *that the ſame Divine Grace that made the Saints, has made 'em worthy of our Reſpect and Worſhip; that they ought not to be honour'd 'till they are join'd to the heav'nly Quire; and that this Worſhip conſiſts principally in an Imitation of 'em, and an Obedience to the Laws they have left us, and in walking in the Ways they have with ſo much Pain and Labour preſcrib'd to us, by delivering in their Writings, for the Good of Mankind, the Principles of Virtue, and the Rules of Truth.* I don't believe any thing like it is to be found among all the Heathen Authors who writ before our Saviour.

Theſe are undeniable Inſtances of what I would eſtabliſh, that *Hierocles* has in no manner chang'd the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, but only made uſe of the

† *I here make uſe of* Hierocles's *Explication, for I have made it appear in my Remarks, that what the* Greeks *term* Δαίμονες κλαχθόνιοι, *ſignifies* the Dead becomes Demons, *that is,* beatify'd.

the Helps he receiv'd from Chriſtianity, to explain that Doctrine; ſince Chriſtian Religion alone was able to ſhow him the genuine Senſe of thoſe Principles, which *Pythagoras* had drawn out of the Books and Traditions of the *Jews.*

There is an *Arabick* Tranſlation of *Pythagoras*'s Verſes: I am not able to make any Judgment of it, but the *Latin* Verſion, which *John Elichman*, a Perſon very well skill'd in the Oriental Languages, has given us of it, has confirm'd me in the Opinion I always had of thoſe Eaſtern Tranſlators, that they are more likely to obſcure the Truth by their own Conceits and Fables, than to explain it by the Sincerity of their Verſions. *Pythagoras*'s Tranſlator has ſpoil'd moſt of his Precepts, and underſtood nothing of his Theology. *Salmaſius* has diſcover'd ſeveral Errors in this Verſion, but has not had the good Fortune to mend 'em. It appears in many of the moſt important and difficult Paſſages, that he neither underſtood *Pythagoras* his Syſtem, nor the Explication *Hierocles* has given of it. *Grotius* enter'd much farther into him, and had a more lively Senſe of his Strength and Beauty. He had almoſt all *Hierocles* by Heart, and no Man knew how to put him to a better Uſe. He has collected ſeveral choice Flowers out of him, with which he has enrich'd his Writings, eſpecially his Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures.

To conclude, *Hierocles* could not properly be explain'd, nor the Truths he had diſcover'd be diſincumber'd from the Errors he wanted Force to correct, without having Recourſe ſometimes in my Remarks to the higheſt Points of Theology: Since a thouſand Examples have convinc'd me of the Truth of this beautiful Maxim in *Hierocles*, That Man naturally abounds in ſtrange and erroneous Opinions, whenever he abandons himſelf to

his own Notions; I have upon that Conſideration advanc'd nothing of my own, but took Care conſtantly to follow the ſureſt Guides, without deviating from the common Notions of Mankind.

I am yet to learn what Succeſs this Undertaking will meet with in the World: It may be hoped that, if *Pythagoras* obtain'd ſo great a Reputation in an Age wherein there were but ſeven wiſe Men, he will be able to preſerve, or rather augment it now, when we have hardly ſeven that are not ſo. Men of Merit are glad to eſteem and honour thoſe who deſerve it, for, as *Plutarch* obſerves, to praiſe others redounds to our own Reputation, as flowing from an Over-abundance of Honour and Glory in our ſelves. They who are ſparing in their Commendations of others, are either envious, or neceſſitous, and unworthy of Praiſe themſelves, and therefore unwilling to give that which they were never able to receive. I muſt beg Leave to obſerve to 'em on this Occaſion, that the Ancients always plac'd the *Graces* near *Mercury*, with a Deſign to ſhow us how grateful we ought to be to thoſe, who endeavour to inſtruct us, and impart to us the Fruit of their Labours and Study. As Light is an Advantage to thoſe who behold it, ſo the Inſtructions of the Wiſe are the Benefit of thoſe that hear 'em, provided they will be directed by 'em.

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Let

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Wretches

Wretches as they are! They neither See, nor Understand, that their Good is near them.
There are very few of them who know how to deliver themselves out of their Misfortunes.
Such is the Fate that blinds Mankind, and takes away their Senses. Like huge Cylinders,
They roll to and fro, always oppress'd with Ills without Number;
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But take Courage; the Race of Man is divine.
Sacred Nature reveals to them the most hidden Mysteries.
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Verses

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THE

THE LIFE OF *PYTHAGORAS.*

WHEN God took not Care himſelf to inſtruct Mankind, and to teach them as a Maſter teaches his Diſciples, their Reaſon was long in improving it ſelf to any Degree of Perfection, and they attain'd but very late to the Knowledge of Wiſdom. And foraſmuch as this happy Prerogative of having God himſelf for Maſter and Teacher, if I may be allow'd to uſe that Expreſſion, was never granted but to one People, all the other Nations grovel'd long in the Darkneſs of Ignorance and Error: Nor was this Darkneſs of theirs diſſipated, but proportionably as they became acquainted with the Places inhabited by that choſen People, with whom the Oracles of true Wiſdom had been intruſted; and to whom, for that Reaſon, literally and indeed belongs the glorious Title of *Diſciple of God*, which * *Homer* gives to *Minos*, but improperly and by Figure.

We need not then be aſtoniſh'd that the *Greeks*, notwithſtanding their great Capacities, and natural

* *In the 19th Book of the Odyſſes,* Διὸς μεγάλου ἑταῖρος.

Endowments, wherein they certainly excell'd all the Nations of the World, remain'd ſo many Ages without the leaſt Tincture of Philoſophy, and without any Knowledge of Nature. 'Twas not 'till the Days of *Solon*, about the XLVI. Olympiad, that is to ſay, near ſix hundred Years before Jeſus Chriſt, that Philoſophy began to be known among them: And even then too, of all the ſeven Sages, who flouriſh'd in thoſe Days, *Thales* only, if we may credit *Plutarch*, carry'd on his Speculations above the common, all the others having acquir'd the Reputation of Wiſdom only for their great Skill and Underſtanding in the Science that treats of the Government of States: And therefore *Damon* of *Cyrene* blam'd all of 'em, in a Treatiſe he compos'd of Philoſophers. *Anaximenes* reproach'd them for applying themſelves wholly to *Politicks: And *Dicearchus* ſaid very well, that they were neither Wiſe, nor Lovers of Wiſdom, but only Men of Parts, and good Legiſlators.

* *For* Diogenes Laertius *in the Life of* Thales *ought to be read thus,* ἐπιθέσθαι πολιτικῶς; *and not* ποιητικῶς.

Theſe were the dawning Rays of Wiſdom that began to inlighten the *Greeks*; for *Thales* had never any Maſter of his own Country, as they themſelves confeſs. *No Man guided him, no Man ſhew'd him the Way*, ſays *Diogenes Laertius*, *but he went into* Egypt, *where he convers'd a long time with the* Egyptian *Prieſts*.

In *Egypt* then it was that the *Greeks* were initiated in the firſt Elements of true Wiſdom. But how came the *Egyptians* by theſe ſublime Sciences, that were unknown to the Magi of *Perſia*, to the *Chaldeans*, to the Gymnoſophiſts, to the *Celtes*, to the *Druids*, and to all the *Barbarians*? Doubtleſs from the Correſpondence thoſe People had had with the People of God, from the time they had been Captives in *Egypt*.

But here perhaps an Objection may be ſtarted, not without ſome Appearance of Reaſon. It may be

be ask'd, why the *Greeks* went to learn Wiſdom in *Egypt*, where there were only ſome ſlight Foot-ſteps of it, and thoſe too already effac'd by a thouſand Superſtitions? Why went they not rather into *Judæa*, where true Religion was reigning in its full Splendor? A Country, where the Prophets, inſpir'd of God, made their Voices be heard every Day; where the meaneſt Artiſan would in eight Days time have more fully inſtructed them concerning the Creation of the World, the Conduct and Providence of God, and the Duties of Man, than they could have been by all the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and by all the Sages of their own Nations: Nay, they would have taught them more than all their own Philoſophers learnt in the Space of ninety two Olympiads, or of three hundred and ſeventy Years, which was the Time from *Thales* their firſt Philoſopher, to *Epicurus* their laſt: A Country, in ſhort, in which alone Truth had taken up its Dwelling, whereas all the other Nations of the Earth were the Abode of Error and Lies.

'Tis not difficult to anſwer this Objection. I will not ſay that the *Greeks*, who were deſcended from the *Egyptians*, might have more Inclination to the Country whence they deriv'd their Extraction, and where they found their Gods and their Religion.

Much leſs will I ſay with * *Lactantius*, that God would not ſuffer them to go into *Judæa*, leſt they ſhould come to the Knowledge of the Truth; becauſe the Time was not yet come for the Gentiles to know the Religion of the true God. This Opinion I take to be unwarrantable.

* Lib. 4. de vera Sapientia, c. 6.

Neither do I believe there is any good Ground to ſuppoſe, that becauſe the *Jews* were exactly ſituated between the *Egyptians* and the *Perſians*, it could not well be, but that *Pythagoras*, as he went from *Egypt* to *Perſia*, muſt have been in *Judæa*.

Among all the Antients, we find not one ſingle Authority, ſo much as to make us ſuſpect that *Pythagoras* ever ſet his Foot in that Country. If he had been there, they would not have forgot to mention it, and his Example would have been follow'd by others. Not only *Pythagoras* was never there, but I dare even aſſert, that the *Greeks* never had any Correſpondence with the *Jews*. I ground my Opinion on the following Reaſons, which perhaps will be thought ſufficiently convincing.

The *Jews* with Reaſon look'd upon themſelves as a People, whom God had ſet apart from all others, to ſanctifie and unite them to himſelf. And therefore, ſhut up within their own Borders, they held no Commerce with Strangers. Depending on the Protection of God, and proud of the Bleſſings he ſhower'd down upon them, they regarded all the other Nations of the Earth as the Sport of Satan, and as the Slaves of Idolatry. They had no Reſpect for their Religion; they treated them with ſo much Rigour and Severity, that out of meer Averſion to them, they broke even their own Laws and Cuſtoms: They requir'd but one Witneſs, and but one Judge, to condemn a Stranger.

There is therefore no Reaſon to be aſtoniſh'd, that a People who held in Abhorrence all the other Nations, their Gods and their Ceremonies, were likewiſe themſelves the Objects of the Hatred and Contempt of the reſt of Mankind; and much leſs that a People choſen of God was the Out-caſt of Men. But tho' the *Jews* were look'd on as the vileſt of all Nations, we may nevertheleſs affirm, they were yet more unknown than contemn'd. It could not be believ'd how much the *Greeks*, a People greedy to know every thing, were in the Dark as to the *Jews*, had we not ſufficient Evidence to prove, that *Judea* was a Country they knew very little

little of, not only in the Time of *Thales*, six hundred Years before Jesus Christ, but even a hundred Years after his Nativity. We need no more than hear what *Plutarch* says of the Ceremonies and Feasts of the *Jews*, to convince us they knew not that People but by confus'd Reports, upon which they built the most absurd of Fables.

(a) In the Month *Tizri*, which answers to our *September*, the *Jews* had three Feasts; the first was celebrated the first of the Month: This was the Feast of Trumpets.

(b) The second was on the tenth of the Month. This was the Feast of Atonements, or Expiations.

(c) And the third was on the fifteenth of the same Month: This was the Feast of Tabernacles; it lasted seven Days, during which they remain'd in Tents, cover'd with Green Boughs, in remembrance of their having incamp'd in the Desart, when God had deliver'd them out of *Egypt*. *(d)* Upon the Day of this Feast they gather'd Boughs of the Limon-Tree, the Palm, the Mirtle and the Willow, and carry'd them in their Hands, as had been commanded them.

Plutarch confounds these Feasts; he takes that of the Fast and Expiations for that of Tabernacles, which he divides into two; and that of the Trumpets, which precedes the two others, he puts last.

(a) Mense septimo, primo die Mensis erit vobis Sabbatum memoriale clangentibus Tubis. *Levitic.* 23. 24.

(b) Decimo die Mensis hujus dies Expiationum erit celeberrimus, 23. 27.

(c) Et quinto decimo Mensis septimi erunt Feriæ Tabernaculorum septem diebus Domino, 23. 40.

(d) Sumetisque vobis die primo fructus Arboris pulcherrimæ Spatulasque Palmarum, & ramos Ligni densarum Frondium & salices de torrente, & lætabimini coram Domino Deo vestro, 23. 40.

But what is yet more obſervable, he aſſures us that thoſe Feaſts were celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*: He takes the Boughs they carry'd in their Hands to be *Thyrſes*; he ſays the Trumpets were deſign'd to invoke *Bacchus*, as the *Argians* were wont to do in their Bacchanals. He believes the *Levites* to be ſo call'd from the Surname of *Bacchus*, who was call'd *Lyſius* and *Evius*. He ſuppoſes the Word *Sabbath* to be deriv'd from *Sabbos*, the Name by which the Prieſts of *Bacchus* were call'd, by reaſon of the Exclamation *Sabboi*, which they us'd in their Bacchanals. He adds, that the Days of the Sabbath, were the Feaſts of that God of Wine, becauſe, ſays he, upon thoſe Days they excited one another to drink, and make themſelves drunk.

What he farther ſays of the High-Prieſt's Veſtments no leſs betrays his Ignorance. He ſays that the *Ephod* or Breaſt-Plate, was a Stag's Skin, imbroider'd with Gold, and that the little Bells, that hung at the bottom of his Robe beneath the *Ephod*, were to make a Noiſe like that was wont to be made at the Nocturnal Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, and from whence the Nurſes of that God were call'd *Chalcodryſtas*, which ſignifies, *beating of Braſs*.

He pretends they made no Oblation of Honey; *becauſe*, ſays he, *Honey ſpoils Wine*; which is as falſe as the Reaſon he gives for it is fooliſh. The *Jews* did not burn Honey upon the Altar, but they made Oblations of Honey, for they offer'd the firſt Fruits of it. In ſhort, he is ſo little vers'd in their Cuſtoms, that he knows not whether it was out of Veneration or Abhorrence, that they eat not the Fleſh of Swine.

Thus I have ſhewn you how intirely Ignorant the *Greeks* were in the Affairs of *Judea*, and the Reaſons that hinder'd them from having any Correſpondence with that Country. Now it not being in their Power to go ſatisfie their Curioſity among

among the *Jews*, they went into *Egypt*, where that People had left behind them some Sparks of Wisdom, and whither they were always carrying some new Improvements of Knowledge, by means of the continual Commerce they held with that Country: * For the *Egyptians* were one of the People whom God had excepted from the Abhorrence he had commanded the *Jews* to have for most Part of the Gentiles.

* Non abominaberis Idumæum, quia frater tuus est; nec Ægyptium, quia advena fuisti in terra ejus. Deuteron. 23. 7.

Tho' they were almost dying Sparkles that the *Jews* left behind them in *Egypt*, yet being gather'd together by little and little, and nourish'd by Men of good Parts and natural Endowments, they fail'd not at length to kindle a great Flame.

Thales was the first who drew some of them from under the Ashes that conceal'd them. Before his Time, either the *Greeks* were not permitted to go into *Egypt*, for 'tis pretended that King *Psammeticus* first gave them leave, about the XXX. Olympiad, or else they went thither only for the sake of Traffick; and if they brought from thence any fresh Discoveries, they were only Shadows of Truth, or new Superstitions, that maintain'd and increas'd their Errors.

There *Thales* learnt the Existence of one only God; there he learnt that this God had created the World; there he had his first Idea of the Immortality of the Soul; there he took some Tincture of Morality, which 'till then had never been cultivated; and loaded with these Treasures he went to lay the Foundations of his Sect, which was call'd the *Ionick*, because he taught at *Miletum*, a City of *Ionia*.

Pythagoras, who was much younger than he, and yet his Contemporary, follow'd his Example; and having spent more time in *Egypt*, went to found his Sect, which was call'd the *Italick*, because he

taught it in that Part of *Italy* which was call'd *Græcia major*, *Great Greece*.

This ſoon arriv'd to be the only Sect in the World, and out of it came all the Philoſophers that flouriſh'd for the Space of three hundred and ſeventy Years, and who were divided into many different Sects.

Nothing could be more uſeful to the Publick, nor more worthy of the Pen of a learned Man, than to compoſe the Lives of all theſe Philoſophers in a better Order, and with more Care and Diligence than *Diogenes Laertius* has done, who certainly falls much ſhort of what might have been expected from ſo great and noble a Subject. There we might ſee what Progreſs the Reaſon of a certain Number of excellent Men made in the Knowledge of Truth, at a time when the whole Earth, excepting only one ſmall Corner of it, lay bury'd in Darkneſs.

There we ſhould likewiſe ſee what Eclipſes that Truth has ſuffer'd from time to time, becauſe it was not yet ſtrong enough to triumph over the deceitful Illuſion and Error, with which the Contagion of the Body naturally infects the Soul of Man.

For my own Part, after having given the publick the Life of *Plato*, and an Idea of his Doctrine, I was of Opinion, I ſhould do a thing no leſs acceptable than uſeful, if while I gave the Philoſophy of *Pythagoras*, the moſt conſiderable Part of which is contain'd in the golden Verſes of which his Diſciple *Lyſis*, the Maſter of *Epimanondas*, is thought to be the Author; and in the learned Commentaries of *Hierocles*, I added to it the Life of that Philoſopher. It was written by ſome great Men in former Ages, as *Xenophon*, *Ariſtoxenus* and *Hermippus*, who living pretty near the Time when *Pythagoras* flouriſh'd, might be faithfully inſtructed in all the Particulars of his Life; but all theſe Works are unfortu-

fortunately loſt, and the Authors, who long after undertook the ſame Task, have ſucceeded ſo ill as to renew our Grief for that Loſs.

Diogenes Laertius writ a Life of *Pythagoras* in the ſecond Century; *Porphyrius* made one in the third, and after him his Diſciple *Jamblicus* try'd his Skill on the ſame Subject. But beſides that they have obſerv'd neither Rule nor Method, they have all fallen into the ſame Errors, and which are moſt capable of caſting a Blemiſh on Works of this Nature, I mean, too much Credulity, which has made them embrace meer Fictions for conſtant Truths; and too little Attention to the Circumſtances of Time and Place; which, if throughly div'd into and examin'd, are alone ſufficient to give ſuch an Inſight into the Doctrines of this Philoſopher, that the leaſt ſhadow of Obſcurity will remain no longer, but the Truth that lyes hid under the Darkneſs of Fiction and Lies, will eaſily be diſingag'd, and we ſhall diſcover the Sources from whence he drew moſt of his Opinions.

Pythagoras deſcended from *Ancæus*, who came originally from the Iſland (*a*) *Cephalenia*, called *Samos*, and who reign'd in the Iſland (*b*) *Melamphylus*, whoſe Name he chang'd, and call'd it *Samos*, from the Name of his own Country.

This *Ancæus* was not the Son of *Neptune*, as ſome have falſely thought him; for *Ancæus*, the Son of *Neptune*, having been in the Expedition of the *Argonautes*, that preceded the War of *Troy* about forty Years, how could he, who was one of the *Argonautes*, be in the *Ionick* Migration, which happen'd not 'till forty Years after the taking of *Troy*?

(a) *An Iſland of the* Ionian *Sea, above* Xanthus.
(b) *An Iſland in the* Archipelago, *now call'd* Samos.

Troy? The Iſland *Melamphylus* was not peopled by the *Ionians*, nor call'd *Samos*, 'till after that Migration. *Homer*, who had heard of the *Ionick* Migration, never knew the new Name of this Iſland, which in his Days ſtill retain'd its antient Appellation.

Anceus, who reign'd in *Samos*, was no doubt deſcended from that *Anceus*, who before had reigned in *Cephalenia*; and from whoſe Family was deſcended *Mnemarchus*, who having marry'd one of his Relations, call'd *Parthenis*, had by her *Pythagoras*.

I know very well that ſome Authors derive the Genealogy of this Philoſopher from another Stock, and that they make him to be deſcended from that *Hippaſus*, who at the time when the *Heraclides* return'd to *Peloponneſus*, that is to ſay, fourſcore Years after the taking of *Troy*, retir'd to *Samos*. *Hippaſus*, ſay they, was the Father of *Euphron*, whoſe Son *Mnemarchus* was the Father of *Pythagoras*; if ſo, *Pythagoras* muſt be the third Deſcent from *Hippaſus*, which cannot be reconcil'd with the true Chronology, that will not allow *Pythagoras* to have been ſo antient.

Mnemarchus, a few Days after his Marriage, went with his Wife to *Delphos*, there to ſell ſome Goods during the Feaſt; for he was a Graver by Trade, and dealt in Rings and other Trinkets.

During his ſtay there, he receiv'd an Oracle from *Apollo*, who told him, that if he imbark'd for *Syria*, the Voyage would be very pleaſant and fortunate to him, and that his Wife would there bring forth a Son, who ſhould be renown'd for Beauty and Wiſdom, and whoſe Life would be uſeful to all Poſterity.

After ſo plain an Oracle, *Mnemarchus* fail'd not to go into *Syria*: But firſt he chang'd the Name of his Wife, and inſtead of *Parthenis*, call'd her *Pythais*,

Pythais, in remembrance of this Oracle of *Apollo*, who was surnam'd *the Pythian*. And here we may take notice of the Custom of the Oriental Nations in changing their Names when any extraordinary Adventure happen'd to 'em, as we see in the Holy Scripture and in *Homer*.

At *Sidon*, *Parthenis* or *Pythais*, was brought to Bed of a Son, who was call'd *Pythagoras*, because he had been foretold by this Oracle of *Apollo*; others pretend this Name was given him, because whatever he said was as true and certain as the Oracles of that God; but to make good this Opinion, the Assertors of it should prove that this Name was given him very late, and that he had another during his Infancy.

Pythagoras, came into the World towards the XLVII. Olympiad, four Descents after *Numa*, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* has solidly prov'd; that is to say, about five hundred and ninety Years before Jesus Christ; *Nabuchoser* was then reigning at *Babylon*, and the Prophets *Ezechiel* and *Daniel* propheſy'd at that time: This Remark will be useful to us hereafter.

Mnemarchus being come back to *Samos*, expended the greatest Part of the Mony he had got in his Voyage, in building a Temple to *Apollo*, and took care to breed up his Son answerably to the great Hopes he had conceiv'd of him. The young *Pythagoras* increas'd daily in Wisdom: Lenity and Mildness, Moderation and Temperance, Justice and Piety so visibly appear'd in all his Actions, that the Truth of the Oracle was no longer suspected, insomuch that the Child was already regarded as a good Genius sent into the World for the Good of the *Samians*. They call'd him *the Youth with the fine Head of Hair*, and where-ever he walk'd along they loaded him with Praises and Benedictions.

His

His first Preceptor was *Hermodamas*, one of the Descendants of the Famous *Creophylus*, who for having hospitably taken *Homer* into his House, has acquir'd himself a Name that will last for ever.

He spent whole Days with the Priests of *Samos*, to instruct himself in what related to the Gods and to Religion: And seeing there was then no Philosopher in that Island, capable to satisfie his ardent Desire of Knowledge, he resolv'd to go in Quest elsewhere of what was not to be found in his own Country. Accordingly he left *Samos* when he was eighteen Years of Age, about the Beginning of the Tyranny of *Polycrates*.

The Fame of *Pherecydes* drew him first to the Island of *Syros*; whence he went to *Miletus*, where he convers'd with *Thales*, and with *Anaximander* the Physician.

From *Miletus* he went into *Phœnicia*, and stay'd some time at *Sidon*, the Place of his Birth. 'Tis pretended he frequently convers'd here with the Prophets, who were descended from one (a) *Mochus*, or *Moschus*, a great Physician. 'Tis very likely this is a corrupted Word, and that this *Mochus* is none else than *Moses*.

From *Sidon*, *Pythagoras* went into *Egypt*, where *Thales* and *Solon* had been before him. At his Departure from *Samos*, *Polycrates* gave him Letters of Recommendation to *Amasis*, who was then King of *Egypt*, and between whom there was a strict Friendship. *Polycrates* desir'd that Prince to give all manner of Protection to *Pythagoras*, and chiefly to recommend him to the Priests of his Country, and

(a) Strabo *in his 16th Book says, that if Credit may be given to* Posidonius, *this* Moschus, *who liv'd before the War of* Troy, *was the Author of the Doctrine of Atoms, which by no means agrees with* Moses.

and to oblige them to initiate him in all their Myſteries. *Amaſis* receiv'd him very kindly, and after having kept him ſome time at his Court, he gave him Letters for the Prieſts of *Heliopolis*.

The *Egyptians* were very jealous of their Sciences; they very rarely imparted them to Strangers; and admitted not even their own Countrymen into thoſe Studies, 'till after having made them paſs thro' ſuch Auſterities and ſevere Probations, as were capable to create in them a Loathing of thoſe Sciences for ever. The Prieſts of *Heliopolis* ſent *Pythagoras* to thoſe of *Memphis*; and they directed him to the Antients of *Dioſpolis*, who not daring to diſobey the King, but reſolving at the ſame time not to break in upon their own Cuſtoms, receiv'd *Pythagoras* into their Noviciate, hoping he would be diſcourag'd by the rigorous Rules that were, as it were, the Key to open the Door that let in to their Myſteries: But they were deceiv'd in their Hopes, for *Pythagoras* was inflam'd with ſo violent a Deſire to learn, that tho' theſe Prieſts would give him no Quarter, but injoin'd him very ſevere Obſervances, and ſuch as were directly contrary to the Way of Worſhip among the *Greeks*, he went thro' all with wondrous Patience, ſo far as even to receive the Circumciſion, as *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* pretends.

After having remain'd twenty five Years in *Egypt*, he went to *Babylon*, where he contracted a great Intimacy with the Magus *Nazaratus*, or *Zabrarus*, whom ſome pretend to be *Ezekiel*, and others *Zoroaſter*. But the Truth of Chronology confutes the Opinion of the latter; for the Magus *Zoroaſter* preceded *Pythagoras* ſeveral Ages.

In his Return from *Babylon* he went to *Crete*, and thence to *Sparta*, to inſtruct himſelf in the Laws of *Minos* and of *Lycurgus*, whoſe States were reputed the beſt govern'd in the World. At *Gnoſ-*

ſos,

ſos, a Town of *Crete*, he convers'd much with *Epimenides*.

After his long Abſence, he found *Samos* in a Condition very different from that in which he had left it. *Polycrates*, who had made himſelf abſolute Maſter of it, as we hinted before, puff'd up with his Proſperity, exercis'd a Tyrannick Power over the oppreſs'd *Samians*. *Pythagoras* hated Injuſtice too much, and was too fond of Right and Equity, to undergo the Yoke of a Tyrant. He preferr'd a voluntary Baniſhment to the Slavery that threaten'd him, and went to find out a Place of Refuge, where he might preſerve his Liberty, the moſt precious of all Treaſures, and for the Preſervation whereof all Men, who have known its Worth, have ever ſacrific'd all their other Goods, and even their Life.

He left *Samos* about the LXII. Olympiad, and viſited the Countries of *Greece*. Going thro' *Peloponneſus*, he ſtopt at *Phlius*, where *Leo* then reign'd. In the long Converſations he had with this Prince, he reveal'd to him ſuch mighty things, and ſpoke with ſo much Eloquence and Wiſdom, that *Leo*, at once raviſh'd and ſurpriz'd, ask'd him at length, *What Profeſſion he follow'd? Pythagoras* anſwer'd, *None; but that he was a Philoſopher*. The Prince was ſurpriz'd at this new Appellation, which he had never heard before; for 'twas *Pythagoras* himſelf, who diſpleas'd with the arrogant Title of *Sages* or Wiſe Men, which thoſe of this Profeſſion before him had taken upon themſelves, and knowing there is none wiſe but God, chang'd that too haughty and aſſuming a Name into one more meek and humble, calling himſelf a Philoſopher, that is, *a Lover of Wiſdom*. *Leo* ask'd him, *What it was to be a Philoſopher, and the Difference there was between a Philoſopher and other Men?* *Pythagoras* anſwer'd him, *That this Life might well be compar'd to the famous Aſſembly that was held every fourth*

fourth Year at Olympia, *for the Solemnity of the Games celebrated there; for, as in that Aſſembly there are ſome that come in Search of Glory, and of the Crowns that are the Rewards of the Victors; others in Search of Gain, by buying or hiring out of Merchandiſes; and a third Sort more noble than the two former, come thither neither for Profit nor Applauſe, but only to enjoy the Pleaſure of beholding that wonderful Spectacle, and to ſee and know what paſſes in it: So we in like manner, leaving our Country, which is Heaven, come into this World, as into a Place of publick Meeting. There, ſome toil after Glory, others for Profit, and ſmall is the Number of them, who contemning and trampling under Feet all manner of Avarice and Vanity, apply themſelves to the Study of Nature: Theſe laſt are they,* added he, *whom I call Philoſophers. And as in the Solemnity of the Games there is nothing more noble than to be a Spectator without any Intereſt or ſelfiſh End, ſo likewiſe in this Life, the Contemplation and Knowledge of Nature are infinitely more valuable than all other Studies and Applications.* To this purpoſe he was wont to ſay, *That Man was created to know and to contemplate.*

From *Peloponneſus* he paſs'd into *Italy*, and ſettled at *Croton*, of which Place he made choice for the Goodneſs of the Soil, and Temperateneſs of the Climate. The Inhabitants had, by their laborious Induſtry and Courage, acquir'd to themſelves ſo great a Reputation, that 'twas ſaid of 'em by way of common Proverb, *the laſt of the* Crotoniates *is the firſt of the* Greeks. But having ſuffer'd a great Loſs in a Battel with the *Locrians*, they degenerated into Softneſs and Effeminacy. *Pythagoras* thought it a Task worthy himſelf to raiſe up their dejected Courage and to reſtore them to their former Virtues, by obliging them to forſake the luxurious and effeminate way of Living they had

had embrac'd. He preach'd to 'em every Day the Advantages of Temperance, and with what Miſchiefs Voluptuouſneſs and Debauchery are attended in the Rear; and he cited to them the Examples of Towns and States that had been intirely ruin'd thereby. He compar'd the Care that is taken of the Body to the Acquiſition of a falſe Friend, who abandons us in Neceſſity; and the Care we take of the Soul, to that of a true Friend, an honeſt and good Man, who aſſiſts us in all the Needs of Life, and who is uſeful to us, even after our Death.

He labour'd with no leſs Zeal to take the Women off from the Licentiouſneſs and Diſſoluteneſs in which they liv'd, and to wean them from the horrible Luxury and Profuſeneſs, into which the Complaiſance, and too much Indulgence of their Husbands had plung'd them: To this End he gave them Inſtructions in the Temple of *Juno*; and tho' perhaps nothing is more difficult than to reclaim that Sex, and bring them back to Modeſty and Simplicity, when they have once got a Habit of Debauchery, and of living in Riot and Splendor, *Pythagoras* nevertheleſs brought it happily to paſs. The Women, touch'd with his Inſtructions, and convinc'd that their true Ornaments were Chaſtity and Modeſty, and not coſtly Apparel, threw off their Robes of Gold, and all the Gauderies that Luxury and Pride had invented, and conſecrated them to *Juno* in the ſame Temple, as ſo many Trophies that Wiſdom had rais'd of the Overthrow and Spoils of Profuſeneſs and Vanity.

This Victory gain'd over the Women in what they held moſt dear, and to which they are moſt ſtubbornly wedded, ought to make us judge how capable he was to work on the Hearts of the Youths, who were yet pliant, and had taken no Bent. He aſſembled them daily in the Temple of *Apollo*, and gave

gave them Inſtructions that were not thrown away upon them.

Firſt, he taught them to fear and honour the Gods; and after the Gods to honour and love above all their Fathers and their Mothers, as the ſecond Authors of their Being, and as their Benefactors. *What Obligations*, ſaid he to 'em, *would you not have to thoſe, who after your Death, ſhould reſtore you to Life? Judge from thence what Ingratitude it is not to render to your Parents what is ſo juſtly their Due. There is nothing ſo great, nothing ſo venerable, as the Quality of Father.* Homer *was fully convinc'd of this Truth*, added he; *for after having call'd* Jupiter *the King of the Gods, he ſeems to think he has infinitely out-done that mighty Title, by calling him the Father of the Gods and of Men.*

The Magiſtrates, aſtoniſh'd at the Impreſſion he made on his Auditors, and fearing leſt perhaps he ſhould make an ill Uſe of the Authority he had gain'd over them, and uſurp the Tyranny to himſelf, ſent for him one Day to come before 'em, and give Account of his Conduct, and of the Means he imploy'd thus to win and make himſelf Maſter of the Hearts of the People. He ſpoke to them with ſo much Solidity and Strength of Reaſon, that ſatisfy'd of his Integrity, they recover'd of the Fear with which his great Parts had ſtruck them, and pray'd him to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Government, and to give them the Advices he judg'd moſt conducive to the Good of the State.

The firſt he gave them was *to build a Temple to the Muſes*, thereby inſinuating to them to cultivate the Mind, and to live together in Concord and good Underſtanding under their chief Magiſtrate; like the Muſes, who are never at Variance among themſelves, and who living always in due Subjection to *Apollo*, never interrupt the Harmony of their mutual Agreement. He added, *that the*

safeſt Rampart againſt Oppreſſion and Tyranny was the Union of the Citizens.

The ſecond Advice was, *to preſerve an Equality among themſelves; for Equality never begets War; and not to endeavour to exceed their Neighbour States in any thing, except in Honeſty and Juſtice: For,* ſaid he to 'em, *without Honeſty and keeping of Faith 'tis impoſſible but all Governments will at length be ruin'd: And Juſtice is ſo neceſſary that nothing can ſubſiſt long without it, neither in Heav'n, nor upon Earth, nor in the Shades below. This is the Reaſon why* Themis, *the Goddeſs of Juſtice, is ſeated on each Side of the Throne of* Jupiter; Nemeſis, *or Vengeance, the Chief Miniſter of Juſtice, on each Side of the Throne of* Pluto; *and the Law in Cities is on the Throne of the Princes, and in the Seats of the Magiſtrates: Inſomuch that he who violates Juſtice, is guilty and commits an Offence againſt the God of Heav'n, againſt the God of Hell, and againſt the Law, which is the Queen of the Earth, and to which even Princes and Magiſtrates ought to live in Subjection.* And concerning the Execution of Juſtice, he told them, *that the Judges who wink at the Offences of the wicked, render themſelves Accomplices of their Crimes, and would have the Good learn to become like them.*

The third Advice was, *to be fully perſuaded that there can be no greater Misfortune than Anarchy.* 'Tis impoſſible for States to be happy without ſome body to rule them; and when even the Laws of a City or a State ſhould not be very good, 'tis yet more advantageous to ſtick by them, than to change them for others; unleſs it be by a general Conſent, to ſubmit themſelves to better. For adieu the Welfare of a State when the eſtabliſh'd Laws are neglected, and every one lives as he thinks fit, and becomes his own Legiſlator, Independancy being the Loſs and Deſtruction of Men.

The

The fourth was, *not to abuſe the Name of the Gods by ſwearing, and to behave themſelves ſo that no Man might juſtly refuſe to believe them on their bare Words: For,* ſaid he, *'tis impoſſible that a City that has that Reputation ſhould not be always happy, and the Arbitrator of its Neighbours.*

He told them, *that the Husband ought to be faithful to the Wife, and the Wife loyal to the Husband; and that there was nothing more unjuſt, nor more likely to be attended with greater Misfortunes, than to confound Families by Adultery, by introducing among 'em a foreign Blood.*

In general, he recommended Temperance to 'em, as the Virtue of each Sex and of every Age, and as the only Preſerver of the Endowments of the Body and of the Mind: And to extol this Virtue he made them obſerve from Hiſtory the Horrors of the oppoſite Vice. *Into what an Abyſs of Miſeries,* ſaid he to 'em, *did the Intemperance of one Man plunge the* Greeks *and the* Trojans? *'Tis hard to ſay which of the two were moſt wretched, the Victors or the Vanquiſh'd.*

He exhorted them to baniſh all Sloth and Idleneſs, and to direct their Actions according to the Precepts of Virtue; and that too not ſo much for fear of the Law, as out of a Principle of Honour.

He explain'd to them what true Glory is, and gave 'em to know that the only way to acquire it, was to be in reality ſuch as they deſir'd to appear to be to others. *Advice,* ſaid he, *is a ſacred thing, and you have reaſon to value it: But 'tis not ſo ſacred as Praiſe; for Advice relates only to Men, and Praiſe is the Portion of the Gods, to whom alone 'tis peculiarly due. If you would therefore deſerve Praiſe, you muſt endeavour to reſemble the Gods.*

He taught them that God alone is the Author and Source of all Good, and that to ſearch for it elſewhere than in God, was to fall into the Folly

of thoſe Perſons, who in the Court of a great Prince, ſhould neglect the Maſter to addreſs themſelves only to his Officers.

He repreſented to 'em how they that make Intereſt for the chief Imployments in the Government, ought to imitate the Runners of Races in the publick Games: And that as theſe laſt ſeek not to do Miſchief to their Antagoniſts, but only to run better, and win the Prize; ſo they that aſpire at the higheſt Offices, ought in no wiſe to hurt their Rivals, but endeavour to get the Advantage over them, by propoſing and promoting ſuch things as will moſt conduce to the Advantage and Good of the People they would govern.

In Concluſion he ſhew'd them, that all the Diſorders that reign'd in their City, were to be imputed only to the ill Education they gave their Children. *There is nothing*, ſaid he, *more ridiculous and fooliſh than what all Fathers do: They take great Care of their Children in their Infancy; but when thoſe Children enter into the moſt impetuous and boiling Part of their Life, which is the Rendezvous of the moſt dangerous Paſſions, they abandon 'em to themſelves, and leave them ſole Maſters of their own Conduct: Yet then is the Time they ought to redouble their Cares, and to appoint their Children ſuch Governors and Maſters, as are capable of keeping them in Awe, and to hinder them from running headlong to daſh themſelves to pieces againſt the Rocks with which they are ſurrounded in this tempeſtuous Ocean of Life.*

The Magiſtrates were ſo taken with his Diſcourſe, that they not only gave him Leave, but even intreated him to continue his Inſtructions in the Temples, to their Wives and their Children: They often went themſelves, and all the neighbouring Towns flock'd likewiſe to hear him.

At firſt he met with great Obſtacles in the Reformation he intended to eſtabliſh. A whole Peo-

ple

ple cannot eaſily be reclaim'd at once, and brought over from Licentiouſneſs to Regularity, and from Debauchery and Riot to Temperance and Frugality. But by his Perſeverance and Patience he ſurmounted all the Difficulties, which ſerv'd only to inhance his Merit, and increaſe the great Opinion they had conceiv'd of him.

Thus he continu'd his publick Inſtructions unmoleſted, and always in the Temples, that he might teach nothing out of the Eye of the Divinity, and to ſhew that God was the Giver of Light and Underſtanding, the only Maſter we ought to follow, and that from him alone we have all the Leſſons we undertake to teach.

Speaking to Children, he repreſented to 'em, *That Infancy being the Age that was moſt agreeable to God, and which he is pleas'd to take into his more immediate Protection, it was but reaſonable, that they ſhould endeavour to preſerve it undefil'd, and to adorn it with all manner of Virtues. The Gods*, ſaid he to 'em, *refuſe nothing to our Prayers, and in the times of great Droughts and Scarcity, they grant to our Cries the Rains and great Plenty; Can you then be ſo ingrateful as to refuſe the Gods what they require of you, and which they require not of you neither, but for your own Good?*

He inſtructed them never to begin Quarrels, and never to ſeek Revenge. To thoſe who were more advanc'd in Age, he gave Precepts ſuitable to their Underſtanding: He told them, for Example, that *Hardſhips and Difficulties contribute more to Virtue than Eaſe and Pleaſures; that the drowſineſs and inſenſibility of the Soul are near a-kin to Death; that all the Paſſions of the Soul are more cruel than Tyrants, and the Enemies of our Happineſs; that we ought to do our good Actions without proclaiming them, or even promiſing them before-hand; that there is nothing more dangerous than Unſteadineſs*

of Temper, and Fickleneſs in our way of Life; that Temperance is the Strength of the Soul, it being the Light of the Underſtanding freed from the Yoke of the Paſſions.

To check and humble the Pride and Confidence that exterior Advantages almoſt always inſpire, he told them, that *Riches are a very weak Anchor, and Glory yet a weaker; that Beauty and Strength of Body, Poſts, Dignities, Authority and Reputation were Anchors too, but moſt brittle and faithleſs. Which are then the good Anchors? Piety, Prudence, Magnanimity and Courage. Theſe are the Anchors no Tempeſt can looſen or unmoor: For ſuch is the Law of God, that there ſhould be no true Strength in any thing but Virtue, and that all the reſt ſhould be Weakneſs and Miſery.*

The Inſtructions he gave the Women were not leſs Grave and Weighty, nor leſs Moving. To make them lay aſide the Magnificence and Splendor they ſtill obſerv'd in their Sacrifices and Offerings, where Vanity always claims a greater ſhare than Religion, he taught them to offer *to the Gods nothing but what they had made with their own Hands, and could lay on the Altars without the aſſiſtance of any one: For Offerings ought neither to be Rich nor Noble, as if they were the laſt we were to offer.*

He extended the like Reformation to the Sacrifices the *Crotoniates* perform'd for the Dead, with a Profuſion capable to ruin the moſt wealthy Families.

He recommended to Wives the Love of their Husbands, and to Husbands the Love of their Wives, as a Duty that included all the reſt. He repreſented to them, that *this Affection was ſo juſt and ſo indiſpenſable, that their Fathers and Mothers in ſome meaſure yielded up all their Rights, and conſented they ſhould abandon them to live together.* He cited to Husbands the Example of *Ulyſſes, who*

refus'd

refus'd the Immortality Calypso *offer'd him, on condition he would quit* Penelope: And he said, *that no Persons were so severely punish'd in Hell, as the Husbands that had not liv'd well with their Wives, and the Wives that had not liv'd well with their Husbands.*

When *Pythagoras* had thus reform'd the Manners of the Citizens, and reclaim'd them from the vile Disorders in which they were plung'd, he bethought himself of laying some solid Foundations of the Wisdom he profess'd; and to establish his Sect; to the End the Seeds of Virtue he had already sown in the Hearts of his Hearers, being maintain'd and cultivated by those that should succeed him, might descend from Age to Age, and always bear the same Fruits after his Death.

'Tis not to be wonder'd at, that a Croud of Disciples offer'd themselves to a Man, of whose Wisdom they had already seen such wondrous Effects. They came to him from *Greece* and from *Italy*; but for fear of pouring the Treasures of Wisdom into unsound and corrupt Vessels, he receiv'd not indifferently all that presented themselves, but took time to try them; for he had it often in his Mouth, *that every Sort of Wood was not fit to make a* Mercury; that is, all Minds are not alike capable of Knowledge.

First he consider'd their Physiognomy, and from thence drew probable Tokens of their Inclinations; he observ'd their Discourse, their Laughter, their Gate; he inform'd himself of their Conduct, of their Trades and Occupations, and examin'd with great Care to what they were most addicted.

Tho' he found they had the requisite Dispositions, yet before he receiv'd them, he prov'd their Constancy by long Delays. If he had reason to be satisfy'd with their Perseverance, he admitted them into his Noviceship, which was indeed very

ſevere; for he had found the Method of the *Egyptians* ſo well grounded and ſo reaſonable, that he reſolv'd to follow it, and impart his Doctrine to none but ſuch as he had try'd before by all the Auſterities he himſelf had gone through and endur'd. Thus he gave his Diſciples the Rules of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, which ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe of the *Jewiſh* Philoſophers, who were call'd *Eſſeneans*. And there is no doubt to be made, but the Religious Recluſes of the Primitive Church took from thence all the different Probations they made uſe of, to breed themſelves up in a Life ſo perfect and holy: For the Chriſtians had as much Title to imitate the wholſome Cuſtoms of the Gentiles, as the *Hebrews* had to convert to their own uſe the Spoils of the *Egyptians*. Nay, we may even affirm, that in ſo doing the Chriſtians did only retake what was their own: For if we look back to the firſt Origine of theſe Rules, we find that the Gentiles had taken them from the *Nazareans*, and from the antient Patriarchs, that is to ſay, from the very Source of Truth.

Pythagoras at firſt injoin'd his Diſciples a five Years Silence, during which they were only to hear, without daring to ſtart the leaſt Queſtion, or propoſe the leaſt Doubt. Theſe five Years of Silence were ſometimes reduc'd to two, in behalf of thoſe he found to have any extraordinary Qualifications, and excellent natural Parts. While this Probation laſted, theſe Diſciples were call'd * *Hearers*; and when they were thought to be ſufficiently inſtructed in this ſo difficult a Science of Hearing and being Silent, they were permitted, and leave was given them to ſpeak, to propoſe their Doubts, and to write down what they heard; and then they were call'd † *Initiated in the Sciences*: But what deſerves our Obſervation, from this Silence they often proceeded more expert and more learn'd than they generally

* Ἀκουστικοί.

† Μαθηματικοί.

nerally do from Schools, where the Disputations, which are always precipitated, prevent Knowledge, where 'tis permitted to contest and oppose Reason, and where not to yield to Truth is to conquer. So true is it that Silence is the ready way to Instruction; and therefore *Solomon* says in the Preacher, *The Words of the Wise are heard in Silence.* Long before *Pythagoras*, King *Numa*, knowing the Advantage of Silence, commanded the *Romans*, particularly to honour one of the Muses, under the Name of *the Tacite Muse*, [*Dumb*] thereby to recommend Silence to them, as the only means to give Docility to the Soul, and that can initiate it in the Mysteries of Wisdom; and indeed, the Tongue ought to be only the Instrument of Reason, and our Reason is form'd only by the Sciences.

Verba Sapientium audiuntur in silentio, *Eccl.* 9. 17.

When *Pythagoras* had set at Liberty the Tongues of his Disciples, he gave them not leave to speak without Bounds and without Measure; for he often said to them, *You ought either to hold your Peace, or to say things more worth than Silence. Chuse rather to throw a Stone at random, than an idle or useless Word: And say not a little in many Words, but much in a few.*

Others, as *Porphyrius*, pretend, and perhaps with more Reason, that these two Sorts of Disciples were not, to use the Expression, two different Classes, where they could rise from the less perfect to that which was more perfect; but that they were two fix'd Conditions, according to the choice *Pythagoras* made of the different Talents of his Disciples; for as to those whom he thought not capable to penetrate into the Causes and the Reasons of things, he gave them only a plain and positive Precept; *Thou shalt do this, thou shalt not do that.* And these were they who were call'd † *Hearers*. But if he perceiv'd in any a penetrating Judgment, and a Genius capable of diving into Matters, he let them into the Secret

† Ἀκουσματικοί.

Secret of the Reasons, and explain'd to them the Causes of whatever he taught them; and these were call'd * *Initiated in the Sciences.* He acknowledg'd these only for his true Disciples, and capable to instruct others. When he was ask'd the Reason of this Difference, he answer'd, he could not force Nature, and that in giving to the duller Sort the positive Precept, and to those of quicker Apprehension the Reason of the Precept, he did no Wrong to the first: *They are,* added he, *in the same Condition with sick Persons, who send for a Physician, and who are heal'd of their Diseases, if they observe his Orders, tho' the Physician only prescribes the Remedies they have need of, without explaining to his Patients the Reasons of his Prescriptions.*

* Μαθηματικοί.

The Disciples having gone through the Probation, were oblig'd, before they were admitted, to bring all their Fortune into the common Stock, where it was put into the Hands of Men chosen on purpose, and call'd *OEconomists,* who manag'd it with so much Fidelity and Care, that when any one came to retire from the Society, he often carry'd away with him more than he had brought in.

If any one of the Disciples, after having led this Life for some time, come to grow weary of it, and return'd to his first Condition, all the others regarded him as a dead Person, made his Obsequies, and rais'd him a Tomb, to shew, that if a Man, after having enter'd into the Ways of Wisdom, turns aside and forsakes them, 'tis in vain for him to believe himself living, he is dead. And 'tis likely the *Greeks* borrow'd this Notion from the *Hebrews,* with whom it was very frequent, as we see by the Expression of St. *Paul,* when speaking of a Widow, who lives in Pleasure, he says, † *She is dead, tho' she seem to be alive.*

† Vivens mortua est. 1 ad Tim. 5.

Pythagoras had a great value for Musick; he look'd on it as something heav'nly and divine, and judg'd it

it very neceſſary to calm the Paſſions of the Soul, and to ſooth and ſoften them. He therefore made his Diſciples begin the Day with Muſick, and finiſh it in like manner.

After having thus ſpent ſome Minutes in the Morning, he led them abroad to walk a while in ſome delightful Places, and that done, he went with them to the Temple; for he ſaid, *There was nothing more prejudicial to the Tranquility of the Soul, than to go early in the Morning into Company, and plunge ones ſelf into the hurry of Affairs, e'er by the help of Muſick, of Meditation and of Prayer, we have calm'd and compos'd our Mind, and brought it into the State and Harmony, that is moſt becoming and moſt worthy of Man.*

When they came from the Temple, they us'd a little Exerciſe for the ſake of their Health, and then din'd on a little Bread and Honey, without Wine; when Dinner was over, they minded the publick, or their private Affairs, every one according to his Imployment; and when they had diſpatch'd their Buſineſs, they took a Walk as in the Morning, bath'd themſelves, and ſupp'd before Sun-ſet. Their Supper was generally ſome Bread, ſome Herbs, a ſmall Pittance of the Victims of the Sacrifice, ſeldom any Fiſh, and a little Wine. At the end of the Meal, they made the Libation, which was follow'd by ſome good Lecture, that the oldeſt at the Table, as Preſident, made the youngeſt perform. The Lecture over, they made another Libation, and the Preſident diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, giving them as a Task to meditate on ſome Symbol of their Maſter. But before we proceed any farther, 'twill be needful to explain what theſe Symbols of *Pythagoras* are.

I have already told you, that the *Egyptians* were very reſerv'd in diſcovering the Secrets of their Philoſophy; they let none into thoſe Myſteries but their Prieſts and their Kings; nay, even thoſe Kings

too

too muſt before-hand have been admitted into the Order of Prieſthood: They believ'd this Secrecy to be recommended to 'em by the Example of their Gods themſelves, who would never be ſeen by Mortals, but thro' the Obſcurity of Shadows: For this Reaſon there was at *Sais*, a Town of *Egypt*, a Statue of *Pallas*, who was the ſame as *Iſis*, with this Inſcription; *I am whatever is, has been, or ſhall be; and no Mortal has ever yet taken off the Veil that covers me*, to ſhew that the Wiſdom of God is incomprehenſible, and always cover'd with a Veil. To recommend this Secrecy, the *Egyptians*, at the Doors of their Temples, plac'd *Sphinxes*, in Token that their Theology was Enigmatical, and that to dive into it, 'twas neceſſary to pierce thro' the Darkneſs and Shadows of Terms obſcure, and of Figures that conceal'd it. Thus in the Neceſſity they lay under of not divulging their Myſteries, they had three Sorts of Styles, or Ways of expreſſing their Thoughts: The Simple, the Hieroglyphical, and the Symbolical. In the Simple they ſpoke plainly and intelligibly, as in common Converſation; in the Hieroglyphical they conceal'd their Thoughts under certain Images and Characters; and in the Symbolical they explain'd them by ſhort Expreſſions, which under a Senſe that was plain and ſimple, included another that was wholly figurative.

Heraclitus has fully expreſs'd the Difference of theſe three Sorts of Style, by theſe three Words, *ſpeaking*, *concealing*, and *ſignifying*. In the firſt they ſpoke without any Cover or Diſguiſe; in the ſecond they hid their Meaning under Images and Characters, and in the third they deſign'd or ſignify'd, that is to ſay, they gave Signs and Figures of what they intended to teach; and this laſt Manner was the Symbolical.

Loquens, celans, ſignificans.

Pytha-

Pythagoras borrow'd these three different Ways from the *Egyptians*, in all the Instructions he gave: For he spoke simply and plainly, when he said for Example, *that what was soveraignly just and reasonable was to sacrifice, and to pray: That the wisest of all human things was Physick; the finest, Harmony; the strongest, good Sense; the best, Happiness; the truest, that all Men are wicked.*

He imitated the Hieroglyphick Style: For to denote and signifie a God, the Creator of all Beings, he took sometimes the *Quaternion*, or Number of four, sometimes the *Unite*, or Number of one; and to denote Matter, or this visible World, he took that of *Two*, as I shall explain hereafter.

Lastly, he imitated above all the Symbolical Style, which having neither the Obscurity of Hieroglyphicks, nor the Clearness of ordinary Discourse, he thought very proper to inculcate the greatest and most important Truths: For a Symbol, by its double Sense, the proper and the figurative, teaches two things at once; and nothing pleases the Mind more than the double Image it represents to us at one View. Besides, as *Demetrius Phalereus* has observ'd, a Symbol has much Gravity and Force, and in its Brevity is contain'd a String that tickles even while it pricks, and will not easily let us forget it.

This was the Origine of Symbols, by Means whereof *Pythagoras* taught his Doctrine without *divulging* it, and without *hiding* it, that I may once more use the Terms of *Heraclitus*. Nec loquens, nec celans, sed significans.

The main End and Design of the Philosophy of *Pythagoras*, was to disengage and set free the Mind from the Bands of the Body; I say, the Mind, without which 'tis impossible to see or learn any thing; for, as he said first of any, 'tis the Mind only that sees, and that hears, all the rest being blind and deaf. And because he thought the Soul

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to be a Compound of two Parts that were created together; of the Intelligent Part, which he call'd *Mind*, and of the (*a*) Corporeal Part, which he call'd *Soul, luminous Body, and ſubtile Chariot of the Soul*, as I ſhall explain hereafter, he taught to purge alike theſe two Parts. The laſt of them by the Abſtinences, Initiations, Purifications and Sacrifices he had been taught by the *Egyptians* and the *Chaldeans*, and that *Heraclitus* call'd *Medicines*; for he believ'd this Part was thereby diſingag'd from the Bands of Matter, and by its Purity render'd capable of having ſome Communication with the Gods: And as to the firſt, that is, the Intelligent Part, he purg'd it by the Knowledge of Truth, which conſiſts in knowing the things that are immaterial and eternal. To this purpoſe he had Recourſe to Means that were Analogical to thoſe he made uſe of, for the *ſubtile Chariot of the Soul*. Theſe Means were firſt the Mathematical Sciences, which anſwer'd to the Purifications, and to the Initiations; and next, Logick, which he regarded as a thorough Inſpection into the Object of theſe Sciences, that is to ſay of Truth, and by conſequence, as alone capable to perfect the Deliverance of the Soul. Thus he begun by the Mathematical Sciences, becauſe they holding the middle Place between the Corporeal and Incorporeal Beings, alone can free the Mind from ſenſible things, and incline it to the Study of the Beings that are Spiritual. And this was the Reaſon why he had chiefly Recourſe to Numbers; for not being able to explain intelligibly enough by Argument and Reaſon, what the firſt Principles are, he gave clear Proofs of them by Numbers. Thus to

(a) *They imagin'd this Corporeal Part to be a Spiritual Subſtance, and of a very ſubtile Matter; compar'd to the Underſtanding, to the Mind, it was Body; and compar'd to a terreſtrial Body, it was Spirit.*

to make it be underſtood what he meant by the Unity, the Identity, the Equality, the Stability of the firſt Principle which is the Cauſe of the Creation, of the Union, of the Sympathy, and of the Preſervation of this Univerſe, he call'd this firſt Principle *One*, or *Unity*. And to explain the Diverſity, the Inequality, the Diviſibility, and the continual Changes of what is never the ſame, nor in the ſame Condition, that is to ſay, of Matter, he call'd this Matter *Two*: For ſuch is the Nature of that Number in particular things, that it ſeparates and divides them. And 'tis very likely this was all the Myſtery *Pythagoras* believ'd to be in Numbers; he imploy'd them as Types or Signs, and not in the leaſt as Cauſes or Principles: But after him, his Diſciples introduc'd into his Doctrine a Myſtery he never believ'd, and this it was that drew upon them the Cenſure of *Ariſtotle*, who falls foul on their Opinions in the twelfth Book of his Metaphyſicks.

If *Pythagoras* had acknowledg'd any ſuch great Virtue to have been in Numbers, 'tis impoſſible to believe but we ſhould ſee ſome Mark of it, either in the Symbols or in the other Precepts he left behind him, and that are remaining among us to this Day: Where all we find of this Matter ſerves only to prove, that he took theſe Numbers only as Signs, by reaſon of the Relation and Agreement they have to one another, and of the natural Properties he obſerv'd in them. His firſt Diſciples follow'd his Doctrine without corrupting it with vain and frivolous Imaginations. But ſee here my Conjectures on this Affair.

They who had been in *Egypt* before *Pythagoras*, as *Thales*, *Solon*, and others, did indeed bring back into *Greece* ſome Knowledge of the true God; but they always attributed to their own Gods all they had learnt of this firſt Being. *Pythagoras* was the Man,

Man, who being more fully instructed than any before him, first brought thither the true Name of God, with the Knowledge of all the Force and Virtue of this holy Name, which he communicated to his Disciples under the Name of *Quaternion*, or *Number of Four*: For the * *Quaternion* of *Pythagoras* is only the inutterable Name, or the *Jehovah* of the *Hebrews*. This Philosopher, having learnt this great Name, either in the Books of *Moses*, or in conversing with the *Jews*, and seeing that in *Hebrew* it consisted exactly of four Letters, translated it into his Language by the Number of *Four*: And in Proof of this Truth, we find that he gave the true Explication of this Word, as he had been taught it, and as *Lysis*, the particular Friend of this Philosopher, and his first Disciple, has transmitted it down to us in the golden Verses: For this Author explains it very properly in giving the Name of *Four* to *the Source of Nature that perpetually rolls along*: Which is no more than an Explication of the Word *Jehovah*, which signifies properly, *the Source of all that has receiv'd a Being*. 'Twas enough that *Pythagoras* gave a little into the Mystery of Numbers, to furnish a fair Occasion of advancing these astonishing Chimæra's of a *Four*, that had produc'd all Things by a Power inherent in that Number. But they were only the Successors of these first Disciples, who fell into these Visions. Most of the things of this World, the farther they are remov'd from their Origine, the farther likewise they depart from their first Simplicity, as Streams take the Colour and Qualities of the Soils through which they glide.

* Τετραξον. ΤΘ.

There are two other Reasons to confirm this Opinion. The first is, that *Aristotle*, when he argues against this false Notion of Numbers, *that they are the Principle of things*, always imputes it; not

not to *Pythagoras*, but to the *Pythagoreans*. (a) *The* Pythagoreans, says he, *make all things proceed from Numbers*. And after him *Cicero*: (b) *The* Pythagoreans *hold that all things come from Numbers, and from the Elements of Mathematicks*. They say, *the Pythagoreans*, because in truth this Opinion ow'd its Birth only to the Disciples that succeeded those whom *Pythagoras* had instructed. Thus *Aristotle* in another Place, speaking of this Doctrine, says, **some Pythagoreans*, which proves they were not all of the same Opinion.

*Πυθαγορείων τινές. De Cœlo. 3. 1.

The second Reason is, because *Socrates* and *Plato*, whom we ought to look on as the Disciples of *Pythagoras*, and who extol so high the Science of Numbers, acknowledge not any generative Virtue in them, but only inasmuch as they are very proper to raise the Mind to the Knowledge of Truth, by their natural Property, and by the Affinity they have to one another, *The Knowledge of the first Number, of the Unity*, says *Socrates* in the seventh Book of his Republick, *is one of the things that raise the Mind, and that by disingaging it from sensible things, leads it to the Contemplation of that which truly is*. And I make not the least Doubt, but this is all the Mystery we need inquire after in the Ceremonies, and in the *Theurgies* or Divine Operations, mention'd by *Proclus*, and wherein Numbers were made use of only for having alone the Power of acting in a very singular Manner, and for that by the help of them, the greatest and most ineffable things were effected.

The Present *Pythagoras* made his Disciples in teaching them the Name of the true God, and all the

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(a) Πυθαγόρειοι ἔφασαν ἐποίησαν ἐξ ἀριθμῶν τὰ ὄντα. Metaphys. lib. 12. cap. 8.

(b) Pythagorei ex Numeris, & Mathematicorum Initiis profiscisci volunt omnia. *Academic. Quest. Lib.* 11.

the Virtue of that Name, appear'd ſo wonderful a thing, and was receiv'd by them with ſuch Sentiments of Gratitude and Reſpect, that they made no Difficulty to ſwear by him who had taught them ſo great and ſo important a Truth. The Interpreter of this Auguſt Name ſeem'd to them to deſerve a Divine Honour; which is a certain Proof, that the Truths which flow'd from the Knowledge of this Name, were more luminous and enlightning than all that had hitherto been brought into *Greece*.

I will, in the next Place, give a general Idea of the Theology of *Pythagoras*, which is all grounded on the Knowledge of that Name.

The Theology of Pythagoras. He conceiv'd that God having created all things, muſt of neceſſity have been before all things, and by conſequence only and alone: But ſeeing it was impoſſible that God in the Creation ſhould not give ſome Image of himſelf, he taught, that he firſt of all created the Immortal Gods, intirely like to himſelf, and as it were the immutable and uncorruptible Images of the firſt Cauſe who had created them. In a Rank next beneath theſe, he acknowledg'd Subſtances leſs perfect, whom he call'd *Demons*, and *Heroes*, full of Goodneſs and of Light; that is to ſay, the Angels, and the other bleſſed Spirits: He conſider'd them as Images partaking in a middling Degree of this firſt Being, he plac'd them in different Spheres, and taught that they ſhould be honour'd according to the Order and Rank that the Law, which is nothing but the Will of the Father, had given them: That is to ſay, he would have the Worſhip that was paid them, proportion'd to their Dignity, by rendring the chief Honours to the Gods, and the ſecond to the Angels, without ever confounding them: And what is very obſervable, he taught, that the Honour and Worſhip that was given the Angels ought

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to redound to God alone, and end in him, who was their Creator.

Beneath these Heroes or Angels, he plac'd the Souls of Men, which he call'd with reason the last or lowest of rational Substances, as he call'd the Angels the middle Substances, plac'd between the Immortal Gods and the Souls of Men, to unite the Souls to the Sons of God, and through them to God himself. From hence he drew two Consequences, which seem to deserve our most serious Consideration. The first was, that when the Souls of Men had in this World divested themselves of all carnal Affections, and had adorn'd and heighten'd their Nature by an Union with God, they became worthy of the Respect and Homage of other Men; for every Man who loves and honours God, ought likewise to love and honour all that resembles him. But in regulating this Worship, he order'd and limited it, as we shall see in the Commentaries of *Hierocles*.

The second Consequence, which is no less remarkable than the former, is, that the Souls of Men being the last of all rational Substances, were likewise the last to which Men might extend their Worship; and that therefore we ought not to honour any Nature inferior to that of Man. A Principle, that destroys at once all the Religions of the Heathens, especially those of *Egypt*, the Mother of Idolatry, and that had transferr'd to the Figures of Birds, of four-footed Beasts, and of Serpents, the Honour that is alone due to the Incorruptible God.

Pythagoras conceiv'd nothing to be immaterial and incorporeal but the first Being, which he called a Spirit, that penetrated into all the Parts of the Universe, and that warm'd, animated and mov'd all Nature by its Presence. All the other Spirits, as well the Immortal Gods, as the Demons, he

held were cloath'd with a luminous Body, as were the Stars, whom he likewiſe ſtyl'd Gods. To reflect on what he ſaid after the *Egyptians* and the *Chaldeans*, that *God has the Light for Body, and the Truth for Soul*, it may be believ'd, that he gave likewiſe a Body to the firſt Being; but this is a figurative Expreſſion, and perhaps taken from thoſe Words of *David*; *Lord, thou art cloath'd with Light, as with a Raiment*; and elſewhere, *Send out thy Light and thy Truth.*

Amictus Lumine ſicut Veſtimento. *Pſ.* 103. 2. Emitte Lucem tuam & Veritatem tuam. 40, 9.

'Tis certain, *Pythagoras* taught, that this firſt Being was neither paſſible, nor expos'd to the Senſes, but inviſible, incorruptible and intelligible: He therefore forbid to place in the Temples any Figure of God, either caſt or painted, believing it no leſs than a Sacrilege to repreſent by terreſtrial and periſhable things that which is Eternal and Divine. 'Tis eaſie to ſee that *Pythagoras* took this Inhibition from the Books of the *Hebrews:* And 'tis ſurprizing enough to reflect, that even in the Age of Idolatry, and when the Idols of the falſe Gods were ſeen every where in the Temples, and in the Ceremonies of the *Pagan* Religions, a *Pagan* Philoſopher ſhould openly condemn that Doctrine, and teach the Truth.

He held that the Air was full of the Spirits he call'd Demons and Heroes, whom he regarded as the Miniſters of the Supream God, and ſaid, it was theſe Spirits or Genii that ſent to Men, nay even to Animals, their Dreams, their Diſeaſes, and their Health; and that it was to them likewiſe that the Purifications, Expiations, Divinations and other Ceremonies were directed, and that they ended in them. This Opinion he had taken from the *Egyptians* and from the *Chaldeans*, who holding nothing to be immaterial and incorporeal but the firſt Being, and aſcribing Bodies to the other Gods and to the Angels, were fallen into the Error of believing

believing that these Corporeal Essences alone acted on Men and on Animals, and that the Incense and other Steams of the Sacrifices, together with the all earthly things, that were us'd in the Purifications and in the Initiations, could not approach the one God, the Father and Creator of all things, who was impassible and immutable: But that by vertue of the Divine Operation, which they call'd *Theurgy*, they might affect the Corporeal Gods. Thus you see the Foundation of the publick and particular Purifications and Expiations that *Pythagoras* practis'd; the publick, to purifie the Towns, to chase away the Ills that afflicted, and to prevent those that threaten'd them; and the particular, to deliver the Soul, and to purge it from the Pollutions and Stains it had contracted through the Contagion of the Body. 'Tis pretended that by these publick Purifications he deliver'd *Lacedæmon* from the Plague, to which that Town was very subject.

He knew this great Truth, that God being the very Essence of Goodness, and this Goodness being the sole Cause of the Creation of all Beings, he created every thing in the State and Condition that was best for each of them: From whence he drew these Consequences; that God could not be the Author of Evil, and that he rewarded the Good, and punish'd the Wicked. But in regard to these Punishments he taught a false Doctrine; for he believ'd the Torments of the other Life not to be eternal, and that they were only a temporary Punishment or Correction, to heal the Souls, and to render them worthy of returning to the Place of their Origine, after they had recover'd their first Purity.

His Thoughts of the Creation were very sublime, and his Idea thereof very worthy of the Majesty of God: For he said, that it was the Thought only of God and his Will that had created the U-

Universe; which is as much as to say, that for God *to create*, is *to think and to will*: and that all that has been, has been by the sole Determination of his Will and of his Thought: Which admirably well explains the Sublimity of this Expression of *Moses*: *God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light*; for *God said*, is nothing else but *God thought, God would have it so.* Every thing hasten'd to appear and obey his Will and his Thought, as a vivifying Command, that calls that which is not, as that which is.

* Pherecydes Syrus primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos. 1 Tusc. Quæst. c. 196.

* *Cicero* writes, that *Pherecydes* was the first who said that the Soul was immortal; he means the first of the *Greek* Philosophers; for this Opinion was establish'd among the *Egyptians* long before his Days. *Pythagoras*, after he had receiv'd the first Tincture of this Belief in the School of his Master *Pherecydes*, went into *Egypt*, where he was fully confirm'd in it: But while he embrac'd the Doctrine, he embrac'd likewise the Errors with which the *Egyptians* had almost wholly deform'd it; and whereof long before the Days of *Pythagoras* some Footsteps might be seen in the Verses of *Homer*, who had been fishing in the same Waters.

This Opinion of *Pythagoras* and of the *Egyptians*, concerning the Nature of the Soul, deserves to be explain'd at large; for 'tis generally taken very wrong, and it may serve for the Understanding of the Antients, especially of *Homer* and *Virgil*, both of whom held the same Doctrine.

They who have written the Life of *Pythagoras*, and related his Opinions, have not given us a full Account of them concerning the Nature of the Soul. We must therefore have Recourse for his Thoughts upon that Subject to the Writings of his Disciples; and no Man has spoken of them more at large than *Timæus* of *Locris*, whom *Plato* has explain'd. There we see that he conceiv'd the Soul

of

of Man to be of the ſame Nature with that of the Univerſe, and with that of the Demons or Heroës that is to ſay, of the Angels, but ſomething leſs perfect; and that he taught, that of the Remains of this Univerſal Soul, which was a Compound of the Spiritual Subſtance, that he call'd *Underſtanding and Mind*, and of the four Elements, that is to ſay, a Compound of the *ſame* and of the *other*, God had form'd all the Souls that are exiſtent. *Ariſtotle* therefore ſays not without Reaſon, that *Plato* in the *Timæus* makes the Soul to be of the four Elements, that is to ſay, of the Quinteſſence of them, to which he has added the Mind, the ſpiritual and intelligent Part. But this Tenet of *Pythagoras*, was not a new Tenet of his own finding out, but the antient Doctrine he had found fully eſtabliſh'd among the *Egyptians*, of whom *Homer* had learnt it. *Pythagoras* only corrected it in one Point. Let us now ſee what this antient Theology was.

The *Egyptians* and the antient *Greeks* imagin'd the Soul to be a Compound of Underſtanding and of Soul, created together. They gave the Name of *Soul*, and of *the Chariot of the Soul* to that fine and ſubtile Body, with which the Underſtanding was cloath'd. They taught that this ſubtile Body, this Chariot, was furniſh'd by the Moon, and the Underſtanding by the Sun; which Opinion *Pythagoras* afterwards expreſs'd in theſe Terms, *That the Soul was taken from the Hot and Cold Æther.* And they imagin'd that this Soul coming to animate a terreſtrial Body, moulded it ſelf on the Form of that Body, as the melted Oar takes the Figure of the Mould in which it is caſt, and that is fill'd with it. That after Death, or the Separation of this Soul and this terreſtrial Body, the Soul intire, that is to ſay, the Underſtanding and its ſubtile Chariot, flew away to beneath the Moon; that the Soul which had liv'd ill, remain'd in the Gulph call'd *Hecate, and*

the Field of Proſerpine, where it underwent the Pains it had deſerv'd for its Sins, and purg'd it ſelf from all the Impurities it had contracted by its Union with the Body; and the Soul that had liv'd well, went to an Abode above the Moon. That there at length a ſecond Death happen'd, that is to ſay, the Separation of the Underſtanding, and of the Soul, or ſubtile Chariot; that the Underſtanding reunited it ſelf to the Sun, and the Soul or ſubtile Chariot remained above the Moon, where were the *Elyſian* Fields, and there retain'd the Figure of the Body it had animated, inſomuch that it was the true Image of that Body; for which reaſon the Εἴδωλον. *Greeks* call'd it *Idol*, and the *Latins*, *Image*. *Homer*, ſpeaking of the Shades that are in Hell, always calls them without diſtinction *Souls and Idols*, that is to ſay, *Images*. But this great Poet has no where ſo plainly explain'd this Theology as in the eleventh Book of the *Odyſſes*, where *Ulyſſes*, ſpeaking of what he had ſeen in Hell, ſays, (a) *After* Siſyphus *I perceiv'd the divine* Hercules, *that is to ſay, his Image: for, as for him, he is with the Immortal Gods, and aſſiſts at their Feſtivals. For him*, that is to ſay, *his Underſtanding*, the moſt divine Part of his Soul: and his *Idol*, that is to ſay, the luminous Part of the Soul, the fine and ſubtile Body with which the Underſtanding was cloath'd. *Virgil* makes *Dido* ſpeak according to this antient Theology, which was alone receiv'd in thoſe Days, when ſhe ſays;

Et nunc magna mei ſub terras ibit Imago.

My

(a) Τὸν δὲ μὲτ' εἰσενόησα βίλν Ἡρακλειάην
Εἴδωλον, αὐτὰρ δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
Τέρπεται ἐν θαλίης

My Image, the intire Image of this earthly Body, is going into Hell. We ſee why ſhe calls this Image, *magna, great, intire,* becauſe it was of the ſame Size and Make with the Body.

Pythagoras follow'd this very Doctrine, excepting the Tenet of the ſecond Death, which was caus'd by the Separation of the Underſtanding and of the Soul, or ſubtile Chariot of the Soul: For he held that theſe two Parts being born together, were inſeparable; that there was but one only Death which ſeparated the Soul and the mortal Body, and that the Underſtanding, adhering always to its Chariot, return'd to its Star.

Virgil has very well expreſs'd this Return of the Souls into the Stars whence they were deſcended, when he ſays in the fourth Book of his *Georgicks*,

——Nec morti eſſe locum,
Sed viva volare
Sideris in Numerum,

There is no other Death; but all theſe Beings return full of Life to the Stars, that make together a wonderful Harmony. Let us take notice, by the way, that theſe Words *Sideris in numerum* do not ſignifie *in modum ſiderum, as Stars:* For that was in no wiſe the Opinion of *Pythagoras*; but *in ſidera numeroſa,* into the Stars that make a Harmony; for *Pythagoras* ſpoke much of the Muſick of the Stars and of the Heavens: Nay, he even boaſted he had heard it.

Thus you ſee the famous Diviſion that the *Egyptians,* and after them the *Pythagoreans,* made of Man into three Parts, that is to ſay, *the Underſtanding, the Soul, and the terreſtrial and mortal Body.* 'Tis not likely that Men of ſo good Senſe ſhould have of themſelves ſo extravagant an Opinion; but they muſt have taken it from ſome Truth they under-

underſtood amiſs, and that gave occaſion to this Error, I will tell you my Thoughts of the Matter. The antient Theology of the *Hebrews* ſpoke of Man as compos'd of theſe three Things, *Mens, Anima & Corpus, the Mind, the Soul and the Body*, as we ſee in the holy Scripture. Now theſe Philoſophers, not taking aright the Senſe of this Diviſion, invented upon this the three following Parts; the Underſtanding, as the ſpiritual Part of the Soul; the Soul, or the Chariot of the Soul, as the fine and ſubtile Body, with which the Underſtanding was cloath'd; and the terreſtrial Body, as animated by the Soul, that is to ſay, by the ſubtile Body. 'Tis therefore moſt likely, that from the ſpiritual Soul, and from the ſenſitive or animal Soul, they made this Compoſition of Underſtanding and of Soul; that they believ'd the Underſtanding to be the Judge of ſpiritual Things, and the Soul of ſenſible Things. The following Compariſon will perhaps render this Notion of *Pythagoras* more intelligible. *Dædalus* had made a wooden Image of *Venus*, that walk'd and mov'd about by the help of Mercury with which he had fill'd it. Let us ſuppoſe the Wood to be the terreſtrial and mortal Body, the Mercury that forms and moulds its ſelf on the Body it fills, and thereby becomes the Image of it, to be the Soul, or the ſubtile Chariot of the Soul, which by the aſſiſtance of the Spirits gives Life and Motion to the whole Machine. Let us but add to theſe two Parts the Underſtanding or the Mind, the ſpiritual and intelligent Soul, and we have the Man intire, ſuch as *Pythagoras* and the *Egyptians* conceiv'd him to be.

The Rabbins, who of themſelves are fruitful enough in extraordinary Imaginations, have appropriated this to their own ſelves: For they ſaid juſt in like manner, that the Soul was cloath'd with a ſubtile Body, which they call'd, not *the Chariot of the*

the Soul, with *Pythagoras*, but the *Veſſel of the Soul*, which comes much to the ſame purpoſe.

There was another Error, which, had it been ſuch as it was given out to have been, would have gone near to have deſtroy'd the Doctrine of the Nature of the Soul: This was the *Metempſychoſis*, or Tranſmigration of the Soul into ſeveral Bodies, whether of Men or of Animals. But we are going to ſhew, that Men have been no leſs miſtaken in the Senſe of the Paſſages whence they took it, than in the Original they have given it.

If *Pythagoras* had been the firſt Author of it, we might believe that the Story of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who by reaſon of his Sins liv'd ſeven Years among Beaſts, browzing the Graſs like Cattle, might have given him this Notion, that Vice degrades a Man from his Condition, and transforms him into a Beaſt more or leſs Savage, as he is more or leſs Vicious.

But 'tis certain this Opinion is antienter than that Philoſopher, and that it was a Doctrine of the *Egyptians*, which the *Greeks* very unjuſtly aſcrib'd to themſelves, as *Herodotus* poſitively tells us in his ſecond Book. *The* Egyptians *likewiſe were the firſt that ſaid, the Soul of Man is Immortal, that after the Death of the Body it paſſes ſucceſſively into the Bodies of Beaſts; that after having paſs'd thro' the Bodies of terreſtrial Animals, as well of the Water as of the Air, it comes again to animate the Body of a Man, and that it accompliſhes this Round in the Space of three thouſand Years. Some* Greeks *have given out this Doctrine, as if it had been their own, ſome ſooner, ſome later, and I know who they are, but will not name them.*

By this *Herodotus* teaches us, not only that the *Egyptians* are the firſt Authors of that Opinion, but alſo that *Pythagoras* was not the firſt Perſon who advanc'd it as his own. For my part, I confeſs I know

know not who the others are, of whom *Herodotus* ſpeaks, for at this Day the Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls is imputed only to *Pythagoras*, and 'tis even ſomething different from that which the *Egyptians* firſt advanc'd. But the Alterations *Pythagoras* made in it, as well as thoſe that others have made ſince, as the Phariſees, who taught that none but the Souls of good Men paſs'd into other Bodies, the Souls of the wicked being detain'd in Places where they were puniſh'd; all this, I ſay, does nothing to the main Point of the Doctrine, which continues ſtill the ſame. Thus we know the Origine, let us now ſearch the true Explication of this Opinion.

There is no likelihood, as I have already ſaid in the Life of *Plato*, that Men who always explain'd themſelves very myſteriouſly, even in the things that were moſt plain and intelligible, ſhould ſpeak without the leaſt Diſguiſe or Myſtery, of ſo prodigious an Affair as the Tranſmigration of the Soul into ſeveral Bodies of Men, of Animals, or even of Plants. But ſee the whole Secret of this ſo wondrous a Fiction, of which ſome, by taking it too ſtupidly according to the Letter, have made no leſs than a Monſter.

'Tis certain, that as Man may by Virtue render himſelf like God, ſo by Vice he may alſo become like Beaſts: And therefore *David* ſays, that * *Man being in Honour*, that is to ſay, originally the Image of God, *did not underſtand it; that he has been plac'd in the Rank of Beaſts that have no Reaſon, and is become like them*. Now there is nothing more natural than to give a Man the Name of that to which he is moſt like. Thus the antient *Hebrews* gave Men the Names of thoſe Beaſts, which the Vice they were addicted to made them the moſt reſemble, and call'd them *Wolves*, *Dogs*, *Swine*, *Serpents*, according as they obſerv'd in them the Vices of thoſe Animals.

* Homo cum in honore eſſet non intellexit, comparatus eſt jumentis inſipientibus, & ſimilis factus eſt illis, *Pſ.* 49. 13. 20.

Animals. Hence the *Egyptians*, who never ſpoke but in Riddles, and who explain'd their Thoughts by Figures, rather than by Words, us'd a *Serpent* to ſignifie a malicious and dangerous Man, a *Hog* for a debauch'd Man, a *Stag* for a timorous Man; and they ſaid that a Man was become a *Wolf*, meaning he was an unjuſt and rapacious Perſon; and that he was become a *Dog*, to ſay he had no Honour, but was paſt all Senſe of Shame.

I know that when Fictions have long paſs'd for naked and literal Truths, and have had the Conſent of ſeveral Ages, they very rarely ſuffer themſelves to be diſcuſs'd and purg'd by Reaſon, and that they dread even the Approach of that Conjecture, which would examine and dive into their fabulous Part. But I know likewiſe on the other hand, that there is nothing more unjuſt, than to ſuffer Falſhood to plead Preſcription againſt Truth. Let there have been ever ſo many Philoſophers who have literally taken this Metempſychoſis, and who have actually taught that the Soul of a Man, to expiate his Sins after his Death, paſs'd into the Body of another Man, or of an Animal, or of a Plant; let ever ſo many Poets have ſpread it abroad in their Writings; nay, allowing that even the Hiſtorians themſelves, who are the Writers that leaſt of all ought to ſuffer any Mixture of Fable, have ſaid with the Poets, that *Pythagoras* affirm'd of himſelf, that he was firſt *Æthalides* the Son of *Mercury*, then *Euphorbus*, after that *Hermotimus*, after *Hermotimus* a Fiſherman of *Delos*, and laſt of all *Pythagoras*: What can be inferr'd from this, but that the Philoſophers took Delight in advancing a ſingular Opinion, that had in it ſomething at once miraculous and terrible; this the Poets regarded as their proper Right, becauſe of the Fable that veil'd it: [For who is ignorant that Fiction is the Birth-right of Poetry, and that Poets inhabit the Coun-

Country of Fables and Monſters?] And both of them ſeduc'd and led aſtray the Hiſtorians, who, as *Strabo* teaches us, were often as fond of Fables, as the very Poets themſelves.

One certain Mark that *Pythagoras* never believ'd the Tranſmigration of Souls is, becauſe there is not the leaſt Footſtep of any ſuch Tenet, neither in thoſe Symbols of his that are now remaining, nor in the Precepts his Diſciple *Lyſis* has collected, and left as a Summary of his Doctrine: On the contrary, it appears by thoſe Sentences, that he taught that the rational Eſſences, as well the firſt, the Immortal Gods, and thoſe of the middle Rank, the Angels, as the laſt, the Men, continue always, in as much as relates to their Being, what they were created, and that the laſt neither degrade nor nobilitate themſelves but by their Vices or Virtues. And thus *Hierocles*, the *Pythagorean* Philoſopher, has explain'd it. *Whoever*, ſays he, *expects that after his Death he ſhall be cloath'd with the Body of a Beaſt, that he ſhall become an Animal without Reaſon, becauſe of his Vices, or a Plant becauſe of his Heavineſs or Stupidity, ſuch a Man, I ſay, being of a quite contrary Opinion to theirs who tranſform the Eſſence of Man into ſome one of the Superior Beings, and plunging it into one of the Inferior Subſtances, is infinitely deceiv'd and abſolutely ignorant of the eſſential Form of our Soul, which can never change: 'Tis indeed ſaid to become God by Virtue, and Beaſt by Vice, tho' it can never be either of them by its Nature, but only by its Likeneſs to the one or the other.*

Theſe are the Words of a Philoſopher, who was highly ſcandaliz'd that ſo abſurd an Interpretation ſhould be given to the Opinion of his Maſter, and who therefore gives it the Senſe it ought to have.

I do not deny but that the Philoſophers who ſucceeded *Pythagoras*, inconſiderately taught this Doctrine

Doctrine for a conſtant Truth; but then they had a good Deſign in doing it, and thought by a pious Lie to deter and hinder Men from committing thoſe Crimes and Miſdeeds, which after Death would make them liable to ſuch ſevere Puniſhments and Purgations. Of this I will produce an Evidence ſo authentick, as not to permit us in the leaſt to doubt that this was not their Intention. 'Tis of a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, and one that was very well inſtructed in the Opinions of that Philoſopher; I mean, *Timæus* of *Locris* himſelf, on whoſe Writings *Plato* has taken ſome Pains. Now *Timæus* in his Treatiſe of the Soul of the World, has theſe remarkable Words: *As we ſometimes cure diſtemper'd Bodies by violent Remedies, when the Diſeaſe will not give way to gentle; we take the like Courſe in the Cure of Souls: When they refuſe to ſubmit to plain Truths, we heal 'em by Lies. This neceſſarily reduces us to threaten 'em with ſtrange Puniſhments, and to give out, that Souls paſs into new Bodies: For Example, that the Soul of a Coward paſſes into the Body of a Woman, that it may be expos'd to all manner of Ignominy and Contempt; that of a Murderer into the Body of a wild Beaſt, that he may be puniſh'd according to his Deſerts; and that of a debauch'd Perſon into the Body of a Swine.* Proclus inſinuates the ſame thing in his fifth Book on the *Timæus*.

'Twill be objected, that ſoon after *Timæus*, we ſee *Socrates* ſpeaking of this *Metempſychoſis*, as of a ſimple and plain Doctrine without any Figure. But if we examine well the three Dialogues where he ſpeaks of it, which are the *Menon*, the tenth Book of the Republick, and the *Phedon*, we ſhall find that in the firſt, *Socrates* ſpeaking to *Menon*, who was a *Pythagorean*, touches but ſlightly on this Opinion, and mentions it only to draw from thence ſome Concluſion in favour of Reminiſcency,

which

which he endeavours to prove, tho' he was not nevertheleſs fully convinc'd of it: That in the tenth Book of the Republick, he only relates an *Egyptian* Fable; and certainly 'tis not in Fables that we ought to ſearch for the Truth and Simplicity of a Philoſophical Tenet: And laſtly we ſhall find, that in the *Phedon*, where we have the laſt Words of *Socrates*, this Philoſopher exempts at firſt from the *Metempſychoſis*, the Souls that retire unſully'd, and that during this Life have ſerv'd God with Juſtice and with Truth; and he aſſures that ſuch Souls go directly among the Gods, where they injoy an eternal Felicity. And as for the Souls impure and defil'd, or even thoſe that have liv'd in the Ways of Juſtice, rather through Habitude and natural Temperament, than through Philoſophy, he teaches that after Death they paſs into other Bodies, either of Animals or of Men. Now what can we conclude from hence, except that the dying *Socrates* left as a Legacy to good Men, the happy Expectation, that when they leave this Life they ſhall go to injoy an endleſs Felicity; and that he took his Advantage of a receiv'd Opinion, to leave to the wicked the ſalutary Dread, that the terrible Menace of the paſſing of the Soul into ſeveral Bodies inſpires.

But a fuller and more concluſive Proof of the Truth of what we have been ſaying, is that *Lyſis* himſelf, the intimate Friend of *Pythagoras*, and the very Perſon who receiv'd from his own Mouth the Tenets he teaches in his Golden Verſes, ſays in expreſs Terms, that when the Soul, after having been purify'd from its Crimes, has left the Body, and is return'd into Heav'n, 'tis no more ſubject to Death, but injoys an eternal Felicity. He ſays not a Syllable of the Tranſmigration of the Soul into ſeveral Bodies, and yet that was the proper Place where this Doctrine ought to have been inſerted.

Inſomuch

Insomuch that altho' in Process of Time some ignorant and thoughtless Philosophers taught this Doctrine for a real Truth, tho' we find that it pass'd into *Judaa*, where we see the *Jews*, and even *Herod* himself imbu'd with this Superstition, and tho' at this Day 'tis literally taken in the *Indies* by an ignorant Generation of Men, this changes not at all the Nature of it: For all Doctrines ought to be interpreted by the Sense they had at their Birth, and in no wise by that which After-Ages have given them.

Neither has the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, concerning the Nature of the Soul of Beasts, been more clearly explain'd. *Timæus* of *Locris* proves he was of Opinion, that the Soul of Beasts was a Part of the Soul of the World, a Part of the subtile Matter that God had taken from all the Stars, that is to say, that the Soul of Animals was of the same Nature with the Animal Soul, or the subtile Chariot of the Soul of Man; and therefore he says, that God himself created the Souls of Men, and that as to Animals and all irrational Beings, he left it to Nature to make theirs as she pleas'd. They who believ'd that *Pythagoras* allow'd to Beasts a reasonable Soul, which the Organs alone hinder'd from performing its Functions, are mistaken: A certain Sign that this was not his Doctrine is, that he makes Man to be the last of the rational Essences; 'tis therefore impossible he should have taught that Reason was common to Animals and to Men. *Diogenes Laertius* indeed writes, that *Pythagoras* affirm'd that Beasts were indu'd with * *a Mind and with Anger*; but by the Word † *Mind* he meant a sort of Mind very different from Reason and Understanding, which he allow'd to Man alone. Thus you see the Reason why he said Man only was capable of Virtue and of Vice. In short, as he believ'd that the Animal Soul, or *the subtile Chariot*

* Νοῦν καὶ θυμόν

† Aristotle *likewise gives it the same Name:* Νοῦς φησὶ τὸς

of the Soul, gave Life to the terreſtrial and material Body of Man, ſo he conceiv'd likewiſe that the Soul of Beaſts being of the ſame Nature with *this ſubtile Chariot*, was ſufficient to animate the Bodies of Animals, inſomuch that Animals, according to *Pythagoras*, were truly like the Statue of *Venus*, I have ſpoken of before, which being void of Reaſon and Underſtanding, mov'd it ſelf by means of the Mercury, with which its Organs were fill'd. Thus this Philoſopher was not far from believing them meer Machines, ſince their Life was only the Effect of the ſubtile Matter diſpos'd in a certain Manner. He had therefore Reaſon to ſay that this Soul of Animals was as antient as the World, and that it would laſt as long; for after the Death of Animals, their Soul, as well as their Body, returns to its Principle and its Source.

After *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles* being no doubt deſirous to explain the Opinion of his Maſter, and to ſhew that Knowledge is not always diſtinct from the Senſes, eſtabliſh'd this Principle, that **the like is known by its like*: A Principle not only very falſe, as *Ariſtotle* has ſolidly prov'd, but alſo very contrary to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, who taught, as I have already ſaid, that 'tis the Underſtanding alone that ſees, that hears, *&c.* and that all the reſt is deaf and blind. How then, according to his Principles, can Beaſts, who are depriv'd of Reaſon and Underſtanding, ſee, feel, and know? Matter has not of it ſelf theſe Properties, and meer Bodies have neither Life, Senſe, nor Thought. *Pythagoras* therefore muſt have believ'd, either that the Soul of Beaſts had only certain Manners of Senſation, or that, tho' it was animal and material, it had receiv'd from God ſome Qualities that he had not given to the reſt of Matter: For, that the Soul of Beaſts is in no wiſe diſtinct from Matter, is the neceſſary Conſequence of thoſe Principles of his

* *In his Treatiſe of the Soul. Book* 1. *Chap.* 7.

I have mention'd. The Philoſophers will never know any more of it. 'Tis in vain for 'em to abandon themſelves to their Curioſity; they will indeed be able to aſſure us what the Soul of Beaſts is not, but never will they diſcover what it truly is.

The Philoſophy of *Pythagoras* aim'd chiefly at explaining and regulating the Worſhip of the Gods, upon which he gave excellent Precepts. For Example, he would not have Men go into the Temples by chance, and as it lay in their way, there to adore the Gods by Prayer, but would have them go from home on purpoſe after they had well prepar'd themſelves to pay that ſolemn Worſhip. I will not inlarge upon this Particular, becauſe we ſhall find it admirably well treated in *Hierocles*.

He would have Men always ſpeak of the Gods with all the Reſpect due to their Eſſence, the Source of all Good: And he ſo highly condemn'd the Fables that *Homer* and *Heſiod* had publiſh'd of the Gods in their Poems, that he aſſur'd that the Souls of thoſe Poets were ſeverely puniſh'd in Hell, for having ſpoken of the Gods in a manner ſo unworthy their great Majeſty.

There being nothing ſo difficult as to pray well, he forbid ſuch as were not yet throughly inſtructed, to pray for themſelves, and order'd them to apply themſelves to the Prieſts and to the Sacrificers: And this is the ſame Principle that *Socrates* carry'd on ſo far as to prove, that Men cannot pray as they ought, 'till ſome God has taught them the Prayers they ought to make.

When his Diſciples were ſufficiently inſtructed, he order'd them to begin all their Actions by Prayer; for tho' the Choice of Good be free, and depend on us, yet we have always need of the Aſſiſtance of God, that he may help us, co-operate

with us, and perfect what we ask of him, and what we are doing.

He taught, that the Gods ought to be honour'd at all Hours and in all Seasons; and the Heroes, the Demons or the Angels at Noon: Which came from an antient Superstition he had learnt in *Egypt*, where the People were persuaded, that Noon was the Hour when these Demons repos'd themselves, and that then was the time to appease and render them propitious. It cannot be doubted but this Superstition was antienter than *Pythagoras*, seeing we find some Footsteps of it among the *Jews*, even in the Days of King *David*.

Another Superstition he had taken from the *Chaldeans*, was the Observation of Times, of Days, and of Moments, for the Sacrifices and other Acts of Religion. He believ'd there were some Moments proper for offering them, and others very unfit and contrary to such Worships; and therefore concerning this Affair he made a Precept of *Opportunity*: And doubtless this is the Source from whence sprung the Division of Days into happy and unhappy, which *Hesiod* has explain'd at the End of his Precepts of Agriculture. A Superstition which even to this Day reigns in the Minds of many Christians.

No Philosopher has ever spoken better than *Pythagoras* of the Almightiness of God: Comparing the Extent of his Power with the Idea he had of his Essence, he taught that nothing was so great, nothing so wonderful, but might be believ'd of God; nothing so difficult, nothing so supernatural, but might be expected of him. *We ought*, said he, *to hope for all things from God; for there is nothing so difficult but it may be the Object of our Hope. God can easily do whatever he pleases, and nothing is impossible to him.* The Knowledge *Pythagoras*

thagoras had got in *Egypt* of the great Miracles God had wrought there, had no doubt ſtrengthen'd in him theſe great Principles.

He believ'd there was an Eternal Law, and that this Law was only the immutable Virtue of God, who had created all things. In conſequence of this Law, he imagin'd there was a divine Oath that preſerv'd all things in the State and Order in which they had been created, and which by binding the Creator to his Creature, bound likewiſe the Creature to his Creator; that is to ſay, that God, by creating each thing in the Condition that was beſt for it, was pleas'd to ſubject himſelf to preſerve it in the ſame Condition by an Oath, call'd, for that Reaſon, *The Guardian of Eternity*, which is nothing elſe than the very Immutability of God, and one of the Effects of his Juſtice. And he conceiv'd that the Creature had taken this very Oath in him and by him: For the ſame Law that creates, binds that which is created; and therefore the *Pythagoreans* call'd this Oath, *Innate and Eſſential to all the Creatures.*

But how came *Pythagoras* by this Idea, which is ſo great, ſo noble, and ſo becoming the Majeſty of God? No doubt he took it from the Holy Scriptures, where he ſaw that God, to mark the Infallibility of his Promiſes, often ſays, that *he has ſworn*, and that *he has ſworn by himſelf*, and afterwards with a wonderful Judgment he penetrated into the Reaſons of this divine Oath, and explain'd it by the chief Attributes of God, which are his Goodneſs, his Immutability and his Juſtice. God in creating all things, bounded not his Deſigns within the ſhort Limits of Time, but wrought for Eternity, which is his own ſelf.

This eternal Law, and this divine Oath, is Fate or Providence, which brings every individual thing to the End it ought to have, and that is ap-

pointed for it. 'Tis in vain for the Creatures to go aſtray by Diſobedience, and to violate the divine Oath by departing from God, who makes even their Wanderings ſerve to the Accompliſhment of his Decrees, and in whatever he does, every thing contributes to the making known his Goodneſs and Juſtice.

This was the Theology of *Pythagoras*; a Theology which notwithſtanding the vain Imaginations and Errors with which it abounded, contains nevertheleſs ſome great Principles which may to this Day be of uſe to us.

The Morals of Pythagoras.

Before the Age of *Pythagoras*, and while the *Italick* and *Ionick* Sects flouriſh'd, Morality had never been treated very methodically. It was compriz'd under the general Name of *Phyſicks*, which included all the ſeveral Parts of Philoſophy; and it was contain'd in ſome Precepts or Sentences, that order'd what ought to be done, but explain'd neither the Reaſons nor Motives of doing them. *Socrates* was the firſt who ſever'd this Part of Philoſophy, to make a ſeparate Body of it; he unravel'd perfectly well all the Principles, and gave Proofs of them. 'Tis to him the Pagan Morality owes all its Perfection; but it muſt likewiſe be own'd that *Socrates* receiv'd great advantage from the Lights he had gain'd of *Pythagoras*, who firſt diſcover'd this great Principle, that Morality is the Daughter of Religion. I will now give all his Diſcoveries in this Affair, which deſerve to be fully laid open.

We have already ſeen that he acknowledg'd two ſorts of ſuperior Beings, *the Immortal Gods*, and *the Demons* or *Heroes*, that is to ſay the Angels. To theſe two Sorts of Beings he added thoſe Men, who after having render'd themſelves illuſtrious by their Virtues in this Life, were receiv'd into the celeſtial Choirs.

From

From our Union with these three Essences, he drew the Precepts of all our Duties towards our Fathers and Mothers, towards our Relations and our Friends; For he taught, that in this mortal Life our Fathers and Mothers represented God to us; that our Relations represented to us the Demons or Heroes, that is to say, the Angels; and that our Friends are the Image of the Saints; from whence he concluded, that we are bound to love our Fathers and Mothers in the first Place; next, our Relations, and after them our Friends; and that for us, we ought to regard our selves according to these three Respects, as Sons of God, as Relations of the Angels, and as Friends of the Saints.

No Man knew better than *Pythagoras* the Nature of Friendship; he was the first that said, *that all was in common between Friends, and that our Friend is another our self:* And this last Expression furnish'd *Aristotle* with this incomparable Definition of a Friend; *That* * *it is one Soul that lives in two Bodies.*

* φίλος, μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα

He gave excellent Instructions concerning the Choice of Friends, the Means to preserve them, and what Bounds we ought to set to the Complaisance this Band necessarily requires, as we shall see in *Hierocles.*

He has been reproach'd for esteeming none but Men of his own Sect, and for regarding all the rest as abject Slaves, to whom the least Respect was not to be shewn.

In *Egypt*, he had seen the *Egyptians* regard all other Nations with the utmost Contempt; and he was not ignorant that the *Hebrews* treated very differently the Strangers, and those of their own Tribes; yet *Pythagoras* imitated not these Customs out of Pride; but having penetrated into the Original and End of Friendship, he drew from thence the

the Reaſons of this Preference; and his Proſpect and Deſign was as follows.

He eſtabliſh'd as a Maxim, that our Friends in this Life are the Image of thoſe who have left the World, after having rais'd up human Nature by their Union with God, and inſtructed us by their Examples and Precepts. From thence he drew this neceſſary Conſequence, that as among the Dead we honour only ſuch as have liv'd according to the Rules of Wiſdom, we, who are their Diſciples in this Life, ought to frequent only thoſe that are like them, and that may aſſiſt us in attaining to the ſame Felicity: For the end of Friendſhip ought to be only the reciprocal Communication of Virtues, and our Union with the heavenly Beings. This was the Reaſon why a *Pythagorean* prefer'd the Friendſhip of a *Pythagorean* before that of all the reſt of Mankind; becauſe he regarded him as more perfect. And it muſt be allow'd that theſe Philoſophers carry'd their Friendſhip to thoſe of their own Sect to a Height that perhaps has never had any Example. To this purpoſe take the following Story, which ought never to be loſt.

A *Pythagorean* went from home on a long Journey, and falling ſick in an Inn, ſpent all that he had. His Diſeaſe growing more ſtubborn and dangerous, his Landlord, who by good luck was charitably inclin'd, continu'd to take the ſame Care of him as when his Mony laſted, and furniſh'd all the Expence out of his own Pocket. The ſick Man grew worſe and worſe, and being very ſorry not to have wherewith to ſatisfie his Benefactor, he ask'd him Pen, Ink and Paper, writes his Story in a few Words, puts at the Bottom of it a Symbol of *Pythagoras*, to ſhew he was a *Pythagorean*, and recommends to his Hoſt to poſt up that Paper in ſome publick Place as ſoon as he had bury'd him. He dies the next Day,

Day, and when he was laid in the Ground, the Landlord, who expected no great Matters from the Bill, posted it up nevertheless at the Gate of a Temple. Some Months pass'd away, and nothing came of it. At length a Disciple of *Pythagoras* passing that way, read the Paper, sees by the Symbol 'twas written by one of the Fraternity, goes immediately to the Landlord, reimburses him all his Expences, and gives him a Reward besides for his Civility. The Gospel indeed proposes to us Examples of Charity that are more perfect; but perhaps it would be difficult to find Christians now-a-days, who would do for another Christian, and for a Man of their Acquaintance, what this *Pythagorean* did for one of his Fraternity, whom he had never seen nor known.

In regard to the Reproach is cast on *Pythagoras*, of being extremely insensible as to other Men, I find no manner of Ground for it. On the contrary, I see every where by what his Disciples have said of it, that regarding God as the common Band that unites all Men, he taught, that to break this Union even with the greatest Stranger, was to tear God himself to pieces; and that on the contrary, to preserve it with the necessary Subordination, was to bind our selves fast to God. As to all our Obligations to Men with whom we are united, neither by Blood, nor by Friendship, he took them from the different Bands of Country, of Neighbourhood, of Commerce and of Society, or lastly from the Ties of Nature only, which will not allow that one Man should be a Stranger to another. In a Word, he would have us shew a general Friendship, which he call'd Humanity, to all Men, even to the wicked, and not to contract a real Friendship, that is to say, one that is voluntary and of choice, except with the wise and virtuous, after the Example of God himself,

himſelf, who hates no Man, and yet communicates and unites himſelf only to the Good.

How could *Pythagoras* be ſo inſenſible and hard-hearted to other Men, who was often wont to ſay, that *the only way Man had to render himſelf like God, was to do good, and to ſpeak Truth?* He who aſſerted there were common Duties to be obſerv'd between Men and the very Beaſts? Who bought from Fowlers and Fiſhermen the Birds and the Fiſh, to reſtore them to their Liberty, and who condem'd Hunting as a thing in it ſelf unjuſt?

He preſerv'd all his Life long ſo much Reſpect, ſo much Friendſhip, ſo much Gratitude for his Maſter *Pherecydes*, that hearing he was fallen ill at *Delos*, he immediately left *Croton* to go and aſſiſt him: He ſtaid with him 'till his Death, and bury'd him.

No Man ever had more Tenderneſs than he for his Friends, he aſſiſted them in their Sickneſs, comforted 'em in their Afflictions, and reliev'd 'em in their Wants. And in regard to others with whom he had no Intimacy, he never let ſlip any Opportunity of doing them good, according to their Merit and their Condition; being perſuaded that the chief Virtue of Men is to love one another.

He regarded a human or civil Oath, as the Image of the divine Oath we but now ſpoke of: For, in like manner as the divine Oath is the Guardian of the Law of God, a human Oath is the Guardian of the Faith of Men. The Obſervation of this laſt aſſociates us together with the Firmneſs and Stability even of God, and maintains Order and Juſtice. On this Account it was that *Pythagoras* gave the Name of *Oath* to whatever is juſt, and that he ſaid that *Jupiter* is call'd Ὅρκιος, *Preſident of Oaths*, to ſhew that he is Juſtice it ſelf, and that he puniſhes with Severity whatever is done contrary to the Law.

The

The *Pythagoreans* have given admirable Precepts concerning a civil Oath, and that agree ſo well with the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, that it cannot be doubted but they were acquainted with the Decalogue.

They were as religious Obſervers of their bare Word, as of an Oath taken in the moſt ſolemn Manner. See a very ſingular Example of their Fidelity in their Promiſes, even in things of the moſt trivial Conſequence. *Lyſis*, a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, coming one Day out of the Temple of *Juno*, where he had been praying, met *Euryphamus* of *Syracuſa* going in. *Euryphamus* pray'd him to wait for him: *Lyſis* told him he would, and ſate himſelf down on a Stone-Bench that was at the Gate of the Temple. *Euryphamus*, after he had worſhip'd the Gods, fell into ſo profound a Meditation, that he forgot his Appointment with *Lyſis*, and went out at another Door. *Lyſis* waited for him without ſtirring from thence, not only the reſt of the Day, but all the Night, and part of the Day following; and would have expected him longer, if a certain Perſon in the School of *Pythagoras*, had not, in the Preſence of *Euryphamus*, inquir'd after *Lyſis*; whoſe-Name being mention'd, put *Euryphamus* in mind of what had happen'd the Day before: Away he haſtens to the Gate of the Temple, and finds *Lyſis* in as quiet and ſedate a Temper as he was when he left him. What would not ſo ſcrupulous an Obſerver of ſo ſlight a Promiſe have done, rather than not keep his Oath? I know this Action may be treated as a piece of Sillineſs and Simplicity; but I know likewiſe very well, as *Solon* ſaid of the Lies of the Poets, that if Remiſsneſs and Neglect be once ſuffer'd in things of little moment, they will ſoon ſlide into the moſt important and moſt ſerious.

As *Pythagoras* requir'd that Men ſhould be true and faithful in their Words, he requir'd likewiſe with equal Care that they ſhould be juſt in all their Actions. He ſaid, that *Salt was the Emblem of Juſtice; for as Salt preſerves all things, and prevents Corruption, ſo Juſtice preſerves whatever it animates, and without it all is corrupted.* He therefore order'd that a Saltſeller ſhould always be ſerv'd on the Table, to put Men in mind of this Virtue. And doubtleſs this was the Reaſon that the Heathens ſanctify'd the Table by the Saltſeller, which Cuſtom was perhaps taken from the Law that God gave to his People; *You ſhall offer Salt in all your Offerings.* And who knows but the Superſtition that was ſo antient, and that reigns to this Day, concerning the ſpilling of Salt, came from this Opinion of the *Pythagoreans*, who regarded it as a Preſage of ſome Injuſtice.

In omni Oblatione tua offeres Sal. *Levit.* 3. 13.

He firſt of any demonſtrated that Pleaſure has no Being, that is to ſay, that it exiſts not by it ſelf, and that 'tis only the Sequel and Effect of ſome Action; which naturally led him to acknowledge two ſorts of Pleaſures: A brutal and ſenſeleſs Pleaſure, which holds of the Action that produces it, and charms for a Moment, but is attended with fatal Conſequences; and an honourable and virtuous Pleaſure, ariſing from virtuous Actions, and which is agreeable for the time, and never follow'd by Repentance. He compar'd the firſt to the ſinging of the Sirens, and the other to the Conſort of the Muſes.

In regard to the Abſtinence of *Pythagoras*, we find the Opinions much divided: Some pretend he never eat any thing that had Life, that he forbid the eating of any ſuch thing; and that tho' we find in his Symbols ſome Precepts, forbidding us not to eat certain Parts of Animals, which neceſſarily includes the eating of all the reſt that are not excepted,

excepted, yet we ought to know that *Pythagoras* addreſſes himſelf there only to thoſe that are not yet perfect. Others on the contrary affirm, that he eat the Fleſh of Victims, and of certain Fiſh; and beſides that this is the moſt antient Opinion, it being that of *Ariſtoxenus*, it is alſo more likely to be the true. *Pythagoras* was initiated in the Cuſtoms of the *Egyptians*, and they, after the Example of the *Hebrews*, divided Animals into *clean* and *unclean*, and forbid the eating only of the laſt.

A certain Sign that all theſe Abſtinences were taken from the Law of the *Jews*, is the Ordinance *Pythagoras* made concerning Funerals, and dead Fleſh. He pretended that whoever approach'd a dead Perſon, or that eat the Fleſh of dead Beaſts, was polluted. In this we find the expreſs Words of *Leviticus*, and we ſee *Pythagoras* had penetrated into the Senſe of them.

The ſame Reaſon ſerves to decide the Difference there is among the Antients, concerning the true Meaning of this Precept of *Pythagoras*, *Abſtain from Beans*. Some ſaid he abſolutely forbid the eating of this Legume; others pretend that far from forbidding it, he eat them himſelf, and that this Precept ſhould be taken in a figurative Senſe; in which theſe laſt too are divided in their Opinions, ſome of them aſſuring that by Beans *Pythagoras* meant Civil Imployments, and Offices in the Magiſtracy, becauſe in Elections and Judgments the Suffrages were given by † black or white Beans; and the other Party aſſerting, that by Beans the Philoſopher meant only Impurity.

There is one ſure way to reconcile all theſe Opinions. In the firſt place 'tis certain the *Egyptians*

† *Therefore* Heſychius *ſays*, Κύαμω δικασικῷ ψήφῳ; *the Bean ſignifies the Suffrage of the Judges*; *and* Κυαμοβόλον δικάσην, *Caſter of Beans, for a Judge.*

ans had an Abhorrence for Beans: * *Herodotus* expreſly tells us ſo. *The* Egyptians, ſays he, *ſow no Beans, and never eat any, either raw or dreſs'd: The Prieſts dare not ſo much as look on them, becauſe they hold this Sort of Pulſe to be unclean.*

* In the eleventh Book

The Uncleanneſs of this Pulſe was not the only Reaſon that inclin'd the *Egyptians* to abſtain from them: They eat no Beans becauſe they knew the Nature of them to be ſuch as *Hippocrates* tells us in the ſecond Book of Diet; *Beans,* ſays he, *are reſtringent, and breed Wind.* This was enough to run them down with a People ſo careful of their Health as the *Egyptians,* who purg'd thrice a Month by Vomits and Clyſters, and who believ'd that all the Diſeaſes incident to Mankind, proceeded only from the Food with which they nouriſh'd themſelves.

Chap. 15.

Pythagoras therefore took this from the *Egyptians.* And ſeeing all the Abſtinences theſe People, as well as the *Hebrews,* obſerv'd, had together with the literal or proper Senſe, a Senſe that was figurative, 'tis very likely that under this Command to abſtain from Beans, there was a hidden Order not to meddle with Civil Affairs, and to renounce all Impurity. All the Symbols of *Pythagoras* had a double Senſe, which the *Pythagoreans* obſerv'd with the utmoſt Exactitude. *In the Symbolical Precepts,* ſays *Hierocles, 'tis fit to obey both the literal and hidden Senſe: For 'tis not in being obedient to the literal Senſe that we obey the myſtical Senſe, which is the principal, and of greateſt Importance.*

The literal Senſe of theſe Symbols, as of all the Legal Ceremonies, related to the Health of the Body, and the myſtical Senſe to the Health of the Soul, Innocence and Purity. Thus you ſee the Reaſons of the Averſion the *Pythagoreans* had for Beans, which was ſo great that they would rather ſubmit to be kill'd, than walk over a Field where any were ſown.

'Tis

'Tis no doubt of this hidden Senſe that we ought to underſtand the Story *Jamblicus* reports of one *Mnellias* and his Wife *Tamycha*, who could not be prevail'd on to teach *Dionyſius* the Reaſon of this Averſion: Nay, *Tamycha* bit off her Tongue with her Teeth, and ſpit it in the Tyrant s Face, for fear that Torments might have forc'd her to ſatisfie his Curioſity, and thus to violate the fundamental Statute of their School, never to impart to the Profane the Secrets of their Doctrine. And perhaps from this Antiquity is deriv'd the Origine of the Proverb ſtill in uſe, *Not to tell Tales out of School*, meaning, not to teach Strangers the things that none but the Fraternity ought to know.

Pythagoras had diſcover'd this Truth, that Men draw on themſelves their own Misfortunes voluntarily and thro' their own Fault, on one hand by the Unrulineſs of their Paſſions, and on the other by a fatal and wilful Blindneſs, which hinders them from ſeeing and laying hold on the good things that God lays in their Way, and that are near at hand. A great Principle, if this Philoſopher had not puſh'd it on to the firſt Life, which he pretended the Souls had led, and to the Choice they made before they deſcended into this lower World, to animate mortal Bodies; from whence he drew the Reaſons, not only of the different Eſtates and Conditions of Men in this Life, but likewiſe of the Diſtribution of Good and Evil, which ſometimes ſeem to be ſo unjuſtly diſpens'd. I know not whether *Pythagoras* took this Error from the *Jews*, or the *Jews* from him; but it appears to have been in *Judea*, and to have continu'd there to the time of Jeſus Chriſt.

He taught that Virtue, Peace, Health, all good things, and even God himſelf were but Harmony, that all exiſted by the Laws of Harmony, and that Friendſhip was only an harmonious Equality; from

from whence he concluded that the Legiſlators and all that govern the People, were oblig'd always to labour to keep up the Harmony that makes the Felicity of private Perſons, of Families, and of States; and that to this end they ought to ſpare for nothing, but imploy Fire and Sword to drive Diſeaſes from the Body; Ignorance from the Underſtanding; Intemperance and ill Deſires from the Heart; Diſſenſions and Quarrels from Families, and all factious and turbulent Minds from the Common-wealth.

He commonly gave this excellent Precept in relation to Manners: *Make always of an Enemy a Friend, and never of a Friend an Enemy. Poſſeſs nothing as your own, maintain the Laws, and oppoſe Injuſtice.*

And this other; *Chuſe always the Way that ſeems beſt; how rough and difficult ſoever it be, Cuſtom will render it eaſie and agreeable.*

He was ſo wedded to the Dictates of Reaſon, that no Toils, no Pains, nor even the greateſt Dangers, could hinder him from undertaking whatever it requir'd of him, and that appear'd to be juſt: To know Reaſon, and to be determin'd to follow it at any price, was in him the Effect only of one and the ſame Reflection: Of this we have an evident Proof, in the following Particular of his Life.

The chief Magiſtrate of *Sybaris*, whoſe Name was *Telys*, having oblig'd his City to baniſh five hundred of the richeſt Citizens, theſe exil'd *Sybarites* retir'd to *Croton*, and took Refuge at the Foot of the Altars. *Telys* having notice whither they were fled, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Crotoniates* to demand thoſe Refugees, and on their Refuſal to deliver them, to declare War againſt 'em. The Council of *Croton* aſſembled, and deliberated on the Propoſition of theſe Ambaſſadors. The Senate and the People knew not at firſt what to reſolve on; at length the People, ſeeing themſelves threat-

en'd

en'd with a terrible War againſt a formidable Enemy, and who always prefer the profitable to the honourable, were inclining to give up the Exiles. But *Pythagoras* boggled not in the leaſt; he remonſtrated to them how impious an Action it would be to deliver up Men whom the Gods had receiv'd into their Protection. The *Crotoniates* all at once chang'd their Opinion, and choſe rather to ſupport a War againſt the *Sybarites*, than to war themſelves againſt the Gods, by ſnatching from their Altars a Parcel of Wretches, who had there found a Place of Refuge. The *Sybarites* aſſembled an Army of * three hundred thouſand Men. The *Crotoniates* march'd againſt 'em with a hundred thouſand Combatants, under the Command of the Wreſtler *Milo*, who led them on cloath'd in a Lion's Skin, and arm'd with a Club like another *Hercules*, having on his Head ſeveral Crowns he had won in the *Olympick* Games. 'Tis pretended that this whimſical Equipage frighted the Enemy: But be it as it will, Valour got the better of Numbers; the *Sybarites* were defeated, and their City ranſack'd and deſtroy'd. Thus the bold and pious Advice of *Pythagoras*, in hindring the *Crotoniates* from committing a Sacrilege, made them gain the moſt ſignal Victory that ever was heard of. 'Tis without Example, that in the Space of ſeventy Days, ſo powerful a People as the *Sybarites* ſhould be intirely deſtroy'd.

* Herodotus, Diodorus, *and* Strabo *agree in this Number. One would think at firſt there were ſome Miſtake in the Numerals; but* Strabo *ſpeaking of the Proſperity of the City of* Sybaris, *in the manner he does, takes away all Ground of Aſtoniſhment at this vaſt Number of Combatants; For he ſays, that City had the Command over four neighbouring Nations; and that it had under its Juriſdiction five and twenty great Cities that were ſubject to it.*

He particularly recommended Chaſtity and Modeſty, he blam'd all Exceſs in Joy and in Grief, and adviſ'd to bear an equal Temper in all the Viciſſitudes of Life.

Seeing the Dignity of Men is the Rate and Meaſure of their Duties, he exhorted them above all things to know and reſpect themſelves: And becauſe Prudence or wiſe Conſultation is the Mother, the Nurſe, and the Guard of Virtues, as Temerity is the Mother of Vices, and of all fooliſh Actions, he commanded never to ſpeak nor act any thing, 'till after a previous and mature Deliberation.

He was of Opinion, that as the Phyſick that cures not the Diſtempers of the Body, is vain; ſo the Philoſophy that heals not the Diſeaſes of the Soul, is uſeleſs. And he uſually ſaid, that to take away Freedom of Speech, was taking away the Bitterneſs from Wormwood, which is then good for nothing but to be thrown on the Dunghil. Theſe Maxims had inſpir'd him with a certain Severity, that made him apt to reprove Faults with much Sharpneſs. A Misfortune that happen'd to him, cur'd him of this Defect: For having one Day reprimanded one of his Diſciples in publick, in too ſevere a manner, the young Man kill'd himſelf for Deſpair. Upon this Accident *Pythagoras* made ſome Reflections that were of uſe to him all the reſt of his Days, and he learnt that the Cure of Vice, as well as of ſhameful Diſeaſes, ought always to be perform'd in private. From that Moment it never happen'd to him to rebuke any Man in the Preſence of another, but he was as mild and moderate in his Corrections, as he had been rough and ſevere. Nay, this even gave him Occaſion to eſtabliſh two Maxims, that we ought never to ſpeak or do any thing in Paſſion, nor during the boiling of our Rage; and that we ought to chuſe rather to be lov'd than

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to be fear'd; for Reſpect follows Love, but Fear is attended by Hatred.

I will not here call to Mind all the excellent Precepts of Morality *Pythagoras* has left us, becauſe we ſhall find them very well explain'd in the Commentaries of *Hierocles*.

I am of Opinion that Divination and all that belongs to it ought to be compriz'd under Morality, becauſe they are a Part of the Religion and of the Politicks of Nations, which certainly relates to Manners.

Of all the People of the World, the *Egyptians* were the moſt wedded to Divination; they had invented an infinite Number of Preſages and Auguries. *Pythagoras* did not imitate them in all; and of the many Ways of Divination that he found eſtabliſh'd and practis'd among them, he retain'd only that which was taken from the Flight of Birds, and that which was form'd from *fortuitous Words. Of all thoſe that were made from Fire, he practis'd only that which was taken from the Smoke of the Incenſe, that was burnt on the Altar. But it was not he that brought them into *Greece*; for the firſt and the laſt of them, I mean thoſe that were taken from the Flight of Birds, and from the Smoke of Incenſe, were in uſe there long before him, as we ſee in the Poems of *Homer*, who often ſpeaks of the Flight of Birds, and in the laſt Book of the *Ilias* mentions that ſort of † Soothſayers who predicted from the Smoke of Incenſe.

This Philoſopher held that Divination was a Ray of Light that God caus'd to ſhine in the Soul on Occaſion of certain Objects.

The antient Hiſtorians of his Life pretend that he was a great Diviner; and to prove it they tell us, that walking one Day on the Sea-ſhore with ſeveral of his Friends and Diſciples, and ſeeing a Veſſel coming full Sail towards them, he overheard

* *Which the Greeks call* Καταβάσεις *and the Latins* Omina

† *Whom he calls* Θυοσκόους.

ſome of thoſe that were with him ſay, they ſhould be very rich, if they had all the Merchandiſe on board that Veſſel: *You would not be ſo rich as you imagine,* ſaid *Pythagoras, for you would have only a dead Body.* Which prov'd true, for the Veſſel was bringing back the Corps of a conſiderable Perſon, who dy'd in a Voyage, and was coming to be interr'd in his own Country.

He likewiſe practis'd the Divination that proceeds from Dreams, and diſtinguiſh'd Dreams into meerly human and divine, explaining the Cauſes of the Truth of the one, and of the Falſhood of the other: For tho' the Interpretation of Dreams, as well as that of Preſages, depends on divine Inſpiration, the *Egyptians* nevertheleſs gave Rules for it, and made it a Science, collecting with Care all the known Dreams and Preſages, and imagining that as often as the ſame things arriv'd, the Event likewiſe would be the ſame. But we may affirm, that Mankind is ſo naturally inclin'd to this Superſtition, that they have no need of Rules; for Fear and Hope, which never abandon us, make us interpret for or againſt our ſelves, whatever appears extraordinary and ſupernatural. Accordingly we ſee that in all times, Dreams and Preſages have been explain'd not only by Prieſts and Soothſayers by Profeſſion, but by particular Perſons. The Hiſtory of Antiquity is full of Examples of Men and even of Women, who no ſooner heard a Dream than they gave the Interpretation of it. In *Homer*, a Prodigy no ſooner appears than the two Armies explain it.

Idolatry was not contented to produce all ſorts of Divination; it brought likewiſe into the World the Illuſion of Witchcraft. The ſame Curioſity and the ſame Pride that made Men deſirous to penetrate and foretel the Decrees of God, inclin'd them to a Deſire of equalling his Almightineſs, and of imitating the Miracles he wrought by his Power.

Magick

Magick was originally of *Perſia*: 'Tis pretended that *Zoroaſter* compos'd a Treatiſe of it in twelve Volumes, in which he treated of the Nature and Worſhip of the Gods, and of their Rites and Sacrifices. But if *Perſia* was the Mother of Magick, *Egypt* was the Nurſe. 'Tis well known what the Magicians did in Emulation of *Moſes* by their Inchantments and ſecret Sorceries. The Heathens of all times had ſuch a value for this Sacrilegious Art, that moſt of them have believ'd it would have been a Blemiſh to the Reputation of their Philoſophers, not to be Magicians; nay, 'tis likely that they who have written the Lives of the antient Sages, thought thereby to equal them to thoſe extraordinary Men, whom God rais'd up under the Law and under Grace, to make them the wonderful Inſtruments of his Power, and we may ſay that this proneneſs to Magick never reign'd more than in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. Moſt of the Pagan Philoſophers were addicted to this deteſtable Art, that they might have pretended Miracles to oppoſe to the real Miracles of the Chriſtians.

They being therefore Magicians themſelves would have us believe that the firſt Philoſophers were ſo too, to the end that in all Times the Vanity of the Heathen Philoſophy might have wherewith to ſupport its ſelf againſt the Truth of Religion. And to this fooliſh Envy we ought to impute all that the antients, eſpecially *Jamblicus* and *Porphyrius* have related of the Sorcery of *Pythagoras*, and of the Miracles they aſcribe to him.

They ſay that to make Men believe he was the *Hyperborean Apollo*, he ſhew'd one of his Thighs all of Gold in a full Aſſembly at the *Olympick* Games; that at the ſame Games he had been often ſeen to make an Eagle deſcend to him, to ſpeak to it a great while, and then ſend it away. That he made a Bear come to him, that did much Miſ-

chief in the Country of *Apulia*, and that having made much of him for ſome time, and commanded him never more to hurt any living Animal, he let him looſe; that the Bear retir'd into the Foreſts, never did the leaſt harm to any Man, and ſpar'd even the Beaſts; that he whiſper'd but one Word in the Ear of an Ox that was going into a Field of Beans, and that the Ox inſtantly turn'd aſide and took another Way.

They report ſeveral other like Miracles of him, with as much Authority as the former, which gave occaſion to ſay, that *Orpheus* had tranſmitted to him the Empire he had over Beaſts, with this difference, that what *Orpheus* perform'd by the Virtue of his Harmony, *Pythagoras* did by his Words.

To the ſame Envy too we ought to impute what thoſe very Hiſtorians relate of the Javelin that the *Scythian Abaris* gave *Pythagoras*. Allur'd by the great Reputation of our Philoſopher, that *Scythian* left his Country to go ſee him. *Pythagoras* finding in him a frankneſs of Mind, and a great diſpoſition to Philoſophy, initiated him in all his Myſteries, and *Abaris* in token of his Gratitude gave him a Javelin of a wondrous Virtue; for with it *Pythagoras* paſs'd in a Moment over the largeſt Rivers, and the moſt inacceſſible Mountains, calm'd the Tempeſts, drove away the Plague, and appeas'd all the Scourges of Heaven. 'Tis ſaid that by means of this Javelin he was ſeen on the ſame Day at *Metapontum* in *Italy*, and at *Tauromínium* in *Sicily*. 'Tis not difficult to ſee that the Rod of *Moſes* gave occaſion to the Fiction of this Javelin. But all theſe Hiſtorians, in telling their Tales, did not enough conſider the Character of their Hero, who was naturally an Enemy to Oſtentation and Vain-ſhew, and ſo far from the leaſt Vanity, that in all his Actions he avoided that pompous Pageantry which procures the Envy of Beholders, and even made a

Precept

Precept againſt Vain-glory, and left it to his Diſciples; nay, the Averſion he had for it, and which he would have inſpir'd into others, went ſo far, that he once adviſ'd a Wreſtler to exerciſe himſelf; but never to ſeek to overcome his Antagoniſt, looking on Victory as a Snare laid by Pride, or at leaſt as a thing altogether uſeleſs to Health, which is the ſole end we ought to propoſe to our ſelves in all our Exerciſes. *Timon* nevertheleſs accus'd him of Vanity in theſe Verſes; Pythagoras *the Magician, who loves nothing but Vain-glory, and who affects a Gravity in his Speech to intice Men into his Nets.*

The Fable of *Pythagoras*'s deſcending into Hell, comes likewiſe from the ſame Source; and has no other Foundation, but that this Philoſopher, after the Examples of *Zoroaſter*, *Epimenides* and *Minos*, who retir'd into Dens to avoid the Tumult of the World, and that they might meditate there in quiet, ſhut himſelf up in a Place under Ground, that he might be the leſs diſturb'd in his Meditations, and in the Study of Philoſophy. When he came out from this Receſs, he was grown ſo thin and lean, that it was ſaid he came from Hell, that is to ſay from the Grave. In proceſs of time, this Expreſſion was literally taken, and 'twas given out that he had really deſcended into Hell, as the Fables reported of *Hercules* and *Ulyſſes*.

I have already obſerv'd that in the Days of *Pythagoras*, Philoſophy was not yet divided into Logick, Phyſicks, and Morals, and that this Diviſion was not made 'till the time of *Socrates* and *Plato*. Before them, all Philoſophy was compriz'd under the general Name of Phyſicks; however, to obſerve ſome Method, I will here treat ſeparately of all theſe Sciences, which at this Day make as it were ſo many diſtinct Parts of Philoſophy, that I may diſcover the Progreſs *Pythagoras* made in each of them. We have already ſeen in general what was his The-

ology, and what his Morals: Let us now come to his Phyſicks.

The Phyſicks of Pythagoras.

Phyſicks or Natural Philoſophy, properly ſpeaking, was little cultivated before the ſeven Sages; in their time Men but began to apply themſelves to it: Therefore *Plutarch* aſſures us, that even then the *Greeks* were but raw and ignorant in that Science. Nor were the other Nations more expert and skilful therein. Thus we cannot expect to find in the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, a very compleat and regular Syſtem of Phyſicks; he valued not this Science enough to make it his particular Study; for he ſaid, that Philoſophy or Wiſdom was the Knowledge of thoſe things that may be truly ſaid to exiſt; that the things that truly exiſt are the Incorporeal and Eternal; and that all material and corporeal Things being born and ſubject to Corruption, are without Exiſtence, and by conſequence cannot fall within the compaſs of Knowledge. Nevertheleſs, tho' what is ſtill remaining of his Phyſicks, be perhaps but a ſmall Part of what he taught, we find in it very conſiderable Diſcoveries, and Principles that ſhew a profound Knowledge, and a great deal of Wit.

He conſider'd Matter as one ſingle Maſs, which by the different Configurations of the Parts produced the Elements. This he explain'd as follows.

Of the five Figures of ſolid Bodies, which are alſo call'd Mathematical, all things were made: Of the *Cube*, which is a ſquare Body with ſix Faces, or Sides, was made the Earth; of the *Pyramid*, the Fire; of the *Octaedron*, that is to ſay, of the Body with eight Sides, the Air; of the *Icoſaedron*, or Body with twenty Sides, the Water; of the *Dodecaedron*, or Body with twelve Sides, the higheſt Sphere of the Univerſe: And in this *Plato* has follow'd him.

Timeus

Timæus of *Locris* has fully explain'd this Doctrine in the little Work, for which we are oblig'd to *Plato*: And the Explication he has given of it agrees perfectly with one that was given me by a famous * Mathematician, whom I consulted upon it, and who I am certain, had never read the *Timæus*. This ingenious Mathematician explains it thus.

* *M.* Sauveur.

By the *Cube* or *Exaedron*, *Pythagoras* intended to denote the Stability or Solidity of the Earth; and by the Triangles that surround the *Tetraedon*, the *Octaedron*, and the *Icosaedron*, the Fluidity of Fire, of Air, and of Water.

The *Tetraedron*, by reason of its Pyramidal Figure, and its little Solidity, represents Fire, which is very tenuious, and very light and moveable.

The *Octaedron*, that resembles two Pyramids join'd together by a square Basis, having more Solidity, represents the Air, which is less light and less subtile than Fire. This Figure by one of its Pyramids, approaches the Elementary Fire, and by the other, the Earth, which it touches only by a small Point, that is to say, from which 'tis loose and disjoin'd.

The *Icosaedron*, which is as it were two Pentagon Pyramids, supported on a Circle environ'd with Triangles, represents the Water, which is more solid and heavier than the Air, and that reposes on the Earth that contains the three Triangular Elements.

Lastly, the *Dodecaedron*, being form'd of twelve Pentagons, figures the highest Sphere of the Universe; because besides that the Pentagon includes the other Figures, the twelve Sides include the four Elements, the seven Heavens, and the Firmament. *Timæus* explains himself almost in the same Terms, and what I have here said may serve as a Commentary on what that Author has written: But this System is very different from that of Atoms, of which

which *Leucippus* and *Democritus* were the Authors.

This Matter being thus diverſify'd by the various Configuration of its Parts, ſuffers continual Changes, and furniſhes without ceaſing infinite Alterations for the Production and Corruption of Things; and for this Reaſon *Pythagoras* call'd it *other*, and ſaid that from this *other*, and from the *ſame*, which is God, the World was made a living and intelligent Animal, by reaſon of the Spirit that moves and animates it. He taught that it was round, that the Fire took up the Middle Place; and that the Earth, which was round likewiſe, and one of the Stars, that is to ſay, of the Planets, turning round this Centre, made Day and Night, and that it had Antipodes, which is a neceſſary Conſequence of its being round.

He was the firſt that diſcover'd the Obliquity of the Zodiack, and who acknowledg'd that the Moon receiv'd all her Light from the Sun; that the Rainbow was only the Reflexion of the Light, and that the Evening-Star, which is call'd *Venus* and *Veſper*, was the ſame with the Morning-Star, call'd *Lucifer*, and *Phoſphorus*, and he explain'd its Nature and its Courſe: But it does not appear that he ever knew that, like the Moon, it borrow'd its Light from the Sun.

He firſt call'd the Univerſe Κόσμον, *Mundum*, to mark the Beauty, the Order and the Regularity that reign thro' all its Parts. And this is the Reaſon why in all the Writings that are more antient than *Pythagoras*, we never find that Word imploy'd to ſignifie the Univerſe.

He ſaid, that *Time was the Sphere of the laſt Heaven, that contains all things*, to ſhew that all things are wrapt up and included in Time; and that the Motion of the Univerſe is the Meaſure of Time, which begun with this viſible World, and, as *Pla-*

to

ſo ſays, was created with the Heavens, to the end that being born together, they might end together likewiſe, if they ever come to be diſſolv'd.

It appears that he was the firſt, who tranſporting to the Surface of the Earth the two Tropicks, and the two Polar Circles, divided that Surface into five Zones. That which takes up the middle of the Earth between the two Tropicks, he call'd *the Torrid Zone*; the two that are between the Tropicks and the Polar Circles, he call'd *the Temperate*; and the two laſt, on the Sides of the Poles, he call'd *the Frigid* or *Frozen Zones*. And he believ'd that only that of the Summer Tropick and that of the Winter Tropick were habitable, as holding the middle Space between the extream Heat of the Torrid Zone, and the exceſſive Cold of the Frozen.

He call'd the Sea *a Tear of* Saturn: The two Polar Bears, *the Hands of* Rhea: The *Pleiades*, *the Lyre of the Muſes*: The Planets, *the Dogs of* Proſerpine. And I confeſs I am altogether ignorant of the Reaſons that gave Occaſion to theſe Notions.

Concerning *the Tear of* Saturn, a learned Author believes this Expreſſion was taken from the Fables of the *Jews*, who ſaid that each time that God call'd to mind the Calamities of his People, he ſhed two Tears into the Ocean; but this ſeems to me to be far fetch'd. 'Tis more likely that theſe are Enigmatical Expreſſions, founded on ſome antient Fables, that we know nothing of. Lucas Holſtenius.

I have already ſaid, that the *Egyptians* were the People of the World the moſt careful of their Health; and this great Care they had of it produc'd a World of Phyſicians, but ſuch as having ſcarce any Knowledge of Nature, founded Phyſick only on Experiments, and regulated their Practice according to the publick Collections had been preſerv'd.

Thales,

Thales, *Epimenides* and *Pherecydes* were the firſt who beginning to ſtudy Nature, join'd Phyſick to natural Philoſophy. They were philoſophical Phyſicians, who minded leſs the Practice than the Theory, and who being beſt pleas'd to know the general Cauſes of things, argu'd upon all they diſcover'd.

Pythagoras follow'd their Example; he apply'd himſelf to Phyſick, and we may ſay his Diſcoveries have not been uſeleſs to the Perfection of that Art. He acknowledg'd the four Elements as the Cauſes of the four firſt Qualities of Hot, Cold, Moiſt, and Dry; which ſoon gave Occaſion to the Diſcovery of this great Principle, that 'tis not theſe firſt Qualities that cauſe Diſeaſes, but the ſecond, the Sharp, the Bitter, the Sweet, the Salt, and all the other Savours. This Principle may be call'd the Foundation of Phyſick.

He call'd Drunkenneſs, *the Ruin of Health, the Poiſon of the Mind, and the Apprenticeſhip of Madneſs*. He ſaid, that the Spring was the healthieſt Seaſon, and Autumn the moſt unhealthy. He condemn'd all Exceſs in Labour and in Food, and would have an Equilibrium, and juſt Proportion obſerv'd in either.

In general he condemn'd Love. A certain Perſon asking him when he might have to do with a Woman? he anſwer'd, *When thou art weary of thy Health*.

He held that Heat was the Principle of Life: He affirm'd that all Animals are born from Seed; and that 'tis impoſſible that any living Creature ſhould be produc'd from an Element only, as is the Earth; whereby he deſtroy'd the Syſtem of *Thales*, who acknowledg'd only Water for the Principle of all things.

He taught that what forms a Man, is a Subſtance that falls from the Brain, and, as he himſelf call'd

call'd it, *a Drop of the Brain*, impregnated by a warm Vapour; that of the Subſtance are form'd the Bones, the Nerves, the Fleſh, and all the other Parts; and that of the warm Vapour are form'd the Soul and the Senſe: For by this *warm Vapour* he meant only the Spirits; and to this purpoſe he ſaid, that the Senſe in general, and the Sight in particular, were a very warm Vapour.

He ſaid that the Fœtus is form'd in forty Days, and that according to the Laws of Harmony, that is to ſay, of the Mixture of the Qualities, 'tis born the ſeventh, the ninth, or the tenth Month; and that it has then in it the Principles and Cauſes of all that is to happen to it during its Life, which never fails to anſwer the Harmony of which it is compos'd: For, as his Diſciple *Timæus* of *Locris* has ſaid after him, *Our Diſpoſitions as to Virtue or to Vice*, (as to Health or to Sickneſs) *come rather from our Parents, and from the Principles of which we are compos'd, than from our ſelves.*

Beſides the firſt Diviſion of the Soul, into Underſtanding and into Soul, or ſubtile Chariot of the Soul, he held another: For he taught that the Soul was compos'd of three Parts, of the Senſitive, of the Iraſcible, and of the Intelligent. That the Senſitive and the Iraſcible, which are common to all Animals, have their Seat in the Heart, where they are the Principles of the Paſſions and of the Senſes; and that the Rational, which is peculiar to Man, has its Seat in the Brain, where it is the Principle of the Underſtanding, or the Underſtanding it ſelf. That the two firſt are nouriſh'd and ſupported by the Blood; and that Reaſons and Arguments are the Winds that keep alive the Fire of the Intelligent Soul.

In *Timæus* of *Locris*, whom *Plato* has explain'd, we plainly ſee, that *Pythagoras* underſtood perfectly well the Cauſes of the Health, and of the Diſeaſes,

eaſes, both of the Body and of the Soul. And indeed *Hippocrates* has follow'd moſt of his Principles, and brought them to greater Perfection.

'Twas of *Pythagoras* that *Timæus* learnt, that Nature has form'd our Body as an Inſtrument, capable to obey and conform it ſelf to all the different Kinds of Life; and that as this Inſtrument, in order to its being in a good Condition, ought to be in Health, to have a Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, Strength, Beauty, or a juſt Proportion of all its Parts; ſo we ought likewiſe to adjuſt and accommodate the Soul to the Virtues that anſwer analogically to the Qualities or Accompliſhments of the Body. Thus we ought to give it Temperance, which anſwers to Health; Prudence, which anſwers to Quickneſs of Apprehenſion; Courage, which anſwers to Strength; and laſtly Juſtice, which anſwers to the Beauty or juſt Proportion of the Parts. And that the Principles of theſe Advantages of the Soul and of the Body come indeed from Nature, but that the Progreſs and Perfection of them come from Education and Care; thoſe of the Body by the Means of Exerciſe and Phyſick, and thoſe of the Soul by Means of Philoſophy: For as *Plato*, in the Beginning of his Commentary on this Treatiſe of *Timæus*, ſays admirably well, * *The Culture of the two Parts of which we are compos'd* (of the Body and of the Soul) *is to give to each the Food and Motions that are proper for it.*

Arithmetick. *Pythagoras* learnt Numbers and Arithmetick of the *Phanician* Merchants, and found this Science ſo wonderful, that he ſaid the Inventer of it was the wiſeſt of Men, and even above him who gave Names

* *I have treated of this Matter more at large in my Preface to the Works of* Hippocrates.

Names to things, which nevertheleſs he regarded as an Effect of profound Wiſdom. He made uſe of Numbers to explain the Creation, and the Principles of all Beings, as I have already obſerv'd: For Example, he ſaid that *the Soul was a ſelf-moving Number, and that all things reſembled Numbers.*

Ariſtotle oppos'd this firſt Expreſſion, and found a thouſand Abſurdities in it, only becauſe he took it literally, as if *Pythagoras* had meant, that the Soul was truly an Unite, a Point that mov'd, and chang'd its Situation: But this was in no wiſe the Senſe of our Philoſopher; who by that Figure would only have it underſtood, that the Soul has an Impreſſion of the Divinity, and that being immaterial, individual, and moving according to its own Will, it reſembled God himſelf; as when he ſaid, that *all things reſembled Numbers*, he meant nothing but this, that the Divinity was eaſie to be known in all the Works of Nature, and that God had as it were ſtamp'd his Image upon them. *In his Treatiſe of the Soul.*

Pythagoras, or his Diſciples, are likewiſe ſaid to have invented thoſe numeral Notes or Characters which we call *Cyphers*, the Invention whereof is generally aſcrib'd to the *Arabians*. *Voſſius* has ſhewn them to be much older than they were believ'd to be, and M. *Huet*, Biſhop of *Avranches*, one of the moſt learned Men of our Age, has fully prov'd, that theſe Cyphers are only the *Greek* Letters, that by little and little have been chang'd and diſfigur'd by ignorant Tranſcribers, or by a long Habitude of writing, which generally ſpoils ones hand. 'Tis believ'd likewiſe that the *Pythagoreans* knew the ten-fold Progreſſion, but my Opinion is, 'tis a Miſtake. 'Tis certain that the ten Fingers fix'd heretofore the Calculation to ten, and that they repeated it always in ſuch a Manner, that by the various Poſition of the Fingers, and by the different Figures

Figures in which they held them, they made them ſignifie ſometimes one, ſometimes a thouſand. This gave Occaſion to *Orontes*, the Son-in-Law of King *Artaxerxes*, after he was fallen into Diſgrace, to ſay, That *Kings Favourites are like our Fingers, which are made to be worth one or ten thouſand, juſt as we pleaſe.* But it can never be prov'd, that the Fingers ever arriv'd at this Progreſſion, that ſeveral Cyphers being plac'd together, the laſt of 'em is worth no more than it marks, the laſt ſave one as many tens as it marks, the laſt ſave two as many hundreds, and ſo on to an Infinity, always augmenting the Value of the Cypher to the ten-fold of that which precedes it, according to this Rule, *Units, Tens, Hundreds, Thouſands, Tens of Thouſands.* I ſee not the leaſt Footſtep of this Operation of Arithmetick in any of the Antients; and as I believe the Practice of it to be modern, ſo I believe the Reaſon on which 'tis grounded to be unknown, and very difficult to be diſcover'd.

Mathematicks. Geometry.

The Overflowings of the *Nile* confounded every Year the Limits of Mens Eſtates, and leſſen'd and laid waſte ſome of the Lands: To the end therefore that each Man might pay no more Tribute to the Prince than in proportion to the Land that was left him, 'twas needful to invent an Art, which by replacing every one in his Eſtate, might alſo preciſely mark the Diminution he had ſuffer'd, and this it was that produc'd Geometry, the Invention whereof is aſcrib'd to a King of *Egypt*, that is to ſay, to his Orders, and the Perfection of it to *Pythagoras.* By this we ſee that Surveying of Land was the firſt Element of Geometry, and it muſt have been very antient in *Egypt*, becauſe we find it very well known and much practis'd in *Greece* above three hundred Years before *Pythagoras*, as we ſee in *Homer*, who has adorn'd his Poems with Compariſons taken from that Art.

We

We know not how far *Pythagoras* advanc'd the Mathematicks, there being nothing left us whereby to judge of the Progreſs that Art receiv'd by his means. We know only that he apply'd himſelf hard to it, and that it was he who found out and demonſtrated, that the Square of the Hypothenuſal Line of a rectangular Triangle is equal to the two Squares of the two Sides. Nay, 'tis ſaid, he was ſo far tranſported at this Diſcovery, that he ſacrific'd a Hecatomb to the Muſes.

But how ſhould *Pythagoras* ſacrifice a hundred Oxen, who blam'd ſo much the exceſſive Expences that were us'd in Sacrifices, and whoſe Fortune in all Appearance was not in ſo good a Condition as to enable him to do himſelf what he had forbid others to do? *Cicero* relating the ſame Story ſays, he ſacrific'd but one Ox; and upon this too there is one Difficulty remaining, which is, that *Pythagoras* never offer'd any bloody Sacrifice. The Hiſtorians of his Life obſerve, that at *Delos* he never pray'd but at the Altar of *Apollo* who preſides over Births, becauſe that was the only Altar that was not ſprinkled with Blood; for they were cautious not to pollute by the Death of Animals an Altar dedicated to Birth and to Life. The Solution of this Difficulty muſt be taken from a very antient Law, which permitted to offer Victims made by Art, when they had none that were natural, or that they were not in a Condition to offer any ſuch. Thus *Porphyrius* ſays, that *Pythagoras* offer'd an Ox in Sacrifice, not a living Ox, but one made of Paſte; and *Athenæus* reports in like manner, that *Empedocles*, a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, having been crown'd at the *Olympick* Games, diſtributed to thoſe who were preſent, an Ox made of Myrrh, of Incenſe, and of all ſorts of Aromatick Drugs. *Pythagoras* had taken this Cuſtom from *Egypt*, where it was very antient, and continu'd in

uſe 'till the Days of *Herodotus*, who writes that notwithſtanding the Abhorrence the *Egyptians* had for Swine, they immolated ſome to *Bacchus*, and to *the Moon*, and eat the Fleſh of thoſe Victims; and that ſuch as were not in a Condition to get a Hog to ſacrifice, made one of Paſte, and after having got it bak'd, they offer'd it in Sacrifice, as if it had been a living Swine.

This Cuſtom of the *Egyptians* may have been borrow'd from the *Philiſtins*, who offer'd to God golden Rats. But 'tis very remarkable, that it paſs'd out of *Egypt* into the *Indies*, together with ſeveral other Rites of the *Egyptians* and of the *Pythagoreans*; and is kept up there even to this Day, as M. *Thevenot* obſerves in his Voyages of the *Indies*, ſpeaking of the *Brachmans* of *Telenga*, a Province of *Indoſtan*, *There is*, ſays he, *another Day of Rejoicing, upon which they make a Calf of Paſte, which they fill with Honey, and then cut its Throat, and tear it to pieces: The Honey that runs out of it repreſents the Blood of the Calf, and they eat the Paſte inſtead of its Fleſh. I could not learn the Original of this Ceremony.* The Original of it is the ſame thing I have been ſpeaking of. That Traveller likewiſe relates, that in that Country there is a certain Day in the Year, when the *Brachmans* eat the Fleſh of Swine, but in private, for fear of Scandal. This too is a Branch of the Superſtition of *Egypt*, of which *Herodotus* ſpeaks.

Muſick. *Pythagoras* is honour'd with the Invention of harmonical Meaſures; and 'tis related how this happen'd. They write, that one Day, after he had been meditating a long while on the Means of aſſiſting the Hearing, as he had already found out ways to aid and aſſure the Sight, by the Rule, the Compaſs, the Aſtrolabe, and other Inſtruments, and the Feeling by the Balance and by Meaſures, he chanc'd to go by a Smith's Shop, and heard ſeveral Hammers of different

different Sizes, beating Iron upon the Anvil. He was mov'd with the Juſtneſs of the Harmony, and going into the Shop, he examin'd the Hammers and their Sound in regard to their Sizes; and being return'd home, * he made an Inſtrument on the Wall of his Chamber, with Stakes that ſerv'd for Pegs, and with Strings of an equal Length, at the end of which he ty'd different Weights, and by ſtriking

* *Several Authors have related this Experiment of* Pythagoras, *as a certain Truth.* Gaudentius *in his Harmonical Introduction, pag.* 13 *and* 14. Nicomachus *in his Harmonical Manual, Book* 1. Macrobius, *Book* 2. *Chap.* 1. Boetius *in his ſecond Book of Muſick, Chap.* 10. *And* Jamblichus *in the* 26*th Chap. of the Life of* Pythagoras. *The Moderns are divided upon this Affair: Father* Merſenne *in his fourth Book of Harmony, and in his Phyſical and Mathematical Obſervations; and Father* Fabri *in his Phyſicks, Tome* 2. *Book* 2. *maintain that this Experiment is falſe.*

Kircherus *aſſures us he had try'd it himſelf, and found it to be moſt true. Theſe are his very Words;* Muſurg. univerſal. *lib.* 9. Muſicam Pythagoricam, *ſays he,* ad Malleos conſtitutam, diverſis in locis, coram diverſis Principibus, tanto omnes Plauſu & Admiratione exhibaimus, ut ejus repetitione vix ſatiari poſſe viderentur. We have made in ſeveral Places, and before ſeveral Princes, the Experiment of the *Pythagorean* Muſick with Hammers, with ſo great Applauſe and with ſo much Succeſs, that, ſtruck with Admiration, they could ſcarce be ſatisfy'd with the Repetition of it.

Jaſpar Scotus *in his Book of univerſal Magick, Part* 2. *Book* 6. *and in his Hydrolicopneumatical Mechanicks, Part* 2. *approves what* Kircherus *ſays, and blames thoſe who have dar'd to accuſe this Experiment of Falſhood.*

It does not belong to me to decide this Difference: I leave it to thoſe who are throughly skill'd in Muſick; and will content my ſelf to ſay, that it has very often happen'd, that Things that have been thought falſe in the Antients, have prov'd to be very true. And at the ſame time I will own, I could not have believ'd that from this Experiment there could have reſulted ſo agreeable a Muſick as that of Kircherus. *This Author ſeems to have out-done even* Pythagoras *himſelf, who, if I miſtake not, did not in this Muſick ſeek for the Pleaſure that flatters the Ear, but only for the Proportion of Sounds, and the Reaſons of theſe Proportions.*

ſeveral of theſe Strings at once, he form'd different Tones, and thereby learnt the Reaſons of this different Harmony, and of the Intervals that caus'd it. And upon this he made the famous Canon of one ſingle String, which was call'd, *The Canon of* Pythagoras, on which he mark'd all the harmonical Proportions. This was the Canon which long after, his Son *Arimneſtus*, having got it ingrav'd on a Plate of Braſs, conſecrated to the Temple of *Juno* at *Samos*, and the ſame that one *Simus* took from thence, and gave it back again afterwards under his own Name, as if he had been the Inventor of it.

Pythagoras had a very particular Opinion concerning Muſick, which nevertheleſs the Maſters of that Science, after they have duly weigh'd it, will find juſt and reaſonable. He condemn'd and rejected all Judgment that was made of Muſick by the Ear: becauſe, ſays *Plutarch*, in the Treatiſe of Muſick, he found the Senſe of Hearing to be already ſo weaken'd and decay'd, that it was no longer able to judge aright: He would have Men therefore judge of it by the Underſtanding, and by the analogical and proportionable Harmony. This in my Opinion was to ſhew that the Beauty of Muſick is independent of the Tune that ſtrikes the Ear, and conſiſts only in the Reaſon, in the Conformity, and in the Proportions of which the Underſtanding is the only Judge.

As to what he ſaid, that the Senſe of Hearing was become weak and impotent, it agrees with this other Aſſertion of his, that the reaſon why Men did not hear the Muſick of the Univerſe, was the weakneſs and imbecility of their Nature, which they had corrupted and ſuffer'd to degenerate.

He look'd on Muſick as a great advantage to Health, and made uſe of it in the Diſeaſes of the Body as well as of the Soul; for as *Plato* ſaid after him,

him, perfect Musick is a Compound of Voices and of instrumental Harmony. The Voice alone is more perfect than Instruments alone; but it wants one thing to compleat its Perfection, and that one thing is Harmony: And Instruments alone without a Voice, yield only rambling and extravagant Sounds, which may indeed move and affect the Soul, but cannot instruct nor form the Manners, which ought to be the chief end of Musick. *Homer* seems to have taught *Pythagoras* this Truth: For he never represents *Achilles* playing only on the Lyre, but singing to his Lyre the Exploits of Heroes. Thus you see why of all Instruments this Philosopher approv'd only of the Lyre, and us'd no other; above all he condemn'd the Flute, as having too violent a Sound, and being more proper to swell the Soul to Rage, than to calm or abate the Passions, that I may use the Words of *Aristotle*, who, as well as *Plato*, embrac'd the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, and after having told the Reasons of it, which are all taken from Morals, he assures, that the Reason why *Minerva* condemn'd the Flute, was not so much because it deforms the Visage of those that play on it, as because it contributes not in the least to form the Mind and the Manners.

Aristoxenus writes, that *Pythagoras* was the first who brought Weights and Measures into *Greece*: But the Testimonies of Antiquity it self will evince this Falshood: The Poems of *Homer* are enough to satisfie us that Weights and Measures were known in *Greece* several Ages before *Pythagoras*.

Logick.

In the Time of this Philosopher Logick was not yet a Part of Philosophy. No Rules were yet made to reduce Reasoning into Art, for they believ'd it as natural to Man as Speech. The necessity of this Art was nevertheless soon discover'd; for about that time the Sophists began to appear, and make an ill use of Reasoning to oppose even Reason it self;

therefore the Disciple of *Pythagoras*, who made the golden Verses, gives this Precept. *There are amongst Men several ways of Reasoning, good and bad. Admire them not on slight Grounds, and reject them not neither. If any Falsities are advanc'd, be calm, and arm thy self with Patience.* These were all the Precepts of Logick we find in that Age, as likewise among the *Hebrews* in the Days of *Solomon*, who contents himself to say in the same Sense, and with the same Design, *That every Science without Examination and Proof serves only to deceive.* No Method was yet mark'd out, no Rules prescrib'd, but only general Cautions given to distrust the Reasonings of Men, and to inquire into their Solidity, that they might discern Truth from Falshood. These Cautions produc'd at length the Dialecticks, which is the true Logick. As the Sophists increas'd in Number, and gain'd Credit, Men apply'd themselves the more to the Study of Dialecticks, that they might be able to oppose their fallacious Arguments and hinder their Progress. Thus you see why *Socrates* cultivated that Science particularly, and why *Plato* brought it to Perfection, and even order'd the Study of it. However they gave neither Rules nor Precepts, but taught only by Examples; and as (a) *Aristotle* says, *They taught not the Art, but the Effect of the Art*; that is to say, they taught the Practice without the Rules. *Zeno* of *Elea* did indeed find out some Syllogisms, like the Quirks of School-men; but all this was not capable of drawing the first Sketches of that Science. The honour of putting Reason into Rules, if I may be allow'd to use that Expression, was reserv'd for *Aristotle*, the Genius of the World that was most capable to reduce into Art the Practice of those that

(a) Οὐ γὰρ τέχνην, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἀποδίδοσαν. De Sophist. Elench. 2. 34.

that had gone before him, and to form Rules from Examples. Thus the abuſe that had been made of Ratiocination produc'd Logick, and that too at a time when there was moſt need of it to ſupport Truth and Juſtice againſt the Efforts of Sophiſters, who taught Men to oppoſe and reſiſt them. But it would be the Subject of a large Work to deſcribe the Riſe, the Progreſs, the Perfection, and the laſt modelling of Logick: Let us therefore return to *Pythagoras*.

His Application to all theſe Sciences hinder'd him not from cultivating and improving Politicks, which was almoſt the ſole Occupation of the firſt Sages. He ſupported it on its true Foundations, which are Equality and Juſtice. Thus among the Works that are cited of him, there are not only Books of Phyſicks, and of Precepts of Morality, like thoſe contain'd in the golden Verſes, but whole Treatiſes of Politicks. All theſe Works are loſt; but the Capacity of his Mind and his great Parts could never have been ſo viſible in his political Writings, as they are in the great things he perform'd. We may better judge of the Wiſdom of thoſe who give Laws to Nations, and who eſtabliſh Rules for the Government of States, by their Actions than by their Words. The Wiſe is not only happy himſelf, but renders thoſe happy too that hear him. Hear then what *Pythagoras* did; he deliver'd ſeveral Cities of *Italy* and of *Sicily* from the Yoke of Slavery; he appeas'd Seditions in ſeveral others; he reſtor'd Union and Quiet in an infinite number of Families that were torn to pieces by Diſcord and Diſſentions, and he ſoften'd the Manners, and brought to Temper the moſt ſavage and unruly Humours of ſeveral People, and of ſeveral Tyrants. His Wiſdom, his Mildneſs and his Juſtice were like freſh and delightful Breezes, that cool'd the Warmth of the moſt paſſionate. A Tyrant of *Centuripe* in *Sicily*,

was ſo touch'd with his Diſcourſes, that he not only laid down the Tyranny, but ſtripp'd himſelf likewiſe of all his Riches, one Part whereof he gave to his Siſter, and the other to the City, reſerving for himſelf only Neceſſaries, to live in the Condition of a private Man.

Phalaris of *Crete*, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, and the moſt cruel of all Tyrants, alone reſiſted the Remonſtrances of *Pythagoras*, who went to his Court in hopes to reclaim from his Vices, and to bring back to Piety and Reaſon this impious Man, who made his People groan under the moſt inſupportable of all Slaveries. He ſpoke to him with much freedom and efficacy concerning the Worſhip of the Gods, the Providence from which the wicked can never eſcape, and the horrid Enormities of Tyranny. *Phalaris*, unable to endure the Truths that ſtruck him with ſo much Dread, tho' they wanted Energy to make him amend his Manners, flew into a Rage againſt him, and againſt the *Scythian Abaris*, who was with him, and threaten'd to have them put to death. *Pythagoras* was not in the leaſt diſmay'd with the Expectation of dying, but continu'd to talk with the ſame Freedom to the Tyrant, who grew but the more obdurate. Yet tho' the Reaſons of Philoſophy were too ſoft to make any Impreſſion on the flinty Heart of that Monſter, they had ſtrength enough to reanimate the *Cretans*, and to revive their Courage that had been ſtunn'd by Tyranny. In ſhort, *Phalaris* was kill'd on the ſame Day he had order'd for the Death of *Abaris* and of *Pythagoras*.

Beſides, 'twas a mighty Honour to this Philoſopher, to have ſo many great Men come out of his School, as *Architas*, *Lyſis*, *Empedocles*, *Timæus*, *Epicharmus* and many others, among whom is reckon'd even his Slave *Zamolxis*, who was a *Thracian*, and who improv'd himſelf to that Degree under his Maſter,

Maſter, that he was deſervedly choſen to give Laws to his Country.

There were likewiſe two other wiſe Legiſlators bred in the ſame School, *Charondas*, who govern'd the City of *Thurium*, and *Zaleucus*, who gave Laws to that of *Locris*. The Reader will not perhaps be diſpleas'd to ſee here ſome Strokes of the Wiſdom of thoſe two *Pythagoreans*.

Charondas put out from the Council, all that had given Mothers-in-Law to their own Children, ſuppoſing, and perhaps with Reaſon, that ſeeing they had done that Wrong to thoſe that ought to be ſo dear to them, they would be very likely to do Wrong to their Country by giving it ill Advices.

As nothing contributes more to the Corruption of Manners than the frequenting the Vicious, he made a Law againſt ill Companies, inſomuch that a young Man who haunted any ſuch, was compell'd to anſwer for it before the Magiſtrates, and puniſh'd as for an ill Action.

He was the firſt who appointed Maſters for young Men, to be paid at the Expence of the Publick.

But his Law concerning Guardianſhip is moſt of all cry'd up. He ordain'd that the Eſtates of Orphans ſhould be adminiſter'd by the next Relations on the Father's ſide, and that their Perſon and the Care of their Education ſhould be truſted only to the neareſt Relations on the Mothers ſide: For the Life of the Orphan would be more ſecure in the Hands of thoſe who could not pretend to his Eſtate; and his Eſtate would be manag'd with more Fidelity and Care, by thoſe who were to ſucceed him in it, and were not Maſters of his Perſon.

Zaleuchus, after he had exhorted his Citizens in general to Piety, the Magiſtrates to Juſtice, and not

not to be biass'd in their Judgments either by Hatred or Friendship, and each private Person to keep a good Conscience, never to do any harm to any Man, and to have no lasting Quarrels, but to regard an Enemy as a Man that might become their Friend, in all which the Doctrine of *Pythagoras* visibly appears, apply'd himself chiefly, as his Master had done before him, to refrain Luxury, upon which he made the following Law, which has been thought very remarkable and singular: *That no Free-Woman carry with her above one Slave, unless she be drunk; that she never go out of the City in the Night, unless it be to commit Adultery; that she wear neither Gold nor Embroidery, unless she make Profession of being a Whore; that the Men wear no Gold Rings, nor rich Cloaths, unless they would be taken for Debauchees.* He presum'd none would be impudent enough to make publick Profession of Turpitude, or to bear so shameful an Evidence against themselves in the Face of all the Citizens.

As nothing more secures the publick Quiet, than the Maintenance of the Laws, to hinder his Citizens from taking a dislike to those they had receiv'd, and from changing them without a necessity prov'd by the most plain and evident Reasons, he ordain'd that whoever went about to annul an antient Law, and to propose a new one, should be brought into the Assembly of the People with a Rope about his Neck, and there relate in particular the Inconveniences he found in the Law he would have abrogated, and the Advantages would result from that he desir'd to establish; that if he were in the right, he should be honour'd and rewarded as a Father of his Country, the love whereof no Danger ought to slacken; but if he were judg'd to be in the wrong, he should be strangl'd immediately as a Disturber of the publick Peace.

We

We have already seen how great Respect *Pythagoras* had for Marriage. He regarded that sacred Tye not only as a Union necessary to the Government, but likewise as an Act of Religion: For he said that Men were oblig'd to leave Successors behind them to honour the Gods, to the end their Worship might be continu'd from Age to Age. He marry'd at *Croton*, *Theano*, Daughter of *Brontinus*, one of the Chief of that City. He had by her two Sons, *Arimnestus* and *Telauges*. This last succeeded his Father in his School, and was the Master of *Empedocles*. He had likewise one Daughter, whose Name was *Damo*. Both the Mother and the Daughter distinguish'd themselves by their great Learning, but more by their Virtues. In the Ceremonies of Religion, they were always chosen, the Mother to lead up the Choir of the Women, the Daughter that of the Virgins. They report a Saying of the Mother that deserves to be recorded; she was ask'd, in how many Days time a Woman would be pure after having had to do with a Man? She answer'd, *If it be with her Husband, she is pure immediately; if with another Man, she is defil'd for ever.*

The Daughter writ an excellent Commentary on *Homer*; but all her fine Compositions are not so honourable to her, as the Respect she had to the last Orders of her Father. 'Tis said that *Pythagoras* had given her some of his Writings with express Commands not to impart them to any, but those of his own Family. *Damo* was so scrupulously obedient, that even when she was reduc'd to extream Poverty, she refus'd a great Sum of Mony was offer'd her for them; chusing rather to be poor and obey the Will of her Father, than to be rich by Disobedience to his Commands.

What I now say concerning the Works of *Pythagoras*, is contrary to what some Antients have assur'd,

assur'd, that he never writ any thing. *Plutarch* himself is of this Opinion, when he says in the Life of *Numa*, that *the* Pythagoreans *would never write their Precepts, but contented themselves to teach them by Word of Mouth, to those they thought worthy to learn them; believing it neither becoming nor honourable, that Mysteries so sacred should be divulg'd by dead Characters.* But this Opinion is contradicted by Authorities that are not to be despis'd: Nay, 'tis certain *Plutarch* is mistaken. The *Pythagoreans* writ their Precepts; Were not their Symbols made publick? Indeed they did not explain them in their Writings, but only by Word of Mouth to their Disciples. *Philolaus* was the first who gave the Explication of them in the three Volumes, that *Dion* bought for a hundred * *Mines*, by the Advice of *Plato*, who meant by that means to relieve the extream Poverty of *Philolaus*: And thus we ought to understand the Words of *Diogenes Laertius*: *'Till the Days of* Philolaus, *it was not permitted to know any Doctrine of* Pythagoras; *'twas he who first publish'd the three famous Volumes that* Plato *caus'd to be bought for a hundred* Mines. He means, it was not permitted to Strangers.

* *About a thousand Crowns.*

As to the Works of Physicks and of Politicks, that are cited of *Pythagoras*, 'tis very difficult, or impossible to determine whether they were his or his Disciples: For these last may very likely have imitated a Custom that was in *Egypt*: When any Man had compos'd a Work, he was oblig'd to submit it to the Censure of the Priests appointed for that Examination; if the Work was approv'd of, 'twas written upon Columns without the Name of the Author; and all these Works were ascrib'd to *Hermes* and *Mercury*, the God who presides over Sciences. It may likewise be, that the first Disciples of *Pythagoras* never set their Name to their Writings, and that they ascrib'd them all to their Master,

Maſters as to him from whom they had receiv'd them. 'Tis true, this Cuſtom, which ſhow'd ſo much Reſpect, laſted not long, ſince we ſee that *Architas*, *Empedocles*, *Simonides*, and *Timæus*, put their Names to the Title of their Works.

However it be, 'tis certain that whatever was written by the firſt Diſciples of *Pythagoras*, ought to be regarded as the Work of himſelf; for they writ only his Opinions, and that too ſo religiouſly, that they would not change the leaſt Syllable, reſpecting the Words of their Maſter, as the Oracles of a God, and alledging in Affirmation of the Truth of any Tenet, only this famous Saying, *He ſaid ſo*. They were ſo prepoſſeſs'd in his Favour, that his Authority alone, tho' deſtitute of Reaſon, paſs'd with 'em for Reaſon it ſelf.

Nothing could equal the Reſpect they had for him. They look'd on him as the moſt perfect Image of God among Men, and he preſerv'd in the Minds of his Diſciples all the Majeſty of that divine Image. His Houſe was call'd the Temple of *Ceres*, and his Court-yard the Temple of the Muſes; and when he went into Towns, 'twas ſaid he went thither, *not to teach Men, but to heal them*. Who would not believe that a Man ſo much honour'd, and ſo much reſpected, and whoſe ſole Buſineſs it had always been to do good to others, would have enjoy'd a quiet old Age, and found a happy End? But theſe Bleſſings the Heralds of Wiſdom are not always to expect. The Corruptions and Injuſtice of Men promiſe them more Croſſes than Tranquility.

Pythagoras was perſecuted in the laſt Years of his Life, and dy'd a tragical Death. See here the Beginning and Source of his Misfortunes.

There was at *Croton* a young Man call'd *Cylon*, whoſe Birth, whoſe Riches, and the great Intereſt of his Family, had ſo puff'd him up with Pride, that

that he believ'd he ſhould do an Honour to *Pythagoras*, in offering himſelf to be his Diſciple. *Pythagoras*, who judg'd not of Men by theſe exterior things, and who found in him at bottom only a deal of Corruption and Wickedneſs, refus'd to receive him. *Cylon*, inrag'd at this Affront, ſought nothing but Revenge. He rail'd at this Philoſopher in all Places, and endeavour'd to render him ſuſpected to the People, by making his Aſſemblies paſs for a Rendevous of mutinous and ſeditious Perſons, who ſought only to overthrow the State, to make themſelves Maſters of it. Theſe Calumnies found an eaſie Entrance into the Minds of the People, who are always unjuſt and full of Jealouſies, and ever ready to embrace the greateſt Extreams againſt the Wiſe, whom they look on as the Pedagogues that conſtrain and keep them in Awe. *Pythagoras*, their Benefactor, is already regarded as a publick Enemy. One Day when all his Diſciples were aſſembled with him at the Houſe of *Milo* at *Croton*, *Cylon* came thither accompany'd with a Crowd of Profligates, and with a great Number of his Friends, who were devoted to his Reſentment. They ſurrounded and ſet Fire to the Houſe. There eſcap'd from the Flames only *Pythagoras*, *Lyſis* and *Archippus*. The laſt retir'd to his own Country, *Tarentum*; and *Lyſis* went into *Peloponneſus*, where he dwelt a conſiderable time, and then went to *Thebes*, where he was Preceptor of *Epaminondas*.

Pythagoras took the Way of *Locris*; but the *Locrians* having notice he was coming thither, and fearing the Enmity of *Cylon*, and the Fate of *Croton*, deputed their chief Magiſtrates to meet and requeſt him to retire elſewhere, and to offer him whatever he might have need of in his Voyage. He went to *Tarentum*, where a new Perſecution ſoon oblig'd him to leave that Place. He retir'd

retir'd to *Metapontum*, but the Sedition of *Crotun* prov'd as it were the Signal of a general Insurrection againſt the *Pythagoreans*. That Flame had gain'd all the Cities of the *Greater Greece*; the Schools of *Pythagoras* were deſtroy'd, and he himſelf, at the Age of fourſcore or of ninety Years, was kill'd in the Tumult of *Metapontum*, or as others will have it, was ſtarv'd to Death in the Temple of the Muſes, whither he was fled for Refuge. Wondrous Fatality! He who had appeas'd ſo many Wars, calm'd ſo many Seditions, and extinguiſh'd the Torch of Diſcord in ſo many Families, dy'd in a Sedition that was ſtirr'd up againſt him, and that purſu'd him from City to City, only to ſerve the unjuſt Revenge of a private Man; and moſt of his Diſciples were involv'd in his Ruin. *Socrates* has well deſcrib'd the Character of the Populace, when he ſaid, that they kill without Reaſon, and if it were poſſible, would bring to Life again, without Reaſon likewiſe. The ſame Towns that had perſecuted *Pythagoras* with ſo much Violence, and where his Diſciples and himſelf fell the Victims of their Fury, were thoſe that moſt ſtrictly embrac'd his Doctrine, that follow'd his Laws with greateſt Exactitude, and that chiefly reſpected his Memory.

Theſe are all the moſt certain Particulars I have been able to collect of the Life and Death of *Pythagoras*, and of the Origine of his Opinions. His Doctrine confin'd not it ſelf within the too narrow Limits of the *Greater Greece*, it ſpread it ſelf over all *Greece*, and in *Aſia*. The *Romans* open'd their Ears to his learned Precepts; and the Admiration they had for him was ſo great, that long after his Death, having receiv'd an Oracle, that commanded them to erect Statues in honour of the moſt wiſe and of the moſt valiant of the *Greeks*, they erected two brazen Statues, one to *Alcibiades*, as

to

to the moſt valiant, and the other to *Pythagoras*, as to the moſt wiſe. To conclude, if we ought to meaſure the Glory of a Philoſopher by the Duration of his Doctrine, and by the Extent of the Places that embrac'd it, nothing can equal that of *Pythagoras*, ſince moſt of his Opinions are at this Day literally follow'd in the greateſt Part of the whole World: But this is not his higheſt Honour, for what is infinitely more glorious for him is this, that the two moſt excellent Men for Learning and Parts that *Greece* ever produc'd, *Socrates* and *Plato*, follow'd his Doctrine, and his Method of explaining it; and that it was only by marching in his Footſteps, that they carry'd the Light of Truth ſo far, and approach'd ſo near the true Wiſdom, that we ſhould believe they had found it, knew we not that the Gentiles could no more than labour in Search of it.

The Sect of *Pythagoras* ſubſiſted 'till towards the End of the Reign of *Alexander the Great*. About that time *the Academy* and *the Lycaum* compleated to obſcure and ſwallow up the *Italick* Sect, which 'till then had held up its Head with ſo much Glory, that *Iſocrates* writes, *We more admire at this Day a* Pythagorean *when he is ſilent, than others, even the moſt eloquent, when they ſpeak.* However in After-Ages there were here and there ſome Diſciples of *Pythagoras*, but they were only particular Perſons, who never made any Society, nor had the *Pythagoreans* any more a Publick School. We find ſtill a Letter of *Pythagoras* to *Hiero*, Tyrant of *Syracuſa*; but this Letter is ſuppoſititious: *Pythagoras* was dead before *Hiero* was born.

The End of the Life of Pythagoras.

THE

THE SYMBOLS OF *PYTHAGORAS*, With their Explication.

I WILL not here repeat what I have ſaid in the Life of *Pythagoras*, concerning Symbols, and their Origin. Symbols are ſhort Sentences, and as it were Riddles, which under the Cover of plain and natural Expreſſions, repreſent to the Underſtanding the Analogical Truths we would teach it. Theſe ſorts of Symbols were, as I may ſay, the Infancy of Morals; for not having need, any more than Proverbs, either of Definition or Reaſoning, and going directly to inculcate the Precept, they were very proper to inſtruct Mankind, eſpecially at a time when Morals had not yet been methodically treated. Thus you ſee why they were ſo much in uſe, not only in *Egypt*, but in *Judea*, and in *Arabia*, as we ſee by the Proverbs of *Solomon*, which are full of them; by the Story of the Queen of *Sheba*, who went to prove the Wiſdom of that Prince with theſe ſorts of Riddles;

dles; and by the Story of *Samson*: And they were yet more proper for *Pythagoras*, who after the Example of the *Egyptians*, endeavour'd to teach his Doctrine without divulging it and without hiding it.

I.

Ζυγὸν μὴ Ὑπερβαίνειν.

Go not beyond the Ballance. *Jugum ne transilias.* *Plutarch* and St. *Jerom* explain it: *Transgress not the Laws of Justice.* *Athenæus* and St. *Cyril*; *Obey not the Dictates of Avarice:* Which comes to the same Sense; for Injustice proceeds from Covetousness.

II.

Χοίνικι μὴ ἐπικάθισαι.

Sit not down on the Bushel. *In Chœnice ne sedeto.* This Symbol has been variously explain'd, but the most natural Sense, in my Opinion, is that which exhorts Men to labour daily to gain their Bread; for he who will not work, ought not to eat. The Bushel, *Chœnix*, was the Measure of Corn that was given to each Slave for his Subsistance.

III.

Στέφανον μὴ τίλλειν.

Tear not the Crown to pieces. *Coronam ne vellito.* This Symbol may be explain'd several ways; at least I find it may have three Interpretations. First, *That we ought not to spoil the Joy of the Company by Uneasiness and Melancholy*; for 'twas the Custom at Feasts to wear Crowns of Flowers. Secondly, *That we ought not to transgress the Laws of the*

the Country; for the Laws of Cities are their Crowns; and this is the Sense St. *Hierom* has follow'd: *Coronam minime carpendam, id est, Leges Urbium conservandas.* And thirdly, *That we ought not to speak ill of Princes, and bespatter their Reputation:* Which agrees with this Saying of *Solomon* in the *Ecclesiastes*; *In Cogitatione tua Regi ne detrahas.*

IV.

Μὴ ἐσθίειν τὴν καρδίαν.

Eat not the Heart. *Cor non comedendum.* Meaning, *That we ought not to afflict and wear away our Strength by Grief, abandoning our selves to Melancholy and Despair*; as *Bellerophon*, of whom *Homer* says, ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, *Ipse suum Cor edens*; *Eating his own Heart:* And this Precept seems to have been made upon him.

V.

Πυρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σαλεύειν.

Stir not up the Fire with a Sword. *Ignem gladio ne scalpas.* That is to say, *We ought not to inflame Persons that are already at Odds.*

VI.

Μὴ ἐπισρέφεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸς ὅρους ἐλθόντας.

When you are arriv'd on the Frontiers, desire not to return back. *Non revertendum cum ad terminos perveneris.* To say, *When you are arriv'd at the End of your Life, go not back, be not dismay'd at Death, and desire not to live.*

VII.

Λεωφόρου μὴ βαδίζειν.

Go not in the publick Way. *Per viam publicam ne vadas.* Meaning, *That we ought not to follow the Opinions of the People, but the Counſels of the Wiſe.* This Symbol agrees with the Precept of the Goſpel, *To avoid the broad Way.*

VIII.

Ὀμωροφίους χελιδῶνας μὴ ἔχειν.

Suffer no Swallows about your Houſe. *Domeſticas Hirundines ne habeto.* To ſay, *Receive not any great Talkers into your Family.*

IX.

Ἐν δακτυλίῳ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ μὴ περιφέρειν.

Wear not the Image of God upon your Ring. *In Annulo Imaginem Dei ne circumferto.* To ſay, *That we ought not to profane the Name of God, by ſpeaking of him at every Turn, and before all the World.*

Perhaps too *Pythagoras* forbid the wearing of the Image of God upon a Ring, leſt among the profane Actions, of which the civil Life is compos'd, there ſhould be ſome that would offend the Majeſty of that Image: And I am perſuaded that this is the true Senſe, from what ſome Emperors did, who would have equall'd themſelves to God. We read in *Seneca* and in *Suetonius*, that in the time of *Tiberius* 'twas no leſs than a Capital Crime to wear in any diſhoneſt Place the Image of that Prince

Prince ingrav'd on a Ring, or on a Piece of Mony. Nay, *Philoſtratus* reports, and M. *Spanheim* firſt obſerv'd it, that in a Town of *Pamphylia*, a Man was condemn'd as Guilty of High-Treaſon againſt the Gods, for having beaten a Slave, who was found to have about him a Drachm of Silver, on which the Head of *Tiberius* was ſtamp'd. *Caracalla* imitated *Tiberius* in this deteſtable Pride; for *Dion* teaches us, that he condemn'd to Death a young Man of the *Equeſtrian* Order, for having been in a ſcandalous Place, with a Piece of Mony in his Pocket, whereon was engrav'd the Head of that Prince.

X.

Φορτίον μὴ συγκαθαιρεῖν, συναναλίθειν δέ.

Help Men to burthen, but not to unburthen themſelves. *Hominibus onus ſimul imponendum, non detrahendum.* To ſay, *That we ought not to help Men to live in Lazineſs and Luxury, but incline them to paſs their Days in Labour, and in the Exerciſes of Virtue, and to impoſe on 'em more toilſom and harder Tasks, the farther they advance in the Ways of Perfection.*

This is the Senſe St. *Jerom* in his Apology has given this Symbol. *Oneratis ſupponendum Onus, deponentibus non communicandum, id eſt, ad virtutem incedentibus augenda præcepta, tradentes ſe otio relinquendos.*

XI.

Μὴ ῥᾳδίως παντὶ ἐμβαλλεῖν δεξιάν.

Shake not Hands eaſily with any Man. *Ne eniquam dexteram facile porrigito.* To ſay, *Do not eaſily*

ſly contract Friendſhip with all Sorts of Perſons, or rather *be not Surety for any Man*; as *Solomon* ſays,

Prov. 6. 1. *Fili mi, ſi ſponderis pro Amico tuo, defixiſti apud*
Prov. 17. 18. *Extraneum manum tuam. Stultus Homo plaudet manibus, cum ſponderit pro Amico ſuo.*

XII.

Χύτρας ἴχνος συλχεῖν ἐν τῇ τέφρᾳ.

Leave not the leaſt Mark of the Pot upon the Aſhes. *Ollæ veſtigium in cinere confundito.* To ſay, *After you are reconcil'd, retain not the leaſt Mark, the leaſt Footſtep of your Quarrel or Reſentment.*

XIII.

Μαλάχην σπείρειν, ἐδιείν δ' μή.

Sow Mallows, but never eat them. *Herbam Molochen ſerito, ne tamen mandito.* Meaning, *Uſe Mildneſs to others, and never to your ſelf: Pardon all things in others, but nothing in your ſelf.*

XIV.

Δαδὸς θέσιν μὴ ἀπομάσσειν.

Wipe not out the Place of the Torch. *Faculæ ſedem ne extergito.* To ſay, *Suffer not all the Lights of Reaſon to be extinguiſh'd in you, and leave at leaſt the Place of the Torch that has inlighten'd you, that it may inlighten you again.*

XV.

XV.

Μὴ φορεῖν στενὸν δακτύλιον.

Wear not a ſtreight Ring. *Anguſtum annulum ne geſtato.* To ſay, *Lead your Life in Freedom and Liberty, and throw not your ſelf into Slavery*; as moſt Men do, who run themſelves headlong into Servitude, and very often out of Vanity.

XVI.

Γαμψώνυχα μὴ τρέφειν.

Feed not the Animals that have crooked Claws. *Animalia unguicurvia ne nutrito.* To ſay, *Suffer not in your Family any unfaithful Perſons or Thieves.*

XVII.

Κυάμων ἀπέχεσθαι.

Abſtain from Beans. *A Fabis abſtineto.* To ſay, *Abſtain from all things that are hurtful to your Health, your Quiet, or your Reputation.* *This Symbol is explain'd in the Life of Pythagoras.*

XVIII.

Μὴ γεύεσθαι μελανούρων.

Eat not Fiſh whoſe Tails are Black. *Melanurros ne guſtato.* To ſay, *Frequent not the Company of infamous Men, who have loſt their Reputation by ill Actions.*

XIX.

Ἐρυθῖνον μὴ ἐσθίειν.

Never eat the Gurnet. *Ne Erythinum edito.* To ſay, *Avoid all manner of Revenge, and never ſhed any Blood:* For the Gurnet is the Emblem of Blood.

XX.

Μήτρας ζώου μὴ ἐσθίειν.

Eat not the Matrix of Animals. *Animalis Vulvam ne comedito.* To ſay, *Depart from all that is mortal and corruptible; renounce whatever will incline you to Concupiſcence, or that may wed your Affections to this viſible World.*

XXI.

Θνησιμαίων ἀπέχεσθαι.

Abſtain from the Fleſh of Beaſts that die of themſelves. *A Morticinis abſtineto.* Meaning, *Share not in the prophane Fleſh of Animals, that are not fit for Sacrifices, and renounce all dead Works.*

XXII.

Ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι.

Abſtain from eating Animals. *Ab animalibus abſtineto.* To ſay, *Have no Converſation with unreaſonable Men.*

XXIII.

XXIII.

Τὸν ἅλα ἐπιθέσθαι.

* Always put Salt upon the Table. *Salem appone:* That is to say, *Never lose sight of Justice, but practise it always.* *This Symbol is explain'd more at large in the Life of Pythagoras.

XXIV.

Ἄρτον μὴ κλαγγυσίν.

Never break the Bread. *Panem ne frangito.* This Symbol has been explain'd very differently; some said that *Pythagoras* hereby advis'd not to tear ones Life to pieces, by imploying our selves in several things that tend not to the same End: Others, that he exhorts to Unity and Concord; but in the Explication of Symbols, the proper and the figurative Sense ought to agree and hold together, and none will deny but Bread is made to be broken.

I am persuaded that by this Precept *Pythagoras* intended to reprove the Avarice that is but too frequent in most of the Charities Men give. Antiently Bread was made in such a manner that each Loaf was divided into four, by Lines that were drawn over it before they put it into the Oven: For this Reason the *Greeks* call'd it τετράγλυφον, and the *Romans, quadra.* When they gave it to the Poor, they broke the Bread, and generally gave one of the Quarters, or a fourth Part of the Loaf, and sometimes half of it, as we see in *Horace;*

Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra. *Epist.* 17. *Lib.* 1.

Thus to cut down Avarice Root and Branch, *Pythagoras* advis'd by this Symbol, not to break the Bread,

Bread, to give only one half of it, but rather to give the whole Loaf; and to this purpose *Solomon* says in the *Ecclesiastes*, *Mitte panem tuum super transeuntes aquas. Cast thy Bread upon the running Waters*; meaning, *That we should give to all the Poor without any Distinction.* I know well that *Isaiah* says, *Frange panem tuum esurienti: Break thy Bread to the hungry*; which at first seems contrary to the Precept of *Pythagoras:* But *Isaiah*, when he said *thy Bread*, meant perhaps to say, *The Bread you have need of for your own Support*; and then 'tis pardonable to share it with the Poor, and not give all of it away.

Eccle. 11. 1.

Chap. 58. 7.

XXV.

Ἔλαίῳ εἰς θᾶκον μὴ ὑμόργνυσθαι.

Spill not Oil upon the Seat. *Sedem oleo ne abstergito.* I take the Word *Seat* in this Place to signifie the Thrones of Princes, and the Seats of Magistrates; and the Word *Oil* the Essences and Perfumes, that are generally taken for Praises and Flatteries.

Pythagoras therefore by this Symbol exhorts us, not to praise the Princes and Great Men of the World, on account of their Power, and because they possess the highest Dignities. Virtue alone ought to be prais'd. Perhaps too *Pythagoras* by this Symbol alludes to the Story of *Jacob*, who when he awak'd from the Vision of the Mysterious Ladder, took the Stone that had serv'd for his Pillow, set it up for a Pillar, and pour'd Oil upon it; *& erexit in titulum fundens oleum desuper:* And thus this Philosopher meant, *That we ought not to render to Princes the Honours that are due to none but God.*

Gen. 28. 9.

XXVI.

XXVI.

Σίτον εἰς ἀμίδα μὴ ἐμβάλλειν.

Put not Meat into a foul Veſſel. *Ne Cibum in Matellam injicito:* Which means, *That we ought not to give good Precepts to a vicious Soul*; for ſuch a one will but make an ill uſe of them, and corrupt them. The Word Ἄμις, *Matella*, ſignifies a Chamber-pot, and by this Word *Pythagoras* denoted deprav'd and vicious Perſons, whoſe Deſtruction is unavoidable; the *Hebrews* call'd them *Veſſels of Diſhonour*, as we ſee in St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, 9. 12.

XXVII.

Ἀλεκτρυόνα τρέφε μὲν, μὴ θύε δέ, μήτε γὰρ ἱερὸς ἡλίῳ καθιέρευται.

Feed the Cock, but ſacrifice him not; for he is ſacred to the Sun, and to the Moon. *Gallum nutrito, nec ſacrificato: Luna enim & Soli ſacer eſt.* The Cock has always been the Emblem of thoſe that are vigilant for our Good, that exhort and awaken us to perform our Duties, and diſcharge our ordinary Occupations during the Courſe of this mortal Life.

Pythagoras therefore meant by this Symbol, that we ought to cheriſh ſuch uſeful Perſons, and not ſacrifice them to the Hate and Reſentment, which the Freedom they take ſometimes inſpires, tho' they take it only for our Good. The *Crotoniates* and the People of *Metapontum* obey'd not this Symbol, for they immolated the Cock, they kill'd *Pythagoras*. Nor did the *Athenians* make their Advantage of it: for they ſacrific'd *Socrates*, who kept them ſo well awake, and was himſelf ſo watchful for their Good.

XXVIII.

XXVIII.

Ὀδόντας μὴ καταγνύειν.

Break not the Teeth. *Dentes ne frangito.* The *Greeks* us'd the Expreſſion, *to break the Teeth*, in the ſame Senſe the *Latins* did, *Genuinum frangere*, and *dentem rodere, to revile bitterly, to make Satires.* And this is what *Pythagoras* forbids by this Symbol.

XXIX.

Τὴν ὀξίδα ἀποσείεσθαι ἀπὸ σεωυτοῦ.

Keep the Vinegar Cruet far from you. *Acetarium vas abs te removeto.* The Senſe of this Symbol is the ſame with that of the foregoing; for by *Vinegar* has always been underſtood the Gall of Satire; therefore *Horace* ſaid, *Italo perfuſus Aceto.* *Pythagoras* exhorts us by this Symbol to avoid all Malice, and all the Bitterneſs of reviling Expreſſions.

Sat. 7. lib. 1.

XXX.

Ἀποκαρμάτων ζῶν καὶ ἀποτυχισμάτων καλάπτυε.

Spit upon the Parings of your Nails, and the Clippings of your Hair. *Capillorum & Unguium tuorum Præſegmina conſpuito.*

When a *Hebrew* had taken a Stranger Woman in the Wars, and had a mind to marry her, he was oblig'd to have her cut her Nails, and ſhave her Hair, and to make her change her Dreſs; after which ſhe became as it were a new Creature: *Radet Cæſariem, & circumcidet Ungues, & deponet Veſtem in qua capta eſt.* Hence the Parings of the Nails, and

Deut. 21. 12, 13.

the

the Clippings of the Hair, were taken for the Pollutions and dead Works of the old Man. Thus *Pythagoras* by this Symbol exhorts us, to deteſt our ill Deſires, and to hold them in ſuch Abhorrence as never to fall into 'em again.

XXXI.

Πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένῳ μὴ οὖρει.

Make not Water againſt the Sun. *Contra Solem ne meito.*

Nature, in forming Man, expos'd not to Sight the Parts that Decency forbids to name, and by which the Body purges it ſelf; but, to uſe the Words of *Xenophon*, has conceal'd and turn'd aſide as much as poſſible thoſe Paſſages, that the Beauty of the Creature might not be polluted, nor receive any Blemiſh from them. Therefore in the Actions that the Neceſſities of the Body require, we ought to imitate the Modeſty of that common Mother, and never do in the Face of the Sun, that is to ſay, in publick, the things that ought never to be done but in private, and that would break in on the Reſpect we owe to Modeſty, were they done before the Eyes of the World. This, in my Opinion, is the only true Senſe of this Symbol, which *Eraſmus*, contrary to all Reaſon, will have alludes to Magick Rites: To prove he is in the wrong, this Symbol is taken from the Precept of *Heſiod*, that forbids Men to make Water ſtanding, in the open Day:

Μηδ' ἀντ' ἡλίοιο τετραμμένῳ ὀρθὸς ὁμιχεῖν.

He would have Men ſquat down as the *Egyptians* did, according to the Remark of *Herodotus*, who ſays that in *Egypt* the Women made Water ſtanding,

ing, and the Man ſitting. Nay, this ſeems to have been the Cuſtom among the *Hebrews*, for they us'd the Expreſſion of *covering the Feet*, *Pedes tegere*, to ſay, *veſicam & alvum exonerare*. And from hence, in my Opinion, we may draw the Explication of this Paſſage of *Iſaiah*, 36. 12. *Ut comedant Stercora ſua, & bibant Urinam Pedum ſuorum*; *and that they may drink the Urine of their Feet*; that is to ſay, the Urine they make when they cover their Feet. *Pythagoras* was ſo careful not to offend againſt Modeſty in the Neceſſities of Nature, that the Hiſtorians of his Life obſerve, that no Man ever ſaw him in that Condition, Οὐδὲ πώποτε ἐγνώσθη οὔτε διαχωρῶν; *Nemo eum unquam vidit alvum exonerantem*. The *Latine* Interpreter has turn'd it, *Never any Man ſaw him travelling*; which would have been very ſurpriſing indeed, that no Man ſhould have ſeen him travel, who had been in *Italy*, in *Sicily*, in *Egypt*, in *Perſia*, and who had ſpent moſt part of his Life in Peregrinations.

XXXII.

Πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τετραμμένῳ μὴ λαλεῖ.

Speak not in the Face of the Sun. *Ad Solem verſus ne loquitor.* Which is to ſay, *that we ought not to make known the Thoughts of our Heart in publick, and before all the World.*

XXXIII.

Μὴ δεῖ καθεύδειν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ.

We ought not to ſleep at Noon. *In Meridie ne dormito.*

There

There is no State more wretched, than not to ſee the Sun when he is in his full Strength, and mounted in the Zenith. Of this deplorable Condition it is that *Iſaiah* ſpeaks, when he ſays *Impegimus Meridie quaſi in Tenebris.* By this Symbol *Pythagoras* endeavours to prevent this Blindneſs, ſaying, that when the Light is in its Noon, 'tis no longer permitted to ſleep; that is to ſay, to continue in Darkneſs, and to do the Works of Darkneſs.

XXXIV.

Στρωμάτων ἀναξὰς ξυλαξάσθαι αὐλα, μὴ τ τύπον ξυξόφενε.

Stir up the Bed as ſoon as you are riſen, and leave in it no Print of your Body. *Surgens e lecto, ſtragulam contumbato, veſtigiumque Corporis confundito.*

Plutarch explains this Symbol as if it were meant of Modeſty and Pudicity, which ought to be the inſeparable Companions of the Nuptial Bed. Thus in *the Clouds* of *Ariſtophanes*, *Juſtice*, to praiſe the good Diſcipline that was obſerv'd in *Athens* in thoſe antient Days, when ſhe was honour'd and reſpected, ſays, that the Youths were ſo well brought up, that not one of 'em who went to School, durſt commit the leaſt Immodeſty, nor diſcover in any manner what Modeſty commands to hide: And that they were ſo ſcrupulous above all things in what relates to Chaſtity, that when they riſe up, they never omitted to ſmooth and make even the Place where they had been ſitting, that there might not remain in the Sand the leaſt Mark of any Part of their Body. Others give it the literal Interpretation, as if *Pythagoras* had ſaid, *Make your Bed as ſoon as you are riſen, that you may not be tempted to lye down in the Day*: For the Day

Day is appointed for Labour, as the Night for Reſt.

Perhaps too he meant to exhort us, that when we are riſen, we ſhould not ſuffer any thing to put us in mind of what paſs'd in the Night: The Night is gone, the Day is riſen; let us then no longer think of Darkneſs, but of Light.

XXXV.

Ὠδᾶις χρῆσθαι πρὸς Λύραν.

Never ſing but to the Harp. *Carminibus utendum ad Lyram.*

We have ſeen in the Life of *Pythagoras*, that this Philoſopher rejected Flutes and the other Inſtruments of Muſick, as being prejudicial to Manners, and that he retain'd only the Harp; becauſe in playing on the Harp, we may ſing the Benefits of the Gods, and the Virtues of great Men. Therefore when he adviſes to ſing only to the Harp, he endeavours to inculcate into his Diſciples that they ought not to entertain their Thoughts but with great and ſerious things; and let the Subject of their Talk, even in their Hours of Recreation, be of the Gods, and of the Praiſes of the Heroes. Moreover, as nothing ſooner diſcovers the Defect of an untuneful Voice than an Inſtrument well in tune, nor the Defect of an Inſtrument out of tune than a Voice that ſings true; *Pythagoras* might thereby mean to exhort his Diſciples to make of the ſeveral Parts of their Life a prudent Whole, all of a Piece, and whoſe Harmony no Vice, no Paſſion might ruffle or diſcompoſe.

XXXVI.

XXXVI.

Τὰ στρώματα ἀεὶ συνδεδεμένα ἔχειν.

Always keep your Things ready pack'd up. *Stragula semper convoluta habeto.* That is to say, *That we ought to be prepar'd for whatever Providence has ordain'd for us,* and have nothing to retard us when our last Sand is running.

XXXVII.

Ἀνεὺ προσάγματος τῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς μὴ ἀναχωρεῖν.

Quit not your Post without the Order of your General. *Injussu Imperatoris de Statione & praesidio ne decedas.*

The Pagans had no sooner begun to philosophize, that is to say, to make use of their Reason, than they discover'd the horrid Injustice of Self-Murther. We did not create our selves, but it was God who created us, and who plac'd us in this Life, as in a Post. We ought not then to quit it but by his Order who plac'd us there. Of this great Truth *Philolaus,* a Disciple of *Pythagoras,* has given a full Demonstration and Proof; the Summary whereof may be seen in *Plato*'s Treatise *of the Immortality of the Soul.*

XXXVIII.

Ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σχίζειν ξύλα.

Cut not Wood in the Way. *In via ne Ligna cadito.*

This Symbol contains a moſt important Precept, which Men are very prone to tranſgreſs. 'Tis this: Never to convert to our private uſe that which ſerves for the good of the Publick. You are going in the High-way, cut not down the Trees, nor pull off their Branches, that are to be of uſe and yield a Shade to them that come after you. You dwell in a Houſe that is to be inhabited by thoſe that ſucceed you in your Imployment: Do it no manner of Damage. In a Word, content your ſelf with the Uſe only of what you are not the Right Owner.

This Symbol may likewiſe have another Senſe, of no leſs weight and moment than the former. The *Hebrews* thought it the greateſt Miſery and meaneſt Slavery to be reduc'd to cut Wood and carry Water: To this Drudgery they condemn'd the Priſoners they had taken in War, as *Joſhua* did the *Gibeonites*, againſt whom he denounced this terrible Joſh. 9.23. Malediction: *Non deficiet de ſtirpe tua ligna cædens, aquaſque comportans.* In this the *Greeks* took Example from the *Hebrews*: And thus *Pythagoras* ſays, that in the Courſe of this Life we ought not to debaſe our ſelves to Functions unworthy our Condition, and do the Offices of the meaneſt Slaves. Now whatever is not ſuitable to the Nobleneſs of our Eſſence, diſgraces and renders us contemptible. 'Tis *cutting of Wood* to have mean Thoughts and abject Souls, and to be Slaves to our Paſſions.

I muſt not forget that *Jamblicus* relates this Symbol a little differently, ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ χίζε, *cleave not, divide not in the way*, and that he explains it quite otherwiſe. He ſaith that Truth is *one*, and Lying *ſeveral*; and that in the Courſe of this Life we ought not to *divide*, that is to ſay, that we ought not to ſeparate our ſelves from the Truth and make a Schiſm, which is always a Token of Falſhood.

XXXIX.

XXXIX.

Τὸ ἑφθὸν μὴ ἐποπτᾶν.

Roaſt not that which is boil'd. *Quod elixum eſt ne aſſato.*

As I was meditating on the Senſe of this Symbol, I have luckily hit on the Explication of it in *Athenæus*, whoſe Words are theſe. *When the* Athenians *ſacrifice to the* Seaſons, *they boil, not roaſt the Meats they offer; thereby imploring theſe Goddeſſes to avert far from them the ſultry Heats, and the exceſſive Droughts, and to nouriſh the Fruits of the Earth by moderate Warmths, and by favourable Rains in due Seaſon: For ſuch a mild and moiſt Coction does an infinite deal of Good: It not only carries off the Crudity, but ſoftens the Hardneſs, and ripens all Things: Beſides, it prepares and dreſſes the Aliment, and makes it more ſweet and wholeſom: And from hence came the Proverb, that we ought not to roaſt what is boil'd.* Lib. 14. 20

Athenæus relates this Symbol of *Pythagoras* as a Proverb that was in the Mouth of all the World; the meaning whereof was, that when they had what was ſufficient for their Health, they ought not to ſeek after high-taſted Diſhes to pleaſe the Niceneſs of their Palates.

We may likewiſe give this Symbol a more noble and exalted Interpretation. Whatever is boil'd may be regarded as the Emblem of Benignity and Softneſs; and what is roaſted as the Emblem of Choler and Dryneſs: And thus *Pythagoras* exhorts his Diſciples never to take in ill Part, what is done in Simplicity and Innocence, and never to exaſperate the Minds of Men againſt them.

XL.

Ὀξείαν μαχαίρας ἀποστρέφου.

Avoid the two-edg'd Sword. *Gladium acutum avertito.* This was to say, *That we ought not to have any Converſation with Slanderers,* for the two-edg'd Sword has always been the Emblem of ſatirical and ſlanderous Tongues; as we ſee in the Pſalms of *David,* who ſays, *Lingua eorum quaſi Gladius acutus, their Tongue is as a ſharp Sword;* and elſewhere, *Exacuerunt quaſi Gladium Linguas ſuas, Their Tongue is like a two-edg'd Sword,* and *They have whet their Tongues like a Sword.*

XLI.

Τὰ πίπτοντα ἀπὸ τῆς Τραπέζης μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι.

Pick not up what is fallen from the Table. *Quæ ceciderunt e menſa, ne tollito.*

This Symbol, as well as the XXIV. is to exhort Men to Charity: The Table was held as Sacred, and whatever dropt from it might not be plac'd upon it again: For 'twas conſecrated to the Heroes, that is to ſay, to the Angels, and therefore was to be left for the Poor. What fell from the Table among the *Greeks,* was like the Ears of Corn among the *Hebrews,* that had eſcap'd the Hands of the Reapers, and which the Maſter was not permitted to gather up: For God had forbidden him. *Cum meſſueris ſegetem terræ tuæ non tondebis uſque ad ſolum ſuperficiem terræ, nec remanentes ſpicas colliges.*

XLII.

XLII.

Ἀπέχου καὶ σορᾶς κυπαρισσίνης.

Abſtain even from a Cypreſs Cheſt. *Ab Arca Cypariſſina abſtineto.*

By this Symbol *Pythagoras* intended to exhort Men not to be over expenſive in Funerals. The Rich made themſelves be bury'd in Cypreſs Coffins, becauſe that Wood has the Virtue of preſerving Bodies. Before *Pythagoras*, *Solon* labour'd to moderate the Expence of Burials, and after him *Plato* endeavour'd the ſame thing: For we ſee that in the twelfth Book of the Laws he regulates this Expence to a very low Foot, ſince he forbids even the richeſt to expend above five *Mines*, that is to ſay, more than fifty Crowns on their Funerals: And this the Law of the twelve Tables had alſo regulated for the *Romans: Regum aſcia ne polito.*

'Tis likely too *Pythagoras* intended to diſſuade his Diſciples from going to Funerals, and that this is the ſame Precept that God gave to the *Nazareans*. *Omni tempore conſecrationis ſuæ ſuper mortuum non ingredietur.*

XLIII.

Τοῖς μὲν ἐρανίοις περισσὰ θύειν, ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθονίοις.

Sacrifice an odd Number to the Celeſtial Gods, and to the Infernal an even. *Cœleſtibus imparia ſacrificato, inferis vero paria.*

The odd Number is the moſt perfect, and the Symbol of Concord, becauſe it cannot be divided, whereas the even may, by reaſon of the Equality of its Parts: And therefore it is the Symbol of Diviſion. From hence it is that God the Father and

Creator of all things was repreſented in the Doctrine of *Pythagoras* by the Number *One*, and Matter by *Two*. From whence we may eaſily conjecture the hidden Senſe of this Symbol. I believe that *Pythagoras* meant, that to the Infernal Gods, as being more Corporeal and more Earthly, ſhould be offer'd material Sacrifices, that might be divided, and which for this reaſon are repreſented by the even Number; and that to the Celeſtial Gods ought to be offer'd nothing but what is indiviſible; the Soul, or the Mind, repreſented by the odd Number, as the Being whence it derives its Origine.

XLIV.

Μὴ σπένδειν θεοῖς ἐξ ἀμπέλων ἀτμήτων.

Offer not to the Gods the Wine of an unprun'd Vine. *Ex imputatis vitibus ne Diis libato.*

The *Latine* Tranſlator of *Plutarch*, and after him *Amiot*, believ'd, that by this Symbol *Pythagoras* deſign'd to diſſuade Men from offering bloody Sacrifices to the Gods, and imagin'd that this Philoſopher had call'd Blood, *The Wine of the unprun'd Vine:* But this Opinion is grounded on a corrupted Text, as I have prov'd in my Remarks on the Life of *Numa*. This would be a very much forc'd and far-fetch'd Figure. Let us therefore keep to the Explication *Plutarch* has given of this Symbol, when he ſays, that our Philoſopher intended by it to recommend Agriculture as a great Piece of Piety, by exhorting not to offer to the Gods any thing Wild or Savage, and that grows in an Earth unmanur'd, or that has not been render'd kindly by Tillage.

XLV.

Ἄλες ἀλφίτων μὴ θύειν.

Never Sacrifice without Meal. *Ne ſine Farina ſacrificato.*

The *Greeks*, before they ſlew the Victims, ſprinkled on their Head Barley-Meal, or Barley mixt with Salt; which they call'd, ὐλοχύτας: *Homer*, ὐλοχύτας περιθάλοντο. Hence it has been believ'd that *Pythagoras* advis'd by this Symbol never to offer a Victim without the conſecrated Barley; but I dare affirm, that this is not the Senſe of this Precept: The Aim of *Pythagoras* is to recommend Agriculture, as in the foregoing Symbol, and at the ſame time he would diſſuade Men from bloody Sacrifices, and teach them to offer to the Gods nothing but Cakes; or, if they would offer Victims, to ſubſtitute in the place of living Victims, the Figures only of them made of Paſte; as he had done when he immolated an Ox made of Meal, according to the Cuſtom he had learnt in *Egypt*, and of which I have ſpoken in the Life of that Philoſopher.

XLVI.

Ἀνυπόδητος θύε καὶ περσαίνει.

Adore the Gods, and Sacrifice bare-foot. *Nudis pedibus adorato atque Sacrificato.*

Pythagoras had perhaps learnt in *Egypt* the Story of *Moſes*, to whom God ſaid from the midſt of the flaming Buſh, *Solve Calceamentum de pedibus ſuis; Locus enim in quo ſtas Terra ſancta eſt. Pull off the Shoes from your Feet; for the Place where you ſtand is holy Ground.* But our Philoſopher took not this Command in a literal Senſe, but gave it a

figurative, exhorting Men by this Symbol to Pray and to Sacrifice in Humility and Simplicity of Heart.

XLVII.

Προσκύνει περιστρεφόμενος.

Turn round when you Worſhip. *Circumactus adora.*

By this turning round, ſays *Plutarch,* in the Life of *Numa, 'tis believ'd* Pythagoras *intended to imitate the Motion of the World: But I rather believe this Precept to be grounded on the Situation of the Temples, which always look'd towards the Eaſt; inſomuch that thoſe who went in, turn'd their Back to the Sun; and by conſequence were oblig'd, in order to turn their Faces towards it, to make a half turn to the right; and to place themſelves afterwards in the Preſence of God, they made the whole Turn as they ſaid their Prayers. But perhaps this changing their Place may have ſome Relation to the* Egyptian *Wheels, and was deſign'd only to ſhew, that there is nothing fix'd nor permanent in this World, and that in what manner ſoever God turns and winds our Life, we ought to give him Thanks and be ſatisfy'd.*

I have explain'd the meaning of thoſe *Egyptian* Wheels in my Remarks on the Life of *Numa,* and have ſhewn that *Plutarch* has not hit the true Reaſon of this turning round that *Pythagoras* order'd. His meaning was, that Men ought to adore the Immenſity of God, who fills the Univerſe.

XLVIII.

Καθῆσθαι προσκυνήσοντα.

Sit down when you Worſhip. *Adoraturus ſedeto.*

Plutarch

Plutarch reads this Symbol otherwiſe, καθὼς προσκυνήσαντες, *Sit down after you have ador'd.* And he ſays they did ſo in token of the happy Preſage that God had heard their Prayers. But he gives a better Reaſon for it afterwards, when he ſays, that it was to teach us never to addreſs our ſelves to the Gods when we are in a Hurry of Affairs, and that we cannot pray but in haſte, and as it were, by the by; but when we have ſufficient time, and can imploy all that time without Precipitation. But I am of Opinion that *Plutarch*'s Lection is not the true, and that the Precept of *Pythagoras* ought to be read thus, καθὼς προσκυνῆσοῦσα, *When you adore ſit down*, or *ſit down to adore*, that is to ſay, pay your Devotions in Tranquility of Mind, without any Impatience, and with all the Leiſure ſo holy an Action requires. To this I will add a ſhort Remark which is not uſeleſs. In the times of *Homer* and of *Pythagoras* to pray kneeling had not been ſo much as heard of: They pray'd either ſtanding or ſitting.

XLIX.

Παρὰ θυσίαν μὴ ὀνυχίζειν.

Pare not your Nails during the Sacrifice. *Ad Sacrificia ungues ne præcidito.*

Heſiod ſays to the ſame purpoſe, but more Enigmatically and more Obſcurely,

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πενταέζοιο θεῶν ἐνὶ δασταλεῖν,
Αὐλὸν ἀπὸ χλωροῖο τάμνειν' αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.

During the Feſtival of the Gods, that is to ſay, *during the Sacrifice, cut not off with Iron from the part that has five Branches*, that is to ſay, *from the Hand that has five Fingers, the Dry from the Wet*, that is to ſay, *the ſuperfluous part of the Nails. Præſegmina unguium:*

unguium: For what we cut from the Nails is dry, the reſt is wet, that is quick. But of a ſuperſtitious Precept *Pythagoras* made a Moral one. The Senſe of this Symbol is evident, for it means, that while we are in the Temple, we ought to think only of God, to behave our ſelves reſpectfully, and to baniſh all mean Thoughts, and ſuch as are unworthy of the Sanctity of the Place, and of Religion. *Jamblicus* nevertheleſs gives this Symbol another Explication, which appears very reaſonable. He ſays, that *Pythagoras* meant to teach by it, that when they offer'd a Sacrifice, they ſhould invite even their remoteſt Relations, thoſe with whoſe Abſence they could beſt diſpence, and that were in the meaneſt and moſt contemptible Condition: For this Act of Religion ought to baniſh all Thoughts of Pride, and reconcile Families. 'Tis well known that the Sacrifices were always follow'd by an Entertainment, to which the Relations and Friends were invited.

L.

Ὅταν βροντᾷ, γῆν θίγειν.

When it Thunders, touch the Ground. *Cum tonat terram tangito.*

When Thunder grumbles over our Heads, it has always been taken as a ſign of the Wrath of God. *Pythagoras* therefore meant by this Symbol, that when God gives us Tokens of his Anger, we ought to endeavour to appeaſe him by Humility.

LI.

LI.

Παρὰ λύχνον μὴ ἐσοπτρίζου.

Regard not your ſelf in the Looking-Glaſs, by the Light of a Torch. *Ad Lucernam faciem in ſpeculo ne contemplator.*

A Looking-Glaſs is generally deceitful, and it deceives us moſt when we conſult it by Candle-light; for that falſe Light favours its Lies, increaſes and ſerves to hide them. *Pythagoras* therefore precautions us by this Symbol not to contribute to cheat our ſelves, by regarding our ſelves in thoſe Objects that paint and diſguiſe us; and he commands us to look on our ſelves in the true Light, which is alone that wherein we may ſee our ſelves ſuch as we truly are.

We may likewiſe make this Symbol allude to Philoſophy, and *Jamblicus* has done ſo; but his Explication is more obſcure than the Text. I hope that which follows will be better underſtood. The Looking-Glaſs is here meant for the bare Appearance of natural things: For a Looking-Glaſs repreſents only the Superficies of the Objects, and the Torch is the Opinion, the Imagination. If therefore we judge of natural Truths by the firſt Appearances, and behold them only by the Light of our Opinions, a Light which is always very falſe and unfaithful, we muſt of neceſſity be deceiv'd. We ought therefore to regard them in the true Light, which is God: For the Knowledge of Nature is a Conſequence of the Knowledge of God, and depends on it; and this was the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, as we ſee in the L. and LI. of the golden Verſes, and in the Commentaries of *Hierocles*; and to this the following Symbol relates.

LII.

LII.

Ἓν, Δύο.

One, Two. *Unum, Duo.*

By the Unit *Pythagoras* repreſented God, the Creator of all things; and by the Number *Two*, Nature, as I have ſhewn in the Life of this Philoſopher. This Symbol ſignifies the ſame thing with the former; that we ought to know God above all Things, and in the next Place, Matter: For as we cannot know the Nature of Two, unleſs we firſt know that of One, which created it; ſo we cannot know this viſible World, unleſs we know God.

LIII.

Περτίμα τὸ χῆμα, ἢ βῆμα ἢ τριώβολον,

Honour the Marks of Dignity, the Throne and the Ternary. *Honorato imprimis habitum, Tribunal, & Triobolum.*

Jamblicus ſeems to me to be far wide of the true Senſe of this Symbol, when he ſays that *Pythagoras* would inſinuate that the *Italick* Sect ought to be preferr'd to the *Ionick*, becauſe the Doctrine of the *Italick* is wholly *incorporeal*, whereas that of the *Ionick* is confin'd to the Body.

Lilius Giraldus, and others, were of Opinion, that by the Ternary in this Place, *Pythagoras* meant to repreſent the Holy Trinity, the Myſtery whereof they pretend was not unknown to this Philoſopher, no more than to *Plato*, who ſeems to have ſpoken of it in his ſecond and in his ſixth Letter, but I am perſuaded they are miſtaken. *Pythagoras* never had the leaſt Notion of the Trinity, and he not only never had any Glimpſe of this Myſtery, but

but even the Syſtem of his Doctrine ſeems intirely contrary to it, and from this Syſtem it is that we ought to draw the Explication of this Ternary, in the manner I am about to give it. We have already ſeen that he has eſtabliſh'd three Kinds of rational Subſtances, the Immortal Gods, the Heroes, that is to ſay, the Angels, and the Men that are dead in the Practice of Virtue, and whom the Divine Grace has exalted to Glory, that is to ſay, the Saints. Thus you ſee what he here means by the Ternary, to which he would have us confine all our Veneration and Worſhip; forbidding us to honour any Nature inferior to thoſe three, as may be ſeen in *Hierocles:* I hope this will be thought the true Senſe of this Symbol, the reſt is eaſie. By the Throne, *Pythagoras* repreſents Kings and Princes, and by the Badges of Dignity all thoſe to whom theſe Princes impart their Authority: He requires us therefore to honour Kings and their Magiſtrates, in a Word all whom God has plac'd over us, to be our Governors and Guides.

LIV.

Ἀνέμων πνεόντων τὴν ἠχὼ σεβεσθαι.

When the Winds blow, adore *Echo. Flantibus Ventis, Echo adora.*

I own I underſtand not the Explication *Jamblicus* has given this Symbol, when he ſays, *That we ought to honour and love the Reſemblance, the Image of the Divine Eſſences and Powers.*

Lilius Giraldus came nearer the Truth, when he ſaid, that the Winds in this Place repreſent *Revolts, Seditions, Wars,* and that *Echo* is the Emblem of deſart Places, and that *Pythagoras* by this Symbol meant to exhort his Diſciples to leave the Towns where they ſaw Wars and Seditions, and retire into Places

Places more quiet and peaceful, into Foreſts, and into Deſarts, which are the Retreat of *Echo*; as *Ovid* tells us,

Inde latet Sylvis, multoque in Monte videtur,
Omnibus auditur.

LV.

Μὴ ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ δίφρου.

Eat not in the Chariot. *Ex curru ne comedite:* For thus this Symbol has been tranſlated. The Chariot repreſents Voyages and Battels, for they made uſe of it to travel, and in Fight. *Pythagoras* therefore advertiſes us by this Symbol, that in time of Action there is no while to eat; or that in this Life, which is indeed a Voyage, we muſt not think we are here only to eat and drink, and to have no thoughts for any thing, but what concerns the Body: This is the Explication has been given to this Symbol, and which I am not over-ſatisfied with; therefore 'till a better be found out, take my Conjecture of it. The *Greek* Word Δίφρος, ſignifies not only a Chariot, but a Seat, a Chair, *Sellam*. When therefore *Pythagoras* forbids us to eat in our Seats, he forbids us to eat ſitting, that is to ſay, without working.

LVI.

Εἰς ὑπόδησιν τὸ δεξιὸν πρῶτα προσάγε, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀποδυσάμενος τὸ εὐώνυμον.

Put on your Right Shoe firſt; and waſh your Left Foot firſt. *Dextrum pedem primum calceato, ſiniſtrum vero primum lavato.* The putting on of our Shoes repreſents the Functions of an active Life, and

and the Bath the Delights of an idle and effeminate Life. *Pythagoras* therefore exhorts his Disciples by this Symbol to be more forward to embrace an active Life than a Life of Ease and Pleasure.

LVI.

Ἐγκέφαλον μὴ ἐσθίειν

Eat not the Brain. *Cerebrum ne edito.* Which means, *Oppress not your Mind with too much Study and Labour, which wastes and fatigues it*; but give it some Refreshment:

—— Nec æternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigæ.

LVII.

Φοίνικα μὴ φυτεύειν.

Plant not the Palm-tree. *Palmam ne plantato.* I have read this Symbol of *Pythagoras*, but have no where met with the Explication; so that we have nothing to do but to guess at it. The Palm-Tree is very useful and of great Service in the Country where it naturally grows: *Plutarch* says the *Babylonians* reckon'd up three hundred and sixty several Advantages they gain'd from this Tree; but when it once comes to be transplanted, 'tis no longer good for any thing, and bears only a wild sort of Fruit, that cannot be eaten. Therefore when *Pythagoras* says, *That we ought not to plant the Palm-tree*, he means, that we ought to do nothing but what is good and useful. We may likewise give this Symbol another Interpretation, which appears to be as good as the former. The Antients write, that the Bud which the *Greeks* call *the Brain of the Palm-*

Palm-Tree, is very ſweet to the Taſte, but that it cauſes great Pains in the Head. *Xenophon* in the ſecond Book of the Expedition of *Cyrus* ſays, that the *Greeks* of *Clearchus*'s Army fell ſick with eating it. So that *Pythagoras* might by this Symbol mean to exhort us, to avoid whatever is pleaſant and delightful at firſt, but in the End cauſes Trouble and Vexation of Mind.

LIX.

Σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς Θεοῖς κατὰ τὸ οὖς.

Make the Libations to the Gods by the Ear. *Libamina Diis facito per Auriculam.*

Philoſtratus mentions this Symbol in the Life of *Apollonius*, and ſays that *Apollonius* ſpeaking one Day of the Libations in preſence of a young Man, and having ſaid, that there was a Liquor that ought to be ſacrific'd to the Ears, and the Libations of it made in the Ear, the young Man burſt out a laughing, becauſe 'tis impoſſible to drink in the Ear. But he took in a literal Senſe a Symbol he ought to have explain'd figuratively.

Pythagoras, and after him his Diſciple *Apollonius*, meant to ſay the Libations ought to be accompany'd with Muſick, and the Gods honour'd by ſinging of Hymns and Songs of Praiſe, which are the moſt acceptable Libations can be made them. *Pythagoras* had learnt in *Egypt*, that the *Jews* imploy'd their Voices and Inſtruments to ſing the Pſal. 10.7. Praiſes of God, *Pſalterium jucundum cum Cythara*. *Homer* knew it to be true, that Muſick is pleaſing to God; for he feigns, that at the Feaſts of the of the Gods, *Apollo* plays on the Lyre, and the Muſes ſing with Voices ſo ſweet as even to raviſh the Hearers.

Here

Here follow ſome other Symbols, which 'tis pretended were collected by Plutarch: *I have ſought them in his Works, but to no purpoſe; however I think fit to ſubjoin them to the former, but without the* Greek *Text, which I could never meet with.*

LX.

Never eat the Cuttle-Fiſh. *Sepiam ne edito.*

Plutarch teaches us a very ſingular Quality, that is naturally inherent in the Cuttle-Fiſh. He ſays that when 'tis taken in a Net, it caſts out a Liquor it has under the Neck, and that is black as Ink; and that by ſo doing it dyes the Water all around it of a black Colour, and covers it ſelf as it were with a dark Cloud, by which means it makes its eſcape from the Sight of him that has taken it.

Pythagoras therefore meant, *Undertake no dark and intricate Affairs, which will come to nothing even when you think your ſelf Maſter of them.* Or rather he intended to forewarn us, to have no Converſation with falſe and diſſembling Perſons; for they will abandon us in Neceſſity, and get away from us by confounding every thing with their black Villany and Falſhood, to ſlip their own Necks out of the Nooſe.

LXI.

Stop not at the Threſhold. *In limine non conſiſtendum:* Which means, *Continue not doubtful and wavering, but chuſe your Side.*

LXII.

Give way to a Flock that goes by. *Pregredienti gregi è via cedendum:* Which means, *That we ought not to oppoſe the Multitude.*

LXIII.

Avoid the Weezel. *Muſtelam devita:* That is to ſay, *Avoid Tale-tellers*; for as *Plutarch* ſays, 'tis pretended that the Weezel brings forth its young by the Mouth, and that for this reaſon 'tis the Emblem of Speech that proceeds from the Mouth. *Plutarch* ſays, *'tis pretended*, becauſe he knew very well it had been conteſted; and that *Ariſtotle* himſelf has prov'd, that the Weezel produces its young like other Animals, and that this Fable was grounded only on the Weezels often carrying their young from Place to Place in their Mouth.

LXIV.

Refuſe the Weapons a Woman offers you. *Arma a muliere ſumminiſtrata rejice.* Woman, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of her Sex, is the Emblem of Anger and Revenge: For thoſe Paſſions proceed from Weakneſs.

Pythagoras therefore meant, *That we ought to reject all the Suggeſtions that Revenge inſpires.* Perhaps too he deſign'd to teach, that we never ought to take part with Women in their Reſentments, nor give way to the Rage they would kindle in us. A thouſand Examples have ſhewn us the Miſchiefs that have enſu'd from thence.

LXV.

LXV.

Kill not the Serpent that chances to fall within your Walls. *Colubrum intra ædes collapſum ne perimito:* Which means, *Do no harm to your Enemy, when he is become your Suppliant, and your Gueſt.*

The Serpent always ſignifies an Enemy, becauſe indeed it has been the Enemy of Man ever ſince the Malediction pronounc'd againſt it, *Gen.* 3. 14.

LXVI.

'Tis a Crime to throw Stones into the Fountains. *Lapidem in Fontem jacere Scelus.* Which means, *That 'tis a great Crime to torment and perſecute good Men, and thoſe that are uſeful to the Publick.*

Heſiod ſaid before *Pythagoras,* Μηδ' ἐπὶ πρηνέων οὐρεῶν, *neque ſuper Fontes meito.* To ſay, Corrupt not and render not uſeleſs the Good that others do, and never make a Scoff at your Benefactors. *Solomon* has likewiſe compar'd good Men to Fountains, when he ſays, That a Juſt Man who falls before the Wicked, is a Fountain whoſe Waters are troubled with the Foot, and a Spring corrupted and ſpoil'd. *Fons turbatus pede, & vena corrupta, juſtus cadens coram impio.* Prov. 25. 26.

LXVII.

Feed not your ſelf with your Left Hand. *Siniſtra Cibum ne ſumito. Live only upon what you get honeſtly and juſtly, and ſupport not your ſelf by Rapine and Robbery,* but by your Labour: For the Left Hand has always been the Hand ſuſpected for Thievery; and therefore *Catullus* writing to *Aſinius,* who had ſtole his Handkerchief, ſays,

Mauricine Aſini, Manu ſiniſtra
Non bene uteris, in joco atque vino:
Tollis Lintea negligentiorum.

LXVIII.

'Tis a horrible Crime to wipe off the Sweat with Iron. *Sudorem ferro abſtergere tetrum nefas.* By which was meant, *'Tis a very criminal Action to take from any one by Force and Violence the Eſtate he has got by his Labour, and by the Sweat of his Brows:* For *Sweat* is generally taken for what we get by our Labour; becauſe of the Malediction pronounc'd after the Sin of the firſt Man; *In Sudore vultus tui veſceris.* This Symbol of *Pythagoras* ſays the ſame thing with this Sentence of *Eccleſiaſticus*, 34. 21. *Qui aufert in Sudore panem, quaſi qui occidit proximum ſuum. He who takes away the Bread that is gain'd by the Sweat of the Brow, is like him who kills his Neighbour.*

LXIX.

Stick not Iron into the Footſteps of a Man. *Hominis Veſtigia ferro ne configito.* Which means, *Mangle not the Memory of the Dead.* For this Symbol has no relation to the Sorcery that is practis'd at this Day, and whereby they pretend to ſtop a Man, a Horſe, or the like, by ſticking a Nail into one of his Footſteps: This Piece of Witchcraft is a Modern Chimera, and was unknown to the Antients.

LXX.

Sleep not upon a Grave. *In Sepulchro ne dormito.* Which is to teach us, *That the Eſtates our Parents*

Parents leave us, ought not to ſerve to make us live in Idleneſs and Luxury. And I am perſuaded *Pythagoras* took this Symbol from the Precept of *Heſiod*, that forbids to ſit down upon Tombs,

Μηδ' ἐπ' ἀμνηΐδεσι καθίζειν.

LXXI.

Lay not the whole Faggot on the Fire. *Integrum faſciculum in Ignem ne mittito.* To ſay, *Live thriftily*, and ſpend not all your Eſtate at once.

LXXII.

Leap not from the Chariot with your Feet cloſe together. *De Rheda junctis pedibus ne exilito.* Which is as much as to ſay, *Do nothing inconſiderately, change not your Condition raſhly, and all of a ſudden.*

LXXIII.

Threaten not the Stars. *In Aſtrum ne Digitum intendito.* To teach us, *Not to be tranſported with Anger againſt our Superiors, and thoſe who labour only to inlighten the Darkneſs of our Underſtandings.*

LXXIV.

Place not the Candle againſt the Wall. *Candelam ad Parietem ne applicato.* That is, *Perſiſt not obſtinately to inlighten or inſtruct ſtupid and dull Underſtandings, for they will reſiſt your Inſtructions*, as a Wall repels and drives back the Rays of the Sun.

LXXV.

Write not in the Snow. *In Nive ne ſcribito.* That is, *Truſt not your Precepts to Perſons of a ſoft and effeminate Nature*; for the leaſt Heat, that is to ſay, the leaſt Perfection melts them, and your Precepts will vaniſh away.

The *Greeks* ſaid in the ſame Senſe, *to write upon the Water*, meaning, to labour in vain, to give Inſtructions to dull and ſluggiſh Natures, who cannot retain them, and where they are immediately effac'd.

The End of the Symbols of Pythagoras.

THE

THE LIFE OF *HIEROCLES.*

THERE is nothing more natural, than when we read any Work, to desire to know the Author; and the finer and more useful the Work is, the more we are desirous to know to whom we are oblig'd for the Profit and for the Pleasure we gain by reading it. This is what induc'd me to make diligent Search who was the *Hierocles*, that was the Author of these excellent Commentaries on the Verses of *Pythagoras*; For to know only his Name, which he had in common with several others, is not knowing who he was; and I see that even the most Learn'd are not agreed as to that Point.

Antiquity furnishes us with several eminent Men, who bore the Name of *Hierocles*. The first is *Hierocles* the Brother of *Menecles*, a Native of *Alabanda* in *Caria*. These two Brothers were in great Renown for their Eloquence. *Cicero*, who had both seen and heard them, speaks of it in several Places

Places of his Works; among others, in his Orator to *Brutus* he gives this Character of them: *Tertium eſt in quo fuerunt Fratres illi,* Aſiaticorum *Rhetorum principes,* Hierocles *&* Menecles, *minime meâ ſententiâ contemnendi. Etſi enim a formâ veritatis, & ab* Atticorum *Regula abſunt, tamen hoc vitium compenſant, vel facilitate vel copiâ. The third Sort is that in which the two Brothers,* Hierocles *and* Menecles, *employ'd themſelves; they were the firſt of the* Aſiatick *Orators, and, in my Opinion, are in no wiſe to be contemn'd; for tho' they ſwerve from the Character of Truth, and from the* Attick *Rule, they make amends for that Defect, by the Fluency of their Compoſition, and by their Copiouſneſs of Language.* The Character of Style deſcrib'd in this Paſſage is enough to ſhew that the *Hierocles* of *Cicero* was not him, who commented on the Verſes of *Pythagoras*; for his way of writing has nothing in it of the *Aſiatick* manner, being every where cloſe and conciſe. Beſides, he was an Orator, not a Philoſopher.

The ſecond was the *Hierocles*, cited by *Stephanus*, who writ the Relations of all the moſt extraordinary and moſt remarkable things he had ſeen. For Example, he ſpeaks of a Nation of *Hyperboreans* call'd the *Tarcyneans*, where Griffins guard the Mines of Gold. He ſays, that nothing is more worth ſeeing than the *Brachmans*, a People addicted to Philoſophy, and particularly devoted to the Sun, who eat no manner of Fleſh, who live always abroad in the open Air, who above all things honour and cultivate Truth, and who wear only Robes made of Linnen they get from the Rocks; for, adds he, they take certain ſmall Threads that grow upon the Rocks, ſpin them, and make of them their Cloaths, which will not burn in the Fire, and which they never waſh; but when they are dirty, throw them in the midſt of a burning Flame, and they

they become white and transparent. He makes mention of the Linnen call'd *Asbestus*, which we at this Day find in the *Pyrenean* Mountains, such as he describes it. This *Hierocles* liv'd some time after the Age of *Strabo*, that is to say, after *Tiberius*.

The third was a *Stoick* Philosopher, of whom mention is made in *Aulus Gellius*, who says, that as often as the Philosopher *Taurus* heard speak of *Epicurus*, he had immediately in his Mouth these Words of *Hierocles*, a grave and holy Man: * *That Pleasure is the End of Man, is the Tenet of a Harlot: That Providence is nothing, is another Tenet of a Harlot.* By these Sayings this wise *Stoick* fortify'd himself as with an Antidote, against the two Maxims that were the Foundation of the Philosophy of *Epicurus*, and which were very pernicious in the Sense the Libertine *Epicureans* gave them.

This *Hierocles* was therefore more antient than *Taurus*, and by consequence liv'd in the latter End of the Emperor *Adrianus*. Neither the Traveller, nor the Philosopher, could possibly be the Authors of these Commentaries on the Golden Verses. So serious and sublime a Work is not of the Pen of a Traveller, and the *Hierocles* we are looking after was a *Pythagorean*, not a *Stoick*. Besides, 'tis certain these Commentaries were not written in the second Century.

We find another *Hierocles* who was a Civilian, and of whom is cited a Treatise of Diseases and of their Cures, which he dedicated to *Bassus* a Philosopher of *Corinth*.

There is a fifth *Hierocles*, who was a Grammarian, and who has given us a Treatise of the Empire of *Constantinople*. But neither the Grammarian, nor the Civilian, is our *Hierocles*.

But

* Ἡδονὴ τέλος πόρνης δόγμα, καὶ δὴ Πρόνοια, οὐδὲν πόρνης δόγμα. *As the learned* English*man*, John Pearson, *has corrected it.*

But see without any manner of doubt where we muſt look for him. Under the Empire of *Dioclesian* there was an *Hierocles* of *Bythinia*, who executed as *Nicomedia* the Office of Judge, and to whom the Emperor gave the Government of *Alexandria*, to recompence him for the Ills he had done the Chriſtians. He was not ſatisfy'd with perſecuting them with the utmoſt Fury, but he likewiſe writ againſt them two Books, which he call'd *Philalethes*, *Friends of Truth*, where he endeavour'd to prove the Falſhood of the Holy Scripture by a thouſand pretended Contradictions which he believ'd he had found in it, and wherein he preſum'd to equal, or even to prefer *Apollenius Tyanæus* before Jeſus Chriſt.

A little after this we find an *Hierocles*, who was born at *Hillarime*, a Town in *Caria*, who after having follow'd for ſome time the Trade of a Wreſtler, quitted the *Gymnaſium* to apply himſelf to Philoſophy, ἀπὸ ἀθλήσεων ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀχθείς, *who from the Combats of the* Gymnaſium, *or wreſtling Place, all of a ſudden turn'd Philoſopher*, ſays *Stephanus*.

To this Day theſe two *Hierocles* have been confounded. *Voſſius* pretends that the Governor of *Alexandria* is the ſame with the Wreſtler, and I ſee that *John Pearſon*, one of the moſt learned Men that *England* ever produc'd, does not vary from this Opinion, provided he may be permitted to give another Interpretation to the Paſſage of *Stephanus* I but now cited. He will have the *Greek* Word ἀθλήσεις, which we explain'd *the Combats of the* Gymnaſium, to ſignifie the Combats the Chriſtians had to ſupport againſt the Heathens, and the Perſecutions they had ſuffer'd; and to prove this, he quotes a Paſſage from *Euſebius*, who ſpeaks of the Combats of the glorious Martyrs, Θεοπρεπῶν Μαρτύρων ἀθλήσεις. But this learned *Engliſhman* was

not

not aware that ἀθλήσεις, might well be us'd in that Senſe in relation to the Sufferers, and in no wiſe in relation to thoſe that inflict the Sufferings. For Example, we may ſay, *This Martyr, at the End of his glorious Combats, was crown'd*, for 'tis the Martyr that combats: But we cannot ſay of the Judge who preſides at theſe Impious Executions, *That at the End of his Combats he went to repoſe himſelf*; for the Judge combats not at all.

Therefore *Pearſon*'s Suffrage for the Opinion of *Voſſius*, being founded only on ſo groundleſs an Explication, ought not to be of any Weight or Authority. But ſee here ſome other Reaſons that oppoſe this Opinion of *Voſſius*, and prove that he has not duly examin'd neither into the different Characters of theſe two *Hierocles*, nor into the Times they liv'd in.

The Occupation of a Wreſtler, and that of a Judge, are not more different than theſe two *Hierocles*, both as to their Honeſty and Underſtanding.

In the Judge the Antients found only Cruelty, Animoſity and Injuſtice.

In the Philoſopher we diſcover nothing but Equity, Uprightneſs and Humanity.

In the Judge they found a Man of ordinary Underſtanding, a Judgment little ſound, and leſs experienc'd, a dull Critick, and an inexhauſtible Stock of Impudence and Falſhood. We need only read what *Euſebius* has recorded of him to move our Scorn and Indignation. *A Man*, ſays he, *of no Reaſon, no Judgment, no Wit.*

And in the Philoſopher we obſerve a very clear and deep Underſtanding, a ſound Reaſon, an exquiſite Judgment, much Penetration and Wiſdom, and a paſſionate Love for Truth.

It ſeems impoſſible that the Writings of *Hierocles* againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and theſe Commentaries

mentaries on the Golden Verſes of *Pythagoras*, ſhould be the Work of the ſame Author. In the firſt, all was frivolous, nothing new, nothing ſingular; nay, moſt of the Objections were often ſtolen Word for Word from *Celſus* and from *Porphyrius*, had already been refuted a hundred times, or contemn'd; and what is very obſervable, were contrary to the Maxims of Philoſophy. On the contrary, in the laſt, if we except ſome Opinions in which this Philoſopher had too blindly follow'd his Maſter, all is ſtrong and ſolid. No where are there to be ſeen greater and more ſublime Ideas concerning the Nature of God, and the Duties of Man, and no where Principles more ſound and more conformable to the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. This Work may well be compar'd to whatever the greateſt Philoſophers of Antiquity have written. 'Tis evident he had read the Holy Scriptures, but far from caſting in Stones to diſturb the Waters of this Divine Fountain, we may plainly ſee he had been drawing out of it, and that he had been making good uſe of this Source of Light, to clear up many Articles of the *Pagan* Theology; nay even to enrich and diſingage it from many groſs Errors that the Light of Nature alone was not able to diſpel.

It will perhaps be alledg'd that theſe Conjectures are not of ſufficient Force to oblige us to make two Authors of one; and that 'tis very poſſible and very likely too, that a Man who has given evident Proof of a great Strength of Judgment, and of an uncommon Share of Wit in the Treatiſes he has compos'd of Philoſophy, ſhould flag and give himſelf the Lie, when he undertakes to oppoſe Truth, and to make Falſhood triumph over it. *Porphyrius* himſelf, who has written ſo well that even to this Day his Works are read with Pleaſure, is not always the ſame, and ſhews not the ſame Judgment and the ſame Solidity in the Books he compos'd againſt the Chriſtian

Chriſtian Religion, as in his other Writings. What can be expected from the greateſt Genius, if he undertakes to combat againſt God? But *Porphyrius* is not ſo different from himſelf in theſe laſt Works as the Author of theſe Commentaries would be, if he had made the Books againſt the Chriſtians.

But ſee another Reaſon, which I take to be of weight. 'Tis well known that *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, that famous Impoſtor whom the *Hierocles* that was the Author of the Books againſt the Chriſtians had the Folly to equal, nay, even before prefer to Jeſus Chriſt, depriv'd Man of Free Will, and held that all was govern'd by the Laws of Deſtiny, that nothing could avoid or change. *Euſebius* imploys a whole Chapter to refute this falſe Doctrine in the Treatiſe he has compos'd againſt *Hierocles*. Now I affirm, that if this impious *Hierocles* had been the ſame Perſon who made theſe excellent Commentaries, *Euſebius* would not have fail'd to have taken Arms from theſe Commentaries to have overthrown this falſe Doctrine of *Apollonius* upon Liberty, and to reproach his Panegyriſt, that he extol'd above our Saviour a Man imbu'd with a capital Error concerning a moſt important Truth, laying which aſide there is no longer either Virtue or Vice, or Wiſdom or Folly, or Order or Juſtice; and a Man to whom he was directly of a contrary Opinion, ſince never any Philoſopher has with more Strength of Argument or greater Solidity aſſerted the Doctrine of Free Will than himſelf. *Euſebius* would farther, have drawn from theſe Commentaries, and from the other Works of *Hierocles*, wherewith to confute and deſtroy all the Fables and all the Chimera's with which *Philoſtratus* endeavours to imbelliſh the Life of *Apollonius*, ſeeing there is nothing ſo oppoſite to this falſe Philoſophy as the Doctrine of *Hierocles*. From whence I believe we may probably enough conclude that the Author of theſe Commentaries

is

is not the Impious *Hierocles* againſt whom *Euſebius* has written.

But ſee here ſome other Reaſons that I have taken from Chronology, and which perhaps will be allow'd to have the Force of Proofs.

Hierocles, Governor of *Alexandria*, and the Author of the two Books againſt the Chriſtians, was dead before the Year 340 of Jeſus Chriſt.

Damaſcius, who liv'd under the Emperor *Juſtinian*, had ſeen *Theoſebius*, the Diſciple of the Philoſopher *Hierocles*, as he himſelf tells us in a Paſſage I will cite anon.

It ſeems very difficult that a Man who was certainly alive in 528. ſhould have ſeen and known the Diſciple of a Man who was dead before 340. And by conſequence there is little likelihood that *Hierocles* the Philoſopher and Author of the Commentaries on the Golden Verſes, ſhould be the ſame *Hierocles* who was Governor of *Alexandria*, and an Enemy of the Chriſtians.

Were there any Particulars remaining of the Life of the Philoſopher, they would perhaps ſtrengthen the Reaſons I have advanc'd: But we know but very little of him, and that is what *Damaſcius* writ, and which *Photius*, and after him *Suidas* have tranſmitted to us.

See then what this Author ſays, who liv'd early in the ſixth Century. *The Philoſopher* Hierocles, *he who by his Sublimity of Style, and by his Eloquence, has render'd ſo famous the School of* Alexandria, *join'd to Conſtancy and Greatneſs of Soul, a Beauty of Wit and Fluency of Expreſſion beyond all Imagination. He ſpoke with ſo much Eaſe, and was ſo happy in the Choice of good Words, that he charm'd all his Hearers, and always ſeem'd to enter the Liſts againſt* Plato, *to contend with him for the Glory of the Beauty of Diction, and Depth of Thought. He had a Diſciple call'd* Theoſebius, *who of all the Men I ever knew, had*

had the moſt Penetrating Judgment, and was the moſt expert in reading the ſecret Thoughts of the Heart. This Theoſebius *ſaid, that as* Hierocles *was one Day explaining* Plato, *he ſaid, that the Diſcourſes of* Socrates *were like Dice, that always ſtand upright, which way ſoever they fall. A Misfortune that befel this Philoſopher, ſerv'd to diſplay his Courage and his Magnanimity in their full Splendor. Being gone to* Bizantium *he drew upon himſelf the Hatred of the Governors, was caſt into Priſon, brought before the Tribunal of Juſtice, condemn'd, and deliver'd over to ſix* Lictors, *who cut and gaſh'd him 'till he was all over Blood. But he, nothing diſmay'd, took a handful of the Blood that ſtream'd from his Wounds, and threw it in the Face of the Judge, repeating to him this Verſe of* Homer;

Κύκλωψ, τῆ, τὸ οἶνον ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα.

Here, *Cyclops*, drink this Wine, after thou haſt glutted thy ſelf with Human Fleſh. *He was baniſh'd, and being return'd to* Alexandria, *he taught Philoſophy as he had been wont to do, to all that came to hear him. His great and admirable Parts are very viſible in his Commentaries on the Golden Verſes of* Pythagoras, *in his Treatiſes of Providence, and in ſeveral other Works, where he lays down the wiſeſt of Morals, and diſcovers a wondrous Depth of Knowledge.*

This Elogy agrees but ill with *Hierocles*, the Enemy of the Chriſtians. It would never have been ſaid of the Governor of *Alexandria*, that he had render'd a School flouriſhing. That *Hierocles*, far from being able to vie with *Plato* for Sublimity of Style and Profoundneſs of Thoughts, was, as I have ſaid already, a Man of indifferent Parts. Beſides, what Probability is there that the Governor of *Alexandria* ſhould be treated at *Bizantium* in the manner

manner *Damaſcius* ſpeaks of; whereas all this may well agree with a Wreſtler turn'd Philoſopher.

The Philoſophical Works that *Damaſcius* had ſeen of *Hieorocles*, were a Treatiſe of Providence and Fate, and of the Agreement of our Liberty with the Decrees of God, divided into ſeven Books. *Photius* has tranſmitted to us ſome Fragments of the three firſt.

A Treatiſe of OEconomicks in Imitation of *Xenophon*, and one of the Maxims of the Philoſophers, of which the Heads of the Chapters run thus.

How a Man ought to govern himſelf. How to behave himſelf towards the Gods, towards his Country, towards his Father and his Mother, towards his Brothers, his Wife, his Children, his Neighbours. We have likewiſe ſome conſiderable Fragments of him in *Stobæus*, which betray a great deal of Wit, an uncommon Mildneſs of Temper, and in a Word, a Character directly oppoſite to that of the Judge of *Alexandria*: For Example, in the Treatiſe of Fraternal Love, he ſays, *That to do well by all the World, we ought to put our ſelves in the place of each particular, and imagine that he is we, and we are him.*

That there is nothing more worthy of Man, and that deſerves more Praiſe, than by Mildneſs and gentle Behaviour to reclaim a paſſionate, wild and brutiſh Perſon, and make him become mild, tractable and civil.

In the Treatiſe of Marriage, after having ſaid many things of the Neceſſity of that Union, he adds, *That almoſt all domeſtick Broils proceed from the ill Choice we make. We marry Wives only for their Riches or for their Beauty; without troubling our ſelves about their Manners and Inclinations: Hence it is that we often marry for our Misfortune, and that we adorn with Garlands the Doors of our Houſes, to introduce a Tyrant, not a Wife.*

He adds, that *They who refuſe to marry, and to have Children, accuſe their Fathers of marrying without Reaſon, and condemn themſelves.*

In

In the Treatiſe how we ought to live with our Father and Mother, he ſays, that *Children ought to conſider themſelves in the Houſe of their Father and Mother, as in a Temple where Nature has plac'd them, and of which ſhe has made them the Prieſts and the Miniſters, that they might continually imploy themſelves in the Worſhip of thoſe Deities that gave them a Being.*

He ſays farther, that *Children ought to furniſh their Parents with all things neceſſary; and that for fear they ſhould forget any one of them, they ſhould prevent their Deſires, and often even divine what they cannot explain themſelves; for they have often divin'd for us, when we were not able to tell our Wants, any otherwiſe than by our Cries, our Infant Stammerings, and our Complaints.*

He likewiſe made Commentaries on the *Gorgias* of *Plato*, concerning which we have one Particular pleaſant enough: *Damaſcius* relates it in *Photius*. He ſays, that as *Hierocles* was explaining one Day to his Diſciples the *Gorgias* of *Plato*, *Theoſebius*, who was preſent, took down the Explication in Writing. Some time after this, *Hierocles* having again taken the *Gorgias* to explain it, the ſame *Theoſebius* writ down that Explication likewiſe, Word for Word as it came from the Mouth of his Maſter; and comparing afterwards the laſt with the firſt, he found they ſcarce agreed in any thing; however, which one would ſcarce believe, they were both very conformable to the Doctrine of *Plato*; which proves, adds that Author, *(a) What an Ocean, what a Depth of Senſe there was in this great Man.*

Theoſebius ſhew'd this Difference to *Hierocles*, who upon that Occaſion pronounc'd the Saying I

(a) I have retain'd the *Greek* Phraſe, which I take to be ſuch τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἡλίκου ὢν ἔφη τὸ βάθος φρενῶν πέλαγος.

have already related, that the Arguments of *Socrates* are like Dice, which are always upright, which way ſoever they lye.

'Tis great pity that all theſe Works of *Hierocles* are loſt: But I regret yet more than any the Loſs of a Treatiſe he made of Juſtice, which would have ſupply'd the Loſs of all the reſt. Doubtleſs this was a Work of great Depth and Solidity, as we may judge by theſe Commentaries on the golden Verſes of *Pythagoras*; where we ſee that this Philoſopher had penetrated into the very Eſſence of Juſtice.

We have beſides a ſmall Treatiſe, intitul'd, Ἱεροκλέους φιλοσόφου ἀστεῖα, the pleaſant Jeſts of the Philoſopher *Hierocles*. This is a little Collection of trifling Sayings, that dropt from the Mouth of People newly come from the School, who in all times have paſs'd for more ſilly and fooliſh than Men that had liv'd in the World: Some of them are as follow.

A Scholar, the firſt time he went to bathe, ſunk under Water, and was like to have been drown'd. Scar'd at the Danger he had eſcap'd, he ſwore he would never more go into the Water 'till he had firſt learn'd to ſwim.

Another deſiring to accuſtom his Horſe to live without eating, gave him neither Hay nor Oats: And his Horſe being ſtarv'd to death, he cry'd out, *What an unfortunate Fellow am I! I have loſt my Horſe juſt when he had learnt to eat no more.*

Another, who had a mind to ſee if he look'd well when he was aſleep, ſhut his Eyes to look upon himſelf in the Looking-Glaſs.

Another, who was deſirous to ſell his Houſe, took a Stone of it out of the Wall, and carry'd it to the Market for a Sample.

Another, who had a Jar of excellent Wine, ſeal'd it up. His Servant made a Hole in the Bottom of the Jar, and drank the Wine. The Maſter ſeeing

seeing the Wine go away, tho' the Seal was whole, was surpriz'd, nor could imagine the Reason of it. Somebody bid him look if it was not drawn out at Bottom: *You great Fool,* said the Master, *'Tis not gone at the Bottom, but at the Top.*

All the rest are much of the same Nature, and I wonder that any Man could ascribe to *Hierocles* the Philosopher, a Work so frivolous, and so unbecoming a serious Man. The Style alone proves it to be of a much later Date; for we find Expressions in it, that were unknown to the fourth and fifth Century, and that belie the Praises the Antients have given to the Beauty of the Diction of this Philosopher.

In the King's Library there is a great Quantity of Letters from the Sophist *Libanius*, that have never been printed. Among them there are many where mention is made of one *Hierocles*, and even some that are directed to him. By them he appears to have been a Rhetorician, who had acquir'd much Reputation by his Eloquence, and that he was always Poor because he had always been an honest Man. This Character agrees exactly with the Author of these Commentaries, and is very contrary to that of the Governor of *Alexandria*, who was grown rich by Cruelty and Injustice: Nay, the very Time suits well enough with that when our Philosopher flouriſh'd: For the *Hierocles* of *Libanius* may have liv'd to the beginning of the fifth Century. But I leave this Inquiry to those who have leisure, and would give themselves the Trouble to collect all these Letters, that are very worthy to see the Light, to put them into Order, and to examine whether all the Author there says of that *Hierocles* and of his Family, can be brought to agree with what *Damascius* has written of this, and whether my Conjectures will be thereby strengthen'd or overthrown.

TO THE

READER.

I Hope the Reader will forgive the Liberty I have taken in Tranſlating theſe Verſes ſomewhat at large, without which it would have been almoſt impoſſible to have given any kind of Turn in Engliſh *Poetry to ſo dry a Subject. The Senſe of the Author is, I hope, no where miſtaken; and if there ſeems in ſome Places to be ſome Additions in the* Engliſh *Verſes to the* Greek *Text, they are only ſuch as may be juſtify'd from* Hierocles's *Commentary, and deliver'd by him as the larger and explain'd Senſe of the Author's ſhort Precept. I have in ſome few Places ventur'd to differ from the Learned Mr.* Dacier's *French Interpretation, as thoſe that ſhall give themſelves the trouble of a ſtrict Compariſon will find. How far I am in the right, is left to the Reader to determine.*

THE

THE GOLDEN VERSES OF *PYTHAGORAS.*

Tranſlated from the *Greek* by Mr. *ROWE.*

ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ

ΧΡΥΣΑ ΕΠΗ.

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς, νόμῳ ὡς διάκειται, 1

Τίμα, καὶ σέβου ὅρκον ἔπειθ' ἥρωας ἀγαυούς, 2

Τὲς

THE Golden Verſes OF *PYTHAGORAS.*

Tranſlated from the *Greek*, by Mr. *Rowe.*

FIrſt to the Gods thy humble Homage pay; 1
The greateſt this, and firſt of Laws obey:
Perform thy Vows, obſerve thy plighted Troth, 2
And let Religion bind thee to thy Oath.
The Heroes next demand thy juſt regard,
Renown'd on Earth, and to the Stars preferr'd,
To Light and endleſs Life their Virtues ſure Reward.

Τὸς τε καλαχθονίους σέβε δαίμονας, ἔννομα ῥέζων· 3

Τὸς τε γονῆς τίμα, τὸς τ' ἄγχις' ἀγχεγαῶτας· 4

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρετὴν ποιεῦ φίλον ὅσις ἄριστος. 5

Πρᾴοισι δ' εἶκε λόγοις ἔργοισί τ' ἐπωφελίμοισι. 6

Μηδ' ἔχθαιρε φίλον σὸν ἁμαρτάδα εἵνεκα μικρῆς, 7

Ὅρεξαι δυνήσῃ· δυνάμις γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐγγύθι ναίει. 8

Ταῦτα

Due Rites perform and Honours to the Dead, 3
To ev'ry Wiſe, to ev'ry pious Shade.
With lowly Duty to thy Parents bow, 4
And Grace and Favour to thy Kindred ſhow:
For what concerns the reſt of Human-kind, 5
Chuſe out the Man to Virtue beſt inclin'd;
Him to thy Arms receive, him to thy Boſom bind.
Poſſeſt of ſuch a Friend, preſerve him ſtill; 6
Nor thwart his Counſels with thy ſtubborn Will;
Pliant to all his Admonitions prove,
And yield to all his Offices of Love:
Him, from thy Heart, ſo true, ſo juſtly dear, 7
Let no raſh Word nor light Offences tear.
Bear all thou canſt, ſtill with his Failings ſtrive, 8
And to the utmoſt ſtill, and ſtill forgive;
For ſtrong Neceſſity alone explores,
The ſecret Vigour of our latent Pow'rs,

Rouſes

Ταῦτα μηδὲ ὕπνος ἕλοι, πρὶν ἢ διζήσεο τῶνδε, 9
Γαστρὸς μὴν πρώτιστα, ἠδ' ὕπνου, λαγνείης τε 10
Καὶ θυμοῦ. πρήξης δ' αἰσχρόν ποτε μήτε μετ' ἄλλου, 11
Μήτ' ἰδίῃ πάντων δὲ μάλιστ' αἰσχύνεο σαυτόν. 12

Εἶτα δικαιοσύνην ἄσκει, ἔργῳ τε λόγῳ τε. 13
Μηδ' ἀλογίστως σαυτὸν ἔχειν περὶ μηδὲν ἐθίζου· 14
Ἀλλὰ γνῶθι μὲν ὡς θανέειν πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη.

Χρήματα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν κτᾶσθαι φιλεῖ, ἄλλοτ' ὀλέσθαι.

Ὅσα

Rouſes and urges on the lazy Heart,
Force, to its ſelf unknown before, t' exert.
By uſe thy ſtronger Appetites aſſwage, 9
Thy Gluttony, thy Sloath, thy Luſt, thy Rage: 10
From each diſhoneſt Act of Shame forbear; 11,12
Of others, and thy ſelf, alike beware.
Let Rev'rence of thy ſelf thy Thoughts controul,
And guard the ſacred Temple of thy Soul.
Let Juſtice o'er thy Word and Deed preſide, 13
And Reaſon ev'n thy meaneſt Actions guide: 14
For know that Death is Man's appointed Doom, 15
Know that the Day of great Account will come,
When thy paſt Life ſhall ſtrictly be ſurvey'd,
Each Word, each Deed be in the Ballance laid,
And all the Good and all the Ill moſt juſtly be repaid.
For Wealth the periſhing, uncertain Good, 16
Ebbing and flowing like the fickle Flood,

That

Ὅσσά τε δαιμονίῃσι τύχαις βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν, 17
Ὧν ἂν μοῖραν ἔχῃς, μετρίως φέρε, μηδ' ἀγανάκτει. 18

Ἰᾶσθαι δὲ πειρῶ, κατθύσων δυνῇ. φῶτας δὲ τοὺς πλείστους; 19

Οὐ πάντων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τύχη πολὺ μοῖραν δίδωσι. 20

Πολλοὶ δ' ἀνθρώποισι λόγοι δειλοί τε κὴ ἐσθλοί 21

Πεσα-

That knows no ſure, no fix'd abiding Place,
But wandring loves from Hand to Hand to paſs;
Revolve the Getter's Joy and Looſer's Pain,
And think if it be worth thy while to gain.
Of all thoſe Sorrows that attend Mankind. 17, 18
With Patience bear the Lot to thee aſſign'd;
Nor think it Chance, nor murmur at the Load;
For know what Man calls Fortune is from God.
In what thou mayſt from Wiſdom ſeek Relief, 19
And let her healing Hand aſſwage the Grief;
Yet ſtill whate'er the Righteous Doom ordains, 20
What Cauſe ſoever multiplies thy Pains
Let not thoſe Pains as Ills be underſtood
For God delights not to afflict the Good.

The Reas'ning Art to various Ends apply'd, 21
Is oft a ſure, but oft an erring Guide.

Thy

Περσπίπλισο· ὧν μήτ' ἐκπλήσσεο, μήτ' ἄρ' ἐάσῃς 22

Ἐργεσθῆς σαυτῶ· ψεῦδος δ' ἢν πέρ τι λέγῃ, 23

Πρᾶσσε τὰ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ σαυτὸν τελεῖσθαι· 24

Μηδεὶς μήτε λόγῳ σε παρελθέτω μήτέ τι ἔργῳ, 25

Πρῆξαι μηδ' εἰπεῖν ὅ, τι τοι μὴ βέλτερον ἦεν. 26

Βυλεύου πρὸ ἔργου, ὅπως μὴ μωρὰ πέλωμαι. 27

Δειλῶ

Thy Judgment therefore ſound and cool preſerve, 22
Nor lightly from thy Reſolution ſwerve;
The dazling Pomp of Words does oft deceive,
And ſweet Perſuaſion wins the eaſie to believe.

When Fools and Liars labour to perſuade, 23
Be dumb, and let the Bablers vainly plead.

This above all, this Precept chiefly learn, 24,25,26
This nearly does, and firſt thy ſelf concern;
Let no Example, let no ſoothing Tongue,
Prevail upon thee with a *Syren*'s Song,
To do thy Soul's Immortal Eſſence wrong.
Of good and Ill by Words or Deeds expreſt,
Chuſe for thy ſelf, and always chuſe the beſt.

Let wary thought each Enterprize forerun, 27
And ponder on thy Task before begun,

Δειλῶ τοι φρήσειν τε λέγειν τ' ἀνάπλα πρὸς ἀνδρός. 28

Ἀλλὰ τάδ' ἐκτελέειν ἅ σε μὴ μελέτω εἶτ' ἀνιήσῃ. 29

Πρῆσσε δ' μηδὲν ὧν μὴ ἄισασαι, ἀλλὰ διδάσκου 30

Ὅσσα χρεών· ἢ τερπνότατον βίον ὧδε διάξεις. 31

Οὐδ'

Leſt Folly ſhould the wretched Work deface,
And mock thy fruitleſs Labours with Diſgrace.
Fools huddle on and always are in haſte,
Act without Thought, and thoughtleſs Words they waſte.
But thou in all thou doſt, with early Cares
Strive to prevent at firſt a Fate like theirs;
That Sorrow on the End may never wait,
Nor ſharp Repentance make thee Wiſe too late.

Beware thy medling Hand in ought to try,
That does beyond thy reach of Knowledge lye;
But ſeek to know, and bend thy ſerious Thought
To ſearch the profitable Knowledge out.
So Joys on Joys for ever ſhall encreaſe,
Wiſdom ſhall crown thy Labours, and ſhall bleſs
Thy Life with Pleaſure, and thy End with Peace.

Οὐδ' ὑγιὲς τὸ περὶ ζῶμ' ἀμέλειαν ἔχειν χρή, 32
Ἀλλὰ ποτῦ τε μέτρον ἐς ζῆτυ γυμνασίων τε 33

Ποσσῖδ· μέζων ἢ λέγω τόδ' ὃ μὴ σ' ἀνίσῃ. 34

Ἐνθέζυ ἢ δίαιταν ἔχειν καθαρόν, ἀθρωπίων. 35

Καὶ περύλαξό γε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὀπόσα φθόνον ἴσχει. 36

Μὴ

Nor let the Body want its Part, but ſhare 32,33
A juſt Proportion of thy tender Care:
For Health and Welfare prudently provide,
And let its lawful Wants be all ſupply'd.
Let ſober Draughts refreſh, and wholſome Fare
Decaying Nature's waſted Force repair;
And ſprightly Exerciſe the duller Spirits chear.
In all Things ſtill which to this Care belong, 34
Obſerve this Rule, to guard thy Soul from Wrong.

By virtuous Uſe thy Life and Manners frame, 35
Manly and ſimply pure, and free from Blame.

Provoke not Envy's deadly Rage, but fly 36
The glancing Curſe of her malicious Eye.

Μὴ δ' ἀπαναῦ πω δ' κωμῆν, ὅποῖα κακῶν ἀδαήμων 37

Μηδ' ἀνελλύθερος ἴθι. μέτρον δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον. 38

Πρῆσσε δ' ταῦθ' ἃ σε μὴ βλάψῃ λόγισαι δ' πρὸ ἕρξιν. 39

Μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσθέσθαι, 40

Πρὶν τὰ ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν 41

Seek not in needleſs Luxury to waſte 37 [Haſte;
Thy Wealth and Subſtance, with a Spendthrift's
Yet flying theſe, be watchful, leſt thy Mind, 38
Prone to Extreams, an equal Danger find,
And be to ſordid Avarice inclin'd.
Diſtant alike from each, to neither lean,
But ever keep the happy GOLDEN MEAN.

Be careful ſtill to guard thy Soul from Wrong, 39
And let thy Thought prevent thy Hand and Tongue.

Let not the ſtealing God of Sleep ſurprize 40, 41
Nor creep in Slumbers on thy weary Eyes,
E'er ev'ry Action of the former Day
Strictly thou doſt and righteouſly ſurvey.
With Rev'rence at thy own Tribunal ſtand,
And anſwer juſtly to thy own Demand.

Πῆ παρέλω; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη; 42

Ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ πρώτου ἐπέρχεο· καὶ μελέτησα, 43

Δειλὰ μὲν ὀκνήσας, ἐπιπλήσσειν· χρηστὰ δέ, τέρπου. 44

Ταῦτα πόνει, ταῦτ' ἀσκεῖτα· τούτων χρὴ ἐράσσαι σε· 45

Ταῦτά σε δὴ θείης ἀρετῆς εἰς ἴχνια θήσει, 46

Ναὶ

Where have I been? In what have I tranſgreſs'd? 42
What Good or Ill has this Day's Life expreſs'd?
Where have I fail'd in what I ought to do?
In what to God, to Man, or to my ſelf I owe?
Inquire ſevere whate'er from firſt to laſt, 43
From Morning's Dawn 'till Ev'ning's Gloom has paſt.
If Evil were thy Deeds, repenting mourn, 44
And let thy Soul with ſtrong Remorſe be torn.
If Good, the Good with Peace of Mind repay,
And to thy ſecret Self with Pleaſure ſay,
Rejoice, my Heart, for all went well to Day.

These Thoughts and chiefly these thy Mind [move, 45
Employ thy Study, and engage thy Love.
These are the Rules which will to Virtue lead, 46
And teach thy Feet her heav'nly Paths to tread.

Νικᾷ μὰ τ' ἀμείλιχα ψυχᾶ παθήματα τελεσχέσιαι 47

Παγὰν ἀενάου φύσιος. ἀλλ' ἔχευ ἐπ' ἔργοις, 48

Θεοῖσιν ἐπιξάμενος τελέοις. τούτων δὲ κρατήσας, 49

Γνώσῃ ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἰότητα καὶ ἀνθρώπων. 50

Σύγασαι, ἢ τε ἔκαστα διέρχεται, ἢ τε κρατεῖται. 51

Γνώσῃ δ', ὅτι δίκη ἐστὶ, φύσιν κατὰ πάντα δμοίην 52

Ὥστε σε μήτε ἄελπτ' ἐλπίζειν, μήτε τι λήθειν. 53

Γνώσῃ

This by his Name I ſwear, whoſe ſacred Lore 47,48
First to Mankind explain'd the Myſtick FOUR,
Source of Eternal Nature and Almighty Pow'r.

In all thou doſt firſt let thy Prayers aſcend, 49
And to the Gods thy Labours firſt commend,
From them implore Succeſs, and hope a proſp'rous End.
So ſhall thy abler Mind be taught to ſoar, 50
And Wiſdom in her ſecret Ways explore;
To range through Heav'n above and Earth below,
Immortal Gods and mortal Men to know.
So ſhalt thou learn what Pow'r does all controul, 51
What bounds the Parts, and what unites the Whole:
And rightly judge, in all this wondrous Frame, 52
How univerſal Nature is the ſame.
So ſhalt thou ne'er thy vain Affections place 53
On Hopes of what ſhall never come to paſs.

Man,

Τοῖσιν δ' ἀνθρώπους αἰδεῖσθαι πήματ' ἔχουσι. 54

Τλήμονες, οἵτ' ἀγαθῶν πείρας οὐκ ἐν ἔργοισιν, 55

Ὅυτε λόγοισιν λύσιν τ' κακῶν παῦροι ξυνίασι. 56

Τοῖν μοῖραν θεσπὶν βλάπτει ῥέουσ' ἰὴ τ' κυλίνδουσι 57

Ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλα φέρουσ', ἀτιμίησιν πήματ' ἔχουσι. 58

Δυσχερὴ γὰρ ξυναδὸς ἔφυ βλάπτουσα λίην 59

Σύμφυτος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ θεσπεσίης, εἴκουσα τ' φύσιν. 60

Zεῦ

Man, wretched Man, thou ſhalt be taught to know, [54
Who bears within himſelf the inborn Cauſe of Woe.
Unhappy Race! that never yet could tell
How near their God and Happineſs they dwell.
Depriv'd of Senſe, they neither hear nor ſee;
Fetter'd in Vice, they ſeek not to be free,
But ſtupid to their own ſad Fate agree.
Like pond'rous Rolling-ſtones, oppreſs'd with Ill,
The Weight that loads 'em makes 'em roll on ſtill,
Bereft of Choice, and Freedom of the Will.
For native Strife in ev'ry Boſom reigns,
And ſecretly an impious War maintains:
Provoke not THIS, but let the Combat ceaſe,
And ev'ry yielding Paſſion ſue for Peace.

Wouldſt

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ πολλῶν γε κακῶν λύσειας ἅπαντας, 61
Ἢ πᾶσιν δείξαις ὅιῳ τῷ δαίμονι χρεών. 62

Ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσει, ἐπεὶ θεῖον γένος ἐκ θεόθεν, 63

Οἷς ἱερὰ προφέρουσα φύσις δείκνυσιν ἑκάστα. 64

Ὧν εἴ σοί τι μέλοιτο, κρατήσοις ὧν σε κελεύω, 65

Ἐξαίρουσα, ψυχὴν δ' ἀθανάτου ἄπο σῶμα δὲ λιποῦσα. 66

Ἀλλ' εἶμι βροτῶν ὧν εἰσορόωμι, ἐν τε κακαρμοῖς, 67
Ἔν τε λύσει ψυχῆς κείνων· ἢ φορέζει ἕκαστα. 68
Ἡνίοχον γνώμην σῆσας καθύπερθεν ἀείρων. 69

Ἣν

Wouldſt thou, great *Jove*, thou Father of Mankind, 61,62
Reveal the *Demon* for that Task aſſign'd,
The wretched Race an End of Woes would find.

And yet be bold, O Man, Divine thou art, 63
And of the Gods Celeſtial Eſſence Part.
Nor ſacred Nature is from thee conceal'd, 64
But to thy Race her myſtick Rules reveal'd.
Theſe if to know thou happily attain, 65
Soon ſhalt thou perfect be in all that I ordain.
Thy wounded Soul to Health thou ſhalt reſtore, 66
And free from ev'ry Pain ſhe felt before.

Abſtain, I warn, from Meats unclean and foul, 67, 68, 69
So keep thy Body pure, ſo free thy Soul;
~~So rightly judge, thy Reaſon, ſo, maintain,~~
Reaſon which Heav'n did for thy Guide ordain,
Let that beſt Reaſon ever hold the Rein.

Then

Ἢν δ' ἀπολύσῃς ζῶμα ἐς αὖθις ἐλεύσεαι ἔνθεν, 70
Ἔστιν ἀθανάτῳ θεῷ ἀμβροσίῳ, οὐκ ἔτι θνητῷ. 71

THE

Then if this mortal Body thou forſake, 70, 71
And thy glad Flight to the pure Æther take,
Among the Gods exalted ſhalt thou ſhine,
Immortal, Incorruptible, Divine:
The Tyrant Death ſecurely ſhalt thou brave,
And ſcorn the dark Dominion of the Grave.

THE

THE COMMENTARIES OF *HIEROCLES*, ON THE GOLDEN VERSES OF *PYTHAGORAS*.

How Philosophy purifies and perfects human Nature.

PHiloſophy is the Purification and Perfection of Human Nature: Its Purification, becauſe it delivers it from the Temerity and from the Folly that proceed from Matter, and becauſe it diſingages its Affections from this Mortal Body; and its Perfection, becauſe it makes it recover its original Felicity, by reſtoring it to the Likeneſs of God; (a) Now Virtue and Truth alone

(a) Becauſe Virtue alone can purifie, and Truth alone inlighten, and by conſequence perfect and reſtore in us the Divine Image.

**The Purification and Perfection of human Nature.*

alone can operate *theſe two things; Virtue, (*b*) by driving away the Exceſs of the Paſſions; and Truth, by diſpelling the Darkneſs of Error, and (*c*) by returning the Divine Form to ſuch as are diſpos'd to receive it.

Virtue and Truth the only Cauſes of the Felicity of Man.

For this Science therefore, which ought to render us pure and perfect, 'tis good to have ſhort and certain Rules, to be as ſo many Aphoriſms of the Art; that by their Means, we may arrive methodically and in due Order to Happineſs, which is our only End.

(*d*) Among all the Rules that contain a Summary of Philoſophy, (*e*) the Verſes of *Pythagoras*, call'd

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(*b*) He does not ſay, *by driving away, by deſtroying the Paſſions*, but *by driving away the Exceſs of the Paſſions*; becauſe the *Pythagoreans* held, that the Paſſions are uſeful, and that the Exceſs of them is only vicious: A Truth, that the *Platonick* and *Peripatetick* Philoſophers likewiſe acknowledg'd.

(*c*) There was here a conſiderable Fault in the Text, εὐφυῶς ἔχουσα, which made no Senſe at all, at leaſt that I could underſtand. The excellent Manuſcript in the *Florence* Library, conſulted by Dr. *Salviati*, who was pleas'd to ſend me all the different Lections, which he had extracted with great Care, clear'd my Difficulty, by ſhewing me that *Hierocles* had written τοῖς εὐφυέσι ἔχουσι, *to thoſe who are well diſpos'd*; that is to ſay, to thoſe whom the Habit of Virtues has render'd capable to receive this divine Form, and to take up the Likeneſs of God.

(*d*) It appears by this Paſſage, that in the Days of *Hierocles* there were ſeveral Works of this Nature, the Deſign whereof was to teach Philoſophy in a few Words, and by Aphoriſms. We know two that are excellent; one of *Epictetus*; the other of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*; the firſt of which is more methodical than the other.

(*e*) Theſe Verſes were not made by *Pythagoras* himſelf, ſince the Author in the forty ſixth Verſe ſwears by *Pythagoras*. They were written by one of his Diſciples, and the Antients aſcribe them to *Lyſis*. They go under the Name of *Pythagoras*, not only becauſe his Doctrine is contain'd in them, but likewiſe becauſe the firſt Diſciples of *Pythagoras* never put their Name to their Works, which they all imputed to their Maſter, as well to do him Honour, as in Token of their Gratitude.

call'd *the Golden Verſes*, juſtly hold the firſt Rank; for they contain the general Precepts of all Philoſophy, as well for what regards the Active, as the Contemplative Life. By their means every one may acquire Truth and Virtue, (*f*) render himſelf pure, happily attain to the Divine Reſemblance, (*g*) and as is ſaid in the *Timæus* of *Plato*, whom we ought to regard as a very exact Maſter of the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, (*h*) after having regain'd his

(*f*) One ſingle Letter that is miſtaken corrupts the Text of this Paſſage in ſuch a manner, that 'tis not intelligible: For what is the Meaning of ἡ ἑαυτὸν καθαρὸν ἀπολαύοι? The Verb ἀπολαύειν is never us'd thus. The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads very well ἡ ἑαυτὸν καθαρὸν ἀπολάβοι. *Et ſibi ſum purum recipiat, and that he may render himſelf pure*, that he may recover his firſt Purity.

(*g*) That is to ſay, the Dialogue that *Plato* compos'd, and call'd *Timæus*, becauſe he makes *Timæus* explain the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, juſt as it is ſet forth in the *Timæus* of *Locris*, which is a Treatiſe of the Soul of the World, and of Nature, made by *Timæus* himſelf, a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*, and which *Plato* has tranſmitted to us, and explain'd in his Dialogue that bears that Name. *Hierocles* has Reaſon to acknowledge in this Place, that this Dialogue of *Plato* is a moſt exact Explication of the *Timæus* of *Locris*, who of all the Diſciples of *Pythagoras*, was he who beſt expounded the Doctrine of that Philoſopher. This *Timæus* was of *Locris*, the beſt govern'd of all the Cities of *Italy*. *Socrates* extols his Birth, his Riches, the great Exploits he had done in his Country, and gives him this mighty Elogy, that he had attain'd to the higheſt Perfection of all Philoſophy, that is to ſay, as well of the Practical, as of the Speculative.

(*h*) We ſhould in vain turn over the *Timæus* of *Plato* in ſearch of theſe Words, as they are here quoted. Of two Paſſages of *Timæus*, *Hierocles* makes but one; the firſt is in the forty ſecond Page, where *Plato* ſays, *And he will not put an End to his Changes, and to his Labours, 'till applying himſelf to follow the Period* of the ſame, *and* of the like, *which is within him for his Guide, and 'till having ſurmounted by Reaſon the Heap of Stains and Pollutions he had contracted by the Contagion of the* Demons, *that is to ſay of the Body, he be reſtor'd to his original State*, &c. Εἰς τὸ τέ πρώτης ἡ ἀείσης ἀφίκοιτο

his Health, and recover'd his Integrity and his Perfection (*i*) he may ſee himſelf again in his primitive State of Innocence and of Light.

The Purification ought to precede Contemplation.

Pythagoras begins by the Precepts of active Virtue: For before all things we ought to diſſipate and drive away the Folly and the Lazineſs that are in us, and then apply our ſelves to the Knowledge of Divine Things: For as an Eye that is diſeas'd, and not yet heal'd of its Fluxion, cannot behold a dazling and reſplendent Light; in like manner a Soul that is ſtill deſtitute of Virtue, (*k*) cannot fix its View on the Beauty and Splendor of Truth; nor is it lawful for Impurity to touch the Things that are pure. (*l*) Practi-

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ἕξεως. And the other is in Page 44, *But if the Nouriſhment of good Education comes to his Relief, then eſcaping the moſt dangerous of all Diſeaſes, he becomes ſound and whole.* Ὁλόκληρος τε καὶ ὑγίης καὶ πανέλεως, τηνικαῦτα μεγίστην ἀποφυγὼν νόσον, γίγνεται. I know not whether *Hierocles* deſign'd to join theſe two Paſſages, or whether citing them by Memory and without Book, he was not miſtaken.

(*i*) The *Greek* of *Plato* ſays, *To return to the Form of its primitive and moſt excellent Habitude*: Which is nothing elſe than its firſt State of Innocence and of Light, in which it originally was by its Union with God. Innocence is recover'd by the Practice of Virtues, and Light or Underſtanding by Contemplation.

(*k*) Here a Word is wanting in the Text, unleſs we underſtand the Word ψυχὴ ἀδύνατος, which is in the firſt Member of the Compariſon; but this looks not like *Hierocles*'s Style. I found this Word ſupply'd in the Margin of an *Hierocles* that was lent me by the Abbot *Renaudot*, and where an unknown, but learned Hand, had written ἀμήχανον; I doubt not but the Marginal Notes of that *Hierocles* were taken from good Manuſcripts, for I found there ſome very excellent Lections. This I mention'd, is confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which likewiſe preſents us with another Lection that is very remarkable. I will give the intire Paſſage as it is in that Manuſcript, οὕτω ψυχὴ μὴ ἀρίστως κεκτημένη τὸ περὶ θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ ἁγνὸν ἀμήχανον: *So the Soul that is not yet poſſeſs'd of Virtue, cannot fix its Sight on the Beauty and on the Splendor of the Deity.* Which I take to be preferable to the Lection of the printed Text.

(*l*) Practical Philoſophy is the Mother of Virtue, and contemplative Virtue is the Mother of Truth, as we are taught by theſe very Verſes of *Pythagoras*, where practical Philoſophy is call'd *Human Virtue*, and where the contemplative is celebrated under the Name of *Divine Virtue*: For after having finiſh'd the Precepts of civil Virtue by theſe Words; *Take care to practiſe all theſe things, meditate on them well; thou oughteſt to love them with all thy Heart.* He continues, *'tis they will put thee in the Way of divine Virtue, and make thee walk in the Footſteps of God.*

Human Virtue.

Divine Virtue.

(*m*) We muſt therefore firſt be Men, and afterwards become God. The civil Virtues make the Man, and the Sciences lead to divine Virtue which makes the God. Now according to the Rules of Order, little things muſt precede the greater, if we would make any Progreſs: And this is the reaſon why in theſe Verſes of *Pythagoras* the Precepts of Virtue are the firſt, to teach us, (*n*) that the Practice of Virtues, which is ſo neceſſary in this Life, is

Men, that is to ſay, good Men.

The God, that is to ſay, a Man like God.

Order obſerv'd by Pythagoras *in his Precepts.*

(*l*) It was not difficult to correct this Paſſage. The Lection I have follow'd ἀληθείας ἢ ἡ θεωρητικὴ, is confirm'd by the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts. The Manuſcript of *Florence* ſeems not to be right in this Place; but the beſt is, that inſtead of ἔστι, he reads ἔτι, *beſides*. And thus we ought not to divide this Period from that which precedes it, but tranſlate without breaking off. *Beſides the practical Philoſophy*, &c.

(*m*) 'Tis thus we ought to read the Text, as it is printed, πρῶτον ἓν ἄνθρωπον δεῖ γενέσθαι, and not ἀγαθόν, *good Man*: For in the Language of the *Pythagoreans*, *to be Man*, is to be a good Man: The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads in like manner ἄνθρωπον, and not ἀγαθόν.

(*n*) There was here a conſiderable Fault in the Text, παιδαγωγῶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀεὶ τὸν βίον μεγίστης χρήσεως, &c. The Word μεγίστης cannot in this place have any reaſonable Senſe. The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads ἀρετῆς, *by the Habitude of the Virtues of this Life*, &c. which is an excellent Lection.

is the Way whereby we ought to advance and riſe even to the Divine Image. And the Order and Deſign propos'd in theſe Virtues, is to give to thoſe that read them the true Character of Philoſophy, before they are initiated in the other Sciences.

Why theſe Verſes are call'd Golden.

They are call'd *golden Verſes*, to ſignifie to us that they are the moſt excellent and moſt divine of any in this kind: For in like manner we call *the golden Age*, the Age that produc'd the greateſt Men; and deſcribe the Difference of the Manners of the ſeveral Ages by the analogical Qualities of Metals: For Gold being the pureſt of all Metals, and free from all the droſſie Mixtures that are found in the other Metals that are inferior to it, as Silver, Iron, and Braſs, is therefore the moſt excellent, as being the only Metal that never breeds any Ruſt, whereas the others grow ruſty in proportion to the Quantity of droſſie Mixture they have in them. Ruſt therefore being the Figure and Emblem of Vice, 'twas but reaſonable that the Age in which Sanctity and Purity reign'd, and that was exempt from all Corruption of Manners, ſhould be call'd *The Age of Gold*; and thus theſe Verſes, being every way ſoveraignly Good, have juſtly deſerv'd the Appellation of *Verſes Golden* and Divine: For we find not in them, as in all other Poems, one good Verſe and another that is not ſo; but they are all perfectly good, they all equally repreſent the Purity of Manners, lead to the Likeneſs with God, and diſcover the moſt perfect Aim of the *Pythagorean* Philoſophy, as will evidently appear by the Explication we are going to give of each Verſe in particular: Let us then begin with the firſt.

The golden Age.

Gold the only Metal that will not ruſt.

Excellence of thoſe Verſes above all other Poetry.

VERSE

VERSE I.

In the firſt Place (a) *honour the Immortal Gods, as they are eſtabliſh'd and ordain'd by the Law.*

SEing the Piety that relates to * the Divine Cauſe, is the Chief and the Guide of all the Virtues, the Precept concerning that Piety is with good reaſon plac'd at the Head of all the Laws preſcrib'd by theſe Verſes. (b) That we ought to honour the Gods of

Piety is the Guide of all Virtues.

* *That is to ſay,* to God, *who is the Cauſe of all Beings.*

(a) Here at firſt ſight ſtarts up a Queſtion, Why in theſe Verſes *Pythagoras* ſpeaks only of the Worſhip we ought to pay to the Sons of God, and makes not the leaſt mention of that we owe to God himſelf, who created them. The Reaſon, in my Opinion, is this; becauſe *Pythagoras* took Example by the *Egyptians*, who never mention'd the firſt Principle, whom they conſider'd as ſurrounded with Darkneſs that hid him from all Eyes: Πρώτην ἀρχὴν, ſays *Damaſcius*, σκότος, ὃν πᾶσαν νοῆσιν, σκότος ἀμύητον, *the firſt Principle*, that is to ſay, God, the Father and Creator of all that is, *is rais'd above the Reach of Thought: He is an unknown and impenetrable Obſcurity.* And 'tis pretended, the *Egyptians* follow'd in this Point the Authority of *Orpheus*, who ſaid, *I ſee not the Firſt Being*, for he is ſurrounded with a Cloud that conceals him from my Eyes:

Αὐτὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὐσῶ, περὶ γὰρ νέφος ὠσιέικται.

Not knowing therefore this Firſt Being, they could not, according to their Principles, aſſign him any Worſhip. But they taught that the Worſhip which was paid to the Gods and to the Angels, redounded to the Honour of the God who had created them, and ended in him.

(b) By theſe Gods, *Hierocles* means thoſe the *Pagans* call'd the twelve great Gods, whom they regard as the Children, and as the firſt-born of God, the Creator of all things; and to whom they paid an Adoration ſuperior to that they paid the Angels and other Spirits. And this Error of the Heathens took Birth from a Truth of which they had ſome ſlight and confus'd

of this Univerſe according to the Order in which they are eſtabliſh'd, (*c*) and which the *Eternal Law, that produc'd them, diſtributed to them with their Eſſences, (*d*) placing ſome of them in the firſt Sphere of Heaven, others in the ſecond, others in the third, and ſo on, 'till all the Celeſtial Globes were fill'd up. For to acknowledge and honour them according to the Order and Station in which they were plac'd by their Creator and Father, is to obey the divine Law, and to render them truly all the Honour due to them: (*e*) nor ought we to extol their Dignity above Meaſure, any more than to entertain diminiſhing Thoughts of them; but to take them for what they are, (*f*) to give them the Rank they have receiv'd, and to

*Or, which the Word that has produc'd them.

This Opinion of the Diſtribution of the Gods into ſeveral Spheres, is all Error and Falſhood.

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fus'd Ideas, but div'd not into the Depth of the Myſtery. They had only a glimmering of Light that help'd them to diſcover, that above the Angels and all the bleſſed Spirits, there were Gods who proceeded from the Father.

(*c*) The Eternal Law is here taken for Providence, the Divine Will, or God himſelf who created all things. But I muſt not here forget a very remarkable Lection, which the *Florence* Manuſcript gives us; inſtead of δημιουγικὸς νόμος, *The Law that created them*, it reads, δημιεργικὸς λόγος, *The Word that created them*; which agrees very well with theſe Words of *Plato* in his *Epinomis*: The moſt divine Word has diſpos'd this Univerſe into Order, and render'd it viſible.

(*d*) For the *Pythagoreans* taught that God, after he had created the inferior Gods, and the Souls of Men, aſſign'd to the one and the other of them, the different Spheres of the Heavens. See more of this in the *Timæus*.

(*e*) This Paſſage was very obſcure in the Text; a little Word added in the Margin of the Copy, that had been compar'd with the Manuſcripts, made it plain. Inſtead of καὶ μήτε ὑπεραίρειν τὴν ἀξίαν, it ought to be read, καὶ τὸ μήτε, &c. This ſecond τὸ anſwers to the firſt τὸ πρῶτον. I was pleas'd when I found afterwards that this Addition of the Article τὸ was confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

(*f*) Behold here two great Truths that were known to the Heathens. The firſt, that the different Spirits which God had created, and that are between God and Man, ought to be honour'd

to refer all the Honour we render them to God alone who created them, and who may properly be call'd the God of Gods, the moſt high and moſt good God. For the only way we have to diſcover and comprehend the Majeſty of this excellent Being who created the World, is to be fully convinc'd that he is the Cauſe of the Gods, and the Creator of the rational and immutable Subſtances. Theſe are the Subſtances, theſe the Gods we here call *Immortal Gods*, becauſe they have always the ſame Opinion and the ſame Thoughts of God who created them; becauſe they are always intent upon this ſupream God, and addicted to him, (*g*) and becauſe they have receiv'd from him immutably and indiviſibly the Being, and the Well-being too, inaſmuch as they are the unchangeable and incorruptible Images of the Cauſe that created them: (*h*) For 'tis worthy of God to have produc'd ſuch Images of himſelf, (*i*) as were not capable of Change, or of corrupting

Sons of God. Subſtances immutable and unalterable and incorruptible Images of the firſt Being.

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nour'd in ſuch a manner, that neither an indiſcreet and ignorant Zeal carry us to extol them above what they are, nor Ignorance or Impiety incline us to ſink them below their juſt Dignity. And the ſecond, that all the Honour we pay them is referr'd to God, as to him to whom, like us, they owe their Being.

(*g*) I had added theſe laſt Words, *and the Well-being too*; but afterwards found them in the Margin of the *Hierocles* the Abbot *Renaudot* lent me, and confirm'd likewiſe by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which inſtead of ἀμεείσως, has even ἀμεμίπτως, that is to ſay, *nor can they complain of, or envy their Creator.*

(*h*) See here a great Principle acknowledg'd by the very Heathens, that 'tis worthy of God to have produc'd ſuch Images of himſelf, like himſelf, and incapable of Change or Corruption.

(*i*) The Pagans imagin'd theſe *Immortal Gods*, the Sons of the ſupream God, to be Subſtances, which by virtue of the incorruptible Purity of their Origine, could not change nor corrupt

corrupting themſelves by their Inclinations to Ill, as are the Souls of Men, who are the laſt of all intelligent Subſtances, as thoſe that are call'd *Immortal Gods* are the firſt.

(*k*) And 'tis to diſtinguiſh them from the Souls of Men, that we here call them *Immortal Gods*, becauſe they never die as to the divine Life, and never forget one ſingle Moment, neither their own Eſſence nor the Goodneſs of the Father who created them: For conſider the Paſſions and Alterations to which the Soul of Man is ſubject; ſometimes it remembers its God, and the Dignity in which it was created; and anon it intirely forgets both the one and the other. (*l*) And for this reaſon the Souls of Men may juſtly be call'd *Mortal Gods*, as dying ſometimes to the Divine Life by their going aſtray from God, and ſometimes recovering it again by their Return to him; living thus in this laſt Senſe a Life Divine; and in the other, dying as much as 'tis poſſible, that an immortal Eſſence ſhould participate

Paſſions of the Soul of Man.

Souls of Men are Mortal *Gods.*

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corrupt themſelves by any Inclination to Ill; and that they were upon this account far ſuperior to the Angels and to the other bleſſed Spirits, who were created capable to corrupt themſelves. In this we ſee a Glimpſe of Truth: For indeed God did beget a Son, who knew no Sin: But this Glimpſe of Truth was obſcur'd and overwhelm'd in Clouds of Darkneſs, through which the Eyes of theſe Philoſophers could never pierce.

(*k*) This Paſſage is corrupted in the Editions, but the Manuſcript of *Florence* has perfectly well reſtor'd it, by correcting πρὸς γὸ ἀνιδιαιτολὼ, &c. inſtead of ϗ μήτε πρὸς ἀνιδιαιτολήν, which ſays quite the contrary.

(*l*) Behold here an Idea that appears great and noble: The Souls of Men may be call'd *mortal Gods*, *Gods*, becauſe they may unite themſelves to God; and *Mortal*, becauſe they may forſake and eſtrange themſelves from him. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the Angels, for they too may abandon God.

pate of Death; (*m*) not by ceaſing to be, but by being depriv'd of Well-being: For the Death of a reaſonable Eſſence is (*n*) Ignorance and Impiety, which drag after them the Diſorders and Revolt of the Paſſions. For the Ignorance of Good neceſſarily plunges us into the Slavery of Ill; a Slavery from whence 'tis impoſſible to be redeem'd, but by returning to Knowledge and to God, (*o*) which is done by Recollection and by the Faculty of Reminiſcency.

What the Death of the Soul is.

Slavery that proceeds from Ignorance.

Now between theſe immortal and mortal Gods, as I have call'd 'em, (*p*) there is a Neceſſity there ſhould be an Eſſence ſuperior to Man, and inferior to God, to be as it were a Medium and a Link (*q*) to chain the

Neceſſity of a middle Being between God and Man.

(*m*) This is certainly the Death of intelligent created Beings; but then this hinders not but that they may be of a Nature capable of dying abſolutely, and of being annihilated: For they owe their Immortality only to the Will of God.

(*n*) Inſtead of ἄνοια, *Folly*, I have corrected it, ἀγνόια, *Ignorance*; and what follows proves the neceſſity of this Amendment, ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀγνόια, &c. *The Ignorance of Good.*

(*o*) From the Doctrine of the Creation of Souls before Bodies, the *Pythagoreans*, and after them the *Platonicks*, drew that of Reminiſcency, which is a neceſſary Conſequence of it: For, if the Soul exiſted before the Body, it muſt have had all manner of Knowledge, and conſequently what we learn in Life, is only a Recollection of what we have forgot. But of this I have ſpoken ſufficiently in the Life of *Plato*.

(*p*) The Angels therefore are above Man, according to *Hierocles*, and in this he is in the right. This Opinion of his is more conformable to ſound Doctrine than that of *Tertullian*, who believ'd Man to be ſuperior to the Angels, becauſe he was created after the Image of God; but ſo were the Angels no leſs than Men. 'Tis ſo true that Man is inferior to the Angels, that Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, while he was Man, is ſaid in the Scripture to be inferior to them: *Qui modico quam Angeli minoratus eſt.* St. *Paul*, Heb. 1. 7, 9. As Man, he was inferior to the Angels; and as God, he was ſerv'd by Angels themſelves: *Et Angeli miniſtrabant ei*, Matt. 4. 11. Marc. 1. 13.

(*q*) The Text is τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συνέχων. The Copy of the Abbot *Renaudot* adds in the Margin the Word ἄκρα, which

the two Extreams to one another, (*r*) to the End the whole intelligent Eſſence might be bound and united together.

The Angels and the other bleſſed Spirits.

This middle Eſſence, the Angels, is never altogether ignorant of God; yet has not always neither an equally immutable and permanent Knowledge of him (*s*) but ſometimes a greater, ſometimes a leſs.

According as God inlightens them.

By this ſtate of Knowledge, which never abſolutely ceaſes, it is ſuperior to the Nature of Man, and by this ſtate of Knowledge, which is not always the ſame, but leſſens or increaſes, 'tis inferior to the Nature of God. (*t*) It has not rais'd it ſelf up above

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which is very neceſſary, τὰ ἄκρα πρὸς ἄλληλα συνάπτων; and ſo too the *Florence* Manuſcript reads.

(*r*) In the Manuſcript of *Florence*, inſtead of λογικῆς τ' οὐσίας, there is τ' λογικῆς δημιουργίας, *Of the reaſonable Creation, of the reaſonable Production*, that is to ſay, of the Production of Eſſences indow'd with Reaſon and with Underſtanding.

(*s*) Tho' Angels are more perfect Eſſences than Men, and have more Underſtanding, yet they are not their Light to themſelves, for they ſee more or leſs according as it pleaſes God to inlighten them. But in my Opinion we cannot infer from thence, that the Knowledge they have of God is not immutable and permanent, that is to ſay, that 'tis not always the ſame, and that it increaſes and diminiſhes; for God has fix'd this Knowledge in them in ſuch a manner, that it may well increaſe, but cannot diminiſh. There are two things in Knowledge; there is the Knowledge it ſelf, and the Election or Choice; the firſt depends on the Underſtanding, which in Angels is always the ſame; and the other depends on the Will, which is not always the ſame in Angels no more than in Men; for having been created free, they may Change, as is evident from the Fall of the Rebel Angels, who loſt the Grace by their Pride. But the Queſtion, Whether Knowledge in Angels can diminiſh as well as their Innocence, muſt be left to Theologians to decide.

(*t*) He means that this middle Being, the Angels, was not created neither in the Condition of Man, and has rais'd it ſelf above it by the Improvement of its Knowledge, nor in the Conditions of the Gods, and is fallen from thence by Forgetfulneſs

above the Condition of Man by its Proficiency and Improvement in Knowledge; and it is not become inferior to God, nor has it been plac'd in this middle Rank, by reaſon of the Diminution of the ſame Knowledge; but 'tis by its Nature a Mean, a Middle Being; for God, who created all things, eſtabliſh'd theſe three Beings, Firſt, Second and Third, different from one another by their Nature, nor can they ever diſplace themſelves, or confound themſelves one with another, (*u*) either by Vice or by Virtue; but being eternal by their Nature, they differ by the Rank has been given them, and they were plac'd in this Order in regard to the Cauſes that produc'd them: For, as (*x*) there, 'tis Order that contains the three Degrees of perfect Wiſdom, the firſt, the ſecond and the third; for Wiſdom is Wiſdom, only becauſe it produces its Works in Order and Perfection; inſomuch that Wiſdom, Order, and Perfection, are always found together, and never ſeparate from one another. (*y*) In like manner, in this Univerſe the Beings produc'd

Wiſdom, Order and Perfection inſeparable

Opinion of the Pythagoreans *upon the Order of the Creation mix'd with Truth and Error.*

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fulneſs and by the Diminution of its Knowledge; but that it was created ſuch as it is, that is to ſay, ſuperior to Man, and inferior to God.

(*u*) 'Tis moſt true that Angels cannot raiſe themſelves up to the Divine Nature by the Eminence of their Virtue; but 'tis not true that their very Eſſence gives them the Privilege of not being able ever to fall, and not to become even inferior to Men by Vice. *Hierocles* had forgot the Fall of the firſt Rebel Angel; and *Job* knew better the Angelical Nature, when he ſaid, *Ecce qui ſerviunt ei non ſunt ſtabiles, & in Angelis ſuis reperit pravitatem.*

(*x*) *There*, that is to ſay, *in the Cauſes that produc'd the Beings*, that is to ſay, in God, in the Reaſons he had to create, *&c.*

(*y*) The Heathens would not only penetrate into the Order of the Creation, but alſo into the Cauſe and Reaſon of that Order; concerning which, the Opinion of the *Pythagoreans* was this: The Wiſdom of God being inſeparable from Order and Per-

produc'd by the firſt Thought of God, ought to be the firſt in the World; thoſe that are produc'd by the ſecond, the ſecond or middle; (z) and thoſe that reſemble the end of the Thoughts, the laſt of all rational Beings: (a) For this whole reaſonable Order with an incorruptible Body, (b) is the

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Perfection, they conceiv'd that God created before all things the reaſonable Beings; that his firſt Thought created firſt of all the higheſt and moſt excellent of all Subſtances, that is to ſay, his Children, *The Immortal Gods*; that his ſecond Thought created the middle Subſtances, that is to ſay, *The Heroes*, [the Angels] and that his third Thought created the third and laſt Subſtances, that is to ſay, *The Souls of Men*. In this Opinion we ſee the Sentiment of moſt of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, who held that the Angels and the other bleſſed Spirits were created firſt, and before the Creation of the World, which made St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* ſay, Πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοεῖ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἁρμονίας, καὶ τὸ ἐπινόημα ἔργον ἦν. He thought firſt the Angelical and Celeſtial Powers, and this Thought was their Production. Which Expreſſion agrees exactly with that of *Hierocles* in this Place; all the reſt is nothing but Error: For ſo far is it from Truth that the Souls of Men were created before the Heavens and the Earth, that the Soul of the firſt Man was the laſt of the Works of God, as we learn from the Hiſtory of the Creation, *Gen.* 1, 2. The Order of God is not always the Order that Men know. The Church it ſelf has not yet decided concerning the Time when the Angels were created.

(z) Not that the *Pythagoreans* thereby conceiv'd any want of Power, any weakneſs in the laſt Thoughts of God; for they were not ignorant that God acts always with the ſame Strength and with the ſame Perfection; but they thought that God, being himſelf but Order, could no otherwiſe than obſerve Order in his Thoughts, in his Works. In the *Timæus*, we ſee likewiſe that the Creation of Man was the laſt Thought of God.

(a) That is to ſay, that this Creation of intelligent Beings, cloath'd with an incorruptible Body, being perform'd with this Order, is the Image of the intire Divinity, as the following Remark will explain.

(b) The *Greek* runs thus: *Is the Image of the intire God that created it.* *Hierocles* means that God has repreſented himſelf intire in the Creation of theſe Subſtances. The firſt, that were produc'd by his firſt Thought, are the Image of whatever is moſt

the intire and perfect Image of God, who created it. The Beings that hold the firſt Rank in this World are the pure Image of what is moſt excellent in God: Thoſe that hold the middle Rank, are the middle Image of what there is of middling in God: And thoſe that hold the third, and laſt Rank among the rational Beings, are the laſt Image of what is laſt in the Divinity. And the firſt of theſe Orders is here call'd *Immortal Gods*, the ſecond, *Heroes indow'd with Goodneſs and with Light*, and the third, *Terreſtrial Demons*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Let us now return to what we were ſaying. What is the Law? What the Order that is conformable to it? And laſtly, what is the Honour render'd in regard to this Order and to this Law? The Law is the Intelligence that has created all things; 'tis the divine Intelligence by which all has been produc'd, from all Eternity, and which likewiſe preſerves it eternally. *What the Law is.*

The Order conformable to this Law, is the Rank which God, the Father and Creator of all things, gave the Immortal Gods, when he created them, (r) and *What the Order is.*

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moſt excellent in him; for the Sons of God ought in an eminent Degree to poſſeſs the Perfections of the Father. The ſecond, who are the effect of the ſecond Thought, are the middle Image of what is middling in him: For God has imparted to the ſecond Subſtances, only modify'd Perfections, if I may uſe that Expreſſion, and has not made them equal to his Children. Laſtly, the third and laſt Subſtances, which are the Work of the third Thought, are the Image of what holds the laſt Rank in the Deity; for he made Man leſs than the Angels. Thus we find, if I may dare to ſay ſo, God intire in theſe three different Eſſences, he having diſtributed to them with Order and with Meaſure all manner of Perfections, to all according to their Nature.

(r) This Error the *Pythagoreans* took from the *Chaldeans*, who acknowledg'd ſeveral Orders of Gods; οἱ Χαλδαῖοι οἱ τοὺς

of

that appoints some of them to be first, others second (*d*): For, tho', as being the first in all this intelligent Order, they have receiv'd whatever is most excellent, they are different nevertheless among themselves, (*e*) and some are more, some less divine than the others: And a Mark of the Superiority, and of the Inferiority of some of them in regard to the others, is the Rank and Order of the Celestial Spheres, which were distributed among them according to their Essence, and to their Power or Virtue: Insomuch that the Law relates only to their Essence, and the Order is only the Rank that was given them suitable to their Dignity: For neither were they created fortuitously, nor separated and plac'd by chance, but they were created and plac'd with Order, (*f*) as different Parts and different

This is a gross Error.

οἱ μησὸι, οἱ ὑφηκόσμοι, οἱ ἐγκόσμοι, and several others, all which they honour'd according to their Order and Rank, as *Jamblicus* says in his Treatise of Mysteries, *Sect.* 5. c. 21. πάντα δ' τιμητέον καθ' ὃν ἕκαστ' εἴληχε τάξεν.

(*d*) I have added to the Text the Word πρῶτον, which I took to be wanting, ὃ γὰρ ἂν εἰς πρῶτον ἐπαναβῇ τὸ λογικὸν διακόσμο: Without it the Passage is unintelligible, at least to me. We have already seen that by this rational Order, *Hierocles* means the Production of Beings indu'd with Understanding and Reason, and made with Order, as has been explain'd.

(*e*) This was a great Error of the Pagans. This *more* and this *less* destroys the Divinity. *'Tis the Error of the Gentiles*, says St. *John Chrysostom*, *to adore the Creature, and to make their Gods greater or less. If the Son or the Holy Ghost are less in any thing, they are not God.* This cannot be imagin'd, except of the Angels, and of the other blessed Spirits, of whom there are several Degrees; and who being all of the same Nature, are nevertheless superior to one another, and some of them have more Power than the others.

(*f*) As the *Pythagoreans* pretended that the Universe, which they here call Heaven was a living and animated Animal, so they conceiv'd that all its Parts, tho' separated, preserv'd their Connexion, and conspir'd to form this Whole, whose Division and

ferent Members * of one ſingle *Whole*, which is Heaven, and as preſerving their Connexion in their Separation and in their Union according to their Kind, ſo that no Change, no diſplacing can be imagin'd in their Situation without the intire Ruin of the World, (*g*) which can never happen ſo long as the firſt Cauſe that produc'd them, continues immutable and firm in his Decrees, and has a Power equal to his Being: As long as he ſhall poſſeſs a Goodneſs not acquir'd, but inherent and eſſential to him, and as long as for the Love of himſelf, he ſhall promote the Good and Happineſs of all things. For no other reaſonable Cauſe of the Creation of things can be alledg'd, than the eſſential Goodneſs of God: 'Tis God who is all Good by his Nature, and what is Good is never ſuſceptible of any the leaſt Envy. All the other Cauſes that are aſſign'd of the Creation of the Univerſe, except the ſole Goodneſs of God, favour more of the Neceſſities and of the Wants of Men,

* Of one ſingle Animal: *For they believed the World to be living and animated.*

For acquired Goodneſs is much different from eſſential Goodneſs.

The Eſſential Goodneſs of God the ſole Cauſe of the Creation: A great Truth.

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and want of Harmony would have deſtroy'd the Union. According to them therefore 'twas the ſame with the Univerſe as with the Body of Man; which is compos'd of different Members, that are join'd and united together with ſuch Proportion and Agreeableneſs of the ſeveral Parts, that in ſpight of their Separation they preſerve the neceſſary Connexion to receive the Spirit of Life. All that *Hierocles* here ſays is explain'd at large in the *Timaus* of *Plato*.

(*g*) See here upon what Foundations the *Pythagoreans* grounded the eternal Duration of the World. *'Tis not the Part of a Being that is all Good, to be inclin'd to deſtroy his Work that is moſt Perfect and moſt Beautiful.* And *Plato*, explaining theſe Words in his *Timaus*, ſays, *Whatever has been ty'd together is of a Nature not to be disjoin'd: But 'tis not the Part of a Creator infinitely Good, to deſtroy the Work of his Hands, when this Work has nothing of Ill in it.* Theſe Heathens did not conceive that the End and Diſſolution of the World is one of the moſt evident Marks of the Goodneſs of God: Nor that 'tis this End alone that brings all Things to their ſupream Welfare and Happineſs.

Men, than of the Independency of an Almighty God.

Now God being all Good by Nature, produc'd firſt the Beings that moſt reſemble himſelf; ſecondly, thoſe of a middle Likeneſs to him; thirdly, thoſe who of all the Beings that reſemble him, participate the leaſt of his divine Image.

This Order was regulated according to the Eſſence of all theſe created Beings, inſomuch that what is more Perfect is preferr'd to the leſs Perfect (*h*), not only in all the Kinds, but likewiſe in the different Species of each Kind: For 'twas neither by Chance, nor by Change of Choice and of Will, that all things receiv'd their Place and their Rank, (*i*) but having been created different by the Law that produc'd them, they have the Rank that beſt agrees with the Dignity of their Nature: Therefore this Precept, *Honour them as they are plac'd and diſpos'd by the Law*, ought to be underſtood not only of the immortal Gods, but alſo of the Heroes, *the Angels*, and of the Souls of Men: (*k*) For under each Genus there is an infinite

(*h*) This cannot be imagin'd except of the two laſt Kinds, that is to ſay, of the Angels and of Men. But this is a Conſequence of the Error I have already ſpoken of, that ſet up different Orders of Gods.

(*i*) This is a matter of Debate among the Theologians. Moſt of 'em oppoſe the Opinion of *Hierocles*, and pretend that all the Angels were created of the ſame Nature, of the ſame Kind: But that the Law that created them of the ſame Nature, has not given to all of them the ſame Dignity; which therefore proceeds not from their Nature, as *Hierocles* ſays in this place, but from the Gift of God. See the Remarks on Page 194. This Opinion of *Hierocles*, is true only in regard to Angels and to Men compar'd to one another, the Angels are the more Perfect of the two.

(*k*) How great is the Blindneſs to conceive under the firſt Genus, that is to ſay, in the divine Order, an infinite Number of Species, that is to ſay an infinite Number of Gods. This is not true,

finite Number of Species, plac'd and diſpos'd according to their greater or leſs Dignity: And thus you ſee what is the Nature, and what the Order or Rank of intelligent Beings.

What is then the Law, and what the Honour that is the Conſequence of it? Let us repeat it once again: The Law is the immutable Power of God, according to which he created the Divine Eſſences, and rank'd and plac'd them from all Eternity (*l*) in an Order they can never change. And the Honour conformable to this Law is the Knowledge of the Nature of theſe Beings which we honour, and (*m*) the Likeneſs, which as much as poſſible, we labour to have with them: (*n*) For whatever we love, we imitate as much as we can: And the Honour we render to him who has no need of any thing, conſiſts in receiving the good Things he offers us: For thou doſt not honour God by giving him any thing, but by rendering thy ſelf worthy to receive from him, and as the *Pythagoreans* ſay, *Thou wilt honour God perfectly, if thou behave thy ſelf ſo, that thy*

The Operation.

In what the Honour we pay to Superior Beings conſiſts.

What it is to honour God.

N 2

true, except of Angels and of Men: The Holy Scripture teaches us that there is an infinite Number of Angels, *Daniel* 7. 10. *Millia millium miniſtrabant ei, & decies millies centena millia.* See the excellent Treatiſe of *Petavius, de Angelis*, Book 1. chap. 14. in the third Tome of his Theological *Dogma's*.

(*l*) That is to ſay, they can never take one another's Places. A Man cannot become an Angel, nor an Angel become God. *Oportet enim illa eſſe quod ſunt, & quod fuiſſe ſunt*, ſays *Methodius* in St. *Epiphanius*.

(*m*) There is a fault in the Text, ᾧ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὼ καὶ δύναμιν ἀφομοίωσις, it ought to be read, ᾧ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὰ, &c. πρὸς αὐτὰ; that is to ſay, πρὸς τὰ θεῖα γένη, *with theſe Divine Beings*, with the Gods: And thus the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it.

(*n*) Inſtead of theſe Words, ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ τις; *for what we love*, the Manuſcript of *Florence* has ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τις, *what we love and what we honour*; and I prefer this Lection before the other.

thy Soul may become his Image. Every Man who honours God by Gifts, as a Being that has need of them, falls unthinkingly into the Error of believing himself greater and more powerful than God. Even the Magnificence of Gifts and of Offerings is no Honour to God, unless a Heart truly penitent offer them: For the Gifts and the Victims of Fools are only Fewel for the Flames, and their Offerings but a Bait for the Sacrilegious: But a Mind truly penitent, and sufficiently strengthen'd and (o) confirm'd in Love, unites it self to God; and 'tis of Necessity that the like should have a Tendency to its like: For this Reason 'tis said, that the Wife is the only Sacrificer, that he alone is the Friend of God, and knows only how to Pray: For he alone knows how to Honour, who never confounds the Dignity of those he Honours, who offers himself first as a pure Sacrifice, who renders his Soul the Image of God, and who prepares his Mind as a Temple worthy to receive the Divine Light. What canst thou offer to God of all the earthly and material Things here below, that can be his true Image? What Gift wilt thou make him, that can be intimately united to him, as it must necessarily happen to an intelligent Being, that is purg'd and purify'd? And indeed, as the same Philosophers say, *God has not upon Earth a Place more fit for him to dwell in, than a pure Soul.* Which agrees perfectly with this Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, *I dwell with less Pleasure in the resplendent Heavens, than in the Souls of pious Men.*

Not the Magnificence of Gifts, but the Mind that offers 'em is an Honour to God.

The Wise is the only Sacrificer.

He alone knows how to Honour God.

The Mind of Man is the holy Temple of the Light of God.

Now the pious Man is he, who having the Knowledge of God, offers his own Perfection, as the greatest Honour he can render to the Causes of all

What the pious Man is.

good

(o) For without Love all is imperfect and useless: Therefore *Plato* said after *Pythagoras*, That Love is the surest and most efficacious Means that Man can have to attain Felicity.

good Things: Who through an ardent Deſire to acquire them, addreſſes himſelf without ceaſing to thoſe who can beſtow them, and who by rend'ring himſelf always worthy to receive them, perfectly honours thoſe who are continually giving them. Every Man who thinks to honour God in any other manner, and not by himſelf, and by the Thoughts of his Heart, makes this Honour conſiſt in a uſeleſs Profuſion of exterior Goods, and endeavours to acquit himſelf of this Duty towards God, not by offering him Holineſs and Virtue, but by giving him temporal and periſhable Goods: And yet theſe are Gifts that even a good Man could not receive with Pleaſure, ſeeing they are not attended with the requiſite Diſpoſitions in the Giver. To this purpoſe take another Anſwer of the ſame *Apollo* ſurnam'd the *Pythian*, which deſerves to be related. A Man having immolated a * Hecatomb without any Sentiments of Piety, enquir'd of the God how he accepted his Sacrifice, the God anſwer'd him thus: *(p) The Barley-Cake alone that the famous* Hermioneus *offer'd, was more acceptable to me:* Thereby giving us to know, that he preferr'd before that magnificent, even the meaneſt Offering, becauſe its Worth was enhanc'd by the Sentiments of true Piety; And with Piety every

* A Sacrifice of a hundred Oxen.

Nothing is acceptable to God without Piety.

(p) This is admirably well expreſs'd by *Perſius* in theſe Verſes.

> Compoſitum jus faſque animo, ſanctoſque receſſus
> Mentis, & incoctum generoſo pectus Honeſto,
> Hæc cedo, admoveam Templis, & farre litabo. *Sat.* 2.

> *A Soul, where Laws, both Human and Divine,*
> *In Practice more than Speculation ſhine:*
> *A genuine Virtue of a vigorous Kind,*
> *Pure in the laſt Receſſes of the Mind:*
> *When with ſuch Off'rings to the Gods I come;*
> *A Cake, thus given, is worth a Hecatomb.* Dryd.

every thing is agreeable to God, without it nothing can please him.

We have said enough of Piety for the present: But forasmuch as a constant and exact Observance preserves the Law of the Order of this Universe; (q) and whereas it was the Custom of the Antients to call the Guard or Keeper of this Observance *Oath*, from a mysterious and unutterable Name; 'tis but Reason that after the Precepts relating to the Gods, should follow that concerning the Oath, which is a necessary Dependency thereon.

God call'd by the Name of Oath, *and why.*

(q) I have here follow'd the Correction of the learn'd *John Pearson*, which I take to be very right. He reads ὅρκον, *Oath*, instead of ὅρκων, *with Oaths*. *Hierocles* does not say, as the *Latin* Interpreter believ'd, *That the Ancients nam'd the Keeper of this Observance with unutterable Oaths*: For that was quite contrary to their Maxims, and to the Doctrine taught in this Place: But he says, they call'd this Keeper *the Oath*, from a Name altogether mysterious and unutterable, διὰ ἀπορρήτων. And the true Explication of this Place in *Hierocles* ought to be taken from a Passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, who writes that *Pythagoras* said, *That an Oath is whatever is Just, and that for this Reason* Jupiter *was call'd by the Name of Oath*, ὅρκιον τε εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο· Δία ὅρκιον λέγεσθαι. *Jupiter* was call'd by the mysterious Name of Oath, because being most Just and most Faithful in his Promises, he preserves for all Eternity, the Order and Disposition he has establish'd by the Law. This is a great and noble Idea, which the following Remark will explain.

VERSE

VERSE II.

Honour the Oath with all manner of Religion.

WE have ſhewn that the Law is the Power of God; by which he operates and brings all things to paſs immutably and from all Eternity: And here, in Conſequence of this Law we ſay, (*a*) that the Oath is the Cauſe that preſerves all Things in the ſame State, they being made firm and

What the Oath is. Hierocles ſpeaks here of the divine Oath.

(*a*) Behold here a ſublime Truth, which gives us a great Idea of the Majeſty of God, and of the Immutability of the Order he has eſtabliſh'd in Nature. God created all things in the Condition was beſt for each of them: Thus you ſee the efficacious Law that produc'd all Things, and plac'd each of 'em in the Rank it ought to have: But this was not enough; 'twas likewiſe neceſſary that every Thing ſhould continue and perſevere in the ſame Condition: And what was there capable of maintaining them therein? The divine Oath, which is a neceſſary Conſequence of the Law. Thus God was pleas'd to make a Covenant with his Creature, and, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, to ſubject himſelf by this Oath to keep inviolably on his Part this Covenant, and the Order that is the Conſequence thereof: And all the Intelligent Beings have in him and by him taken the ſame Oath, and contracted an Obligation, to be always obedient to the Divine Law, without ever ſwerving from it. God, when he creates, ſwears by himſelf, as the Scripture ſpeaks, *God has ſworn by himſelf*, and the Creature takes the ſame Oath, in him and by him: For the ſame Law that creates, binds that which is created. Thus you ſee why this Oath is call'd by and by, *innate and eſſential to all the reaſonable Creatures*, becauſe it is born with 'em, and is a Part of their Eſſence. They having ſworn in him, keep their Oath no longer than they are united to him. This is noble indeed: And it would fill a Volume to examine and dive into all the Truths which this ſublime Principle contains, and into all the Theological Maxims it would diſcover and unfold. We are now going to ſee that God alone is Faithful to his Oath, and that the Creatures are prone to break it.

and ſtable by the Faith of the Oath, and preſerving thereby the Order eſtabliſh'd by the Law, ſo that the unchangeable Diſpoſition of all the created Beings, (*b*) is only the Effect of the Law that produc'd them, and of the Oath that maintains and ſecures them. For that all created Beings continue as they were diſpos'd and ſet in Order by the Law, is the chief Work, and the firſt Effect of the Divine Oath, which is above all, and always obſerv'd by thoſe whoſe Thoughts are continually bent on God; but is often violated by ſuch as think not always on him, and who ſometimes forgot him. And indeed, they violate the Oath proportionably as they withdraw and go aſtray from God, and keep it proportionably as they return again to him: For by the Oath in this Place is meant only the Obſervance of the Divine Laws, and the Band by which all created Beings are link'd to God the Creator, to the end they may know him: Among which Creatures, ſuch as are always united to him, *Honour always the Oath*, and they that ſometimes apoſtatize from him, thereby render themſelves impious Violaters of this Oath, (*c*) not only by tranſgreſſing the Order of the Divine Law, but alſo by breaking the Faith of the Divine Oath: And ſuch is the Oath that we may call *innate* and *eſſential* to intelligent Beings, to keep themſelves always only united

The Oath is the Obſervance of the Divine Laws.

Oath, innate *and* eſſential *to intelligent Beings.*

(*b*) I have added theſe laſt Words, *and of the Oath*, &c. which ſeem'd very requiſite: For the Point in hand is not only of the Law, but of the Oath likewiſe. The Law creates, and the Oath ſecures and maintains. What follows ſufficiently proves it. I read the Text thus, τῷ δημιουργικῷ νόμῳ καὶ ὅρκῳ καὶ τῇ ἐξαιτίας αἰτίᾳ, &c.

(*c*) I have here follow'd the marginal Note that I found in the Copy of the Abbot *Renaudot*, where there is, ὁ μὲν ὅρκος τῇ θείᾳ τάξει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θείᾳ λόγῳ πίστιν ἀσφαλίζεται; the Senſe is fuller, than to make τάξιν ſerve to both, that is to ſay, to the Oath and to the Law.

united to God their Father and Creator, and never to tranſgreſs the Laws that he has eſtabliſh'd.

(*d*) But the Oath to which Men have recourſe in the Affairs of the Civil Life, is the Shadow, and as it were the Copy of this original Oath, (*e*) and it leads directly to Truth thoſe that make uſe of it as they ought: For diſſipating the Ambiguity and Uncertainty of the Deſigns of Men, it renders them plain and certain; it fixes and forces them to continue ſuch as they are declar'd to be, either in Words or in Actions, by diſcovering on one Hand the Truth of what is already done, and by exacting and ſecuring on the other what is yet to do. Thus you ſee the great reaſon why Oaths ought above all things to be religiouſly obſerv'd. The firſt, which precedes by its Eſſence, claims our Reſpect and Obſervance, as the Pledge of Eternity; and the Human Oath, which is a certain Help to us in the Affairs of Life, ought to be reſpected as the Image of the firſt, and as that, which next

The Human Oath.

What is the Nature and Deſign of a Human Oath.

Divine Oath, the Pledge of Eternity. Human Oath, a certain Help in the Affairs of the Civil Life, and the ſafeſt Depoſitary of Truth.

(*d*) As by the Divine Oath God, ſecures and preſerves in his Works the Order that his Law, which is Eternal and Immutable on his Part, has eſtabliſh'd among them; ſo Men, by means of the Human Oath, which proceeds from the firſt, and is the true Image of it, ſecure and preſerve Order among themſelves in their Civil Affairs. Inſomuch that as the Divine Oath is the Pledge and Keeper of Eternity, ſo the Human Oath is the Depoſitary of Truth, and the Guarantee of all the Deſigns, and of all the Enterprizes of Men, and the Means that unites and aſſociates them to one another with the Stability and Truth of God. There is nothing more great and noble than this Idea.

(*e*) The Definition *Hierocles* here gives of a Human Oath is excellent. This Heathen was far from approving or tolerating in Oaths any Equivocations or mental Reſervations, which *Cicero* calls, *Perjurii latebras*, ſeeing they deſtroy the very Nature of an Oath, and becauſe by their means an Oath, inſtead of rend'ring plain and certain the Deſigns of him that Swears, makes them on the contrary more obſcure and hidden, and ſurprizes Honeſty by Falſhood, which it cloaths with all the outward Appearances of Truth.

Good Morals are the Conſequence of our Reſpect for an Oath

next to the divine Oath is the ſafeſt Depoſitary of Certainty (*f*) and of Truth, and that adorns and enriches with very excellent Morals all that have learnt to reſpect it.

Now the Reſpect due to an Oath is the moſt faithful and moſt inviolable Obſervance that poſſibly can be, of what we have ſworn: (*g*) And this Obſervance is the Virtue that aſſociates and unites with the firm Stability and Truth of the Divine Habitude (*h*) thoſe that reſpect and keep their Oaths, out of a Neceſſity wholly free and wholly voluntary.

The unſpeakable Sanctity of the firſt Oath may be recover'd by a ſincere Converſion to God, (*i*) when

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(*f*) It may be objected againſt *Hierocles*, that Morality or good Manners precede the Obſervance of a human Oath: But let us not miſtake; *Hierocles* is in the right; for he takes the Obſervance of a human Oath to be the Conſequence and Effect of the Obſervance of the divine Oath. We ought to be faithful to God before we are faithful to Men; and the keeping of the laſt Oath proceeds from the keeping of the firſt: Thus 'tis impoſſible that an Oath ſhould be reſpected by us as it ought to be, if our Morals are not holy and innocent. What then can we judge of their Morals, who contemn and value not their Oaths, who make uſe of them as a Bait to trick and ſurprize others, and who have dar'd to ſay, *Quid eſt juſjurandum? Emplaſtrum eris alieni. What is an Oath? A Plaiſter to heal Debts.*

(*g*) I have here follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, that puts a Point after ἀπαρεγκλίτου, and that goes on τήρησις ἢ λέγεται πρὸς τὸ μόνιμον, &c. Συναρμόζουσα δύναμις. This is very true, *the Obſervance of the Oath is the Virtue that unites*, &c. that is to ſay, the exact Obſervance of the Oath makes the faithful Obſerver the true Image of God; for God voluntarily *obſerves* the divine Oath: The Man therefore who *obſerves* the human Oath, imitates the Stability of God, and his Truth.

(*h*) For this is a Neceſſity that deſtroys not Free-Will, but on the contrary confirms it. I ought to reſpect an Oath, but out of a Will that is always free.

(*i*) when by the purifying Virtues we heal the Breach of this Divine Oath: But the Sacredneſs and Fidelity of a human Oath is preſerv'd by politick Virtues; for they alone who poſſeſs thoſe Virtues can be faithful in the Oaths of the civil Life; and Vice, the Father of Infidelity and of Perjury, trampies Oaths under Foot through the Inſtability and Inconſtancy of Manners. The covetous Man, can he be faithful, when he is to receive or pay Mony? The Intemperate and the Coward, can they religiouſly obſerve their Oaths? Will not either of them, whenever they believe it will be for their Advantage, caſt off all Reſpect for what they have ſworn to perform, and renounce eternal Happineſs for the Enjoyment of frail and temporal Goods? But they who never deviate from the Paths of Virtue, are alone capable to preſerve the Reſpect that the Majeſty of an Oath requires. Now the moſt certain way, inviolably to preſerve this Reſpect, is not to make uſe of Oaths frequently nor raſhly, nor by chance, nor for things of little Concern, nor as an Ornament of Diſcourſe, nor the more to aſcertain what you ſay; but to reſerve it for things neceſſary and honourable, and for thoſe Occaſions only where there appears to no other way of Safety for you in your Affairs than by the Truth of an Oath. And the only way to convince all that hear us of the Truth of what we affirm, is ſo to behave our ſelves that our Manners may agree with our Oaths, and not to give our Neighbour any Cauſe to ſuſpect that we are capable of preferring any temporal Advantage whatſoever before Truth, whether we have, or have not oblig'd our ſelves by an Oath.

Without Virtue there is no Fidelity in an Oath.

Vice, the Father of Infidelity.

The vicious cannot keep an Oath.

How to preſerve the Reſpect due to an Oath.

Sole Occaſions when an Oath is allowable.

This

(*i*) I have follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which inſtead of ὀφείλειν ἐπιμένειν, reads ὀφείλειν ἐπιμένοις.

This Precept, *Reſpect thy Oath*, commands us not only to be true and faithful in our Oaths, but likewiſe to abſtain from ſwearing; for not to ſwear too frequently, is the ſureſt way to ſwear always true. A Habit of ſwearing eaſily plunges us into Perjury, (*k*) but he that ſwears ſeldom, generally keeps his Oath; for either he ſwears not at all, or if he ſwears, he is true and faithful: His Tongue never runs, as we ſay, before his Wit, and never prevents Reflection by an unlucky Habit of Swearing, and his Mind ſuffers not it ſelf to be ſeduc'd and corrupted by the violent Tranſports of the Paſſions. (*l*) The Mind is guided and govern'd by the Honeſty of the Manners, and the Tongue is kept in awe by abſtaining from ſwearing. Now the faithful Obſervance of an Oath agrees perfectly with the Honour the firſt Verſe commands us to pay the Gods; for it is the inſeparable Companion of Piety. Thus an Oath is the Guard and Security of the Divine Law for the Order and Diſpoſition of the Univerſe.

Perjury proceeds from a Habit of ſwearing.

Faithful Obſervance of an Oath the inſeparable Companion of Piety.

Honour then this Law by being obedient to what it commands, and reſpect an Oath (*m*) by not making

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(*k*) This it was that made St. *Auguſtin* ſay, *That the more a Man avoids Swearing, the farther he is from Perjury. Nam tanto longius à perjurio, quanto longe à jurando.*

(*l*) Here is a Fault in the Text; for what means ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀ πρῶτος ὀρθώσει, χρηστὸς ὤν? *Hanc enim (mentem) primus reget, probus exiſtens:* Inſtead of πρῶτος, *firſt*, it ſhould be read τρόπος, *Manners*. *Good Manners redreſs and correct the Mind, and the Habit of not ſwearing refrains the Tongue and keeps it in Awe.* The Certainty of this Amendment needs no Proof, 'Tis confirm'd by the Manuſcripts. That of *Florence* reads very well, ὁ τρόπος χρηστὸς, *Good Manners keep the Mind in Awe, and become Maſters of it.*

(*m*) To this purpoſe the Author of the *Eccleſiaſticus* ſays, *Jurationi non aſſuefiat Os tuum, & Nominatio Dei non ſit aſſidua in Ore tuo. Sicut enim Servus excruciatus tote die a livore*

making uſe of it at every turn, that thou may'ſt accuſtom thy ſelf to ſwear true, by avoiding a Habit of ſwearing; for the Truth of an Oath is no ſmall Part of Piety. But we have ſaid enough concerning the firſt Beings, concerning the Divine Law which is the Author of Order, and concerning the Oath which is the Conſequence of that Law. Now becauſe next to the Immortal Gods, we ought to honour the Beings we call Angelical, the Author of theſe Verſes goes on.

Angelical Beings ought to be honour'd.

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re non minuitur, ſic omnis jurans & nominans Nomen Domini a Peccato non purgabitur. Let not thy Tongue accuſtom it ſelf to ſwear, and let not the Name of God be continually in thy Mouth. For as a Slave who is ſcourg'd with Rods all the Day, muſt have ſome Marks of the Stripes; ſo he that ſwears at every turn, and names the Name of the Lord, cannot be free from Sin.

VERSE III.

In the next Place Honour the Heroes, who are full of Goodneſs and of Light.

THESE are the middle Sort of the Intelligent Eſſences, and holding the next Place after the Immortal Gods, they precede human Nature, and join the laſt Beings to the firſt. (*a*) Since there-

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(*a*) God was pleas'd that the Angels ſhould be his Miniſters; he makes uſe of 'em in the Government of the Univerſe, he has committed to 'em the Guardianſhip of Men, and has given them the Protection of Cities, of Provinces, and of Kingdoms. 'Tis they who preſent to God our Prayers and our Tears. 'Tis therefore lawful to honour them, and to addreſs our ſelves to them by Prayer. The Heathens, who were almoſt always ſuperſtitious, ſtretch'd this Worſhip too far; therefore St. *Paul*, writing to the *Coloſſians*, tells them, *Chap.* 2. *v.* 18. *Let no Man raviſh from you the Reward of your Courſe, in*

therefore they hold the ſecond place, we ought to render 'em the ſecond Honours, by underſtanding likewiſe in regard to them theſe Words of the firſt Precept, *Honour them as they are plac'd and diſpos'd by the Law:* For all the Virtue and Force of this Honour conſiſts in truly knowing the Eſſence of thoſe we honour; this Knowledge immediately diſcovering to us, without any trouble, all that we muſt ſay and do to honour them as we ought; for how can we addreſs our ſelves in due manner to them we know not, and how ſhall we offer Preſents to them of whoſe Dignity we are ignorant? The firſt therefore and only true Honour, in regard even of thoſe Heroes full of Goodneſs and of Light, (*b*) is the Knowledge of their Eſſence, and of their Rank; and a preciſe and true Diſcernment (*c*) of their Imployments, and of the Perfection they

To honour aright we ought to know the Eſſence of what we honour.

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in affecting to appear humble by a ſuperſtitious worſhipping of Angels. This is that over-ſtrain'd Worſhip which the Angels reject, as we ſee in Holy Writ; for they remember, *that they hold the Place of Servants and Miniſters, being ſent to exerciſe their Miniſtry in favour of them that are to be the Heirs of Salvation. Hierocles* endeavours in this Place to regulate this Worſhip, by commanding to proportion it to the Dignity and to the Eſſence of thoſe to whom we pay it, and to refer it to God. This is very ſurprifing in a Pagan.

(*b*) The *Greek* and the *Latin* Fathers, as alſo all the Theologians, are not agreed as to this Point. The Opinion that ſeems moſt like Truth, is that the Eſſence of the Angels is the ſame, and that their Imployments and their Dignity are different; by conſequence therefore they ſay, that we ought to proportion the Worſhip and the Honour we render them to the Glory they have receiv'd. But all theſe Difficulties concerning the Eſſence, the Order, and the Imployments of Angels are very well treated in the three Books of *Petavius, de Angelis.*

(*c*) The Imployments of the Angels are to be the Servants and the Miniſters of God, to go every where to execute his Orders, to carry to God the Prayers of Men, and to Men the Succour and Aſſiſtance of God; to be watchful for the Welfare and Protection of particular Perſons, of Families, of Cities, of Provinces, and of Kingdoms.

they contribute on their Part to this Univerſe, in conſequence of the Rank they hold: For we ought in all things to proportion the Honour we pay 'em to their Eſſence; and this Proportion can proceed from nothing but from the Knowledge we have of the Divinity of them: For when we once know the Nature and the Rank of each Being, then, and then only, we ſhall be able to render them the Honour they deſerve, and that the Law commands us to render them. (*d*) And we are to honour no Nature inferior to human Nature; but we are chiefly to honour the Beings that are ſuperior to us by their Eſſence, and thoſe that having been our Equals, have diſtinguiſh'd and rais'd up themſelves above us by the Pre-eminence of their Virtues.

No Nature inferior to human Nature deſerves to be honour'd.

A great Principle.

Theſe are the Saints.

Of all the Beings ſuperior to us by their Eſſence, the firſt and moſt excellent is God, who created all things, and 'tis he too who ought to be honour'd above all without any Compariſon or Competition. And they who are next to him, and by him the firſt in the World, whoſe Thoughts are continually bent on him, (*e*) who expreſs and repre-

(*d*) A great Principle, that deſtroys an Infinity of falſe Religions, that worſhip'd the Heav'ns, the Stars, nay even Beaſts, Plants, *&c.* Nothing deſerves the Worſhip of Men, but what is more noble and more excellent than Man.

(*e*) The Word in the Original is worth our Obſervation. ἐικονοζόμεση, for the Son of God is the true Image of the Father. Therefore *Iamblichus* ſays, ἄγαλμα ἢ τῷ αὐτοπάτωρ Θεῷ, τῷ αὐτογένοιτο, ἢ μονοπάτορ Θεῷ, τῷ ὄντως ἀγαθῷ. *And he is the Copy of God, who has no other Father but himſelf, of the God only good.* And in another Place, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἑνὸς τούτῳ ὁ αὐτάρκης Θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξεγάμησε, διὸ ἢ αὐτοπάτωρ ἢ αὐτάρχης; *Of this God, who is only, was produc'd the God who is his Principle to himſelf, therefore he is his own Father, and has no Principle but himſelf.* Where the Heathens ſeem to have acknowledg'd two Perſons, the Father and the Son

repreſent faithfully in themſelves all the Good, of which the Cauſe that created them has made them Participant; and which the firſt Verſe calls *Immortal Gods*, becauſe they never die, and never quit the Likeneſs they have to God, *(f)* but perſevere therein conſtantly and in the ſame Manner, theſe, I ſay, ought to receive the firſt Honours after God. The ſecond and middle Honours are due to the middle Eſſences, that is to ſay, to thoſe who hold the ſecond Rank, and that are here call'd *Heroes full of Goodneſs and of Light*, who think without ceaſing on their Creator, and who are all reſplendent with the Light that reflects *(g)* from the Felicity they enjoy in him, tho' not always in the ſame Manner and without any Change: For being united to God as middle Eſſences, and having receiv'd the Grace of being always turn'd towards him, without its being in their Power ever to depart or go aſtray from him, they continue always in the Preſence of this firſt Being, but with Efforts that are not always equal: *(h)* And by the full and intire

Whence proceeds the Light with which Angels are cloath'd.

Son in one only God. Thus we ſee in *Julius Firmicus* theſe very remarkable Words taken from the Theology of the *Egyptians*: *Tu tibi Pater & Filius. Lord, thou art thy Father, and thou art thy Son.*

(f) *But perſevere therein conſtantly and in the ſame manner.* I have added theſe Words to the Text, becauſe they are in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence*. Ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ᾗ ὡσαύτως ἐν αὐτῇ διαμελέτησιν.

(g) Or *by him*, according to the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which inſtead of τῇ πρὸς αὐτον, reads τῇ πρὸς αὐτῆ.

(h) I believe there is not in all the Books of the ancient Philoſophers, a more difficult Paſſage than this. I was a great while before I underſtood it, and what is more extraordinary, fully convinc'd that I did not underſtand it. In vain I ſought for Help from the Interpreters. They are prolix in their Explication of what is plain and eaſie to underſtand, and never, or very rarely, ſay one Word upon what is obſcure or difficult. For

tire Knowledge they have of themſelves, they divide and re-unite the unchangeable Intimateneſs that the firſt Beings have with God, by making of the Intimateneſs of theſe Beings the Beginning

O of

For my own part, who have injoin'd my ſelf as a Task to attack the greateſt Difficulties, and to ſolve them too; or at leaſt to confeſs that they are above my ſmall Capacity and weak Underſtanding, I meditated long on this Paſſage, and at ſeveral times, but always to little purpoſe. At length in a more lucky Hour, a Beam of Light ſeem'd to diſpel this Darkneſs. *Hierocles*, to ſhew the Difference between the firſt Beings, the Sons of the ſupream God, who are call'd *Immortal Gods*, and the middle Beings, who are the Heroes full of Goodneſs and of Light, that is to ſay, the Angels, makes uſe of a Compariſon borrow'd from the Ceremonies of the Initiations into the Myſteries. There were two Sorts of *Initiates* or Novices; the firſt and the moſt advanc'd were they that were call'd ἐποπτας, that is to ſay, thoſe that were admitted into the Inſpection of the moſt hidden and ſecret Myſteries of Religion; and the other were they that were call'd barely μύστας, that is to ſay, they that were only admitted to the Profeſſion, and who, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, began not their Knowledge 'till the Fulneſs of the Knowledge of the firſt ended. *Hierocles* therefore with a great deal of Wit and much Reaſon compares to the firſt, to theſe *Intimates*, the firſt Beings, the Immortal Gods, or the Sons of God, becauſe they are intimately united to him, always participate of his Light, and becauſe nothing is hid from them. And he compares the middle Beings, the Heroes, that is to ſay, the Angels, to the meer Novices, who come immediately after the others, and who are always intent on their Profeſſion; but with Efforts and Improvements, ſometimes greater, ſometimes leſs, and who begin not to know, 'till the Fulneſs of the Knowledge of the firſt is compleated. As theſe meer Novices are in the middle Rank between the perfect and the other Men, ſo the Angels are in the middle between the firſt Beings, the Immortal Gods, and the laſt, that is to ſay, the Souls of Men. And *Hierocles* ſays very well, that theſe middle Beings divide and re-unite the Intimateneſs, which the firſt have with God; they divide it, becauſe they are between the firſt Beings and the laſt, who are Men; and they re-unite it, becauſe they ſerve as a Canal to convey the divine Light, that comes by them to inlighten Men, tho' more weakly, and with a ſuitable and requiſite Modification. I take this to be very fine, and to explain admirably well the Nature and the Miniſtry of the Angels.

of their Initiation. And therefore they are with Reaſon call'd *excellent Heroes*, (*i*) the Epithet that ſignifies *excellent*, intimating to us by its Root, that they are full of Goodneſs and of Underſtanding, (*k*) and the Word *Heroes*, coming from a Word that ſignifies *Love*, to ſhew us that full of Love for God, their whole Endeavours are to aſſiſt us in our Paſſage through this terreſtrial Life to a Life divine, and to help us to become Citizens of Heaven. (*l*) They are likewiſe call'd *good Demons*, as being inſtructed and knowing in the divine Laws: (*m*) And ſometimes we give them the Name of *Angels*, becauſe they declare and announce to us the Rules that will aſſiſt us to live well here, and lead us to Happineſs hereafter. Sometimes too according to theſe three Senſes, we divide into three Claſſes all thoſe middle Spirits. Thoſe that approach the neareſt to the celeſtial and divine Eſſences,

This Excellence conſiſts in Goodneſs and Underſtanding.

For Daimon *in* Greek *is for* Daemon, *knowing, underſtanding.*

(*i*) Therefore *Heſychius* obſerves, ἐσλοὺς, περσφορεῖς, κεκτημένους, φρονίμους. *This Word* ἐσλοὺς *ſignifies good, ſhining, luminous.* Goodneſs expels Vice, and Light excludes Oblivion; and theſe two Qualities agree perfectly well with Angels.

(*k*) Ἥρωες, *Heroes*, for ἔρωτες, *Loves*. *Plato* in his *Cratylus* gives the ſame Etymology of it: Nevertheleſs 'tis not certain, no more than all the others the *Greeks* have given us, who often contented themſelves with a ſlight Reſemblance or with the leaſt Alluſion. 'Tis more likely that the Word *Heros* comes from the *Aris* of the *Chaldeans*, that ſignifies a valiant and formidable Man.

(*l*) This Etymology is more likely than the other, δαίμονες, οἱ Θεοὶ, δαήμονες τινὲς ὄντες, οἷον ἐμπείρους, ſays *Heſychius*. St. *Auguſtin* ſays the ſame thing, and adds that the *Pagans* only made uſe of this Expreſſion, *good Demons*, to ſignifie the Angels. In the Chriſtian Religion the Word *Demon* is always taken in an ill Senſe, for the bad Angel, the evil Spirit.

(*m*) *Angel* ſignifies only *him that announces*: Thus it is a Name of Office, that is to ſay, it denotes the Imployment, not the Eſſence. Angels nevertheleſs are commonly call'd by that Name, yet they do not always announce, tho' that be their Appointment, their Function.

ſences, we call *Angels*. Thoſe that are united to the terreſtrial Eſſences, we call *Heroes*: And thoſe that hold the middle Place, equally diſtant from the two Extreams, we call *Demons*; as *Plato* frequently divides them. Others give to this middle Kind but one of theſe three Names, calling them either *Angels*, or *Demons*, or *Heroes*; for the Reaſons we have already given: And thus the Author of theſe Verſes has done, calling them *Heroes full of Goodneſs and of Light*: (*n*) for they are in regard to the firſt Kind, as the Light in reſpect of Fire, and as the Father in regard to the Son; therefore they are celebrated, and with Juſtice too, as the Children of God; for they are not born of mortal Race, but are produc'd by their uniform and only Cauſe, as Light comes from the Eſſence

Hero Hierocles *extols too much the Angelical Nature.*

(*n*) *Hierocles* deſirous to inſtruct Men in the true Eſſence of Angels, that they might proportion their Worſhip to their Dignity, raiſes up their Nature too high in this Paſſage, by ſaying that 'tis as the Light in regard to the Fire: For if this were true, they would be as perfect as their Cauſe, and they are far ſhort of that Perfection. But perhaps this Paſſage ought to be explain'd more favourably, and who knows but *Hierocles* meant, that the Angels are all reſplendent, and glitter with the Light that reflects from God upon them; that they have by Participation only the Light of which God is the Principle and the Source. And in this Senſe it is that St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* ſays, ἔστως, ὡσπερεὶ λαμπρότητες δευτέρας, καὶ ἴσως ὁ πρῶτος λαμπρότητι. *Thus were created the ſecond Splendors, the Miniſters of the firſt*; for Jeſus Chriſt alone is truly the Brightneſs of the Glory of his Father; nor are the Angels any where call'd in the Scripture, *Sons of God*. Moreover, 'tis eaſie to ſee that *Hierocles* in this Place makes the Angels to be corporeal, he gives 'em a thin and ſubtile Body, ſo that compar'd to God they are Bodies, and compar'd to Men they are Spirits. This was the moſt generally receiv'd Opinion in his Days: Moſt of the Fathers and of the Theologians believ'd the contrary, and taught that the Angels were incorporeal, and purely Spirits. And all the School-men follow this Opinion.

of a luminous Body: (o) I mean a pure and clear Light, after which 'tis eaſie to imagine a Light full of Shades and blended with Darkneſs. And to this obſcure and dim Light analogically anſwers the third Kind of Beings, I mean Mankind, by reaſon of the Proneneſs they have to Vice and to Oblivion, which makes them incapable always to contemplate on God. (p) They are inferior to the Beings that always think on him, becauſe they ceaſe ſometimes to have him in their Thoughts; and this is their Darkneſs: But they are ſuperior to the Beings void of Reaſon, becauſe they return ſometimes to think on God, (q) and are now and then reſtor'd to the divine Knowledge, when they join themſelves to the celeſtial Choirs by laying aſide all carnal Affections, and diſingaging themſelves from the Corruption of the Body; and this is their Light. (r) He who is favour'd with this divine Grace, becomes worthy of our Homage and Reſpect,

Why the Saints ought to be honour'd.

(o) This is a noble Thought. The Angels being more enlighten'd of God than Men are in regard to them, as a Light that is bright and clear, in compariſon of one that is gloomy and blended with Obſcurity: For the Body fills the Soul with Darkneſs.

(p) This Paſſage is very intricate and confus'd in the Editions. The Manuſcript of *Florence* has clear'd the Perplexities by ſupplying ſome Words that were wanting in the Text. Take the intire Paſſage as it is there written. Τῶν μὲν ἀεὶ νοούντων ἀπολειπόμενον τὰ ποτὲ μὴ νοεῖν, τῶν δ' ἀλόγων ἀμαυρότητι χώς τὸ ποτὲ νοεῖν ἢ ποτὲ μὴ νοεῖν ἡ δὲ Θεία ὁπτεμένη ἀναπαλαίουσ, &c. In the Tranſlation I added theſe Words, *And this is their Darkneſs, And this is their Light*, that the Thought of *Hierocles* might be the better underſtood.

(q) For Man muſt be join'd to the Celeſtial Choirs, that is to ſay, muſt be ſanctify'd, that he may be truly reſtor'd to Divine Knowledge.

(r) Here *Hierocles* plainly teaches, that what makes Men Saints, is the ſame thing that renders them worthy of our Homage.

ſpect, (s) as having adorn'd and rais'd up the Equality of our Nature, by the Participation he has gain'd with what is moſt excellent. Now every Man that loves God, ought likewiſe to love every Being that any ways reſembles him, (t) whether it has poſſeſs'd this Likeneſs from all Eternity, or has acquir'd it in time, as all Men have, who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by the Pre-eminence of their Virtues, concerning whom the following Verſe gives us this Precept.

They that love God, love whatever reſembles him.

(s) For the Saints were Men like our ſelves; but they have exalted and adorn'd this Equality and Likeneſs of Nature, by the Grace that God has been pleas'd to impart to them. The Manuſcript of *Florence* has very well corrected this Paſſage by reading it thus, ὡς τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἴσον τῷ τὸ κρεῖττον μετεσία κοσμήσας. *The Equality of our Nature*, that is to ſay, what Nature had given him in common with us.

(t) From all Eternity truly and literally, as the Son of God; or from all Eternity, that is to ſay, before all Time, like the Angels, who being created by God before all Time, or with Time, are regarded as Eternal.

VERSE IV.

Honour likewiſe the * Terreſtrial Demons by rendring them the Worſhip lawfully due to them.

* Or rather, who have liv'd upon the Earth, and are no longer here.

THE Author of theſe Verſes, ſpeaking of the Souls of Men, who are adorn'd with Truth and with Virtue, (a) calls them *Demons*, as being full of Knowledge and of Light; and afterwards to diſtinguiſh them from the Demons that are ſuch by Nature, and that hold the middle Rank,

(a) After they have diveſted this mortal and corruptible Body. For 'tis then only that they are full of Knowledge and of Light, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Pythagoras *made use of this Word, rather to signifie those that are dead.*

as has been said already, (*b*) he adds the Epithet *Terrestrial*, to shew (*c*) that they can converse with Man, inform and animate Mortal Bodies, and dwell upon

(*b*) I believe *Hierocles* is mistaken in this Passage: He would have explain'd this Verse of *Pythagoras* more naturally, had he said, that by this Expression, καὶ ἀχθονίους δαίμονας, he meant the dead, those that are dead after having lead a Life of Piety and Purity. He calls them Δαίμονας, *Demons*, because of the Light with which they are enlighten'd, and to distinguish them from the Demons, that are such by Nature, that is to say, from the Angels; he adds καὶ ἀχθονίους, *Subterraneous, that are under the Earth*, that is to say, who are gone down into the Grave; for this is properly the Signification of the Word καταχθόνιος, and I do not remember I ever met with it, to signifie, *who lives upon the Earth*. In that Sense they always made use of ἐπιχθόνιος. *Homer* says, ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν: whereas they constantly imploy'd καταχθόνιος to say, him that is under the Earth, who is no longer alive. In all appearance *Hierocles* durst not explain it thus, for fear of dashing with the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, who taught that the Souls of the dead went not under the Earth, but to the *Æther*, or to the Sun, and their subtile Body into the Moon; but this Fear was ill grounded: The Opinion of *Pythagoras* ought not to have hinder'd him from making use of a Word authoriz'd by Custom and Usage, to signifie only the Dead. *Virgil* had not this awe upon him, when he puts this Verse into the Mouth of *Dido*.

Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

tho' she speaks conformably to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*. I dare affirm that this is the true Sense of the *Greek* Verse. Whatever else *Hierocles* here says is admirable.

(*c*) If the meaning of *Hierocles* in this Place be, that the Souls of the Dead may return to animate other Bodies, as some learned Men pretend it is, he certainly mistakes the Sense of his Author, who says expresly in the two last Verses; *And when after having divested thy self of thy mortal Body, thou shalt arrive in the pure Æther, thou shalt be an Immortal, Incorruptible God, of whom Death shall have no more Dominion.* *Hierocles* therefore speaks in this Place of the Souls of Men, that may descend hither to animate mortal Bodies: *That may*, that is to say, *that are of a Nature to be able*, and as he himself explains it at last, *that are subject to descend, and to live and inhabit the Earth.*

upon the Earth. By calling them *Demons*, he diſtinguiſhes them from wicked and impious Men, who are very Ignorant, and conſequently far from being *Demons*; and by adding the Epithet *Terreſtrial*, he diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe that are always full of Light and of Knowledge, and who are not of a Nature to live upon the Earth, nor to animate Mortal Bodies: For this Name of *Terreſtrial Demon* is applicable only to him, who being Man by Nature, (*d*) is become Demon by Habitude, by his Union, (*e*) and by his Knowledge in the things relating to God. The third Sort is call'd purely and properly *Terreſtrial Demons*, as being the laſt of the reaſonable Subſtances, and intirely addicted to a Terreſtrial Life: For the firſt Sort is Celeſtial, and the ſecond or middle Sort is Æthereal. Thus therefore, all Men being *Terreſtrial*, that is to ſay, holding the third and laſt Rank among the intelligent Subſtances, and not being all of 'em *Demons*, that is to ſay, indow'd with Knowledge and Underſtanding, the Author of theſe Verſes was in the right to join theſe two Names, *Terreſtrial Demons*, to ſignifie wiſe and virtuous Men; for all Men are not Wiſe, and all the Wiſe are not Men; the Heroes and the Immortal Gods, who by their Nature are much ſuperior to Men, being likewiſe indow'd with Wiſdom and with Virtue.

(*d*) *By Habitude*, that is to ſay, by the conſtant practice of Virtues: *By his Union*, that is, by his Union with the ſuperior Beings, and by them with God, from whom it derives all its Light; and thus you ſee what makes the Saints.

(*e*) I have here follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which after theſe Words χάρας ὁ γνωμῶν δαίμονας, which I but now explain'd, adds, καὶ δαίμονι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ σοφόμοιο, which improves the Senſe extreamly.

This Verſe therefore commands us to reſpect and revere the Men (*f*) that have been admitted into the Celeſtial Orders; who may be conſider'd as equal to the Demons, to the Angels, and to the Heroes; for we are not to imagine that we are here adviſ'd to reſpect and honour any vile and contemptible ſort of Demons, as the common Acceptation of the Word *Terreſtrial Demon* might be apt to perſuade us: (*g*) For in a Word, all the Beings that are inferior to Human Nature ought in no wiſe to be honour'd by thoſe who are touch'd with the Love of God, (*h*) and who have a ſenſe of their Nobleneſs and Dignity; nor are we to honour Man himſelf, next to the ſuperior Beings, unleſs he have render'd himſelf like them, (*i*) and be receiv'd into the Divine Choir. What is then the Honour and Reſpect we owe them? *To render them,* ſays this Verſe, *the Worſhip lawfully due to them:* And this Worſhip conſiſts only in obeying the Precepts they have left us, and in regarding thoſe Precepts as Laws that muſt not be violated; to take Example by their way of Living, and to walk in the Paths they walk'd in, which Envy could never hinder them from teaching us, and which they have tranſmitted to their Succeſſors with ten thouſand Toils and Labours, as the immortal Inheritance of their Fathers, by conſigning to us in their Writings, the Elements of Virtue, and the Maxims of Truth.

He employs it to ſignifie wiſe and virtuous Men, who after their Death become equal to the Angels.

In what conſiſts the Worſhip we ought to pay the Saints.

To

(*f*) *Hierocles* will not have this Worſhip paid the Saints, 'till after their Death, for 'tis not 'till after their Death that they are admitted into the Divine Orders.

(*g*) No Man ought to be honour'd with the Worſhip here ſpoken of, 'till after he has by his Virtue rais'd himſelf above Man.

(*h*) For next to Angels, Man is the moſt noble of all the Creatures.

(*i*) This was perform'd in thoſe Days by the publick Ceremonies of Cities, or by the Suffrage of the People.

To obey their Precepts and to conform our Life to theirs, is honouring them more truly and more effectually, than if we made on their Tombs the moſt exquiſite Libations, and offer'd to them the moſt magnificent Sacrifices. Thus you ſee what is the Honour we owe to the ſuperior Beings, an Honour, which beginning with the Creator, and paſſing from him to the middle Beings, which are the Æthereal and Heavenly, ends and terminates in the Men who have been Good and Virtuous: But becauſe the next Duty incumbent on us in the Courſe of our civil Life, is the Honour we owe our Parents and Relations, who, tho' they be not abſolutely in this Degree of Perfection and of Virtue, (*k*) nevertheleſs merit and claim our Reſpects, in regard to the Dignity of our Affinity to them, the Author adds the following Precept.

(*k*) There was here a conſiderable Fault in the Text, Τῇ ἀξίᾳ τῆ χρέσεως, *to the Dignity of the Cuſtom*, which is intollerable. *Hierocles* could never ſay that our Parents and our Relations merit our Reſpects only on account of the Cuſtom, of the Profit we reap from 'em, and of the Need we have of them. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, has the true reading in the Margin. Συχγένεως. *Affinity*, inſtead of χρέσεως, *Uſage*. The Manuſcript of *Florence* confirms it, and the Sequel of the Diſcourſe neceſſarily ſuppoſes and proves it; for ſome Lines afterwards the Author ſays, ᾧ ἀντίκω τῆ τῆς χρέσεως ἀναγκήν. *by reaſon of the Neceſſity of Kindred.*

VERSE V.

Honour likewiſe thy Father and thy Mother, and thy neareſt Relations.

THE Author having in the foregoing Precept commanded us to honour and revere good and virtuous Men, as Divine Beings who enjoy eternal Felicity,

Felicity, comes in the next place to exhort us to honour our Father and our Mother, and those that are any ways related to us, upon the same Necessity of Kindred. (*a*) For, as of the superior Beings, the Celestial stand us in stead of Parents, and the Heroes of Relations, by means of the Band and Union has been and is between them and us from all Eternity; so our Fathers and our Mothers, and their Relations next of Blood, and who for that reason ought to receive from us the first Honours after our Parents, are the same thing to us in this mortal Life. How then shall we honour them? Shall we behave our selves in all things as they would have us, so as neither to think nor do any thing but what will please them? (*b*) By this means our Zeal for Virtue will degenerate into Zeal for Vice, if our Parents and Relations happen to be wicked and vicious. But on the other hand, shall we neglect and contemn them because we know 'em to be vicious? How then are we obedient to this Law? Can we by not honouring our Parents, who are the Image of the Gods, nor our Relations, who represent to us the * Heroes, can we, I say, be other than impious to those Gods and Heroes, (*c*) whom we agree that our Parents and Relations resemble? And will not this Virtue which we think we practice by Disobedience

Our Parents and Relations, represent in regard to us God and the holy Angels.

* *The Angels.*

(*a*) This is a noble Idea of the *Pythagoreans*. Our Parents are in regard to us the Image of God, and our Relations the Image of the Angels and of the other blessed Spirits; and as we ought to honour the Angels next to God, so we ought to honour our Relations next to our Parents.

(*b*) The Text runs only thus; οὕτως ἂν ἀσελγαίνοι πρὸς κακίαν αὐτὴ: *But thus our Zeal will degenerate into Vice.* The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts supplies in the Margin οὕτως ἂν ἀσελγαίνοι ἡ πρὸς ἀρετὴν σπουδὴ πρὸς κακίας ἀποστροφήν: And thus too the Manuscript of *Florence* reads it.

(*c*) For if they resemble them not by their Virtues, they resemble them at least by the Rank they hold in respect to us, and by the relation we have to them.

bedience to our Parents, by reaſon of their Vices, produce a greater Ill, Impiety? And if on the contrary we obey them in every thing, how can we do otherwiſe than depart from the Practice of Virtue and Piety, if it ſhould happen that through the Corruption of their Manners, they inſtructed us not to direct our Sons in the Paths of Virtue and of Truth? For if whatever our Parents commanded us were true and good, the Honour we render'd them would perfectly agree with the Honour and Obedience we owe the Gods. But if the Will of our Parents be not always conformable to the Laws of God, what have they to do who find themſelves in this ſort of Contrariety between the two Laws, but what is daily practis'd in other Duties, that in ſome Occaſions happen to be incompatible and contradictory to one another, and where one muſt neceſſarily be violated that the other may be obſerv'd? (*d*) For of two good Actions that offer themſelves to us, the one whereof is barely Good, the other better, we ought indiſpenſibly to prefer the better when we cannot acquit our ſelves of both. 'Tis a good Action to be obedient to God; and 'tis good likewiſe to obey our Parents. If what God and our Parents require of us agree, ſo that in obeying both we tend to the ſame End, 'tis a great Happineſs for us, and this double Duty is indiſpenſable. But if the Law of God commands us one thing, and our Parents another, we ought, in this Contradiction which cannot be reconcil'd, to obey God by diſobeying our Parents, in the things only wherein they

How to behave our ſelves when the Honour due to our Parents does not agree with Piety.

Of two good things we ought always to chuſe the beſt.

(*d*) This Deciſion is very remarkable in a Pagan: Of two good Actions that are injoin'd us, the one good the other better, if we cannot reconcile and perform them both, we may not omit the better to perform the good; for this is contrary to Piety and to the Law of God, that commands us to aim at Perfection. In theſe Occaſions the Good ceaſes to be Good when any thing better offers it ſelf.

they themſelves are diſobedient to the Divine Laws; for 'tis not poſſible that a Man who would exactly obſerve the Rules of Virtue, ſhould ever agree with thoſe that violate them. In all other things we ought to honour our Parents to the utmoſt of our Power, and without any Limitation; by ſerving them our ſelves, and by ſupplying them abundantly and with all our Heart, with the things they have need of; for 'tis moſt reaſonable they ſhould make uſe of them to whom they gave a Being and Education. But in regard to what we receiv'd not of 'em; the Law declares it free, and exempts it from their Power, commanding us to ſeek the true Father of it, to unite our ſelves to him, and to labour particularly to render our ſelves conformable to his Image; and thus we ſhall be able to preſerve both the Divine and Human Goods: And as we ought not to neglect our Parents under a vain Pretext of Virtue, ſo neither ought we to fall by a blind and ſenſeleſs Obedience into the worſt of all Evils, Impiety.

The Honour due to Parents is without Bounds in whatever is not contrary to the Laws of God.

That is to ſay our Soul.

God is the true Father of our Soul.

But if they threaten to put us to Death for our Diſobedience, *(e)* or to diſinherit us, we ought not to be diſmay'd at their Menaces, *(f)* but think immediately on what they will fall; they threaten only what they made: But as to that Part of us that is ſafe from their Paſſion, that cannot ſuffer by their Injuſtice, and that comes not from them, we ought to preſerve it free and ſubject to the Will of God. The true Honour that Virtue commands us

That is to ſay the Body.

That is to ſay the Soul, which they did not make, and that comes from God.

(e) Inſtead of βίᾳ ἀλλοῖοῦσιν, which is in the Text, and which has no Meaning, or at leaſt a very obſcure one, the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads ἢ κλήσει ἀλλοῖοῦσιν, which is very natural and intelligible.

(f) This is an excellent Explication of the Evangelical Precept, not to fear thoſe that can kill the Body only, but to fear him alone who can kill both Soul and Body.

us to render to our Parents, (*g*) is to ſpare for nothing to ſerve them, either Body or Goods, but to be intirely ſubject to them in what concerns either of the two; for 'tis becoming and reaſonable never to refuſe them the Service of our Hands; (*h*) on the contrary, the more this Service is toilſome, mean and ſervile, the more we ought to delight in it, and think our ſelves honour'd by it. Much leſs ought we to refuſe to ſupply their Wants, and grudge to leſſen their Expence, through a Motive of Avarice, but we ought rather to be laviſh in furniſhing them with all they have occaſion for, and to do it with a chearful Mind, thinking our ſelves happy in ſerving them with our Perſons and Eſtates; for to practice theſe two things joyfully and with a free Will, (*i*) is to fulfil the Law of Virtue, and

We ought to ſpare neither our Bodies nor Eſtates for the Service of our Parents.

The more mean and ſervile the Service we render our Parents is, the more delightful and honourable ought we to think it.

to

(*g*) The Text of this Paſſage is not found in the Editions, but the Manuſcript of *Florence* has it right; Μήτε σωμάτων φειδομένους ἡμᾶς μήτε χρημάτων, ἀλλ' ἑκόντας αὐτοῖς ταῦτα τελέσθαι εἰς πάντα τὰ τελευτᾶντα.

(*h*) The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads this Paſſage very right, περὶ δὲ μήτε τὴν δι' ἀυτουργίας θεραπείαν ἐπιγομένω φαύλην, ἀνδρομηνὲν ἢ μᾶλλον αὐτῆ, ὅσω ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπίπονος γένηται καὶ δυσπρεπὴς, καὶ μήτε ὑπάρχας δαπανωμένους φειδωλὸς γενέσθαι. And this very *Hierocles* in his Treatiſe, *How we ought to behave our ſelves to our Father and Mother*, tells us wherein conſiſts this mean and ſervile Service, that we ought to render to our Parents: For Example, he ſays, *We ought to waſh their Feet, to make their Bed, and to be always in the way to ſerve them*, &c. καὶ πόδας νίπτειν, καὶ κλίνην στρέσαι, καὶ διακονεμένους.

(*i*) Under the Law of Virtue is included that of Piety. Here *Hierocles* explains wonderfully well the Precept of *Pythagoras*. Nor did *Plato* forget ſo neceſſary and ſo indiſpenſible a Duty. Hear what he ſays of it in the eleventh Book of the Laws, *The Fear of God is the Foundation of the Duty we owe our Parents. Now if the Gods take delight in the Honour we give their Images, which are only dead Repreſentations of the Deity, much more will they be pleas'd with the Honour we pay to our Parents, who are the living Images of God. The older they are, the more*

Force

to ſatisfie the Rights of Nature. Thus you ſee what is the Honour due to our Parents: That we owe to their Relations; and which is only the ſecond Honour, muſt be proportion'd according to the Degree of Conſanguinity; ſo that next to our Parents, we ought more or leſs to honour our Relations, (k) according to the Rank of Affinity in which Nature has plac'd them.

Force and Efficacy theſe living Images of the Deity, who are like precious Jewels in the Family, have to call down all ſorts of Bleſſings on their Children, who duly reſpect and revere them, and the moſt dreadful Maledictions on the Head of ſuch as are diſobedient to them. Pythagoras and *Plato*, having been both of them in *Egypt*, 'tis very probable they had got ſome Knowledge of the Law that God had given to his People: *Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that thou mayſt live long:* And *Curſed be he that honours not his Father and his Mother.*

(k) After theſe Words the Manuſcript of *Florence* adds, Δῆλον ὃ ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀδεσπότου μένειν. 'Tis evident that even above all theſe things, Virtue remains free and independent. But I am of Opinion that this was a Comment that crept at length into the Text. My Reaſon is, becauſe the Independency of Virtue is not here the Matter in Debate.

VERSE VI.

Of all the reſt of Mankind, make him thy Friend, who diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his Virtue.

Precepts concerning Friendſhip. * *To the Relation we have with God and with the Angels and Saints.*

AFter the Law that preſcribes the firſt Honour that is due to our * firſt Affinity, and after that which regulates the Reſpect we owe our Parents and their Relations, and which is a Conſequence of the firſt, follows immediately the Law con-

concerning the contracting of Friendſhip, which is to chuſe for our Friend, (*a*) among thoſe who are not of our Family, him who is the moſt virtuous, and to bind our ſelves to him by the Communication of Virtues, to the end we may make the good Man our Friend for a good Reaſon, and not ſeek his Friendſhip on any other account; inſomuch that this Precept is intirely conformable to the Advice that was given us concerning the good Men who are departed this Life: (*b*) For as in that, we were told, that we ought to honour and revere only thoſe who are full of Knowledge and of Light; ſo likewiſe we are told in this, that we ought to contract Friendſhip with none but Men of Probity and Virtue. As to theſe, we are allow'd the Liberty of Choice; and as to our Parents and Relations, we are confin'd to obey the Dictates of Nature; for a Father or a Brother naturally claims our Reſpect: But as for the others, I mean our Friends, 'tis Virtue only that makes them valuable in like manner as it gives Merit to the Dead.

Friendſhip ſhould be contracted for Virtues ſake, not for Intereſt.

Virtue ties us to our Friends, but Nature, to God and to our Parents.

As

(*a*) For as to thoſe that are of our Family, Nature alone ſuffices to make us love and reſpect them.

(*b*) All this Reaſoning of *Hierocles* ſeems to me to be very fine and demonſtrative. As among the Dead, we ought to honour only ſuch as had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Virtue, and whom the Divine Grace has exalted to Glory; ſo likewiſe among the living, after our Relations, we ought to love and reſpect none but the Good and the Virtuous. There is in regard to us, ſo near a Relation and ſo perfect an Analogy between the ſuperior and the inferior Beings, that our Duty to the firſt is the Rule and the Meaſure of what we owe the laſt. Our Parents are the Image of God; our Relations repreſent the Angels, and our Friends are the Image of the Saints. We cannot then be miſtaken in theſe Duties of the civil Life, ſeeing they are the Conſequences of the Duties of Religion, and depend thereon. 'Tis the Celeſtial Life that ought to regulate the Terreſtrial.

As to the Beings ſpoken of before theſe, 'tis Nature it ſelf that makes them honourable, and commands us to revere them. In Heaven they are the Gods and the Heroes, (that is the Angels) and here upon Earth, they are our Parents and our Relations, who under a mortal Nature continually repreſent to us the Image of the Immortal Affinity, that binds us to thoſe Gods and to thoſe Heroes.

Thus you ſee where we ought to ſearch, and where to chuſe a Friend; you ſhall in the next place be inſtructed what Means you are to uſe to preſerve a Friend ſo long as he contributes to your true Good; or to abandon him, if he forſakes the Paths of Virtue, and ceaſes to obey the Precepts and Advices that tend to his Perfection.

VERSES VII, VIII, and IX.

(a) *Always give Ear to his mild Exhortations, and take Example from his virtuous and uſeful Actions.*

And avoid as much as poſſible to hate thy Friend for a ſlight Fault.

Now, Power is a near Neighbour to Neceſſity.

How we ought to behave our ſelves towards our Friends.

WE are now going to ſhew how we ought to behave our ſelves towards our Friends. Firſt, we muſt yield to and obey them, when they exhort us

(a) This Verſe of *Pythagoras* may likewiſe be explain'd in this manner, *Give way to thy Friend by ſpeaking to him with Mildneſs, and render him all manner of good Offices.* But the Explication *Hierocles* gives of it is more profound; nor can it be doubted, but that was the Senſe which all the *Pythagoreans* gave it.

us to Virtue, and when they do any thing for our Advantage; for 'tis for our mutual good that the Law of Friendſhip binds us together, to the end our Friends may aſſiſt us in the Increaſe of Virtue, and that we may reciprocally aſſiſt them in their Improvement therein: For as Fellow-travellers in the way that leads to a better Life, we ought for our common Advantage to impart to them the good things we may diſcover, perhaps better than they. We ought mildly to ſubmit to the good Advices of our Friends, and to let them ſhare with us in whatever we have that is good and profitable. As for Riches, Glory, and all other frail and periſhable Goods, we ought never to have the leaſt Difference with our Friends concerning them; (*b*) for that would be to hate for a ſlight Offence, thoſe who are our Friends in matters of the higheſt Moment. Let us then bear with our Friends in all things, as being bound to them with the ſtricteſt of all Bands, the ſacred Tie of Friendſhip. There is but one thing which we are not to bear with in a Friend; and that is, when he falls into a Corruption of Manners: And we are in no wiſe to follow his Example when he quits the Ways of Wiſdom, and takes up another courſe of Life; for then we ſhould ſuffer our ſelves to be ſeduc'd and led aſtray from Virtue with him; but we ought to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to reclaim our Friend, and to bring him

Friends are Fellow-travellers who ought reciprocally to aſſiſt one another.

(*b*) *Pythagoras* therefore treats as *a ſlight Offence* whatever Injury our Friend or our Neighbour does us, and that affects not the Soul, but regards only our Eſtates, our Honour, and all the other worldly Intereſts, which are always mean and contemptible. This is a very perfect Rule to be given by a Heathen, and in an Age like that; when they who were beſt inſtructed knew no other Law, than to love him that loves, to hate him that hates, to give to him that gives, and to refuſe to him that gives not. For this was the Doctrine *Heſiod* taught long before the Days of *Pythagoras*.

back into the good Way. If we cannot prevail with him to return, we muſt reſt ſatisfy'd, and not regard him as our Enemy, becauſe of our former Friendſhip, nor as our Friend, becauſe of his Depravation: Inſomuch that for this Reaſon only we ought to renounce and forſake him, he being become incapable on his Part to aſſiſt or forward us in the Purſuit and Improvement of Virtue, for which cauſe alone we ſought his Friendſhip. But let us take great care that this Separation degenerate not into Enmity; for tho' he firſt unlink'd the Chain, we are oblig'd to leave no Means untry'd to reclaim him to his Duty, without any rejoicing at the Fall of our Friend, and without inſulting over him on account of this Error; but rather compaſſionate his Misfortune with Tears and with Sorrow, praying for him, and forgetting nothing that may bring him to Repentance, and procure his Welfare. Now the things that may reclaim him, are (c) to have no Diſpute with him, concerning Riches or Glory, not to debar him of our Company with Diſdain, and not to triumph over him on account of his Misfortunes. And ſeeing what moſt contributes to the preſerving our Friends, or to the forſaking them with Reaſon and Juſtice, or laſtly to the putting us in a Condition to reclaim them to their Duty, and to make them repent of their Apoſtacy, is to bear with them when they are in the Wrong, not to enter with them into too ſtrict a Diſcuſſion of our Intereſts, to be indulgent to them, and not to take things in the utmoſt Rigour; in a Word, to

The Mean to be obſerv'd at parting with a Friend.

Duties towards our Friends when they quit the Paths of Virtue.

(c) I have here follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which is more correct than the Text. It reads it thus, τῷ μήτε περὶ χρημάτων, μήτε περὶ δόξης αὐτῷ διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ τῷ μὴ ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ τὸ κοινωνίας αὐτῷ ἀποτρέπειν, μηδὲ φιλοτιμίαν ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου δυσχέρειαν. Which is very plain and intelligible.

to have as much Patience, and to bear with them as much as poſſibly we can: the Author of theſe Verſes adds, *as much as thou canſt.* And then, to the end we might not meaſure the Power by the Will, but by the Strength of Nature, as far as the preſent Neceſſity can ſupply us therewith, he gives us to underſtand, *That Power is a near Neighbour to Neceſſity:* (*d*) For daily Experience convinces us, that Neceſſity ſupplies us with more Strength than we imagine we have. Let us then be fully perſuaded, that we ought to bear with our Friends, as much as Neceſſity ſhews 'tis poſſible for us to do: And that on Account of the Relation of Friendſhip we ought to endure what ſeem'd to us inſupportable. For we are not to imagine that Courage and Fortitude are never to be imploy'd but when we are to reſiſt the Efforts of Strength and Violence: Whatever tends to the preſerving, or to the regaining of our Friends, requires and deſerves more Patience, as being the Injunctions of a Divine Neceſſity. Now the Neceſſity of Reaſon is ſtronger and

Power ought not to be meaſur'd by the Will, but by the Strength of Nature.

Power dwells near Neceſſity.

The Neceſſity of Reaſon is ſtronger than all exterior Things

(*d*) To baniſh the Weakneſs and Sloth that a corrupted Will inſpires, even in our moſt important Duties, nothing can be of greater Efficacy than this Advice: *Power dwells near Neceſſity.* Let us explain it by an Example that will ſet it off to the beſt Advantage. It daily happens that we refuſe to do certain Things that would be of Advantage to us, alledging for Excuſe, that we cannot do them. But if an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of doing Things yet more difficult happen next Day, we make a ſhift to compaſs them. 'Tis not therefore the Power that is wanting in us, but the Will. Without giving Ear then to this weak or corrupted Will, let us ſearch for Power and Strength in the neighbourhood of Neceſſity: That is to ſay, let us do what we would do in the moſt urgent Neceſſity. A Man who is afflicted with the Gout, and keeps his Bed, perſuades himſelf he cannot walk; ſet but Fire to his Chamber, he will riſe and run away. To make uſe of all our Strength, we muſt look for it where it is lodg'd, that is to ſay, near Neceſſity. This is perfectly fine and new

and more prevalent with the Wise than all exterior Force. Whether therefore thou regard the Necessity that arises from the several Conjunctures and Circumstances of Affairs; or whether thou consider the Necessity of the Will; thou wilt find this last, (*e*) this free and independent Necessity, this voluntary result of Reason, which is contain'd within the Bounds of Knowledge, and is an Emanation from the Divine Laws, (*f*) to be the Measure of the Power that is in thee, and which this Verse would have thee imploy for thy Friends, by commanding thee not to break easily with them, and not to hate them for a slight Offence. For this Verse makes but little Account of whatever affects not the Soul: It forbids us to make an Enemy of a Friend for the sake of Self-interest and mercenary Ends; and it commands us to endeavour by an intire Indifference for all exterior Things, to regain our Friend, and so to behave our selves that the whole World may bear Witness of us, that as much as in us lay, we have preserv'd our Friends: That we have reclaim'd and set in the right Way, those who had suffer'd themselves to be seduc'd by Vice, that we have not given them any Cause to break with us, nor retaliated like for like, when they first disclaim'd our Friendship: For this the sacred Law of Friendship requires of us; a Law, that may be said to be the most Excellent of all Virtues, and to outshine all the rest in Perfection: (*g*) For the End

Never to retaliate our Friends when they use us ill.

of

(*e*) He says 'tis contain'd within the Bounds of Knowledge, because we cannot learn its full Extent, nor instruct our selves in all it requires of us.

(*f*) The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts reads μέτρον instead of μέτρου, and this is confirm'd by the Manuscript of *Florence*.

(*g*) This Decision is drawn from the most sublime Philosophy. Friendship is the End of all the Virtues, because they

tend

of all Virtues is Friendſhip, and their Principle is Piety: The Rules of Piety are to us the Seeds of all true Goods, and the Habit of Friendſhip is the moſt perfect Fruit of Virtues. As therefore we ought always to deal juſtly, not only with thoſe who are Juſt to us, but likewiſe with thoſe who endeavour to injure us; and this too, for fear leſt by rend'ring them Evil for Evil we ſhould fall into the ſame Vice: So we ought likewiſe to have Friendſhip, that is to ſay, Humanity and good Will for all that are of the ſame Nature with us. Now the due Meaſure and Regulation of Friendſhip conſiſts in loving in the firſt Place the Good and Virtuous, as well for the ſake of Nature, as for the love of their Inclinations, it being they alone who preſerve in themſelves the Perfection of Human Nature; (*h*) and in loving in the next Place, the Wicked, whoſe Inclinations and Principles have nothing in

Friendſhip the End of Virtues, and Piety their Principle.

Friendſhip, a Humanity that ought to be extended to all Men; but differently. Good Men ought to be lov'd for the ſake of Nature and of their Virtue.

tend only to raiſe us up, and unite us to the Beings that can make us happy; and Piety is its Principle, not only becauſe God is the Author of Friendſhip, as *Plato* ſays, and as we know yet more certainly from the Holy Scripture; but likewiſe becauſe to deſire this Union, in which our Happineſs conſiſts, is one of the Effects of Piety: Thus Piety is the Seed of Virtues, and Virtues bear this moſt perfect and moſt deſirable Fruit, Friendſhip.

(*h*) Vice deſtroys not the Relations of Nature: Be a Man ever ſo wicked, Nature will not ſuffer him to be abſolutely a Stranger to other Men. We ought therefore to perform all that this Band and Tie of Nature requires of us. Behold there a great Principle! But whence could *Pythagoras* take it, in an Age of Darkneſs, in an Age when even the People that was the moſt fully inſtructed, after having receiv'd from God this Precept, *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf*, had in a manner deſtroy'd and brought it to nothing by the narrow Extent they gave to the ſenſe of the Word *Neighbour*, which God meant ſhould be underſtood of all Mankind? He took it even from the Breaſt of the Deity. The Knowledge of God renders manifeſt the Band and Affinity all Men have to one another, and the Duties incumbent on that Relation.

And the Wicked for the ſake of Nature only.

them that can induce us to court their Friendſhip; in loving them, I ſay, for the ſake of Nature only, which is in Common to them and us: And therefore 'tis a true Saying, *That the Wiſe hates no Man, but loves only the Virtuous:* (*i*) For, inaſmuch as he loves Man, he hates not even the Wicked; and inſomuch as he courts the Virtuous to communicate and impart himſelf to him, he ſelects above all the moſt Perfect, for the Object of his Affections: (*k*) And thus in the Rules and Meaſures of his Friendſhip he imitates God, who hates no Man, but loves good Men preferably to others, and who, extending his Love to all Mankind, takes care to diſtribute to each Man in particular, the ſhare he deſerves of it, by calling and uniting good Men to himſelf, (*l*) and by the Laws of his Juſtice bringing back to their Duty the Deſerters from Virtue:

The Wiſe hates no Man.

God extends his Love to all Mankind.

How God loves the Wicked.

For

(*i*) Here we have the Reaſon of the Saying he cited, *The Wiſe hates no Man*, &c. And I have follow'd in this Paſſage the Lection which the Manuſcript of *Florence* gives us, and which I take to be better than that of the printed Text. That Manuſcript reads it thus, Ὡς οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς φιλῶν, ἀλλὰ πανὸν ἐχθρὸν τίθεται, ὡς ἂν ἀρέσῃ κεχοσμημένον ζηλῶν πρὸς κοινωνίαν, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ παίδων ἐπιλέγεται.

(*k*) This is the true Rule: For from the Knowledge we have of God, we draw the Knowledge of all our Duties, and from the Imitation of him, their Accompliſhment and Perfection. God hates no Man; for as *Plato* has fully prov'd, to hate Man would be incompatible with his Juſtice. God hates the Evil, but not the Perſons, he prefers only the one before the other, and Virtue is always the reaſon of his Choice. Let us do the like, and there will be no longer either Hatred or Revenge, and we ſhall love all Men with Subordination in reſpect one to another.

(*l*) Here we ſee *Pythagoras* was not ignorant that the Puniſhments God inflicts on the Wicked are the Effects of his Love: For God chaſtiſes thoſe whom he loves. But this is true only of the Puniſhments of this Life: The *Pythagoreans* puſh'd this Principle too far, for they believ'd that the Torments of the other Life are not Eternal.

For this is a Diſpenſation ſuitable and uſeful to the one and the other. And thus we in like manner ought to have a Friendſhip for all Men, yet not for all Men alike, but diſtributing to each the Share of it he deſerves: (*m*) For we ſhould obſerve and practiſe Moderation and Juſtice with all Men, and not only with the Juſt and the Moderate; nor may we be Good with the Good, and Wicked with the Wicked: For then each Accident would have power to change us: And we ſhould not have any Good we could call our own, to extend and diſpenſe it to all Mankind. But if we have acquir'd a Habit of Virtue, it depends not on him who comes firſt in our way, to make us loſe it: And being once ſafely eſtabliſh'd on Foundations not to be remov'd or ſhaken; we will not change that happy State, that firm and ſolid Diſpoſition, and alter our Opinions with every Man we meet. What we practiſe in all other Virtues, ought likewiſe to be obſerv'd in Friendſhip, which as we have ſaid already, is the greateſt of all Virtues: For Friendſhip is only the Humanity, which we extend in general to all Mankind, and chiefly to good Men:

Excellent Proof of the Obligation to love all Men.

(*m*) This is an excellent Proof of the Neceſſity of loving all Men: For the Character of all the Virtues is to be always what they are, and to extend upon all Men the Good they produce. A juſt and temperate Man is always Juſt and Temperate; nor is it in the Power of the Unjuſt and of the Intemperate to make him otherwiſe. 'Tis the ſame of Friendſhip: He who is endow'd with this Virtue, loves not only good Men, but extends his Humanity even to the Vicious: For otherwiſe that Virtue would ceaſe to be in him. This ſeems to be an admirable Notion. When *David* ſays to God: *Cum electo electus eris, & cum perverſo perverteris: Thou ſhalt be good with the good, and wicked with the wicked,* he would make it only be underſtood, that our Corruption hinders God from giving us the ſame Marks of his Goodneſs, and obliges him to interrupt the Courſe of his Graces to make us return to him.

(*n*) Therefore the Name of *Humanity*, that is to ſay, of the Love of Men, particularly agrees with it. This is ſufficient on this Point, let us now proceed to others.

(*n*) I corrected this Paſſage, by reading ἐπιτρέπει inſtead of ἐπιστρέπει, and afterwards found that the Manuſcript of *Florence* agreed with the Correction I had made.

VERSES IX, and X.

Know that all theſe Things are as I have told thee: But accuſtom thy ſelf to ſurmount and vanquiſh theſe Paſſions. First, Gluttony, Sloth, Luxury and Anger.

THESE are the Paſſions we ought to reſtrain and keep under, that they may not diſcompoſe and obſtruct our Reaſon. To prevent this, let us get the Maſtery of all our wild and brutiſh Deſires by good Inſtructions; ſince their different Parts reciprocally ſupply one another with Arms, (*a*) to make us commit Sins ſucceſſively, and as it were by degrees. For Example, Exceſs in Eating provokes much Sleep, and both together occaſion a vigorous Health, which excites to Luſt, and provoking the concupiſcible Part of the Soul, eggs it on to Intemperance. At length the Iraſcible Part coming

(*a*) Nothing is more true than this Gradation. Our Paſſions reciprocally aſſiſt each other to make us commit Sins ſucceſſively. Good Chear is the Mother of Lazineſs. [Sleep.] and theſe two together bring forth Luxury, which holding the Iraſcible Part of the Soul in a conſtant Readineſs to catch Fire, whets the Paſſion of Anger, and braves the greateſt Dangers to ſatiate its ſenſual Deſires.

coming to join the Concupiſcible, dreads no Danger, is ſtartled at no Oppoſition, but dares undaunted the worſt can happen, to glut its deprav'd Appetite, ſometimes for luxurious Eating, ſometimes for carnal Pleaſures, and ſometimes for other Delights. *Accuſtom thy ſelf therefore to curb theſe Paſſions,* beginning by Gluttony, that the irrational Parts of the Soul may accuſtom themſelves to be obedient to Reaſon, that thou may'ſt be an inviolable Obſerver of Piety to the Gods, of Reſpect to thy Parents, and of all the other Precepts I have already given thee: For the Obſervance of thoſe firſt Precepts depends on the keeping of theſe, and thou wilt infallibly tranſgreſs the firſt, if the Paſſions be not kept in Subjection, and Obedience to Reaſon: For on one Hand, either Anger will provoke us againſt our Parents, or Concupiſcence will excite us to ſet at naught their good Advices; and on the other hand, either Anger will precipitate us into Blaſphemy, or the Deſire of Riches will plunge us into Perjury: In a Word, all ill things are caus'd by theſe Paſſions, when Reaſon is too weak to keep 'em within their Bounds. Thus you ſee which are the Sources of all Impieties, of all the Broils that ſet Families at Variance, of the Treacheries of Friends, and of all the Crimes that are committed in Breach of the Laws: So that ſome of the wicked are forc'd to cry out with *Medea* in the Tragedy,

I know theſe Crimes will blacken my loſt Soul;
But Rage my weaker Reaſon does controul.

Others,

I know the Crimes I'm going to commit;
But vanquiſh'd Reaſon does to Luſt ſubmit.

Or

Or thus,

On me thy good Advice is thrown away;
My captive Soul
Is bound with ſhameful Chains, nor can, nor will
obey.

For whoever is capable of Reaſon, being in a good Diſpoſition, and fitly prepar'd to diſcern what is Honeſt and Honourable, is always watchful, always ready to obey the Precepts of Reaſon, when the unruly Inclinations of his Paſſions, like ſo many Lumps of Lead, drag him not down into the Abyſs of Vice.

We ought therefore to know our Duties, and accuſtom, as much as we can, our brutal and ſenſual Faculties to be obedient to the Reaſon that is in us: For the Paſſions being thus kept in Subjection, Reaſon will be in a Condition to obſerve inviolably the firſt Precepts, concerning which we are told in this Place; *Know that theſe things are ſo.* And concerning the following Precepts; *But accuſtom thy ſelf to vanquiſh*, &c. to make us underſtand, that the Intelligent Part is govern'd by Inſtruction and Knowledge; and that the ſenſual or brutal Part is guided by Habitude or by *Formations*, if I may uſe that Term, which are in ſome Meaſure corporeal: And thus Men tame and train up Beaſts, by means of Habitude only. The Appetite therefore being habituated to content it ſelf with a ſufficient and reaſonable Quantity, renders the other Paſſions of the Body more moderate, and Anger leſs violent and boiling: Inſomuch that we not being rudely agitated and hurry'd along by the Paſſions, may meditate in Tranquillity on what we

Reaſon is guided by Inſtruction, and the Paſſions are kept under by Habitude.

The Advantages of Temperance in eating and drinking.

we are oblig'd to do: (*b*) And from thence we learn to know our ſelves, to know what we truly are, and to reſpect our ſelves when we have attain'd to that Knowledge: From which, and from that Reſpect, which is a never-failing Conſequence of it, we learn to avoid ſhameful Actions, that is to ſay, all the Evils that are call'd ſhameful, becauſe they are indecent, and unworthy to be committed by a rational Subſtance: And of this we are now going to ſpeak.

(*b*) See here a Road well mark'd out to arrive at Perfection. From Temperance proceeds the Calm and Quiet of the Paſſions; from the Calm of the Paſſions, Meditation; from Meditation, the Knowledge of our ſelves; from the Knowledge of our ſelves, the Reſpect we owe our ſelves; and from this Reſpect the ſhunning of Vices, and of whatever is ſhameful and diſhonourable. All this is evidently true.

VERSES XI, and XII.

Never commit any ſhameful Actions, neither with others,
Nor in private with thy ſelf: And above all things reſpect thy ſelf.

Solitude and Society the two Ways that lead to Vice

IT frequently happens, either that we commit ſhameful Actions in private by our ſelves, becauſe we believe them indifferent, which we ſhould never have committed in Preſence of others, for the ſhame of having a Witneſs; or, on the contrary, that with others, we commit thoſe Crimes that we ſhould never have committed alone, or in private, drawn in by Company, and the Number of the Accomplices leſſening the Shame of the Action. This is the Reaſon why the Poet in this Place

Place ſtops up theſe two Ways, that may lead us to Shame and Wickedneſs; for if all that is ſhameful ought to be avoided, no Circumſtance whatſoever can make it worthy our Search, and therefore he join'd theſe two together, *Neither with others, nor in private by thy ſelf*, to the end that neither Solitude might induce thee to act any Indecency, nor Company, or the Number of Accomplices, ſeem to thee to juſtifie the Crime: After which he adds the Cauſe that alone prevents from committing Wickedneſs, *Above all, reſpect thy ſelf*; for if thou get'ſt a Habit of reſpecting thy ſelf, thou wilt always have at hand a faithful Guardian whom thou wilt reſpect, who will never depart far from thee, but always keep thee in his Sight: For it has often happen'd, that many, after their Friends and Domeſticks had left them, have taken the Liberty to act ſuch things as they would have been aſham'd to have done in their Preſence: Was there then no Witneſs of it? I ſpeak not here of God, for God is far from the Thoughts of the Wicked: But had they not their Souls, that is to ſay themſelves, for Witneſſes? Had they not the Teſtimony of their own Conſciences? Doubtleſs they had; but being ſubjected to their Paſſions, and enſlav'd by them, they knew not that ſuch Witneſſes were preſent; and all who are in this Condition contemn their own Reaſon, and treat it worſe than the vileſt Slave. Eſtabliſh thy ſelf then for thy own Guard, and thy own Inſpector; and keeping the Eyes of thy Underſtanding always fix'd on this faithful Guardian, begin to have an Abhorrence of Vice. The Reſpect thou ſhalt have for thy ſelf, will of neceſſity create in thee an Abhorrence of all Vice, and incline thee to ſhun and avoid whatever is ſhameful, and unworthy to be committed by a reaſonable Being. And he who thinks ill

What is ſhameful can never be chang'd by Circumſtances.

The Reſpect of our ſelves prevents us from doing ill.

Virtue is acquir'd by the Abhorrence of Vice.

Actions

Actions unworthy of him, insensibly familiarizes himself with Virtue; the Poet therefore goes on.

VERSES XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI.

In the next Place, observe Justice in thy Actions and in thy Words.
And accustom not thy self to behave thy self in any thing without Rule, and without Reason.
But always make this Reflection, that 'tis ordain'd by Destiny for all Men to die.
And that the Goods of Fortune are uncertain; and that as they may be acquir'd, they may likewise be lost.

WHosoever respects and reveres himself, becomes his own Guard, to prevent himself from falling into any manner of Vice. Now there are several Sorts of Vices: The Vice of the rational Part is Folly; of the irascible, Cowardice; the Vices of the concupiscible are Intemperance and Avarice; and the Vice that extends it self through all the Faculties is Injustice. To avoid therefore all these Vices, we have need of four Virtues; of Prudence, for the rational Faculty; of Courage, for the irascible; of Temperance, for the concupiscible; and for all these Faculties together, we have need of Justice, (*a*) which is the most perfect of all

Each Faculty of the Soul has its Vices.

Injustice includes all Vices, and extends it self through all the Faculties of the Soul.

(*a*) The printed Tex reads ἡ διὰ πασῶν ἀρετῶν περιεκτικὴ τῶν ἀρετῶν, &c. and the Manuscript of *Florence* πασῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ μέτρων περιεκτικῆς, &c. *that includes all the Virtues and all the Measures.* But Doctor *Salviati* of *Florence*, a very learned

Juſtice is the moſt perfect of all the Virtues and includes them all.

all the Virtues, and being the chief of all, includes the reſt as its proper Parts. And therefore theſe Verſes name Juſtice firſt, next Prudence, and after Prudence they mention the moſt excellent Effects that ſpring from that Virtue, and that contribute to the Perfection, and to the Intireneſs or Totality of Juſtice: For every Man who reaſons right, and who makes uſe of his Prudence, is aſſiſted by Courage in all good and praiſe-worthy Actions; by Temperance, in the things that pleaſe the Senſes, and in the one and the other by Juſtice: Thus Prudence is the Principle of all Virtues, and Juſtice their End, (*b*) and in the middle are Courage and Temperance: For the Faculty that

Prudence is the Principle of all Virtues, and Juſtice their End.

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learned Man, who has ſent me all the different Readings of one of the moſt excellent Manuſcripts in *Europe*, prefers the Lection of the printed Text; and upon it has imparted to me a moſt ingenious Thought. He pretends that διὰ πασῶν in this Place is the Term *Diapaſon*, which the Muſicians uſe to expreſs the Tone that includes the ſeven Intervals of the Voice, and that we call *Octave*. And he believes that *Hierocles* in this Place compares Juſtice to this Octave; becauſe Juſtice is the moſt perfect of Virtues, and includes them all; as the Octave is the chief and moſt perfect of Conſonances, and contains all the Notes. All the Virtues are compriz'd in Juſtice, as all the Notes are in the Octave: Therefore *Theognis* ſays,

Ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη συλλήβδην πᾶς' ἀρετή 'στιν·

Juſtice is in general all the Virtues. If this Opinion be right, it ſhould have been tranſlated thus; *which is the moſt perfect of all Virtues, and that, like the Octave in Muſick which contains all the Notes, includes likewiſe all the other Virtues.*

(*b*) The ſame M. *Salviati* is here likewiſe for the reading of the Text διὰ μέσου, which he prefers to that of the Manuſcript of *Florence*, διὰ μέσων; he changes only one Letter, and reads it διὰ μέσων, believing that *Hierocles* perſiſts in the ſame Metaphor, borrow'd from Muſick; and that as he call'd Juſtice διάπασον, he here calls Courage and Temperance διὰ μέσον, meaning that in the Conſort of Virtues Courage and Temperance hold the middle Rank.

that weighs and conſiders all things by right Reaſoning, (*c*) and that ſeeks out that which is right in every Action, to the end that all things may be done with Reaſon and in due Order, is the Habit of Prudence, that is to ſay, the moſt excellent Diſpoſition of our rational Being, by which all the other Faculties are kept in good Order; ſo that Anger is brave, Cupidity temperate, (*d*) and Juſtice by correcting and amending all our Vices, and by animating all our Virtues, adorns our mortal Man with the exceſſive Abundance of the Virtue of the immortal Man: For 'tis originally from the Divine Spirit that the Virtues radiate and diffuſe themſelves in the reaſonable Soul; 'tis they that conſtitute its Form, its Perfection and all its Felicity. (*e*) And from the Soul, theſe Virtues ſhine with a reflected Ray on this ſenſeleſs Being, I mean the mortal Body, by a ſecret and hidden

'Tis from the Divine Spirit that Virtues radiate in the Soul of Man.

† Commu-

(*c*) The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads in this place χ᾽ τὸ ἐν πάσι περίσφορον ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν, which is preferable to the Reading of the printed Text. Prudence ſeeks after what is good and becoming of each Man in every Action: For the ſame Actions are not alike good in every Man, but vary according to the Condition and Quality of him that acts. One is the Bravery of a General, another that of a private Soldier; and in like manner of other things.

(*d*) In this Paſſage I have rather follow'd the Senſe than the Words, which I take to be corrupted in the *Greek*; for I do not underſtand χ᾽ ἡ δικαιοσύνην ἡ ἀλογίας ἀνέχεθαι, which is not ſo much as *Greek*. I believe it ought to be mended thus, χ᾽ ἡ δικαιοσύνην τὰς ἀλογίας ἀνελεῖν, Word for Word, *and that Juſtice carries away our Vices.* This is what ἀνελεῖν ſignifies, as *Heſychius* has obſerv'd, ἀνελεῖν, ſays he, ἐξελεῖν. The Manuſcript of *Florence* has a Reading in this Place that deſerves to be examin'd and known, for the Thought is fine, χ᾽ ἡ δικαιοσύνην ἡ ἀναλογίας ἔχειν, *and that Juſtice proportions it ſelf to each Subject*, &c. for Juſtice is not Juſtice, but when it obſerves Meaſure and Proportion.

(*e*) Here we ſee how this mortal Body of ours is adorn'd and embelliſh'd by the Virtues, which are the Perfections of the Soul; their Beauty reflects upon it.

Communication, to the end that all that is join'd to the rational Eſſence may be fill'd with Beauty, with Decency, and with Order. Now Prudence, the firſt, and as it were the Guide of all divine Goods, being eſtabliſh'd and firmly rooted in the reaſonable Soul, adviſes us well, and makes us take the right Courſe in all Occaſions, enables us to bear Death with Conſtancy, and the Loſs of the Goods of Fortune with Patience and Mildneſs: For Prudence alone can wiſely and with Intrepidity ſupport the Viciſſitudes of this mortal Nature, *(f)* and of Fortune that depends upon it. And indeed, 'tis Prudence that knows by the Help of Reaſon the Nature of things, and that 'tis of abſolute Neceſſity, (*g*) that what is compos'd of Earth and of Water, ſhould reſolve into the ſame Elements that compoſe it. Prudence never quarrels with Deſtiny; nor, becauſe this mortal Body dies, concludes from thence, that there is no ſuch thing as Providence: For ſhe knows that 'tis ordain'd by Fate for all Men to die; that there is a Time prefix'd for the Duration of this mortal Body; and that when our laſt Moment is arriv'd, we ought not to repine, but ſubmit voluntarily to it as to the Law of God; for that Law is properly what is meant by the Word *Deſtiny*: It ſignifies that God himſelf has by his Decrees, deſtin'd and preſcrib'd neceſſary Limits to this mortal Life, beyond which no

Prudence the firſt and Guide of all divine Goods.

Effects of Prudence.

Fortune is only a Dependant on mortal Nature.

(*f*) For Fortune intirely depends on this mortal Nature; which when it is once ſwallow'd up, Fortune will be no more.

(*g*) The *Pythagoreans* held that theſe two Elements only were imploy'd for the Formation of Man, and we find in *Homer* the Origine of this Opinion: But under theſe two Elements they comprehended the two others; for under the Earth was comprehended Fire, and under the Water, Air. I have ſhewn, in the Life of *Pythagoras*, that this Philoſopher oppos'd their Opinion, who allow'd but of one Element for the Formation of Beings.

no Man can paſs; and 'tis the Nature of Prudence to follow the Decrees of God, not by deſiring not to die, but by endeavouring to die well. Moreover, Prudence is not ignorant of the Nature of the Goods of Fortune; ſhe knows that they come to Day, and are gone to Morrow, according to certain Cauſes that are predeſtin'd and preſcrib'd, to reſiſt which is vain and diſhonourable; for we are not the Maſters to keep what is not in our Power. (*h*) Now moſt certainly, neither our Bodies, nor the Goods of Fortune, in a Word, nothing that is divided from our rational Being, is in our Power: And as it depends not on us to get them when we pleaſe, ſo it depends not on us neither to keep them as long as we pleaſe. But to receive them when they come, and to part with them when they go, and always to receive and part with them with much Conſtancy and Virtue, is what depends on us, and is the Nature of our rational Being, unleſs it accuſtom it ſelf to a Comportment without Rule and without Reaſon in all the Accidents of Life, but rather has got a Habit of conforming it ſelf to the Orders of God, who has pre-ordain'd and determin'd all that relates to us: The main Streſs and Extent therefore of what depends on us, and is in our Power, appears chiefly in this; (*i*) that we can judge aright of the things that depend not on us, and that we need not ſuffer our ſelves to be depriv'd of the Power of our Free-

Deſire not not to die, but to die well.

The Strength of what depends on us extends to what depends not on us, and how.

(*h*) This is an undoubted Truth, and evidently prov'd in *Epictetus*, who upon this Principle grounded all the admirable Rules he has given us.

(*i*) In the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, there is in the Margin κεῖναι, inſtead of χρῆναι, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence* κείνων, which is all one, and this Senſe is very good; for good Manners or Cuſtoms proceed from ſound Principles; and by conſequence what depends on us extends its Power over what depends not on us.

Free-Will by an inordinate Affection to frail and periſhable things.

We ought to make our Bodies and Eſtates ſerve as Inſtruments to Virtue.

What is it that wiſe and ſound Judgment dictates to us? It bids us make a good Uſe of our Body and of our Riches while we have them, and make them ſerve as Inſtruments and Means to acquire Virtue; and when we are on the Point of loſing them, it bids us reſt ſatisfy'd of the Neceſſity of it, and add to all our other Virtues, that of Tranquility and Indifference: For the only way to preſerve Piety towards the Gods, and the due Proportion of Juſtice, is to habituate our Reaſon to make a good Uſe of all the various Accidents that arrive to us, and to oppoſe the Precepts of Prudence to all the Contingencies that ſeem fortuitous, and to happen without Order: For we can never preſerve Virtue, unleſs our Judgment be ſound, and our Opinions wholſome. Never will the Man who has accuſtom'd himſelf to live without Rule and without Reaſon, imitate the Beings that are better than us, as better than us; but he will regard them as Tyrants, that force and conſtrain him; (*k*) never will he have the leaſt Regard for thoſe among whom he lives, and never will he make a good Uſe either of his Body or Eſtate. Conſider thoſe who fear to die, and who are wedded to their Riches: See into what Injuſtices, into what Blaſphemies they neceſſarily plunge themſelves, by ſetting up the Standard of Impiety againſt God, by denying his Providence when they ſee themſelves fallen into the things they fooliſhly thought to avoid, and by doing all ſorts of Injuries to their Neighbour, without making any Scruple of raviſhing from him his Eſtate, that they may

Virtue cannot be preſerv'd without a ſound Judgment.

That is to ſay, the Gods.

Injuſtneſs and Blaſphemies of Men who fear to die, and who love Riches.

(*k*) Inſtead of ὅτε τ ζώντων, *the living*, read ὅτε τ συζώντων, *for thoſe with whom he lives*; and this is the Reading that I have follow'd.

may convert to their own Uſe all they can unjuſtly ſcrape together. Thus 'tis manifeſt how theſe Reprobates are miſs-led by falſe Opinions, from whence proceed the greateſt of all Evils, Injuſtice to their Equals, and Impiety to thoſe above them; Evils, from which he is exempted, who obeying this Precept is undaunted at the Approach of Death, whoſe Judgment is refin'd and purg'd by Reaſon; and who does not believe the Loſs of temporal Goods to be inſupportable. From thence ſpring all the Inducements and Motives that incline him to Virtue; for from thence he learns, that he ought to abſtain from what is anothers, to do no Wrong to any Man, and never to ſeek his own Profit to the Detriment and Loſs of his Neighbour. (*l*) Now this can never be obſerv'd by the Man who believes his Soul to be mortal, and who having got a Habit of living without Rule and without Reaſon,

They that believe the Soul to be mortal are incapable to practiſe Juſtice.

(*l*) *Hierocles* in this Place expreſly ſays, that they who believe the Soul to be mortal, cannot practiſe Juſtice. But can it not be that a Man, who is perſuaded that the Soul periſhes with the Body, ſhould believe nevertheleſs that there is in this Life a ſort of Perfection for the Soul, which Perfection conſiſts in Juſtice, and in the Practice of Virtues; and that all his Happineſs and all his Repoſe depend on this Perfection? Doubtleſs this might be; and *Simplicius* affirms it may in his Preface to *Epictetus*. *But even*, ſays he, *if we did ſuppoſe the Soul to be mortal, and that it periſhes with the Body, he who lives according to thoſe Maxims, receiving by means thereof all the Perfection of which he is capable, and enjoying the Good that is proper for him, will of neceſſity be very happy.* But it muſt be allow'd that the Examples would be very rare; and for one Man who believ'd he ſhould periſh whole, and yet ſhould walk in the Paths of Juſtice, there would be a Million who would go aſtray from them. How ſhould this be otherwiſe, ſince notwithſtanding the Certainty of the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Puniſhments prepar'd for the Wicked, we ceaſe not to be unjuſt and wicked.

ſon, (*m*) diſtinguiſhes not between what is mortal in us and has need of Riches, and what is ſuſceptible of Virtue, and aſſiſted and ſtrengthen'd by Virtue: For this due Diſcernment only can incline us to the Practice of Virtue, and ſtir us up to the Purſuit of what is good and honourable; in which Purſuit we are further'd and help'd forwards by a divine Motive, which ſprings from theſe two Precepts, *Know thy ſelf*, and *Reſpect thy ſelf*. (*n*) For our own Worth and Dignity ought to be the Standard by which we ſhould meaſure all our Duties both in our Words and in our Actions; and the Obſervance of our Duties is only the exact and inviolable Obſervance of Juſtice. Thus you ſee why Juſtice is here plac'd at the Head of all the other Virtues, that it may be the Meaſure and Rule of our Duties. *Obſerve Juſtice*, ſays he, *both in thy Words, and in thy Actions*. Let no Blaſphemy then proceed from thy Mouth, neither for the Loſs of temporal Goods, nor in the ſharpeſt Pangs of a Diſeaſe, that thou mayſt not offend Juſtice in thy Words; and never defraud thy Neighbour of his Goods, nor contrive Miſchief or Loſs to any Man, that thou mayſt not offend Juſtice in thy Actions: For ſo long as Juſtice keeps as it were Garriſon in our Soul, to protect and defend it, we ſhall perform all our Duties towards the Gods, towards Men, and towards our ſelves.

Juſtice includes all our Duties.

Now

(*m*) To this Paſſage the Manuſcript of *Florence* adds theſe two Words, μηδαμῶς λογιζόμενος, which were wanting in the Text, and are very neceſſary for the Senſe. Take the whole Paſſage, τὶ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ἀποθνῄσκον ἡμῶν μηδαμῶς λογιζόμενος, ἢ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων δεόμενον, &c.

(*n*) This is a great Precept, which alone, were it well obſerv'd, would hinder Men from falling into the baſe and unworthy Actions that they daily commit, and that degrade them from their Dignity, both for this Life and for the Life to come.

Now Prudence is the beſt Rule, and the beſt Meaſure of Juſtice; (*o*) therefore after the Precept, *Obſerve Juſtice*, he adds, *and get not a Habit of behaving thy ſelf in any thing without Reaſon*, ſeeing Juſtice cannot ſubſiſt without Prudence. And indeed, there is nothing truly juſt, but what perfect Prudence has order'd: 'Tis Prudence that behaves it ſelf in every thing not without Reaſon, but that examines and weighs with Care what this mortal Body is, what it has need of, and what is neceſſary for its Accommodation: 'Tis Prudence that takes every thing to be vile and contemptible in compariſon of Juſtice, and that makes all its Good to conſiſt in the beſt Diſpoſition of the Soul, which gives to all other things all the Ornament and Value they are capable to receive. Thus you ſee the Deſign of theſe Verſes, is to produce in the Soul of thoſe that read them, theſe four Practical Virtues, with an exact and watchful Obſervance of them both in Word and Deed: For one of theſe Virtues inſpires Prudence, another Courage, a third Temperance, and that which precedes the three, exhorts to the keeping of Juſtice, which diffuſes it ſelf through all the other Virtues; and this Verſe, *That the Goods of Fortune are uncertain, and that as they may be acquir'd, they may be loſt likewiſe*, (*p*) is here added to make us underſtand that the Habit of Temperance is generally accompany'd with Liberality; a Virtue that regulates the Receipt and Expence of the Goods of Fortune; for

Prudence the Rule and Meaſure of Juſtice.

Juſtice cannot ſubſiſt without Prudence.

Temperance produces Liberality.

(*o*) There was a Fault in the Text, which the Manuſcript of *Florence* has corrected; ὅθεν τὸ δικαιοσύνῃ ἄσκει ἐπήσας, &c. The Manuſcript reads very well, ὅθεν τῶ. This Fault, tho' very ſmall and eaſie to correct, has nevertheleſs lead the *Latin* Interpreter into an Error.

(*p*) Liberality is the Child of Temperance; for it always obſerves a due Meaſure, and baniſhes alike the too much, and the too little.

to receive and expend them when Reaſon requires it, alone deſtroys Niggardlineſs and Prodigality, and all theſe Virtues proceed originally from this Principle of reſpecting ones ſelf, and this Precept, *Reſpect thy ſelf*, is included in this, *Know thy ſelf*, which ought to precede all our good Actions, and all other Knowledge. In effect, how can we otherwiſe come to know that we ought to moderate our Paſſions, and to underſtand the Nature of things? (q) for 'tis very much queſtion'd, firſt, whether it be poſſible for Man to do ſo, and in the next place, whether it be uſeful; on the contrary, good Men ſeem to be much more unhappy in this Life than the wicked, becauſe they take not unjuſtly from any Man what they ought not to take, and becauſe they pay every Man what is his due; moreover as to what regards the Body, the good Man is more expos'd to ill Uſage, becauſe he ſeeks not after Rule and Dominion, and makes not ſervilely his Court to thoſe that govern, inſomuch that if there is not in us an Eſſence, whoſe ſole Delight and Advantage is deriv'd from Virtue, 'tis in vain for us to deſpiſe Riches and Honours. Thus you ſee why they, who being of Opinion that the Soul is mortal, teach that we ought not to abandon

The Good are often more unfortunate in their Life than the Wicked.

(q) Theſe are the unhappy Doubts that Men have ſtarted in all Ages; and being naturally inclin'd to Injuſtice, they endeavour'd to ſtrengthen that Inclination by Reaſon; and forgetting what they are, they labour'd to convince themſelves and others, that the Practice of Virtues was impoſſible to Man, or at leaſt uſeleſs. 'Tis in our ſelves therefore that we ought to ſeek for Anſwers to thoſe falſe Arguments, by knowing our ſelves, that is to ſay, by knowing our Liberty, by diſtinguiſhing between our Mortal and Immortal Part. Our Soul is Immortal and Free; 'tis free, therefore the practice of Virtues is not impoſſible; it's Immortal, therefore the Practiſe of Virtues is uſeful to it.

don Virtue, (r) are rather idle Talkers than true Philoſophers; for if there ſubſiſted not ſomething of us after our Death, and if that ſomething too were not of a Nature capable to be adorn'd with Virtue and with Truth, ſuch as we believe the reaſonable Soul to be, our Deſires would never be fixt on good and honeſt Actions, becauſe the bare Suſpicion of the Souls being Mortal ſtifles and deadens in us all our Zeal for Virtue, (s) and excites us to the Enjoyment of Corporeal Pleaſures, whatever they be, and whenceſoever they come. (t) And indeed, how can theſe Men pretend that a prudent Man, who makes uſe of his Reaſon, ought not in every thing to indulge his Body, for which alone, according to them, the Soul it ſelf ſubſiſts, ſince it exiſts not by it ſelf, but is an Accident of this or that Conformation of Body? How can it be that we ſhould abandon the Body for the ſake of Virtue, when we verily believe that we ſhall loſe the Soul with the Body, inſomuch that this Virtue, for which we ſhall have ſuffer'd Death, is no where to

The ſole Suſpicion of the Mortality of the Soul ſtifles in us all our Inclinations to Virtue.

(r) What *Hierocles* here ſays is true, and a proof of its Truth is that it perfectly agrees with the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* Chap. 15. Ver. 29, 30 and 32. *Alioquin quid facient qui baptiſantur pro mortuis, ſi omnino mortui non reſurgunt?* &c.

(s) For they who have this Suſpicion ſay to themſelves, *Manducemus & bibamus, cras enim moriemur. Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we die.* St. *Paul* arms us againſt theſe ſeducing Arguments, by giving us this Caution, *Nolite ſeduci, corrumpunt bonos mores Colloquia mala. Be not deceiv'd, evil Communications corrupt good Manners.*

(t) He is now going to prove the Truth of what he has advanc'd, that they who aſſert that the Soul is Mortal, and teach nevertheleſs that we ought to practiſe Virtue, are meer Babblers: For to what purpoſe is it to practiſe a thing that is prejudicial to the Soul during this Life, ſeeing it deprives it of its Pleaſures, and that can be of no ſervice to it after its Death, ſeeing the Soul it ſelf is then no more. Thus you ſee the neceſſary Conſequence of this falſe Principle.

be found, and has no Exiſtence? (*u*) But this matter has been treated at large by ſome Divine Perſons, who have invincibly prov'd that the Soul is Immortal, and that Virtue alone is all its Ornament. Having therefore confirm'd the Truth of this Opinion by ſuch authentick Teſtimonies, let us proceed to what follows, and add to what we have already aſſerted, that as the Ignorance of what we are, neceſſarily throws us into all manner of Vices, ſo the Knowledge of our ſelves, and the Contempt of all that is unworthy of a reaſonable Nature, produce in us and throughout us, the ſure and reaſonable Obſervance of our Duties; and therein conſiſts the exact Meaſure of all Virtues in particular: For ſo long as we regard and conſider our Nature as our only Rule, we ſhall find what is our Duty in every thing, and accompliſh it according to right Reaſon, and conformably to our Eſſence. Whatever tends to the Perfection of the Soul, (*w*) and that leads it to the Felicity ſuitable to its Nature, is truly Virtue, and the Law of Philoſophy; and all things that tend only to a certain Human Decency, are only Shadows of Virtue that haunt after popular Applauſe, and Artifices of a diſſembling Slave, who ſets all his Wits to work that he may appear virtuous, rather than be ſo indeed. But we have ſaid enough on this Article. From

The Conſideration of our Beings produces the Accompliſhment of all our Duties.

What Virtue truly is.

(*u*) He ſpeaks of *Socrates* and *Plato*. This Opinion that the Soul is only a Harmony and an Accident of this or that Conformation of Body, and by conſequence that it dies with the Body, is admirably well confuted in *Plato*'s Treatiſe of the Immortality of the Soul, where 'tis ſolidly prov'd that the Soul is Immortal, and that Virtue is the ſole Cauſe of its Happineſs.

(*w*) I have added this whole Line, it being abſolutely neceſſary, and becauſe I found it in the Margin of the Copy that had been compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and afterwards in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ἢ πῶς ἡ φύσις περίψασαν ἐυζῶσαν αὐτὴν ἀναγὴ τοῦτο ὅσιως, &c.

From the uſe we make of our right Reaſon, it neceſſarily follows, that we behave not our ſelves raſhly and fooliſhly in any of the Accidents of this Life, that ſeem to us to happen without Order; (*x*) but that we juſtifie them generouſly, in diſcovering exactly the Cauſes of them, and ſupport them with Conſtancy, never complaining of the Beings who have the Care of us, and who diſtributing to each Man according to his Merit what is due to him, (*y*) have not beſtow'd the ſame Rank and the ſame Dignity

Reaſon that the Pythagoreans *gave of the Inequality of the Conditions of Men.*

(*x*) I take this Thought to be perfectly fine: When we look into the Cauſes of all the Accidents that happen to us in this Life, we own them to be juſt, finding they arrive not to us by Chance, nor are the Effects of the Capriciouſneſs or Injuſtice of the ſuperior Beings, but the Fruits of our Sins and Offences.

(*y*) The printed Text has it thus, *To thoſe who had not made the ſame Progreſs in Virtue,* τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίως προϐεϐηκότας. This Senſe indeed ſeems at firſt ſight to be fine, nevertheleſs 'tis certain that the Paſſage is corrupted, and *Mark Caſaubon* perceiv'd it to be ſo; the Senſe, and what follows, τὰ ἐκ προϐιοτῆς κακὰ, *the Ills of the firſt Life,* led him to the true Reading, τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίως προϐεϐεωκότας, *thoſe that had not liv'd well in their firſt Life.* And thus I found it in the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence.* The *Pythagoreans* to give a Reaſon for the various States and Conditions of Men in this Life, and of all the Ills they ſuffer in it, had recourſe to the firſt Life, which they believ'd the Souls had led in their Spheres, before they deſcended upon the Earth to animate Bodies, and to the Choice they had made; and this was a very natural Conſequence of their Doctrine: Nay, we muſt own that by this Opinion they ſhorten'd many Diſputes and Difficulties. 'Twould have been ridiculous to have alledg'd for a Reaſon the Progreſs that the Souls make in Virtue during this Life; for the Inequality of the Conditions of Men, and often the very Ills themſelves precede that Proficiency. Thus *Jamblicus,* to excuſe the Gods from the Reproach of Injuſtice in Diſtribution of Good and Evil, ſays, that the Gods being infinitely above us, knew the whole Life of the Soul, and all it had done in its firſt Life; and that if they inflict any Puniſhment on it, they do not therein ſwerve from Juſtice,

Dignity on thoſe who gave not Proofs of the ſame Virtue during their firſt Life: For ſeeing there is a Providence, and that the Soul of Man is incorruptible by Nature, and inclining either to Virtue or to Vice voluntarily and of its own free Choice, how can they who are the very Guardians and Keepers of the Law, that requires every Man to be treated according to his Deſerts, treat alike thoſe that are in no wiſe alike? (z) And how can they do otherwiſe than diſtribute to each Man the Fortune, which 'tis ſaid each Man at his coming into the World chuſes for himſelf according to the Lot that has fallen to his Share? If therefore it be not a Fable, that there is a Providence that diſtributes to each Man what is his due, and that our Soul Immortal, 'tis evident that inſtead of accuſing (a) him that governs us of our Misfortunes, we ought only to blame our ſelves; and that is the way to acquire a Power and Strength ſufficient to heal and amend all our

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Juſtice, but have regard to the Sins that the Souls of thoſe they puniſh, had committed in their firſt Life, Book IV. Chap. IV. At this Day we have no need to have Recourſe to Reaſons that are more ſubtile than ſolid: We, I ſay, who know that the Inequality of the Conditions and Ranks of Men is a Good, not an Evil; that the Happineſs or Unhappineſs of Men is not meaſur'd by tranſitory and periſhable things, and that all Men being originally Sinners, all the Evils it pleaſes God to ſend them, cannot be otherwiſe than juſt.

(z) For the right underſtanding of this Paſſage, we need only relate the Opinion of the *Pythagoreans*, as it is explain'd in the tenth Book of *Plato*'s Republick, where 'tis ſaid, that a Prophet after having taken out of the Boſom of the firſt Deſtiny all the Lots, mounted on a Throne, and addreſſing himſelf to all the Souls, ſaid to them theſe Words: *Chuſe your ſelves your own Demon,* (your own Angel) *Let the Soul that has the firſt Lot chuſe it ſelf the kind of Life it will lead by the Laws of Neceſſity, and in like manner the others,* &c. The Fault is in the Soul that chuſes, and God is in no wiſe to be blam'd.

(a) In the Manuſcript of *Florence*, inſtead of ſυκᾶν/Θ, 'tis read ſυοιυκᾶν/Θ; and that is the true reading.

our Misfortunes, as the following Verſes will teach us. For when we once come to find the Cauſes of this ſo great Inequality to be in our ſelves, we ſhall in the firſt Place, by the Soundneſs of our Judgments, alleviate the Bitterneſs of all the Accidents that happen to us in this Life; and in the next place, (*b*) by holy Methods and by good Reflections ſtemming the Tide of Afflictions, we ſhall raiſe up our Souls to what is moſt excellent, and intirely deliver our ſelves from the moſt grievous Ills we ſuffer. For to ſuffer without knowing the Cauſe of our Sufferings, and without conjecturing at leaſt what may probably have brought us into that Condition, is the Part of a Man who is accuſtom'd to behave himſelf in all things without Reaſon and without Reflection, which this Precept expreſly forbids; for 'tis impoſſible that he who inquires not into the true Cauſe of his Ills, ſhould not accuſe the Gods of being the Authors of them, by aſſerting, either that there are none, or that they take not the Care of us that they ought: And theſe impious Opinions not only increaſe the Ills that come to us * from the firſt Life, but likewiſe excite the Soul to commit all manner of Crimes, (*c*) and deprive it of its freedom of Will, (*d*) by keeping it in a Forgetfulneſs

Prudence requires us to know the Cauſe of our Ills.

They who inquire not into the Cauſe of their Ills, fall into Impiety.

* The Life that the Souls led, before they came to animate Bodies.

(*b*) I have here follow'd the Copy that had been collated with the Manuſcripts, in the Margin of which Copy I found τᾶις ἱερᾶις μεθόδοις ἢ τῇ ὀρθᾶις πλοηγήσεσιν; and after I knew that the *Florence* Manuſcript confirm'd this reading.

(*c*) For every Man who perſuades himſelf that his Ills proceed from a Foreign Cauſe, upon which he has no Power, forgets his Freedom of Will, and no longer makes any uſe of it.

(*d*) This is the Senſe of this Paſſage. The printed Text ſays, τῷ προσιδέναι λαυθάνουσαν τὰς αἰτίας, &c. of which 'tis difficult to make good Senſe. The Manuſcript of *Florence* has corrected it very well, τῷ προσιδέναι λαυθάνουσας αἰτίας, &c. *by making him refer his Sufferings to Cauſes that are hid from him.*

fulneſs of the Cauſes of what it ſuffers here below; but to know how we ought to Philoſophize and Reaſon on theſe things, let us hear the following Verſes.

VERSES XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX.

Concerning all the Calamities that Men ſuffer by Divine Fortune,
Support with Patience thy Lot, be it what it will, and never repine at it,
But endeavour what thou canſt to remedy it.
And conſider that Fate does not ſend the greateſt Portion of theſe Misfortunes to good Men.

BEfore we enter any farther on the Explication of theſe Verſes, 'tis requiſite to take Notice, that what the Poet here calls Calamities, are all the Pains and Afflictions that render this Life moſt difficult, laborious and uneaſie, as Diſeaſes, Poverty, the Loſs of the Friends and Acquaintances that are moſt dear to us, to be contemn'd in our Country and the like: For all ſuch things are troubleſome and hard to bear; they are not however real Ills, and they hurt not the Soul, (*a*) unleſs it ſuffer it ſelf to be precipitated by them into Vice, which

(*a*) I have here follow'd the Reading that the Margin of the Copy that had been compar'd with the Manuſcripts preſented me, where I found ἐθέλη for ἔλθῃ, which laſt was Nonſenſe, and the Word ἀγαθῶν adds after δοκούντων, which was viſibly wanting; and thus too the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it.

which would no leſs happen from the Enjoyment of good things, if we refuſe to make a good uſe of them, as of Health, of Riches, of Dignities; for we may be deprav'd by theſe, as we may be ſanctify'd by their Contraries. Now the real Ills are the Sins we commit voluntarily and of our own free Choice, and which are incompatible with Virtue, as Injuſtice, Intemperance, and all the other things that can in no wiſe be united, match'd or reconcil'd with what is good, well, fine, or decent; (*b*) for 'tis not poſſible on account of any of theſe Vices to cry out, *This is well*, or the like; for Example, no Man will ever ſay, *'Tis well or good to be ſo unjuſt*; *'tis well done to be ſo Intemperate*: as we daily ſay of exterior Evils; *'Tis well done to bear Sickneſs in ſuch a manner*: *'Tis well done to undergo Poverty like ſuch a one*; when any Man ſupports theſe Accidents with Conſtancy, and according to the Dictates of right Reaſon. But theſe Exclamations can never be congruouſly apply'd to the Vices of the Soul, (*c*) becauſe they are Deviations from right Reaſon, and Contradictions to it; which, tho' it be naturally imprinted in the Souls of all Men, is nevertheleſs imperceptible to a Man blinded by his Paſſion.

The goods of this Life may corrupt us as the Ills may ſanctifie us. Sins are the real Ills.

All things of which we cannot ſay, this is well, is a Sin or a Vice, at leaſt 'tis not a Virtue.

Now a certain Proof that right Reaſon is naturally in Man, is, that even an unjuſt Man, when his Intereſt is not concern'd, judges with Juſtice, and an Intemperate Man with Temperance; and in a Word, that the Wicked have good Motions and Inclinations in all the Affairs that concern them not,

Excellent Proof that right Reaſon is naturally even in the moſt deprav'd of Men.

(*b*) This is an excellent Rule to diſtinguiſh Virtue from Vice, and the real Ills from thoſe that are only call'd ſo. 'Tis impoſſible to be deceiv'd in it.

(*c*) This Idea is true and fine. *Hierocles* here ſuppoſes right Reaſon as a But for Men to ſhoot at: But the Blind, who ſees it not, is always wide of the Mark.

not, and wherein their Paſſions do not over-rule them.

Which they could not do had they not right Reaſon.

And this is the Reaſon that all vicious Men may amend their Lives, and become virtuous, if they condemn and forſake their former Vices; and yet 'tis not of neceſſity that there ſhould be a pretended extravagant Reaſon to be the Principle of Vice, as right Reaſon is the Principle of Virtue; for right Reaſon is ſufficient for all, as the Laws of a Country ſuffice to determine what is done according to them or againſt them, and to approve the one and condemn the other; and there is no manner of need to ſet up a Principle of Ill, whether we make it to proceed from within or from without us: We need only the Principle of Good, which by its Eſſence is ſeparated from rational Subſtances, and this Principle is God; but it is likewiſe within thoſe Subſtances, and governs them by its Power, and this is right Reaſon. Let us now obſerve the Difference the Poet makes between Evils. (*d*) Speaking of voluntary Evils, he does not ſay that they are diſtributed by *the Divine Fortune*; but he ſays it of the Ills that are Exterior and Conditional, which in this Life depend not on us, and that are the Effects of the Sins that we * formerly committed: Theſe Ills are indeed painful and calamitous, as we have ſaid already; (*e*) but they may receive a Luſtre and Ornament from the Hands of Virtue. For a regular and temperate Life gives Luſtre to Poverty; Prudence Nobilitates a mean Extraction; the Loſs of Children is alleviated by a due Submiſſion, that makes the Father ſay, *My Son is dead; and thus I have return'd back what was lent me:* Or, *I knew he*

* *That is to ſay, in the firſt Life.*

Virtue gives Ornament and Luſtre to the Ills of this Life.

(*d*) For voluntary Ills are Sins, and come from us, and in no wiſe from God.

(*e*) For of all the Ills of this Life, there is not one but what Virtue may convert into Good.

he was conceiv'd in Mortality. In like manner all the other Ills, when illuſtrated by the Preſence of Virtue, become reſplendent, and even worthy of Envy. Let us now inquire what is meant in theſe Verſes by *The Divine Fortune*, by which Men fall into outward Evils: For if God gives before-hand and of himſelf, to one Riches, to another Poverty; this ſhould be call'd *Divine Will*, not *Fortune*; (*f*) And if nothing governs or preſides over theſe Diſpenſations, but if it be true, that theſe Ills are fortuitous, and arrive by Chance, and thus one Man comes to be happy, as we call it, and another unhappy, this ought to be call'd *Fortune* only, and not *Divine Fortune.*

Ills illuſtrated by Virtue are worthy of Envy.

What is meant by Divine Fortune *in theſe Verſes.*

But if God who takes care of us diſtributes to each Man according to his Merits, and if he be not the Cauſe of our being wicked, but only the Maſter to render to each according to his Works, by following the ſacred Laws of Juſtice, 'tis with Reaſon that the Poet gives the Name of *Divine Fortune* to the Manifeſtation of his Judgments. (*g*) Inaſmuch

Divine Fortune *is only the Manifeſtation of the Judgments of God.*

(*f*) The Text in this Place was very much corrupted by the changing of one ſingle Letter: For what can be here meant by ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἐπισατῇ τῶν τοιούτων λήξεων, *ſin autem nihil hujuſmodi nominibus imperat*, as the *Latin* Interpreter has render'd it, that is to ſay, *if nothing governs theſe Names. Names* are not the matter in Queſtion: Inſtead of λήξεων, *Names*, I corrected it λήξεων, *Lots, Shares. Heſychius*, λήξεως κληρονομίας, μερισμῶ: *Hierocles* often makes uſe of it: But long after I had made this Remark, I found my Opinion confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, but with this difference, that he has put it in the Dative, ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἐπισατεῖ ταῖς τῶν τοιούτων λήξεσιν, *but if nothing governs thoſe Lots*, or *the Diſpenſation of all thoſe Things.*

(*g*) This Text was ſo corrupted that 'twas impoſſible for one to draw from it a good or intelligible Senſe: The Manuſcript of *Florence* put me out of my pain, by preſenting me with this Paſſage as *Hierocles* had written it, Ἡ μὲν Θεῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐστι τὸ κεῖσθαι, &c. Ἡ δὲ οἰκεία πρόσεσις κακοῦ τὸ κακ-

aſmuch as he that judges is a Divine Being, and full of Underſtanding, the Poet, inſpir'd of the God that diſpences theſe Judgments, has put the Epithet *Divine* firſt, and inaſmuch as thoſe whom God judges, have depriv'd themſelves voluntarily, and through their own free Choice, and thereby have juſtly deſerv'd his Puniſhments, he adds to the Epithet the Subſtantive *Fortune*, (*h*) becauſe it never happens to God to Puniſh or Reward Men before-hand, but to treat them according to what they are, after they are become ſuch or ſuch, and are themſelves the Cauſes thereof. This Mixture therefore, and this Alloy of our Will and of his Judgment, is what produces that which he calls *Fortune*, (*i*) ſo that the whole together, *Divine Fortune*, is only the Manifeſtation of the Judgments of God againſt Sinners. And thus the ingenious and artificial Connexion of theſe two Words (*k*) joins and

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κεκριμένον, &c. *On the one hand, inaſmuch as 'tis God that judges*, &c. *And on the other, inaſmuch as he that is judged*, &c. This is very plain: And I take all that *Hierocles* here ſays to explain this *Divine Fortune*, to be very great and noble.

(*h*) For theſe Words, *Puniſhment* and *Reward*, ſuppoſe neceſſarily either Virtues or Vices. What *Hierocles* here ſays is not in the leaſt repugnant to this Truth, that God anticipates and prevents us by his Graces, ſeeing he acknowledges, that all the good we do, is done only by making uſe of the Gift of God: Beſides, he ſays in the following Page, that God gives us good Things before-hand, and without any previous Merit on our parts.

(*i*) There is ſomething of Divine in it, becauſe theſe Judgments proceed from God: And ſomething of Fortune, becauſe we draw them down on our Heads by our Sins, and becauſe it was in our Power to avoid them. 'Tis Fortune that makes the Judgment fall upon us, that was not given againſt us.

(*k*) This is in the Text, *The Liberty and Immortality of the Soul that elects*. But who does not perceive, that there is nothing to do here with the Immortality of the Soul, but only with its Liberty? There muſt therefore be a miſtake in the Word

a.. inks together the Care of God who preſides, and the Liberty and free Motion of the Soul that elects, (*l*) and lets us ſee that theſe Ills arrive, neither abſolutely by the Decrees of Deſtiny, and by the Orders of Providence, nor fortuitouſly and by Chance; (*m*) and that 'tis not our Will alone that diſpoſes of and determines all the Actions of our Life; but that all the Sins we commit in what depends on us, are imputed to our Will; and all the Puniſhments that follow theſe Sins according to the Laws of Juſtice, are aſcrib'd to Deſtiny: (*n*) And that the good Things that God beſtows beforehand, and without our previous Merit, are attributed to Providence: For nothing of all that exiſts is referr'd to Chance. This Word *Chance* can never agree nor ſuit with the firſt Cauſes in any of the Things that happen, unleſs they happen fortuitouſly and by the Meeting and Union of Providence or Fate, and of the Will that preceded the Action: For Example, a Judge would puniſh a Murderer, but would not puniſh ſuch a Man by

God gives to Men good Things before they have deſerv'd 'em.

R Name;

Word ἀθάνατον, and I make no queſtion but *Hierocles* writ αὐτόματον, *the inner Motion.* Nevertheleſs the ſame Fault is in the Manuſcript of *Florence.*

(*l*) They do not happen altogether by the Orders of Providence, for our Will has a ſhare therein; neither do they happen fortuitouſly, becauſe they arrive in Conſequence of the Orders of God.

(*m*) For if our Will were the Maſter of them, we ſhould commit the Evil and not be puniſh'd for it. We diſpoſe indeed of the Ill, but not of the Puniſhments it draws upon us: The Ill comes from us, and the Puniſhment from God. This is the Mixture and Compoſition that conſtitutes *Divine Fortune*, and that reconciles the Accidents of Fortune with the Orders and Decrees of God.

(*n*) *Hierocles* here acknowledges that God prevents Men by his Grace, and he aſcribes theſe antecedent Graces to the Will of God, to Providence. This is obſervable in a Heathen; but 'twas not from the Pagan Philoſophy that he took this Principle.

Name; nevertheleſs he puniſhes the Man whom he would not puniſh, becauſe he has voluntarily put himſelf in the Rank of Murderers: Now the Sentence pronounc'd by the Judge againſt the Murderer is antecedent and previous in the Will of the Judge, and the Sentence pronounc'd againſt this Man is accidental, becauſe he voluntarily enter'd himſelf in the Liſt of Murderers. And on the contrary, this wicked Man had the Will to commit this Murder, but not to be puniſh'd for it. This murderous Inclination is antecedent in him as depending on his Will, and 'tis by Accident that he undergoes the Tortures and Puniſhments that this Murder deſerves: And the Reaſon of all theſe Things is the Law that gave the Judge the Will to puniſh the Wicked, and that makes this Sentence of Death be inflicted on him who did the Murder. (*o*) Think the ſame Thing of the Divine Eſſence. The Will of a Man is to commit a Sin, and the * *Of God.* Will * of the Judges, the Maintainers of the Law, is by all means to puniſh and reſtrain him: The Meeting or Concourſe of theſe two Wills produces *the Divine Fortune*, by which whoever is guilty of ſuch or ſuch Crimes, is worthy of ſuch or ſuch Puniſhments. The choice of the Crime ought to be imputed only to the Will of him who is judg'd, and the Puniſhment that follows the Quality of the Crime, (*p*) is only the Effect of the Knowledge of the Judges, who are watchful for the Maintenance of the Law and of Juſtice: And that which conciliates

(*o*). In the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, inſtead of the Word οὐσίας, *Eſſence*, I found in the Margin, ἐπισασίας, *Think the ſame thing of the Divine Government*, that is to ſay, of Providence: But the Manuſcript of *Florence* retains οὐσίας.

(*p*) There was here a great Fault in the Text, Εἰς τὴν τῶν κεκρινμένων νομοφυλακικὴν ἐπιστήμην: inſtead of τῶν κεκρινμένων, *of thoſe who are judg'd*, it ſhould be read as in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, τῶν κρινόντων, *of thoſe that judge, of the Judges.*

conciliates and manages the Concourſe of both theſe, is the Law that wills all Things to be as good as poſſible, and that there ſhould be no ſuch Thing as Evil. Now this Law, pre-exiſting in the infinite Goodneſs of God, ſuffers not the Wicked to go unpuniſh'd, leſt Ill ſhould be ſo inveterate, as to throw Men into an intire Inſenſibility for Good, and a total Forgetfulneſs of it: The Memory whereof is refreſh'd and kept alive in us by the Juſtice only of thoſe who are watchful for the Support of the Laws. The Law therefore unites and joins together, as well thoſe that are to judge, as thoſe that are to be judg'd, that it may draw from each of them the Good that is proper to him: (q) For if it be more advantageous and profitable to be puniſh'd, than not, (r) and if the whole Scope of Juſtice be only to reſtrain the Inundation of Vices, 'tis evident, that to aſſiſt and be aſſiſted is the Deſign of the Law in joining theſe two Sorts of Men together, by giving the Pre-eminence to him that judges, as to the Supporter of the Law, and by delivering over to him as a Tranſgreſſor of the Law, him that commits Offences, and who ought to be judg'd that he may be treated according to his Demerits, to the End, that by Penalties and Puniſhments he may be brought to reſpect the Law, and to recal to his Remembrance what it injoins. (s) For

The Divine Law pre-exiſts in the infinite Goodneſs of God.

The Juſtice of God retrenches in us the Remembrance of Virtue.

R 2 him

(q) *Socrates* in *Plato* gives an admirable Demonſtration of this Truth.

(r) The Text runs thus, ἡ δίκη βλάπτῃ: which may be underſtood in this manner, *and if Juſtice puniſhes only to reclaim*, &c. But I have choſen to follow the Manuſcript that reads ἡ δίκη βλέπῃ, *if Juſtice only regards, only aims at.*

(s) This is a great Truth, that plainly ſhews us the Injuſtice and Corruption of Men. They wiſh there were no God when they do Ill, that they may not be puniſh'd, and that there were, when they ſuffer Ill, that they may be freed from it and reveng'd.

A great Truth! The ſame God whom we deny when we do Ill, we confeſs when Ill happens to us.

him whom Men curſe and deny in the Ill they do, they confeſs and invoke in the Ill they ſuffer. For Example, whoſo commits an Injuſtice will have it that there is no God, that he may not ſee his Puniſhment, (*t*) like the Rock of *Tantalus*, always impending over him: And he who ſuffers this Injuſtice will have it that there is a God, that he may have the neceſſary Relief in the Ills that are done him. And this is the Reaſon why the Unjuſt, who make others ſuffer, ought likewiſe to be made to ſuffer in their Turn: To the end that what they did not ſee when they committed the Injuſtice, (*u*) by reaſon of their being infatuated with the love of Riches, they may, if they make a right uſe of their Puniſhment, both ſee and learn by their own Sufferings, when they come to be inſtructed by the Afflictions that always attend Lofers. But if through the Obſtinacy of their Will they perſiſt in their evil Courſes, and are more and more harden'd in their Wickedneſs, it may well be that the Puniſhment will be uſeleſs to them, but they will become an Example of great Inſtruction to the Wiſe, and to ſuch as are capable of perceiving and knowing the Cauſes of all theſe Evils. The chief Cauſes of this Judgment are the Goodneſs of God, and the Law he has imprinted in our Hearts, that is to ſay, ſound Reaſon, which is as a God inhabiting in us, and

Right Reaſon is a Law naturally ingrav'd within us.

(*t*) The Rock of *Siſyphus* is much oftner talk'd of than the Rock of *Tantalus*. Fables celebrate the Hunger and the Thirſt of *Tantalus*, in the midſt of Waters and of Fruits; and this *Homer* mentions in the eleventh Book of the *Odyſſes*. *Hierocles* however is not miſtaken, and the Fable muſt have been variouſly reported; for *Plato* in the *Cratylus* ſpeaks of the Rock of *Tantalus*, and derives the Etymology of his Name from the Rock that hangs over his Head.

(*u*) He takes notice but of one, and that too the moſt common and ordinary Cauſe of the Injuſtice of Men, which is Avarice; and under that he comprehends all the other Cauſes.

and who is daily injur'd and offended by our Crimes: And the End of theſe Judgments are, as this Poet ſays, all the Calamities that render our Life moſt painful and uneaſie, whether by corporeal Pains or exterior Afflictions. Theſe are the Puniſhments which theſe Verſes command us to ſupport in Patience, by reflecting on the Cauſes of them, by endeavouring to prevent them, and to turn to our own Advantage what is moſt hurtful in them. Above all they exhort us to render our ſelves worthy of Divine Goods by an exact Obſervance of the ſublimeſt Virtues: But if any ſhould be found incapable even of forming this Deſire; let them at leaſt by a practice of the lower Virtues, aſpire to * politick Goods: For this is the reaſon why we are here commanded to ſupport Calamities in Patience, and to endeavour to remedy them.

We may turn to our own profit the Ills of this Life.

* *That is to ſay, to the Goods of the civil Life.*

Now what other Remedy is there than the Preſcriptions we have already given, and that ſhew the reaſonable Grief that our Pains and Afflictions ought to give us, and the Method we muſt take to heal them? The chief of theſe Preſcriptions is, that God, as Legiſlator and as Judge, commands the Good, and forbids the Evil; and therefore he is in no wiſe the Cauſe of Ills; but they, who out of a Motion wholly free and wholly voluntary, have embrac'd Vice, and caſt in Forgetfulneſs the ſound Reaſon that was in them, he puniſhes them as wicked, according to the Law, that condemns and forbids the Evil, (*w*) and he puniſhes them as Men,

The reaſonable Grief which Afflictions ought to cauſe, oppos'd to fooliſh Grief and to Deſpair.

(*w*) For 'tis by Chance alone that the Law, which was made againſt the wicked in general, falls on ſuch a particular Man, who has render'd himſelf wicked by his own Will and Choice. The Law indeed deſigns to puniſh the Sinner, but not ſuch a particular Sinner: Thus that the Law meets with the deprav'd Will of him who has committed the Crime, is purely fortuitous and accidental.

by reaſon of the fortuitous meeting and claſhing of the Law with their deprav'd Will; and this Meeting we call *Fortune*, as we have already explain'd: For the Law puniſhes not Man as Man, but as wicked; and that he is become ſuch, his own Will is the principal Cauſe. When therefore he is become a Sinner, which proceeds ſolely from himſelf, and not from God, he receives the Chaſtiſement due to his Crimes, which comes from the divine Law, and not from himſelf: For the ſole Deſign of the Law, which is worthy of God, and profitable for us, is to deſtroy Vice, to purge it by all the Puniſhments of Juſtice, and by that Means to oblige the Soul, that has plung'd it ſelf in Evil, to return to the Dictates of ſound Reaſon. This is then the Nature of the Law, which ſpeaks always in the ſame manner: But ſeeing the Works of each Man are different, they receive not always the ſame Retribution; for that would be neither equitable in it ſelf, nor profitable for us. The Difference of Judgments proceeds from the different Condition of the Criminal; (*x*) for how ſhall we treat after the ſame manner a Man who is not the ſame? Let us therefore ſupport in Patience *The divine Fortune*, and not repine to be purg'd (*y*) as much as the divine Judgment thinks fit, by Pains and

The Deſign of the Law, which is at the ſame time worthy of God, and uſeful to Man.

For 'tis for our Advantage that he ſhould be rewarded when he does well, and puniſh'd when he does ill.

(*x*) As God rewards the Sinner who converts himſelf, ſo he puniſhes the Convert, who falls again into Sin. 'Tis only the Perſeverance in Virtue or in Vice that is rewarded or puniſh'd. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, add one Word to the Text of this Place, διαμένανλα. which I much approve of: Τὸν γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον διαμένανλα πῶς, &c. *For how ſhall we treat after the ſame Manner a Man who has not continu'd the ſame?*

(*y*) He ſpeaks in this manner to let us ſee, that the divine Judgment leaves ſomething for the Will of Man to perform. God will correct the Sinner by his Chaſtiſements, but the Sinner continues ſometimes harden'd.

and Afflictions, which ſeem to embitter the Sweets and to diſturb the Tranquility of this Life. This Reflection, this Perſuaſion will heal us of the Sins already committed, and procure our Return to the ſound Reaſon that is in us: For will not he who is convinc'd that Evils are the Fruit of Sin, avoid the Cauſe that plunges him therein? And if we ought to repine and be angry in our Afflictions, 'tis with our ſelves, rather than with God, who endeavours only to retrench our Vices with all the Inſtruments of Juſtice, (z) that can make us comprehend and reflect how ineſtimable a Good it is not to deviate from the divine Laws, and not to corrupt and deſtroy our ſelves voluntarily and of our own free Choice. For Afflictions are not diſtributed to Men by Chance, if there be a God over us, and fix'd Laws to govern us, and to diſpenſe to every Man the Lot that is his due. Thus you ſee that 'tis very reaſonable, as is ſaid in this Place, *that Deſtiny ſhould not ſend the greateſt Portion of theſe Misfortunes to good Men:* (a) For firſt of all, good Men ſupport theſe Evils in Patience, through an intire Acquieſcence in the Judgment of God, and in Proſpect of the Virtue which they acquire by ſo doing, and that alleviates all the Calamities of this Life. Beſides, they have ſtrong Hopes,

Afflictions come not by Chance.

(z) In the Text there is only, *and to make us remember the divine Laws:* But I have follow'd the Amendment that I found in the Margin of the Copy, that was compar'd with the Manuſcripts, where there is καὶ ἀναμιμνησκειν ὧν ἦν ἄρα ἀπαθὲς μὴ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν Θειῶν νόμων. Which is confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

(a) What *Pythagoras* ſays in this Verſe, that moſt of theſe Afflictions happen not to good Men, ſeems contradicted by Experience, ſince we daily ſee that the beſt of Men are expos'd to the greateſt Calamities. But *Hieroeles* explains at length the Doctrine of his Maſter, and confirms the Truth of it, by ſhewing, that in regard to the Good theſe Evils change their Nature.

that Ills of this nature will never diſcompoſe the Quiet of their Days, (*b*) ſeeing it is certain, that divine Goods are reſerv'd for the Perfect; who have attain'd to the ſublimeſt Pitch of Virtue, and that human Goods are the Portion of ſuch as have acquir'd a midling Habitude, that is to ſay, a Mediocrity of Virtue.

Moreover, they will eaſe theſe Afflictions, as much as poſſibly they can, by ſupporting them in Patience, and by learning from that Patience the ſure Method to heal them. (*c*) For how can it be, that a Man ſhould ſend up to Heaven devout Supplications, and offer holy Sacrifices in a Manner worthy of God, whilſt he is perſuaded, that neither Providence nor Juſtice watch over the Affairs of Men, (*d*) and ſo long as he dares deny the Soul to be Immortal, and that ſhe receives for her Lot theſe exterior Evils, according as ſhe has deſerv'd them by the Motions of her Will. How will the Man, who refers not to theſe Cauſes the Accidents of this preſent Life, be enabled to ſupport them in Patience, and where will he learn the Art to amend and heal them? 'Tis hard to reſolve this Queſtion; for never will he reſign himſelf

To deny the Providence and Juſtice of God, is to deſtroy all Religion.

He who imputes not his Lot to its true Cauſe is without Conſolation.

The Ills of this Life are often better than the Goods.

(*b*) *Pythagoras* therefore believ'd that there were good things proportion'd as Rewards to each Degree of Virtue; that is to ſay, that the Mediocrity of Virtue procur'd only human or worldly Goods, which attend the Practice of civil Virtues; and that the Sublimity of Virtue, uniting to God, procur'd the divine Goods, that is to ſay, all the Goods of which God is himſelf the Source.

(*c*) 'Tis impoſſible; for from the Moment that a Man acknowledges in God neither Providence nor Juſtice, he aſſiſts at the Ceremonies of Religion merely through Diſſimulation and out of Cuſtom; which is very unworthy of God.

(*d*) I have corrected this Paſſage by repeating the Negative μὴ, which was viſibly wanting, tho' it be neither in the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, nor in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

ſelf to theſe Evils, as to indifferent things, and often even better than their Contraries, ſince being calamitous and painful, they will always appear in themſelves worthy of his utmoſt Averſion: For our Nature embraces not theſe ſorts of Things as eligible and deſirable in themſelves, except that by ſupporting them with Reſignation ſhe expects to be rewarded with Good. What then happens to a Man in that Condition? He repines at his Lot, he revolts againſt it, he augments his Ills by the Ignorance of his own Nature, and yet his Puniſhment is not leſſen'd thereby. And the Exceſs of Vice proceeds from this Opinion, that the World is not govern'd by Providence, or leaſt that 'tis ill govern'd by it; which is as much as to ſay, either that there is no God, or if there be a God, that he takes not Care of this World, or if he does take Care of it, that he is unjuſt and wicked. (e) An Opinion that includes all manner of Impieties, and that precipitates into all ſorts of Crimes them that are poſſeſs'd with it: For as Piety is the Mother of all Virtues, Impiety is the Mother of all Vices. Therefore he alone will find the Remedy to all his Ills, who has learnt to ſupport them with Patience and Mildneſs: And this can come only from Philoſophy, that teaches exactly what is the Nature of Things, and what are the Operations conformable to that Nature. Operations, whoſe Connexion, and the Relation they have to one another, compoſe the Government of this Univerſe; by which Adminiſtration *the divine Fortune* is diſtributed to each Man: And the Lot that falls to each, according to his Merit, is what is here call'd *Fate* or *Deſtiny*, which depends on the Providence of God, on the

Piety the Mother of all Virtues, and Impiety of all Vices.

(e) In the Manuſcript of *Florence*, inſtead of παντοδαπῆς ἀδικίας, *all ſort of Injuſtice*, there is παντοδαπῆς ἀσεβείας, *all ſort of Impiety.*

The Will of Man has an Influence over Providence; and this he is going to prove.

the Diſpoſition and Order of this Univerſe, and on the Will of Man: For if there were no Providence, there would be no Order in the World; and this Order may be call'd Deſtiny: And if there were neither Providence nor Order, there would be neither Judgment nor Juſtice; nor even ſo much as Rewards and Honours for good Men. But there being a fixt and certain Providence and Order, all Men who are born into the World muſt neceſſarily have a like Share of all the ſame Goods, unleſs they contribute on their Part to what cauſes the Inequality. Now 'tis manifeſtly evident that all good things are equally diſtributed, and by Conſequence 'tis viſible, that the Inequality and Unlikeneſs of their Wills, which is ſubmitted to the Judgment of Providence, ſuffers them not to have all the ſame Share, the ſame Lot, ſince this Lot muſt of Neceſſity be proportion'd to their Merit.

Hierocles here confutes thoſe who make uſe of what happens to Animals, or to Plants, to deny Providence.

(*e*) And let us not be troubled to ſee that the ſame Inequality reigns as well in brute Beaſts, in Plants, and in all inanimate Things, as in Man; for we ought not, becauſe we ſee that Chance rules over all theſe things that are ſo inferior to Man, to conclude from thence, that Providence watches not

(*e*) This is an Objection that the Libertines made againſt Providence. They ſaid, ſince we ſee that brute Beaſts, and even the inanimate Beings are as differently treated as Men, it muſt of Neceſſity be, either that Providence preſides no more over Men than over other Animals; or if it does preſide alike over the one and over the other, we ought from thence to draw this Conſequence, that even brute Beaſts are likewiſe the Cauſe of the Inequality that is ſo frequent among them; and conſequently that there are in all Animals Virtues and Vices, as well as in Men; ſince Virtues and Vices only are the Cauſes of theſe different Lots. The *Pythagoreans* anſwer'd this Objection very well, as we ſhall ſee in the following Remark. Providence extends it ſelf over Beaſts, and over Men, but in a different Manner.

not over us: (*f*) Nor ought we neither, becauſe what-

(*f*) This Paſſage, which is impenetrably obſcure in the Text, becomes plain and intelligible by the Change of one ſingle Letter, and by a right Punctuation. Inſtead of οὐδὲ it ought to be read ὥδε, and the whole Paſſage ſhould be pointed thus. Οὔδε ἐπ' ἀνείναν δίκη κὴ κείσις, κὴ ἀρέσῆς, κὴ κακίας ἔκλο-ϛισμοὶ, ἐπεὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὅτως ἠκείβω). As Chance that preſides over Beaſts concludes nothing againſt us, ſo Providence that watches over us, and that orders our Lot according to our Deſert, concludes nothing for the Eſtabliſhment of Virtue or of Vice in Beaſts. *Hierocles* acknowledges that the Providence of God extends it ſelf over all things; but that each thing has Share therein, according to what it is, and to what God has made it. Hear what he ſays of this Affair in his Treatiſe of Providence. *'Tis not juſt that the Irrational Beings ſhould have an equal Share in Providence with Men; 'tis ſufficient for the firſt that their Kinds be preſerv'd: This is the Degree of Providence that is ſuitable to them, that their Kinds be immortal, and ſubſiſt for ever. But as for us, if Providence extends not its Care over each individual Perſon, inſomuch that every thing that happens to us be not order'd by Providence, we have not our due Share of this Providence of God; for God has created a fix'd and certain Number of Men: He has not created one ſingle Soul, of which we have any Part, and to which we are to return to mingle our ſelves with it again; but he created each Soul apart and ſeparate from the others; whereas he drew all the irrational Animals from one and the ſame Maſs; ſo that a general Providence is ſufficient for that Maſs to prevent it from periſhing, and that which regards each individual Part of it, that is to ſay, each Animal, may very well be abandon'd to Chance: But as for us, 'twas fit that Providence ſhould order and regulate what relates to each Soul in particular; for 'tis not of Neceſſity that the Death of Plants and of Beaſts ſhould be regulated like the Death of Men, according to their Merit; for Beaſts receive not the ſame Life with us.* Theſe Words of *Hierocles* may ſerve as a Comment to all he ſays on this Subject; but while he endeavours to refute the Error of the Libertines in this Point, he is fallen himſelf into another Error, which he might have corrected, had he conſulted the true Light, which teaches us, *that not a Sparrow falls on the Ground without the Will of God*; and *that not one ſingle Sparrow is forgotten before God*; and by conſequence that Providence extends it ſelf not only over the whole brute Creation, but likewiſe to each Animal of it. And this is what long before *Pythagoras*, *Homer* him- Mat. 10. 29. Luke 12. 6.

whatever relates to us is absolutely determin'd and brought to pass, to conclude from thence, that the Justice and Judgment which God extends over all these inferior Beings, is likewise in them a Token and Effect of their Virtue or of their Vice. (*g*) For first, the Things that are meerly inanimate serve as common Matter to Plants and to Animals; and moreover the Plants serve for Nourishment to Men and to Beasts, some of which last are destin'd to nourish their Fellow-Beasts and Men: 'Tis therefore evident that these things are not thus order'd and done, (*h*) with Regard to the Merits of any of

himself knew, as may be seen by a Passage in the twenty first Book of his *Ilias*. If Providence extends it self over the least of Animals, how much more ought we to believe that it extends it self over each Man.

(*g*) This Passage was very much confus'd in the Editions; but the Manuscript of *Florence* has clear'd the Difficulty by supplying what is wanting in the Text. Πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἄψυχα ὕτως ἔχει· ὡς κοινὴ ὕλη φυτοῖς καὶ ζώοις· ἔπειτα τὰ φυτὰ ζώοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις κοινὴ τροφὴ παρέχει, καὶ ἔνια δὲ ζώων, ζώοις τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις: Thus you see how *Hierocles* explains the different Degrees of Providence, which God extends over all created Beings, proportionably to their Worth and Dignity, having for some as it were only a superficial Regard, and honouring the others with his particular Protection: Insomuch that the Providence, which extends it self over the inanimate Beings, over Beasts and over Plants, is only a Consequence of the Providence which he extends over Man, and all in favour of Man. What happens contrary to this Care of God for Man, as when any Man is devour'd by Beasts, destroys not in the least this Law of Providence, but happens for particular Reasons that confirm it. All this Passage of *Hierocles* would have been excellent indeed, had he not circumscrib'd and limited too much the Providence of God over the Beings that are inferior to Man.

(*h*) When one Beast is devour'd by another, or serves as Food for Man, we are not to believe that this arrives because the Beast that is devour'd had done any thing to deserve Punishment; or because of any Merit in the Beast that devours his Fellow. The only Causes of their different Fate, as *Hierocles*

of thoſe Animals, but proceed from their Endeavour, and from a Deſire they have to ſatisfie their Hunger, to heal their Diſeaſes, or in a Word, to relieve their ſeveral Wants and Neceſſities in the beſt manner they can; inſomuch that the Infelicity of Beaſts is occaſion'd by our Neceſſities, which they are deſtin'd to relieve: And on the contrary, the Cauſe of what we call their Happineſs, is the Affection with which we ſometimes ſuffer our ſelves to be poſſeſs'd for them.

(*i*) But if in carrying theſe Arguments further, it ſhould be objected to us, that there are above us

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cles himſelf tells us in his Book of Providence, *are our different Choices, the Neceſſities they lye under of eating one another to keep themſelves alive, and a thouſand various and fortuitous Accidents, that conſtrain them to die without Rule and without Meaſure, before the Time that Nature had mark'd out for them: So that they are not puniſh'd for the Faults of a firſt Life they have led, nor are they to expect to be judg'd for what they do, or what they ſuffer.* From all which 'tis manifeſt, that *Hierocles* aſſerts, that Providence takes Care of Beaſts and of Plants only in general, and that it leaves it to Chance to govern them in particular: An Error which I have already confuted.

(*i*) *Hierocles* here gives us another Argument that the Libertines made uſe of to deſtroy the Providence of God. They ſaid that the Gods made uſe of Men, as Men make uſe of Beaſts, that is to ſay, that they nouriſh themſelves with human Fleſh, and conſequently, that Chance likewiſe has the Dominion over Men, and that the Gods cannot be ſaid to take any particular Care of them, ſeeing they ſuffer them to be immolated on their Altars, and nouriſh themſelves with them. *Hierocles* anſwers this Objection very well, following the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, and proving that if the Gods nouriſh'd themſelves with the Fleſh of Men, they would not be Gods, but muſt of Neceſſity be mortal; for, as *Homer* himſelf acknowledges, whatever nouriſhes it ſelf with terreſtrial Food, is undoubtedly mortal: Now there is no mortal Eſſence ſuperior to Man; there is only this Body with which Men are cloath'd here below that muſt of Neceſſity die. Thus there is no God that nouriſhes himſelf with human Fleſh; and by Conſequence theſe human Victims prove nothing againſt Providence. By this Principle *Hierocles* overthrows the barbarous Sacrifices of the Heathens.

That there is not any Being above us, that makes use of us, as we make use of Beasts.

us some Beings, that make use of us to assuage their Hunger, as we make use of Beasts to satisfie ours, it must at the same time be allow'd that such Beings would be mortal, and it must be prov'd too that the Bodies of Men were destin'd to be Food for them: But if there be not any mortal Essence superior to Man, as 'tis certain there is not, (seeing Man himself is the last of all rational Beings, and thereby Immortal, tho' by the Necessity of the Decrees of Fate he comes into a Mortal Body, (*k*) and taking an Instrument of the same Nature with Beasts, he lives upon the Earth,) there can be no Beings more excellent than Man, that make use of our miserable Body to satisfie their Hunger, nor that abuse it contrary to the establish'd Order through a Desire of satiating their Luxury with it. (*l*) The Extent of the Power and Authority that Justice and Order have given to superior Beings over us, is to do for us whatever can diminish our Vices in this Life, and to call us back to themselves: (*m*) For they take Care of us, as of their Relations, when we happen to fall. And

The superior Beings have only the Power to do us good.

(*k*) Man, in regard to his Body, is of the same Nature with Beasts; and to this purpose *Solomon* said, *Unus interitus est hominum & jumentorum, & aqua utriusque Conditio.* Eccles. 3. 19

(*l*) This is a great Principle. The Justice of God and his Providence have given to the superior Beings only a Desire and a Power to do us Good. But it will be ask'd whether the *Pythagoreans* and the *Platonicks* did not hold that the Air was full of bad Angels, who endeavour only to do us hurt? They did: We need but see what is said in the Life of *Plato*, to convince us of it. But these evil Angels degraded themselves by their Fall, and are no longer superior to Man. They surpass us in Penetration and Cunning, but we surpass them in Reason. Besides, these evil Spirits have not Power to do us the Hurt they would.

(*m*) Thus *Plato* says, that in the Combat, which we have to sustain against these Powers, *the Gods and good Angels come to help us.* Book 10. of the Laws.

And hence it is that we ſay with Reaſon, that the Diſgrace, the Puniſhment, and the Shame that deter from Evil, deter and reclaim only Men; for the Intelligent is the only Animal that has a Senſe of Juſtice. Seeing then there is ſo great a Difference between us and the Animals without Reaſon, there ought to be no leſs a Difference between their way of living and ours: For the Law of Providence is proportion'd to the Nature of all things, and each Being has the Honour to participate of it in proportion to what it is, and to what God has made it. Concerning the Souls of Men, 'tis evident that God himſelf created them; (*n*) and as to the Beings void of Reaſon, he left it to Nature only to form them; and this is the Opinion of *Plato* and of *Timæus* the *Pythagorean*, who held that no mortal Being was worthy to be the Workmanſhip of the Hands of God himſelf, (*o*) and that the Souls of Men were all taken out of the ſame

A groſs Error.

(*n*) For they imagin'd that if God had created them himſelf, they would have been immortal; ſeeing whatever comes from God ought to be immortal by Nature. Vain Subtlety of thoſe Philoſophers! Did not God create the Heavens? The Heavens will paſs away. God created the Body of Man of the Matter he had before created, and he impos'd on his Works the Laws he thought fit.

(*o*) This is explain'd in the *Timæus* of *Plato*, where 'tis ſaid, that God, after having given Orders to the Demons and inferior Intelligences to create the Bodies of Men, reſerving to himſelf the Right of creating their Souls, *he return'd to the firſt* Tun *or Veſſel,* ἐν ᾧ πρότερον κρᾶσις, *where he had mingled the Soul of the Univerſe, and that he mix'd the Soul of Man with what remain'd of it; and that he made it in the ſame manner, not indeed ſo perfect, but of the ſecond and third Rank.* Behold into what Darkneſs and Error the vain Curioſity, and the Story of the Creation miſrepreſented and ill underſtood, threw theſe too crafty Philoſophers. In the Life of *Pythagoras* I have endeavour'd to explain the Opinion of that Philoſopher concerning the Nature of the Soul, and to diſcover the Source of it.

ſame *Tun*, or Veſſel, as were the Gods of the World; the Demons, and the Heroes: And therefore Providence extends it ſelf over all Men, and over each Man in particular. Their Abſence from their true Country, their Inclination to the Things here below, their Life that was form'd and order'd in this Land of Exile, and their Return to the Place of their Origine, all this is regulated by Providence, which ought not to have the ſame Regards for what has only an animal Life, (*p*) for whatever is only animal, deſcended not hither becauſe it could not follow God; 'tis even incapable to obſerve a Polity upon Earth, (*q*) as not being a heav'nly Plant, (*r*) and is not of a Nature to be brought back to any Planet, that is conformable to it. But we have ſaid enough for the preſent againſt ſuch as inceſſantly repine and complain of the Accidents that happen in this Life, and that deny Providence with

(*p*) See here the very Words of *Plato* on this Matter, as we find them in his *Phædrus*, where he ſays, *that ſo long as the Soul can follow God ſhe is always happy: But when ſhe can no longer follow him ſhe loſes Sight of him, then being miſerably fill'd with Vice and with Forgetfulneſs, ſhe grows dull and heavy, and being grown dull and heavy, ſhe droops her Wings, and falls into this Earth, where ſhe becomes ſubject to the Law of Neceſſity*, &c. *Hierocles* makes uſe of this Opinion to give the Reaſon of his Aſſertion, that Providence extends it ſelf over all things in proportion to what they are; and that for this Reaſon it takes more Care of the Soul of Man, than of Beaſts; For the Soul is deſcended from Heaven, and may return thither; 'tis capable likewiſe of leading here a well-order'd civil Life, which Beaſts can never do. 'Tis therefore certain that God has more Care of Man than of Beaſts, ſince Man comes from Heaven, and is the Work of God; whereas Beaſts are only the Work of Nature, and their Soul and their Body nothing but a Mixture of Elements.

(*q*) He calls the Soul a heavenly Plant, becauſe it comes originally from Heaven, whereas the Beaſts are a terreſtrial Plant.

(*r*) For they held that the moſt divine Part of the Soul return'd to the Sun, and the ſubtile Body to the Moon; whereas Beaſts return to the Earth, whence they were taken.

with all their Might: But 'tis fit they ſhould farther be told, that to ſupport Ills in Patience, is not only perfectly conſonant to Reaſon, but alleviates the Ills for the preſent, and intirely heals them for the future. And you, O ye wretched, who grow angry, and fly into Rage, what do you gain by your Paſſion, but to add to your Afflictions the greateſt of all Evils, Impiety, and to aggravate them by thinking you have not deſerv'd them? For the Sick, who vexes at his Condition, does but increaſe his Diſeaſe: Let us not therefore be angry at the Diſpenſation of Providence, under Pretext of its being unjuſt, leſt by this blaſphemous Crime we render our Condition worſe than it is. *The Fruits of Patience.*

But let us take this Affair another way, and ſuppoſe that a Man, whoſe Lot is Poverty, bears it in Patience; this Patience will not only exempt him from Grief and Melancholy, but he will find by it ſome Eaſe and ſome Conſolation; (*s*) for on the one hand, his Underſtanding and good Senſe not being diſorder'd and perplex'd by his Affliction, he will find out Means to gain his Bread honeſtly; and on the other, his Neighbours, ſtruck with Admiration at his Patience, ſo full of Reaſon and Prudence, will contribute what they can to comfort him: But he who, like the weakeſt of Women, repines and flies into a Paſſion, adds a voluntary and wilful Grief and Melancholy to his Misfortune; and by keeping his Mind continually bent on his Miſery, and by deploring it without ceaſing, grows incapable of procuring to himſelf the leaſt Relief by his Labour, and puts himſelf out of a Condition of receiving Comfort from his

(*s*) Inſtead of τὸ μὴ συγκεκυφὸς, as there is in the Text, it ought to be τῷ μὴ, &c. as in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

Neighbours, unleſs ſome one out of meer Compaſſion throw him ſomething as an Alms. (*t*) But then too the very Diſpoſition of him who gives the Relief, looks like an Upbraiding of his Poverty, and ſerves only to increaſe the Grief and Melancholy of the Wretch who finds himſelf reduc'd to ſuch extream Neceſſity.

The Reſult of all we have ſaid, is, that we ought to bear in Patience the Accidents of this Life, and endeavour as much as our Strength will give us leave, to remedy what is amiſs, by imputing the Cauſe of our Misfortunes to the Depravation of our Thoughts, and by firmly believing, that ſeeing there certainly is ſuch a Thing as Providence, 'tis not poſſible that a good Man ſhould be neglected, tho' he wear on his Body the Marks of his former Sins, that have drawn upon him the divine Wrath; for from the very Moment that he becomes virtuous, his Grief and Melancholy will vaniſh away, and he will find in Virtue a Remedy for all his Calamities, (*u*) by taking from out of himſelf a Relief againſt Grief and Affliction of Mind, and from Providence, the Cure of all his Ills. And indeed, ſeeing our Sins, and the Divine Juſtice that puniſhes them, draw upon us all theſe Scourges, 'tis likewiſe reaſonable that our Virtue and the Law of Providence, which delivers from all Calamities the Man that applies himſelf to good, ſhould free and exempt us from them.

The Corruption of our Heart the Cauſe of all our Ills.

Thus

(*t*) For there is no Man, if he have not loſt all Senſe of Honour, but muſt be griev'd and afflicted to ſee himſelf oblig'd to the Charity of Men, for a Relief which by his Virtue and Conſtancy he ought to find in himſelf. Alms are diſgraceful to the Receivers, but the Relief we gain by the Admiration and Eſteem of Men is honourable.

(*u*) For 'tis from himſelf that he takes this Thought, that all his Calamities happen to him becauſe he has deſerv'd them by his Crimes; and that if he amend his Life, his Condition will mend likewiſe, *&c.*

Thus you ſee that from theſe Virtues may be drawn many Inſtructions, that contribute to form in us the Elements of Virtue: For they diſcover the true Reaſons of Providence, of Fate, and of our Free-Will; Reaſons, by which we have endeavour'd to mitigate, in this Diſcourſe, the Grief that the ſeeming Inequality which we obſerve in the things of this Life generally cauſes, and to prove that God is not the Author of Evils.

Now the Reſult of all we have been ſaying on this Subject, (*w*) is a great Confirmation of the Eternity and of the Immortality of the Soul: For to obſerve Juſtice, to be undaunted at the Approach of Death, to be free from all ſelfiſh Ends, and in no wiſe dazled with the Splendor of Riches, 'tis requiſite we ſhould believe that the Soul dies not with the Body. (*x*) And to ſupport in Patience the Strokes of *Divine Fortune*, and to enable us to heal them, it appears to be of Neceſſity, that the Soul be not born with the Body. And from theſe two things, the Eternity of the Soul and its Immortality, we draw this Demonſtration, that the Soul is never born, and never dies, that 'tis more excellent than the Body, and

This is in no wiſe neceſſary, and therefore is a Miſtake.

(*w*) Here we manifeſtly ſee that the *Pythagoreans* held the Soul to be eternal, though they ſuppos'd it to be created: Therefore this Eternity cannot, in my Opinion, be underſtood, except of a Creation before Time, or before the Body; or elſe they call'd it Eternal in regard to its Principle and Source, which is God.

(*x*) For he pretended to prove that the Judgment of God againſt Sinners, is the Effect of the Sins committed in the other Life, and conſequently that the Soul exiſted before the Body. This was the Confuſion into which the Ignorance of Original Sin threw theſe Philoſophers. Beſides, 'tis in no wiſe neceſſary that the Soul ſhould be eternal, to ſupport the Calamities which it receives from the Hands of God, and to heal them by its Converſion. But be it created after the Conception, or at the ſame time, it has always the ſame Power, which it derives from its Creator.

It cannot of it ſelf, but it may by the Will of God.

of another Nature: (*y*) For 'tis in no wiſe poſſible, that what is born in Time ſhould exiſt always, nor that what never had a Beginning, ſhould have an End: By Conſequence, 'tis moſt evident, that ſince the Soul continues to exiſt after the Death of the Body, ſince it is judg'd, and receives the Puniſhment or Reward of the Life it had led, and ſeeing beſides that 'tis impoſſible that what begins in Time ſhould ſubſiſt always, 'tis I ſay moſt evident, that the Soul is from all Eternity before the Body; and this ſhews us that the Soul is one of the eternal Works of God, who created it; and hence comes its Likeneſs and Reſemblance to its Creator. But having ſufficiently ſpoken of this, 'tis now time to conſider what follows.

The Likeneſs of the Soul to God proceeds not from its Eternity, but from the Graces it has received.

(*y*) 'Tis true that it cannot exiſt always of it ſelf, by its own Nature; but it may exiſt always by the Will of him who created it: And this is the Condition of Angels as well as of the Soul. *Plato* himſelf acknowledg'd it to be true, that the Immortality of the Angels is not an Effect of their Nature, but a Privilege of pure Grace. See what is ſaid of this in his Life.

VER-

VERSES XXI, XXII, and XXIII.

There are among Men ſeveral Sorts of Reaſonings, good and bad:
Admire them not too eaſily, and reject them not neither.
But if any Falſhoods are advanc'd, give way with Mildneſs, and arm thy ſelf with Patience.

THE Will of Man not perſiſting always in Virtue, nor being always bent upon Vice, produces the two ſorts of Reaſoning or Diſcourſe, that ſavour of thoſe two Conditions, and that bear the Marks of thoſe two contrary Diſpoſitions, in which it ſucceſſively is: Hence it comes to paſs that of thoſe Reaſonings ſome are true, others falſe, ſome good, others bad: And this Difference requires on our Part a juſt Diſcretion of Judgment, which is the Effect of Knowledge, that we may chuſe the good, and reject the bad: (*a*) As likewiſe

Whence proceed the ſeveral Reaſonings of Men.

S 3

(*a*) *Hierocles* in this Place follows the Thought of *Socrates*, who in the *Phædon* of *Plato* deplores the hard Fate of Men, who by dint of Hearing the Ignorant diſpute and contradict every thing, imagine with themſelves that there is no ſuch thing as clear, ſolid and ſenſible Reaſons; and perſuade themſelves that every thing is uncertain. As they who are often cheated by Men, fall into a Miſanthropy; ſo theſe having been frequently deceiv'd by falſe Arguments, fall into a Hatred of all Reaſons in general, and will not give Ear to any: Many are of this Diſpoſition. How many, for Example, are there who cry down all Philoſophy, the Moment they ſee a falſe Philoſopher; and Theology, when they hear the Errors of an ill Theologian? This Extream is very pernicious; and the other that is oppos'd to it, and that conſiſts in allowing every thing that is ſaid, is no leſs fatal. The due Mean ought to be obſerv'd; examine all things, and retain only the Good.

wiſe that we may not fall into a Hatred of all Ratiocinations, becauſe there are ſome bad Arguments that we condemn, nor admit them all neither without Diſtinction, under Pretext that there are ſome good ones that we receive. For by the Hatred of all Reaſonings in general, we deprive our ſelves of thoſe that are good; and by admitting all without Diſtinction, we expoſe our ſelves to be unawares miſs-led by the bad. Let us therefore learn to love Reaſonings, but with a juſt Diſcernment, to the end that the Love we have for them may make us hear all, and our Diſcretion make us reject thoſe that are bad. In doing this we ſhall obſerve the Precept of *Pythagoras*, we ſhall not admire the Reaſonings that are falſe, nor admit them without Examination, under Pretext that they are Reaſonings; nor deprive our ſelves neither of thoſe that are good, under Pretext likewiſe that they are as much Reaſonings as the bad.

True Reaſonings alone deſerve the Name.

(*b*) For in the firſt place, theſe laſt ought not to be allow'd meerly as Reaſonings, but as being true; nor ought the firſt to be rejected neither as Reaſonings, but as being falſe. In the ſecond Place, we may boldly aſſert, that the Reaſonings only that are true, are indeed Reaſonings; for ſuch alone preſerve the Dignity of the rational Eſſence, and are the Productions of a Soul inclin'd to what is beſt, and that has recover'd all its Brightneſs, all its

(*b*) How noble and how true is this Diſtinction! All falſe Reaſonings are not Reaſonings; for they are not the Productions of Reaſon, ſubmitted to God, and nouriſh'd with his Truth. How mortifying is this to thoſe infatuated Philoſophers, who dare argue againſt the moſt certain and moſt unconteſtable Principles. All their falſe Reaſonings, as *Hierocles* here ſays, are only the noiſie Nonſenſe of a Soul depriv'd of Reaſon, and who has no longer Truth for her Guide.

its Luſtre: Whereas falſe Reaſonings are not in effect Reaſonings; for ſince they lead into Vice, into Falſhood and into Error, they have renounc'd their Dignity, and degenerated from it, and are properly only the Exclamations of a Soul depriv'd of Reaſon, and blinded and deprav'd by its Paſſions. Receive them not all then, ſays the Poet, leſt you ſhould receive the bad; and reject them not all neither, leſt you ſhould reject the good: For 'tis abſurd and unworthy of Man, either to hate and reject good Reaſonings, becauſe ſome are bad, or to love and receive the bad, becauſe ſome are good. We ought then to praiſe the good, and having receiv'd them, to meditate on them, and examine how far they carry the Truth which they demonſtrate: And as to the bad, we ought to oppoſe them with all the Strength of Logick, that we may diſcern Truth from Falſhood. And when we are in a Condition to overthrow Falſhood and Error, (c) we ought not to do it with Vehemence, nor inſultingly, and with an Air of Contempt; but we ought to lay open the Truth, and with Anſwers full of Mildneſs to refute Falſhood. And as the Words of the Verſe ſay, *If any Falſhoods are advanc'd, give way quietly*, not in granting what is falſe, but in hearing it calmly without Paſſion. For this Expreſſion, *give way with Mildneſs*, does not mean that we ſhould grant what is falſe, and give our Conſent to it: But it exhorts us to hear it with Patience, and without being ſurpriz'd that there are ſome Men, who miſerably depart from Truth. (d) For Man is naturally fruit-

Falſe Reaſonings are only the noiſie Nonſenſe of a Soul depriv'd of Reaſon.

Moderation and Temper that ought to be obſerv'd in Diſputes.

(c) The Rules that *Hierocles* here preſcribes for Diſputation are fine, and even ſavour of Chriſtianity.

(d) This is a great Truth, and ought to keep Men in a great Diſtruſt of themſelves; when they abandon themſelves to

Men naturally produce strange and erroneous Opinions.

For there are but two Ways of Knowledge; to learn from others, or to find it our selves; and the way to find it is to seek it.

Hear with Pity and Indulgence the Men who advance Lies.

ful in strange and erroneous Opinions, when he follows not the common Notions according to sound Reason. 'Tis not then, says this Verse, surprizing and wondrous that a Man who never learnt Truth from others, nor found it of himself, should fall into Pride and Folly, and advance Opinions opposite to Truth. On the contrary, 'twould be very astonishing indeed, if a Man who would never learn, nor ever endeavour it, should stumble upon Truth by chance, as if some God had appear'd to him all of a sudden, as in the Tragedies. Let us therefore hear with some sort of Compassion and Indulgence the Men who advance false Opinions, and learn by that Experience, from what Evils we have deliver'd our selves, (*e*) who tho' we are of the same Nature with those deluded Wretches, and consequently subject to the same Passions and to the same Weaknesses, have nevertheless taken Knowledge as an Antidote, which has heal'd this Infirmity. (*f*) And what most of all con-

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to their own Understandings, and follow not the receiv'd Notions according to right Reason, they fall into Error. But what are these common Notions? They are they that have been receiv'd in all Times, and that are confirm'd by known Authority. These only may be observ'd in following right Reason.

(*e*) This Opinion is very moderate and very just. Being but Men, and consequently infirm, we may fall into the same Errors. With how much Mildness and Compassion will the Joy then of seeing our selves deliver'd, inspire us for those who still remain in their Errors.

(*f*) This Principle is very certain. An ignorant Man, who cannot answer the Objections are made him, grows peevish, and flies into Passion; whereas the Man who is truly learn'd, finding nothing that puts him to a Stand, and having when he instructed himself a thousand times overthrown all that could be said against Truth, is always mild, modest, and easie: Such was *Socrates* in his Disputations; he never said the least injurious Word to the Disputants who were most violent, and most in the Wrong. Whence proceeded this Calmness of Temper? From his profound Knowledge and Learning.

contributes to give us this Calmneſs of Temper, which is ſo neceſſary in Diſputes, is the Confidence that Knowledge inſpires: For a Mind that comes well provided to engage in the Defence of Truth, will calmly and without any Concern ſtand the Shock of falſe Opinions, having premeditated all that can be alledg'd againſt Truth, by inſtructing himſelf in the Truth it ſelf. What then can diſturb a Man ſo well inſtructed? What can ſeem to him to be inextricable, what unanſwerable? (*g*) All the Difficulties that can be objected againſt him, will, if he be truly ſtrong, ſerve on the contrary only to ſupply him with Ideas that have already often triumph'd over whatever is falſe. 'Tis not then from moral Virtues alone that the Man of Knowledge will draw his Tranquility and Conſtancy, but from the Confidence he has in his own Strength for theſe ſorts of Combats. This is what we had to ſay concerning the true Diſcernment of Reaſoning, which is the Off-ſpring of Knowledge: (*b*) As to the Habitude the learned Man ought to acquire, never to ſuffer himſelf to be deceiv'd in any thing whatſoever, the Poet immediately adds what follows.

And by conſequence Perviſineſs proceeds generally from Diſtruſt and Weakneſs.

By inſtructing our ſelves in the Truth we learn to oppoſe whatever is contrary to it.

(*g*) I have here follow'd the printed Text, becauſe the Senſe of it ſeems to me to be very fine, and to agree exactly with what *Hierocles* ſaid before, that a Man truly learn'd has reflected before-hand on all that can be alledg'd againſt Truth. However I think my ſelf oblig'd to take Notice that the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads this Paſſage quite otherwiſe. Take it intire as we there find it: Τὶ ἂν ταράξει τοῦτον ἂς ἄλυτον ὄν; τίνα δ' ἀχυρᾶ φάλαγξα ταράξει τοῦτον; ὃς πεπαλαιωνίκασι πᾶν ψεῦδος: *What can puzzle him, as being not to be ſolv'd? What new Difficulties can be ſtarted, to put him to a Stand, who has already triumph'd over all that is falſe?*

(*b*) There is here a conſiderable Fault in the Text, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνεξαπατήτου ἕξεως. It ought to be read as in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, περὶ δὲ τὴν διὰ πάντων ἀνεξαπατήτου ἕξεως.

VER-

VERSES XIV, XV, and XVI.

Obſerve well, in every Occaſion, what I am going to tell thee.
Let no Man, either by his Words, or by his Actions, ever ſeduce thee.
Nor intice thee to ſay or to do what is not profitable for thee.

THIS is a Precept of general Extent, and much the ſame with that already given in the eleventh and twelfth Verſes: *Never commit any ſhameful Action, neither with others, nor in private by thy ſelf, and above all things reſpect thy ſelf*; for the Man who has learnt to reſpect himſelf, and who neither alone nor in Company, will dare to commit the leaſt ſhameful Action, but out of Reſpect to the Reaſon he has within him, and to whoſe Government and Conduct he has reſign'd himſelf, baniſhes far from him the very Thoughts of ſuch Actions, he alone, I ſay, is in a Condition to obey this Precept, *Let no Man ever ſeduce thee, either by his Words or by his Actions*: For he alone is incapable of being cheated and miſs-led, who having a due ſenſe of his Nobleneſs and Dignity, ſuffers not himſelf to be cajol'd by Flatteries, nor intimidated by Threats, whatever Endeavours are us'd to that Purpoſe, either by his Friends or by his Enemies: For the Word *no Man* includes all Men whoever they be, a Father, a Tyrant, a Friend, an Enemy. And the different Ways of deceiving proceed either from Words or from Actions; from the Words of thoſe that flatter or threaten, and from the Actions of thoſe that offer Bribes, or that ſet before us Pains and Puniſhments. Againſt all theſe things therefore let us keep our

He who has a ſenſe of his own Worth is incapable of being ſeduced.

our Soul well ſtrengthen'd and fortify'd by ſound Reaſon, to the end it may neither be wheedled nor inſlav'd by any Accidents that can happen from abroad, whether delightful or painful: For ſound Reaſon having eſtabliſh'd Temperance and Fortitude in the Soul, as two Guards that are always watchful, and cannot be corrupted, will preſerve us from being ever ſeduc'd, either by the Charms of Delights, or by the Dread of things that are terrible; and this it is that produces the exact Juſtice, which the Poet has already commanded us to obſerve in our Words and in our Actions. By this means no Man, whoever he be, will ever prevail with us to commit the leaſt Action, or to let drop the leaſt Expreſſion, that is not conſonant to right Reaſon; for if we reſpect our ſelves above all things, 'tis evident that no Man will appear to us to be more worthy to be reſpected or fear'd than our ſelves, that he ſhould induce us to do or ſay any thing contrary to our Duty, both which are hurtful to the Soul; and whatever is hurtful to it is hurtful to us, for the Soul is our ſelves. Therefore thou oughteſt throughly to underſtand this Saying, *What is not profitable for thee*, and refer this Pronoun, *thee*, to what thou truly art; for if thou underſtand this Precept aright, *Let no Man, either by his Words or by his Actions, ever ſeduce thee, nor incline thee to do or to ſay what is not profitable for thee*, and if thou, properly ſpeaking, art the reaſonable Soul, thou wilt never ſuffer, if thou art Wiſe, any thing that can be prejudicial to thee, thee, I ſay, who art a rational Being; for thou art properly the Soul. The Body is not thee, 'tis thine; (*a*) and all exterior things are neither thee

Temperance and Fortitude the two Guards of the Soul.

What is the Cauſe of exact Juſtice.

All this Doctrine is taken from the firſt Alcibiades of Plato, where 'tis admirably well explain'd.

(*a*) Nothing is more true or more ſolid than this Diſtinction. Our Soul is our ſelves, our Body is ours, and all the reſt is neither us

thee nor thine, but they belong to ſomething that is thine, that is to ſay, to thy Body.

If thou diſtinguiſh and divide in this manner all theſe things, thou wilt never confound them; thou wilt diſcover what the Eſſence of Man truly is; and by taking not for it, either the Body, or the things Exterior to the Body, thou wilt not trouble thy ſelf for this Body, nor for what belongs to it, as thou wilt do for thy ſelf; to the end that ſuch a miſtaken Care and Concern may not inveagle thee into a love of the Body and of Riches; for while we are abſolutely ignorant what we are our ſelves, we ſhall be ignorant likewiſe of the Care we ought to take of things, and ſhall rather take care of any thing than of our ſelves, which nevertheleſs ought to be our chief Concern.

Order of the Care requir'd of us. *What we ought to propoſe to our ſelves in taking care of our Health.* *What we ought to propoſe to our ſelves in Caſe of exterior things.* *All our care ought to have regard to the Soul.*

And indeed, if the Soul be what makes uſe of the Body, if the Body ſerve as an Inſtrument to the Soul, and if all other things were invented in favour of this Inſtrument, and for the ſupport of its Nature, which daily decays and periſhes, 'tis manifeſt that our chief and firſt Care ought to be for that which is chief and firſt, and our next Care for that which holds the ſecond Rank. The Wiſe Man therefore will never neglect his Health; not that he gives the firſt Rank to the Body, or takes it for his principal Part, but that he may preſerve it in a Condition to ſupply all the Wants of the Soul, and to obey all its Orders without any hinderance: And laſtly his third Care will be for what is third in Order, and he will govern with Prudence and OEconomy all exterior things, that ſerve to the Preſervation of the Inſtrument, which is his Body. Thus his chief, or to ſay better, his only Care ſhall be for his Soul, ſeeing the Care we have of other things,

us nor ours, but belongs to what is ours. This is fully demonſtrated by *Plato*, in the firſt *Alcibiades*; and upon this Principle *Epictetus* grounded all his Philoſophy.

things, next to the Soul, is only for the ſake of the Soul, and tends alone to its Preſervation and Profit. Now whatever is foreign to Virtue, is what this Verſe here expreſſes by theſe Words; *whatever is not profitable for thee.* If Virtue is profitable for thee, whatever is not Virtue will be uſeleſs, nay pernicious to thee. We are therefore adviſ'd to throw up as it were a Rampart around us for the Preſervation and Defence of Virtues, by him who tells us that we ought never to obey them that uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to make us ſwerve from Virtue, (*b*) with what Actions and Words ſoever they accompany their Perſuaſions and Inſtances. For Example, never let a Tyrant, whether he make large Promiſes, or in reality perform them, whether he endeavour to ſhake our Conſtancy with Threats, or to force us by Puniſhments; never let a Perſon who pretends to be a Friend, tho' he hide his ill Deſigns under the outward ſhew and appearances of the moſt tender Friendſhip, never, I ſay, let any of theſe prevail with us to deviate from what is uſeful to the Soul. Now the only things profitable to it are Virtue and Truth. Thou wilt therefore be out of the reach of all Frauds and of all Deceits, if knowing thy own Eſſence, what it is, and to whom it reſembles, thou always take all poſſible Care to preſerve that Likeneſs, and if thou regard every thing that can efface or change it as the greateſt Misfortune can happen to thee, and as the greateſt Loſs thou canſt undergo. And there is nothing but what is not profitable for thee, that can make thee loſe this Divine Likeneſs. Seeing therefore, whatever

The only things uſeful to the Soul are Virtue and Truth.

The greateſt Loſs a Man can have is to loſe his Likeneſs with God.

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(*b*) I have added *with what Words*, according to the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts. The Manuſcript of *Florence* ſupplies likewiſe the ſame Words, and reads the whole Paſſage thus, Δι' ὅτων ἂν ἔργων ἢ λόγων ἐπ' ωφελείᾳ τὸ χείρον ἐπιχειρήσης ωείθειν ωροσαγάγη τινὰ φῶτα.

ever keeps up this Likeneſs in us, muſt be for our Advantage, I would fain know what Offer can be made us of Value and Moment enough to make us renounce ſo divine a Good. Are the Riches that may be promis'd us, or thoſe we may be threaten'd ſhall be taken from us of equal Concern? We are taught by the Dictates of ſound Reaſon how we ought to receive Riches, and how to part with them. Beſides, we know the Inconſtancy and the Uncertainty of all theſe tranſitory Goods; for though I ſhould not loſe them in this or that manner, (*c*) but defend them bravely againſt Tyranny and Uſurpation, may they not be taken from me by a Thief? (*d*) May I not loſe them by Shipwreck? And ſhould I keep them ſafe from Robbers, and from the Perils of the Sea, how many other ways are there for loſing them? (*e*) Let us imagine one that is very reaſonable, I mean, for the ſake of Virtue; that is, to exchange all our Riches for a voluntary Poverty, attended with Honeſty, by diveſting our ſelves of all for very good Reaſons; (*f*) and by purchaſing Virtue at a much higher Price;

Nothing in this World is worthy to make us renounce the divine Likeneſs.

The voluntary Loſs of our Eſtates is reaſonable.

(*c*) The Text ſays, *But ſupported their Loſs with Conſtancy.* But in my Opinion the Matter here in queſtion was not to bear the Loſs of our Eſtates, rather when it happens one way than when it happens another. Inſtead of παρεμένε, I read ἀποκλείε, which is a great improvement to the Senſe. The Manuſcripts are of no help to us in this Place.

(*d*) I added theſe Words which I took from the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which reads, ἀφαιρήσεῖ; ναυάγιον ἀντὶ τοῦ παρεμπέσῃ.

(*e*) Since the Goods of this World are ſo tranſitory, and there are ſo many ways of loſing them in ſpight of us, let us ſhelter our ſelves from theſe Loſſes, by imagining one Loſs to be more noble than all the others; a Loſs for which Virtue will make us amends; that is to ſay, a voluntary Loſs in Exchange for good Works. This Idea is extremely fine.

(*f*) This too is a noble Thought: He who gives his All in exchange

Price, than what we are offer'd to oblige us to renounce it.

But they will ſet before our Eyes Torments and Death; 'tis eaſie to anſwer to theſe Menaces, (*g*) that if we can but preſerve our ſelves, theſe Puniſhments will not fall on us, and can affect only our Bodies. Now when the Body dies, it ſuffers nothing that is contrary to Nature, for 'tis naturally ſubject to Death; it may be burnt, cut to pieces, and is expos'd to a thouſand Racks, a thouſand Tortures, that a Diſeaſe may make it ſuffer in a more violent degree than a Tyrant; Why then do we fly from what it is not in our Power to avoid? And why do we not rather preſerve what it is in our Power to keep? As to our mortal Part, do what we can, (*h*) we ſhall never preſerve it from Death, to which Nature has condemn'd it; and as to our immortal Part, that is to ſay, our Soul and our ſelves, we may adorn and imbelliſh it by Virtue, except we ſuffer our ſelves to be terrify'd, and unleſs we are dejected at the Thoughts of the Death with which we are threaten'd. (*i*) But if we ſuffer

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exchange for Virtue, is not in danger of renouncing it on the Temptation of any Recompence, or of any Offers that can be made him; for he gives more to have it than others can offer him to induce him to renounce it. He who forſakes his All, forſakes more than can be offer'd him. If he had what is offer'd him, he would give that likewiſe.

(*g*) Or according to the Letter: *If we can keep ſafely that which is us.* The Manuſcript of *Florence* inſtead of τὸ ἡμῶν, reads very well τὸ ἡμεῖς, *this us*, that is to ſay, our Soul.

(*h*) The Word of the Text, ἐξῶσαι, is corrupted; and yet 'tis in the Manuſcripts. I believe the Correction of Dr. *Salviati* to be undoubtedly right; he has corrected it ἐπισῶσαι, *to keep, to ſave.*

(*i*) *Hierocles* here acknowledges that a good Cauſe is alone the Merit of a good Death, and he gives the Reaſon

'Tis glorious to ſuffer Death for a good Cauſe.

fer Death for a good Cauſe, we ſhall then adorn and illuſtrate the Neceſſity of Nature by our Conſtancy, and by the Uprightneſs of our Will and of our Choice. Theſe are the greateſt things that one Man can offer to another to ſeduce and terrifie him. But what is within us is free, and ſubject to no Man, unleſs we pleaſe our ſelves, and unleſs through an inordinate love of the Body and of exterior things, we betray and enſlave our Freedom, by ſelling the Goods of the Soul for the vile Price of a momentary Life, and of Riches that will certainly periſh. This Precept therefore exhorts us to do in all Occaſions the things that can alone ſecure Virtue in us, and rivet it to us in ſuch a manner, that it may not be raviſh'd from us neither by Violence, nor by Fraud; let us now go on with the following Precepts that have an evident Connexion with this.

ſon of it: Nothing can ennoble and render renown'd the Neceſſity of Nature, for thus he calls Death but Conſtancy, and the uprightneſs of the Will and of Choice.

VERSES

VERSES XXVII, XXVIII, and XXIX.

Conſult and Deliberate before thou Act, that thou may'ſt not commit fooliſh Actions.

For 'tis the Part of a miſerable Man to ſpeak and to act without Reflection.

But do that which will not afflict thee afterwards, nor oblige thee to Repentance.

WISE and Prudent Deliberation is the Mother of Virtues; and perfects and preſerves them, inſomuch that 'tis their Mother, their Nurſe, and their Guard; for when we conſult quietly within our ſelves what Courſe of Life we ought to follow, we chuſe Virtue for the ſake of its Beauty. After this Choice, the Soul, ſtrengthen'd by this Conſultation, encounters and ſupports all Toils and Conflicts on account of Virtue, and being already accuſtom'd to the Poſſeſſion of honeſt and excellent things, it preſerves its Judgment ſound and intire amidſt the Troubles of the moſt grievous Calamities; nor can any thing that comes from without to diſcompoſe and diſmay it, ever oblige it to change its Opinion, ſo far as to believe that there can be any other happy Courſe of Life, but that which of its own free Motion it choſe and embrac'd, after having judg'd it to be the beſt and moſt excellent. Hence it comes, that there are three ſenſible Effects of wiſe Deliberation. Firſt, the Choice of the beſt Life; ſecondly, the Practice of the Life we have choſen; and thirdly, a conſtant and exact Obſervance of what we had well and wiſely reſolv'd on.

Wiſe and prudent Conſultation is the Mother, Nurſe and Guard of Virtues.

Three Effects of wiſe and prudent Conſultation.

The first of these three Effects is the Reason that precedes the Execution of what we desire to do, and that lays, as I may say, the Principles of the Actions. The second is the Reason that accompanies the Execution, and that accommodates and adjusts before hand each particular Action to the Principles that precede it. And the third is the Reason that follows the Execution, and examining each Action we have done, judges whether it was well done, and as it ought; for in all things whatever, the shining Beauty of Wise and Prudent Deliberation is eminently conspicuous. Sometimes it produces Virtues; sometimes it nourishes and perfects them, and lastly 'tis watchful to preserve them; (*a*) so that 'tis it self the Beginning, the Middle, and the End of all good Things. In wise Deliberation we find a Deliverance from all our Ills; and by it, and it alone, we are enabled to bring the Virtues to Perfection. For ours being an intelligent Nature, and consequently capable to consult and deliberate; and inclining of its own free Will and Choice, to take a good or a bad Advice; if it chuses well, the good Life it embraces, preserves its Essence untainted; whereas if it makes a Choice without Reason, that Choice corrupts it as much as in it lyes. Now the Corruption of what is immortal is Vice, the Mother whereof is *Temerity*, which this Verse commands us to avoid, *that we may not commit foolish Actions*; and the foolish Actions are the wicked and ill Actions; for *to speak and to act* without Reason and without Reflection, *is the Part of a miserable Man*, that is to say, is the Nature

(*a*) I have follow'd in this Passage the Manuscript of *Florence*, that says more than the printed Text; for it reads it as follows, ὡς ἀρχὴν τε καὶ μέσην καὶ τελευτὴν εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ χεῖρας τῷ ἀναλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς μόνης ἡμῖν εὐχείρωτος καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς τελεώσεων.

Nature of a wicked Man. But if thou doſt deliberate before thou act, thou wilt never commit any of theſe fooliſh Actions, which can only ſerve to afflict afterwards them who have acted raſhly, and without Conſultation; for Repentance evidently demonſtrates the badneſs of the Choice, of which Experience has ſhewn thee the diſadvantage. (*b*) As on the contrary the Effects of good Conſultation are an Evidence of the goodneſs and of the ſafety of the Choice, by proving even by the very Actions themſelves the Advantages that reſult from them. I ſay the Advantages, not in relation to the Body, or to any exterior things, but to our ſelves, the Advantage that accrues to us, who are here commanded *to conſult before we act*, and to do *only the Actions that will not afflict us afterwards*; that is to ſay, *that will not afflict our Souls*. For what Advantage is it to a Man to heap up vaſt Riches by Perjuries, Murthers, and by all ſorts of other ill Actions? What will he gain by exterior Riches, if he leave his Soul in Poverty, and in the extreameſt Indigence of the only Goods that can be uſeful to it? To be beſides reduc'd to the wretched ſtate of Inſenſibility, which increaſes his Miſery; or, if the Checks of his Conſcience awaken in him a Senſe of his Crimes, to ſuffer unſpeakable Tortures in his Soul which reſult from that Remorſe; to be Night and Day in continual dread of the Puniſhments of Hell, and to find no other Remedy to his Ills than to have recourſe to the Hopes of Annihilation? For ſuch is the miſerable Condition to which he is reduc'd, that he endeavours to heal one Evil by another, and

(*b*) Inſtead of ἀξυλίας I had made uſe of εὐξυλίας, becauſe the Series of the Diſcourſe viſibly requir'd it; but afterwards I found it in the Margin of the Copy that had been compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

The Wicked have recourse to the Death of the Soul, to get rid of the Dread they are in of the Punishments due to their Crimes.

thinking by the Death of his Soul to be freed from the Punishments due to his Crimes, he condemns himself to be nothing after Death, (*c*) that he may avoid the Torments which the Thoughts of the last Judgment set before his Eyes. For the Wicked would not have his Soul Immortal, lest it should live in the other Life only to suffer there. And in this Thought he anticipates the Sentence of his Judge, and condemns himself to eternal Death, as if it were not just that a wicked Soul should have any Existence. And this Wretch who by his Rashness and Folly has precipitated himself into Vice, (*d*) passes a Sentence against himself, conformable to his Wickedness and Crimes: But 'tis not the same thing with the Judges of Hell, for they give Sentence according to the Rules of Truth, and pronounce not that the Soul ought to be no more, but that it ought to be no longer Vicious; and they endeavour to amend and to heal it, by ordering Punishments for the Cure of Nature, as Physicians by Caustick and Incisions cure the most malignant Ulcers. These Judges punish Crimes in order to drive away Vice by Repentance; nor do they annihilate the Essence of the Soul, (*e*) and reduce it to be no more; on the contrary, they restore

The Wicked who condemns his Soul to die retains some Notion of Justice.

For the Pythagoreans *believ'd the Torments of Hell to be only temporary.*

(*c*) The Manuscript of *Florence* has very well restor'd this Passage, for instead of φυγὴν, which can have nothing to do here, it reads φυγῇ, *to avoid, to fly from.*

(*d*) For he condemns his Soul to be no more. The Manuscript of *Florence*, instead of ἐκότως ἀμείλεαν, reads ἐκότως μείλεαν, &c. *passes a Sentence proportionable to his Crimes*; which comes to the same Sense.

(*e*) I have here follow'd the Lection that I found in the Copy that has been compar'd with the Manuscripts, and which I thought well worth the retaining: For instead of μᾶλλον ἐπανάγοντες, I there found ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπανάγοντες, and I am pleas'd to see this Addition confirm'd by the Manuscript of *Florence*.

ſtore it to its true Being, by purging it from all the Paſſions that corrupt it. For the very Eſſence of the Soul is in danger of being annihilated and deſtroy'd, when ſwerving from its good, it plunges it ſelf *(f)* into what is contrary to its Nature: And when it returns to what is conſonant to its Nature, it finds again its Being, and recovers its primitive Purity, which it had deprav'd and corrupted by the Mixture and Droſs of the Paſſions. We ought therefore above all things to endeavour not to ſin at all; but when we have ſinn'd, we ought to embrace the Puniſhment, as the ſole Remedy for our Sins, and as what will correct our Raſhneſs and our Folly by the ſalutary Succour of Prudence and of Reaſon. For the Innocence we loſt by Sin, we recover by Repentance, and by the good Uſe we make of the Puniſhments with which God chaſtiſes us to reinſtate us in our Integrity.

Innocence loſt by Sin, and regained by Repentance and by a good Uſe of the Puniſhments of God.

Repentance is the beginning of Philoſophy, the avoiding of all fooliſh Words and Actions, and the firſt Step of a Life that will no more be ſubject to Repentance: For he who prudently deliberates before he acts, never falls into involuntary and unforeſeen Troubles and Misfortunes, nor ever commits unwittingly any Actions whoſe Conſequences and Events he has Reaſon to apprehend: But he diſpoſes of the preſent time, and prepares himſelf to receive whatever can happen contrary to his Expectation: Therefore neither the Hope of what we call Goods makes him renounce his real Good, nor does the Fear of Evils incline him to commit real Ills: *(g)* But having his Mind continually

Repentance is the beginning of Wiſdom.

(f) In the Text, inſtead of διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ μὴ φύσ. φύσιν ἐκλείπειν, it ought to be διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλείπειν: Or if φύσ. be retain'd, the Negative muſt be blotted out. This Fault is in the Manuſcripts.

(g) In the Manuſcript of *Florence*, inſtead of πρὸς τοὺς Θείους κανόνας, *to the Divine Rules*, there is πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, *to God*.

nually bent on the Rules that God has prescrib'd, he squares his whole Life according to them.

But that thou may'st know most assuredly that 'tis the Part of a miserable Person indeed to speak and to act without Reason, behold *Medea* deploring her Miseries on our Theatres. The Fury of a senseless Amour spurr'd her on to betray her Parents, and to run away with a Foreigner; at length finding her self contemn'd and forsaken by him, she thought her Misfortunes insupportable, and in that Thought she breaks out into this Imprecation,

(b) *Let Heav'ns dire Thunder on my Head be hurl'd,*

After which she falls to committing the most heinous of Crimes. In the first place, 'tis unreasonable and foolish in her to pray that what is done might be undone; and then like a senseless distracted Person indeed, she thinks to heal her Ills by other Ills; hoping to efface the Beginning of her Miseries by a yet more miserable End, (i) for she

(b) This Verse is in the *Medea* of *Euripides*. The intire Passage runs thus:

Αἶ αἶ, διὰ μῆ κεραλᾶς φλόξ ἐξανία
Βαίη, τὶ ὄ μοῖ ζῆν ἔστι κερδΘ;
Φεῦ. φεῦ, θανάτω καλυτεάμαν,
Βιόλὰν συλεῤῥὰν τολιπῶσα.

(i) This is not in the printed Text; but I found it in the Margin of the Copy that had been compar'd with the Manuscripts. 'Tis manifest *Hierocles* writ it; besides 'tis very necessary for compleating the Sense: Τῳ δ' ἀβυλίας ἀρχὴν καλεῖσθαι ὅτε τέλει χείρονι, παιδοποιία περιπίπτει ἄβυλον παιδοποίτεαν ἀγνωμόνη: Which is a Thought perfectly fine, and Word for Word in *Latin*: *Principium Temeritatis deleve putat sine pejori, stultam filiorum procreationem, insana eorum occisione permutans.* This is the way of Men; when they have

ſhe madly endeavours by the Murther of her Children, to attone for her Marriage, to which ſhe had conſented raſhly and without Reflection.

And if you have a mind to ſee how *Homer*'s *Agamemnon* behaves himſelf, you will find that Prince, when he is puniſh'd for not having bridled his Rage, crying out with Tears in his Eyes,

* *Im loſt! undone! and all my Strength forſakes me.* *This Verſe is in the tenth Book of the Ilias.

And in the ill State of his Affairs, he quenches with a Flood of Tears that Fire of his Eyes which Rage had kindled in his Proſperity.

This is the Life of every fooliſh and inconſiderate Man. He is driven and toſs'd to and fro by contrary Paſſions: Inſupportable in Proſperity, dejected in Adverſity: Imperious and haughty when he hopes, cowardly and crouching when he fears. In a Word, not having the generous Conſtancy that prudent Deliberation inſpires, he veers about with every Blaſt of Fortune.

That we therefore may not furniſh the Publick with theſe Sorts of Scenes, let us take ſound Reaſon for our Guide in all our Actions, imitating *Socrates*, who ſomewhere ſays, *You know that I am not now to begin to accuſtom my ſelf* (*k*) *not to obey* any of mine, *except the Reaſon which after due Examination appears to be moſt juſt and upright.* By this Expreſſion, *any of mine*, he means all his Senſes.

have once acted without Reflection, they endeavour to cover their Faults by other Faults that are often greater. The Manuſcript of *Florence* confirms the Addition of this Paſſage.

(*k*) This Paſſage is in the *Crito* of *Plato*. 'Twas requiſite to tranſlate it literally, becauſe of the Explication of *Hierocles*, which would otherwiſe have been obſcure. And I am of Opinion that many good Thoughts of theſe Philoſophers are loſt, when their Tranſlators keep not cloſe enough to the Letter.

The Paſſions were given us to be ſubſervient to Reaſon.

And indeed all the Things that are given us (*l*) to be ſubſervient to Reaſon, as Anger, Love, Senſe, and even the Body it ſelf, which is to ſerve as an Inſtrument to all theſe Faculties; all theſe things, I ſay, are *ours*, but not *us*; and we ought to obey none of them, except, as *Socrates* ſays, ſound Reaſon alone, that is to ſay, the rational Part of us, which is diſpos'd according to its Nature. For 'tis that alone can ſee and know what ought to be done and ſaid. Now to obey ſound Reaſon, and to obey God, are the ſame thing; for our intelligent Part being inlighten'd by the Irradiation that is natural and proper to it, wills nothing but what the Law of God requires; and a Soul well diſpoſed according to God, is always of the ſame Mind with God; and whatever it does, it keeps the Divinity, and the ſplendid Brightneſs that ſurround it, always in its Sight. Whereas the Soul diſpos'd in a contrary manner, and that is intent on what is out of God, and full of Darkneſs, is carry'd here and there as it were at a Venture, and wanders without keeping any certain Road, being deſtitute of Underſtanding, and fallen from God; which are the only true Rule of all that is great and good.

Hierocles ſeems to have borrow'd this from what Socrates *ſays in the firſt* Alcibiades.

God and Reaſon the only Rule of Good.

Theſe are the great and infinite Advantages that ariſe from prudent and wiſe Deliberation, (*m*) and the

(*l*) I have in this Place likewiſe follow'd the Amendment, with which the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts ſupply'd me, and that I afterwards found confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*. Inſtead of πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῷ λογικῷ, they both of them read πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῇ λογικῇ οὐσίᾳ, *to ſerve the reaſonable Eſſence*. *Hierocles* ſays very well, that the Paſſions are given as Helps to Reaſon; but then they muſt be her Servants, not her Maſters.

(*m*) This likewiſe is added to the Text in the Copy compared with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, where we read καὶ ἡ ἐναντίας διαθέσεως τὰ κακά: *And the Ills that proceed from the contrary Diſpoſition.*

the great Miſchiefs that neceſſarily follow Temerity and want of Reflection. But beſides all theſe great Advantages of which we have ſpoken, *to conſult before we act* produces one more of vaſt Importance, (*n*) which is, that it checks all the Motions of Opinion, brings us to the true Knowledge of things, and makes us lead a Life that cannot fail to be moſt pleaſant, ſince it muſt be moſt juſt and good; as will appear by what follows.

Prudent Conſultation excludes Opinion, and leads to Knowledge.

(*n*) Opinion grounding it ſelf only on Appearances of Truth, that have been little examin'd into, is like a Quickſand; but Knowledge repoſing it ſelf on Certainty and on Truth, has a ſolid and fix'd Foundation. *Socrates* and *Plato* have, by a very juſt Compariſon, made manifeſt the Difference there is between Knowledge and Opinion. *Dedalus* made two ſorts of walking Statues; one ſort of them had a great Spring, which ſtopt them when one would, and the other had not, ſo that when they were once ſet a going, they went to the End of their Cord, and could not be ſtopt before. Now they compar'd Opinion to thoſe Statues that never ſtopt, for Opinion never ſtops, and has nothing to fix it: But when 'tis bound and fix'd by Reaſons taken from the Cauſes that the Light of God diſcovers to us, this Opinion then becomes Knowledge, and is fix'd and ſtable, as were the Statues above-mention'd, to which that chief Spring was added.

VERSES XXX, and XXXI.

Never do any thing which thou doſt not underſtand;
But learn all thou ought'ſt to know, and by that means thou wilt lead a very pleaſant Life.

NOT to undertake the Things we do not underſtand, will hinder us only from committing of Errors; but to learn that which leads to a good Life, not only prevents us from making Faults,

Faults, but directs our Actions, and gives us Success in all our Undertakings: The Knowledge of our own Ignorance curbs the Temerity that Opinion excites, and the Acquisition of Knowledge secures the Success of all our Enterprizes. Now these are two excellent things, *To know that we do not know*, and *To learn what we are ignorant of*; and they are follow'd by the best and most delicious Life. But this delicious Life is only for him who is free from Opinion, and repleniſh'd with Knowledge; (*a*) who is not puff'd up with Vanity on account of any thing that he knows, and who is desirous to learn whatever deserves to be learnt. (*b*) Now nothing deserves to be learnt but that which brings us to the divine Likeness; but that which inclines us to deliberate before we act, that we may not be guilty of any fooliſh Actions; but that which puts us in a Condition not to be deceiv'd and miſs-led by any Man, either by his Words, or by his Actions; but that which capacitates us to discern the Difference of the Reasons and Arguments which we hear; but that which makes us bear in Patience the divine Fortune, and that supplies us with Means to mend it; (*c*) but that which teaches us not to dread Death nor Poverty, and

A brief Recapitulation of all the Precepts already given.

(*a*) This is the Stumbling-block of the Learned; for Knowledge is apt to puff Men up with Pride: But whoever reflects never so little, will think it mean to value himself on a thing that is so confin'd and bounded, even in the most learned.

(*b*) Who after this will boast of the Sciences of which Men are so fond, and that inspire them with so much Vanity? See here a Heathen, who acknowledges as well as *Socrates*, that nothing deserves to be learnt, but what renders us the Image of God, and that forms God in us.

(*c*) Here wanted a Word in the Text, which by good Fortune I found supply'd in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and in the Manuscript of *Florence*, ἢ θανάτου καὶ πενίας ἀφορίαν διδάσκει.

and to practiſe Juſtice; but that which makes us temperate in all things that are call'd Pleaſures; but that which inſtructs us in the Laws of Friendſhip, and of the Reſpect due to thoſe that gave us Life; and laſtly, but that which ſhews us the Honour and the Worſhip we ought to render to the ſuperior Beings.

Theſe are the Things which this Verſe tells us that we ought to learn, and that they are attended by a moſt pleaſant Life: For he who diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his Virtue, enjoys Pleaſures that are never follow'd by Repentance, and that imitate the Solidity and Permanency of the Virtues that procure them. For all Pleaſure is naturally the Conſequence of ſome Action, whatever it be: (*d*) Pleaſure ſubſiſts not by it ſelf, but arrives when we do ſuch or ſuch an Action. Hence it is that Pleaſure always follows the Nature of the Action that produces it: The worſt Actions produce the worſt Pleaſures, and the beſt Actions produce likewiſe the beſt Pleaſures; ſo that the Virtuous ſurpaſſes the Vicious not only in regard to the Beauty of the Action, (*e*) but has the

Pleaſures of Virtue as permanent as Virtue it ſelf.

Pleaſure is always the Effect of an Action.

Pleaſure always follows the Nature of the Action that produces it.

(*d*) This is an Article of the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, who prov'd firſt of any that Pleaſure has no Exiſtence, that is to ſay, that it exiſts not by it ſelf, and that 'tis only the Sequel and Effect of an Action. This Matter is admirably treated in the *Philebus* of *Plato*, where *Socrates* ſpeaks of the *Pythagoreans*, when he ſays, Ἆρα περὶ ἡδονῆς ἐκ ἀκηκόαμεν ὡς ἀεὶ γένεσις ἔστιν, οὐσία δ' οὐκ ἔστι τὸ παράπαν ἡδονῆς, κομψοὶ γὲ δή τινες ἄν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐπιχειρῶσι μηνύειν ἡμῖν, οἷς δεῖ χάριν ἔχειν. *Have we not heard it ſaid of Pleaſure, that 'tis always a Generation, and that there is in no wiſe any Exiſtence of Pleaſure; for this is what ſome polite and ingenious Men endeavour to demonſtrate to us, and we ought to thank them for it.*

(*e*) How well this deſcribes the Blindneſs of Men? The Vicious gives himſelf up to Vice, for the Love of Pleaſure; and the Pleaſure he enjoys is infinitely inferior to that he would enjoy, if he apply'd himſelf to Virtue: This he is going to prove in a very ſolid Manner.

the Advantage of him too in the Kind of the Pleaſure, for the ſake of which alone the vicious ſeems to have plung'd himſelf into Vice.

And indeed, as much as one Diſpoſition is better than another Diſpoſition, ſo much too is one Pleaſure preferable to another Pleaſure: Therefore, ſeeing a virtuous Life, in which viſibly appears the Likeneſs of God, is truly divine; and ſeeing a vicious Life is brutal and without God; (*f*) 'tis evident that the Pleaſure of the Virtuous imitates and approaches the divine. Pleaſure, in following the Dictates of the Underſtanding, and even God himſelf; and that the Pleaſure of the Vicious (for I am content to call them both by the ſame Name) (*g*) imitates only the brutal Gratifications of a ſenſual Appetite, the Delight of Beaſts. (*h*) For Pleaſures and Sorrows change us, and alter our Conditions. (*i*) Pleaſures are plac'd within our Reach, and he that enjoys them when, where, and as much as he ought, is happy; and he that knows not theſe juſt Bounds is unhappy. Thus therefore the Life void of Opinion is exempt only from Sin; and the Life that is full of Knowledge is always

The Pleaſure of the virtuous approaches the Divine Pleaſure.

(*f*) This Argument is invincible. Since Pleaſure always follows the Nature of the Action that produces it, the Pleaſure that ſprings from Virtue muſt of neceſſity infinitely ſurpaſs all the Pleaſures that Vice can procure us, and approach the Divine Pleaſure. Thus by the Confeſſion even of a Heathen they that follow God, have a thouſand times greater Pleaſures than they that follow the Delights of the World.

(*g*) For it can imitate nothing but that which cauſes it.

(*h*) He means, that they raiſe us up even to make us reſemble God, or that they degrade and debaſe us even to the Likeneſs of Beaſts; and this is undoubtedly true.

(*i*) Theſe three Reſtrictions are neceſſary in order to Happineſs; for even the beſt Actions become bad, when they are done without Meaſure, and where, and when they ought not to be done, as *Hierocles* is going to ſhew.

ways happy and perfect, and by conſequence the beſt, and at the ſame time the moſt delightful.

Let us then never do what we know not how to do, and as to what we underſtand, let us do it when we ought. Ignorance produces Faults, (*k*) and Knowledge ſeeks *the Opportunity*; for many things that are very good in themſelves, become bad when they are done out of Seaſon. Let us then obey this Precept in Order; inaſmuch as it commands us to check and keep back our Actions, it endeavours to render us free from Faults; and inaſmuch as it commands us to learn, not every thing, but what deſerves to be learnt, it excites us to honeſt and virtuous Actions; (*l*) for a good Life conſiſts not in being exempt from Faults, but in doing all that ought to be done. For the firſt, 'tis ſufficient to purge the Opinion; but the laſt can be nothing but the Effect of Knowledge.

To be free from Faults is not what makes a good Life.

(*m*) Now

(*k*) *Pythagoras* made a Precept of *Opportunity*, and taught that there are certain times, which all that addreſs themſelves to God, ought above all things to obſerve. If by this Precept he meant only to ſay that there were certain favourable and propitious Times for us to addreſs our ſelves to God, he knew a great Truth; for the Holy Scripture teaches us that there is *Tempus acceptabile*, in which God will hear us. Thus too *David* calls God, *Adjutor in opportunitatibus*, a Helper in times of Opportunity. And perhaps it was from this undoubted Truth that the *Pythagoreans* call'd the firſt Cauſe, or the firſt Principle, that is to ſay, God, *Opportunity*. But there is more likelihood *Pythagoras* kept not himſelf within theſe prudent Limits; and that he extended this Affair of *Opportunity* even to a ſuperſtitious Obſervance of Times, of Days and of Moments proper for Sacrifices and for the other Works of Religion, and that he borrow'd this Superſtition from the *Chaldeans*.

Iſa. 49. 8. 2 Cor. 6. 2. Pſal. 9. 4.

(*l*) This Principle is moſt true: A good Life conſiſts not in doing neither Good nor Evil, but in doing Good; and by Conſequence, a Man who paſſes all his Days without doing any Ill, s not exempt from Crime, becauſe he has not done the Good he is oblig'd to do; and becauſe not to do Good is a very great Evil.

(*m*) Now from the one and the other, that is to ſay, from living exempt from Faults, and from living a good Life, behold the Advantage will accrue to thee, *Thou ſhalt lead a moſt pleaſant Life.* What is this delightful Life? (*n*) The Life that enjoys all the Pleaſure that ariſes from Virtue, and in which the Good and the Delightful meet each other: If therefore we deſire what is good, and at the ſame time what is pleaſant, what will ſuch a Mixture be, but what this Verſe tells us, a moſt delicious Life? For he that chuſes the pleaſant with the ſhameful, tho' for a little time he enjoy the Charms of the Pleaſure, yet what there is of ſhameful in the Enjoyment, will ſoon throw him into the Bitterneſs of Repentance: Whereas he that chuſes the Good with the Painful, tho' at firſt the Task ſit heavy on him, the Good will ſoon alleviate and leſſen his Toils; and in the End he will enjoy with Virtue, all the Fruits of pure and unmix'd Delight. To conclude, if we do any ſhameful Thing with Pleaſure, the Pleaſure paſſes, but the Shame remains: (*o*) But if we do any good thing with a thouſand Toils, a thouſand Diffi-

Excellent Proofs that the Good attended with Trouble, is preferable to the ſhameful attended with Pleaſure.

(*m*) I have follow'd the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, which inſtead of ἐὰν ὃ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν, which is not Senſe, reads ἐὰν ὃ τῷ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν. And this Reading is confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*,

(*n*) I have here likewiſe follow'd the Reading of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, τίς ὃ ἔστ᾽ ; ἢ μόνος ὁ ἀπὸ τ᾽ ἀρετῆς, *Which is the only Life*, &c. The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads τίς ὃ ἔστ᾽ ἢ μὴ μόνος, &c. which is the ſame thing.

(*o*) After I had added theſe two Lines to the Text, becauſe they were viſibly wanting, and, in my Opinion, very neceſſary; I was pleas'd to find them added in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, ἐὰν ὃ περιτύχοι τὸ μετὰ πόνου καλόν, ὁ μὴ πόνου παρῆλθε, τὸ ὃ καλὸν μένει, and that they were likewiſe in the Manuſcript of *Florence*. Nothing is finer or more true than this Principle of *Hierocles*.

Difficulties, the Toils and Difficulties will all vaniſh away and be forgotten, and the Good alone will remain with us. From whence it neceſſarily follows, that an ill Life is very ſorrowful and troubleſome, and that on the contrary a good Life is moſt delightful and pleaſant.

Let this ſuffice for the underſtanding of theſe Verſes: But ſeeing the Care of the Body conduces to the Perfection of the Soul, let us ſee what the Poet next adds.

The Care of the Body conduces to the Perfection of the Soul.

VERSES XXXII, XXXIII, and XXXIV.

In no wiſe neglect the Health of thy Body;
But give it Drink and Meat in due Meaſure, and alſo the Exerciſe of which it has need.
Now by Meaſure I mean what will not incommode thee.

THIS Mortal Body having been given us as an Inſtrument for the Life we are to lead here below, we ought neither to pamper it by too indulgent a Treatment, nor to pinch and bring it low by too auſtere and ſparing a Diet; for the one and the other produce the ſame Impediments, and hinder the Uſe we ought to make of it. Therefore we are here exhorted to take a moderate Care of it, and not to neglect it, neither when 'tis grown rebellious by too high a Feeding, nor when 'tis mortify'd and brought down by Sickneſs; to the end, that being kept in the Temper in which it naturally ought to be, it may perform all the Functions that the Soul which guides it ſhall require of it. For the Soul makes uſe of the Body, and the Body

What is the Care we ought to take of the Body.

dy ſerves the Soul: The Workman then is oblig'd to take Care of the Inſtrument he imploys; for 'tis not enough to deſire only to make uſe of it, but all the reaſonable and neceſſary Care muſt likewiſe be taken, to keep it always in a Condition to execute our Orders. And becauſe 'tis naturally in a continual State of Generation, and of Corruption, and ſeeing Repletion and Evacuation entertain and nouriſh it, ſometimes Aliment making good and repairing what is waſted, and ſometimes Exerciſe evacuating and carrying off what abounds, we ought to fix a due Meaſure, as well of the Nouriſhment that cauſes the Repletion, as of the Exerciſe that cauſes the Evacuation. And this due Meaſure is the Reaſon, that adapts the Habitude of the Body to the Intellectual Operations of the Soul, and which by this means takes ſuch a Care of the Health of the Body, as ſuits and becomes a Philoſopher. This Reaſon therefore will make Choice of ſuch Food and Exerciſe, as will not make the Body too fat, nor hinder it from following the intellectual Motions of the Mind: For 'tis not meerly a Body of which it takes Care; but a Body that is ſubſervient to the Thoughts of the Soul. It therefore rejects the Athletick Regimen or Courſe of Life, becauſe that takes Care only of the Body, without having any Regard to the Soul; and it avoids all ſuperfluous Care of the Body, as being intirely contrary to the intelligent Light of the Soul. But the Regimen of Life, which by the good Habit it procures to the Body, can moſt of all contribute to the requiſite Diſpoſitions for learning the Sciences, and to the Performance of all good and honourable Actions, is that which ought to be choſen by the Man who is deſirous to embrace the Life of Reaſon, for to him theſe Words are addreſs'd, *Now I call Meaſure that which will not incommode thee.*

The due Meaſure of Food and Exerciſe ought to be regulated by Reaſon. Health becoming a Philoſopher.

Let

Let not then the Meaſure of the Care thou takeſt of thy Body incommode thee in the leaſt, thou, who art a reaſonable Soul; thou, who being an Obſerver of all the Precepts already given thee, art oblig'd to make Choice of ſuch Drink, Meat and Exerciſes, as will render the Body obedient to the Commands of Virtue, and as will not provoke the ſenſual and brutal Part to be refractory and take head againſt Reaſon that guides it: But this Meaſure of the Care that ought to be had of the Body, muſt be proportion'd with much Attention and Prudence, (*a*) it being the firſt Cauſe of all its inordinate Deſires: (*b*) For the Horſe grows vicious, and takes head, only when he is fed too high, and not well manag'd by his Rider.

An Over-care of the Body is the firſt Cauſe of all its inordinate Inclinations

The Poet, ſpeaking of the Meaſure that ought to be obſerv'd for the Body, has put Drink before Meat, (*c*) becauſe 'tis more difficult to forbear it, becauſe Men are more ſubject to make an ill Uſe of it, and becauſe Drink diſorders moſt the good Habit of the Body: For unleſs a Man be very careful, he will much ſooner exceed the juſt Meaſure in drinking, than in eating; and he puts Exerciſe in

'Tis much eaſier to commit Exceſs in drinking than in eating.

(*a*) An Over-care of the Body is the firſt Cauſe of all its Inordinateneſs. To this purpoſe 'tis ſaid, *And the People ſate down to eat and to drink, and roſe up to play: Et ſedit Populus manducare & bibere, & ſurrexerunt ludere.* Exod. 32. 6.

(*b*) We might be miſtaken in this Place, if we were not acquainted with a Paſſage of *Plato* that *Hierocles* only copies, and where *Plato* by this Horſe means the Body. The whole Paſſage, as we find it in his *Phædrus*, is as follows, Βείθει γὰρ ὁ μὲν κακίας ἵππου μετέχων, ὁπὶ γλῶ ῥέπων τε καὶ βαρύνων, ἢν μὴ καλῶς ἢ τεθραμμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡνιόχου; *For this vicious Horſe grows unruly and prances, his Weight drawing him toward the Earth, unleſs the Groom take Care not to feed him too high.*

(*c*) This no doubt was the Reaſon why the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* ſaid of Drink only, *Sanitas eſt Animæ & Corporis ſobrietas Potus: Temperance in Drinking is the Health of the Soul and of the Body.*

in the third Place, becauſe it corrects the Repletion caus'd by Nouriſhment, and prepares the Body to convert the Food to a more healthy Nouriſhment: For theſe two things run in a Circle, and naturally ſucceed each other: Nouriſhment and Exerciſe; Exerciſe and Nouriſhment. Good Nouriſhment gives Occaſion for good Exerciſe; and good Exerciſe, for good Nouriſhment. Now the Meaſure of each of them is not the ſame for every Man, each Man taking Care of his Body according to his particular Ends, and according to the Service he would have of it; for all Men endeavour to accommodate their Bodies to the Profeſſion they have embrac'd. The Wreſtler prepares his for the Motions of the Ring; the Peaſant, for the Toils of Husbandry; and another forms and trains up his for another Service. But what muſt the Philoſopher do? What is his Proſpect, what his Deſign in taking Care of his Body, and of what Myſtery will he make it an Inſtrument? Certainly of Philoſophy and all its Labours. He will therefore ſo nouriſh and exerciſe his Body, that it may as much as poſſible become an Inſtrument of Prudence and of Wiſdom, always taking Care chiefly and firſt of all for the Soul, and for the ſake of that only, for the Body. For he will never prefer the Part that ſerves, to the Part that is ſerv'd; nor will he neither abſolutely neglect the firſt for the ſake of the other, but he will take Care of the Body in the Rank and Place that is proper and fitting, (*d*) whoſe Health and good Condition he values no farther, than

We ought to make our Body an Inſtrument of Prudence and Wiſdom

(*d*). This is a very prudent Rule, to have no other Deſign in the Care we take of the Body, than to render the Soul in ſome manner more perfect, by putting the Inſtrument of which it makes uſe in a Condition to obey its Orders, and to perform what Virtue requires.

than as they help to perfect the Virtue of the Soul, that makes uſe of the Body. Thus you ſee why he will not nouriſh it with all Sorts of Food, but with thoſe alone that are proper Nouriſhment for it. (*e*) For there are ſome that we ought not to offer it, becauſe they make the Body heavy and ſluggiſh, and drag the Soul into all ſorts of earthly and carnal Affections; and of theſe it is the Poet ſpeaks towards the End of theſe Verſes, when he ſays, *But abſtain from all the Aliments we have mention'd, treating of the Expiations and of the Deliverance of the Soul; and herein make uſe of thy Judgment.* Verſes 67, and 68.

Let him then intirely reject all theſe ſorts of Food, and as to thoſe that he may eat, let him regulate the Quantity and the Time of eating; and as *Hippocrates* ſays, let him reflect on the Seaſon, the Place, the Age, and the like Circumſtances: Neither ought he to allow himſelf all manner of Food with which he may nouriſh himſelf, without Reflection and Examination; nor ſhall he appoint the ſame Diet indifferently to the young and the old, to the ſick and the healthy, to him who is but newly enter'd in the Study of Philoſophy, and to him who has already made a great Proficiency in it, or who is arriv'd to the Perfection of it. The *Pythagorean* Meaſure includes all theſe things in the Words that the Poet adds, *which will not incommode thee:* For in thoſe few Words he refers to the Care of the Body all that tends or contributes to Philoſophical Happineſs, and after what he had ſaid concerning the Welfare of the Soul, he adds that the Health of the Body ought in no wiſe *The* Pythagorean *Meaſure.*

(*e*) Here we have the Reaſon of the Choice that *Pythagoras* made of the different Sorts of Nouriſhments; the Health of the Body, and the Purity of the Soul, as we have explain'd it in his Life.

wiſe to be neglected: So that there he teaches us wherein conſiſts the Perfection of the Soul that makes uſe of the Body, and here what procures the Health and Preſervation of the Body, that ſerves as an Inſtrument to the Soul. Join then theſe two things together, and thou wilt find, whoever thou art to whom theſe Precepts are addreſs'd, that thou ought'ſt to take for the moſt due Meaſure of the Care that ought to be had of the Body, *that which will not incommode thee*; that is to ſay, that which will not hinder your Philoſophical Purpoſe, and that will help and further the Progreſs of the Soul in the Ways of Virtue.

He calls it the Meaſure of Drinking and of Eating, becauſe he equally forbids the two Extreams, and allows only the Middle between them, that is, the Moderate: And by this Moderation alone we come to get the upper hand of Gluttony, Sloth, Luxury and Anger. For the Meaſure here ſpoken of, condemns all Exceſs in theſe Sorts of things, and excludes whatever is hurtful, and that debaſes and drags down the Soul, (*f*) which aſpires towards *the Intelligence*, that is, towards God; for 'tis requiſite that the Soul which aſpires towards the intelligent Mind, ſhould enjoy an entire Tranquility, and not be diſcompos'd by the Violence of the Paſſions; and that all things below be ſubject to her, that ſhe may attend quietly to the Contemplation of the Things above. *This is the Meaſure that will not incommode thee*; this is that which will enable thee to ſubdue thy Paſſions, that will preſerve the Health of thy Body, that will diſcover to thee the Virtue of the Soul, and

that

(*f*) I have in this Place preferr'd the Reading of the printed Text, ἡ πρὸς νοῦν Θεὸν ἐπτερωμένην ψυχήν, to that of the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which has only, πρὸς ἡ Θεὸν, &c. *The Soul that aſpires towards God.*

that will not ſpoil nor deſtroy the good Habit of the Inſtrument of which the Soul makes uſe; for 'tis a part of Virtue to know how to preſerve the Body, and how to render it fit for all the Services that Philoſophy may require of it. *The Preſervation of the Body is a Part of Virtue.*

But ſince the Care of the Body conſiſts not only in Drinking, in Eating, and in Exerciſe, and in regard it has need of many other things, as Cloaths, Shoes, Houſhold-Stuff, and Places to lodge in, and ſince in all theſe things we ought to obſerve a due Meaſure, that baniſhes alike all Luxury and Sordidneſs, the Poet ſubjoins with Reaſon,

VERSES XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVII.

Accuſtom thy ſelf to a way of living that is neat and decent without Luxury.
Avoid all things that will occaſion Envy.
And be not expenſive out of Seaſon, like one who knows not what is decent and honourable.
But be not neither covetous nor niggardly: A due Meaſure is excellent in theſe things.

'TIS not only in drinking and in eating that 'tis good to obſerve a Meaſure, ſays the Author of theſe Verſes, but alſo in all other things; for Meaſure is equally diſtant from too little and too much, (a) becauſe in every thing we may doubly exceed this

(a) The printed Text ſays, *we may infinitely exceed.* ἀπείρως γὰρ, but I have follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which reads

this due Meaſure, either by being too magnificent or too niggardly; both which are blameable, unworthy the Manners of a Philoſopher, and far from the Mediocrity we ought to obſerve in every thing that relates to the Body; for too much Neatneſs drives into Luxury and Effeminacy, and too much Simplicity or Plainneſs degenerates into Niggardlineſs and Slovenlineſs.

Too much Neatneſs becomes Luxury, and too much Plainneſs degenerates in Nigardlineſs.

To avoid therefore falling into the firſt Defect, through too much Neatneſs, or into the ſecond through too much Simplicity, let us keep the Mean between them, declining the neighbouring Vices of theſe two Virtues, and in making both of them ſerve for a corrective Remedy to each other. Let us embrace a plain way of Life, ſo as not to be ſlovenly, and a neat way of Life, ſo as not to be nice and luxurious: Thus we ſhall obſerve the due Meaſure in all that relates to the Body, our Apparel will be neat and clean, but not coſtly and magnificent; (*b*) our Houſe and Table will be neat, but not ſplendid and luxurious; and let us behave our ſelves in like manner as to our Furniture and every thing elſe: For ſeeing the reaſonable Soul commands over the Body, 'tis juſt and decent that whatever relates to the Body, ſhould be order'd by Reaſon, which being perſuaded every thing ought to be anſwerable to its Dignity, will ſuffer neither Luxury nor Sordidneſs. (*c*) To ſhun there-

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reads ἀμφοτέρα δὶς πλῆ, *we may doubly ſurpaſs*, that is to ſay, in two manners, either on the ſide of Magnificence, or on the ſide of Niggardlineſs, as *Hierocles* very well explains himſelf.

(*b*) Theſe Words were wanting in the printed Text; but the Manuſcript of *Florence* has ſupplyd them, by adding after ἰμάτιον ἐκλεμόλεγοι καθαρεῶν, ἀδρυπτον, theſe four Words, οἶκον ὁμοίως καθαρεῖον, ἀδρυπτον.

(*c*) The Text was corrupted in this Place, the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts has corrected it by reading κτῆσιν, *Poſſeſſion*,

therefore Magnificence it has recourſe to Simplicity; and to avoid what is ſlovenly and unſeemly, it chuſes Neatneſs. For Example; Reaſon would not have (*d*) our Cloaths be of fine Stuffs, but of neat; it requires not that we ſhould eat out of Gold or Silver, but out of ſomething cheap and cleanly; it deſires not a Houſe fitted up and adorn'd with Marble and other coſtly Stones, nor of a ſuperfluous Size and Beauty, but proportion'd to the Uſe we are to make of it. In a Word, Neatneſs throughout the whole courſe of Life excludes Luxury, and admits Simplicity as alone ſufficient to ſupply all our Neceſſities; and indeed, Cloaths, Houſe, Houſhold-Stuff, and the like, are then chiefly fit for our uſe, when they are neat and becoming our Conditions. For what need of a great Diſh for a ſmall piece of Meat? And why too a fluttiſh Diſh to ſpoil that Pittance, and make us loath it? What need of a great Houſe for a Man who takes up but one Corner of it? And why too a naſty Houſe that cannot be dwelt in? In like manner of all things beſides, thou wilt find that all is uſeleſs and of no Service, except where Simplicity and Neatneſs meet

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Poſſeſſion, Acquiſition, inſtead of κτίσιν, which ſignifies nothing in this place: The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it yet better, περὶς κτῆσιν, &c.

(*d*) Ἱμάτιον λεπτὸν, ſignifies not in this place *ill Cloaths,* as the *Latin* Interpreter believ'd, who has tranſlated it thus: *Veſtimenta quidem nequaquam vilia;* But it ſignifies Cloaths of a very fine Stuff, and conſequently magnificent and coſtly. Thus *Homer* in the firſt Book of the *Odyſſes,* ſpeaking of *Calypſo,* ſays,

Αὐτὴ δ' ἀργύφεον φᾶρος μέγα ἕννυτο Νύμφη
Λεπτὸν καὶ χαρίεν.

She took a ſplendid Robe, made of a very fine and beauteous Stuff.

When a Man has once paſs'd the Meaſure that Need requires, no Good can follow.

together: (*e*) For when thou haſt once tranſgreſs'd the Meaſure of Need, thou throw'ſt thy ſelf into the Immenſity of Deſire.

Let all things therefore, neceſſary for Life, be temper'd with ſo juſt a Mean, as equally to decline the two contrary Extreams: *Accuſtom thy ſelf*, ſays the Poet, *to a neat manner of living*; but perceiving afterwards that this Neatneſs might throw us into Luxury, he adds, *and without Luxury*; he would only have ſaid, accuſtom thy ſelf *to a way of living without Luxury*, but that he foreſaw that ſuch a Simplicity might be apt to make us fall into Sordidneſs; therefore he join'd theſe two together, *neat and without Luxury*; to prevent our falling into the Exceſs of either, by the Counterpoiſe of one againſt the other, to the end that from both of them might proceed a maſculine ſort of Life, ſuch as becomes a rational Creature.

By ordering our Life in this manner, we ſhall gain another great Advantage, in avoiding the Envy that always attends all Extreams, (*f*) unleſs by running headlong into Exceſs in all things we provoke our Neighbours, ſometimes to hate us for our Luxury, ſometimes to complain of our Slovenlineſs, now to accuſe us of Prodigality, and then to reproach us for Stingineſs and Meanneſs of Soul; for all theſe Exceſſes make us alike incur the Blame of thoſe among whom we live. (*g*) And this is what the

Envy *for* Blame.

(*e*) I have here follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which inſtead of ὑπερέβη and προῆλθη, reads in the ſecond Perſon ὑπερέβης and προῆλθες, which is infinitely better.

(*f*) 'Tis evident that the Text ought to be mended, by adding to it the Negative Μὴ, in this Manner, τῷ μηδὲν ἄγαν μὴ χοιῶν|ες. This Fault nevertheleſs is in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

(*g*) This Word is often us'd in this Senſe in the *Greek*, and ſometimes in the *Latin* Authors; but in our Language it never ſignifies

the Word *Envy* in this place properly ſignifies: For in bidding us *avoid to do what will procure us Envy*, he means, what juſtly will expoſe us to the Blame of Men. Now Reaſon and the general Voice of the World blame Luxury and Sordidneſs in the manner of living, and Profuſeneſs and Niggardlineſs in OEconomy: Decency therefore and Mediocrity in all exterior things ſhew the good Diſpoſition of our Soul, and let us ſee that a due Meaſure is beſt in every thing: For the Man who loves his Repoſe ought as much as poſſible to ſhun all Occaſions of Envy, and to be as much afraid of provoking it, as of rouzing a ſleeping Lion, to the end that without any diſturbance he may advance in the ſtudy of Virtue.

Evils that ariſe from the Ignorance of what is decent and honourable.

We ſhall live exempt from Envy if we embrace a mean but decent way of Life, and decline the pompous Pageantry of thoſe who are ignorant in what Decency and true Honour conſiſt; from which Ignorance of theirs two great Evils ariſe, an unſeaſonable Profuſion or too much Thriftineſs, the firſt of which is blam'd as Pride, the laſt as Meanneſs of Spirit: Thoſe two Extreams are avoided by Liberality, Virtue which conſiſts in giving and in receiving; which in the Income as well as the Expence always follows what is decent and honourable, and which orders all exterior things according to ſound Reaſon.

In what Liberality conſiſts.

Theſe are the profound Reflections that this Philoſopher gives us in theſe Verſes concerning the Uſe we ought to make of our Body and of all exterior things,

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ſignifies any thing except the Paſſion that the Good of others, eſpecially when we think them happier than they deſerve, ſtirs up in us. Nevertheleſs 'twas neceſſary to imploy it here in the firſt Senſe, that we might underſtand this Verſe of *Pythagoras*, and the Explication *Hierocles* give it.

things, to the end that by their Means the Beauty of Virtue may be visible in all our Conduct.

Now the following Precept is only a Summary of what he has been saying.

VERSE XXXIX.

Do only the things that cannot hurt thee, and deliberate before thou doſt them.

Verse 29. Verse 34. Verses 25, and 26.

THis is a Precept which he has already often given us; first in these Words, *But do all, which, when done, will not afflict thee*; and again, *Now I call Measure that which will not incommode thee*; and in a third place, *Let no Man ever seduce thee, either by his Words or by his Actions; nor let him incline thee to do or to say what is not profitable for thee.* And here by this short Recapitulation, he sets again before our Eyes all these Precepts, by advising us to abstain from every thing that may hurt us, and to do all that may be of use to us.

Now 'tis easie to distinguish between these two sorts of Actions, if we deliberate before we act, and reflect what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done; and the time for Deliberation and Consultation is while Matters are yet intire, and before we have set our Hands to the Work: (*a*) And as to what he says in this Place, *the things which cannot*

(*a*) The Text in this Place wanted a whole Line, which I luckily met with in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and in the Manuscript at *Florence*. See here the intire Passage; ἢ ταῦτα δὲ πάλιν τῷ "ΑΣΕ ΜΗ' ΒΛΑΨΗ, ἕτως ἐκκοπόμεθα ἂς ἢ τῷ "ΑΣΕ. &c. This was absolutely necessary for the Sense.

cannot hurt thee, we will explain it as we have already explain'd the Precept he gave us before, when he ſaid, *what will not afflict thee*, and ſay, that by this *Thee* he means that which is indeed Man, the rational Being; that is to ſay, the Man who has embrac'd Wiſdom, and who uſes all his Endeavours to render himſelf like God: (*b*) For this inward Man is wounded by whatever is contrary to right Reaſon, by whatever is contrary to the Divine Law, and by whatever hinders the Reſemblance with God, and that deſtroys his Image in us. And all theſe things generally proceed from the Converſation of thoſe with whom we live, from the Care we have of the Body, to which we are united, and from the uſe we make of Riches, which were invented only to be a Help to the Body, and which for that reaſon are call'd by a Name, that implies, that they ought to be made uſe of for the Neceſſities of the Body.

The things that wound the Inward Man, that is to ſay, the Soul, and whence they proceed.

For they are call'd χρήματα, *things to ſupply Neceſſities.*

He therefore, ſays the Poet, who is inflam'd with the Love of Divine Goods, ought to take great Care never to be prevail'd with to do what is not uſeful for him, never to allow his Body what will be hurtful for himſelf, never to receive or admit any thing that can take him off from the Study of Wiſdom, and of which he will have Cauſe ſoon to repent. We ought to prevent all theſe things by deliberating before we act, to the End that when we come to examine into all our paſt Actions, we may remember them with Pleaſure and Delight; and this is his Deſign in the following Verſes.

VER-

(*b*) There was here a great Fault in the Text, τοῦτον ὃ βλέπειν, *for that Man ſees*, &c. It ought to be corrected thus, τοῦτον ὃ βλάπτειν, *for this Inward Man is wounded*. And ſo I found it in the Margin of the Copy that had been compar'd with the Manuſcripts. The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads τοῦτον ὃ βλάπτῃ.

VERSES XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, and XLIV.

(*) *Never ſuffer Sleep to cloſe thy Eye-lids, after thy going to Bed,*
(†) *'Till thou haſt examin'd by thy Reaſon all thy Actions of the Day.*
Wherein have I done amiſs? What have I done? What have I omitted that I ought to have done?
If in this Examination, thou find that thou haſt done amiſs, reprimand thy ſelf ſeverely for it: And if thou haſt done any Good, rejoice.

Before a Man examines his Conſcience he ought to recollect all the Divine Laws, otherwiſe the Examination will be to no purpoſe.

HEre thou ſhouldſt recollect in thy Memory all the Precepts already given thee, to the End that regarding them as Divine Laws, thou may'ſt

(*) Why does the Poet wait for the end of the Day to make us examin what we have done? and why does he not rather exhort us to reflect in the Morning on what we are to do in the Day? One would think this Advice had been better. If we may believe *Porphyrius* concerning this Matter, there is ſomething wanting in the Text; for he writes that *Pythagoras* adviſ'd, chiefly to take Care of two Hours of the Day, of that when we riſe, and of that when we go to Bed; of the firſt, to reflect on what we are to do during the Day; and of the other to give our ſelves an Account of what we have done: And that he ſaid of the firſt,

Πρῶτα μὲν ὕπνου μελίφρονος ἀντιάσας σε,
Ἐν μάλα ποιπνύειν ὅς᾽ οὐ ἡμάσι ἔρσα τελέσεις

When drowſie Sleep to morning Thoughts gives way,
Think what thou haſt to do th'enſuing Day.

I am

may'ſt make a juſt Examination in the inward Tribunal of thy Soul, of all thou haſt done well or done amiſs: For how can the Inquiry into our paſt Actions enable us to diſtinguiſh when to reprimand, and when to praiſe our ſelves, if the Deliberation that precedes them had not plac'd before us certain Laws and Rules, according to which we ought to regulate our Life, and which ought to be in regard to us (*a*) as a divine Mark, according to which we are to direct all the Receſſes of our Conſcience. *Pythagoras* requires us to make this Examination daily,

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I am of Opinion therefore, that theſe two Verſes ought to be added to the Text, immediately after the fortieth Verſe:

Μήδ' ὕπνον μελαχεῖσω, &c.

Never ſuffer Sleep to cloſe thy Eye-lids, &c. 'Tis very likely that the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* took from this Precept of *Pythagoras* the excellent Reflection he makes in the beginning of his ſecond Book. *We ought*, ſays he, *every Morning when we riſe, to ſay to our ſelves, To Day I ſhall have to do with an Impertinent Fellow, with an ungrateful Perſon*,' &c.

(†) In moſt of the Copies this Verſe of *Pythagoras* runs thus:

Πρὶν δ' ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ὁπόσον ἐπελθεῖν.

E'er thrice thou'ſt call'd to mind thy Actions of the Day.

But *Hierocles* reads it otherwiſe;

Πρὶν δ' ἡμερινῶν ἔργων λογίσασθαι ἕκαστον.

Before thou haſt examin'd by thy Reaſon, &c. And he ſpeaks not in any Place of his Commentary of theſe three Times, which he would not have forgot, had it been the true Reading. In a Word, the Commentary of *Hierocles* is a ſufficient Proof that it ought to be read as he read it. The *Pythagoreans* never oblig'd to reiterate this Examination thrice, once well done is enough.

(*a*) The printed Text ſays only, *as a Mark*, ὡς πρὸς τίνα σκοπόν, but the Manuſcript of *Florence* ſupplies the Word that is wanting, ὡς πρὸς τίνα θεῖον σκοπόν.

daily, that by frequent and assiduous Recollection our Memory may be the more certain and the more infallible. (*b*) And he will have us do it every Evening before we go to sleep, to the end that each Night, after all the Actions of the Day, we may give our selves an exact Account of them before the Tribunal of Conscience; and that this severe Examination of our Dispositions may be as a Hymn of Praise for us to sing to God, at our going to Bed: *Wherein have I done amiss? What have I done? What have I omitted that I ought to have done?* By this means the whole tenour of our Life will be order'd according to the Precepts that have been prescrib'd us, and we shall conform our Reason that judges, to the Divine Intelligence that made the Law.

The Examination of our Dispositions is a Hymn of Praise sung to God at our going to Bed.

For what says the Legislator? That we ought to honour the Superior Beings according to the Order and Rank of their Essence; that we ought to have much Veneration and Respect for our Parents, and Relations; to love and embrace good Men; to keep in Subjection our Passions and Worldly Desires; to respect our selves every where and in all things; to practise Justice; to consider the Shortness of Life, and the Instability of Riches; to receive with Submission the Lot which the Divine Judgment sends us; to take delight only in the Thoughts that are worthy of God; to keep our Mind continually bent on what is most excellent; to love and embrace only the Reasons that truly deserve that Name; to put our selves out of a Condition of being surpriz'd or enslav'd that we may

To save the Reader the trouble of making a Recapitulation of all these Laws, Hierocles *makes it himself.*

(*b*) This Passage is corrupted in the printed Text. The Manuscript of *Florence* has restor'd it in this manner, πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἢ κὴ πρὸς ὑπνον τρεπόμενον. ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸ πέρας ἅπαν μεθημερινῶν πραξέων τὸ ἑαυτῶν συνειδήσεως καθέζοιμεν δικαστήριον.

may preſerve the precious Depoſitum of Virtue; to conſult before we act, that Repentance may not be the Fruit of all we do; to free our ſelves from all Opinion and Obſtinacy; to ſeek after the Life of Knowledge, and to apply and adapt our Body and all exterior things (*c*) to the Functions of Virtue.

Theſe are the Laws that the Divine Intelligence impoſes on the Soul; and no ſooner has Reaſon receiv'd them, but ſhe becomes a very watchful Guard for and over her ſelf, (*d*) *What have I done amiſs? What have I done?* ſays ſhe every Day, (*e*) regularly calling to Mind all her Actions, good and bad. And if at the End of this Examination ſhe find that ſhe has paſs'd the Day without violating any of theſe Laws, ſhe makes her ſelf a Garland of the Fruits of Divine Joy; and if ſhe catches her ſelf in any Crime, ſhe then puniſhes her ſelf by the ſevere Correction of Repentance, as by a-

4 ſtringent

(*c*) I have follow'd the printed Text, whoſe Senſe I take to be very good, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνέργειαν. I think my ſelf nevertheleſs oblig'd to acquaint the Reader, that the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς συνέργειαν, *to the Actions of the beſt Life.*

(*d*) Theſe laſt Words, *ſays ſhe every Day*, were not in the printed Text, and I found them in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, where we read, θαμὰ λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τί παρέβην, &c.

(*e*) The printed Text ſays Word for Word, *and recalling in Order the Remembrance for the ſake of Virtue*, καὶ ἐν τάξει τὴν μνήμην ἀναλαμβάνων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα. Did *Hierocles* then mean to ſay, that this Examination is made to the end that Virtue may increaſe and grow in us? No doubt he did. But the Deſign of it likewiſe is to check and curb Vice. I have therefore, in this Place, follow'd the Amendment of the Learned *Caſaubon*, who inſtead of ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, has corrected it thus, ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, *recall the Remembrance of her Virtues and of her Vices*; that is to ſay, of her good and bad Actions. The Sequel of the Diſcourſe neceſſarily requires it, and *Hierocles* has often join'd theſe two Terms.

ſtringent Remedies. Thus you ſee, ſays the Poet, why you ought to baniſh Sleep, (*f*) to give time to Reaſon to make this Examination. The Body will eaſily diſpenſe with being thus kept awake, not having contracted a Neceſſity of Sleeping, by reaſon of its prudent and temperate Diet, by which means even our moſt natural Paſſions are ſubjected to the Empire of Reaſon.

Never therefore ſuffer Sleep to cloſe thy Eye-lids after thy going to Bed, 'till thou haſt firſt examin'd by thy Reaſon, all thy Actions of the Day: And what is this Examination? *In what have I done amiſs? What have I done? What have I omitted that I ought to have done?* For we ſin in two Manners; either *by doing what we ought not to do,* which is expreſs'd in theſe Queſtions: *In what have I done amiſs? What have I done?* or (*g*) in not doing what we ought to do, which is expreſs'd Word for Word in this Verſe; *What have I omitted of what I ought to have done?* For 'tis one thing to omit the Good, and another to commit Evil; one is a Crime of Omiſſion, the other of Commiſſion: For Example; *We ought always to pray, and never to blaſpheme: We ought to nouriſh our Father and our Mother; and we ought never to uſe them ill.* (*h*) He who keeps not

Sins of Omiſſion and Sins of Commiſſion.

(*f*) According to the printed Text it ought to have been tranſlated, *For the Zeal that Reaſon ought to have to make this Examination:* But the Manuſcript of *Florence* inſtead of προθυμία τῦ λογισμῦ, reads περθεσμία τῦ τῦ λογισμῦ, which is as elegantly expreſs'd as the Thought is fine: 'Tis the ſame as if he had ſaid, *Fail not at the Hour appointed by Reaſon to make this Examen*; Περθεσμία ſignifies properly *a fixt Time.*

(*g*) In the printed Text the Words are tranſpos'd, ἢ τὸ μὴ δέον ποιήσαντες; 'tis viſible it ought to be, ἢ τὸ δέον μὴ ποιήσαντες. And ſo the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it.

(*h*) The Text muſt neceſſarily be corrected, and read, ὃ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, τὸ δέον] μὴ ποιῶν; for he ſpeaks of

not the two firſt Points of theſe two Precepts, does not do what he ought, and he who tranſgreſſes the two laſt, does what he ought not, (*i*) tho' it may be ſaid, that both theſe Precepts are in ſome manner alike, ſeeing they throw us into the Tranſgreſſion of the ſame Law.

In what Sins may be ſaid to be alike.

Thus the Poet exhorts us to make an Examen into all the Actions of the Day, from the firſt to the laſt, in Order, without forgetting the Actions of the Middle; which is expreſs'd in theſe Words, *Continue to go on in this Manner*; for it often happens that the Tranſpoſition deceives the Judgment, and makes it favour ſome Actions, which had the Memory recollected them in Order, would have been inexcuſable. Moreover, this Recapitulation of the Life we have led in the Day, refreſhes in us the Remembrance of all our paſt Actions, and awakens us to the Thoughts of Immortality.

By reaſon of the Circumſtances which aggravate the Sins.

The Examen of our Conſcience awakens in us the Remembrance of Immortality.

And 'tis worth our taking notice, that the Poet, when he commands us to examine each Action, adds not to this Method of Recollection, *Wherein have I done well? What have I done that I ought to have done?* But that all at once he carries our Memory to what will moſt humble our Pride, by adviſing us to make an Inquiry into our Offences; *Wherein have I done amiſs? What have I done?* &c. And he has appointed us a moſt juſt and natural Judge, our own Conſcience, and ſound Reaſon, by appointing our ſelves to be Judges of our ſelves, our ſelves, I ſay, whom we have been taught particularly to revere: For who can reprehend another

X

of Sins of Omiſſion and Commiſſion; and therefore he adds, *Thus theſe two Sins are in ſome manner alike*, &c. This is evident, and ſo the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it.

(*i*) Here we ſee in what the Sins of Omiſſion, and the Sins of Commiſſion may be ſaid to be alike, becauſe they both tranſgreſs the Law of God that forbids them, and becauſe they thereby alike deſerve the Puniſhment due to Tranſgreſſors.

ther as he can reprehend himself? He that is free, making use of his Liberty, rejects the Admonitions of others, when he has no mind to obey them; but our Conscience that acts within us, is of necessity forc'd to harken to it self. This is the Governor that God has given us; this is our Preceptor and Schoolmaster; this is the Judge whom Reason has given us to determine of all our Actions of the Day. 'Tis of this and this alone, that it receives the Accusations and the Sentence, to the end that giving Judgment it self in its own Cause, it may condemn or acquit it self by its own Suffrage, accordingly as it deserves to be condemn'd or acquitted: For after having read in its Memory, as in a Register, all that it has done, (*k*) then, regarding the Law as the Exemplar that it ought to follow, it pronounces Judgment and declares it self worthy of Praise or of Blame; and this daily Practice, (*l*) makes of him who observes it, the true Image of God, by adding or retrenching every Day something, 'till he arrive at his Perfection, and 'till the whole Beauty of Virtue be resplendently conspicuous in him. This is what compleats and perfects the Good Man as much as possible. And here ends the first Part of this small Treatise, the Poet now hastening forward to the Precepts that tend to make a Man become God.

Our most just and most natural Judge is our Conscience guided by sound Reason.

How we become the true Image of God.

(*k*) I have here follow'd the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and the Manuscript of *Florence*, where this Passage is more correct than in the printed Text. They both read it thus, τότε κείνῃ πρὸς ἀδιάδικημα ἀναλέγων ἢ νόμον, ᾧ ἀφίζεται, &c.

(*l*) Instead of ἢ χρωμῆνον, as there is in the Text, we must absolutely read ἢ χεύμενον, as the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts reads it.

VER-

VERSES XLV, XLVI, XLVII, and XLVIII.

Practiſe throughly all theſe things; meditate on them well; thou ought'ſt to love them with all thy Heart.
'Tis they that will put thee in the Way of Divine Virtue.
I ſwear it by him who has tranſmitted into our Soul the ſacred Quaternion,
The Source of Nature, whoſe Courſe is Eternal.

THIS is what I have already ſaid in the Preface, that Practical Philoſophy (a) makes a Man Good, by the Acquiſition of Virtues; that Contemplative Philoſophy makes him like God, * by the Irradiation of Underſtanding, and of Truth; and that at leaſt in what relates to us, ſmall things ought neceſſarily to precede the greater: For 'tis eaſier to conform Human Life to the Rules of Reaſon, than it is to incline it to what is moſt Divine and moſt High; which cannot be done but by giving our ſelves wholly up to Contemplation.

* *That is to ſay by the Rays of Light with which the Divine Underſtanding and Truth inlighten the Mind.*

Beſides, 'tis impoſſible we ſhould enjoy Truth undiſturb'd, if our ſenſible Faculties are not in intire Subjection to the Moral Virtues, according to the Law of the Underſtanding; for the rational

(a) There is in the printed Text, *by the Nature of Virtues*, διὰ τῆς ἀρετῶν φύσεως, which cannot be good Senſe; and I prefer the Reading that I found in the Margin of the Copy, that had been compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, κτίσεως, *Acquiſition*, inſtead of φύσεως, *Nature*.

Soul holding the Middle Rank between the Understanding, and what is depriv'd of Reason, cannot inseparably adhere to this Understanding which is above it, 'till being purify'd and freed from all Affection for the things that are below it, it makes use of them with Purity: And it will be pure when it suffers not it self to be sedue'd and led a stray by what is void of Reason, nor by this mortal Body; and if it takes no farther Care of it than of things that are Foreign to it, and than as is permitted by the Law of God, which forbids us in any manner to throw off the Chain, but commands us to wait 'till God himself comes to deliver us from that Captivity.

Pythagoras taught that 'twas never lawful to kill ones self.

Such a Soul therefore has need of both Sorts of Virtues; of Civil or Practical Virtues, to regulate and moderate the Rage of Desire, that inclines it towards the things here below; and of Contemplative Virtues that incline and raise it up towards the things above, and that unite it to the Superior Beings. Between these two Virtues, the Poet has put two Verses, to be, as it were, the Boundaries to divide them. The first, *Practise throughly all these Things, meditate on them well; thou ought'st to love them with all thy Heart,* is a very proper End and Conclusion of Civil Virtue; and the last, *'Tis they that will put thee in the Way of Divine Virtue,* is the Beginning of Speculative Knowledge, and as it were a noble Entry that leads to it; for this Beginning promises to him who has laid aside the sensual Life, who has deliver'd himself as much as possible from the Excess of Passions, and who thereby, from Beast that he was before, is become Man, it promises him, I say, that from Man that he is, he shall commence God, as much as 'tis possible for Human Nature to participate of the Divine Essence.

Why the Soul has need of Practical and Contemplative Virtue.

Second Part of this Treatise; the Beginning of the Precepts of the Contemplative Life.

(b) Now

(*b*) Now that this deifies us, and that this is the End of Contemplative Truth, is evident by theſe Verſes, which he puts at the End of this Treatiſe, as a noble Concluſion that leaves us no Room to wiſh for more: *And when after having diveſted thy mortal Body, thou art receiv'd into the pure Æther, thou ſhalt be an immortal God, incorruptible, and over whom Death ſhall have no more Dominion:* For 'tis of Neceſſity that we ſhall obtain this happy Re-eſtabliſhment to our primitive State, that is to ſay, this glorious Apotheoſis, by the conſtant Practice of Virtues, and by the Knowledge of Truth. And this is what this ſacred Book evidently demonſtrates to us, as we ſhall ſee anon. *In his Commentary on the laſt Verſe.*

Let us now return to the Verſes at preſent before us, and conſider whether theſe Words, *to practiſe, to meditate,* and *to love,* ſpeaking of the Precepts already given, ſignifie any thing elſe than to apply our whole Soul to the Practice of Virtues: For our Soul being a reaſonable Subſtance, has neceſſarily three Faculties; the firſt is that by which we learn, and this is the Faculty which is commanded *to meditate*: The ſecond is that whereby we retain what we learn, and put it in Practice; and this is the Faculty which is requir'd *to practiſe and to exerciſe:* And the third is that by which we love what we have learnt, and what we practiſe; and this is the Faculty which is exhorted *to love* all theſe things. To practiſe, to meditate, to love. *Three Faculties of the Soul.*

To the end therefore that all the Faculties of our rational Soul may apply themſelves to thoſe Precepts of Virtue, and be wholly intent on them, *All the Faculties of our Soul ought to be intent on the Practice of thoſe Precepts.*

(*b*) I have here follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which reſtores this Paſſage very well, by reading it thus, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς, τοῦτο ἡ θεωρητικὴ ἀληθείας τὸ τέλος.

them, (c) of the intelligent Faculty he requires Meditation; of the active, Practice and Exercise; and of the Faculty that loves, he demands Love; that by their Means we may acquire the things that are truly good, that we may preserve them by Exercise, and always have for them an innate Love in our Hearts. (d) Such a Disposition as this never fails to be attended by Divine Hope, which makes the Splendor of Truth be as eminently conspicuous in our Souls, as he himself promises us, when he says, They will set thee in the Way of Divine Virtue, that is to say, they will make thee like God (e) by the certain Knowledge of all Beings: For the Knowledge of the Causes of Beings, I say of the Causes, which are originally in the Intelligence of God their Creator, *as eternal Exemplars*, leads us to the sublimest Pitch of the Knowledge of God, which is follow'd by a perfect Resemblance with him: And this is that Resemblance which is here call'd *Divine Virtue*, as being much superior to human Virtue that precedes it, and is as it were the Foundation of it.

The Love of Virtue is innate in our Hearts.

Love produces Hope, and Hope produces Faith.

The first part of these Verses concludes with the Love of Philosophy, and of whatever is great and excellent: This Love going first, is follow'd by

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(c) Here a considerable Fault has slipt into the printed Text, ἢ ὀπμελείαν, which ought to be amended and read ἢ μελέτην, as I find it in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and in the Manuscript of *Florence*. All that *Hierocles* says in this Place, concerning the three Faculties of the Soul, is excellent.

(d) Behold here an excellent Gradation: The Meditation, the Practice, and the Love of Virtues produce in our Hearts the Divine Hope; and this Hope makes the Truth shine in them: For our Hope in God is always accompany'd with Light. Therefore St. *Paul*, who was better instructed than all these Philosophers, said of this Hope, *that it makes us not asham'd*.

(e) Instead of ἢ ὑλῶν, which is in the printed Text, it ought to be read as in the Manuscript of *Florence*, ἢ ὅλων.

by the Knowledge of Truth; and this Truth leads us to a perfect Reſemblance with the Divine Virtue, as we ſhall ſee in the enſuing Diſcourſe. The Neceſſity of the Union, and of the Connexion of all theſe things, is here confirm'd by Oaths: (*f*) For the Poet ſwears with much Fervency, that the perfect Acquiſition of human Virtue leads us to the Likeneſs with God. And as to the Precept he gave us at the Beginning of the Verſes, *Reſpect the Oath*, he commands us thereby to forbear ſwearing in caſual things, whoſe Event is uncertain; for ſuch things are of ſmall Moment, and ſubject to change, therefore 'tis neither juſt nor ſafe to ſwear concerning them: But concerning the things here ſpoken of, whoſe Connexion is fix'd by Neceſſity, and whoſe Conſequence is very great, we may ſwear ſafely, and with all manner of Decency and Juſtice: For neither their Inſtability will deceive us, ſince being link'd by the Law of Neceſſity, they cannot but arrive; nor their Meanneſs and Obſcurity render them unworthy to be confirm'd by the Teſtimony and Intervention of the Divinity. And if Virtue and Truth are found in Men, much more are they viſible in the Gods.

The Poet juſtify'd for having ſworn, after he had forbid ſwearing.

Moreover, this Oath is in this Place a Precept, that we ought to honour him, who inſtructs us in the Truth, ſo far as even to ſwear by him, if it be neceſſary for the Confirmation of his Doctrine; and not to ſay barely of him, *he ſaid it*; but to aſſert with Confidence, *the Things are thus, I ſwear it by himſelf.* Now by ſwearing concerning the neceſ-

This is an Error. We may ſwear by the Author of Truth, but not by the Man who announces and teaches it.

(*f*) I have here likewiſe follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, where inſtead of διαλελαγμένως ὄμνυσιν, *he ſwears with Order*, which has no Meaning in this place, we read διαπεπλαγμένως ὄμνυσιν, *impenſe jurat, he ſwears with Warmth.* He means, that the Poet, convinc'd of the Truth and Certainty of the Doctrine which he teaches, ſwears, &c.

neceſſary Connexion and Union of theſe moſt perfect Habitudes, he enters into the very Foundation of Theology, and manifeſtly demonſtrates (*g*) that the

(*g*) We have ſhewn in the Life of *Pythagoras*, that this Philoſopher having learnt in *Egypt* the Name of the true God, the myſterious and ineffable Name *Jehovah*, and finding that in the original Tongue it was compos'd of four Letters, tranſlated it into his Mother Tongue by the Word *Tetractys*, *the Quaternion*, and gave the true Explication of it, ſaying that it properly ſignify'd, *the Source of Nature that perpetually rolls along*; for ſo the original Word ſignifies. His firſt Diſciples preſerv'd this Tradition in all its Purity; but they who ſucceeded them, having in all Appearance loſt the Idea of the true and original Name, that *Pythagoras* had tranſlated and explained, and conceiving no longer how the *Tetractys*, the *Quaternion*, ſhould ſignifie ſo great things, fell into an Imagination that the Virtue of this Quaternary Number wrought all theſe Miracles, and transferring thus to the tranſlated Name all the Power that the original Name attributed to him to whom 'twas given, they conceiv'd this Number to be the true Principle and the Creator of Beings. Two things confirm'd them in this Belief; firſt, the Virtue they pretended to diſcover in this *Four*, that contains all the Powers of the Decad, and thereby all the Numbers; and the ſecond, the very Name of God, which in moſt Languages happens to be compos'd of four Letters. This being allow'd, we ought not to be aſtoniſh'd at the Conſequences of this mighty Diſcovery. 'Twas ſoon believ'd that all Nature was only the Effect of the Powers of Numbers; and this Doctrine got ſuch Footing, that St. *Auguſtin* himſelf thought it not unworthy of him in ſome meaſure to embrace it, and to believe, not that Numbers were the Principles of Things, but that they contain'd infinite Myſteries; and indeed there are great Myſteries in the three, the four, the ſix, the ſeven, the fourteen, *&c.* To convince us of this we need only ſee what is ſaid on this Subject in a Book intitled *Petri Bungi Numerorum Myſteria*, where that learned Author pretends to ſhow the perfect Agreement he finds between the Numbers of the Holy Scripture and the *Pythagorean* Arithmetick. This is not the Place to enter into this Diſcuſſion; I will content my ſelf only with ſaying, that Numbers taken as Principles are meer Chimæra's; for, as *Ariſtotle* ſays very well, Numbers can never be the Principles of Actions and of Changes: They may indeed be ſignificative and denote certain Cauſes, but they can never be thoſe Cauſes themſelves.

the Quaternion, or Number of Four, which is the Source of the Eternal Order of the World, is nothing elſe than God himſelf, who has created all things. But how comes God to be the Quaternion? (*h*) This thou may'ſt learn in the holy Book that is aſcrib'd to *Pythagoras*, (*i*) and in which God is celebrated as the Number of Numbers. For if all things exiſt by his eternal Decrees, 'tis evident that in each Species of things the Number depends on the Cauſe that produc'd them. There we find the firſt Number, and from thence it is come to us. Now the finite Interval of Number is ten, for he who would reckon more, after ten comes back to one, two, three, 'till by adding the ſecond Decad he makes twenty, by adding the third Decad in like manner he makes thirty, and ſo goes on by tens 'till he comes to a hundred. After a hundred he comes back again to one, two, three, and thus the Interval of Ten always repeated will amount to an Infinity. Now the Power of ten is four;

This Book is loſt.

For God is the Unit, and the Unit produces all the Numbers.

For the Greeks *after ten came back to one. The* Latines *did the like, for* undecim *is but* ten *and* one. *The Modern Languages reckon ſo likewiſe.*

(*h*) This Book was a Treatiſe of the Gods, and this Treatiſe was call'd Ἱερὸς λόγος. 'Tis pretended that *Pythagoras* explain'd in it the Opinion of *Orpheus*, who ſaid, that *the Eſſence of Number was the Principle of Things, and the Root of the Gods and of the Demons. Hierocles* ſays 'twas aſcrib'd to *Pythagoras*, becauſe indeed this Opinion was conteſted; ſome attributed it to *Pythagoras*, and others to his Son *Telauges*. See *Jamblicus*, Chap. XXVIII. For my part, I am of Opinion that this Book, as well as what *Orpheus* writ, were Works of a later Date than the Days of *Pythagoras*.

(*i*) God is One; and as all the Numbers proceed from the Unit, ſo every thing that has a Being proceeds from God: So far is certain; but 'tis not arguing aright to ſay, that becauſe God is One, therefore the Number One has produc'd all things by a Virtue inherent in that Number. I will not loſe my Time in refuting all the vain Imaginations of *Hierocles* on this Subject. All that he ſays in theſe two or three Pages concerning Numbers, is at beſt but curious, and leads not to the Knowledge of any ſolid Truth.

four; for before we come to a compleat and perfect Decad, we diſcover all the Virtue and all the Perfection of the ten in the four. For Example; in aſſembling all the Numbers from one to four inclusively the whole Compoſition makes ten; ſince one, two, three, and four are ten; and four is an arithmetical Middle between one and ſeven; for it exceeds the Number one as much as it is exceeded by the Number ſeven; and this Number is three; four being as many more than one as ſeven is more than four. Now the Powers and Properties of the Unit, and of the Septenary, are very great and excellent: For the Unit, as the Principle of all the Numbers, contains in it ſelf the Powers of them all; (*k*) and the ſeven being a Virgin, and without any Mother, holds in the ſecond Place the Virtue and the Perfection of the Unit, becauſe 'tis not ingender'd by any Number within the Interval of ten, as four is produc'd by twice two, ſix by twice three, and eight by twice four, nine by three times three, and ten by twice five: Nor does it produce neither any Number within that Interval, as the Number two produces four, the three nine, and the five ten. And the four holding the middle Place between the uncreated Unit and the motherleſs ſeven, has alone receiv'd the Virtues and Powers of the Numbers producing and produc'd, which are contain'd in the Decad; being produc'd by a certain Number, and producing

(*k*) The Septenary produces no Number within the Interval of ten, nor is it ſelf produc'd by any of the Numbers contained in that Interval. For this Reaſon the *Pythagoreans* compar'd it to *Minerva*, and even gave it this Name becauſe *Minerva* was a Virgin and had no Mother. Behold one of the noble and excellent Qualities of the Number ſeven, that is to ſay, the extravagant Notions which the *Pythagoreans* believ'd as profound Myſteries.

cing likewiſe another; for two being doubled begets four, and four being doubled begets eight.

Add to this, that the firſt ſolid Body is found in the Quaternion; for a Point anſwers to a Unit, and a Line to a Binary; becauſe indeed from one Point we go to another Point, and this makes the Line: And the Superficies anſwers to the Ternary; for a Triangle is the moſt plain of all rectilineal Figures: But Solidity is the Nature of the Quaternion; for 'tis in the four that we diſcover the firſt Pyramid, whoſe triangular Baſis is compos'd by the three, and its Point or Top is made by the Unit.

(*l*) Moreover, there are four Faculties that judge of things; Underſtanding, Knowledge, Opinion, and Senſe; for all things fall under the Judgment of one of theſe four Faculties. (*m*) In a Word, the

(*l*) 'Tis impoſſible to conceive any other Faculty beſides theſe four, or to imagine any thing that will not fall within the Compaſs and Extent of one of them: For, as *Ariſtotle* acknowledges in the firſt Book of the Soul, Chap. 2. *All things are judg'd, ſome by the Underſtanding, others by Knowledge, others by Opinion, and others by Senſe:* Κείσεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα τὰ μὲν νῷ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιστήμῃ, τὰ δὲ δόξῃ, τὰ δὲ αἰσθήσει. The ſame *Ariſtotle* teaches likewiſe, that *the Underſtanding anſwers to the Number one, Knowledge to two, Opinion to three, or, which is the ſame thing, to the Superficies, and Senſe to the Quaternion, or to the ſolid Figure.* His Words are remarkable: Νοῦν μὲν τὸ ἕν, ἐπιστήμην δὲ τὸ δύο, &c. ᾗ δὲ τῷ ἐπιπέδῳ αἴσθησιν δόξαν, αἰσθήσιν δὲ ᾗ τῷ στερεῷ. *Plutarch* ſays the ſame thing in the ſecond Book of the Opinions of Philoſophers, Chap. III. and explains the Reaſons of it: But in this Author the Senſe has no Number that anſwers to it; therefore *Theodorus Marcilius* had Reaſon to believe, that there is a Gap in the Text, and that one or two Lines are wanting, where *Plutarch* had explain'd in what Manner the Senſe anſwers to the Number four, and had ſhewn that as the four contains the three, ſo in like manner the Senſe contains the three other Faculties, the Underſtanding, Knowledge, and Opinion.

(*m*) The Quaternion includes the four Elements, becauſe there are four of them; and the Numbers, becauſe they are all

the Quaternion contains and binds together all Beings whatsoever, the Elements, Numbers, Seasons, Ages, Societies or Communities; and 'tis impossible to name any one single thing, that depends not on that Number, as on its Root and Principle: For, as we said before, the Quaternion is the Creator and the Cause of all things. The Intelligible God is the Cause of the Heavenly and Sensible God. (*n*) The Knowledge of this God was transmitted to the *Pythagoreans* by *Pythagoras* himself, (*o*) by whom the Author of these Verses swears in this Place, that the Perfection of Virtue will lead us to the Light of Truth; so that we may safely say, that this Precept, *Respect the Oath*, is particularly observ'd in regard to the Eternal Gods, who

By this intelligible and sensible God, he means the Heavens, the Universe.

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all contain'd in the Powers of four, that composes the perfect Number ten, as has been before explain'd. It includes likewise the four Seasons of the Year, and the four Ages of Man, because there are four Seasons, and four Ages. But how can it be said to contain likewise the Societies? This we are taught by *Theo*, the *Platonick* Philosopher, in his Book *de locis Mathematicis in* Tim. Plat. cap. ἑβδόμη δὲ τελειότης, ἡ ἐκ πολιτῶν, ἀρχὴ μὲν καὶ ὅρος ἄνθρωπος, δυὰς δὲ οἶκος, τριὰς δὲ κώμη, τέλειος δὲ πόλις, τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος ἐκ τούτων συγκεῖται. *The seventh Quaternion is that of Societies: The Foundation, and as it were the Unit of this Quaternion, is Man; the two, the House; the three, the Village; the four, the City; for of these each People is compos'd.* He means, that in the Number four we find whatever composes the different Nations; for they are only a Compound of Men, of Houses, of Villages, and of Cities.

(*n*) I have in this Place follow'd the Manuscript of *Florence*, where instead of ἡ τούτων γνῶσις, we read ἡ τούτου γνῶσις; *the Knowledge of this intelligible God*, that is to say, *of this Quaternion*. What follows proves the Necessity of this Amendment.

(*o*) The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and the Manuscript of *Florence*, have restor'd this Passage, which is very corrupt in the printed Text, where we read ὃν καὶ νῦν ἐπόμενος, which is not Sense; it ought to be mended ὃν καὶ νῦν ἐπόμνυσι, *by whom he swears*, for that is the Matter in Question.

who are always the ſame, (*p*) and that in this Place the Poet ſwears by him who taught us the Quaternary Number, (*q*) who indeed was not one of theſe Gods, nor of the Heroes who are ſuch by Nature, but only a Man adorn'd with the Likeneſs of God, and who preſerv'd in the Minds of his Diſciples all the Majeſty of that Divine Image. (*r*) For this Reaſon the Poet, in Affairs of ſo great

Great Praiſe of Pythagoras.

(*p*) He means, that the Author of theſe Verſes has exactly obſerv'd the Precept, *Reſpect the Oath*, in regard to the Gods; for he ſwears not by them, but by a Man who was not God.

(*q*) I know nothing more great and noble than the Encomium that *Hierocles* here gives *Pythagoras*, in ſaying that he was not one of the Gods, but a Man like to God, and who preſerv'd in the Minds of his Diſciples all the Majeſty of that Image.

(*r*) *Hierocles* always returns to the Oath which he pretends the Author of theſe Verſes ſwore by *Pythagoras* himſelf, as by the Man who firſt taught the Knowledge of the ſacred Quaternion. I cannot but wonder that after an Explication ſo plain, ſo well authoriz'd, and ſo conformable to the Veneration which the *Pythagoreans* had for their Maſter, the learned *Selden*, in his Treatiſe *de Diis Syris*, has labour'd after ſo different and ſo far-fetch'd an Explication: In the firſt Place ſee how he recites the Paſſage:

Οὐ μὰ τὰν ἀμέτερᾳ ψυχᾷ παραδόντα τετρακτὸν,
Παγὰν ἀενάου φύσεως ριζώματ' ἐχοῦσᾳν.

And he explains it thus. *No, I ſwear by the Quaternion, who has tranſmitted into our Souls the Source that contains the Roots of eternal Nature*, that is to ſay, *I ſwear by the Creator of the Univerſe*. He makes τελεκτὺς of the Maſculine Gender; and explains *theſe Roots* ριζώματα, *the four Elements*. This Explication is unwarrantable, and contrary to the Opinion of all Antiquity. We need only ſee what *Jamblicus* ſays in the Life of this Philoſopher, Chap. 28. *Such an Oath is imputed to the* Pythagoreans, *becauſe indeed they durſt not out of Reſpect mention the Name of* Pythagoras, *as they were very cautious of calling the Gods by their Names, but they included him under the Name of the Inventer of the Quaternion.* I own however that they ſwore ſometimes by the Quaternion, but this is not a ſufficient Reaſon to change the Senſe of this Verſe.

great Moment, ſwears by him, thereby tacitly *to* inſinuate the great Veneration his Diſciples had for him, and the vaſt Reſpect and Eſteem which this Philoſopher had acquir'd, on account of the Doctrine he taught.

The chief of his Precepts was the Knowledge of the Quaternion that created all things: But ſeeing the firſt Part of this Verſe has been briefly explain'd, and the latter Part of it conſiſting of a firm and ſolemn Promiſe, (*s*) that the ſacred Name of the Quaternion is known by a Hope that cannot deceive us; (*t*) and ſeeing beſides that this Divine Quaternion has been explain'd, as fully as the Bounds which we preſcrib'd to our ſelves would allow, let us proceed to the other things to which theſe Verſes ſummon us; but let us in the firſt place ſhew with what Ardour, and with what Preparation we ought to apply our ſelves thereto, and what need we have to be therein aſſiſted and ſuccour'd by the Superior Beings.

(*s*) This Paſſage is very faulty in the Text, or at leaſt I confeſs I do not underſtand it. Ἱερορά[illegible] is not Senſe, and ἱερορά[illegible], as the Manuſcripts read it, is no better; for what can mean *the ſacred Interpreter of the Quaternion is known by a Hope that does not deceive?* Once more, I do not underſtand it. I believe *Hierocles* writ ἱερὰ φάτις, inſtead of ἱερορά[illegible], ἱερὰ φάτις, *the ſacred Name*. He regards even the Word *Quaternion* as a holy Word becauſe of God whom it denotes, and of the inferior Virtues which this Number contains; and he ſays that *this Name is known by a Hope that cannot deceive*; becauſe it was *Pythagoras* himſelf who taught it to his Diſciple, and he was a Man incapable to deceive them.

(*t*) For he endeavour'd to ſhew by the Powers of this Number, how it was the Source of Nature, and the Cauſe of the Creation: But *Pythagoras* explain'd it with greater Solidity, by demonſtrating it to be the Explication of the unutterable Name of which we have been ſpeaking.

VER-

VERSES XLVIII, and XLIX.

But never begin to ſet thy Hand to the Work,
'Till thou haſt firſt pray'd the Gods to accompliſh what thou art going to begin.

THE Author of theſe Verſes deſcribes in a few Words the two things that abſolutely muſt concur to make us obtain the true Goods: Theſe two things are the voluntary Motion of our Soul, and the Aſſiſtance of Heaven; for tho' the Choice of Good be free, and depend on us, (*a*) ſeeing nevertheleſs that we hold this Liberty and this Power from God, we have continual Need of the Aſſiſtance of God, to co-operate with us, (*b*) and to accom-

The two things neceſſary to make us obtain the true Goods.

God is the Author of our Liberty and by conſequence we have need of his Succour.

(*a*) Behold here a Pagan who confeſſes that tho' we are free, yet ſeeing 'tis from God that we hold this Freedom, we have continual need of his Aſſiſtance, to make uſe of it in Order to do what is good; for of our ſelves we can only make an ill Uſe of it, and it would ſerve for nothing but to deſtroy us.

(*b*) There is here a great Fault in the printed Text; for what means ἡ τελειώσεως τ αἰθητ῀ῶν, *of the Perfection*, or *of the Accompliſhment of ſenſible things*, or as the *Latin* Interpreter has turn'd it, *rerum perfectione quæ ſenſus movent?* 'Tis impoſſible that this ſhould make any Senſe whatever. Inſtead of αἰθητ῀ῶν, *of ſenſible things*, we read in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, αἱρεθέντων, *of the things which we have choſen*, or *undertaken*. The Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it thus likewiſe. But I am perſuaded that *Hierocles* writ αἰτηθέντων, *of the things that we ask*. He ſays that we have need that God ſhould perfect and accompliſh what we ask of him in our Prayers, that is to ſay, all our good Works, and all the Good that we do. And as a certain Proof that this is the true Reading, we find that in the very next Page *Hierocles* writes likewiſe, μηδὲν ἄνευ τ῀ῆς τ῀ῶν αἰτηθέντων παρασκευ῀ῆς, *without imploying on our part the laſt Endeavour to obtain what we ask.*

accompliſh what we ask of him: For our own Endeavours are properly like an open Hand, ſtretch'd out to receive good things; and what he contributes on his part is like the Magazine or Source of the Gifts which he beſtows upon us. Our Part is to ſeek after that which is good, and 'tis the Part of God to ſhow it to them who ſeek after it as they ought: And Prayer is a Medium between our ſeeking, and the Gift of God; 'tis addreſs'd to the Cauſe that has produc'd us, and which as it gave us our Being, gives us our Well-being likewiſe.

Prayer is in vain without Works, and Works in vain without Prayer. Our Actions ought to be incouraged by Prayers; and our Prayers by Actions.

Now how can Man receive any Good unleſs God beſtows it? And how ſhall God, who can alone give it, give it to him, who being the Maſter of his own Deſires, diſdains even to ask for it? To the end therefore that on the one hand we may not pray in Words only, but confirm our Prayers by our Actions, and that on the other hand we may not entirely truſt in our Actions, but implore the Aſſiſtance of God on them, and thus join our Prayers and Actions together, as Form to Matter; the Poet, to incline us to pray for what we do, and to do what we pray for, joins theſe two together, and ſays, *But never begin to ſet thy Hand to the Work, 'till after thou haſt pray'd the Gods to accompliſh what thou art about to begin.*

To act without Prayer is an impious Virtue and without God.

And indeed, we neither ought to undertake good Actions, as if the Succeſs depended on us, without the Aſſiſtance of God, (c) nor content our ſelves with the bare Words of Prayer, without uſing on our Part the leaſt Endeavour to obtain what

(c) Here is a Fault in the printed Text, λοιτομοῖς has no Meaning in this Place; it ought to be read λόγοις, as we find in the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

what we aſk: For in ſo doing, (*d*) either we ſhall embrace only a Virtue that is impious, and without God, if it be permitted to uſe that Expreſſion, or we ſhall utter Prayers that will be void of Works: Now the Impiety of the firſt will intirely ruin the very Eſſence of Virtue; (*e*) and the Inaction of the laſt will abſolutely deſtroy the Efficacy of our Prayers. For how can that be good which is not done according to the Law of God? And how can that which is done according to that Law, not ſtand in need of the Aſſiſtance of the ſame God, to make it exiſt and to bring it to Perfection. For Virtue is the Image of God in the reaſonable Soul. (*f*) Now every Image has need of the Original that it may ſubſiſt; (*g*) but 'tis in vain for us to

There is nothing good but what is done according to the Law of God

Y poſſeſs

(*d*) There is nothing more true. To act without praying is impious, and to pray without acting is in vain; for God will have us work with him. This Principle alone puts to Flight and deſtroys a World of Errors and Illuſions, that are unhappily renew'd in our Days.

(*e*) Nothing is truer or better argu'd; and I cannot ſee why *Caſaubon* corrected this Paſſage, and read ψυχῆς for εὐχῆς, *will deſtroy the Vigour of the Soul.* Nothing can be more wide of the Senſe of *Hierocles*.

(*f*) It not being the Buſineſs of an Original to act in forming the Copy, but ſeeing 'tis ſufficient to have it lye before the Workman, we might ſay, that God being once known, Man by his own Strength alone may draw in himſelf the Image of him: But 'tis not with God as with other Originals, nor with Virtue as with other Copies. Virtue cannot form it ſelf in the Soul but by the Co-operation of its Original, he being the Source of all Good and of Light. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, read γένεσιν, *Production, Birth*, inſtead of ὑπόστασιν, *Exiſtence*.

(*g*) Not approving of the Reading in the printed Text, ᾗ εἰκῆ τὸ κτωμένον, *what we have acquir'd is uſeleſs*, I found in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, ᾗ οὐ πρὸς τὸ κτωμένον, *what we have acquir'd is not ſufficient*; and afterwards I ſaw that the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads, ᾗ οὐ πρὸς τῷ κτωμένῳ, which I took to be the true Reading, becauſe the Senſe is very fine, and therefore I follow'd it; *'Tis in vain for us to have acquir'd this Image, unleſs we continually regard,*

poſſeſs this Image, if we keep not our Eyes continually fixt on this Original, whoſe Likeneſs alone is the Cauſe of all that is good and excellent.

If therefore we would acquire active Virtue, we muſt pray, but then our Prayers muſt be accompany'd with Actions; and this is that which makes us always look up to the Divinity, and to the Light that ſurrounds it; and that excites us to the Study of Philoſophy, (*h*) by being always imploy'd in the Acts of Virtue, and by addreſſing our Prayers without ceaſing to the firſt Cauſe of all Good. For *the Source of Nature whoſe Courſe is Eternal*, the holy Quaternion, is the firſt Cauſe, not only of the Being of all things, but of their Well-being likewiſe, having ſown and diffus'd thro' all the Univerſe the Good that is innate and natural to it, as an incorruptible and intelligent Light. The Soul that adheres to this Cauſe, (*i*) and that has purify'd her ſelf like an Eye, to make her Sight the more clear and more piercing, is ſtirr'd up to Prayer by her Application to good Works, and by the Plenitude of Good that reſults from Prayer,

The Application to good Works ſtirs us up to Prayer.

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regard, &c. 'Tis not with our Soul and with God, as with other Originals and other Copies. The Copy of an Original once made, preſerves always its Likeneſs independant from the Original it repreſents: But 'tis in vain for the Soul of Man to be the Image of God, unleſs we keep the Original continually before our Eyes; for without it the Image will ſoon be wip'd out and deſtroy'd, becauſe 'tis this Original that always perfects its Copy, and preſerves the Likeneſs between them.

(*h*) Here ſomething was wanting in the Text. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts had in the Magin μεθ' ἣν ἐυχὴν ἢ πρώτης αἰτίας; which comes near the true Reading as the Manuſcript of *Florence* gives it us, μεθ' ἣν ἐυχὴν πρὸς ἢ πρώτην αἰτίαν; for the Matter in hand is Prayer accompany'd with Works.

(*i*) I have follow'd the Lection of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, which is confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ἑαυτὴν διαμήξασα, inſtead of ἑαυτῆς διαμήξασα.

Prayer, ſhe increaſes her Fervency, joining good Actions to pious Words, and confirming and ſtrengthning thoſe good Actions by this Divine Intercourſe. Thus partly diſcovering of her ſelf, and partly inlighten'd from above, ſhe does what ſhe prays for, and prays for what ſhe does. And this is the ſo neceſſary Union of Prayer and of Works: But what are the Advantages we gain by theſe two Means join'd together, is the Subject of what follows.

VERSES XLIX, L, and LI.

When thou haſt made this Habitude familiar to thee,
Thou wilt know the Conſtitution of the Immortal Gods and of Men,
Even how far the different Beings extend, and what contains and binds them together.

Advantages that reſult from the joining of Actions to Prayers.

THE firſt thing the Author promiſes to ſuch as practiſe the foregoing Precepts, (*a*) is the Knowledge of the Gods, the Science of Theology, and to be able to diſtinguiſh aright between all the Beings that flow from this ſacred Quaternion, with their Difference according to their Kinds, and their Union in order to the Conſtitution of this

(*a*) Here we ſee in what the Science of Theology conſiſted, according to *Pythagoras*; that is to ſay, in the Knowledge of God, and of the rational Beings which he has created; and in practiſing whatever this Knowledge neceſſarily requires of us. How happy would Men be, if they contain'd themſelves within theſe Bounds!

this Univerſe; for their Order and their Rank are in this place expreſs'd by this Word *Conſtitution*. *(b) How far they extend themſelves*, expreſſes their ſpecifick Difference, and *what contains and binds them together*, marks their generical Community.

For the Angels being a middle Eſſence between God and Man, Man re-aſcends to God by means of the middle Being.

For the ſeveral Kinds of rational Subſtances, tho' they are divided by their Nature, re-unite themſelves by the ſame Interval that divides them: And ſome of them being firſt, others in the Middle, and others laſt, is what at the ſame time ſeparates and unites them; for by this means, neither can the firſt be middle or laſt, *(c)* nor the middle firſt or laſt, nor the laſt middle or firſt; but they remain eternally diſtinguiſh'd and divided according to their Genus, by the Bounds which their Creator has preſcrib'd them: And thus we underſtand theſe Words, *how far the different Beings extend themſelves*; and that we may underſtand likewiſe the Words that follow, *and what contains and binds them together*, let us examine them as follows.

The ſeveral Natures never confound themſelves.

This Univerſe would not be perfect if it contain'd not in it ſelf the firſt, the middle, and the laſt

(*b*) By rational Subſtances is meant the common Genus that includes all the Species, Gods, Angels and Men. This is what *Pythagoras* calls Σύσασιν, that contains the Order and Rank which they poſſeſs. Ἢ τί ἕκαστα διέχηλα, *How far each of them extend*: For the Species are different; the Gods confound not themſelves with the Angels, nor the Angels with the Gods or with Men: Each of theſe Beings has its Bounds mark'd out, Ἢ τε κρᾶσις, *which contains and binds them*, that is to ſay, that re-unites them, and that makes of theſe different Species one and the ſame Genus, and one only Whole, ſo that the laſt Species remounts to the firſt by its Middle. I have taken the greater Care in explaining this Paſſage of *Pythagoras*, and in confirming the Explication which *Hierocles* has given it, becauſe *Salmaſius* has explain'd it very ill in his Preface to the *Arabick* Verſion of the Picture of *Cebes*.

(*c*) I have added theſe Words which were viſibly wanting in the Text, but are ſupply'd in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, ἤτε τὰ μέσα πρῶτα ἢ ἔσχατα.

laſt Parts of it, as the Beginning, the Middle, and the End of all this Syſtem, of all this Compoſition: Nor would the firſt Parts of it be the firſt, if they were not attended by the middle and by the laſt; nor would the middle Part be the middle, if they had not on either hand of them the two Extreams; nor laſtly, would the laſt Parts be what they are, if they were not preceded by the firſt and by the middle.

All theſe different Beings ſerve together to the Perfection of the whole Fabrick, and this is what is here meant by theſe Words, *and what contains them, and binds them to one another.* Inaſmuch as they differ in their Kinds, they are ſeparate from one another; but inaſmuch as they are Members of one and the ſame Whole, they rejoin and reunite themſelves: (*d*) And by this Separation and this Union together, they compleat and perfect the whole Conſtitution and Order of this Divine Work; a Conſtitution which thou wilt perfectly know, if thou get'ſt a Habitude of the * Good Things of which he has already ſpoken. We cannot mention the two Extreams, but the middle will immediately preſent it ſelf to the Mind; therefore he thought it enough to ſay, *the Conſtitution of the Immortal Gods and of Men.* For the firſt Beings are link'd to the laſt by the middle Beings; and the laſt re-aſcend to the firſt by the Mediation and Interpoſition of the Heroes, full of Goodneſs and of Light. For this is the Number and the

* *That is to ſay, Prayer and good Actions by the Practice of Virtues.*

Why he mentions not the middle Beings, who are the Heroes full of Goodneſs and of Light, that is to ſay, the Angels.

(*d*) For by their Separation they compleat and perfect this Divine Work, inaſmuch as thereby the Univerſe is fill'd and adorn'd with intelligent Creatures, who are its Perfection; and by their Union, they compleat and perfect it likewiſe, inaſmuch as thereby the Whole re-aſcends to God, who fills the Whole, who animates the Whole, and who perfects the Whole.

the Order of Intelligent Beings, as we ſaid in the Beginning of this Work; where we ſhew'd that the firſt in this Univerſe are the Immortal Gods, after them the beneficent Heroes, and laſt of all the terreſtrial Demons, whom he here calls *mortal Men*. Now how to know each of theſe Kinds has been already ſhewn in the Beginning of this Diſcourſe; to wit, by having a ſcientifical Knowledge of all theſe Beings, (*e*) which Tradition has taught us to honour: (*f*) And this ſcientifical Knowledge is form'd only in ſuch as have adorn'd Practical Virtue with Contemplative Virtue, or whom the Goodneſs of their Nature has exalted from human to divine Virtues: For thus to know the Beings as they were eſtabliſh'd and conſtituted by God himſelf, is to raiſe our ſelves up to the Divine Likeneſs. But foraſmuch as next to this Diſpoſition and Order (*g*) of theſe incorporeal or immaterial Beings ſucceeds the Corporeal Nature, which fills this viſible World, and is ſubmitted to the

Philoſophers only and Saints have ſcientifical Knowledge.

(*e*) He calls *Traditions*, the Truths which the *Egyptians* had taught the *Greeks*, and which they had learnt from the People of God, and from the antient Patriarchs. *Plato* ſpeaks like-
In Book XI. *of the Laws*, Tom. 2. p. 907. wiſe of theſe Traditions; *We ought therefore to believe theſe Traditions which are ſo certain, and ſo antient, and give Credit to the Teſtimony of the Law-givers who have tranſmitted them to us, unleſs we will accuſe them of Folly.* And in another
In Book VI. *of the Laws*, Tom. 2. p. 715. Place; *God, as we learn from antient Tradition, having in himſelf the Beginning, the Middle and the End of all things.*

(*f*) This Paſſage is defective in the printed Text, but we find it intire in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, where inſtead of κοσμεῖσθαι we read κοσμῶσιν ἑαυτὴν, and inſtead of μετεσχεδιάσθαι we find μετεσαμβώσις. My Tranſlation explains it ſufficiently.

(*g*) The Text ſays, *of theſe Immortal Beings*; the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, read ἀσώματος, *Incorporeal*, and this is the true Reading. When he calls theſe rational Beings *Incorporeal*, he ſpeaks of the terreſtrial and material Body; for he allows them a ſubtile Body, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

the Conduct of thoſe rational Eſſences, the Poet ſhews in the next place that the Advantage of Natural or Phyſical Philoſophy and Knowledge, will be the Effect of having learnt all theſe things with Order and in the Method before-mention'd.

Knowledge of Nature a Conſequence of the Knowledge of God.

VERSES LII, and LIII.

Thou ſhalt likewiſe know, according to Juſtice, that the Nature of this Univerſe is in all things alike.

So that thou ſhalt not hope what thou ought'ſt not to hope; and nothing in this World ſhall be hid from thee.

(*a*) NAture in forming this Univerſe after the Divine Meaſure and Proportion, made it in all things conformable and like to it ſelf, analogically in different Manners; and of all the different Species, diffus'd throughout the whole, it made as it were an Image of the Divine Beauty, imparting variouſly to the Copy the Perfections of the Original;

Nature in this Place is no other than God.

(*a*) *Hierocles* having but now mark'd out to us the true Bounds of Theology, he here marks out the Limits of Natural Philoſophy, inſinuating that we ought to content our ſelves with penetrating no farther into this Science than is needful to let us know, that God created this Univerſe, and ſtamp'd upon it ſeveral Characters of his own Perfections; that all its Parts are ſubordinate to one another, by Virtue of the ſame Law that eſtabliſh'd them; and that Man holding the Middle Rank between the Superior and Inferior Beings, may through the Motion of his own Will, unite himſelf to the one or the other of them, and participate of the Nature of Beaſts, or of the Nature of God. Thus *Pythagoras* included Morality in Phyſicks; and this Method *Socrates* obſerv'd likewiſe.

ginal; for to the Heavens it gave perpetual Motion, and to the Earth Stability. Now these two Qualities are so many Strokes or Touches of the Divine Resemblance. He appointed the Celestial Body to surround the Universe, and the Terrestrial Body to serve for Centre to the Celestial. Now in a Sphere the Centre and the Circumference may be regarded in different Respects, as its Beginning and as its Principle. (*b*) Hence it is, that the Circumference is diversify'd with an Infinity of Stars and of Intelligent Beings; and that the Earth is adorn'd with Plants and with Animals, who are indu'd only with Sense: Between these two Sorts of Beings so different from each other, Man holds the Middle Space, as an amphibious Animal, being the last of the Superior Beings, and the first of the Inferior; (*c*) this is the Reason why he sometimes unites himself to the Immortal Beings, and by his Return (*d*) to Understanding and to Virtue, recovers his natural State; and sometimes he replunges himself among the Mortal, and by transgressing the Divine Laws, forfeits and falls off from his Dignity. And indeed being the last of Rational Beings, he cannot think and know always alike; (*e*) for if he could, he would

The Greek Word νοῦς *signifies* to use the Understanding.

(*b*) *Hierocles* in my Opinion means, that seeing the Circumference and the Centre may be regarded as the Principle of the Sphere of the Universe, God has not neglected either the one or the other, but has been pleas'd that they should be diversify'd and adorn'd according to their Nature, and that they should bear the Marks of his Glory and of his Power.

(*c*) Instead of διὰ πρῶτον ἦν, which is in the printed Text, I read διὰ πότε ἦν, as the Copy compar'd with the Manuscript of *Florence* read it.

(*d*) I have added these Words, *and to Virtue*, because I found them in the Manuscript of *Florence*.

(*e*) The Manuscript of *Florence* has very well corrected the Text of this Passage, by reading ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἂν εἰ ἦν ἐνόησεν ὁ. If Man thought and knew always alike, he would not be Man, but God; for God alone has this great Excellency by his Nature.

would not be Man, but God by Nature; nor contemplate always, for that would place him in the Rank of Angels: Whereas he is only Man, who by Reſemblance and Likeneſs may raiſe himſelf up to what is moſt good and excellent; and who by Nature is inferior to the Immortal Gods, and to the Heroes full of Goodneſs and of Light, that is to ſay, to the two Kinds that hold the firſt and ſecond Rank: As he is inferior to theſe Beings, inaſmuch as he does not always know and contemplate, but is ſometimes in a total Ignorance and Forgetfulneſs of his own Eſſence, and of the Light that deſcends from God upon him; ſo likewiſe on the other hand, by not being always in this Forgetfulneſs and Ignorance, he is ſuperior to all the Animals without Reaſon, and to Plants, and he ſurpaſſes by his Eſſence all the terreſtrial and mortal Nature, inaſmuch as he is himſelf naturally capable to return towards his God, to efface his Forgetfulneſs by Reminiſcency, to recover by Inſtruction what he has loſt, and to repair his Flight from things above, by a quite contrary Tendency, that is to ſay, by being wholly intent upon them.

How Man is inferior to God, and to the Angels, and how ſuperior to all irrational Animals.

Man is above all the terreſtrial and mortal Nature.

(f) This being therefore the Nature of Man, it becomes him to know the Conſtitution of the Immortal Gods, and of mortal Men, that is to ſay, the Order and the Rank of Rational Beings; to know that the Nature of this Univerſe is in all Reſpects alike, that is to ſay, that the whole corporeal Subſtance, from the higheſt to the loweſt, is honour'd with an analogical Likeneſs of God; and laſtly, to know all theſe things *according to Juſtice*, that is to

What is meant by this Precept, that all the Works of God ought to be known according to Juſtice.

(f) I have here follow'd the Reading which I found in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, where theſe two Words, τοιάυτη ἴση, which were wanting in the Text, are ſupply'd, ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἰσότητα τοιάυτη ἴση; and thus the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads it.

to ſay, as they are eſtabliſh'd by the Law, as God created them, and in what manner, the Incorporeal as well as the Corporeal, are diſpos'd and plac'd by his Laws: For this Precept that commands us *to know them according to Juſtice*, ought to be underſtood of the one and the other of theſe two Works of God.

Nor may we through a blind and indiſcreet Zeal preſume, as we pleaſe, to attribute the Dignity due to one Being to another; but obſerving the Limits of Truth, we ought *to know them all* according to Juſtice, and as the Law of their Creation has fix'd and diſtinguiſh'd them. And from this twofold Knowledge, I mean the Knowledge of the Incorporeal Work of God, and the Knowledge of the Corporeal and Viſible, we gain this unſpeakable advantage, *Not to hope what is not to be hop'd, and to have nothing in this World hidden from us.* (*g*) For the Reaſon why *we hope what is not to be hop'd*, and project Impoſſibilities, is becauſe we are ignorant of the Nature of Things. As if a Man ſhould hope to become one of the Immortal Gods, or of the Heroes, full of Goodneſs and of Light, he muſt be wholly ignorant of the Bounds of Nature, and makes no difference between the firſt, ſecond and laſt Beings. But again, if through a ſhameful Ignorance of the Immortality annex'd to our Soul, a Man ſhould perſuade himſelf that his Soul dies with his Body, he expects what he ought not to expect, and what can never happen; in like manner he who expects that after his Death he ſhall put on the Body

The Advantage that ariſes from the Knowledge of the Works of God, that is to ſay, from Theology and Phyſicks.

The Soul cannot die with the Body.

(*g*) Here *Hierocles* manifeſtly oppoſes their Error, who abſurdly taking the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, flatter'd themſelves that Man might become God, or believ'd he might grow a Beaſt, which the Law of the Creation will in no wiſe ſuffer. But of this we have ſufficiently ſpoken in the Life of *Pythagoras*, and in the Life of *Plato*.

dy of a Beaſt, and become an Animal without Reaſon, becauſe of his Vices, or a Plant becauſe of his Dulneſs and Stupidity; ſuch a Man, I ſay, acting quite contrary to thoſe who transform the Eſſence of Man into one of the Superior Beings, and precipitating it into one of the inferior Subſtances, is infinitely deceiv'd, and abſolutely ignorant of the Eſſential Form of our Soul, which can never change; (*h*) for being and continuing always Man, 'tis only ſaid to become God or Beaſt by Virtue or Vice, though by its Nature it cannot be either the one or the other, but only by its Reſemblance to the one or the other: In a Word, he that knows not the Dignity of each Being, but exceeds it or comes ſhort of it, makes of his Ignorance a Foundation of vain Hopes and Opinions, or of cauſeleſs Fears; whereas every Man who diſtinguiſhes the Beings according to the Limits which their Creator has preſcrib'd them, who knows them in the Manner in which they were created, (*i*) who meaſures

The Soul can never change. What the Metempſychoſis *of* Pythagoras *was.*

(*h*) It cannot be more plainly ſaid, that the *Metempſychoſis* of *Pythagoras* was only a Figure to make it be underſtood, that Man becomes like Beaſts by Vice, and like God by Virtue; and that he can neither be the one nor the other by his Nature.

(*i*) This is the literal Explication of the printed Text, ᾧ ἀναμετρᾶν ἢ Θεὸν τῇ ἑαυτῆ γνώσι; which may be interpreted in a Senſe good enough: For to meaſure God by the Knowledge of our ſelves, is by conſidering our ſelves as the laſt of all Intelligent Beings, to behold God at ſo immenſe a Diſtance above us, as manifeſtly to know that 'tis not poſſible that either the Creature ſhould raiſe it ſelf up to God, or that God ſhould debaſe himſelf to the Creature. The Bounds of all theſe Beings are mark'd out, and cannot be confounded. This is all I can ſay in Juſtification of the Text; but ſeeing 'tis rather by the Knowledge of God that we ought to come to the Knowledge of our ſelves, I believe that the Manuſcript of *Florence* gives us the true Reading of this Paſſage, ᾧ ἀναμετρᾶν τῷ Θεῷ τὴν ἑαυτῆ γνῶσιν· *And who meaſures the Knowledge of himſelf by the Knowledge of God.* The only way to be

free

ſures God, if I may be allow'd to uſe the Expreſſion, by the Knowledge of himſelf, ſuch a Man, I ſay, exactly obſerves the Precept that injoins to follow God, knows the moſt excellent Meaſure, (*k*) and puts himſelf in a Condition never to be deceiv'd or ſurpriz'd.

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free and rid of theſe vain Hopes, and of theſe extravagant Fears, is to judge of our own Eſſence by the Knowledge we have of the Eſſence of God; which being throughly known, makes us diſcover and perceive that our Soul can never change; and thus this pretended *Metempſychoſis* is overthrown.

(*k*) No Man can underſtand the Words of the Text, ᾧ ἀνεξαπατήτῳ ἀκάιτως τυ∫χάνῃ: I have follow'd *Caſaubon*'s Amendment, which reads, ᾧ ἀνεξαπατήτῳ ἕξεως τυ∫χάνῃ· *He acquires a Habitude not to be deceiv'd*, if it were permitted to ſpeak in this manner. But I find at length that the Manuſcript of *Florence* gives us the true Reading, ᾧ ἀνεξαπατήτῳ ἐλπίδι τυ∫χάνῃ· *Spem manciſcitur infallibilem & quæ nunquam vana ſit. He acquires a Hope that will never be vain, and can never deceive him.*

VER-

VERSES LIV, LV, LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX and LX.

Thou wilt likewiſe know, that Men draw upon themſelves their own Misfortunes voluntarily, and of their own free Choice.

Wretches as they are! They neither See, nor Underſtand, that their Good is near them.

There are very few of them who know how to deliver themſelves out of their Misfortunes.

Such is the Fate that blinds Mankind, and takes away their Senſes. Like huge Cylinders,

They roll to and fro, always oppreſs'd with Ills without Number;

For fatal Contention, that is innate in them, and that purſues them every where, toſſes them up and down, nor do they perceive it.

Inſtead of provoking and ſtirring it up, they ought by yielding to avoid it.

THE Order of the Corporeal and Incorporeal Eſſences being well underſtood, we muſt neceſſarily comprehend the Eſſence of Man, and know what it is, to what Paſſions it is ſubject, and that it holds the Middle Rank between the Beings that never fall into Vice, and the Beings that can never raiſe themſelves up to Virtue. Hence it is, that it has the two Tendencies which theſe two Affinities naturally

To live to the World is to die, to die to the World is to live.

naturally inſpire; and lives ſometimes an Intellectual Life, and ſometimes embraces Affections that are wholly Senſual; (*a*) which made *Heraclitus* ſay with great Reaſon, that our Life is Death, and our Death Life: For Man falls and precipitates himſelf from the Manſions of the Bleſt, as *Empedocles* the *Pythagorean* ſays,

Death of Man.

Baniſh'd the bliſsful Bow'rs,
Forlorn he wanders, by dire Diſcord toſs'd,
And in impetuous Storms of raging Strife is loſt.

Regeneration of Man.

But he re-aſcends and recovers his primitive Habitude, if he ſcorn the things here below, and deteſt this diſmal Abode, where, as the ſame Poet ſays, there Inhabit

This Deſcription of the World agrees very well with what St. John ſays, that all the World is plung'd in Evil.

Murder and Rage and thouſand Swarms of Woes.

And in which they who fall,

Wander bewilder'd, helpleſs of Relief,
In the dark Plains of Injury and Grief.

He

(*a*) I durſt not venture the Saying of *Heraclitus*, as *Hierocles* relates it; for he makes him ſay literally, *That we live their Death, and we die their Life*; that is to ſay, that in regard to the Souls of Men, what we call dying is their Life, and what we call living is their Death; that our Life is their Death, and our Death their Life; which is a neceſſary Conſequence of the Doctrine of the Pre-exiſtence of Souls: For, for a Soul that were in Heaven to deſcend and live here upon the Earth would be to die; and to die would be to live. But laying aſide this Doctrine, the Saying of *Heraclitus* ceaſes not to be true: For when we come into the World, and there take up carnal Affections, 'tis the time when we properly ceaſe to live, and when we may be ſaid to die; whereas when we diveſt our ſelves of thoſe Affections, and die to the World, we begin again to live, becauſe we live in God, who is the only Life.

(*b*) In this Verſe of *Empedocles*, *Injury* is taken for the Goddeſs *Ate*, the Demon of Diſcord and Malediction; the Goddeſs of

He who ſhuns theſe diſmal Plains of Injury, is led by that good Deſire (*c*) into the Meadow of Truth; and if he forſakes it, his Wings flag and fail him, and down he drops headlong into an earthly Body, *Meadow of Truth.*

——— Where in large Droughts,
He quaffs th' Oblivion of his Happineſs.

And herewith agrees the Opinion of *Plato*, who ſpeaking of this Fall of the Soul, ſays, *But when having no longer a Strength ſufficient to follow God, ſhe beholds not this Field of Truth; and being by ſome Misfortune fill'd with Vice and with Forgetfulneſs, ſhe grows dull and heavy; and being thus ſtupify'd, ſhe comes to loſe her Wings, and to fall down upon the Earth, then the Law ſends her to animate a mortal Body.* And concerning the Return of the Soul to the Place from whence ſhe deſcended, the ſame *Plato* ſays, *The Man, who by his Reaſon has overcome the Tumult and wild Diſorder that are occaſion'd in him by the Mixture of Earth, Water, Air and Fire, retakes his primitive Form, and recovers his original* *In the Phædrus.*

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of Injury, whom *Homer* deſcribes as a moſt hideous and loathſome Fury, in the nineteenth Book of the *Ilias*, where he ſays, that *Jupiter* threw her headlong from Heaven upon the Earth, where her ſole Imployment is to hurt and do Miſchief.

(*c*) 'Tis from *this Meadow of Truth*, that the moſt noble Part of the Soul, according to *Plato* in his *Phædrus*, draws all its Nouriſhment. There ſhe finds her Wings begin to grow again, and to enable her to ſoar as formerly. I know not whether it was *Pythagoras* or *Socrates* who firſt imagin'd *this Meadow of Truth*; however, it is well apply'd in Oppoſition to *the Plains of Injury*: In the firſt, all is Charity and Light; in the laſt, all is Darkneſs, Malediction and Horror.

(*d*) This Verſe of *Empedocles* is recited wrong in the Text; inſtead of αἰῶν' ἀμελεθείς, it ought to have been αἰῶν' ἀμερθείς, *depriv'd of the Life of Bleſſedneſs*, and 'tis written ſo in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts.

riginal Habitude, becauſe he returns ſound and whole to the Star that had been aſſign'd him. He returns ſound, becauſe he is freed from the Paſſions, which are as ſo many Diſeaſes; and this Cure cannot be perform'd in him, except by the Means of practical Virtue; and he returns whole, (*e*) becauſe he recovers Underſtanding and Knowledge, as eſſential and proper Parts of him, which cannot happen to him but by the Means of Contemplative Virtue.

Moreover, the ſame *Plato* expreſsly teaches, that by our Averſion for the things below, we can alone heal and correct the Apoſtacy that makes us go aſtray from God; and he aſſerts this avoiding of Evils here below to be only Philoſophy, thereby inſinuating that Men only are obnoxious to theſe Sorts of Paſſions; (*f*) and that 'tis not poſſible that Evils ſhould be baniſh'd from the Earth, or that they can approach the Deity; but that they hover always about

(*e*) The Text makes mention only of Knowledge; *Becauſe he recovers his Knowledge*; but the Plural Number, *as his Eſſential Parts*, which follows, is an evident Proof that a Word was wanting in the Text. and the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts has happily ſupply'd it; for inſtead of ὁλόκληρ☉ ἢ τῇ τ' ὀπτικῇ μονάδι, &c. it reads, ὁλόκληρ☉ ἢ τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ ὀπτικῇ μονάδι, ὡς οἰκείων μερῶν, ἀμαλήφ☉. Thus the Words *Eſſential Parts* ought to be in the Plural Number, becauſe there are two of them, *Underſtanding and Knowledge*.

(*f*) The Manuſcript of *Florence* gives this Paſſage quite otherwiſe. for it adds a whole Line, ἀλλ' οὐ δ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν, οὔτε ἐνθεοῖς εἶναι τιμὴ μὴ χεχωρισμένην ψυχὴν ἥκειν ἐκ τοῦ σώμα☉: *'Tis impoſſible, either that Evils ſhould be baniſh'd from this Earth, or that a Soul that has left a Body without being purify'd, ſhould be receiv'd among the Gods.* If this be the true Reading, *Hierocles* has not given this Paſſage of *Plato* as he writ it; for *Plato* makes not the leaſt mention of the Soul: His very Words are theſe, ἀλλ' οὐ δ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν, ὦ Θεόδωρε, ὑπεναντίον γὰρ τὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη, οὔτ' ἐν θεοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ ἰδρῦσθαι. τιμὴ δ' ἀμήτιμον φύσιν, καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ δὴ ἀναγκαῖος. The Word ἐκεῖ makes it evident that *Plato* continues to ſpeak of the Evils,

about the Earth we dwell in, and adhere to mortal Nature, as being the Effects of unavoidable Neceſſity. For the Beings that are ſubject to Generation and to Corruption may be affected and have Deſires contrary to Nature; and this is the Principle of all Evils: And to teach us how we ought to avoid them, *Plato* adds, *Therefore we ought to fly from hence with all Diligence; now to fly from hence is to endeavour to reſemble God as much as Man is capable of ſuch a Likeneſs; and to reſemble God (g) is to become Juſt and Holy with Prudence:* For he who would avoid theſe Evils, ought to begin by diveſting himſelf of this mortal Nature, it being impoſſible that they who are engag'd in it, ſhould not be plung'd in all the Evils that Neceſſity produce therein.

The Principle of all Evil is to have Inclinations contrary to Nature.

This is what St. Paul calls the Body of Sin.

In like manner therefore, as our ſwerving and abſence from God, and the Loſs of the Wings that rais'd us up towards the things that are above, have precipitated us into this Region of Death, the Abode of all Evils; ſo the diveſting our ſelves of all worldly Affections, and the Renovation of Virtues, like the new growth of our Wings to guide us to the Manſions of Life, where true Goods are to be found without the leaſt Allay of Evil, will bring us back to divine Happineſs: For the Eſſence of Man holding the Middle Place between the Beings that always contemplate God, and thoſe that are incapable of contemplating him, may raiſe up it ſelf towards the one, or debaſe and ſink it ſelf down towards the other, having by reaſon of its amphibious Nature an equal Propenſity to take the divine or brutal Reſemblance, accordingly as it receives or rejects the Underſtanding, or * the good Spirit.

This World is the Region of Death.

Heaven is the Abode of Life.

* *That is to ſay, the Spirit of God.*

(g) Theſe Words of *Plato* are remarkable; where Prudence is not, there can be no Juſtice nor Holineſs.

He therefore that knows this Liberty and this double Power in humane Nature, knows likewiſe how Men voluntarily draw on themſelves their own Evils, and how they become wretched and miſerable by their own Election; for tho' they could have remain'd in their true Country, they ſuffer themſelves to be dragg'd to Birth by the inordinateneſs of their Deſires; and when they might readily free themſelves from this miſerable Body, (*h*) they voluntarily immerſe themſelves into all the Confuſions, and into all the Diſorders of the Paſſions. And this is what the Poet would have us underſtand, when he ſays, *They neither ſee nor underſtand that their Good is near them.*

He calls Birth *when the Soul leaves Heaven to animate a mortal Body.*

The Goods that are near us are Virtue and Truth.

This Good is *Virtue* and *Truth*; and *not to ſee that they are near them*, is not to be inclin'd of themſelves to ſearch after them; and *not to hear or underſtand that they are near them*, is not to harken to the Admonitions, and not to obey the Precepts that others give them; for there are two Ways of receiving Knowledge; one by Inſtruction, as by the Hearing, the other by Search, as by the Sight. Men are therefore ſaid to draw Evils upon themſelves of their own Accord, when they will neither learn from others, nor find out of themſelves, remaining deſtitute of the Senſe of all Good, and conſequently thereby intirely uſeleſs and unprofitable; (*i*) for every Man who ſees not of himſelf, and har-

Two ways to recover Knowledge.

(*h*) The printed Text reads Ἡ ἀμεσειμείας ἧς παιδᾶν, that cannot ſignifie any thing proper to this Place. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts and the Manuſcript of *Florence* have very well reſtor'd this Paſſage by reading, Ἡ ἀμετείας ἧς παιδᾶν.

(*i*) *Hierocles* here recites the very Words of two Verſes of *Heſiod*, which are

Ὃς ϝ κε μὴτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων,
Ἐν θυμῷ βάλληϊ, ὁδ' αὖτ' ἀχρεῖος ἀνήρ.

harkens not to the Inſtructions of others, is intirely uſeleſs, and in a deſperate Condition; but they who endeavour to find of themſelves, or to learn from others the things that are truly good, are thoſe of whom the Poet ſays, *that they know how to deliver themſelves from their Evils*; and who by avoiding the Troubles and Labours of this World, tranſport themſelves into the pure and free Æther. The Number of theſe is very ſmall; for far the greateſt Part of Men are wicked Slaves to their Paſſion, and in a manner run mad through the Violence of their Propenſity to the things of this World; and this Evil they bring upon themſelves, by having wilfully departed from God, and depriv'd themſelves of his Preſence, and, if I may dare to ſay ſo, of the Familiarity with him which they had the Happineſs to enjoy, while they inhabited the Manſions of pure and unclouded Light. (*k*) Now the Fate that blinds Mankind, and takes away their Senſes, is a Mark of their Departure from God.

Few are they who avoid the Corruption of the Age.

And indeed, 'tis equally impoſſible, that a Man who is without God ſhould not be mad, as it is that a Madman ſhould not be without God: (*l*) For

(*k*) The Manuſcript of *Florence* has very well reſtor'd this Paſſage; inſtead of theſe Words ὃτι γὰρ ἀπὸ Θεῦ χαλεπὸν βλάπτουσα τὰς φρένας ἡ πρὸς γῆν ῥεῦσις. δηλοῖ, it reads ὃ γὰρ ἀπὸ Θεῦ χωρισμὸν ἡ βλάπτουσα τὰς φρένας μοῖρα τῦτ' δηλοῖ. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts reads it ſo to, ἡ βλάπτουσα τὰς φρένας μοῖρα; but inſtead of χωρίσμον it has χωρίσμενον, which is certainly wrong; and it has ἡ πρὸς γῆν ῥεῦσις, which is manifeſtly occaſion'd by the Comment there added on the Word μοῖρα, to let us ſee that this Lot is only the Tendency we have to the things of this World, which precipitates us to the Earth. And this Comment is taken from the very Text of *Hierocles*, as he has explain'd himſelf hereafter, when he ſays, τῇ πρὸς τὸ μειζὸν καὶ θνητὸν ζῶον ῥεύσει.

(*l*) This made *David* ſay in *Pſalm* 13. *Dixit inſipiens in Corde ſuo, non eſt Deus. The Fool has ſaid in his Heart, there is no God.*

A Fool is without God, and a Man without God is a Fool.

'tis of Neceſſity that a Fool is without God, and that he who is without God is a Fool: And both the one and the other of them, not being inclin'd to love the things that are truly good, are *oppreſs'd with Evils without Number*, (*m*) hurry'd from one Misfortune into another, like huge Rolling-ſtones, by the Weight of their impious Actions; not knowing what to do, nor what will become of them, becauſe they govern themſelves without Reaſon and without Reflection in all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune; inſolent in Riches, treacherous in Poverty, Robbers if ſtrong of Body, and Blaſphemers if ſickly and weak;

The Fool is at a Loſs in all the Changes of Fortune.

(*m*) Here I was oblig'd to correct both the Text and the Comment; otherwiſe there would have been no poſſibility of making any thing of either. Inſtead therefore of ὁδὲ κυλίνδεται, you muſt read in the Text ὃι ἢ κύλινδεται; and in *Hierocles*, οἷον. κύλινδεται: For 'tis the wicked he compares to Rolling-ſtones, not their Actions. Let us lay open the Compariſon to render this Correction more viſible: The *Stoicks*, to make Liberty and Fate agree together, ſaid that Nature, by the Connexion of Cauſes, acted upon Man, and inclin'd him to ſuch or ſuch Deſires; but that afterwards he himſelf, by his own free Will and Determination, follow'd or chang'd this Motion that had been imprinted on him; and they made uſe of the Compariſon that *Cicero* relates in his Fragment upon Deſtiny, as he had taken it from the Books of *Chryſippus*: *Ut igitur, inquit, qui protrudit Cylindrum, dedit ei principium motionis, volubilitatem autem non dedit; ſic viſum objectum imprimet illud quidem, & quaſi ſignabit in animo ſuam ſpetiem, ſed aſcenſio noſtra erit in poteſtate: Eaque, quemadmodum in Cylindro dictum eſt, extrinſecus pulſa, quod reliquum eſt ſuapte Vi & Natura movebitur.* See *Aulus Gellius*, Book 6. Chap. 11. *Chryſippus* no doubt took this Compariſon from theſe Verſes of *Pythagoras*; but in my Opinion he did not well conceive the Spirit of it. *Pythagoras* does not compare all Men in general to Rolling-ſtones; for the wiſe Man, who governs his Inclinations, and keeps them in Subjection to the Law, cannot be compar'd to a Rolling-ſtone, which as ſoon as it is ſet in Motion, rolls on without ſtopping of it ſelf. But he compares it to the wicked, who, when once they are the Slaves of Sin, are drag'd by their own Weight down the Precipice.

weak; they lament and repine if they have no Children, and if they have, they take from thence Pretences of Wars, of Suits in Law, and of unjuſt and diſhoneſt Gains. To ſay all in a Word, there is nothing in this Life, (*n*) that does not incline imprudent Men to Evil, who are preſs'd and ſtraiten'd on all Hands, by the Vices which they have voluntarily embrac'd, and by their Refuſal to ſee the Divine Light, and to give Ear to what they are told concerning the Things that are truly good; and being ſwallow'd up in the Abyſs of carnal Deſires, they ſuffer themſelves to be toſſed up and down in this Life, as by a violent Tempeſt.

To the imprudent all things turn to Ill, as they turn to Good to the wiſe.

Now the only way to be deliver'd from all theſe Evils is to return to God; and this Return they only enjoy, who have the Eyes and Ears of their Soul always open and attentive to the Recovery of the things that are truly good; and who by the Faculty which they have of raiſing themſelves up to God, have heal'd the Evil that is inherent in our Nature. (*o*) Now this Evil inherent in our Nature, and which at the ſame time is an acquir'd Evil, is the Abuſe we make of our free Will; for under Pretext of uſing this Freedom, we endeavour always to argue againſt the Decrees of God, and madly to run counter to his Laws, not regarding the great Evils we bring upon our ſelves,

To return to God the only way to be deliver'd from Evil.

(*n*) Inſtead of ὁ μὴ πρὸς κακῶ, which ſignifies nothing, read with the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ὁ μὴ πρὸς ἀφορμὴν κακῶ. To the imprudent every thing is the Occaſion of Ill.

(*o*) This Abuſe is a natural Evil, becauſe its Root is in this mortal Body; and it is at the ſame time an acquir'd Evil, becauſe it being in our Power to extirpate and pull it out, we feed and ſuffer it to grow. This, in my Opinion, is very fine.

Men believe themſelves not free any farther than in as much as they can ſhake off the divine Laws, and reſiſt God.

(*p*) by this vain and impious Opinion of believing our ſelves able to oppoſe God, but being able only dimly and obſcurely to diſcover that we can ſhake off the Yoke of the divine Laws; and herein the Will plays the Libertine, and abuſes its Freedom in daring to depart from God, and to enter into a fatal Contention with him, obſtinately diſputing againſt him, and refuſing to yield to him. If he ſays to us, *Thou ſhalt not do this*, we do it to chuſe; and if he ſays, *Do this*, that's the thing we will not do: Thus we heap up the Meaſure of our Iniquities, and precipitate our ſelves on either hand into infinite Miſeries by this twofold Tranſgreſſion of the Law of God, in not doing what it commands, and in doing what it forbids.

The Law of God tranſgreſt in two manners.

Fatal Contention born with us, and the Effect of Sin

What Remedy then ſhall we find againſt this fatal Contention, which is here ſaid *to be our Companion, and to be born with us*; (*q*) to this Contention which proceeds from our ill Inclinations, that are always oppoſite to Nature; and which for that Reaſon, like a Boſom Evil, wounds and deſtroys us unawares, what ſhall we oppoſe againſt it? How check and put a Stop to its Rage? Certainly there is no other Mound to fence out this Faculty, that precipitates and ſinks us thus low, than to practiſe, to meditate and to love all the Precepts, *which will put us into the Ways of divine Virtues; for they are the Remedies which, tho' known but to a few, will deliver*

(*p*) He does not ſay, *by reſiſting God*, but, *by this Opinion of our being able to reſiſt*, &c. For God will always be ſtronger than we; and when we refuſe to do the Will of God, God accompliſhes and brings to paſs in us his own Will.

(*q*) Here *Hierocles* deſcribes admirably well the Evil that reſides in us; this Law of Sin, of which St. *Paul* ſpeaks, that is in the Members of our Body, and that combats againſt the Law of the Spirit.

deliver us from all our Evils, and make us ſee and underſtand the Goods that are near us: 'Tis they that deliver us from the Misfortunes that we draw voluntarily on our ſelves, and from the Multitude of Troubles and Paſſions that oppreſs us; and by conſequence they are the only way to avoid this impious Life: 'Tis they that are the Health of the Soul, the Purgation of this raging Contention, and our Return to God: For the only way to cure the Inclination that ſinks us down by the Faculty that raiſes us up, is not to augment that Inclination, nor add Evils to Evils, but to become obedient and ſubject our ſelves to ſound Reaſon, (*r*) and avoid this pernicious Contention, by embracing a Contention that is wholly good, that is to ſay, in ſtriving no longer to diſobey God, but in labouring to obey him with all our Strength. And this good Strife ought not to be call'd *Contention*, but a Reſignation to the Will of God, a returning to his divine Law, and a voluntary and perfect Submiſſion, that cuts off all Pretence to fooliſh Diſobedience and Incredulity; for I believe that all theſe things are meant by theſe Verſes.

What ought to be our Submiſſion to God.

Now to ſhew that Men embrace Vice of their own Accord, the Poet ſays, *Thou ſhalt know that Men voluntarily draw on themſelves their own Evils*; they may therefore be reaſonably call'd *wicked* and *miſerable*, ſeeing they precipitate themſelves into Vice through the Choice of their own Will.

(*r*) *Hierocles* here ſeems to allude to the famous Paſſage of *Heſiod*, who in the Beginning of his Poem ſays, *That in the World there are two Contentions; one, which the Wiſe approve, and the other which is very bad, and delights only in Strife and in Wars.* The Explication which this Philoſopher, in purſuance of the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, gives thereby to this Paſſage, perfectly agrees with that Poet, who in his œconomical Inſtructions has intermingled Precepts of Morality.

To ſhew, that they are obſtinately deaf to the good Precepts that are given them, he ſays, that *they neither ſee nor hear the Goods that are near them.* And to ſhew that 'tis poſſible to deliver themſelves from thoſe Evils, into which they wilfully throw themſelves, he adds this Reflection, *There are very few who know how to deliver themſelves from their Misfortunes*; thereby giving us to underſtand, that ſince this Deliverance from Evil is the Effect of our Will, the Slavery of Sin is conſequently the Effect of it likewiſe. After this he adds the Cauſe of the Blindneſs and the Deafneſs of the Souls, who voluntarily precipitate themſelves into Vice; *Such is the Fate,* ſays he, *that blinds Mankind, and takes away their Underſtanding:* For our ſwerving and Departure from God neceſſarily throw us into Folly, and into a Raſhneſs of Choice without Reflection. And this Apoſtacy is what he here means by the Word *Fate,* that baniſhes us from the Choir of divine Spirits, by giving us a Propenſity to this particular and mortal Animal. He ſhews us beſides the Conſequences of this raſh and inconſiderate Choice; and teaches us how our Sins are at the ſame time voluntary and involuntary; by comparing the Life of an imprudent Man to a Rolling-ſtone, which moves at the ſame time in a round and direct Motion; (*s*) in a round, of it

The Slavery of Sin is voluntary.

He calls it Fate, *becauſe 'tis the Soul it ſelf that chuſes it, as has been ſufficiently explain'd already.*

(*s*) As a Cylinder begins not to move of it ſelf, but continues lying ſtill, unleſs it be puſh'd forwards; our Soul in like Manner never is loſt, but when 'tis ſtirr'd up by the Object that inclines and determines it. Thus you ſee wherein its Motion is at firſt involuntary, like the Motion of a Cylinder: But as a Cylinder, when 'tis once mov'd forward, moves round by vertue of its proper Figure; ſo likewiſe our Soul, when 'tis once mov'd or affected by an Object, turns of it ſelf in ſuch or ſuch a manner, nor does any foreign Cauſe contribute to that Motion; which therefore is voluntary. This, I take it, is

it ſelf, and in a direct by its falling downwards. (*t*) For as a Cylinder is not capable of circular Motion around its Axis, if it be crooked, and no longer in a ſtrait Line; ſo the Soul, no longer preſerves the things that are truly good, when it once deviates from ſound Reaſon, (*u*) and departs from its Union with God: But it wanders in Search of ſeeming Goods, (*w*) deviates from what is right, being toſs'd to and fro by carnal Affections; which he explains by theſe Words, *They roll here and there, always oppreſs'd with Ills without Number.*

And foraſmuch as the Cauſe of this *Fate* that takes from Men their Underſtanding, and of their Apoſtacy from God, is the Abuſe they make of their

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is the Senſe in which *Hierocles* took this Thought of *Pythagoras*; but the Compariſon is not good; for when a Cylinder is puſh'd forward, 'tis not in its Power not to roll; but let the Soul be mov'd and mov'd again, ſhe is always Miſtreſs of her Motions. This is true in regard only to thoſe who are the Slaves of Vice.

(*t*) If I rightly underſtand this Paſſage of *Hierocles*, he compares the Soul that obeys the Dictates of ſound Reaſon, to a Cylinder that is very ſtrait, and which by conſequence may always move round, and keep the circular Motion by reaſon of its Figure, which is ſuch as it ought to be: Whereas the Soul that ſwerves from ſound Reaſon, is like a crooked Cylinder, which is no longer capable of a circular Motion, becauſe it is not ſtrait, nor has the Figure it ought to have. But I doubt *Hierocles* was miſtaken in the Senſe of this Compariſon of *Pythagoras*, who, as I ſaid before, did not compare all Men in general to a Cylinder, the good to a ſtrait Cylinder, and the wicked to a crooked one, which is indeed no Cylinder; but he compar'd all the wicked to a Cylinder, which being once put in Motion, is dragg'd and rolls along by its own Weight.

(*u*) Inſtead of σύσεως, I believe we ought to read with the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, συσάσεως.

(*w*) In the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts 'tis read thus, ϗ ἐκφέρεϑ' ἐπ' ἐυϑείας αἰϑητικᾶς περιαϑείας, &c. But inſtead of ἐπ' ἐυϑείας, I believe it ſhould be ἀπ' ἐυϑείας, which anſwers to τῆ ἐρϑῆ λόγῳ ἀκολουϑοῦσα.

their Freedom, he teaches in the two following Verſes how to reform this Abuſe, and how to make uſe of the ſame Freedom to return to God: For to inſinuate to us, that we draw on our ſelves our own Evils only becauſe we will have it ſo, he ſays, *The fatal Contention that is innate in them, that purſues them wherever they are, and toſſes them to and fro, unperceiv'd by them.* And immediately after, to ſhew that the Remedy is in our own Hands, he adds, *Inſtead of provoking and ſtirring it up, they ought by yielding to avoid it.* But perceiving at the ſame time that we have before all things need of the Aſſiſtance of God, to enable us to depart from Evil, and to embrace Good, he adds forthwith a ſort of Prayer, and makes an Ejaculation to God, (*x*) the ſole Means to procure his Aſſiſtance.

(*x*) I have here follow'd the printed Text, ἡ βοηθείας αἰτία, *and the ſole Cauſe of his Aſſiſtance*; which Senſe is very fine. I am nevertheleſs oblig'd to give notice that the Manuſcript of *Florence* reads ἡ βοηθείας αἴτησιν, *to ask his Aſſiſtance.*

VER-

VERSES LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXIV, LXV, and LXVI.

Great Jupiter, *Father of Men, you would deliver them from all the Evils that oppreſs them,*
If you would ſhew them what is the Demon *of whom they make uſe.*
But take Courage; the Race of Man is divine.
Sacred Nature reveals to them the moſt hidden Myſteries.
If ſhe impart to thee her Secrets, thou wilt eaſily perform all the Things which I have ordain'd thee.
And healing thy Soul, thou wilt deliver it from all theſe Evils, from all theſe Afflictions.

'TWAS the Cuſtom of the *Pythagoreans* to call God, the Father and Creator of the Univerſe, by the Name of *Jupiter*, which in the original Tongue is taken from a Word that ſignifies * *Life*. For he who gave Life and Being to all things, ought to be call'd by a Name deriv'd from his Power. (*a*) And the truly proper Name for God, is that which is moſt ſuitable to his Almightineſs, and that moſt evidently denotes his Works.

* *For the Word* Ζεὺς, *that ſignifies* Jupiter, *is taken from the Word* Ζῆν, *which ſignifies to live.*

(*a*) All that *Hierocles* here ſays of the Name of *Jupiter*, or of Ζεὺς, is taken from the *Cratylus* of *Plato*, where *Socrates* ſays, that no other God but *Jupiter* having been the Cauſe of the Life of Men and of all the Animals, 'twas with good Reaſon that he was call'd Ζεὺς. Συμβάλῃ ἂν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἐκεῖνος, τῷ Θεὸς εἶναι δι' ὃν ζῆν ἔδωκε πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχει.

Works. (*b*) At this Day among us we may much rather ſay, that Hazard and the common Agreement of Mankind have produc'd the Names that ſeem to us moſt proper, than that the Propriety of their Nature gave Occaſion to their Invention; for this is evident from a world of Names that are given to things, contrary to the very Nature of them, and with which they agree no more (*c*) than if we ſhould call a wicked Man Good, or an impious Man Pious. For theſe Sorts of Names have not the Conformity and Suitableneſs that Names ought to have, inaſmuch as they denote not, either the Being or the Qualities of the Thing to which they are impos'd. But this Agreement and this Propriety of Names ought moſt of all to be ſought

(*b*) 'Tis a famous Diſpute among the Philoſophers, whether Names are impos'd by Nature, φύσει, or meerly by the Agreement of Men, and this is the Subject of *Plato*'s *Cratylus*. *Hierocles* in this Place follows the moſt ſound Opinion, which is, that the firſt Name-givers being inlighten'd by God himſelf, and throughly inſtructed in the Nature of Beings, gave every thing its true Name; whereas they who ſucceeded them, falling ſhort of that degree of Knowledge, gave only falſe or improper Names, which either Chance threw in their way, or which they agreed among themſelves to give them.

(*c*) The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts reads Ἀγάθων inſtead of Ἀγαθὸς, and Εὐσέβως inſtead of Εὐσεβὴς. And then it ought to be tranſlated thus, *than if they call'd a wicked Man* Agathon, *and an impious Man* Euſebius. And this Lection is confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*. 'Tis certain that *Agathon* and *Euſebius* are Names of Men: But what hinders me from having any Deference in this Place for the Authority of the Manuſcripts, is that *Hierocles* is not here ſpeaking of Names that were generally given. On the contrary, he would prove the Falſity of the Names by a Compariſon taken from thoſe that might have been given, and nevertheleſs were not given; for neither *Agathon* nor *Euſebius* are proper Names; they are Adjectives. And what confirms me in this Opinion is, that this Paſſage ſeems to be taken from one in the *Cratylus* of *Plato*; where we find *Agathus* and *Euſebes*, and not *Agathon* and *Euſebius*.

ſought after in the Things that are Eternal; and among the Eternal, in the Divine; and among the Divine, in the moſt Excellent.

But 'tis of theſe that the Names cannot expreſs the Excellence.

Thus you ſee why the Name of * *Jupiter* carries even in the very Sound, a Symbol and an Image of the Eſſence that created all things. (*d*) For the firſt Impoſers of Names, (*e*) like excellent Statuaries, by their ſublime Knowledge and Wiſdom, expreſs'd by the Names themſelves, as by animated Images, the Virtues and Qualities of thoſe to whom they gave them: (*f*) For they invented Names, whoſe

* Ζάς.

(*d*) This is a mighty Commendation of the firſt Givers of Names. They muſt have been endow'd with a ſublime Knowledge and Wiſdom to expreſs by the Names the Nature of the Things they nam'd. But this Elogy does but partly affect the *Greeks*; 'tis intirely due to the *Hebrews*, who by the Impoſitions of Names, have better diſcover'd the Nature of Things than all the other Nations of the World. Thus the Holy Scripture ſays of *Adam*, *that he call'd the living Creatures by their true Name*, becauſe he gave them Names that mark'd their Properties and their Nature. And this *Socrates* well knew.

(*e*) That is to ſay, that as the moſt skilful Statuaries endeavour'd by the Excellence and by the Majeſty of their Figures to expreſs the Virtues and natural Properties of their Originals, ſo the firſt Impoſers of Names ſtrove in like manner to render the Names the true Images of the Things to which they gave them.

(*f*) This Paſſage has hitherto been unintelligible; but the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, have made it plain and eaſie by reading it as follows, Τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ ὀνόματα. σύμβολα τ' ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ νοήσεων ἀπεικάζοντο, τὰς δ' νοήσεις αὐτὰς γνωστικὰς εἰκόνας τ' νοητῶν πραγμάτων ἐποιοῦντο. This deſcribes wonderfully well what they did, who gave to Things their true Names. They were ſo intent upon, and knew ſo well the Subjects that were the Objects of their Thoughts, that their Thoughts became the true and moſt reſembling Images of thoſe Objects: *Inſtructive Images*, that is to ſay, Images that were capable of making them be known; and that they afterwards explain'd and render'd theſe Thoughts by Names that perfectly repreſented them.

whoſe very Sound was the Symbol of their Thoughts; and their Thoughts were moſt reſembling and moſt inſtructive Images of the Subjects on which they thought.

How the true Names of Things were invented.

(*g*) And indeed theſe great Souls, by their continual Application to intelligible things, being as it were ſwallow'd up in Contemplation, and grown, as I may ſay, pregnant with this Commerce, when they were taken with the Pangs of bringing forth their Thoughts, cry'd out in Expreſſions, and gave ſuch Names to things, (*h*) as by their very Sound, and by the Letters imploy'd in forming them, perfectly expreſs'd the Kinds of the things nam'd, (*i*) and led to the Knowledge of their Nature, all that comprehended them aright; (*k*) ſo that

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(*g*) *Hierocles* in this place viſibly demonſtrates, that the Enthuſiaſm, or requiſite Inſpiration to give to Things their true Names, can come from God alone, and from the Meditation of divine things. This is undoubtedly true, and intirely conſonant to the Holy Scripture. This whole Paſſage is perfectly fine.

(*h*) He pretends that the Names which theſe divine Men, theſe firſt Name-givers gave, were perfect Images of the things nam'd, not only by their Signification and their Energy, but likewiſe by their Sound and by their Figure. This agrees with what the *Hebrews* have written of their own Tongue, that the Figures and Shapes of their Letters were not made by Accident, but were form'd in ſuch and ſuch a Manner, for certain Reaſons that were ſuitable to each Character. In the *Cratylus* of *Plato*, *Socrates* endeavours to prove the ſame thing of the *Greek* Letters, in the Formation of Words.

(*i*) This made *Philo* the Jew ſay, that the vulgar ſort of Men impos'd Names very different from the Things nam'd; ſo that the Thing nam'd was one thing, and the Name given it another: But in the Books of *Moſes*, the Names are the moſt lively and moſt ſenſible Expreſſions of the Things nam'd, inſomuch that even the Thing it ſelf is included in the Name, nor is there the leaſt Difference.

(*k*) This is very well obſerv'd, and may be apply'd in general to all who have ſtudy'd Nature, Morality, &c. and who have

that the End of their Contemplation has been in regard to us the Beginning of Knowledge. (*l*) Thus the Creator of all Things was call'd by theſe Men of deep Knowledge and Wiſdom, ſometimes by the Name of *Four*, and ſometimes by the Name of *Jupiter*; for the Reaſons which we have already mention'd.

Now what we ask of him in this Prayer, is what he beſtows on all Men by reaſon of his infinite Goodneſs; but it depends on us to receive what he is continually giving. 'Twas ſaid before, *Begin not to put thy Hand to the Work, 'till after thou haſt addreſs'd thy ſelf to the Gods in Prayer*; to teach us that the Gods are always ready to give us the Things that are good, but that we receive them only when we ask for them, and when we ſtretch out our Hands to this Divine Diſtribution: For what is free, receives not what is truly good, unleſs it will; and the true Goods are Truth and Virtue, (*m*) which flowing without ceaſing from the Eſſence of the Creator, are viſible at all Times, and in the ſame Manner to the Eyes of all Men. And when theſe Verſes pray that we may be deliver'd from all our Evils, they ask, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary, that we may know our own Eſſence; for this is what is meant by this Expreſſion, Verſe 48.

Truth and Virtue flow always from the Eſſence of God.

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have imparted to us the Fruits of their Labours. The End of their Contemplation was the Beginning of our Knowledge; but this is yet more true of the ſacred Writers. The End of their Contemplation was the Beginning of our Inſtruction; for after they were fully inſtructed themſelves, they began to inſtruct us.

(*l*) What *Hierocles* here ſays is moſt true, allowing what in this Place he calls the *Four* to be the unutterable *Tetragrammaton*, or the *Jehovah* of the *Hebrews*, as I have explain'd it.

(*m*) The Manuſcript of *Florence*, inſtead of ὁσίας, *of the Eſſence*, reads ἀρίστας, *of the Cauſe that created all things*.

We must know our Being to enable us to deliver our ſelves from our Evils.

on, (*n*) *what is the Demon of whom they make uſe*; that is to ſay, *what is their Soul.* For from this Return to our ſelves, from this Knowledge of our ſelves, (*o*) will neceſſarily reſult the Deliverance from our Evils, and the Manifeſtation of the Goods that God offers us to make us happy. This Verſe therefore ſuppoſes, that if all Men knew what they are, and *what is the Demon of whom they make uſe*, they would all be deliver'd from their Evils:

This is impoſſible by reaſon of the Corruption of Man

(*p*) But this is impoſſible; for it cannot be that they ſhould all apply themſelves to Philoſophy, or that they ſhould receive all alike, all the good things that God inceſſantly offers for the Perfection of Happineſs.

What

(*n*) Seeing the *Pythagoreans* taught that each Man had a Demon, an Angel for their Guardian whom they choſe themſelves, it may be thought that theſe Words, *what is the Demon of whom they make uſe*, mean what is the Demon whom they have choſen for their Guide and for their Conductor. But *Hierocles* is far from this Opinion, and that too with good Reaſon. We might know this Guide without being therefore deliver'd from our Evils, whereas we cannot know our Soul without attaining to this Deliverance: For to know our Soul is to know that God created it free, that he has plac'd all good Things before it, and that it depends on the Soul to embrace them, by following the Inſpirations of God.

(*o*) Inſtead of ἀπ[illegible]αγλω, which is in the Text, I had put λύσιν by way of Amendment. But the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, have given me the true Reading, ἀποφυγλω, which is the ſame as to the Senſe, and comes nearer the Word in the Text.

(*p*) What Wonder then that according to the Doctrine of theſe Philoſophers, ſo few is the Number of thoſe who deliver themſelves from their Evils, ſince this Deliverance is the Work of Philoſophy. How poor is this! If *Hierocles* had himſelf but open'd his Eyes, he would have diſcover'd a much more eaſie and more certain Way; he would have known that Salvation is in no wiſe the Fruit of Study and of Knowledge, and that the moſt ignorant may be ſav'd as well as the moſt learn'd. We have nothing to do but to believe, and to live according to the Faith. There is no need of any other Philoſophy.

What then remains but for them only to take Courage, why apply themſelves to the Knowledge that alone diſcovers our true Good, the Good that is proper for us; for they only will be deliver'd from the Evils that are inherent in this mortal Nature, becauſe 'tis they alone who addict themſelves to the Contemplation of the things that are truly good: And therefore they deſerve to be plac'd among the Number of the divine Beings, becauſe they are inſtructed by ſacred Nature, that is to ſay, by Philoſophy, and becauſe they practiſe all the Precepts which their Duty obliges them to obſerve.

Sacred Nature is Philoſophy, becauſe all Wiſdom and Underſtanding comes from God.

Now if we have any Converſation with theſe divine Men, we ſhall make it be ſeen, by applying our ſelves wholly to good Works, and to the intellectual Sciences, by which alone the Soul is heal'd of its Paſſions, and deliver'd from all the Evils here below, being tranſlated into an Order, (*q*) and into a Condition wholly divine.

How we give Proofs of the Converſation we have with divine Men.

In ſhort, this is the Senſe of theſe Verſes. They who know themſelves are freed from all Mortal Affections. But why are not all Men then free from them, ſeeing they have within them an innate Power of knowing what their own Eſſence is? Becauſe the greateſt part of them, as has been already ſaid, voluntarily draw upon themſelves their own Misfortunes, by refuſing to ſee or hear, that Good is near them. But ſmall is the Number of thoſe, who know how to deliver themſelves from their Evils, becauſe they know *what Demon they uſe*. And theſe are they who by the help of Philoſophy have freed themſelves from all brutiſh Paſſi-

(*q*) The *Greek* ſays, *and into a Fate wholly Divine*; *Fate*, in the *Greek* Authors, as well as among the *Hebrews*, often ſignifies *Lot*, *Portion*, *Share*.

ons, and who are retir'd from these earthly Abodes, as from a narrow Confinement, where they had been Slaves to their Passions.

Why then does the Poet say to *Jupiter, Father of Men, you would deliver them all from the Evils that oppress them, if you would shew them what is the Demon of whom they make use?* Would he have us believe that it depends on God to bring all Men back to Truth, even in spight of themselves, and that he refuses to do it, either through Neglect or designedly, that they may continue in eternal Slavery? (r) This cannot be so much as heard without Impiety. The Poet rather intends thereby to teach us, that whoso would attain to Happiness, ought to have Recourse to God, as to his Father: For God is the Creator of all Beings, and the Father of the Good. He therefore who knows wherein consists the Deliverance from Evils, who has actually deliver'd himself from such as Men of their own Accord draw upon themselves, and who by a voluntary Flight avoids fatal Contention, he, I say, imploring the Divine Assistance, cries out, O Jupiter, *Father of Men!* He has already performed the part of a Son in calling God Father, and he makes this Reflection, that if what he does of himself, all Men did like him, they would like him too be deliver'd from all their Evils: But finding afterwards that this does happen, not thro' any Fault of God, if I may be allow'd to say so, but

(r) The printed Text says ἢ ταῦτα μὲ δ' ὅσιον ὑπονοεῖν: *This cannot be so much as thought without Impiety.* And this seem'd to me to be absurd; for an Impiety is an Impiety whether it be pronounc'd or not; 'tis enough that it enters into the Thoughts. The Manuscript of *Florence* reads, in my Opinion, much better, ἐπαίειν, *to hear*; for this expresses a great Truth; that there are some things that render impious those who only hear them.

but through the Fault of Men, who voluntarily draw on themſelves their own Misfortunes, he ſays to himſelf, *But take Courage*, thou who haſt found out the true Way to deliver thy ſelf from thy Miſeries: And this Way is the Return which holy Philoſophy inſpires us to make to the good Things that God never ceaſes to offer us, and which the greateſt Part of Men do not ſee; becauſe they make an ill Uſe of the common Notions, that God has as it were imprinted on all rational Beings, to the end that they may know themſelves.

Common Notions natural to all rational Beings.

Now to ſhew any thing to a Man, 'tis neceſſary that the Actions of two Perſons ſhould concur: For how can you ſhew any thing to a blind Man, tho' you ſhould preſent to him a thouſand times what you have a Mind to ſhew him? Or how can you ſhew a thing to a Man who has his Eye-ſight, unleſs you offer him what you would have him ſee? Theſe two things therefore are neceſſary: On the part of him that ſhews there muſt be ſomething preſented; and on the Part of him to whom any thing is ſhewn, there muſt be Eyes capable of ſeeing, to the end that on the one hand the Object, and on the other the Sight, may concur together, and that nothing may be wanting to make up a perfect Manifeſtation.

For the Word, to ſhew, implies neceſſarily theſe two things.

This being premis'd, let us make this *Hypotheſis*, that all Men would be deliver'd from their Evils, if God, who created them, did ſhew and teach them to know themſelves, and to know *what is the Demon they uſe*; but we ſee nevertheleſs, that all Men are not freed from their Evils. God therefore does not ſhew to all Men alike, but to them only who concur on their Part to this Deliverance, and who are deſirous to open their Eyes, that they may ſee, contemplate and receive what God is pleas'd

God preſents good things to all, but he ſhews them not to all, becauſe all have not their Eyes open to ſee them.

pleas'd to ſhew them: And by Conſequence God is not the Cauſe that he does not ſhew to all Men, (s) but they are themſelves the Cauſe of it, who neither ſee nor hear that good things are near them, and thus you ſee why we ſay they draw on themſelves their own Evils of their own accord. The Fault is in him that chuſes, and God is in no wiſe to blame, ſeeing he continually expoſes the things that are good to the Eyes of all Men as much as in him is; but ſhews them not always to all, becauſe in the greateſt part of them, the Eyes of the Soul, which are alone capable of ſeeing the Good that is continually offer'd it, are clos'd or fix'd downwards on the Earth, through an ill Habitude which they have contracted of adhering always to what is Evil. This Explication of theſe Verſes is conformable to Truth, and confirms the Senſe of the foregoing Verſes.

(t) And indeed, if it depend on God to drag all Men to Truth, whether they will or no, why do we

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(s) This agrees with what Jeſus Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples. *Will you always have Eyes and not ſee; and Ears and not hear?* St. *Mark* 8. 18. But 'tis God muſt open for us theſe Eyes and theſe Ears.

(t) *Hierocles* denies not that it depends on God to draw Men to himſelf; but he denies that he can do it whether they will or no; and this is conformable to ſound Doctrine: *God forces no Man,* ſays St. *John Chryſoſtom,* ὅτι μὴ βιαζόμενος ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλὰ βουλομένους ἕλκει, *thoſe that will*; that is to ſay, them that voluntarily obey his Inſpirations. Thus when Jeſus Chriſt ſays, in St. *John, Nemo poteſt venire ad me, niſi Pater, qui miſit me, traxerit eum: No Man can come to me, unleſs my Father, who has ſent me, draw him*; he ſpeaks not of a forcible Violence, as ſome, who would deſtroy our Free-Will, have ill believ'd, but he ſpeaks of an Aſſiſtance given to the Will: Nay, 'tis impoſſible and contradictory, that a Man ſhould be drawn to the Truth in ſpight of himſelf, becauſe 'tis impoſſible that he ſhould be drawn to it without loving; and if he love it, he muſt neceſſarily be inclin'd to it, but then that Neceſſity

we accuſe them of drawing on themſelves their own Misfortunes voluntarily, and through their own Fault? Why do we adviſe them not to provoke Contention, but to avoid it by yielding? Why do we command them to bear in Patience the Accidents that happen to them, and to uſe their Efforts to amend and heal them? For all the Ways to Virtue by Inſtructions are intirely ſhut up, if Liberty of Will be once taken away. (*u*) We need neither practiſe nor meditate, (*w*) nor love Good, if it were the Part of God only to deliver us from Vice, and to repleniſh us with Virtue, without our contributing thereto.

There can be no Virtue if Free-Will be taken away.

But if this were ſo, God would be the Cauſe of the Sins of Men: Now if God be in no wiſe the Author of Evil, as we have already demonſtrated, 'tis evident that our Apoſtacy from Good comes wholly from our ſelves, who neither ſee nor hear that it is near us, and in us, according to the No-

Our Departure from Good proceeds only from our ſelves.

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ceſſity is free and independant. This *Hierocles* knew very well, and call'd it the Neceſſity of the Mind, which is a thouſand times ſtronger than all exterior Violence, that has no Empire over the Will. 'Tis ſo true that the Soul of Man inclines no leſs voluntarily than infallibly to that which charms it, that the greateſt Violence is not able to hinder it.

(*u*) *Hierocles* ſtretches too far the Co-operation of Man in the Work of his Regeneration: For 'tis certainly God alone who gives us Virtue, and who delivers us from Vice. 'Tis true, that we contribute on our Part, but what we contribute comes from him; thus 'tis God who works the whole in us; and when we lend our Will to what he does, 'tis he that excites that Will in us, by making us love the Good he would have us do. Our Actions are our own, becauſe it is our Will, our Free-Will that produces them, and they are likewiſe the Actions of God, becauſe his Grace ſtir'd up in us the Free-Will that produc'd them.

(*w*) There is here a Fault in the Printed Text, which the Manuſcript of *Florence* corrects, ᾧ ἔρωτι τίθεσθαι τῶν καλῶν: it ought to be ᾧ ἔρωτι τίθεσθαι τὰ καλά.

tions that Nature imparted to us at our Creation; and the ſole Cauſe of this Blindneſs, and of this Deafneſs, is this pernicious Contention, this Evil that we voluntarily embrace; but inſtead of increaſing and ſuffering it to grow, we ought to avoid it by yielding, to learn to deliver our ſelves from our Evils, and to find out the way to return to God: For by this means the Light of God, and our Sight concurring together, compleat and perfect this manner of ſhewing, that effectuates the Liberty of the Soul, its Deliverance from all the Miſeries here below, a lively Taſte of divine Good, and the recalling it from Baniſhment into its true Country.

The Light of God and our Sight muſt concur together.

The Poet therefore having thus treated of Truth and of Virtue, and having clos'd up the Precepts of Virtue in the nightly Examen of our Conſciences, which he adviſes us to make, and having beſides carry'd on the Hopes of Truth as far as the Liberty of the Soul, and its Deliverance out of all its Evils, he proceeds in the next Place to ſpeak of Purity, which gives Wings to the luminous Body, and thus he adds a third kind of Philoſophy to the two former.

He is going to explain what this luminous Body is.

VER-

VERSES LXVII, LXVIII, and LXIX.

But abſtain thou from the Meats which we have forbidden in the Purifications,
And in the Deliverance of the Soul; make a juſt Diſtinction of them, and examine all things well.
Leaving thy ſelf always to be guided and directed by the Underſtanding that comes from above, and that ought to hold the Reins.

THE rational Eſſence having receiv'd from God its Creator a Body conformable to its Nature, deſcended hither upon Earth, (*b*) ſo that 'tis neither a Body, nor without a Body; but being incorporeal it has nevertheleſs its Form determin'd and bounded by the Body; (*c*) Even as in the

Another Error of the Pythagoreans, *who gave the Soul a ſpiritual Body.*

(*a*) This is another Error of the *Pythagoreans*, who, tho' they believ'd the Soul to be a Spirit, gave it nevertheleſs a ſubtile and luminous Body, becauſe they could not conceive how a thing bounded and finite could be without a Body. The Advantage which we may at this Day draw from this Error (for the Errors of the Heathens ſerve to lead us to Truth, of which they are the Baſtard-Children) is that even by the Conſent of theſe Philoſophers, the Soul may be cloath'd with a ſpiritual Body; and this is the Hope of us Chriſtians after the Reſurrection; for as there is an animal Body, there is alſo a ſpiritual Body. St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 44.

(*b*) 'Tis not a Body becauſe 'tis Spiritual, nor is it without a Body, becauſe 'tis cloath'd with a thin and ſubtile Body, that bounds and determins it. This is the Senſe of this Viſion of the *Pythagoreans*.

(*c*) For theſe Philoſophers believ'd that the Heav'ns and the Stars were Animals. The riſe of this Error may be ſeen in the Life of *Plato*.

the Stars, whoſe ſuperior Part is an Incorporeal Subſtance, and their inferior a Corporeal, the Sun it ſelf being a Compound of ſomewhat Corporeal and of ſomething Incorporeal; not that it is compos'd of two Parts, which having been ſeparate, have united themſelves together; for if ſo, they might ſeparate themſelves again; but of two Parts created together, (*d*) and born together with Subordination, ſo that the one directs and the other obeys. 'Tis the ſame with all rational Eſſences, as well with the Heroes as with Men; (*e*) for a Hero is a rational Soul with a luminous Body; and Man is likewiſe a rational Soul (*f*) with an immortal Body created with it. Thus you ſee the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, which *Plato* in his *Phædrus* explain'd long after him, (*g*) comparing the divine Soul and the human Soul to

(*d*) The Manuſcript of *Florence*, inſtead of ἐν τάξει συμπεφυκότων, reads ἐν ἕξει συμπεφυκότων. But I rather approve the reading of the printed Text. We find likewiſe in the following Page τῷ τάξιν.

(*e*) The *Pythagoreans* held that the Gods and the Angels had Bodies likewiſe.

(*f*) It cannot be doubted but *Pythagoras* was of Opinion that this ſubtile and thin Body of the Soul was born with it; for this appears from ſeveral Paſſages of the *Timæus*; and therefore *Plato* ſays in his *Phædrus*, ἀθάνατον τι ζῶον, ἔχον μὲν ψυχὴν ἔχον δὲ σῶμα, ἀεὶ δὲ χρόνον ταῦτα συμπεφυκότα. *An immortal Animal that has a Soul, but has likewiſe a Body, and both of them united, and as it were melted together from the Beginning.* And yet there ſeems to have been ſome *Pythagoreans* afterwards who held that the Soul, having been created wholly ſpiritual, inſinuated it ſelf in the corporeal Soul; that is to ſay, that it cloath'd it ſelf with a thin and ſubtile Body, which they conceiv'd to be taken out of the Celeſtial Orbs. Whoever would ſee more of this, let him conſult *Jamblicus* VIII. VI. for I fear I ſhall be thought to have dwelt too long already upon theſe Viſions.

(*g*) See here the Paſſage of *Plato*, as we find it in his *Phædrus*. To give an Idea of the Divine Soul and of the Human Soul, he ſays, Ἔοικε δὴ τῇ ξυμφύτῳ δυνάμει ὑποπτέρου ζεύγους

to a wing'd Chariot, that has two Horſes and a Coachman to guide it.

For the Perfection therefore of the Soul, we have need of Truth and of Virtue; and for the Purgation of our luminous Body, we ſtand in need to be cleans'd of all the Pollutions of Matter, to have recourſe to holy Purifications, and to make uſe of all the Strength that God has given us to ſtir us up to fly from theſe inferior Abodes; and this is what the preceding Verſes teach us. They inſtruct us to remove the Pollutions of Matter by this Precept, *Abſtain from all the Meats that we have forbidden.* They enjoin us to add to this Abſtinence, holy Purifications, and the Strength with which we are divinely inſpir'd; (*b*) which Command is in-

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ζεύγυς τε καὶ ἡνιόχυ Θεῶν μὲν ἓν ἵπποι καὶ ἡνίοχοι πάντες, αὐτοί τε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐκ ἀγαθῶν, τὸ δὲ πῇ ἄλλων μέμικται. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀρχῶν συμβαίνει ἡνιοχεῖν· ἔπειτα πῇ ἵππων ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς, καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων. ὁ δὲ ἐκ ἐναντίων καὶ ἐναντίος. χαλεπὴ δὲ καὶ δυσκόλος ἐκ ἀνάγκης ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἡνιόχησις. *It reſembles a wing'd Chariot that has two Horſes and a Coachman born together. The Horſes and the Coachmen of the Gods are all good, becauſe they come from Good; and the Horſes and Coachmen of others are mingled. Firſt, he that governs us guides the Chariot; one of his Horſes is good and tractable, and comes from Horſes that are ſo; and the other coming from quite contrary Horſes, is quite contrary likewiſe; that is to ſay, reſtive and diſobedient. Thus you ſee why our Chariot is of neceſſity ſo difficult to guide.* The Explication of this Image naturally preſents it ſelf. The Coachman is the Underſtanding, the ſpiritual Part of the Soul; the Chariot is the ſubtile Body that the Soul governs; the two Horſes are the iraſcible and the concupiſcible Faculties. Theſe two Horſes of the Chariot of the Gods are intirely good, becauſe neither Exceſs nor Vice approach the Divinity. But the Chariot of the Human Soul has one Horſe good and tractable, which is the iraſcible Faculty that ſerves and obeys Reaſon; and the other vicious and rebellious, which is the concupiſcible Faculty.

(*b*) This Paſſage is indeed a little obſcure, but I take the Senſe of it to be this. Truth and Virtue are the Purgations of the

indeed a little obſcurely inculcated by theſe Words, *in the Purifications and in the Deliverance of the Soul*, &c. and laſtly, they endeavour to render the Form of the Human Eſſence intire and perfect, by adding, *Leaving thy ſelf to be guided and directed by the Underſtanding that comes from above, and that ought to hold the Reins.* For the Poet thereby ſets before our Eyes the whole Human Eſſence, and diſtinguiſhes the Order and the Rank of the Parts that compoſe it. That which guides is as the Coachman, and that which follows and obeys, is as the Chariot. Theſe Verſes therefore teach all that are deſirous to underſtand the Symbols of *Pythagoras*, and to obey them, (*i*) that by the Exerciſe of Virtue, and by embracing Truth and Purity, we ought to take care of our Soul, and of our luminous Body, (*k*) which the Oracles call *the ſubtile*

Luminous Body the ſubtile Chariot of the Soul.

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the Intellectual Soul; Abſtinence from certain Meats cleanſes the Pollutions of Matter, and hinders the ſubtile Body of the Soul from mingling and confounding it ſelf with this terreſtrial and mortal Body; the Purifications compleat, to carry off and to purge away the Stains which this ſubtile Body has contracted, and the Strength with which we are divinely inſpir'd, that is to ſay, the Power that God has given us, and which he ſtrengthens by his Aſſiſtance, to wean us from theſe earthly Abodes, and to make us fly from them, perfects this Deliverance of the Soul, which is the Deſign and End of Philoſophy.

(*i*) This is the Senſe of this Paſſage of *Hierocles*, for he told us but now, that in order to the Perfection of the Soul, that is to ſay, of the ſpiritual Part of the Soul, we have need of Truth and of Virtue; and that in order to the Purgation of the corporeal Part, that is to ſay, of the luminous Body, we have need of Purity.

(*k*) By theſe Oracles he means ſome Verſes that were imputed to *Orpheus*; or elſe he gives this Appellation to the Tenets of *Pythagoras*. As to what remains, 'tis difficult to aſcertain what Opinion thoſe Philoſophers had of theſe Chariots, for they ſpoke very obſcurely of them. They taught that they were different, according to the Dignity of the Souls. See the Theological Inſtruction of *Proclus*, *Art*, 204. *Jamblicus*, ſpeaking of the Chariots of the Demons, *ſ.* 12. ſays that they were taken,

ſubtile Chariot of the Soul. (*l*) Now the Purity here ſpoken of, extends to Meat and Drink, and to the whole Management and Uſage of our mortal Body, in which is lodg'd our luminous Body, which inſpires Life into the inanimate Body, and contains and preſerves all its Harmony. (*m*) For the immaterial Body is the Life, and produces the Life of the material Body; (*n*) by which Life our mortal Body becomes perfect, being compos'd of the immaterial Life, and of the material Body; (*o*) and being the Image of the whole *Man*, who properly ſpeaking is a com-

Animal Life produced by the luminous Body of the Soul.

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taken, neither from the Matter nor from the Elements, nor from any other Body that is known to us. And when he ſpeaks of the Chariots of Souls, it appears, by what he ſays, that they conceiv'd them to be as it were an Extract and Quinteſſence of the Celeſtial Orbs. *Proclus* ſays, that the Chariot of every particular Soul is Immaterial, Indiviſible and Impaſſible. I believe I have diſcover'd the Original of this Opinion in the Life of *Pythagoras*.

(*l*) I have follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, where inſtead of ἀΰλη ἡ καθάρσις, we find ἀΰλη ἡ καθαρότης.

(*m*) See here the Senſe of this idle Notion of *Pythagoras*, which ſeems at firſt very difficult and very obſcure. We have already ſeen that he taught, how the Soul, before it came to animate this mortal Body, had a ſpiritual and luminous Body; and ſeeing this mortal Body has a ſort of Life, he conceiv'd that this Sort of Life was the Effect of the luminous Body that fill'd it; and therefore that this mortal Body, being compos'd of Life and of Matter, was the true Image of the Eſſence of Man, that is to ſay, of the Soul, and of the ſpiritual Body.

(*n*) The Manuſcript of *Florence* gives us this Paſſage as *Hierocles* writ it; for inſtead of τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν σῶμα, as the printed Text reads it, we find in that Manuſcript, τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν ζῶον; and inſtead of ἐκ τ' ἀλόγυ ζῶης, we read, ἐκ τ' ἀλλυ ζῶης; for he conceiv'd the Life of the animal Body to be a Life in ſome meaſure Immaterial, becauſe it was the Effect of the luminous Body of the Soul.

(*o*) This mortal Body being compos'd of the material Body and of the immaterial Life, that is to ſay, of the Life that communicated to it the ſubtile Body, it was regarded by the *Pythagoreans* as the Image of the Eſſence of Man, that is to ſay, of the Underſtanding and of the Immaterial Body; and on the other hand, they regard

a Compound of the rational Eſſence, and of the immaterial Body.

That is to ſay, the rational Soul cloath'd with a ſpiritual Body.

Seeing therefore that we are Men, (*p*) and that Man is compos'd of theſe two Parts, 'tis evident that he ought to be purify'd and perfected in both of them; and to this purpoſe he muſt follow the Ways that are proper to each of his two Natures; for each Part requires a different Purgation. For Example, the reaſonable Soul, in regard to its Faculty of Reaſoning and of Judging, muſt be purg'd by Truth, which produces Knowledge, and in regard to its Faculty of deliberating, it muſt be purg'd by Conſultation; for being made to contemplate the Things that are Divine, and to regulate the Things below; for the firſt we have need of Truth, and for the laſt we have need of Virtue, that we may wholly apply our ſelves to the Contemplation of the things that are eternal, (*q*) and to the Practice of all our Duties; and in both we ſhall avoid the Storms that Folly raiſes, if we obey exactly the Divine Laws that have been given us: For this Folly is the thing, of which we ought to purge our rational Eſſence; (*r*) becauſe it was that very

What is the Purgation of the Soul.

Knowledge is the Fruit of Truth.

Why we have need of Virtue and of Truth.

That is to ſay, that it came here below to cloath it ſelf with a mortal and corruptible Body.

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regarded likewiſe this immaterial and ſubtile Body, as the Image of the mortal Body, it being moulded on the Figure of this Body. *Image* is a Reciprocal Term that may ſerve as well to the Original as to the Copy.

(*p*) Inſtead of ἀνθρωπὸς ᾗ διὰ ταῦτα, we ought to read, ὁ ᾗ ἀνθρωπὸς ταῦτα, as in the Manuſcript of *Florence*. Theſe two Parts of Man, that is to ſay, of the Soul, are the rational Eſſence, the Underſtanding; and the immaterial and luminous Body; as he but now explain'd it.

(*q*) Τῶν ᾗ ἐνεχομένων ποιητικὸν, which ought to be read as in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ᾗ ἐνδεχομένων ποιητικὸν.

(*r*) Inſtead of ἐπεὶ ᾗ ταύτης προσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ γένεσι, we ſhould read as in the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ἐπεὶ ᾗ ταύτῃ προσῆλθε τῇ εἰς γένεσιν

very Folly which gave it a Tendency and Affection for the things here below. But becauſe a mortal Body has annex'd it ſelf to our luminous Body, we ought likewiſe to purge it of this corruptible Body, and to deliver it from the Sympathies it has contracted with it, (*s*) there remains therefore only the Purgation of the ſpiritual Body, which muſt be done according to the ſacred Oracles, (*t*) and to the holy Method which the Art teaches, (*u*) but this

Purgation of the ſpiritual Body.

νεσιν νόσε. Word for Word. *Becauſe this ſame Folly made it precipitate it ſelf into an Inclination to be born*; that is to ſay, *becauſe this Folly inclin'd it to come here below to be born, and to animate a mortal and corruptible Body.*

(*s*) *Hierocles* here imploys ψυχικον σῶμα, in a contrary Senſe to that which St. *Paul* gives in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. For this Philoſopher uſes it for the ſpiritual Body, for the luminous Body of the Soul, which he oppoſes to the *material* or terreſtrial Body; whereas, St. *Paul* uſes it for the mortal and terreſtrial Body, oppos'd to the ſpiritual Body, which he calls πνευμαϊκὸν, and which is nothing elſe than this mortal and terreſtrial Body glorify'd. As for what remains, *Hierocles* ſays nothing of the Purgation of the material Body, becauſe it is comprehended in the Purgation of the ſpiritual Body; and beſides this Purgation is not made for the material Body, but for the other which gives it Life.

(*t*) This is the Reading of the printed Text, καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς τέχναις. In the Manuſcript of *Florence*, we read καὶ τὰς περὶ ἱερῶν τέχναις, which ought perhaps to be thus corrected, καὶ τὰς περὶ ἱερέων τέχναις, *and to the Method* of the Art of the Sacrificers.

(*u*) *Porphyrius* has handled this Subject in his Treatiſe, περὶ ἀνόδου τῆς ψυχῆς, *De regreſſu Animæ, Of the Return of the Soul to the Place of its Origine.* And St. *Auguſtin* refutes admirably well this Method of purging the ſpiritual Part of the Soul by *the Theurgick Art*, as a very impious Practice. To explain it the better, I will ſet down the whole Paſſage. *Hanc Artem*, ſays he in Chap. 5. Book 10. of the City of God, *utilem dicit eſſe mundanda parti animæ, non quidem intellectuali, qua rerum intelligibilium percipitur veritas, nullas habentium ſimilitudines corporum, ſed ſpiritali, qua corporalium rerum capiuntur Imagines. Hanc enim dicit per quaſdam Conſecrationes theurgicas, quas* teletas *vocant idoneam fieri atque aptam ſuſceptioni Spirituum & Angelorum*

He calls it vivifying, because they pretended that this ſpiritual Body gave Life to the mortal Body.

this Purgation is in ſome manner more corporeal, and therefore imploys all ſorts of Ways intirely to heal this vivifying Body, and to oblige it by this Operation to ſeparate it ſelf from Matter, and to take its flight to thoſe bliſsful Regions, where its original Happineſs had plac'd it: (*w*) And whatever is done for the Purgation of this Body, if it be done in a manner worthy of God, without any Deceit or Impoſture, will be found conſonant to the Rules

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Angelorum ad videndum Deos. Ex quibus tamen theurgicis teletis fatetur intellectuali animæ nihil purgationis accedere, quod eam faciat idoneam ad videndum Deum ſuum, & perſpicienda ea quæ vere ſunt. This Paſſage cannot be better explain'd than by this Place of *Hierocles*; for we ſee that what St. *Auguſtin*, after *Porphyrius* calls *the ſpiritual part of the Soul*, *Spiritalem animæ partem*, is what *Hierocles* after the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonicks* calls πνευματικὸν καὶ λεπτὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα, and τὸ αὐγοειδὲς τῆς ψυχῆς σῶμα, and ψυχικὸν σῶμα, *the ſpiritual and ſubtile Chariot of the Soul, the luminous Body of the Soul, and the animal Body.* Moreover, *Porphyrius*, when he commanded to purge this ſpiritual Part, or this ſubtile Body of the Soul, by theſe Initiations and by theſe Expiations, injoin'd likewiſe, as *Hierocles* here does, to purge the Intellectual Part by the Knowledge of Truth. *Pythagoras* took from the *Chaldeans* this twofold Purgation; and the *Chaldeans* no doubt took the Hint from the Sacrifices of the *Jews*, which they but ill underſtood, and where they found ſome Ceremonies which related to the Purification of the Body. Be it as it will, 'tis certain that this Superſtition was in great Vogue among all the Ancients; for 'twas this that made the Heathens go into all the Corners of the World, to get themſelves initiated in the Myſteries of their falſe Gods.

(*w*) For among the *Pagans* there were Vagabonds and Impoſtors, who counterfeited the Ceremonies of their Religion, by making uſe of Sorceries and Cheats to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of Men. See *Jamblicus* 10. 2. where he ſays very well, that all the Arts are fruitful in falſe Arts that counterfeit the true; but that theſe falſe Arts are more oppoſite to the true, than to any thing elſe; for there can be nothing more contrary to what is good in its Kind, than what is bad in the ſame Kind. *Hierocles* and *Porphyrius* forbid to make Application to thoſe ſorts of Men, and would have Men addreſs themſelves to thoſe who had the true Rites, that is, to the true Sacrificers.

Rules of Truth and of Virtue. For the Purgations of the reaſonable Soul, and of the luminous Chariot, are perform'd to this purpoſe, that this Chariot may by that means come to have Wings, and immediately ſoar aloft towards the Celeſtial Habitations.

Impoſture and Deceit ought to be baniſh'd from Expiations and Purgations.

Now what moſt contributes to the growth of theſe Wings, is Meditation, by which we learn by little and little to wean our Affections from earthly things, and to get a Habit of contemplating the things that are Immaterial and Intelligible, and to ſhake of the Pollutions it has contracted by its Union with this terreſtrial and mortal Body. And indeed, by theſe three Advantages it revives in ſome manner, it rouzes up it ſelf, 'tis fill'd with divine Vigour (*x*) and reunites it ſelf to the intelligent Perfection of the Soul.

That is to ſay, of the ſpiritual Body.

Theſe Wings that the Soul has loſt by its Tendency towards earthly things.

That is to ſay, God.

(*y*) But it will be ask'd, wherein and how the Abſtaining from certain Meats can contribute to things of ſuch Excellence? Certainly it cannot be doubted but in regard to thoſe who are accuſtom'd to avoid all worldly Joys, to abſtain beſides intirely from eating Meats, eſpecially from ſuch as enervate the Mind, and incline the Body to luſtful Deſires, it cannot I ſay be doubted, but this will be a great Help to them, and a conſiderable Advance towards their Purification. This is the Reaſon why in the Symbolical Precepts we are injoin'd theſe Abſtinences; which Precepts, under the myſtical Senſe, con-

(*x*) This intelligent Perfection of the Soul is nothing elſe than the Divine Underſtanding, that is to ſay, God.

(*y*) This Paſſage was defective in the printed Text. The Manuſcript of *Florence* has reſtor'd it, by adding the Word ἀποχὴ, and giving us the whole Paſſage thus, Τὶ ἔν ἡ ἐνίων βρωμάτων ἀποχὴ πρὸς ταῦτα συμβαλόισο ἄν: This is an Objection *Hierocles* makes to himſelf, and he anſwers it afterwards by ſhewing, that this Precept has two Senſes, a litteral and a figurative or Myſtical.

conceal one that is general and of large extent, tho' at the ſame time, litterally taken, they have the Senſe which they preſent, and poſitively forbid what is expreſly nam'd in the Precept. For Example, the Symbol that forbids *To eat the Matrix of any Animal*, litterally taken, forbids the eating of a certain Part of it, and that a very ſmall one too; but if we dive to the Bottom of the hidden Senſe of this *Pythagorean* Myſtery, we ſhall diſcover that (*c*) by this palpable and ſenſible Image, (*a*) we are taught intirely to renounce to whatever relates to Birth and Generation. (*b*) And as we are commanded to abſtain actually, and according to the Letter from eating that Part of any Animal, ſo are we to practiſe and obſerve with equal Care, the moſt myſterious and hidden Injunctions of this Precept, in order to the Purgation of the luminous Body.

The myſtical Senſe does not exclude the litteral.

In like manner, in this Precept, *Thou ſhalt not eat the Heart*, the chief Senſe is that we ſhould avoid Anger; but the litteral and ſubordinate Senſe

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(*c*) Δὶ ἑνὸς τίν@ αἰσθητῦ δεδιδαχθήσῃ. 'Tis evident there is a Word wanting in the Text; I had ſupply'd μέρους *by this palpable and ſenſible Part*. But the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, have given me the true Reading, σχήματι@, *by this palpable and ſenſible Image*.

(*a*) That is to ſay, to all the things of this Life; for this was the Senſe in which the *Pythagoreans* us'd the Word γένεσις, *Birth, Generation*. The *Latin* Interpreter has often miſtaken in explaining it for *Love*. If he had but read ſome Chapters of *Jamblicus*, who often ſpeaks of γένεσις, and of γενεσιουργὸς μοῖρα, he would not have made this Blunder.

(*b*) There was a great Fault in this Paſſage, which, as *Caſaubon* ſaw very well, ought to be read and pointed thus, κ᾽ ὡς ἐν βρώμασι τῦτο ἃ ἐφοσιούμεθα, ἵνα τοῖς τὸ αὐγοειδὲς καθαρσίοις, &c. The Compariſon ἵνα was wanting, which caus'd ſo great an Obſcurity, that 'tis not to be wonder'd that the *Latin* Interpreter made a Tranſlation of it as lame as the Original.

is that we ſhould abſtain from eating that forbidden Part.

So too the Deſign of the Precept that commands us *to abſtain from the Fleſh of Beaſts that die of themſelves,* is not only to wean us in general from this mortal Nature, but to hinder us likewiſe from partaking of any profane Fleſh, and of ſuch as is not fit for Sacrifices; for in Symbolical Precepts (*c*) 'tis juſt to obey as well the literal as the hidden Senſe. And the Practice of the literal Senſe is the only way to attain to the Obſervance of the myſtical, which is the moſt important.

In all Symbolical Precepts we muſt obey the literal and Symbolical Senſe.

Thus too we ought to underſtand this Verſe, which in two or three Words gives us the Seeds and Principles of the beſt Works; *Abſtain from Meats,* which is the ſame thing as if it had ſaid, *Abſtain from mortal and corruptible Bodies.* But becauſe 'tis impoſſible to abſtain from [illegible], he adds, *that we have forbidden;* and he points out the places of which he ſpeaks, *in the Purifications, and in the Deliverance of the Soul;* to the end that by abſtaining from prohibited Meats, we may increaſe the Splendor of the Corporeal Chariot, and take ſuch a Care of it as becomes a Soul that is purify'd and deliver'd from all the Pollutions of Matter. And he leaves the true Diſtinction of all theſe things to the Underſtanding, which being the only Faculty that judges, is likewiſe alone capable of taking ſuch care of the luminous Body, as the Purity of the Soul requires. Thus you ſee why he calls this Underſtanding, *the Coachman, the Conductor,* who holds the Reins, it be-

Under the word Meats *is included whatever is mortal and corruptible.*

That is to ſay, of the Spiritual Body of the Soul.

(*c*) This Precept *Pythagoras* took from the Theology, and from the Practice of the *Egyptians,* and of the *Hebrews.* In Symbolical Precepts, we ought neither to deſpiſe the Letter to ſtick to the Senſe, nor neglect the hidden Senſe to adhere to the Letter.

ing created to guide the Chariot. 'Tis call'd *Underſtanding*, becauſe 'tis the intelligent Faculty, and *Conductor* or *Coachman*, becauſe it governs and guides the Body. (*d*) Now the Eye of Love is what directs the Coachman; for tho' it be an intelligent Soul, 'tis only by the Aſſiſtance of this Eye of Love, that it diſcovers the Field of Truth, and by the Faculty that ſerves it inſtead of Hands it curbs and reſtrains the Body that is annex'd to it, and guiding it with Wiſdom, becomes the Miſtreſs of it, and turns it towards its own ſelf; to the end that the whole Compoſition may be intirely taken up with contemplating the Divinity, and conform it ſelf wholly to his Image.

Unleſs the Eye of Love guide our Underſtanding, it can guide us but ill, and will make us go aſtray from Truth.

This is in general an Idea of the Abſtinence here ſpoken of, and of all the great Goods to which it endeavours to lead us. (*e*) All theſe things are particularly deliver'd in the holy Precepts that have been given us under Shadows and under Veils: And tho' each of them ordain a particular Abſtinence, as from Beans among the Legumes, among Beaſts from the Fleſh of ſuch as die of themſelves, tho' the very kinds be expreſs'd, as, *Thou ſhalt not eat the Gurnet*, for the Fiſh, nor ſuch an Animal for the Beaſts of the Earth, nor ſuch a Bird for the Fowls of the Air; and tho' laſtly they deſcend even to particularize certain Parts, as, *Thou ſhalt not eat the Head, thou ſhalt not eat the Heart*; nevertheleſs in each of theſe Precepts the Author includes all the Per-

All theſe Abſtinences tend to purge the Soul from all carnal affections.

(*d*) This is indeed a noble Thought. The Underſtanding that is not guided by the Eye of Love, can be fill'd with nothing but Darkneſs; for 'tis Love alone that leads us to Truth. And as *Socrates* ſays, Love always tends to Immortality; and is the greateſt Aſſiſtance that God has given to Men, to help them to attain to the Life of Bleſſedneſs.

(*e*) He ſpeaks of the Symbols of *Pythagoras*, of which I have given a Collection.

Perfection of Purification; for tho' he literally forbids ſuch or ſuch a thing, as to bodily Abſtinence, by reaſon of certain Phyſical Properties and Virtues; (*f*) yet in each Precept he inſinuates our Purgation from all carnal Affections, and teaches Man to return home to himſelf, that he may bid farewel to this Abode of Generation and Corruption, and take his Flight to the *Elyſian* Fields, and to the moſt pure *Æther*.

Now the orderly Progreſs which the *Pythagoreans* obſerv'd in their Abſtinence, is the reaſon that we find in their Writings ſome Symbols which at firſt ſight ſeem to contradict one another: For this Precept, *Abſtain from eating the Heart*, ſeems contrary to this other Precept, *Abſtain from eating Animals*, unleſs we ſay that the firſt, *Abſtain from eating the Heart*, was addreſs'd to young Beginners; and that the laſt, *Abſtain from eating Animals*, was injoin'd only to the Perfect; for the Abſtinence from any particular Part of an Animal is ſuperfluous and uſeleſs, when the whole Animal is forbid.

We ſhould therefore diligently attend to the Order and Gradation which the Author obſerves: *Abſtain*, ſays he, *from Meats*; and then, as if ſome body had ask'd him, *from what Meats?* he anſwers, *Which I have forbidden.* And after this he anſwers again, as it were to this ſecond Queſtion: Where have the *Pythagoreans* ſpoken of theſe Meats, and in what Treatiſes have they injoin'd this Abſtinence? 'Tis, ſays he, *in the Purifications, and in the Deliverance of the Soul*; thereby artfully inſinuating,

(*f*) Thus each Symbol in particular tends to the ſame end as all the Symbols in general. All the legal Ceremonies of the Jews did the like.

The Purgations precede the Diliverance of the Soul.

(*g*) that the Purgations precede, and that the Deliverance of the Soul follows.

Now the Purgations of the reasonable Soul are the Mathematical Sciences; (*h*) and its Deliverance which carries it upwards, is the Dialecticks. (*i*) which Science is the intimate Inspection of Beings. This is the Reason why the Author says in the Singular

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(*g*) Since the Soul, in order to its Deliverance, ought to be Pure, that Deliverance must of Necessity be preceded by the Purgations, and by the Purifications. All this Notion of the *Pythagoreans* is borrow'd from what the true Religion has always taught and practis'd; for as St. *Dennis* in his Treatise of Hierarchy has very well explain'd it, there is *the Purgation*, κατάρσις, *the Illumination*, φωτισμὸς, and *the Perfection*, τελείωσις. *The Purgation* is the first Elements of Religion, and the Rites and Ceremonies by which it purges the Soul of the Pollutions, and of the Contagion of earthly things; *the Illumination*, when the Soul is admitted to the Knowledge of the most important and most sublime Truths; and *the Perfection*, when the Soul, being already purg'd and inlighten'd, is admitted to the Inspection and to the Participation of the most holy Mysteries. This the *Pagans* know, but explain'd it ill, referring the whole to the Sciences and to the Dialecticks; which may indeed inlighten the Soul to a certain Degree, but can neither perfect nor deliver it.

(*h*) For after the Soul has purg'd it self from all Errors by the means of the mathematical Sciences, which have brought it to a Habitude of inquiring only into what is most solid and most true, the Dialecticks, which are the most valuable part of Philosophy, and which alone teach to distinguish Truth from Falshood, fix it, and make it embrace its true Good. The Reader may see what I have said more at large of the Dialecticks in the Life of *Plato*.

(*i*) *Hierocles* in this place makes use of an Expression which deserves to be explain'd; for besides that 'tis perfectly fine, it sets his Opinion of this matter in a true Light. He calls Dialecticks, ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὄντων, *the Inspection of Beings*, making use of a Word borrow'd from the Mysteries, to let us see that the Mathematical Sciences are in regard to Dialecticks, like the Initiations; and that the Dialecticks are as it were the intimate Inspection of those Sciences. Now in the Mysteries, the Inspection into sacred things was not allow'd the Novices 'till at least

gular Number, *in the Deliverance of the Soul*, (*k*) becauſe the Deliverance relates to one Science only; and why too he ſays in the Plural, *in the Purifications*, becauſe the Mathematicks contain ſeveral Sciences.

Now to all theſe things that have been ſaid in particular concerning the Soul, in regard to its Purification, and to its Deliverance, we ought to join things of the like Nature with theſe, and that analogically and proportionably anſwer to them, for the Purgation of the luminous Body. (*l*) And hence it neceſſarily follows, that the Purgations which are made by the means of the Mathematical Sciences, ſhould be accompany'd with the myſtical Purgations of the Initiations; and that the Deliverance, which is perform'd by the Dialecticks, ſhould be attended by the Introduction to what is moſt ſublime and moſt excellent. For theſe are properly the

leaſt a Year after their Initiation into the leſſer Myſteries, which were only a Preparative for the laſt and greater. This Thought is very fine, and gives Dialecticks the praiſe which that Science juſtly deſerves. This too is the reaſon why he call'd it *The Deliverance of the Soul*, of which the Mathematical Sciences are only the Purgation.

(*k*) Theſe Words were wanting in the Text; they give the Reaſon why the Poet ſays in the ſingular, *The Deliverance of the Soul*; and they are ſupply'd in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, and authoriz'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ὅτι εἰς μίαν ἐπιστήμην αὐτὴ τελεῖ, *quia ad unam ſcientiam pertinet*; but this is not enough neither, we muſt add beſides, *and he ſays in the Plural*, καὶ πληθυντικῶς, &c.

(*l*) Here he explains what he ſaid laſt, that we ought to imploy ſuch Means for the Purgation of the Spiritual Body of the Soul, as analogically anſwer to the Means we made uſe of for the Soul it ſelf. The Sciences are made uſe of to purge the Soul; and the Dialecticks to raiſe it to its true Happineſs. To purge the Spiritual Body we muſt have recourſe to the Initiations, that anſwer Analogically to the Sciences; and to raiſe it up and make it take its Flight towards its true Country, we muſt apply

The Chariot of the Soul is purg'd by the Initiations, and by the Inſpection into Myſteries.

things that purifie, and render perfect the ſpiritual Chariot of the reaſonable Soul, that diſingage it from the Pollutions and from the Diſorder of Matter, and that render it fit to converſe with pure Spirits. For what is impure can have no Fellowſhip with what is pure. And as we muſt of Neceſſity adorn the Soul with Knowledge and with Virtue, that it may be able to converſe with the Spirits, that are always indu'd with thoſe Qualities; (*m*) ſo we ought to render pure the luminous Body, and to diſintangle it from Matter, that it may maintain a Communication with luminous Bodies: For Likeneſs unites all things, whereas Diſſimilitude diſunites and ſeparates the things that are the moſt united in regard to their Place and Situation.

That is to ſay, of the Soul and of the Spiritual Body.

This is the due and analogical Meaſure which the *Pythagoreans* have given us of the moſt perfect Philoſophy, for the Perfection of the whole Man; for whoſo takes Care of the Soul and neglects the Body, purges not the intire Man; and on the other hand, he who believes it ſufficient to take Care of the Body, without thinking

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apply our ſelves to the Introduction to what is moſt Sacred, the moſt inward Inſpection into the Myſteries, which anſwers to the Dialecticks. This is the true Senſe of this Paſſage which was very obſcure.

(*m*) They pretended that this was done by Purgations, under which they comprehended Watchings, Faſting, the Luſtration, and above all the Sacrifices that were made by Fire. Therefore *Jamblicus* writes, *That our material Fire, initiating the Virtue of the Celeſtial Fire, carries away all that is earthly in the Sacrifices, purges all that is offer'd, diſingages it from the Bands of Matter, and by the Purity of the Nature unites it with the Gods; and by this means it frees us from the Chains of Birth and of Generation, renders us like the Gods, and fit to be honour'd with their Friendſhip, and raiſes to Immateriality our material Nature.* This Paſſage may ſerve as a Comment on this place of *Hierocles*: Beſides, 'tis well worth taking notice of, becauſe it affords us a glimmering Light to help us to diſcover in what manner

Jambl. 5. 12.

thinking of the Soul, or that the Care of the Body will ſerve likewiſe for the Soul, without purging it apart, commits the like Fault. (*n*) But he who takes care of both, perfects his whole ſelf; (*o*) and by this means Philoſophy is join'd to the myſtick Art, whoſe buſineſs is to purge the lucid Body. And if this Art be deſtitute of a Philoſophical Mind, (*p*) you will find it has no longer the ſame Virtue; for of all the things that compleat our Perfection, ſome were invented by a Philoſophical Mind, and others were introduc'd by a Myſtical Operation that conform'd it ſelf to that Mind.

Now by Myſtical Operation, I mean the Purgative Faculty of the luminous Body; to the end that of all Philoſophy the Theory may precede as the Mind, and the Practick follow as the Act or Faculty. Now the Practick is of two ſorts, Politick or Civil, and Myſtical. The firſt purges us of Folly by the means

The Myſtical Operation ought always to be conformable to Reaſon.

The holy Ceremonies were introduc'd to purge us of all earthly Thoughts.

B b 4

manner theſe Philoſophers believ'd that Fire purg'd the ſubtle Chariot of the Soul; they imagin'd it to be by Sympathys; and that it not only acted on the things offer'd, but on that likewiſe which thoſe things repreſented.

(*n*) Here ſomething is wanting in the printed Text, but I have follow'd the Reading of the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcript, which I find confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ὅλῳ τελεῖῳ.

(*o*) Here *Hierocles* very plainly inſinuates, that the myſtical Ceremonies of Religion were introduc'd only for the Body. If the Soul were alone by it ſelf, it would have need only of Philoſophy, that is to ſay, of the Knowledge of Truth: But ſeeing it has a Body that ought to be luminous and ſpiritual, it has need likewiſe of the Ceremonies that purifie it, and that agree with the Purifications of the Soul, of which they are an Image and Repreſentation. 'Tis needleſs to refute this ſo viſible an Error. If the Soul were alone, yet having Sin, it would have need of being purg'd and purify'd; but by a Purgation, of which *Hierocles* was unfortunately ignorant.

(*p*) For not being grounded on Reaſon and on Truth, 'tis only a vain Phantom, which being made up of Illuſions and Cheats, produces only Impoſture and Error.

means of Virtue, and the ſecond cuts off all earthly Thoughts by the means of the ſacred Ceremonies.

(q) The publick Laws are a good Pattern of Civil Philoſophy, and the Sacrifices of Cities, of the Myſtical. Now the ſublimeſt Pitch of all Philoſophy is the Contemplative Mind: (r) the Politick Mind holds the middle Place, and in the laſt is the Myſtical. (s) The firſt, in regard to the two others, holds the place of the Eye; (t) and the two laſt, in regard to the firſt, hold the place of the Hand, and of the Foot, but they are all three ſo well link'd together, (u) that either of the three is imperfect, and almoſt uſeleſs, without the Co-operation of the other two. And therefore we ought always to join together the Knowledge that has found out the Truth, the Faculty that produces Virtue, and that which brings forth Purity, to the end that the

Contemplation, Virtue and Purity, ought always to march together.

(q) For Cities, Kingdoms, and in a word, all Societies have need of the ſame Remedies with the Soul. They have need to practiſe Virtues, and to acquire Purity. The Laws facilitate the Practice of Virtues, by ordaining what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided: And the Sacrifices lead to Purity, by purging away all terreſtrial Thoughts; and conſuming by that divine Fire all carnal Affections, as the Victim is conſum'd by the Fire.

(r) For the politick Mind tends to perfect the Soul by the Practice of Virtues; and the myſtical Mind, according to *Hierocles*, tends only to purifie the luminous and ſpiritual Body. The laſt will End, but the other will never End.

(s) For 'tis the contemplative Mind, that having diſcover'd the Neceſſity of Virtue and of Purity, ordain'd the Means that procure both the one and the other.

(t) The politick or civil Mind is as it were the Hand, and the Myſtical, as it were the Foot.

(u) This is no leſs fine than true: Contemplation is in vain, and fruitleſs without Purity, and without the Practice of Virtues. The Practice of Virtues is ſo likewiſe without Contemplation and without Purity; and laſtly Purity is in vain, unleſs Contemplation animate and direct it, and unleſs the Practice of Virtue bear it company and ſupport it.

the Civil Actions may be render'd conformable to the Mind that preſides, *(w)* and that the holy Actions may be anſwerable to the one and to the other.

That is to ſay, the Ceremonies of Religion.

Thus you ſee the End of the *Pythagorean* Philoſophy is, that we may become all over Wings to ſoar aloft to the Divine Good, to the end that at the Hour of Death, *(x)* leaving upon Earth this mortal Body, and diveſting us of its corruptible Nature, we may be ready for the Celeſtial Voyage, like Champions in the ſacred Combats of Philoſophy; for then we ſhall return to our ancient Country, and be deify'd, as far as 'tis poſſible for Men to become Gods. And this we are promis'd in the two following Verſes.

(w) This Paſſage is very obſcure and very difficult. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, by reading τὸν ἱερὸν ἔργον, has alone helpt me to underſtand it, and the Senſe of it, if I comprehend it aright, is this. The Poet juſt now told us, that we ought to join together in Meditation, the Practice of Virtues, and the Ceremonies of Religion. And here he gives the Reaſon of it; to the end, ſays he, that the Actions which reſult from the Practice of Virtues, may anſwer to the Mind that produces them; and that the Ceremonies which purifie us, may anſwer to this ſame Mind and to the Practice of Virtues; that is to ſay, to the end that Politicks and Religion being conformable to the divine Intelligence, may concur alike to render us agreeable to God; which neither of the three can do alone, for Meditation can do nothing without Works, nor Works without Religion, as *Hierocles* fully ſhews. τὸν ἱερὸν ἔργον is likewiſe in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

(x) This is a conſiderable Error of the *Pythagoreans* concerning this mortal Body. They did not conceive that this Terreſtrial Body could be glorify'd, and become a Spiritual Body; but inſtead of that Body, they gave the Soul another ſort of Body, a ſubtile and luminous Body. But that which was only an Error taken in the Senſe of the *Pythagoreans*, becomes a Truth, when taken in the ſenſe of the Chriſtians. After Death, the Soul ſhall be receiv'd into Heaven with an Incorruptible and Spiritual Body.

VERSES LXX, and LXXI.

And when after having diveſted thy ſelf of thy mortal Body, thou arriv'ſt in the moſt pure Æther,
Thou ſhalt be a God, Immortal, Incorruptible, and Death ſhall have no more Dominion over thee.

Salvation is the Work of Love.

BEhold the moſt glorious End of all our Labours! (*a*) Behold, as *Plato* ſays, the glorious Combat, and the great Hope that is propos'd to us! Behold the moſt perfect Fruit of Philoſophy! This is the greateſt Work, the moſt excellent Atchievement of the Art of Love; that myſterious Art of raiſing up to Divine Goods, and of eſtabliſhing in the Poſſeſſion of them, of delivering from the Afflictions here below, as from the obſcure Dungeon of mortal Life, of exalting to the Celeſtial Splendors, and of placing in the Iſlands of the Bleſs'd, all who ſhall have walk'd in the Ways which the foregoing Rules had taught them. For them and them alone is reſerv'd the ineſtimable Reward of Deification; it not being permitted to any to be adopted into the Rank of the Gods, but to him alone who has acquir'd for his Soul Virtue and Truth, and for his ſpiritual Chariot, Purity.

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(*a*) This is a Paſſage of the *Phado*, Tom. 2, p. 114. But in the Editions of *Plato* 'tis read Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἆθλον, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς μεγάλη; *For the Prize is glorious, and the Hope great. Hierocles*, inſtead of ἆθλον, Prize, read ἀγὼν, Combat.

Such a Man being thereby become ſound and whole, is reſtor'd to his primitive State, (*b*) after he has recover'd himſelf by his Union with ſound Reaſon, after he has diſcover'd the All-divine Ornament of this Univerſe, (*c*) and thus found out the Author and Creator of all things, as much as 'tis poſſible for Man to find him. (*d*) And being thus arriv'd after his Purification to that ſublime Degree of Bliſs, which the Beings whoſe Nature is incapable of deſcending to Generation always enjoy, (*e*) he unites himſelf by his Knowledge to this *Whole*, and raiſes himſelf up even to God himſelf.

That is to ſay, who come not here below to animate mortal and corruptible Bodies.

But foraſmuch as he has a Body that was created with him, he ſtands in need of a Place wherein he may be ſeated, as it were in the Rank of the Stars; (*f*) and the moſt ſuitable Place for a Body of

Error of the Pythagoreans.

(*b*) I have follow'd the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which has reſtor'd this Paſſage, and inſtead of διὰ τ῀ τ῀ ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐνάσεως, &c. reads διὰ τ῀ πρὸς τ῀ ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐνάσεως ὅπου κεῖται ἑαυτὸν; which is excellent. I have ventur'd this Expreſſion, *After he has recover'd himſelf*, that I might give the full Strength of the *Greek* Text.

(*c*) This Paſſage in the Editions runs thus, καὶ τ῀ δημιουργικὸν τοῦτο τὸ παντὸς ἐξεύρεσιν. But ſee how the Manuſcript of *Florence*, which I have follow'd in my Tranſlation, has reſtor'd it; καὶ τ῀ δημιουργικὸν τῶ παντὸς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξεύρεσιν.

(*d*) The Manuſcript of *Florence* reſtores this Paſſage too very well, for inſtead of τοῦτο δὲ, γενόμενος, ὡς ὅτ῀ τε μετὰ τ῀ καθάρσιν, it reads τοῦτο ὃ γινόμενος νῦν μετὰ τ῀ καθαρσιν.

(*e*) The printed Text reads τ῀ ὦ γνώσεσιν ἐν τῷ παντὶ, which is no manner of Senſe. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts clear'd my Difficulties, by reading τ῀ ὦ γνώσεσι, ἐν τῷ παντὶ, which makes an excellent Senſe. I afterwards found the ſame Reading in the Manuſcript of *Florence*.

(*f*) We ſee by this Paſſage that *Hierocles* corrected the Viſion of the ancient Theologians of *Egypt*, who, as I have ſhewn in the Life of *Pythagoras*, believ'd that after the firſt Death, that

of ſuch a Nature, is the Place that is immediately beneath the Moon, (*g*) as being above all terreſtrial and corruptible Bodies, and beneath all the celeſtial: And this Place the *Pythagoreans* call THE PURE ÆTHER: *Æther*, becauſe 'tis immaterial and eternal; and *Pure*, becauſe 'tis exempt from earthly Paſſions.

What ſhall he be then who is arriv'd there? He ſhall be what theſe Verſes promiſe him, (*h*) *an Immortal God*, he ſhall be render'd like the Immortal Gods of whom we have ſpoken in the Beginning of this Treatiſe: An Immortal God, I ſay, but not by Nature; for how can it be that he who ſince a certain time only has made any Pro-

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that is to ſay, after the Separation of the Soul and of the terreſtrial and mortal Body, the Soul, that is to ſay, the Underſtanding or Mind, and its ſpiritual Chariot, took its Flight to beneath the Moon; that the Soul who had liv'd ill remain'd in the Gulf call'd *Hecate*, or the Field of *Proſerpine*; and that the Soul that had liv'd well went to a Place above the Moon, where there happen'd a ſecond Death, that is to ſay, the Separation of the Underſtanding or Mind, and of the ſubtile Chariot; that the Mind re-united it ſelf to the Sun, and that the ſubtile Chariot remain'd beneath the Moon. Neither *Lyſis* nor *Hierocles* make the leaſt Mention of this laſt Separation; they hold only the firſt, and ſay, that after Death, the Souls, being inſeparable from their ſubtile Chariots, go immediately to a Place beneath the Moon, that is to ſay, into a pure Earth, of which *Plato* ſpeaks in the *Phædo*, and which they plac'd over our Earth, in Heaven, or the *Æther*; and juſt beneath the Moon.

(*g*) He pretends that this Place was proper for theſe Souls becauſe of their Rank; for being by their Nature inferior to the Gods and to the Angels, and ſuperior to all the other earthly Beings, they ought to inhabit a Place above the Earth, and below the Stars. All will ſee the little Solidity of this Reaſon. The Saints inhabit the ſame Manſions as the Angels, and as God himſelf.

(*h*) That is to ſay, a Being over whom Death ſhall have no more Dominion, and thereby like God: By Conſequence *Pythagoras* held not the ſecond Death, that is to ſay, the Separation of the Mind, and of the ſubtile Chariot of the Soul.

Progreſs in Virtue, and whoſe Deification has had a Beginning, ſhould become equal to the Gods who have been Gods from all Eternity? This is impoſſible; and therefore to make this Exception, and to mark this Difference, the Poet, after he had ſaid *Thou ſhalt be an Immortal God*, adds *Incorruptible, and no more ſubject to Death*; thereby intimating, that it is a Deification which proceeds only from our being diveſted of what is mortal, and is not a Privilege annex'd to our Nature and to our Eſſence; but to which we arrive by little and little, and by degrees; ſo that it makes a third ſort of Gods; who are Immortal when they are aſcended into Heaven; but Mortal when they deſcend upon the Earth; and in this always inferior to the Heroes, adorn'd with Goodneſs and with Light. Theſe laſt remember God always; (*i*) but the firſt ſometimes forget him: (*k*) For 'tis not poſſible.

That is to ſay, the Angels.

(*i*) During the Time they are cloath'd with this mortal Nature; but after they have diveſted themſelves of it, and are glorify'd, they forget him no more.

(*k*) This Paſſage is intirely corrupted and defective in the printed Text. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τὸ τρίτον γένος τελειωθὲν, ἢ τῆς μέσης γένοιτο ἂν τάξεως; this ἢ viſibly ſhews ſomething to be wanting, as I am convinc'd by finding it in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ἡ γὰρ δὴ τὸ τρίτον γένος τελειωθὲν, ἢ τῆς μέσης γένοιτο ἂν κρείττον, ἢ τῶν πρώτων ἴσον ἀλλὰ κ μένον τρίτη ὁμοίως τῷ πρώτῳ γένει. *Nunquam enim tertium genus, etiam perfectum, ſuperius quidpiam ſecundo, aut equale primo, ſed tertium manens aſſum habitum primo, ſubordinatum ſecundo.* Hierocles ſays that the Being of the third Rank, that is to ſay, Men, even after they have recover'd their Perfection, cannot nevertheleſs raiſe themſelves up above the Beings of the ſecond Rank, that is to ſay, the Heroes, the Angels, nor become equal to the firſt, that is to ſay, the Immortal Gods; but remaining always what they are by the Law of their Creation, that is to ſay, the third Kind of rational Subſtances, they become like the firſt in proportion to the Rank they hold: This Likeneſs which all ought to have with God being different, according to the different Relations and the different Unions.

poſſible that the third Kind, tho' render'd perfect, ſhould ever be ſuperior to the ſecond, or equal to the firſt; but continuing always the third, they become like the firſt, tho' they are ſubordinate to the ſecond. For the Reſemblance, which by reaſon of their Union or Familiarity, if I may ſo ſay, with the Celeſtial Gods, Men have to them, is more perfect and more natural in the Beings of the ſecond Rank, that is to ſay, in the Heroes.

The Angels.

Reſemblance with God the Perfection of all rational Beings

Thus there is but one and the ſame Perfection common to all intelligent Beings, which is their Reſemblance of God who created them: But ſee what makes the Difference; this Perfection is always, and always the ſame in the * Celeſtial; always too, but not always the ſame in the † Æthereal, (*l*) who are fix'd and permanent in their State and Condition; and neither always, nor always the ſame in the ·.· Æthereal, who are ſubject to deſcend and to come and inhabit the Earth. If any Man ſhould aſſert (*m*) that the firſt and moſt perfect

** Whom he calls Immortal Gods.*

† In the Angels.

·.· In the Souls of Men.

(*l*) That is to ſay, who always preſerve their Angelical Nature, and deſcend not upon the Earth, there to animate Terreſtrial and Mortal Bodies.

(*m*) The Text in this Place muſt not be chang'd in the leaſt. *Hierocles* could not more plainly expreſs the Difference he makes between all theſe Reſemblances, than by ſaying that the ſecond, that is to ſay, the Difference of the Angels, or of the Likeneſs the Angels have with God, and the third, the Difference of the Likeneſs Men have with God, are only Copies of the firſt, that is to ſay, of the Likeneſs which the Immortal Gods have with the Supreme Gods; and that the third is only the Copy of the ſecond, that is to ſay, the Copy of the Copy, and by Conſequence farther from the Truth, and the true Strokes of the Original, as being only in the third Rank, and as *Plato* ſays, τειτη απ' αληθειας. But this Theology of *Hierocles* is not altogether ſound, but mingled with Truth and Error. The Error conſiſts in his conceiving Man to be the Image of the Angels; for Man was not made after the Image of any created Being, but after the Image of God: And the Truth

fect Likeneſs of God is *the Copy and the Original of the two others*, or that the ſecond is of the third, his Aſſertion would be very juſt. Our Aim is not only to reſemble God, but to reſemble him by approaching the neareſt we can to this all-perfect Original, or to arrive to the ſecond Reſemblance: (*n*) But if not being able to attain to this moſt perfect Reſemblance, we acquire that of which we are

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Truth conſiſts in his teaching, that the moſt perfect Reſemblance is the Reſemblance of the Sons of God; for the Son of God, the Word, is the moſt perfect Likeneſs of the Father, and Man is the Image of the Word; being, as St. *Athanaſius* ſays, the Image of the Image, εἰκὼν εἰκόνος, and thereby the Image of God, but the leſs perfect Image of him. As to what remains, all that *Hierocles* and the *Pythagoreans* believ'd concerning theſe different Degrees of Likeneſs which Angels and Men have to God, is true only during the Life of the laſt; for after their Death they become equal to the Angels, according to the Promiſe of our Saviour, who himſelf ſays, *Neque enim ultra mori poterunt; æquales enim Angelis ſunt, cum ſint Filii Reſurrectionis. For they can die no more, becauſe they are equal to the Angels, being the Children of the Reſurrection.*

(*n*) This Paſſage is excellent, but it was defective in the Text, where we find only εἰ δ' ἀπολειπόμεθοι τούτων τυγχάνει, ἡ τὸ τέλειον δ' ἀρετῆς ἐν τούτῳ, &c. The Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts has very luckily reſtor'd it, by ſupplying what was wanting; and I found it afterwards confirm'd by the Manuſcript of *Florence*, where 'tis read thus. εἰ δ' ἀπολειπόμεθα τούτου τυγχανόμεν οἷς, (the Copy reads οἷας) δυνάμεθα τυχεῖν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχομεν, καὶ τὸ τέλειον δ' ἀρετῆς ἐν τούτῳ, &c. *Quod ſi perfectiones illas ſimilitudines aſſequi minime valeamus, eamque ipſam adipiſcamur, cujus capaces ſumus, illud ipſum quod ſecundum naturam noſtram eſt, habemus & eo ipſo perfectum virtutis fructum carpimus, quod*, &c. *Hierocles* here comforts the Soul that is deſirous to reſemble God, and ſhews it, that tho' it cannot attain to the moſt perfect Likeneſs, that the Superior Beings have to him, that is to ſay, the Immortal Gods, the Sons of this Supream Being, and the Angels, if it have all the Reſemblance of which 'tis capable, nothing will be wanting to compleat its Happineſs, becauſe it will have, as well as the moſt perfect Being, all that is proper and agreeable to its Nature.

are capable, we have, as well as the moſt perfect Beings, all that our Nature requires; and we enjoy the perfect Fruits of Virtue even in this, that we know the Meaſure and Extent of our Eſſence, and that we are not diſſatisfy'd at it: For the Perfection of Virtue is to keep our ſelves within the Limits of the Creation, by which all things are diſtinguiſh'd and rank'd according to their Kinds; and to ſubmit our ſelves to the Laws of Providence, which has diſtributed to each Individual the Good that is proper for it, in regard to its Faculties and to its Virtues.

This is the Commentary we have thought fit to make on theſe Golden Verſes; and that may be call'd a Summary, neither too prolix nor too ſuccinct, of the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*. 'Twas not fitting, either that our Explication ſhould imitate the Brevity of the Text, for then we ſhould have left many things obſcure, and ſhould not have been able to diſcover and ſhew the Reaſons and the Beauties of all the Precepts; or that it ſhould contain all this Philoſophy, for that would have been too large and too tedious a Work for a Commentary: But we thought it proper to proportion this Work, as much as we could, to the Senſe of theſe Verſes, reciting no more of the general Precepts of *Pythagoras*, than what was conſonant and might ſerve to the Explication of theſe Golden Verſes, which are properly only a moſt perfect Character of his Philoſophy, an Abridgment of his principal Tenets, and the Elements of Perfection, which they (o) who have walk'd in the Ways of God, and

(o) The printed Text ſays, *Who have walk'd in the Law of God*, ἀνὰ τὸν Θεῖον νόμον; but the Copy compar'd with the Manuſcripts, ἀνὰ τὴν Θείαν ὁδὸν, &c. and the Manuſcript of *Florence*, ἀνὰ τὴν ἤδη τὴν Θείαν ὁδὸν, &c. *They who have already walk'd in the Way of God.*

and whoſe Virtues have rais'd them up to Heaven, to the Supreme Felicity, have left to inſtruct their Deſcendants; Elements which may juſtly be call'd the greateſt and moſt excellent Mark of the Nobleneſs of Man, and which are not the private Opinion of any particular Perſon, but the Doctrine of the whole ſacred Body of the *Pythagoreans*, (*p*) and as it were the common Voice of all their Aſſemblies. For this Reaſon (*q*) there was a Law which enjoin'd each of them, every Morning when he roſe, and every Night at his going to Bed, to make theſe Verſes be read to him as the Oracles of the *Pythagorean* Doctrine, to the end that by the continual Meditation of theſe Precepts, the Spirit and Energy of them might ſhine forth in his Life. And this is what we likewiſe ought to do, that we may make Trial, and find what great Advantages we ſhould in time gain by ſo doing.

The Opinion of a whole Body has more Weight and Authority than the Opinion of a private Perſon.

(*p*) Or *of all their Schools*, or *of all their Auditories*; for the School of *Pythagoras* was call'd ὁμαχόιον, and his Diſciples ὁμιλητοί.

(*q*) We ſee in *Cicero*, in *Horace*, in *Seneca*, and in others, that many Perſons obſerv'd this Law. *Galen* in his Treatiſe of Knowledge, and of the Cure of the Diſeaſes of the Soul, aſſures us that he read every Day, Morning and Evening, the Verſes of *Pythagoras*; and that after he had read them, he repeated them by Heart; and 'tis in Imitation of this Law that St. *Jerom* ſays, *Duorum Temporum maxime habendam Curam, mane & veſperi, id eſt, eorum quæ acturi ſumus, & eorum quæ geſſerimus.*

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