

T H E
L I F E of *Pythagoras*,
W I T H H I S
S y m b o l s and G o l d e n V e r s e s .

Together with the
L I F E of *HIEROCLES*,
A N D H I S
C o m m e n t a r i e s u p o n t h e V E R S E S .

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

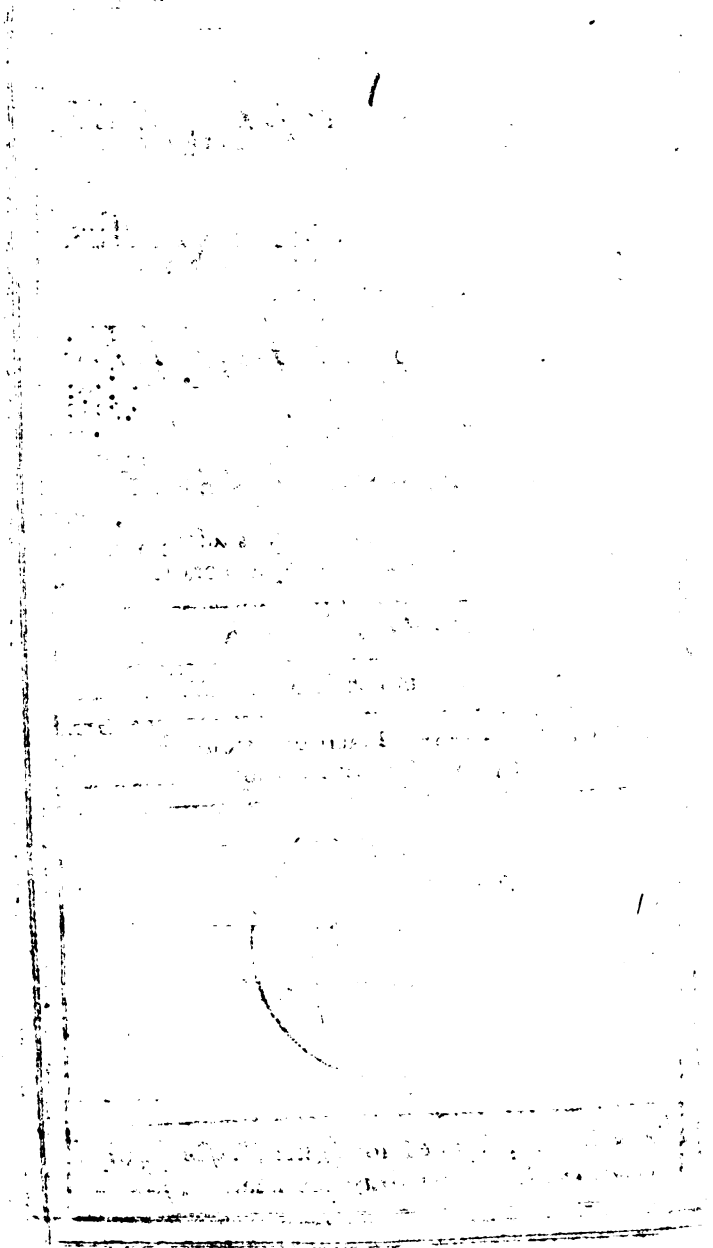
By M. D A C I E R.

Now done into *ENGLISH*.

The G O L D E N V E R S E S Translated from the *Greek*
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T H E
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

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 Reputation 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. D. A.

M. DACIER'S
P R E F A C E.

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
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M. Dacier's Preface.

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 *Epicetus* his Manual, and *Simplicius* his Greek Commentaries, together with a new Manual of the same *Epicetus*, 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 In-

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 grossly 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 succeed *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 enlighten'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*.

Ἔστις ἐρεῖ Θεὸς εἰμι πάρεξ ἑνὸς ἔτα ὀρεῖται
 Κόσμον ἴσον τῷτῷ σήσας εἰπεῖν, ἐμὸς ἔτα
 Κ' οὐκ ἄλλῳ μόνον σήσας εἰπεῖν ἐμὸς, ἀλλὰ κατοικεῖν
 Ἐν αὐτῷ ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἔποίηκε, ὁ θεὸς ἔποίηκε δ' ἀπὸ τῆς
 καὶ ὡρεῖ τῷ δέ.

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* creatēd and regulated the Universe.

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

M. Dacier's Preface.

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 indispensable Obligation we lye under of being Devout, Thankful, Charitable, Disinterest'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*, Ἐπιθέσις, 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 mimic 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 Grievs, 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

Ecce posuit
te in testa-
mentum
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tium, ut tu-
sis in salu-
tem usque
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rx. *Isai. 49.*
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Isai. c. 53.
Accor-
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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 respect-ed 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
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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
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yet practis'd so very ill, were unworthy to be our Instructors.

Upon this Ocaſion 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 Conjunction. 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
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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*
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* Cum Venetiis essem tuo jussu, libros aliquot Græcos emi, inter quos reperi 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 Latine 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 *Aurispæ'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 *Aurispæ* 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 im-

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quæ ut semel legas; nam quamvis ita doctus, ita omnium virtutum genere præditus sit, ut neque doctrinæ, neque Virtutis, 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 express'd, 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 *Anrispa* 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 Renandot, 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 more-over 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 cumberfom, and of no use in a *French* Tran-

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 Darknes, 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,

Ἔεις ἃ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τέτρω πρὸς ἑδρῶν.

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 Tom. 2. p. 986. and Tom. 3. p. 313. *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 Symbol at Noon-Day*, if I may be allow'd to make use of XXXIII p. 110. *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 Chri-

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stianity

stianity so egregiously 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,
by

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 εἰσέειν*, 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 rectify 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
the

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 Θεοῦ δε πρὸ δε, καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ὅγ' ἔμορσαν ἀργυράτοι' ἀν. ὃ μετὰ τέρας. 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 καὶ ἀχθόνιοι*, 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

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.

CON-

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Now,

Now, Power is a near Neighbour to Necessity.

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Verse IX, and X. *Know that all these Things are as I have told thee: But accustom thy self to surmount and vanquish these Passions.*

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And accustom not thy self to behave thy self in any thing without Rule, and without Reason.

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And that the Goods of Fortune are uncertain; and that as they may be acquir'd, they may likewise be lost.

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Support with Patience thy Lot, be it what it will, and never repine at it,

But endeavour what thou canst to remedy it.

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But if any Falshoods are advanc'd, give way with Mildness, and arm thy self with Patience. p.265

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Let

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.

P. 270

Verfes 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.

P. 277

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But learn all thou ought'st to know, and by that means thou wilt lead a very pleasant Life.

P. 285

Verfes 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.

P. 291

Verfes XXXV; XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII.

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 expensve 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.

P. 297

Verse XXXIX. *Do only the things that cannot hurt thee, and deliberate before thou dost them.*

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Verfes XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, and XLIV.

Never suffer Sleep to close thy Eye-lids, after thy going to Bed,

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'Till

'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. P. 304

Verses XLV, XLVI, XLVII, and XLVIII. Practise thoroughly 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.

P. 311

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. P. 323

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. P. 327

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. P. 331

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

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.

P. 337

Verfes LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXIV, LXV, and LVI. 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.

P. 351

Verfes 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.

P. 363

Verfes

Verfes LXX, and LXXI. *And when after having
divested thy ſelf of thy mortal Body, thou ar-
riveſt in the moſt pure Æther,
Thou ſhalt be a God, Immortal, Incorruptible,
and Death ſhall have no more Dominion over
thee.*

P. 382

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L I F E
O F
P Y T H A G O R A S.

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 Odyssey, Διδάσκων ὁ μέγιστος θεός.*

B Endow-

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, ἐπιβιβάζει πολιτικῶς; and not ποιητικῶς.

These were the dawning Rays of Wisdom that began to enlighten 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 *Gynnosophists*, to the *Celts*, 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 Footsteps of it, and those too already effac'd by a thousand Superstitions? Why went they not rather into *Judaea*, 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 * Lib. 4. de God would not suffer them to go into *Judaea*, lest vera Sapi- they should come to the Knowledge of the Truth; entia, c. 6. 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.

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 *Judaea*.

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

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5

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 Desert, 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.

B 3

But

(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 Ferix 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.

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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 *Lyſus* 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 *Sabbos*, 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 Breſt-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 *Chal-codryſtas*, 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 Cor- reſpondence 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,

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.

23. 7.

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 *Ionis*.

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 *Grecia 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 *Lyfis*, 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-

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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; *Porphyrus* 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 *Ancaus*, 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 *Ancaus* was not the Son of *Neptune*, as some have falsely thought him; for *Ancaus*, 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 *Euphran*, 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 embark'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; *Nabuchosor* 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 Money 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 five Head of Hair*, and where-ever he walk'd along they load'd 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 satisfy 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 Possidonius, 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 *Zabbaras*, 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-*
fos.

ses, a Town of *Crete*, he convers'd much with *E-pimenides*.

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 Foot 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 Lacrians, 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 employ'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*
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safest

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 anything, 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.

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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 Employments 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 People

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 *Olysses, 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 un-sound 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 Gait; 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 wholesome 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

* *Ἀκούσι-
κός.*

† *Μαθη-
ματικός.*

erally 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. *Ecd. 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 *Porphyrus*, 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

* *Ακουστικοί.*

Secret

* Μαθη-
ματικοί.

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.*

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

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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 Employment; 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.

Heracitus 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, significans, figurans.

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 sovereignly 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 *Deme-trius Phalerens* has observ'd, a Symbol has much Gravity and Force, and in its Brevity is contain'd a Spring 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 lo-
quens, 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

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 Abstinenes, 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

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(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 employ'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 *Metaphysics*.

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,

* Τετρα-
ς.

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.

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
 γενῶν τινῶν
 τίς. 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

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(a) Πυθαγορείοι ἀπὸ ἀριθμῶν ἔχει ἀριθμῶν τὰ ὄντα. *Metaphys.* lib. 12. cap. 8.

(b) Pythagorei ex Numeris, & Mathematicorum Initiis proficisci 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 oncè 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 call'd 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*.

Amicus
Lumine si-
cut Vesti-
mento. Ps.
103. 2.
Emitte Lu-
cem tuam
& Verita-
tem 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 Streams 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 *Lacedemon* 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-

iverse; 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 yivifying Command, that calls that which is not, as that which is.

* Pherecydes Syrus primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos. i Titul. Quest. 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

Ἰδῶλον. *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 μετ' εἰσενόησα βίβω Ἑρκακλήϊω
 Ἰδῶλον, αὐτῷ δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι Θεοῖσι
 Τίτραται ἐν Θαλίῃ

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 signify *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. *Dedalus* 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

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, browsing 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 sole 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 Origin, 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, & similibus 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 signify 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 *Athalides* the Son of *Mercury*, then *Ephorbus*, 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 *Lyfis* 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

Doctrines 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 *Phædon*, 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 enjoy 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 enjoy 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 *Lyfis* 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 enjoys 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.

Infomuch

Infomuch that altho' in Proceſs of Time ſome ignorant and thoughtleſs Philoſophers taught this Doctrin for a real Truth, tho' we find that it paſſ'd into *Judea*, 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 Doctrin 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

* Νοόν & θυμόν
 † Aristotle likewise gives it the ſame Name: Νοός οὐ φθαρτὸν οὐ τῶν.

E

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*

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

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

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 enlarge 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 perswaded, 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 Almightyness 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 appointed

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 Pytha-
goras.*

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 ψυ-
χή δύο
σώμασιν
ενοικύουσα

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 satisfy 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 condemn'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 spoké 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 *Opus*, *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 sat 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

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 Saltfeller 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 Saltfeller, 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 Prefage 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 Employments, 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 Helychius says, Κύαμω δινάσινω Ψήφω; the Bean signifies the Suffrage of the Judges; and Κυαμοκόλον δινάσινω, Caster of Beans, for a Judge.

* *In the eleventh Book* *ans* had an Abhorrence for Beans: * *Herodotus* expressly 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.*

Chap. 15. The Uncleaness 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 restraining, 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.

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 *Mullias* 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 satisfy 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 bbold 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.

F

He

* Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo agree in this Number. One would think at first there were some Mistake in the Numbers; 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 useles. 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
to

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

*Which the Greeks call Κανὸνισμοί and the Latins Omina

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 *Iliad* mentions that sort of † Soothsayers who predicted from the Smoke of Incense.

† Whom he calls Θυσιαστές.

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

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 merely 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 Almightyness, and of imitating the Miracles he wrought by his Power.

Magick

P Y T H A G O R A S.

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 *Porphyrus* 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 *Taurominium* 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 Exprefſion 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 Logic, 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 W.t.

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.

Timæus

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 *Tetraedron*, the *Octaedron*, and the *Icoaedron*, 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 subtil 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 *Icoaedron*, 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 employ'd to signify 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

to 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 Lucas Holstenius. 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.

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 useles 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 Drunkennes, *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 Sicknes) 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 *Timaus* 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 *Timaus*, 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.*

Aristo-
sick.

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.

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 *Auranches*, 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

In his Treatise of the Soul.

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 Practise of it to be modern, so I believe the Reason on which 'tis grounded to be unknown, and very difficult to be discover'd.

Mathematics. 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.

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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 ancient 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 *Athenaus* 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 ancient, and continu'd in

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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

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several

* *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 26th Chap. of the Life of Pythagoras. The Moderns are divided upon this Affair: Father Merfenne 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 omne Plausu & Admiratione exhibuimus, ut ejus repetitione vix fatiari 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.

Jalpar Scotus in his Book of universal Magick, Part 2. Book 6. and in his Hydroliscopneumatical 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 thoroughly skill'd in Musick; and will consent 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 result'd 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 Proportions 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 engrav'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 satisfy us that Weights and Measures were known in *Greece* several Ages before *Pythagoras*.

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;

Logick.

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 Expresssion, was reserv'd for *Aristotle*, the Genius of the World that was most capable to reduce into Art the Practice of those
that

(a) *Ου γὰρ τέχνην, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης διδόντες. 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 *Canturipe* 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*, *Lyfis*, *Empedocles*, *Timaeus*, *Epicarmus* 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.

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

not to be bias'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.

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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 Inconveniencies 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.

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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 that 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 Money 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 *Timans*, 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 *Crotum* prov'd as it were the Signal of a general Infurrection 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 appear'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 learn'd 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* completed to obscure and swallow up the *Italic* 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;

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dles; and by the Story of *Samsen*: 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 transi-
lias*. *Plutarch* and *St. Jerom* explain it: *Trans-
gress not the Laws of Justice*. *Athenaus* and *St. Cy-
ril*; *Obey not the Dictates of Avarice*: Which comes
to the same Sense; for Injustice proceeds from Co-
vetousness.

II.

Χοίρικι μὴ ἐπικάθισαι.

Sit not down on the Bushel. *In Chænice ne se-
deso*. 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, *Chænix*, was the Measure of Corn
that was given to each Slave for his Subsistence.

III.

Στέφανον μὴ τίλλειν.

Tear not the Crown to pieces. *Coronam ne vel-
lito*. 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 Com-
pany by Uneasiness and Melancholy*; for 'twas the
Custom at Feasts to wear Crowns of Flowers. Se-
condly, *That we ought not to transgress the Laws of
the*

PYTHAGORAS.

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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 Salomon in the Ecclesiastes; *In Cogitatione tua Regi ne detrahas.*

IV.

Μὴ ἐδίεω 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 κατέδωκεν, Ipse suum Cor edens;* Eating his own Heart: And this Precept seems to have been made upon him.

V.

Πυρὸς μαχαίρῃ μὴ σαλεύεω.

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 ἐπιστρέψαι ἐπὶ τῆς ὄρους 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.*

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VII.

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.

Ὀμωρορίους 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 circumfero.* 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 perswaded 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 engrav'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 συκαθαρεύειν, συναναλιθίνααι ᾗ.

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 agenda praecepta, tradentes se otio relinquendos.*

XI.

Μὴ ῥαδίως πρὸς πάντι ἐμβαλλεῖν δεξιάν.

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

fly 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. *Extraneum manum tuam. Solutus Homo plaudet*
 18. *manibus, cum sponderis pro Amico suo.*

XII.

Χύτρος ἵχνος οὐχ εἶν ἐν τῇ τέρεσσι.

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

XIII.

Μαλάχην σπείρειν, ἐδιδίεν ᾧ μὴ.

Sow Mallows, but never eat them. *Herbas Malolochon 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.

Δαδίον θάκου μὴ ἀπομάσσειν.

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

XV.

XV.

Μη φορεῖν στενὸν δακτύλιον.

Wear not a streight Ring. *Augustum 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.

Γαμβούχα μὴ τέλειω.

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

XVII.

Κέραμων 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.

Μη γεύεσθαι μελανύρων.

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

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XIX.

XIX.

Ἐρυθρὸν μὴ ἐδίεω.

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

XX.

Μητέρον ζώου μὴ ἐδίεω.

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.

Θοισιμάτων 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 ἄλα ὀλίθεσαι.

* Always put Salt upon the Table. *Salem appo- nito*: 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.

* Ἄγειν μὴ καταγυεῖν.

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 τετραγυλον, 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 Eccle. 11.* 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 *Chap. 58.* *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.

XXV.

Ἐλαίον εἰς θάρον μὴ ἐμβρῆνυσθαι.

Spill not Oil upon the Seat. *Sedem oleo ne abstergito.* I take the Word *Seat* in this Place to signify 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; *Gen. 28. 9.* & *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.

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 *Ἀμῖς*, *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 τέρψε μὲν, μὴ θύε ᾧ, μήν τ' ἔκ
ἡλίου καθίεσθ'.

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.

Ὅδόντας μὴ καταγνῖεν.

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 ὄξειδα ἀποστέρειν ἀπὸ σωτῶν.

Keep the Vinegar Cruet far from you. *Acetarium vas abs te removeo.* 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.

XXX:

Ἀποκαρμάτων ὤν ἢ ἀποσυλισμάτων κατὰ πτε.

Spit upon the Parings of your Nails, and the Clippings of your Hair. *Capillorum & Unguam 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 Casariem, & circumcidet Ungues, & deponet Vestem in qua capta est.* Hence the Parings of the Nails, and the

Deut. 21.
12, 13.

the Clippings of the Hair, were taken for the Pollution 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 ἄρει.

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:

Μὴδ' ἀντ' ἡλίῳ τετραμμένῳ ὄρθις ὀμοχεῖν.

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 Men 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. *Us 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, *Οὐδέ πώποτε ἐγνώθη ὅτι 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 surprizing 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 καθύδιν ἐν μεσημβρία.

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 *Isaiab* speaks, when he says *Impegitur 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.

Στραμάτων ἀναστὰς συνταράσσει αἴθρα, καὶ τὸ
τύπον συνῆρνε.

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

Plutarch explains this Symbol as if it were meant of Modesty and Purity, 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 Darknes, but of Light.

XXXV.

ᾠδαῖς χεῖναι πρὸς Ἀρπ.

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 σφάλματα αἰεὶ συνδεόμενα 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.

Ἄνευ προσάγματός τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἐκ τῆς
 πορευᾶς μὴ ἀναχωρεῖν.

Quit not your Post without the Order of your General. *Injussu Imperatoris de Statione & presidio 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-Murder. 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 χιζειν ξύλα.

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

I

This

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 Employment: 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 cadens, 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 χίρε, 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.

Τὸ ἐρθεῖν μὴ ἐκποτῆσθαι.

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

As I was meditating on the Sense of this Symbol, I have luckily hit on the Explication of it in *Athenaus*, 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 Cotion 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

Athenaus 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.

Ὅξειαν μακάρεσιν ἀποσφραῖν.

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 πίπλοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπίδος μὴ ἀναίρεσθαι.

Pick not up what is fallen from the Table. *Quo 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 terra tua non tondebis usque ad solum superficiem terra, nec remanentes spicas colliges.*

XLII.

XLII.

Ἀπέχευ ἢ σορεὺς κυπρεῶσιμος.

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 sue super mortuum non ingrediatur.*

XLIII.

Τοῖς μὲν ἑρανοῖσι πᾶσα δύνει, ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθονίοις.

Sacrifice an odd Number to the Celestial Gods, and to the Infernal an even. *Cælestibus 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 ἔξ 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.

XLV.

Ἄλγε 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, ἐλοχύτας: *Homer, ἐλοχύτας προβάλοισο.* 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.

Ἄνωπόδι ἅλα θύει καὶ προσκύνει.

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.

Περιστρέφει τὸ προσέσωμενος.

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; in-somuch that those who went in, turn'd their Back to the Sun; and by consequence wère 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 Im-mensity of God, who fills the Universe.

XLVIII.

Καθῆσαι προσέσωμενος.

Sit down when you Worship. *Adoraturus se-deto.*

Plutarch

Plutarch reads this Symbol otherwise, καθῆδξ προσκωήστας, *Sit down after you have ador'd.* And he says they did so in token of the happy Prefage 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 employ all that time without Precipitation. But I am of Opinion that *Plutarch's* Lektion is not the true, and that the Precept of *Pythagoras* ought to be read thus, καθῆδξ προσκωήσοισα, *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 useles. 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.

Παρεὰ θυσίαν μὴ ὀνυχίζεσθαι.

Pare not your Nails during the Sacrifice. *Ad Sacrificia unguis ne praecidito.*

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

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντήζοιο θεῶν ἐγὶ δασαθαλεῖν,
 Αὐλὸν ἀπὸ χλωῆς τὰ μνεῖν αἰθωνι σιδῆρω.

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. Praefegmina unguium:

unguim: 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 βροντα, γῆν διγῶν.

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.

Παρά λύχνον μὴ ἐποπτεύου.

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.

Ἐν, 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.

Προτίμα 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 persuadèd 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 ἀνέβλων τιῶ ἡχώ ἀεγοῦνται.

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 Giraldu*s came nearer the Truth, when he said, that the Winds in this Place represent *Revolts, Seditions, Wars*, and that *Echo* is the Emblem of desert 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

The SYMBOLS of

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

*Inde latet Sylvis, nulloque in Monte videtur,
Omnibus auditur.*

LV.

Μη ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ δίφρου.

Eat not in the Chariot. *Ex currus ne comedito*: 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 ἄπὸ δεξιῶν τὸ δεξιὸν ποῦδα ἀπέριχε, εἰς δὲ ἀπὸ
ἀπὸ ἀριστερῶν τὸ ἐπιπέδιον.

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.

Ἐκέραιον 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 eternis minorem
Consiliis animam fatiga.*

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 καὶ 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* employ'd their Voices and Instruments to sing the 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.

Psal. 10. 7.

Here

*Here follow some other Symbols, which 'tis pretend-
ed 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 Li-
quor 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 ra-
ther he intended to forewarn us, to have no Con-
versation 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 confi-
stendum:* Which means, *Continue not doubtful and
wavering, but chuse your Side.*

K

LXII.

LXII.

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

LXIII.

Avoid the Weezel. *Mustelam evita*: 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 ades 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*, *Μὴ δ' ἐπὶ κεραιῶν δοῦσεν*, *neque super Fontes meito*. To say, *Corrupt not and render not useles 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*, *Prov. 25. 26.*
justus cadens coram impio.

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,

K 2

Mauri-

*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 auferit 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. *Homini 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,

Μὴδ' ἐπ' ἀμνησίοισι καθίζεω.

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 Darknes 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.

T H E

T H E
L I F E
O F
H I E R O C L E S.

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 *Meneclis*, 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 & Meneclis, minime mea sententia contemnendi. Etsi enim a forma veritatis, & ab Atticorum Regula absunt, tamen hoc vitium compensant, vel facilitate vel copia.* The third Sort is that in which the two Brothers, Hierocles and Meneclis, 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 *Asbestos*, 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 *Anulus 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 πάσης δόξμα, εκ δευ Περώνια. ἔδεν πάσης δόξμα. As the learned Englishman, 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 *Plilalethes*, *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, *ὑπὸ 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, *Θεομαρτυρῶν Μασίσεων ἀθλήσεις*. But this learned *Englshman* was
not

not aware that *αδλίσεις*, 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 disengage it from many gross Errors that the Light of Nature alone was not able to dispel.

It will perhaps be allēdg'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* employs 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 ἀνθρώμα κρεα.

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 *Hicorocles*, 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 *Stobaus*, 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 employ 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*, *Theosebicus*, who was present, took down the Explication in Writing. Some time after this, *Hierocles* having again taken the *Gorgias* to explain it, the same *Theosebicus* 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.*

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

(a) I have retain'd the *Greek Phrase*, which I take to be true τῆτο μὴ ἔν ἐπιδ'ακρυ) τῆ ἀνδρὸς ἠλίκων ἰὼ ἀεξ τὸ τῆ φρενῶν πείλαγϑ.

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 Verbes of *Pythagoras*; where we see that this Philosopher had penetrated into the very Essence of Justice.

We have besides a small Treatise, intitul'd, *Ἰεροκλέου φιλοσοφου ἀστεία*, the pleasant Jestts 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.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

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.

T H E

THE
GOLDEN VERSES
OF
PYTHAGORAS.

Translated from the *Greek* by Mr. ROWE.

ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ

ΧΡΥΣΑ ἙΠΗ.

Αὐτὰρ πάντες μὲν πρῶτα θεός, νόμος ὡς ἀγκυραὶ, 1

Τίμα, καὶ σέβει ὄρκον ἔπειθ' ἤρωας ὠγανέες, 2

Τίς

T H E
 Golden Verses
 O F
 P Y T H A G O R A S.

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
 And let Religion bind thee to thy Oath. (Troth, 2

The Heroes next demand thy just regard,
 Renown'd on Earth, and to the Stars prefer'd, }
 To Light and endless Life their Virtues sure Reward. }

L 4

Due

Τὲς τε καλαχθονίης σέξε δαίμονας, ἔνομα ρέζων 3

Τὲς τε γονεῖς τίμα, τὲς τ' ἄγχισ' ἀγεγαῶτας 4

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρετῇ ποιεῦ φίλον ὅς κ' ἄρεσθαι. 5

Πραῖσι δ' εἶκε λόγοις ἐργοῖσι τ' ἐπωρελίμοισι. 6

Μὴδ' ἔχθαιρε φίλον σὺν ἀμαρτάδ' ἔνεκα μικρῆς, 7

Ἄορα δυνίη δυνάμις γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐγβύθει ναίει. 8

Ταῦτα

Due Rites perform and Honours to the Dead, 3
To ev'ry Wife, 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. }
Possess 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,

Roufes

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔταως ἴσθι. κρατεῖν δ' ἐδίξο τῶνδε, 9
 Γαστρός μὲν πρώτιστα, κὶ ὕπνου, λαγυρέης τε 10
 Καὶ θυμῷ. πρῆξις δ' αἰχρὸν ποτε μήτε μετ' ἄλλῃ, 11
 Μῆτι' ἰδίῃ πάντων δ' ἄλλῃσι' αἰχρῶο ζαυτῶν. 12

Ἔϊα δικαιοσύνην ἄσκει, ἔργῳ τε λόγῳ τε. 13
 Μὴδ' ἀλογίως ζαυτῶν ἔχειν περὶ μηδ' ἐν ἐδίξε' 14
 Ἄλλὰ γινῶθι μὲν ὡς θανέω πῆρωσια ἀπασι

Χρήματα δ' ἄλλοίε μὲν κτᾶθι φίλοι, ἄλλοι' ὀλέθρι.

Ἔϊα

Roufes and urges on the lazy Heart,
Force, to its self unknown before, t' exert.
By use thy stronger Appetites affwage, 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

Ὅσα δὲ τε δαιμονίησι τύχαις βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν, 17

Ὡν ἂν μοῖραν ἔχῃς, προΐως φέρε, μηδ' ἀγανάκη. 18

Ἰᾶδ' δὲ πρέπῃ, καθύσον δυνάμει. ὦ δὲ ἴσθ' ἰσχυρῶς; 19

Ὅου πάντῃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τέλει πολὺ μοῖρα δίδωσι. 20

Πολλοὶ δ' ἀνθρώποισι λόγοι δειλοὶ τε καὶ ἴσθλοὶ 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 Loofer'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 assuage 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

Περσπίπλισ' ὦν μήτ' ἐκπλήσσειο, μήτ' ἄρ' ἐάσης 22

*Εἰργασθ' σαυτῶν ψεῦδος δ' ἦν πῆρ τι λέγη, 23

Προίως ἴχ'· ὃ γ' τοι ἐρέω, ἐπὶ παντὶ τελεείδω 24

Μηδεὶς μήτε λόγῳ σε παρείσῃ μήτε τι ἔργῳ, 25

Πρῆξαι μηδ' εἰπῆν ὃ, τι τοι μὴ βέλτερόν ἔστι. 26

Βελέω γ' πρὸ ἔργου, ὅπως μὴ μωροῦσ' ἀέλθῃαι. 27

Δειλῆ

Thy Judgment therefore sound and cool preserve, 22
Nor lightly from thy Resolution swerve;
The dazzling 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,

†

Left.

Δειλῆ τοι πρήσσειν τε λέγειν τ' ἀνόητα πρὸς ἀνδρῶς. 28

Ἄλλα τὰδ' ὀκλεῖταιν ἄρε μὴ μείττειτ' ἀνήση. 29

Πρῆσε δ' μηδέν ἦν μὴ σίτισσαι, ἀλλὰ διδάσκειν 30

Ὅσα χρεῶν ἐν τερωνότατον βίον ὧδε διάξεις. 31

Ἄουδ'

Left Folly should the wretched Work deface,
And mock thy fruitless Labours with Disgrace.

Fools huddle on and always are in haste, 28

Act without Thought, and thoughtless Words they

But thou in all thou doest, with early Cares 29 ^{(waste.}

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.

48

Beware thy meddling Hand in ought to try, 30

That does beyond thy reach of Knowledge lye;

But seek to know, and bend thy serious Thought. 31

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.]

1 †

Nor

Ὅνδ' ὑγείης τ' περὶ ζῶμ' ἀμύλαια ἔχου χρέη, 32

Ἄλλα ποτὲ τε μέτρον ἐν ζῆτι γυμνασίου τε 33

Ποικίλῃ μέτρον ἢ λέγω τὸδ' ὅ μὴ σ' ἀπίσῃ. 34

Ἐπίθες ἢ δίαλαια ἔχου καθάρσιον, ἀθροισίον. 35

Καὶ περὶ λαξὸν γε ταῦτα ποιῆν ὅπῃσα φθῶν ἴχου. 36

†

Μη

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 wholesome 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 δαπανᾶν ὧδ' ἀκαίρην, ὅποια καλῶν ἀδάημων 37

Μὴδ' ἀνελεύθερος ἴδι. μίτρον δ' ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀρεῶν. 38

Πεῖσας δ' ταῦτ' ἄσέ μὴ βλάβη· λόγισαι δ' ἀεὶ ἐρεῖ. 39

Μὴδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι ἀεὶ ὀδύσσαθι, 40

Πεὺν δ' ἡμερῶν ἔργων τέλος ἕκαστον ἐπαλθεῖν. 41

+

Πη

Seek not in needless Luxury to waste 37
Thy Wealth and Substance, with a Spendthrift's [Haste;
Yet flying these, be watchful, lest thy Mind, 38
Prone to Extreame, an equal Danger find,
And be to fordid 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.

1† 3

Where

Πῆ παρῶν, τί δ' ἔρεξα, τί μοι δέον ἐκ ἑταλώθῃ, 42

Ἄρξάμεν δ' ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐπέξῃθι, καὶ μελέτῃας, 43

Δεῖλα μὲν ὀκρήξαι, ἐπιπλῆστος χρεῖσά δέ, τήσπε. 44

Ταῦτα πόνει, ταῦτ' ὀκμελέτα· τότων χρεῖ ἔραν σε, 45

Ταῦτά σε δ' εἰς ἀρετῆς εἰς ἰχνία 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 what'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. }

[move, 45

These Thoughts and chiefly these thy Mind should
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.

† 4

This

Ναὶ μὰ τ' ἀμείρα φυγῆ πᾶσαδ' ὄλα τελευτήσω 47

Παγὰν ἀενάε φύσεως. ἀλλ' ἔρχου ἐπ' ἔργον, 48

Θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ δ' ἄμφοτε τελευτᾷ. τότ' ἄν κ' ἐκράτῃσας, 49

Γνώσῃ ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν Διτῆν τ' ἀνθρώπων. 50

Σύσασιν, ἢ τε ἕκαστα διερχεῖσθαι, ἢ τε κρατεῖσθαι. 51

Γνώσῃ δ' ἢ Δέμις ἔστι, φύσιν περὶ πάντος ὁμοῖαν 52

Ὅσέ σε μήτε ἀελπί' ἐλπίζειν, μήτε τι λήθων. 53

Γνώσῃ

The Golden Verses of Pythagoras. v

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 }
So shall thy abler Mind be taught to soar, 50 [End.]

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,

Γάλαξ' ἔθ' ἀνθρώπους αἰθαίρετα πῆματ' ἔχουσαι. 54

Τλήμονες, οἷτ' ἀγαθῶν πέλας ὄντων ἐκ ἰσορροῶν, 55

* Οὐτε κλάσσε λύσση κακῶν παύσει ζυγίασσι. 56

Τόη μοῖρα βροτῶν βλάπτει φρένας δι' ἧ κλιίδεος 57

* Ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλα φέρον, ἀκείρονα πῆματ' ἔχουσαι. 58

Αυγῆ γῆ ζυγοπαδὸς ἔρις βλάπτουσα λένθησιν 59

Σόμφιλον, ἠὲ δ' εἰ προσέγερ, εἰκονία ἧ φάσιν. 60

[54

Man, wretched Man, thou shalt be taught to know,

Who bears within himself the inborn Cause of Woe.

Unhappy Race! that never yet could tell 55

How near their Good and Happiness they dwell.

Depriv'd of Sense, they neither hear nor see, 56

Fetter'd in Vice, they seek not to be free, 57

But stupid to their own sad Fate agree.

Like pond'rous Rolling-stones, oppress'd with

Ill, 58

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, 59

And secretly an impious War maintains:

Provoke not THIS, but let the Combat cease, 60

And ev'ry yielding Passion sue for Peace.

Wouldst

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ πολλῶν γε κακῶν λύσεως ἀποσίτας, 61

Ἥ πασιν δείξαις διοτὰ δαίμονι χερσίν. 62

Ἄλλα σὺ θάρσει, ἐπεὶ θεῶν γέ τοι βροτῶν, 63

οἷς ἱερά προφρέσασα φύσιν δείκνυσιν ἕκαστα. 64

ὦν εἴ σοί τι μέτεσι, κραθήσεις ὧν σε κεύρω, 65

Ἐξαίεσας, ψυχῶν δ' ἄπυων ἀποτῆνδε ζαΐσεις. 66

Ἄλλ' εἴ γε βροτῶν ὧν εἰσορῆμι, ἐν τε καθαρμοῖς, 67

Ἐν τε λύσει ψυχῆς κέρων ἢ φραζέω ἕκαστα. 68

Ἡνίοχον γνάμινω σήσας καθύπερθευ ἀείψην. 69

Ἡν

Wouldst thou, great *Jove*, thou Father of Man-
[kind, 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 Effence 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, [68, 69
67,
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

Σ

ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΚΡΥΣΑΨ ΎΜΝΗ.

Ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας ἄσμα ἐς αἴθερα ἰλιόθεον ἔλθης, 70

Ἔσται ἀθάνατον θεὸς ἀμύθητον, ἔκ' ἐτι θυμβέει 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.

T H E

The first of these is the
fact that the
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

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

Philosophy is the Purification and Perfection of Human Nature: Its Purification, because it delivers it from the Temerity and Folly that proceed from Matter, and 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

*How Philo-
sophy puri-
fies and per-
fects hu-
man Na-
ture.*

M alone

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

* The Purification and Perfection of human Nature.

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

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

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

(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 Platonic and Peripatetick Philosophers likewise acknowledg'd.

(c) There was here a considerable Fault in the Text, εὐφωῶς ἐχουῶς, 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 Lectiōns, which he had extracted with great Care, clear'd my Difficulty, by shewing me that Hierocles had written τοῖς εὐφωῶς ἐχουῶς, *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 Lyffis. 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

M 2

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 χ ἐαυτόν καθαρόν ὑπολαύει; The Verb ὑπολαύειν is never us'd thus. The Manuscript of *Florence* reads very well χ ἐαυτόν καθαρόν ὑπολάσσει. Et seipsum 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.

Ἔς τὸ ἢ πρώτης χ αἰείας ἀφίκοιτο
 ἢ δ' Ω

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 dazzling 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-

ἐὶ δὲ ἕξως. 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.* Ὀλοκληρῶ ὑγίης τε παύσεως, τὴν μέγιστην διαφυγῶν νόσον γίγνεσθαι. 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 ἄχ' ὁβίη; 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 ἀμύχανος; 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 Lecture that is very remarkable. I will give the intire Passage as it is in that Manuscript, ἔτι ψυχὴν μὴ ἀχ' ὁβίη κατέχει τὸ πρὸς θεῷ ἕξει εὐδαιμονίας καὶ λατῶ ἀμύχανος: *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 Lecture of the printed Text.

(1) 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,

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.

M 3

(l) It was not difficult to correct this Passage. The Lesson I have follow'd ἀληθείας ἢ ἡ θεωρητικῆ, 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 ἐστὶ, he reads ἐστὶ, 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 εἶν ἄνθρωπον καὶ 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 ἢ μᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰῶνος καὶ βίον μεγίστης χρησιμότητος, &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 Lesson.

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.
The golden
Age.

They are call'd *golden Verses*, to signify 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.

Gold the
only Metal
that will
not rust.

Excellence
of these Ver-
ses above
all other
Poetry.

VERSE

V E R S E 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, *Piety is the Guide of all Virtues.* 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. ** That is to say, to God, who is the Cause of all Beings.* (b) That we ought to honour the Gods

M 4

(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, ἢ πᾶσαν νοήσιν, σκότος ἀμύμων, 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:

Ἄσιν ὃ ἐχ' ἰδέω, πᾶσι γὰρ νέφ' ὀρίεσθαι.

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

*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.

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

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 Lesson, which the *Florence* Manuscript gives us; instead of *δημιουργικὸς νόμος*, The Law that created them, it reads, *δημιουργικὸς 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 τῶν ἀσπίων*, it ought to be read, *καὶ τὸ μήτε, &c.* This second *τὸ* answers to the first *τὸ* ἄδ. 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 immutabile and unalterable and incorruptible Images of the first Being.

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 *Renandot* lent me, and confirm'd likewise by the Manuscript of *Florence*, which instead of ἀμείλιτος, has even ἀμείλιτος, 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.

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.

(*) This Passage is corrupted in the Editions, but the Manuscript of Florence has perfectly well restor'd it, by correcting *περὶ ὃ ἀβήδισαολῶ, &c.* instead of *ἢ μήτε περὶ ἀβήδισαολῶν*, 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 *ἀνοια*, Folly, I have corrected it, *ἀγνοια*, Ignorance; and what follows proves the necessity of this Amendment, *ἐν ᾧ τῆ ἀγνοια*, &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 πρὸς ἀλλήλα συνάπλων*. The Copy of the Abbot *Renaudot* adds in the Margin the Word *ἀνερα* which

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

The Angels and the other blessed Spirits.

According as God enlightens them.

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. 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

which is very necessary, τὰ ἀρεὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλα συνάπλων; and so too the Florence Manuscript reads.

(r) In the Manuscript of Florence, instead of λογικῆς τῆ ἐσείας, there is τῆ 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 enlighten 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 inferiour 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 Pytha-
goreans
upon the
Order of
the Crea-
tion mix'd
with Truth
and Error.*

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; (x) 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

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 ἐνοεῖ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἰσχυρίας, καὶ τὸ ἐνοήμα ἔστω ἡν. 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.

(x) 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, (c) and that *What the Order is.*

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 *Men* less than the Angels. Thus we find, if I may dare to say so, God intire in these three different Effences, he having distributed to them with Order and with Measure all manner of Perfections, to all according to their Nature.

(c) This Error the *Pythagoreans* took from the *Chaldeans*, who acknowledg'd several Orders of Gods; *as in Isaac. de 1000. &c.*

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: Infomuch 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

οἱ μῦθοι, οἱ ὑπεκόσμοι, οἱ ἐκόσμοι, 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.* πάντων τριπτεύον καθ' ἑκάστων ἄλληλε τάζεν.

(*d*) I have added to the Text the Word *πρῶτον*, which I took to be wanting, ἐ γὰρ καὶ ὡς πρῶτον ἐν παντί τοῦ λογικῷ 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

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

For acquir'd Goodness is much different from essential Goodness.

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

N

Men,

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 spite 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 *Timaeus* 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 *Timaeus*, 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*

The Operation.

In what the Honour we pay to Superior Beings consists.

What it is to honour God.

N 2

thy

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 milibus contena millia.* See the excellent Treatise of *Potavius, de Angelis*, Book I. 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 illo esse quod sunt, & quod factu sunt,* says *Methodius* in *St. Epiphanius*.

(m) There is a fault in the Text, *ὃ ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ δὲ θεῶν ἁπομοίωσις*, it ought to be read, *ὃ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὰ, &c. πρὸς αὐτὰ;* that is to say, *πρὸς τὰ θεῶν γένεα*, with these Divine Beings, with the Gods: And thus the Manuscript of *Florence* reads it.

(n) Instead of these Words, *ὃ ἢ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν;* for what we love, the Manuscript of *Florence* has *ὃ ἢ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν, ἃν ἡμεῖς ἀγαπᾷμεν;* what we love and what we honour; and I prefer this Lecture before the other.

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.

What the pious Man is.

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 Fuel 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 Wise 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.*

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 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* furnam'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 prefer'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.

N 3

(p) This is admirably well express'd by *Perseus* 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 ὄρκον, Oath, instead of ὄρκων, 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, δι' 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, ὄρκιον τε ἔστι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τούτο διὰ ὄρκιον λέγεται. 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, *What the Oath is.* (a) that the Oath is the Cause that preserves all Things in the same State, they being made firm *Hierocles speaks here of the divine Oath.* and

N 4

(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, τὸ δὲ νόμος ἵσταν ὁ νόμος καὶ τὸ εὐνοίας, &c.

(c) I have here follow'd the marginal Note that I found in the Copy of the Abbot *Renaudot*, where there is, εὐνοίας τὸ νόμος καὶ τὸ εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ νόμος ὁ νόμος καὶ τὸ εὐνοίας, the Sense is fuller, than to make τὸ εὐνοίας 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,

The Human 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.

What is the Nature and Design of a Human Oath.

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

Divine Oath, the Pledge of Eternity. Human Oath, a certain Help in the Affairs of the civil Life, and the

next

safest Depository 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. Inasmuch that as the Divine Oath is the Pledge and Keeper of Eternity, so the Human Oath is the Depository 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

(*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 iusjurandum? Emplastrum aris alieni. What is an Oath? A Plaster to heal Debts.*

(*g*) I have here follow'd the Manuscript of *Florence*, that puts a Point after ἀπαρχιδισθ. and that goes on τήσιν ἢ λέγεται πρὸς τὸ μόνιμον, &c. Συναρμολύσα 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.

(f) 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, tramples 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 *ὁ θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς*, reads *ὁ θεὸς ἰσχυρότερος*.

Perjury
proceeds
from a Hab-
bit of swear-
ing.

Faithful
Observance
of an Oath
the insepa-
rable Com-
panion of
Piety.

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.

Honour then this Law by being obedient to what it commands, and respect an Oath (m) by not making

(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 ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος ὁρθῶς, ἕτερος ὧν? *Hanc enim (mentem) primus regit, probus existens:* Instead of πρῶτος, first, it should be read τέτος, *Manners. Good Manners redress and correct the Mind, and the Habit of not swearing restrains 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 τέτος κρείσσει, *Good Manners keep the Mind in Awe, and become Masters of it.*

(m) To this purpose the Author of the Ecclesiasticus says, *Juratori non assuecat Os tuum, & Nominatio Dei non sit assidue in Ore tuo. Sicut enim Servus excruciatuſ tota die a livor-*

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.

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.

V E R S E III.

In the next Place Honour the Heroes, who are full of Goodness and of Light.

THES E 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-

(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

To honour
aright we
ought to
know the
Essence of
what we
honour.

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 Employments, and of the Perfection they

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 proportion is to the Dignity and to the Essence of those to whom we pay it, and to refer it to God. This is very surprising 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 Employments 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 Employments of Angels are very well treated in the three Books of *Petavius, de Angelis*.

(c) The Employments 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 deserves to be honour'd. A great Principle. These are the Saints.

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. 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 *εὐεικονοζόμενν*, for the Son of God is the true Image of the Father. Therefore *Jamblicus* says, *ἡ ἀπεικόνισμα ἢ τῆ ἀντιπάτωρ* Θεοῦ, *τῆ ἀντιλογίνοιν, ἢ μονοπάτωρ* Θεῦ, *τῆ ὄντως ἀγαθῆ*. And he is the Copy of God, who has no other Father but himself, of the God only good. And in another Place *καὶ ἢ τῆ ἐπὶς τῆς ὀ ἀντιάρχης Θεός ἐαυτὸν ἐξελάμψι, διὸ ἢ ἀντιπάτωρ ἢ ἀντιάρχης*; 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*. Ἄλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ ἄσπουτος ἐν αἰῆν διαίεσσιν.

(g) Or by him, according to the Manuscript of *Florence*, which instead of τῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν, reads τῆ παρ' 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

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 *ἐπιπλάς*, 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 *μύς*, 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 completed. 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 enlighten 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 Daemon in Greek is for Daemon, knowing, understanding.

(i) Therefore *Hesychius* observes, ἀσάυδι, ἀερόφρονες, λαμπροί, φεινοί. This Word ἀσάυδι signifies *good, shining, luminous*. Goodness expels Vice, and Light excludes Oblivion; and these two Qualities agree perfectly well with *Angels*.

(k) "Heraeus, *Heroes*, for ἔσες, *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, δαίμονες τινὲς ὄντες, οἷον ἐμπνεῦμα, says *Hesychius*. *St. Augustin* says the same thing, and adds that the *Poets* only made use of this Expression, *good Demons*, to signify 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 Employment, 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 Extreame, 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

Here Hierocles extols too much the Angelical Nature.

O 2

(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, ἕως, ἡσως ἡ λαμπρότης δευτέρως, λαμπρότης ἢ πρώτης λαμπρότης. 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 Darknes. 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 Darknes: 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 Darknes.

(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 αἰνοῦντων ἀπολειπόμεθα τῷ ὡς μὴ νοεῖν, τῶν δ' ἀλόγων ἀμαθεσχηχῶς τῷ ὡς νοεῖν καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὴν Θεῖαν ὀπίσκειν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, &c. In the Translation I added these Words, *And this is their Darknes, 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 ἴσους ἴσον τῆ τῷ κρείττονι μίσησιν 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.

V E R S E I V.

*Honour likewise the * Terrestrial Demons by rendering 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,

O 3

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(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 signify 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, *καταχθόνιος 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 *καταχθόνιος*, *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 signify, *who lives upon the Earth*. In that Sense they always made use of *ἐπιχθόνιος*. *Homer* says, *ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθόνιόισιν*: whereas they constantly employ'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 clashing 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 subtle 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 signify 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 expressly 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 come 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 signify 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.

O 4

This

(*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 *ἔχει τὸν ἁγιωτάτου δαίμονα*, which I but now explain'd, adds, *καὶ δαίμονα τῶ Θεῶ καὶ ἐπισημοῖς*, which improves the Sense extremely.

He employs it to signify a wife and virtuous Men, who after their Death become equal to the Angels.

In what consists the Worship we ought to pay the Saints.

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.

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, Τῆ ἀξία ἢ χρεῖσας, *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, Σχέσεως. *Affinity*, instead of χρεῖσας, *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, ἢ ἀντὶ τῆς ἰσότητος ἀνασκήν, *by reason of the Necessity of Kindred*.

V E R S E. 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,

Our Parents and Relations, represent in regard to us God and the holy Angels.

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 condemn 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

* *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; *ὅτιως ἐν ψελλοῦσιν πρὸς κακίαν ἀποστῆ*: But thus our Zeal will degenerate into Vice. The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts supplies in the Margin *ὅτιως ἐν ψελλοῦσιν ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀσκήσεις πρὸς κακίας ἀποστῆ*: 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.

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.

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.

That is to say the Body. That is to say the Soul, which they did not make, and that comes from God.

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

(e) Instead of βίη ἀλλοσειωσιν, which is in the Text, and which has no Meaning, or at least a very obscure one, the Manuscript of Florence reads ἡ κλήρη ἀλλοσειωσιν, 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 toillome, 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 σωματων φειδομενες ημας μητε χρηματων, αλλ εκονιασ αυτοις ταυ τελαχθαι εις πασα τα τελαυτα.*

(h) The Manuscript of Florence reads this Passage very right, *ωρεπη γδ μητε τ δι αυσεργιασ θερσειαν επεγομελω αδα τειατ, ανδροσημονειν η μαλλον αυτη, οσω αν μαλλον επιπονθη γεννη η δαλορεπησ, η μητε εσιασ διαπανωμενεσ φειδωλεσ ηυεατ.* 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. η πωδασ υπονιψαι, η κλινην σερεσαι, η διακονημενεσ.*

(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 indispensable 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 satisfy 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, δὴλον ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ ἀρετῆς ἀδεπτόνιον μνήσεως. '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.

V E R S E 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 forakes the Paths of Virtue, and ceases to obey the Precepts and Advices that tend to his Perfection.

V E R S E S 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.*

P

back

(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*.

The Mean
to be ob-
serv'd as
parting
with a
Friend.

Duties to-
wards our
Friends
when they
quit the
Paths of
Virtue.

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: Infomuch 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 fought 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

(c) I have here follow'd the Manuscript of *Florence*, which is more correct than the Text. It reads it thus, τῷ μῆτε περὶ χρημάτων, μῆτε περὶ δόξης αὐτῷ διαφέρειν, ἢ τῷ μὴ ἐπ' ἑβρῆ τ' κοινωνίας αὐτῷ ὑποστρεῖν, μηδὲ φιλομίαν ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκείνου δυσυχίαν. 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 employ'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

Power ought not to be measured by the Will, but by the Strength of Nature. Power dwells near Necessity.

The Necessity of Reason is stronger than all exterior Things

P 2

and

(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 Conjunctions 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 employ 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 insincere 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.*

(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 *μέτρον*; 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; (b) 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 Human-
ity that
ought to be
extended to
all Men;
but differ-
ently.

Good Men
ought to be
loved for the
sake of Na-
ture and of
their Vir-
tue.

P 3

them

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.

(b) 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. *The Wise hates no Man.*

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 inasmuch 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: **For**

God extends his Love to all Mankind. Now God loves the Wicked.

(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 Lesson 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, ὅτι ἔστι ἀνθρώπων φιλοῦν, ἰδίᾳ ἢ κακῶν ἐχθρῶν τιθεῖν, ὡς ἔστι ἀρετῆς κεκοσμημένον ζῆλον πρὸς κοινότητα, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν πάντων ἐκλέγειν.

(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.

P 4

(n) There-

(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 perverseris: 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 *ἐμπρέπει* instead of *ἐμψέπει*, and afterwards found that the Manuscript of *Florence* agreed with the Correction I had made.

V E R S E S 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.

THES E 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 Cheer 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 Abyfs 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 accu-*

*Reason is
guided by
Instruction,
and the
Passions are
kept under
by Habitu-
tude.*

*The Ad-
vantages
of Tempe-
rance in
eating and
drinking.*

stom 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

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.*

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

*Solitude
and Society
by the two
Ways that
lead to Vice*

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.

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 justify 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 astring'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
 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.

Whoever 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 Text reads *ἡ δὲ διὰ πάντων ἀρετῶν ἀρετικὴ συνέστησεν ἡ ἀμῶν, &c.* and the Manuscript of Florence *παντῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ μέτρον ἀρετικῆς, &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.

learned Man, who has sent me all the different Readings of one of the most excellent Manuscripts in Europe, prefers the Lektion 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 *Οκταύη*. And he believes that *Hierocles* in this Place compares Justice to this *Οκταύη*; because Justice is the most perfect of Virtues, and includes them all; as the *Οκταύη* 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 *Οκταύη*: Therefore *Theognis* says,

Ἡ δὲ Δικαιοσύνη συλλέξει τὴν πᾶσι ἀρετῶν ἑστίν·

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. *Salviasi* is here likewise for the reading of the Text *διὰ μέσων*, which he prefers to that of the Manuscript of Florence, *ἐν μέσῳ*; 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 *διὰ πασῶν*, he here calls Courage and Temperance *διὰ μέσων*, 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.

†

Comm-

(c) The Manuscript of *Florence* reads in this place χ τὸ ἐκαστὸν πρόσφορον 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 δικαιοσύνη τῆ ἀλογίας ἀεχέσθαι, which is not so much as *Greek*. I believe it ought to be mended thus, χ ἡ δικαιοσύνη τὰς ἀλογίας ἀελέσθαι, Word for Word, and that Justice carries away our Vices. This is what ἀελέσθαι signifies, as *Hesychius* has observ'd, ἀελέσθαι, says he, ἐξελέσθαι. 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 δικαιοσύνη τῆ ἀδολογίας ἐχέσθαι, 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,

*Prudence
the first and
Guide of all
divine
Goods.*

*Effects of
Prudence.*

*Fortune is
only a De-
pendant on
mortal Na-
ture.*

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

(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 employ'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. (b) 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

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.

Q

Free-

(b) This is an undoubted Truth, and evidently prov'd in *Epictetus*, who upon this Principle ground'd all the admirable Rules he has given us.

(i) In the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, there is in the Margin *νεῖνας*, instead of *χεννας*, and in the Manuscript of Florence *νελευν*, 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 wholesome. 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

Virtue cannot be preserv'd without a sound Judgment.

That is to say, the Gods.

Unjustness and Blasphemies of Men who fear to die, and who love Riches.

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

(k) Instead of $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \tilde{\tau}\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, the living, read $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \tilde{\tau}\ \sigma\upsilon\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, 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 mis-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.

Q 2

(l) *Hierocles* in this Place expressly 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:

Justice includes all our Duties.

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.

†

Now

(m) To this Passage the Manuscript of *Florence* adds these two Words, *μηδ' αμῶς λησιζόμενοι*, which were wanting in the Text, and are very necessary for the Sense. Take the whole Passage, *τι μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποθ' ἡσυχον ἡμῶν μεδ' αμῶς λησιζόμενοι, καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων δέβησιον*, &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 Observation 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.

Q 3 to

(o) There was a Fault in the Text, which the Manuscript of Florence has corrected; ὅθεν τὸ δικαιοσύνην ἀσκεῖν ἐπίστασις, &c. The Manuscript reads very well, ὅθεν τῷ. 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 Practice of Virtues is useful to it.

The sole
Suspicion of
the Mortality of the
Soul stifles
in us all our
Inclinations
to Virtue.

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

Q 4

be

(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 baptisuntur 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*. *κ, πρὸς τὴν φύσιν περιπέσαν ἐυζώναν αὐτὴν ἀνάγει τὸ τοῦ ὅλης &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 justify 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, τὸ μὴ ὁμοίως προέβηνότας.* 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 ἐν προβίῳ κακά, the Ills of the first Life,* led him to the true Reading, *τὸ μὴ ὁμοίως προέβηνότας, 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 *is* 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

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 is it 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 $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ Ⓞ, 'tis read $\delta\iota\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ Ⓞ; 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 expressly 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 Lifs 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 τὰς ἰερῶν μεθόδων κ) ἢ ὁρθαῖς μεθελήσοσιν; 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 προσδεῖναι λανθάνουσαν τὰς αἰτίας, &c. of which 'tis difficult to make good Sense. The Manuscript of Florence has corrected it very well, τῷ προσδεῖναι λανθάνουσας 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 uneasy, 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 ἐδέλη for ἔλεθη, which last was Nonsense, and the Word ἀγαθῶν adds after δοκείτωρ, 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.

Allthings 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

Excellent Proof that right Reason is naturally even in the most deprav'd of Men.

not,

(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. 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

Which they could not do had they not right Reason.

** 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) In-

Divine Fortune is only the Manifestation of the Judgments of God.

†

asmuch

(f) The Text in this Place was very much corrupted by the changing of one single Letter: For what can be here meant by εἰ δὲ μὴδὲν ἐπιτάξει 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, εἰ δὲ μὴδὲν ἐπιτάξει ταῖς τῶν τοιούτων λήξεαις, *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 δὲ Θείον καὶ νοσῶν ἐστὶ τὸ κείνον. &c. Ἡ δὲ οὐκία περιεργασίη καλοῦν τὸ

καλῶν

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*, (b) 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

καταβολῶν, &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.

(b) For these Words, *Punishments* 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

links 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

R Name;

God gives to Men good Things before they have deserv'd 'em.

Word ἀθανάσιον, and I make no question but Hierocles writ αὐσημασίον, the meer 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 *ἔσσης*, *Essence*, I found in the Margin. *ἑσσησίας*. Think the same thing of the Divine Government, that is to say, of Providence: But the Manuscript of Florence retains *ἔσσης*.

(p) There was here a great Fault in the Text, *ἔσσης ἢ ἢ κεινομένων νομοφυλάκων ἑσσημένων*: instead of *ἢ κεινομένων*, of those who are judg'd, it should be read as in the Manuscript of Florence, *ἢ κεινομένων*, 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 enjoins. (s) For

The Divine Law pre-exists in the infinite Goodness of God.

The Justice of God retrenches in us the Remembrance of Virtue.

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him

(q) Socrates in Plato gives an admirable Demonstration of this Truth.

(r) The Text runs thus, *ἡ δίκη βλάπτει*: 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 βλέπει*, *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.

Right Reason is a Law naturally engrav'd within 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 Losers. 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

(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.

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by

(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 Choïce. 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.

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.

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; (*) 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

(*) 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, διαμειναισα, which I much approve of: Τὸν γὰρ μὴ τοῖς τὸν διαμειναισα ὡς, &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, (α) 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.*

R 4

that

(α) 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 ἀναμνησκέτω ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν μὴ ἀοίσατο ἡμεῖς τῶν θεῶν 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 *Hierocles* 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 him-

self

(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 $\mu\eta$, 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 Impie-
ty of all
Vices.*

(e) In the Manuscript of Florence, instead of *αυτοδαιμονίας* *adimias*, all sort of Injustice, there is *αυτοδαιμονίας* *asebias*, 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 ἡδε it ought to be read ἕδε, and the whole Passage should be pointed thus. Οὐδε ἐπ' ἐκείνων δίκη καὶ κρίσις, καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἐκλογισμοῖς, ἐπεὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἕτως ἡκείω. 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

Mat. 10. 29.
Luke 12. 6.

him-

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, (b) 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. Πρώτον μὲν τα ἀψυχα ἕως ἔσκει ὡς κοινὴ ὕλη φυτοῖς καὶ ζώοις· ἐπειτα τὰ φυτὰ (ζώοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις κοινὴ τροφή παρεκεί), καὶ ἕνεια δὲ ζῶων, 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: Inasmuch 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.

(b) 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 satisfy 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

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.* Ecclesiast. 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 τῷ πρώτῳ κρητῆρι, 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 Darknefs 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 oyer 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 *Phadrus*, 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 *The Fruits of Patience.* 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.

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 Neigh-

(s) Instead of τὸ μὴ συγκεκῶσθαι, as there is in the Text, it ought to be τὸ 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 Corruption of our Heart the Cause of all our Ills.

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.

†

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 dazzled 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.

S 2

of

(*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 of another Nature: (y) For 'tis in no wise possible;
it self. but that what is born in Time should exist al-
it may by ways, nor that what never had a Beginning, should
the Will of have an End: By Consequence, 'tis most evident,
God.

*The Like-
 ness of the
 Soul to God
 proceeds not
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 ternity, but
 from the
 Graces it
 has recei-
 ved.*

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.

(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.

V E R-

V E R S E S 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 favour 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 like-
Whence proceed the several Reasonings of Men.

S 3

wife

(a) *Hierocles* in this Place follows the Thought of *Socrates*, who in the *Phaedon* of *Plato* deplors 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.

(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

True Reasonings alone deserve the Name.

(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.

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(c) The Rules that *Hierocles* here prescribes for Disputation are fine, and even favour 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 in strange and erroneous Opinions, when he follows not the common Notions according to found Reason. 'Tis not then, says this Verse, surprising 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 Infirmary. (f) And what most of all con-

*Men naturally
fall into
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 ad-
vance Lies.*

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 Poovishness 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 ἔν ταρξέει τῶτον ἄς ἄλυτον ὄν; τίς τιν' ἢ ἀχυρῶ φάσιλξια ταρξέει τῶτον; ὅς περικαλήγωνισαι πᾶν ψεύδ' :* *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, *ἄελ ἢ ἢ ἀπάντων ἀνεξαπατήτε ἕξως.* It ought to be read as in the Manuscript of *Florence*, *ἄελ ἢ ἢ διὰ πάντων ἀνεξαπατήτε ἕξως.*

V E R.

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*

He who has a sense of his own Worth is incapable of being seduced.

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

our Soul well strengthen'd and fortify'd by sound Reason, to the end it may neither be wheedled nor inflav'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

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.

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,

*Order of the
Care re-
quir'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 ex-
terior
things.
All our
care ought
to have re-
gard to the
Soul.*

us nor ours, but belongs to what is ours. This is fully demonstrated by Plato, in the first *Alcibades*; 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, what-
ever

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' οἴων ἀν' ἔργων ἢ λόγων ἢ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐκβεβήσας πᾶσι θεῶν πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τὴν ψυχὴν.

*Nothing in
this World
is worthy to
make us re-
nounce the
divine
Likeness.*

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;

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 *ἀπομνηστέον*, I read *ἐποκλήσει*, 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, *ἀραυρήσει; ναυάγιον αὐτὰ ἢ παρρησίᾳ.*

(e) Since the Goods of this World are so transitory, and there are so many ways of losing them in spite 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

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 ἡμῶν, *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 ἐνσωσαι, *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 uprightnes of the Will and of Choice.

VERSES

V E R S E S 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 Repen-
tance.*

WISE and Prudent Deliberation is the Mother of Virtues; and perfects and preserves them, infomuch 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 accustomed 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 Obedience 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.

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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, *ως αρχην τε η μέσση η τελωτην ειναι ης αγαθων. η εν ταυτη χειρι τω αναλλαγη ης καχων η δια ταυτης μιν ημιν εραγιουδ; η τω ης αρχης τελευτων.*

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

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think

(b) Instead of ἀβουλίας I had made use of ἐβουλίας, 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. 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.

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 Causticks 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

(c) The Manuscript of *Florence* has very well restor'd this Passage, for instead of *φυγῶν*, which can have nothing to do heré, it reads *φυγῆν*, to avoid, to fly from.

(d) For he condemns his Soul to be no more. The Manuscript of *Florence*, instead of *εἰκότως ἀμέλειαν*, reads *εἰκότως μάλιστα*, &c. passes a Sentence proportionable to his Crimes; which comes to the same Sense.

(e) I have here follow'd the Lesson 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' εἰς 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.

T 3

(f) In the Text, instead of *διὰ τ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀρεῖς οὖσιν ἐπιλεπῆς*, it ought to be *διὰ τ' εἰς τὸ μὴ χτ' οὖσιν ἐπιλεπῆς*: Or if *ἀρεῖς* be retain'd, the Negative must be blotted out. This Fault is in the Manuscripts.

(g) In the Manuscript of Florence, instead of *πρὸς τὰς Θεῖας κανόνας*, to the Divine Rules, there is *πρὸς τ' Θεῶν*, 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'n's 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 μὲ κεφαλᾶς φλόξ ἑβανία
 Βαίη, τί ὃ μοῖ ζῆν ἐσι κερδῶ;
 Φεῦ. φεῦ, θανάτῳ κἀσαλευάμαν.
 Βιστᾶν συσερᾶν περιπῦσα.

(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 completing the Sense: *Τὴν τ' ἀβουλίας ἀρχὴν καλεῖσθαι διε) τέλει χείρονι, παιδοκτονία προπετεῖ ἀβουλὸν παιδοποιεῖται ἀνεμνήν*: Which is a Thought perfectly fine, and Word for Word in *Latin*: *Principium Temeritatis deleve putat sine pejori, stultam filiorum procreationem, insana eorum occisione permittans*. This is the way of Men; when they have

she madly endeavours by the Murther of her Children, to atone 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 accusom 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.

T 4

And

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 (1) 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 enlighten'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 God and good.

Hierocles seems to have borrow'd this from what *Socrates* says in the first *Alcibiades*.

Reason the only Rule of Good.

These are the great and infinite Advantages that arise from prudent and wise Deliberation, (m) and the

(1) 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 *προς υπηρεσίαν τῷ λογικῷ*, they both of them read *προς υπηρεσίαν τῆ λογικῆς οὐσίας*, 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 compar'd with the Manuscripts, and in the Manuscript of *Florence*, where we read *καὶ τὴ 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 mis-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*, κ^ς ἡ Θανάτου ἡ πείνης ἀποβίαν 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 if 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, ἀρα πῶς ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀκνηκόαυδι ὡς αἰ γένεσις ἔτι, εἴα ἢ ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡδονῆς, κομῶσι δὲ δὴ τίνες αὐτῶν ἢ λόγον ἐπιχειροῦσι μνησθῆναι ἡμῖν, εἰς δὲ χᾶεν 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.

The Pleasure of the virtuous approaches the Divine Pleasure.

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

(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 the w.

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, & 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 εἰ ᾗ τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν, which is not Sense, reads ἐν ᾗ τῷ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν. 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, τις ᾗ ἕτ' ἔστι; ἢ μόν' ὁ λαὸς ἔδειξεν, *Which is the only Life, &c.* The Manuscript of Florence reads τις ᾗ ἕτ' ἔστι ἢ μὴ μόν' ἔστι, &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, εἰ ᾗ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ πόνου καλόν, ὁ δὲ πόνος παρεῖληθε, τὸ ᾗ καλὸν μῦθος, 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 imployes; 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

The due Measure of Food and Exercise ought to be regulated by Reason. Health becoming a Philosopher.

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 merely a Body of which it takes Care; but a Body that is subservient to the Thoughts of the Soul. It therefore rejects the Athletick Régimen 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 Régimen 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.*

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 Exercifes, 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

'Tis much easier to commit Excess in drinking than in eating.

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(a) An Over-care of the Body is the first Cause of all its Inordinateness. To this purpose 'tis said, *And the People sat 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 *Phaedrus*, is as follows, Βέβηκε γὰρ ὁ ἵππος κακίας ἵππου μετέχων, ὅτι γλυκῶν ῥέπων τὴν βαρύνων, ἢ μὴ καλῶς ἢ τετρασμιδῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσότητος; 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 Anima & 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
so make our
Body an In-
strument 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 Detri-
ment 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

The Pythagorean Measure.

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(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.

wife 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, $\tau\ \omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\upsilon\chi\eta\upsilon$, to that of the Manuscript of Florence, which has only, $\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, &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, Household-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

U 3

this

(a) The printed Text says, *we may infinitely exceed, ἀνίσταται πολλῶν*, but I have follow'd the Manuscript of Florence, which reads

*Too much
Neatness
becomes
Luxury,
and too
much
Plainness
degenerates
in Niggard-
liness.*

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.

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-

reads ἀμνησία διπλή, 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 ἰμάσιον ἐκλεμόμενοι καθαρῶν, ἀδυσπλον, these four Words, ψίκον ὁμοίως καθαρῶν, ἀδυσπλον.

(c) The Text was corrupted in this Place, the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts has corrected it by reading κτήσιον, 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, Household-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 sluttish 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 useles and of no Service, except where Simplicity and Neatness meet

U 4

together

Possession, Acquisition, instead of κτήσιμ, which signifies nothing in this place: The Manuscript of *Florence* reads it yet better. πρὸς κτήσιμ, &c.

(d) Ἰμάτων λεπτῶν, signifies not in this place *ill Cloaths*, as the *Latin* Interpreter believ'd, who has translated it thus: *Vestimenta quidem nequaparum vilia*; But it signifies Cloaths of a very fine Stuff, and consequently magnificent and costly. Thus *Homer* in the first Book of the *Odysse*, speaking of *Calypso*, says,

Ἄντη δ' ἀργύρεον φάρος μέγα ἔννυλο Νύμφην
 Ἀετῶν κ' καίειν.

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.

Envy for Blame.

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

(e) I have here follow'd the Manuscript of *Florence*, which instead of ὑπερέβη and πρὸς ἄλλους, reads in the second Person ὑπερέβης and πρὸς ἄλλους, 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 κοῖβῆς. 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 rousing a sleeping Lion, to the end that without any disturbance he may advance in the study of Virtue.

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 unreasonable Profusion or too much Thriftiness, the first of which is blam'd as Pride, the last as Meanness of Spirit: Those two Extrems 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.

Evils that arise from the Ignorance of what is decent and honourable.

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,

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 employ 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.

• V E R S E X X X I X .

*Do only the things that cannot hurt thee,
and deliberate before thou dost them.*

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.

Verse 29.

Verse 34.

Verfes 25,
and 26.

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 ἈΣΕ ΜΗ' ΒΛ' ἈΨΗ, ἢ τῷ ἀκρόσθημα ἢ τῷ ἈΣΕ.* &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 χεῖματα, 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, τῶτον ὃ βλέπειν, for *that Man sees*, &c. It ought to be corrected thus, τῶτον ὃ βλάπτεται, 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 τῶτον ὃ βλάπτεται.

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 Men 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 mayst

(*) 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 *Porphyrus* 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.

Πρωτα μὲν ἔσπετο μελίφρονος Ἐυπανάσας,
 Ἐν μάλᾳ πωπνύειν ὅς σὺ ἡμᾶσι ἔρῃς τελέωντις

*When drowsie Sleep to morning Thoughts gives way,
 Think what thou hast to do th'enfuing Day.*

[am]

may't 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,

I am of Opinion therefore, that these two Verses ought to be added to the Text, immediately after the fortieth Verse:

Μήδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσω, &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:

Πεῖν ἢ ἡμερῶν ἔργων τρεῖς ἑκάστον ἐπελθεῖν.

E'er thrice thou'st call'd to mind thy Actions of the Day.

But *Hierocles* reads it otherwise;

Πεῖν ἢ ἡμερῶν ἔργων λογισαδὲ ἑκάστον.

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 τινὰ σκοπόν*, but the Manuscript of *Florence* supplies the Word that is wanting, *ὡς πρὸς τινὰ θεῖον σκοπόν*.

daily, that by frequent and assiduous Recollection on 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: *Wherem 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.

To save the Reader the trouble of making a Recapitulation of all these Laws, Hierocles makes it herself.

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

(b) This Passage is corrupted in the printed Text. The Manuscript of Florence has restor'd it in this manner, *πρὸς ἐπιπέραν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ὑπνόν τετραπόδρον· ὅπως ἀν' εἰς τὸ πῦρ αἰσθητῶν μεθυστικῶν ἀφ' ἑσπερον τὸ δ' αὖ σωματικῆς καὶ δέξοιτο δίκαστέον.*

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-

†

stringent

(c) I have follow'd the printed Text, whose Sense I take to be very good, *πρὸς τὴν ἄρετῆς ἐνέργειαν*. I think my self nevertheless oblig'd to acquaint the Reader, that the Manuscript of Florence reads *πρὸς τὴν ἄεισιν ζωῆς σωτέργειαν*, *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, *θαυμά λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, πῶ παρήβην, &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

Sins of Omission and Sins of Commission.

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

(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 $\piροθυμία τὸ λογισμῷ$, reads $\προθεσμία τῷ τὸ λογισμῷ$, 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;* $\Προθεσμία$ signifies properly a *fixed Time*.

(g) In the printed Text the Words are transpos'd, $\eta\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\eta\ \delta\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\varsigma$; 'tis visible it ought to be, $\eta\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\iota\omicron\nu\ \mu\eta\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\eta\varsigma$. And so the Manuscript of Florence reads it.

(h) The Text must necessarily be corrected, and read, $\delta\ \epsilon\ \pi\ \tau\alpha\ \πρ\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \lambda\eta\ \pi\omicron\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$, $\tau\alpha\ \delta\iota\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\ \mu\eta\ \pi\omicron\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$; 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 ther

of Sins of Omission and Commission; and therefore he adds, *That 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.

*Our most
just and
most natu-
ral Judge
is our Con-
science
guided by
sound Reason.*

*How we be-
come the
true Image
of God.*

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.

(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, *τοῦ κείνου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔργον ἀπολέπων ἢ νόμον, καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται, &c.*

(l) Instead of *ἡ χρομῆναι*, as there is in the Text, we must absolutely read *ἡ χρομένην*, as the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts reads it.

VER-

VERSES XLV, XLVI, XLVII, and XLVIII.

Practisethroughly 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 enlighten 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 Soul

X 2

(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, *κτέσεως*, *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 seduc'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.

Why the Soul has need of Practical and Contemplative Virtue.

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 thoroughly 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.

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 Aether, 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.

To practise, to meditate, to love.

Three Faculties of the Soul.

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 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.

X 3

(b) I have here follow'd the Manuscript of Florence, which restores this Passage very well, by reading it thus, *ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς, τὸ τοῦ θεοποιητικῆς ἀληθείας τὸ πέρας.*

The Love
of Virtue is
innate in
our Hearts.

Love pro-
duces Hope,
and Hope
produces
Faith.

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 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

(c) Here a considerable Fault has slipt into the printed Text, ἢ συμπλέειν, which ought to be amended and read ἢ μελέτω, 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 ashamed.

(e) Instead of ἢ ὅλων, 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's 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

This is an Error. We may swear by the Author of Truth, but not by the Man who announces and teaches it.

X 4

necef-

(f) I have here likewise follow'd the Manuscript of Florence, where instead of *διασελαγμένως ὀμνῶσιν*, he swears with Order, which has no Meaning in this place, we read *διὰ τὴν θερμότητα ὀμνῶσιν*, *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 signify 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 *Patri 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? (b) 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

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

four; Modern Languages reckon so likewise.

(b) This Book was a Treatise of the Gods, and this Treatise was call'd *Ἱεεὸς 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.

1
2
3
4
—
10

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 rectilinear 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: Κείος δὲ ἢ τὰ πρῶτα τὰ μὲν τὰ ἢ ἐπισήμη, τὰ ἢ δόξα, τὰ ἢ αἰδήσει.* 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: *Νῶν μὲν τὸ ἓν, ἐπισήμη δὲ τὸ δύο, &c. ἢ ἢ τὴν ἐπισήμην αἰδήσει δόξαν, αἰδήσει δὲ ἢ τὴν τρεῖς.* *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.

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. ωει τετρακτῆς ἢ δεκάδος*, where he says, *Ἐξέθουν ἢ τετρακτῆς, ἢ ἡ κοινονίων, ἀρχὴ μὲν ἢ ὅς ἀνθρώπων, δυνάς ἢ οἴκων, τελεὰς ἢ πόλεις, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐν τέτων συγκει.* 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 *ἢ τέτων γνῶσις*, we read *ἢ τέτη 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 ἐπόμενον*, which is not Sense; it ought to be mended *ὃν καὶ νῦν ἐπόμενον*, 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 Encontium 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:

Ὁυ μὰ τὴ ἀμείβεα ψυχᾷ ἀθάνατῃ τετρακτῆδιν
Πατρῶν ἀείας φύσεως ἐζῶματ' ἐχέει.

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 *τετρακτῆδιν* of the Masculine Gender; and explains these *Roots ἐζῶματ᾽*, 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, (1) that the sacred Name of the Quaternion is known by a Hope that cannot deceive us; (2) 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.

(1) This Passage is very faulty in the Text, or at least I confess I do not understand it. *Ἱεροφάνης* is not Sense, and *Ἱεροφάνης*, 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 *Ἱερά φάτις*, instead of *Ἱεροφάνης*, *Ἱερά 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.

(2) 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.

V E R-

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 be-
 gin.

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 κ , τελειώσεως τῆ ἀιθρησῆς, of the Perfection, or of the Accomplishment of sensible things, or as the Latin Interpreter has turn'd it, rerum perfectione qua sensus movent? 'Tis impossible that this should make any Sense whatever. Instead of ἀιθρησῆς, of sensible things, we read in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, ἀιρεθειτων, of the things which we have chosen, or undertaken. The Manuscript of Florence reads it thus likewise. But I am persuaded that Hierocles writ ἀιτηθειτων, 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, μηδεν παρος τῆ κησιν τῆ αἰτεθειτων παροσθεσῆας, without employing on our part the least 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 encouraged by Prayer; and our Prayers by Actions.

To act without Prayer is an Impious Virtue and without God.

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.*

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, *λοισμοῖς* has no Meaning in this Place; it ought to be read *λόγους*, 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.

There is nothing good but what is done according to the Law of God

(f) Now every Image has need of the Original that it may subsist; (g) but 'tis in vain for us to possess

Y

(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 perhaps 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 *γενεσις, Production, Birth*, instead of *ἰσως εἰσι, Existence*.

(g) Not approving of the Reading in the printed Text, *εἰς τὴν τῶ κτωμένων*, what we have acquir'd is useless, I found in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, *εἰς αἰετῆ τῶ κτωμένων*, what we have acquir'd is not sufficient; and afterwards I saw that the Manuscript of *Florence* reads, *εἰς αἰετῆ τῶ κτωμένων*, 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, (b) by being always employ'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.

†

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.

(b) Here something was wanting in the Text. The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts had in the Margin $\mu\sigma\lambda\alpha\ \tau\tilde{\iota}\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\delta\tilde{\iota}\ \&\ \pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$; which comes near the true Reading as the Manuscript of Florence gives it us, $\mu\sigma\lambda\alpha\ \tau\tilde{\iota}\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon\delta\tilde{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\ \&\ \pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$; for the Matter in hand is Prayer accompany'd with Works.

(i) I have follow'd the Lektion of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, which is confirm'd by the Manuscript of Florence, $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \delta\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\tilde{\iota}\xi\alpha\sigma\alpha$, instead of $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\tilde{\iota}\xi\alpha\sigma\alpha$.

Prayer, she increases her Fervency, joining good Actions to pious Words, and confirming and strengthening those good Actions by this Divine Intercourse. Thus partly discovering of her self, and partly enlighten'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.

V E R S E S 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.*

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

Advantages that result from the joining of Actions to Prayers.

Y 2

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 *Constitutionem*. (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.

The several Natures never confound themselves.

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.

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 *Σύστασις*, that contains the Order and Rank which they possess. ἢ τὴ ἕκαστα διερχόμενα, *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 τὴ κοινότητι, *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, ἢ τὴ τὰ μίσα ἀπέχοντα ἢ ἐχόμενα

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 Extrems; 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 Extrems, 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

** 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.*

Y 3

(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.

Philosophers only and Saints have scientific Knowledge.

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 scientific Knowledge of all these Beings, (e) which Tradition has taught us to honour: (f) And this scientific 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

(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 ancient Patriarchs. *Plato* speaks like-
In Book XI. wise of these Traditions; *We ought therefore to believe these of the Laws, Traditions which are so certain, and so ancient, and give Credit Tom. 2. p. to the Testimony of the Law-givers who have transmitted them 907. to us, unless we will accuse them of Folly.* And in another
In Book VI. Place; *God, as we learn from ancient Tradition, having in him- of the Laws, self the Beginning, the Middle and the End of all things.*

(f) This Passage is defective in the printed Text, but we
Tom. 2. p. 715. find it intire in the Manuscript of *Florence*, where instead of *κοσμησάν* we read *κοσμησάν ἐστί* (ἐστίν), and instead of *μετα- σδ' ἴαν* we find *μετρίσασθαι*. 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 *ἀσώματοι*; *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 subtle Body, as we shall see hereafter.

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the Conduct of those rational Essences, the Poet Knowledge of Nature a Consequence of the Knowledge of God. 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.

V E R S E S 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) **N**ature in forming this Universe after the Nature in this Place is no other than God. 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 if it were an Image of the Divine Beauty, imparting variously to the Copy the Perfections of the Original;

Y 4

(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 *οὐκ* 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 *διὸ ἀπεῖρον ἔσται*, which is in the printed Text, I read *διὸ ἀβρε ἔσται*, 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 *ἔτι καὶ εἰ ἂν ἦν ἀβρεων*. 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

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, *ταύτην ἔσθ*, which were wanting in the Text, are supply'd, *αἰσθητὰ ἔν τῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ εἰς αὐτὰ ταύτην ἔσθ*; and thus to 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 Inpossibilities, 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 Piricks.

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; (b) 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.

(b) 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, *ὃς ἀγαμέτρων ἢ Θεῶν τῆ 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, *ὃς ἀγαμέτρων τῶ Θεῶ τῆ ἑαυτῆ γνώσιν* 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 enjoins to follow God, knows the most excellent Measure, (k) and puts himself in a Condition never to be deceiv'd or surpriz'd.

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 thoroughly 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, *ὁ ἀνεξαπατήτης ἀπάτης τυχεύει*: I have follow'd *Casaubon's* Amendment, which reads, *ὁ ἀνεξαπατήτης ἔξω τυχεύει*. 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, *ὁ ἀνεξαπατήτης ἐλπίδι τυχεύει*. *Spem mansuetur infallibilem & que nunquam vana sit.* He acquires a Hope that will never be vain, and can never deceive him.

V E R.

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.*

*Death of
Man.*

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,

————— *Banish'd the blissful Bow'rs,
Forlorn he wanders, by dire Discord toss'd,
And in impetuous Storms of raging Strife is lost.*

*Regenera-
tion of
Man.*

*This De-
scription of
the World
agrees very
well with
what St.
John says,
that all the
World is
plung'd in
Evil.*

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

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 ^{Meadow of Truth.} 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,

————— *Where in large Droughts,
He quaffs th' Oblivion of his Happiness.*

And herewith agrees the Opinion of Plato, who ^{In the Phædrus.} 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*

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 Employment 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 $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\theta\ \delta\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, it ought to have been $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\theta\ \alpha\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, *depriv'd of the Life of Blessedness*, and 'tis written so in the Margin of the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts.

original 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 *ἀλόκληρε* ᾧ τῆ ᾗ ἐπιστήμης, &c. it reads, *ἀλόκληρε* ᾧ τῆ νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ὡς οἰκείων μερῶν, ἀμαλήψι. 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' ἔδ' ἀπολεῖται τὰ κακὰ δυνατόν, ἕτε θεοῖς ἔναι τῷ μὴ χειραραμμένην ψυχὴν ἔξῃσαν ἐκ τῆ σῶμα* &c. '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' ἔτ' ἀπολεῖται τὰ κακὰ δυνατόν, ἢ θεῶν, ὅτι τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἔτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι. τῷ ᾧ θνητῷ φύσει, καὶ τὸνδε ἄ τόπον ἀποπολεῖ ἢ ἀνακίησθαι.* The Word *αὐτὰ* 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 Alloy 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 itself 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.*

Z

He

(g) These Words of *Plato* are remarkable; where Prudence is not, there can be no Justice nor Holiness.

He calls
Birth when
the Soul
leaves Hea-
ven to ani-
mate a
mortal Bo-
dy.

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, (b) 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.*

The Gods
that are
near us are
Virtue and
Truth.

Two ways
to recover
Knowledge.

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 useles and unprofitable; (i) for every Man who sees not of himself, and har-

(b) The printed Text reads ἡ ἀμειψία ἢ παθῶν, 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 ἀμετεία ἢ παθῶν.

(i) Hierocles here recites the very Words of two Verses of Hesiod, which are

Ὅς ἢ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέη, μήτ' ἄλλυ ἀκίων,
Ἐν θυμῷ βέβλην, ὅδ' αὐτ' ἀχέϊοι ἀνής.

harkens not to the Instructions of others, is intirely usefess, 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 *Aether*. 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

Z 2

'tis

(k) The Manuscript of Florence has very well restor'd this Passage; instead of these Words *Ἐν ᾧ ἔσθ' Θεῶν χωρισμὸν βλάβησι τὰς φρένας ἢ πρὸς γῆν νεύσις διὰ τὴν γῆν*, it reads *Ἐν ᾧ ἔσθ' Θεῶν χωρισμὸν ἢ βλάβησι τὰς φρένας μοῖρα νῦν διὰ τὴν γῆν*. The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts reads it so to, *ἢ βλάβησι τὰς φρένας μοῖρα*; but instead of *χωρισμὸν* it has *χωρισμενον*, which is certainly wrong; and it has *ἢ πρὸς γῆν νεύσις*, 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, *τῆ πρὸς τὸ μεικρὸν καὶ ἐπιθὺρον ζῶαν νεύσις*.

(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;

(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 *ὁ δὲ κυλίωδους*, you must read in the Text *ὁ δὲ ὅ κυλίωδους*; and in *Hierocles*, *ὁ δὲ κυλίωδους*: 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 *Chryssippus*: *Ut igitur, inquit, qui protrudit Cylindrum, dedit ei principium motionis, volubilitatem autem non dedit; sic visum obiectum imprimit illud quidem, & quasi signabit in animo suam speciem, 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. *Chryssippus* 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 Abyfs of carnal Desires, they suffer themselves to be toss'd up and down in this Life, as by a violent Tempest.

To the im- prudent 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.

Z 3

(p) by

(n) Instead of $\delta \mu\eta \pi\epsilon\delta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$, which signifies nothing, read with the Manuscript of Florence, $\delta \mu\eta \pi\epsilon\delta\varsigma \alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\eta \kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$. 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 seed 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 here- in 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

The Law of God transgressed in two manners.

on either hand into infinite Miseries by this two- fold Transgression of the Law of God, in not doing what it commands, and in doing what it forbids.

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*, *δοκεῖν*. 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.*

Z 4

To

(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 oecomenical 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 chooses 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 stir'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,

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 tofs'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

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 *εὐσεως*, I believe we ought to read with the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, *συσεισεως*.

(w) In the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts 'tis read thus, *κ) ἐκφέρει) ἐπ' εὐθείας αἰδήτικαῖς περὶ παλαιάς, &c.* But instead of *ἐπ' εὐθείας*, I believe it should be *ὑπ' εὐθείας*, which answers to τῆ ἑσθῆ λόγῃ ὑποπεύουσα.

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, *κ) βοηθείας αιτιαν,* 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 *κ) βοηθείας αιτησις,* to ask his Assistance.

V E R-

VERSES LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXIV,
LXV, and LXVI.

*Great Jupiter, Father of Men, you would
deliver them from all the Evils that op-
press them,*

*If you would shew them what is the De-
mon of whom they make use.*

*But take Courage; the Race of Man is di-
vine.*

*Sacred Nature reveals to them the most hid-
den 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 Af-
flictions.*

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 Almightyness, and that most evidently denotes his Works.

* For the Word Ζῆν, 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 Ζῆν, 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 Ζῆν. Συμβάδες ἔν ὀρθῶς ὀνομαζέσθαι ἔ- τως, τῷ Θεῷ ἔν) δὲ ἔν Ζῆν ἀπὸ πάντων 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, οὐσία, or merely 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 enlighten'd by God himself and thoroughly 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 Ἀγαθῶν instead of Ἀγαθῶς, and Εὐσεβῶς instead of Εὐσεβῆς. And then it ought to be translated thus, *than if they call'd a wicked Man Agathon, and an impious Man Eusebius*. And this Lession 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.
*Zdis.

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

(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. Τα ἴδι ἐν τῇ φωνῇ ὀνόματα. σύμβολα ἢ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ νοήσεων ἀπειργάζονται, τὰς δὲ νοήσεις αὐτὰς γρησινὰς εἰκόνες ἢ νοηθέντων πραγμάτων ἐποιεῖσι. 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 in-
vented.

(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 employ'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

(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, inso-much 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. (1) 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;* Verse 48. 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. *Truth and Virtue flow always from the Essence of God.* 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,

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.

(1) What *Hierocles* here says is most true, allowing what in this Place he calls the *Bow* to be the unutterable *Tetragrammaton*, or the *Jehovah* of the Hebrews, as I have explain'd it.

(m) The Manuscript of Florence, instead of *essias*, of the Essence, reads *causas*, 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 *ἁπλῶς*, which is in the Text, I had put *λύσει* by way of Amendment. But the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and the Manuscript of *Florence*, have given me the true Reading, *ἁποουλύω*, 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, (g) 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 Passions,

A a ons,

(g) 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 spite 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 μὴ εἶδ' ὄσιον ἔμνοεν: 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, ἐπαίεν, 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

(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 βελομένους ἢ βιάζεσθαι ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ βελομένους ἑλκεῖ, *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 spite 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.

A a 3

tions

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 *Florance* corrects, *κὶ ἐρωτὶ τίθεωζ ἢ καλῶν*: it ought to be *κὶ ἐρωτὶ τίθεωζ τὰ καλὰ*.

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.

V E R-

V E R S E S 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.

TH E 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
Another Error of the Pythagoreans, who gave the Soul a spiritual Body.
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(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 determines it. This is the Sense of this Vision of the *Pythagoreans*.

(c) For these Philosophers believ'd that the Heav'n's 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 *Phaedrus* explain'd long after him, (g) comparing the divine Soul and the human Soul to

(d) The Manuscript of *Florence*, instead of ἐν τῷ ἑξῆς συμπεφυκότων, reads ἐν ἑξῆς συμπεφυκότων. But I rather approve the reading of the printed Text. We find likewise in the following Page τῷ τῷ ἑξῆς.

(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 subtle 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 *Phaedrus*, ἀθάνατον τι ζῶον, ἔχον μὲν ψυχὴν ἔχον ἢ σῶμα, ἃ αἰεὶ ἢ 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 subtle Body, which they conceiv'd to be taken out of the Celestial Orbs. Whoever would see more of this, let him consult *Famblicius* 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 *Phaedrus*. To give an Idea of the Divine Soul and of the Human Soul, he says, Ἔοικε δὲ τῇ συμφύτῳ δυνάμει ὑποκίτου 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-

ζευγες τε κ' ηνιοχε θεων μ' εν ιπποι κ' ηνιοχοι παντες, αυτοι τε αγαθοι κ' ε αγαθων, το δ' ην άλλων μεμικθ. κ' πρωτον μ' ημων ο αρχων σωσειδθ η μοσχων, ετα ην ιππων ο μ' αυτω καλος τε κ' αγαθος, κ' εν τοιςτων. ο δ' ε ε ενανθιον κ' εναντιθ. χαλεπη δ' κ' δυσκολος ε ανανγκης η περ ημων ηνιοχισις. 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.

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 *Animal Life produced by the luminous Body of the com-Soul.*

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 *ἀψίη ἢ καθαρόσις*, we find *ἀψίη ἢ 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' ἀλόγου ζῶης*, we read, *ἐκ τ' ἀλλεζῶης*; 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.

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.

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

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 ἀνθρωπος ἢ διὰ ταῦτα, we ought to read, ὁ ἢ ἀνθρωπος 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 ἢ ἐνεχουμένων ποιητικῶν, which ought to be read as in the Manuscript of Florence, ἢ ἢ ἐνδεχουμένων ποιητικῶν.

(r) Instead of ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτης προσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ γένεσι, we should read as in the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, and in the Manuscript of Florence, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτη 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 spiri-
tual Body.*

νεσιν νδ'ισφ. 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 employs ψυχικον σωμα, 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 σαρματικόν, 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, κ' ἢ ἱεραῖς τέχναις. In the Manuscript of Florence, we read κ' ἢ ἱερῶν τέχναις, which ought perhaps to be thus corrected, κ' ἢ ἱερῶν 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 Anima, 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 anima, non quidem intellectuali, qua rerum intelligibillium percipitur veritas, nullas habentium similitudines corporum, sed spiritali, qua corporalium rerum capiuntur Imagines. Hanc enim dicit per quasdam Consecrationes theurgicas, quas telatas 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 imployes 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 blisful Regions, where its original Happines 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

Angelorum ad videndum Deos. Ex quibus tamen theurgicis telis fatetur intellectuali anima nihil purgationis accedere, quod eam faciat idoneam ad videndum Deum suum, & perspicienda ea qua vere sunt. This Passage cannot be better explain'd than by this Place of Hierocles; for we see that what St. *Augustin*, after *Porphyrus* calls the spiritual part of the Soul, *Spiritalem animam partem*, is what Hierocles after the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonicks* calls *πνευματικὸν ἢ λεπτὸν τὸ ψυχῆς ὄχημα*, and *τὸ αὐροειδὲς τὸ ψυχῆς σῶμα*, and *ψυχικὸν σῶμα*, the spiritual and subtile Chariot of the Soul, the luminous Body of the Soul, and the animal Body. Moreover, *Porphyrus*, 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 *Porphyrus* 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 rouses 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 accusom'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 ἀποχή, and giving us the whole Passage thus, Τὸ εἶν ἡ ἐπίων βρωμάτων ἀποχή πρὸς ταῦτα συμβαλίσσῃ 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.

The mystical Sense does not exclude the literal.

conceal one that is general and of large extent; tho' at the same time, literally taken, they have the Sense which they present, and positively forbid what is expressly nam'd in the Precept. For Example, the Symbol that forbids *To eat the Matrix of any Animal*, literally 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 (κ) by this palpable and sensible Image, (α) 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.

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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is

(κ) Δὲ ἐπὶ τινὶ αἰδντῷ διδάχθησιν. 'Tis evident there is a Word wanting in the Text; I had supply'd μέγας 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, αἰδντῷ γυμῶσι, by this palpable and sensible Image.

(α) 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 γενεσικῶς μοῖρα, he would not have made this Blunder.

(b) There was a great Fault in this Passage, which, as *Cassaubon* saw very well, ought to be read and pointed thus, ἡ ὡς ἐν βρώμασι τῶτο ἢ ἀεσοῖσμεθα, ἕτως ἐν τοῖς τῷ αἰγρονδῶς καθαρῶσι, &c. The Comparison ἕτως 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 all, 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.

B b ing

(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 Abstinen-ces 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 a'l 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 *Aether*.

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,

B b 2 (g) that

(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 Pur-
gations
precede the
Deliver-
ance 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

(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*, *τελειώσις*. 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 enlighten'd, is admitted to the Inspection and so 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 enlighten 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, *επιπλάειν 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

B b 3 things

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 τελεί, ἥτις ἀδ ἑνὴν scienciam 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 employ 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 disengage 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 disengage 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 who so 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

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.

1
Jambl. 5.
12.

(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, disengages 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

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

The Mystical Operation ought always to be conformable to Reason.

B b 4

means

The holy Ceremonies were introduc'd to purge us of all earthly Thoughts.

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, (⊙ τελειωθῆναι).

(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

*Contem-
plation,
Virtue and
Purity,
ought al-
ways to
march to-
gether.*

the

(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 purify 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 ἕσπον ἕσπον, 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 ἕσπον ἕσπον 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 subtle 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.

V E R-

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, Incorrupti-
ble, and Death shall have no more Do-
minion over thee.*

*Salvation
is the Work
of Love.*

BEhold the most glorious End of all our La-
bours! (a) Behold, as *Plato* says, the glori-
ous Combat, and the great Hope that is propos'd
to us! Behold the most perfect Fruit of Philoso-
phy! This is the greatest Work, the most excel-
lent Atchievment of the Art of Love; that my-
sterious Art of raising up to Divine Goods, and
of establishing in the Possession of them, of deli-
vering from the Afflictions here below, as from the
obscure Dungeon of mortal Life, of exalting to
the Celestial Splendors, and of placing in the I-
lands 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 in-
estimable Reward of Deification; it not being per-
mitted 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 Cha-
riot, Purity.

Such

(a) This is a Passage of the *Phædo*, Tom. 2, p. 114. But in the Editions of *Plato* 'tis read Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον, ἢ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη; For the Prize is glorious, and the Hope great. *Hierocles*, instead of ἄθλον, Prize, read ἀγὼν, Combat.

Such a Man being thereby become found 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 Blifs, 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

Error of the Pythagoreans.

(b) I have follow'd the Manuscript of *Florence*, which has restor'd this Passage, and instead of *διὰ τὸ ἴδον ὁρθῶν λόγον ἐνασσωσας*, &c. reads *διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ὁρθῶν λόγον ἐνάσσωσας ἑαυτῶν*; 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 τὸ δημιουργικὸν τῶ πάντων ἐξάρων*. But see how the Manuscript of *Florence*, which I have follow'd in my Translation, has restor'd it; *καὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν τῶ πάντων κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρόπων ἐξάρων*.

(d) The Manuscript of *Florence* restores this Passage too very well, for instead of *τῶτο δὲ, γινώσκουσιν, ἀς οἷς τε μετὰ τὸ καθάρισιν*, it reads *τῶτο ὃ γινώσκουσιν ὑπὲρ μετὰ τὸ καθάρισιν*.

(e) The printed Text reads *τὸ ἴδον γινώσκουσιν ἐν τῶ πάντι*, which is no manner of Sense. The Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts clear'd my Difficulties, by reading *τὸ ἴδον γινώσκουσιν ἐν τῶ πάντι*, 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-

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 subtle Chariot; that the Mind re-united it self to the Sun, and that the subtle Chariot remain'd beneath the Moon. Neither *Lyfis* nor *Hierocles* make the least Mention of this last Separation; they held only the first, and say, that after Death, the Souls, being inseparable from their subtle 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 subtle 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. *κ' ὅ δ' ἢ τὸ τρίτον γένος τελειωθὲν ἢ τῶ μέσῳ γένησθαι ἀν τρίτῳ*; this ἢ visibly shews something to be wanting, as I am convinc'd by finding it in the Manuscript of Florence, *κ' ὅ δ' ἢ τὸ τρίτον γένος τελειωθὲν ἢ τῶ μέσῳ γένησθαι ἀν κρείττοις ἢ τῶ πτωχῶ ἰσοῦ ἀλλὰ κ' μένον τρίτῳ ὁμοίῳ τῶ πτωχῶ γένει*. *Nuncupatum enim tertium genus, etiam perfectum, superius, equale secundo, aut equale primo, sed tertium tantum assueti 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; Whom he calls Immortal Gods.

† In the Angels.

... In the Souls of Men.

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

(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, *τεττη ἀπ' ἀληθείας*. 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

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; aequales 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 ἡ ἀπολειπόμηνος τέτων τυυχάνει, καὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆ ἀρετῆς ἐν τέτω, &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 ἡ ἀπολειπόμηνος τέτω τυυχάνει οἷς, (the Copy reads οἷας) δύναμει τυυχάνει, αὐτὸ τέτω τὸ κατ' εὐσιν ἔχομεν, καὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆ ἀρετῆς ἐν τέτω, &c. *Quod si perfectiones illas similitudines assequi minime valeamus, eamque ipsam adipiscamur, cuius capaces sumus, illud ipsum quod secundum naturam nostram est, habemus & eo ipso perfectum virtutis fructum carpinus, 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*, $\omega\delta\ \&\ \Theta\epsilon\iota\omega\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$; but the Copy compar'd with the Manuscripts, $\omega\delta\ \&\ \Theta\epsilon\iota\omega\ \omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$, &c. and the Manuscript of Florence, $\omega\delta\ \&\ \eta\delta\eta\ \&\ \Theta\epsilon\iota\omega\ \omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$, &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 *Auditorius*; for the School of *Pythagoras* was call'd *ὀμαχότων*, and his Disciples *ὀμαχιστοί*.

(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 qua acturi sumus, & eorum qua gesserimus.*

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