ABSTRACT

of

BACON'S KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF THE BIBLE

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The purpose of this study of Francis Bacon's Knowledge and Use of the Bible is the collection of evidence to enable an estimate to be formed of the extent of his acquaintance with and indebtedness to the Latin and English Bible. First, it views him not only as an heir of the great Vulgate-quoting tradition of the past, but also as one who, despite his disclaimer of the modern languages, helped the phraseology of the English Bible to pass into the language by bringing it "home to men's business and bosoms." Secondly, it examines the ways in which Bacon's knowledge of Scripture was probably acquired and produces evidence showing to which versions of the Latin and English Bible he was indebted. It also attempts to show how, and with what effect, he applied his biblical knowledge. It is a study of Bacon's specific biblical sources and of the way in which these sources are used. It is hoped that by these means some light has been shed on the problem of of how many of Bacon's allusions are original, and how many were already proverbial in his time. All contemporary Latin and English Bibles have been consulted, and particular care has been taken in the collation of their renderings with Bacon's.

By way of introduction, the study examines a few past and present opinions of Bacon's biblical knowledge, and points out the danger of attaching too much weight to any of them. It then describes the scope of Bacon's quotations and allusions as exemplified in his works. Large numbers of such references, it is found, have previously escaped detection. Biblical quotation is, moreover, limited by circumstance and the literary or spoken form in which it occurs. An attempt is therefore made to show the difference between Bacon's applications of Scripture in parliamentary addresses or legal addresses on the one hand, and in printed works, occasional writings, and private letters on the other. The point is that Bacon's knowledge of the Bible was probably greater than we have any present means of gauging, and the allusions he actually used were no doubt chosen by him from a much larger store he kept in reserve.

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The study then attempts to analyse Bacon's quotations and allusions by dividing them into three arbitrary groups. The first includes all those whose biblical origin is beyond all reasonable doubt, the second those who resemblance to Scripture is probable but not indisputable, and the third those for which Bacon possibly was indebted to the Bible. Parallels are placed in a separate group. The ease with which they may be drawn between Bacon's works and Scripture presents a problem whose dangers are quite apparent..

The study then returns to consider the possible and probable ways in which Bacon's acquaintance with the Latin and English Bible was made. That some of his biblical knowledge was picked up secondhand from other authors is beyond doubt. There were other sources as well, among them, perhaps, church attendance, and ordinary conversation. In general terms, however, his biblical knowledge was the result of reading the Bible itself. The atmosphere in which his acquaintance with Scripture began and was pursued is then scrutinized. In his early years Bacon's mother seems to have exerted a powerful influence on his mind. If any one person can be named as responsible for his acquaintance with the Bible, no doubt it is she.

The study then attempts to answer the query, Did Bacon study the Bible at Cambridge? After sifting the evidence, the conclusion is reached that while at Cambridge his mind was probably as much occupied with religion as with philosophy. It is contended that Whitgift, his tutor and later Archbishop of Canterbury, exerted a great influence on him than has yet been realised.

The study then considers two important aspects of Bacon's use of the Bible. The first poses the question, Did Bacon have genuine respect for Scripture? After examining certain passages for which he has been charged with profaneness, other passages are cited in which he made sincere professions of faith. The conclusion reached is that what some might today mistake for blasphemy was in Bacon'sctime a popular form of wit, belonging to a tradition of writing and speaking which is no longer practised.

The second aspect considered is Bacon's use of the Bible for rhetorical effect. He stated in the clearest terms that

"the duty and office of Rhetoric is to apply Reason to Imagination for the better moving of the will," and acknowledged that of possible ways to move men's wills "the most sovereign of all is Religion." The study then proceeds to examine how and with what effect Bacon put his own precept into practice, and attempts to show how he used Scripture as a means of moving men's wills to accept his doctrine of the separation of reason and faith,---that is, of science and religion. Although this practice sometimes forced him to resort to subterfuge, , the same tendency to use the Bible as a gentle means of persuasion was normally successful in his speeches in Parliamentor in the Star Chamber, and in letters to private friends. Appeals to Scripture, moreover, proved to be an effective way of combating the papal claims by propagating the theory of the divine right of a Protestant sovereign. This is one reason why some of Bacon's biblical allusions concerning the King seem blasphemous. They are, it is submitted, illustrations of his rule for Rhetoric.

Bacon's use of biblical versions is next considered, and evidence of his use of one translation rather than another is examined. The The verdict reached is that in Latin his largest debt was to the Vulgate, and in English to the Genevan and Prayer Book. To a lesser degree he was also influenced by the Authorised Version and by the Latin Bible of Tremellius. A few instances in which he may have used other versions as sources have also been included. It is also suggested that Bacon's large number of independent renderings should be regarded as having an original value of their own. To dismiss them as mere misquotations and inaccuracies is to do an injustice to Bacon's talent for paraphrase and to his remarkable ability to render Scripture convincingly in his own "apparel of words."

The study then endeavours to show wherein Bacon's use of the Bible was unique, by a review of six instances in which he is thought to be original. The first of these concerns the Doctrine of Idols. Arguments are then advanced showing that Bacon may have been indebted to the Bible for certain aspects of the doctrine. It is possible that, despite the accepted belief to the contrary, Bacon identified his Idola (false mental concepts) with the Idols (false gods) of the Bible. Bacon's Idols were to be "renounced an

away with a fixed and solemn determination," just as God commanded his people to renounce idols. Whatever may be thought of the theory, it cannot be doubted that Bacon used biblical terminology in the explanation of his doctrine.

Other original applications of Scripture are then discussed. Bacon seems to have been unique in fusing classical with biblical sources, as, for example, in his description of the voyage of Hercules in an earthen pot or pitcher, and in his identification of Mercury with the Word of God. Three further typical applications are also examined, namely the phrases "Suavibus modis," "gloria in obsequio," and a "despised weed" of the Psalm, or Prayer.

Imperfections in Bacon's biblical knowledge are then reviewed and appraised. The study attempts to point out gemuine defects in his knowledge of Scripture, most of which have escaped notice, and to dispute the statements of several editors who have charged Bacon with misrepresentation and inaccuracy. It concludes that, although it cannot be denied that inaccuracies are frequently found in Bacon's biblical allusions, it would be unjust to accuse him outright with misrepresenting or misapplying Scripture. He deserves at least a fair trial, and often a quite simple explanation of his discrepancies can be found.

The study then proceeds to a systematic examination of Bacon's biblical knowledge as displayed specifically in the Essays, which have been selected as the most representative of Bacon's writings. The purpose in doing so is to enable the reader to form an estimate of the extent of Bacon's use of Scripture in some of his best-known prose. Comment and cross-references are reduced to a minimum.

A final chapter lists the most important biblical proper names used by Bacon, and comment on them is again restricted. The manner in which Bacon alluded to certain names shows that his knowledge of the Bible was almost recondite. Although they are the most obvious of all his biblical allusions, the names as used by Bacon are an informative and important addition to our outline of his knowledge of Scripture.

The study is supplemented by four appendixes which are designed to emumerate and classify Bacon's biblical

quotations and allusions. The first lists his quotations from the Latin Vulgate, and shows his extensive use of that version. The second lists quotations taken from or based on the Genevan, the Authorised, the Prayer Book, Tremellius, and several other versions. The third lists the large number of Bacon's independent renderings.

Appendix IV is an index of all the important biblical quotations and allusions in Bacon's works, and of all those mentioned in this study.

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PREFACE

The purpose of the following inquiry has been the assembling of evidence to enable an estimate to be formed of the extent of Bacon's acquaintance with and indebtedness to the Latin and English Bible. All contemporary versions have been examined and other sources, notably the Book of Common Prayer, have been taken into account.

To the best of my knowledge there have been no previous studies of the kind. Unfortunately, Bacon's peculiar genius has been taken for granted too often; the result is that several important aspects of his life and thought have escaped the attention of scholars. But Bacon,like Shakespeare,cannot properly be comprehended unless we recognise the range and extent of his biblical knowledge.His indebtedness to the Bible is almost immessurable. As may be seen in practically all his writings,its words and phrases served to enrich his style and expression.Its influence was,perhaps,one reason why Ben Jonson called Bacon "the mark and ἀκμη of our language." It was certainly among those rare books which,as he himself said,should be "chewed and digested" and "read wholly and with diligence and attention." In these pages we are concerned with discovering how well he "chewed and digested" the Bible and what fruits his "diligence and attention" bore.

It may well be asked, Why is Bacon's biblical knowledge a subject of interest? The answer is,I think,because Bacon's genius,is, like Shakespeare's,timeless and universal,and to recognise the influence of Scripture upon him is to recognise one of the chief sources from he drew continuous inspiration.The same interest scarcely attaches,for example,to the works of Bacon's friends John Donne,Launcelot Andrewes,George Herbert,or his probable acquaintance Hooker.All these were ecclesiastics and concerned,though in varying degrees,with "expounding the Scriptures." The same cannot be said of Bacon,which makes his vast indebtedness to the Bible the more remarkable.

The need for an inquiry of this kind cannot be underestimated. It is important that future editors of Bacon's individual or collected works have at hand an accurate account of his knowledge and use of Scripture.In the past,ignorance of its extent has led numbers of his critics to advance arguments which are little more than irresponsible conjectures.The evidence in the Bible's favour is considerable.Though much of it is of a kind that can safely be relegated to indexes, I have set forth the important aspects of the subject in as simple a sequence as possible and with a minimum

of illustration. It is hoped that by this means the versions actually used by Bacon have been distinguished, that the majority of his biblical quotations and allusions has been classified, that the Bible's place in his rhetoric has been explained, and that the relationship has been shown between Scripture and certain of his philosophical doctrines.

The Baconian text is for the greater part that of the complete works edited by Ellis, Spedding, and Heath (14 vols., London, 1857-74: the last 7 vols. edited by Spedding alone). Spedding's text is not always accurate and therefore I have sometimes given the reading of the original MS or first printed version. The orthography of MSS in Bacon's own hand is of some importance in distinguishing his use of biblical versions; where any doubt exists, Bacon's own spelling has been given. Other works not included in the collected edition have also been consulted. Whenever quotations have been taken from works attributed to Bacon on doubtful authority, the nature of their origin has been duly noted.

The text of the Northumberland MS has been constituted from a collation of the two printed versions (J. Spedding, A Conference of Pleasure, 1870, and that edited by F. J. Burgoyne, 1904). The text of the Promus is taken from a collation of the three printed editions (Mrs. H. Pott, 1883, F. B. Bickley, 1898, and F. A. Herbert, 1910).

Quotations from Spedding's edition are denoted by a roman numeral referring to the volume and arabics referring to the page, e.g. XIII.199. It should be noted that the edition has been treated as 14 consecutive volumes. Quotations from the Northumberland MS and the Promus are denoted by "Northumb." and "Pro." respectively, followed by the folio number, e.g. "Pro. f. 88b." In the rare case of quotation from other texts not printed by Spedding, the source is given in brackets.

Unless otherwise stated, the numbering of biblical verse follows the Latin Vulgate. As Bacon used that version more than any other, it was thought advisable to follow it in this respect. Titles of biblical books, however, are given as in the Douay (O.T.) and Rhemish (N.T.) versions. Those accustomed to the Authorised Version may be confused by some references. When difficulty in identification might arise the Hebrew (and Authorised) numeration has been given, e.g. Ps. 38.6 (39.6).

In the absence of mention to the contrary, the text of biblical books is as in the 1582 (1st) edition of the Rhemish N.T. and the 1609-10 (1st) edition of the Douay Bible (O.T.). Both the Rhemish, the only version Bacon mentioned by name, and its sequel the Douay,

depend largely on Bacon's chief source the Vulgate,and are useful texts for comparison.It should be emphasised that subsequent editions of both have been drastically revised and differ widely from the original editions. When their renderings bore little relation to Bacon's I have quoted freely from other versions, though in all cases where Bacon's source is under review the version or versions concerned are cited.Due attention has been paid to the fact that many of the versions involved were published for the first time during Bacon's lifetime.Quotations that do not coincide chronologically with his text are for illustration only. Because of its familiarity,I have quoted frequently from the Authorised Version.

For the sake of convenience I have usually quoted Bacon's Latin works in an English translation.Most translation of this kind is taken from the collected edition,but in certain places I have preferred to give my own.Biblical references which interrupt Bacon's text are also mine.

The text of the Book of Common Prayer is that of the Elizebethan Prayer Book of 1559 in the Parker Society reprint of the Elizabethan Liturgies(1847).The text of the Psalms is that of the present book of the English Church,which is substantially the same as its Elizabethan counterpart.The text of the Homilies follows the edition of 1938,published by S.P.C.K.

Mr. Richmond Noble's Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge(London, 1935) has been of value in suggesting treatment of theme.Other studies which have offered occasional suggestions are as follows: H.F.Fletcher,The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose(Univ.of Illinois Studies,XIV.3(1929)),L.Lhermet,Pascal et la Bible(Paris,1931); R.de la Broise,Bossuet et la Bible(Paris,1890),L.Cl.Delfour,La Bible dans Racine(Paris,1891),and C.Grillet,La Bible dans Victor Hugo(Lyon,1910).

I am indebted to Prof.V.K.Whitaker of Stanford University for kindly lending me the script of his unpublished doctoral dissertation,Bacon and the Renaissance Encyclopedists(1933).Occ

The following abbreviations have occasionally been used to indicate versions:

AV=Authorised Version(1611)
B= Bishops' (1568)
Ca=Castalione (1551)
Co=Coverdale (1535)
Cr=Cranmer's,or Great Bible (1539-41)
D= Douay(O.T.,1609-10)
G= Geneva(1557-60)
Ma=Matthew (1537)
R =Rhemish (N.T.,1582)
RV=Revised Version (1881)
Ta=Taverner (1539)
Tr=Tremellius-Junius (1569-79)
Ty=Tyndale (N.T.,1526)
V =Vulgate(Clementine edition: the spelling in all cases is as in modern editions).

CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTER OF BACON's BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE

OPINIONS OF BACON'S BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE

Readers of the Essays, the New Atlantis, and the Advancement of Learning , to name Bacon's three best-known works , cannot fail to notice that nearly every page contains obvious biblical quotations and allusions . Their prominence probably accounts for the generally accepted belief that Bacon had a wide acquaintance with Scripture . Another commonly held opinion is that Bacon quoted frequently, sometimes inaccurately, from the Latin Vulgate . All such opinions are partly right and partly wrong . They mislead because they are based on incomplete evidence . Mere profusion of quotation and allusion is not, after all, necessarily proof of wide biblical knowledge , nor are Latin quotations necessarily inaccurate because they happen to disagree with the Vulgate . We should not forget that a man of Bacon's background in the England of the early 17th century could hardly have avoided acquaintance with the Bible, or even several versions of it. It was, without any doubt, the most widely read and most discussed book of the day .

Lack of complete evidence of his biblical knowledge has plagued Bacon's critics , whether favourable or not. On the one hand, Arber asserted that through all Bacon's writings there runs "an unfeigned reverence for Holy Scripture, not only as a Revelation of Authority , but as itself the greatest written Wisdom . Not because it was so easy to quote , but because it was so fundamentally and everlastingly true, did this great Intellect search the Bible as a great storehouse of Civil and Moral, as well as Religious Truths, and so Bacon is another illustration, with Socrates, Plato, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and others, that a deep religious feeling is a necessity to the very highest order of human mind ."

Pierre Villey believed that the Essays showed the two dominant traits of Bacon's character --- a strong sense of practical realities and a vigourous moral sentiment which was "replongé aux sources bibliques, car Bacon lit constamment la Bible" (Revue de la Renaissance, xii.157). Fowler claimed that the origin of Bacon's "substance of the rational soul" and "moral principles" was the Bible . S.D.F. Salmond found that Bacon had a mind "steeped in Bible truth and Bible terms" and that "he bowed implicitly to the authority of the Bible" (Bacon, 1887, pp.2-5), while Holdsworth concluded that Bacon's study of nature at first hand "was the logical outcome of.... the opportunity to study the New Testament at first hand (which Erasmus had given . . . to Europe)" (Hist.of Eng. Law, iv, 51-2) .

This is a mere selection of opinion taken at random and it is significant that none of the writers devoted more than a few lines to the subject . Any educated reader might easily reach similar conclusions . In general our reaction to Bacon's use of Scripture is one of pleasure mixed with admiration . Prof. Tillotson summed up the reaction of many / when he wrote of the Essays that "a sentence quoted from Solomon falls with exquisite rightness into the mosaic prepared to receive it." (TLS, 6 Feb.1937) .

On the other hand , though there has been no denial that Bacon's biblical knowledge was extensive , there has been some criticism of the way in which he used it . In the Advancement of Learning he strongly condemned the ordinary mode of induction, inquiring "Who can assure (in many subjects) upon those particulars which appear of a side, that there are not other on the contrary side which appear not? As if Samuel should have rested upon those sons of Issay which were brought before him, and failed of David, which was in the field" (III. 387 and 1 K.16.11) . De Maistre, in the early nineteenth century, after distorting the passage in translation, condemned it with little justice as a false analogy. Whatever we may think of De Maistre , it is interesting to see how far a writer can go in accusing Bacon of atheism . De Maistre claimed that Bacon showed "sad proofs . . . of anti-Christian disbelief . . . fundamental impiety . . . and . . . materialism" (Examen de la Phil.de Bacon, 1836, pp.22, 35-6) .

Other writers have been more general in their censure.

and have been content to damn Bacon for his separation of reason and faith . Professor Bush, who was more moderate, wrote that Bacon's "personal religion, whatever its limitations, inspired some beautiful and sincere utterances, and he would have been shocked at a hint that he was less than a good Christian, but the whole drift of his scientific and ethical thought was towards empirical, irreligious naturalism . He wished, with a reverent acknowledgment of faith, to exclude theological and intuitional idols from the temple of science, and in doing so he virtually denied the validity of a religious view of the world" (Eng. Lit.in the Earlier 17th Cent., 1945, p.268) . It would be hard to controvert this statement in view of the progress science has made since Bacon's day .

It is sometimes confidently assumed that many of the biblical words and phrases used by Bacon and other Elizabethans were already proverbial . To do so is to forget that the first complete English Bible ever printed appeared a mere 25 years before Bacon was born , that the Genevan Bible was published in the year of his birth, the Elizabethan Prayer Book in the previous year , and that all the other important English versions (and some of the Latin) made their appearance in the first fifty years of his life . Bacon did not have our 400-year-old habit of quoting the English Bible. It was not yet a part of our literary tradition .For this reason he did not turn his back on the Vulgate-quoting tradition of the past , which is why the majority of his biblical quotations are in Latin . Yet despite himself , he was one of those who helped to make the words and phrases of the English Bible a part of our living language .

THE SCOPE OF BACON'S QUOTATION AND ALLUSION

As may be seen from our tables at the end of this study, Bacon quoted directly from or made indirect allusion to 70 of the 76 Books of the Bible,--- that is, according to the Vulgate reckoning, including the Prayer of Manasses and 3 and 4 Esdras (1 and 2 Esdras), although these three books NOT HELD canonical by the Roman Church . If we reckon according to the Anglican Canon, he quoted from 72 of the 80 Books,--- 34 from the Old Testament, 26 from the New

Testament, and 12 from the Apocrypha . The range of his biblical quotation and allusion is therefore very extensive, and it is quite possible that a number of instances have been overlooked . Practically every important biblical incident is mentioned or referred to somewhere or other in his works , as well as many others less well-known .

Bacon's use of biblical proper nouns is correspondingly wide . Altogether 184 persons or places found in the Bible are named by him , many of them more than once . (For example, Solomon's name occurs 97 times , St. Paul's 35, Moses's 23, while Egypt or Egyptians are mentioned 13 times) . The total may be compared with the 57 proper nouns mentioned by Shakespeare, 36 of which occur also in Bacon's works .

Proper names are undoubtedly helpful in determining Bacon's sources, but it would be a mistake to suppose that they are our only guide . There are several instances where he used the wrong proper name . Similarly, to suppose only that Bacon's biblical knowlege is comprehended in his 900-odd direct (that is, italicised) quotations would be far from the fact . The largest class of all comprises allusions in which no proper name occurs nor any italicised or quoted phrase .

For example, the dramatic opening to the essay Of Truth , "What is Truth, said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer" (III.377), introduces us directly to Christ's great scene with Pilate in the 18th chapter of St. John . Similarly, when Bacon told the Star Chamber that "there is a great difference, I tell you (though Pilate would not see it) between Rex Judaeorum and se dicens Regem Judaeorum" (XII.139-40), we would be sure of the quotation (John 19.21) even though Pilate were not mentioned . But when Bacon reminded the Court of King's Bench that had King James been a less merciful sovereign than he actually was, "he would have expiated and washed his name, not with water but with blood" (XII.162), the allusion is not so obvious. Very probably Bacon had Pilate in mind . As we have seen, he took more than an ordinary interest in Christ's relations with Pilate . It was Pilate who, to show his innocence before delivering Christ to be crucified, "tooke water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this iust person" (Matt. 27.24,AV).

Judging from similar references in Shakespeare and the fact that the Bible was so widely read at the time , the allusion was probably caught by Bacon's audience in court , no mention of Pilate being necessary .

Bacon's contempt for fair-weather friends as expressed in Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature is another familiar example . Such friends, he wrote, are "not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores" (III.404). The realistic details of the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16. 19-31) had evidently impressed themselves on Bacon's mind , as they had on Shakespeare's. Lazarus lay at the gate of the rich man "desiring to bee fed with the crummes which fel from the rich mans table: moreouer the dogges came and licked his sores" (Luke 16.21,AV) . On the basis of this mention of Lazarus we are perhaps intitled to suppose that Bacon referred to the same Parable when he wrote about his friend Tobie Matthew to the Duke of Buckingham, "I hope by this time he hath gathered up his crumbs" (XIV. 427). Or, even less directly, when he advised against the use of Sutton's legacy for the Charterhouse:

> To design the Charterhouse, a building fit for a Prince's habitation, for an hospital,is all one as if one should give in alms a rich embroidered cloak to a beggar; and certainly a man may see,tanquam quae oculis cerruntur(as these things are seen with the eyes: probably Bacon's version of Luke 16.23), that if such an edifice,with six thousand pounds revemue,be erected into one hospital,it will in small time degenerate to be made a preferment of some great person to be master, and he to take all the sweet,and the poor to be stinted, and take but the crumbs. (XI.249)

Did Bacon have the same parable in mind? Very probably the contrast between the rich man who "fared sumptuously euery day" and Lazarus who desired "to bee fed with the crummes" suggested the analogy . The Latin quotation seems to refer to the rich man after he went to hell: "lifting vp his eies,vvhen he vvas in tormente, he savv Abraham a farre of, and Lazarus in his bosome" (Luke 16.23).

There are numbers of other allusions in which no proper names are actually mentioned and which do not appear as quotations . In his charge against Somerset Bacon happened to remark that Cain was "not punished by death, but with banishment and mark of ignominy" (XII.308 and Gen.4.14-15). But there is no mention of Cain when Bacon called his own sentence (which included banishment from London) a "blot of

ignominy" (XIV. 519) or begged for its revision that he might "die out of ignominy" (XIV.516), or asserted that Cicero's banishment had"no great blot of ignominy" (VII.12), though it is certain that it was to Cain that he compared Cicero and himself .

Five times Christ's betrayal is alluded to, but Judas Iscariot is mentioned by name only twice . Similarly, when he spoke of his heart as "an unquenched coal" on God's altar (XIV.230), there was no hint that he referred to the Seraphim who took "a liue cole . . . from off the altar" (Is.6.6,AV) nor of the widow of Tekoah who told David that her family planned to kill her son and heir---"they shall quench my cole which is left" (2 K.14.7,AV) . Bacon called James I a "chosen vessel" (XIII.59), but there is nothing to indicate that these were the identical words used by God to describe St. Paul to Ananias (Acts 9.15,AV) .

To go further afield, who would on first sight suspect that Bacon's frequent description of time as "a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid" (III.227,292,503:Cf.I.181,185,VI.502) was actually inspired by Gamaliel's plea for the release of Peter and the other Apostles? (Acts 5.38-9) . So likewise the remark, "let great authors have their due,as time,which is the author of authors, be not deprived of his due, which is further and further to discover truth" (III.290). Yet before any of these passages were written Bacon asserted in the preface to his Maxims of the Law that the work "according to Gamaliel's reason, if it be of weight, time will settle and authorise it; if it be light and weak, time will reprove it" (VII.323). This is in fact his own interpretation and adaptation of Gamaliel's words.

These are only a few examples , but they may serve to show how Bacon's biblical knowledge lies sometimes hidden from the eye . He felt under no compulsion to acknowledge his borrowings from Scripture.We Ishould not without reservation say of
/Bacon , as has been said of others, that long familiarity with the Bible made its language and style a part of his own . The process with him does not seem to have happened so naturally . The precepts and philosophy of Scripture chiefly appealed to him and those he favoured most are quoted again and again , but biblical words and phrases

were more often consciously adopted for future use than unconsciously assimilated .

RESTRICTIONS IN BIBLICAL QUOTATION AND ALLUSION

Bacon's writings cover a vast range of subjects , many of them requiring distinctive literary forms . He was not only a philosopher with a bent for science, a statesman and a lawyer, but he has also left us religious meditations, masks, dialogues, poems, prayers, political and religious tracts, interpretations of Greek myths, royal proclamations, and private and official letters of every kind . In addition, a great many of his important speeches in Parliament have been preserved,as well as accounts, private memoranda and other notebooks not intended for publication . Examples of the Bible's influence can be found in every one of the literary forms mentioned .

Every literary form is, however, limited by certain restrictions . Biblical or any other kind of allusions are to a large extent governed by the effect their author hopes they will make on reader or audience , and also by place or occasion, or by the subject matter itself . It is on these grounds that we can account for the profusion of biblical allusions in certain works of Bacon, and its scarcity in others . There is a noticeable dearth of quotations or allusions in his strictly scientific works, which agrees well with his doctrine of the separation of religion and science . But Bacon, though he condemned any philosophical or scientific system founded on Scripture , could not, as we shall see, propound his own doctrines except in terms of biblical analogies and images .

For example , he chose the text, Bene omnia fecit(Mark 7.37) as the beginnning of a religious meditation on the miracles of Jesus (VII.233), and this is followed by a long series of allusions to other miracles in the Old and New Testaments . In the masque Gesta Grayorum the Bible is alluded to very sparingly . To enhance appreciation of his point the Third Counsellor warned the Prince that he should eternise his name with noble buildings, but in nothing so extravagant as the Tower of Babel, which was "a sin in the immoderate appetite of fame" (VIII.336 and Gen.11.4-9).

Scriptural quotation and allusion plays a very large

part in the philosophical works . An instance is the consecutive quotation and explanation in the Advancement of Learning of 24 (34 in De Augmentis) sayings of Solomon from Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, which are cited for their value as philosophy . The Noveum Organum is more severely devoted to its subject and comparatively few allusions occur . Biblical reference in other parts of the Great Instauration varies according to the needs of the subject . In the History of Life and Death , for example, Bacon made a careful survey of the long-lived persons in the Old and New Testaments , though in the History of the Winds there are only three quotations and one doubtful allusion . Where least required , the Bible was least mentioned (e.g. Meditationes Sacrae)

In certain works there is no limitation to Bacon's use of Scripture . The dialogue called An Holy Warre is concerned with a religious subject, and as the arguments advanced by the speakers were designed to represent the views of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and moderate opinion, there was ample scope for appeal to the Bible . The same is true of Bacon's two polemical works, the Controversies of the Church of England and the Pacification and Edification of the Church of England . His prayers are a tissue of words and phrases directly drawn from or inspired by the Bible . The great Prayer or Psalm of 1621 (XIV.229-31), which Addison somewhat ineptly called "rather the Devotion of an Angel than a Man" (Tatler, No.267), is probably the best short display of Bacon's knowledge and use of the Bible . Nor can we forget the Confession of Faith, which in Rawley's opinion was "the Crowning, of all his other Perfections"(Resus.,1657,Epist.to the Reader) . The work is a magnificent tour de force of Bacon's consummate command of the Bible's theology .

Of the poems the greater part are paraphrases of the Psalms (VII.277-86). In others life is called "a quiet pilgrimage" (VII.269) and "less than a span"(VII.271), both biblical expressions ,though already proverbial.Other occasional writings lean heavily on scriptural precedents. Among these are royal proclamations and arguments designed to support Government policy in which the theory of the divine prerogative of the King was carefully built up through analogies with Scripture.

Clearly the use Bacon could make of his biblical knowledge was to some extent limited by the subject matter with which he was dealing . But like most men he would sometimes strain a

metaphor, and sometimes the attractions of digressively pursuing a biblical analogy were too tempting to resist . Professor Whitaker held that Bacon's fondness for analogy was more of a detriment than an asset to his exposition of scientific procedure (Bacon & the Renaissance Encyclopediests, p.77) .

The relevancy of biblical quotations and allusions is in all ages limited by the time and conditions for oratory, whether the speech be delivered in Parliament or in court. The speaker on such occasions would naturally wish to impress and influence his audience . Allusions to the Bible would fall on deaf ears if they were not very much to the point . Success would partly depend on his power to amuse his hearers or his ability to make them relish a particularly pertinent quotation . For instance, in the case concerning the Jurisdiction of the Marches , Bacon jibed at one of the reasons advanced by his opponents, which, he said "makes me think of the phrase of the Psalm, starting aside like a broken bow ; so when they find their reasons broken, they start aside to things not in question" (VII. 602 and Ps.77.57).

Or, Bacon telling the Commons that a speech made by King James "was the voice of God in man, the good spirit of God in the mouth of man : I do not say, the voice of God, and not of man: I am not one of Herod's flatterers : a curse fell upon him that said it, a curse on him that suffered it" (X.470) . Bacon would hardly have made such an allusion without being reasonably certain that it would be understood . Perhaps not all would have caught the reference to God's words to the Redeemer , "My spirit that is vpon thee, and my words which I haue put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seede, nor out of the mouth of thy seedes seed" (Is. 59.21, AV). Many probably would have remembered the cry of the people to Herod Agrippa's oration, "It is the voice of a God, and not of a man. And immediately the Angel of the Lord smote him, because hee gaue not God the glory; and hee was eaten of wormes, and gaue vp the ghost" (Acts 12.21-3, AV).

In letters to the King and to private friends Bacon quoted the Bible with advantage . It was necessary that biblical allusions be perfectly intelligible to the recipients of the letters, and there can be little doubt

that they were . An excellent example of this kind is the hope Bacon expressed to his lifelong friend Tobie Matthew "that there will never be occasion of other than intireness between us; which nothing but majores charitates shall ever be able to break off" (XI.140). There can be no question that Bacon alluded to John 15.13, "Greater loue hath no man then this, that a man lay downe his life for his friends" (AV) . It is the tactful and moving manner in which the allusion was made which is exceptional. Bacon meant, of course, that only his own death or "laying down his life" , or Matthew's, could end their friendship, and Matthew certainly understood the allusion. The singular form of majores charitates occurs in both Beza's and Costalione's Latin versions of John 15.13.

The remark made to James I, "May it please your Majesty, I have borne your Majesty's image in metal, And I shall keep it in heart while I live" (XIV.350:also XIV.384,388) is a nicely turned compliment which the King must have relished if he understood Bacon to refer not only to the royal image on the Seal of the Lord Keeper, but also to the words of St. Paul, "As we haue borne the image of the earthy, we shall also beare the image of the heauenly" (1 Cor. 15.49).

Some notion of the variety of ways in which Bacon quoted or alluded to Scripture may be obtained from the foregoing instances. The point to appreciate is that both the medium and subject-matter through which he chose to express himself imposed certain limits on the use he was able to make of his biblical knowledge .

ANALYSIS OF QUOTATION AND ALLUSION

It can be legitimately inferred from some of Bacon's allusions that he did not in fact allude to the Bible at all. The way in which the Tower of Babel and Herod are mentioned leaves no room to doubt that he alluded to particular incidents of the Bible, but it cannot so easily be assumed that every mention of the Creation or the Fall is actually a direct allusion to Genesis. The same is true of Bacon's mention of God . Similarly, the expression "son of Adam," a synonym used for "man" which appears 5 times , is really proverbial and is found in St. Augustine, Shakespeare, Burton and others. We might infer that the mention of life as a "pilgrimage" is too

common a metaphor to be called biblical , even though elsewhere Bacon indisputably quoted biblical verses in which the same figure occurs . There is no guarantee that his measure of life as "less than a span" is biblical . The same figure occurs in contemporary writers, notably Shakespeare, and it is significant that Bacon used the word in this sense nowhere else . It is therefore not possible in all cases to be certain of the provenance of seemingly biblical words and phrases . A great many have previously been overlooked because of their obscurity, and others have been wrongly attributed . Those on the lookout for Bacon's classical sources are sometimes blind to their biblical origin; though it is beyond doubt that he occasionally confused classical with biblical incidents. For example, he quoted Cicero's remark about those who are "Sui Amantes sine Riuali" (VI.432), although Cicero actually wrote "se ipse amans" (Ep.ad quin. Frat.,iii.8) . Reynolds, in his edition of the Essays, failed to notice that "Sui Amantes" was quoted from Beza's Latin version of 2 Tim.3.2, a verse Bacon quoted elsewhere in English (VIII.80), and with which he seems to have unconsciously confused Cicero's expression .

As long ago as 1678 Archbishop Tenison thought that the Latin title of the Essays, "Sermones Fideles," referred to Tremellius's version of Eccl.12.10-11 (Baconiana,pp.60-1), whereas the words are in fact a quotation of the Vulgate version of 1 Tim.4.9, and occur also (in the singular) in the Promus (f.88b) .

To deal with Bacon's allusions piecemeal is to court disaster . The subject is too intricate and reason requires that any given reference be examined against the whole background of his surviving works and letters . Of these there are a large number and of some there are several versions . There is therefore a great deal of subsidiary material against which the important allusions in his great works can be checked . With so much evidence before us there arises no need to dwell for long on doubtful allusions , though they will in due course be mentioned . The problem is one of classifying Bacon's references so that the reader will have no trouble in judging for himself whether they deserve to be labelled biblical or not .

Let us assume that all Bacon's allusions fall naturally into two classes . The first includes all "direct" quotations,

that is, those purporting to be word for word reproductions (whether in Latin or English) of a biblical text . Most of these appear in italics and , whether in agreement with any recognised version or not, as the case may be, were meant by Bacon to be quotations in the widest sense of the term .

Let us assume that the second class includes all allusions not appearing as quotations . It may be objected that such a division is deceptive . On the one hand there are numbers of italicised quotations whose biblical origin is very doubtful, and on the other many unitalicised allusions whose biblical source cannot be questioned . In addition there are parallels and paraphrases, as well as Bacon's independent renderings of Scripture . The great variety of his references makes any system of neat pigeon-holing impossible . It will therefore be more convenient if to regard the evidence as of three obvious categories, --- certain, probable, and possible .

EXAMPLES OF GROUP I

This category comprises approximately 970 direct (italicised) quotations of whose biblical origin there can be little doubt . Of these 695 are Latin (400 of them are quoted exactly, or nearly exactly, from the Vulgate) and the remainder (275) are English . Accurate, or nearly accurate quotations can be checked by anyone. Despite frequent omissions of words and differences of spelling, their origin is beyond discussion. It must however be stressed that we are dealing with many versions of the Latin and English Bible with which the average modern reader is totally unfamiliar . This is one reason why quotations are not always recognisable at first sight .

For instance, we know that Bacon quoted some verse of the Bible when he told his opponents in court , "if it fall out for the king in the chancery, then your donec is like the donec of the Scripture, donec solvit ultimum dodrantem, that is never" (VII.691-2), but it takes a little searching to realise that he probably quoted Tremellius's Latin version of Luke 12.59 ("donec ... ultimum") -- "till thou hast payd the very last mite" (AV). We might miss the reference if we had to rely on the Vulgate which has "donec etiam novissimum minutum reddas" in Luke 12.59 and "donec reddas novissimum quadrantem" in Matt. 5.26 .

The confusion is greater, because his memory played him a trick, when Bacon wrote , "let it be as the Psalm saith, nihil inde expectantes; looking for nothing,neither praise nor profit" (XIII.211) . We may search the Psalms in vain for "nihil inde expectantes" . It was Christ in the New Testament who commanded us to "lend, hoping for nothing againe" (Luke 6.35,AV),--- "nihil inde sperantes" in all the Latin versions .

The 180-odd biblical proper names mentioned by Bacon would also belong to this class . Most occur in a perfectly straightforward manner . "You will not (I hope) think that it is like Gideon's fleece of wool, that the dew should fall upon that and nowhere else" (II.498) is sufficiently clear. Likewise "out of the carcase of dead and rotten greatness (as out of Samson's lion) there may be honey gathered" (XIV.322), or "Salomon's temple . . . was not built in a day" (XI.166), or Bacon's words to Sir John Davis, "this Achitophel plot you thought to have followed" (XI.238),leave no doubt as to their biblical origin . Even the protest, "I take myself to be as innocent as any born on St. Innocents day, in my heart" (XIV.236) is, on close scrutiny,biblical, and refers to Herod's slaughter of all the children under two years old "in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof" (Matt.2.16,AV).

Allusions also occur in which no proper name is mentioned, though they belong to this class . An instance is Perkin Warbeck's "Almighty God . . . stopped the mouth of the lions" in Henry VII (VI.164), which clearly refers to Daniel in the lions' den (Dan.14.42). Another example is the statement that "the elected saints of God have wished themselves anathematised and razed out of the book of life" (III.421) . No names are given, but certain it is that Bacon referred respectively to St. Paul (Rom.9.3) and Moses (Ex.32.32).

No one would miss the allusion in "We shall be like Noah's dove, not knowing where to rest our foot" (XI. 378) , but "I fly unto your Majesty with the wings of a dove" (XIV.225) or "I have been as a dove,free from superfluity of maliciousness" (XIV.230) are not equally familiar . The first undoubtedly refers to Ps.67.14 and the second to both Matt.10.16 and James 1.21.

Similarly, when it is said in Henry VII that Empson and Dudley were the King's "horse-leeches and shearers" (VI.217), it is indisputable that Bacon alluded to the horse-leech of

Prov.30.15 whose daughters cried "Give,Give," and to the "shearers" of Is.53.7. Earlier in the same work the people of Cornwall were urged to resist the levying of a subsidy and "not stand like sheep before the shearers" (VI.176) as Christ who, "as a sheep before her shearers is dumme, so he openeth not his mouth" (AV).

Certain cases must rank as certainties even though there is some doubt as to which part of the Bible they refer. The best example occurs first in the Colours of Good and Evil:

> the purchases of our own industry are commonly joined with labour and strife,which gives an edge and appetite,and makes the fruition of desire more pleasant. Suavis cibus a venatu" (VII.89).

Much later in life Bacon used the same passage, but this time he wrote:

> the things obtained by our own industry are generally achieved by labour and exertion,which have some sweetness in themselves; as Salomon saith, Suavis cibus a venatu" (I.685). (Meat taken in hunting is sweet).

The Latin quotation is not found in either Ecclesiastes or Proverbs, which led Spedding to write that "it was probably suggested to Bacon by something in Solomon,and turned into its present shape by himself. In after years, remembering where the thought came from, he may easily have forgotten that the expression was his own" (I.685n). It would seem that Bacon meant to refer to Prov.9.17,"Stollen waters are sweet,and bread eaten in secret is pleasant"(AV). In this verse the word cibus is found only in Tremellius's version:"Aquae furtivae suaves quidem sunt,cibus latebrarum amoenus." Quite possibly, however, Bacon had confused this verse with others. The closest is perhaps Ecclus. 36.21 (36.19),the sense of which is that the mouth tastes meat taken in hunting---"Fauces contingunt cibum ferae" in the Vulgate. (Actually,RV has "the mouth tasteth meats taken in hunting"). Bacon may also have had in mind Ecclus.40.18, "To labour and to be content with that a man hath,is a sweet life: but hee that findeth a treasure, is aboue them both" (AV). Cf. also Ecclus.23.24 and 40.32. It does not matter which of these were his sources, but it cannot be doubted that his intended "quotation" was biblical.

Often one allusion serves to verify another. Thus, "Salomon saith, a cord of three is not easily broken" (XIV.470), which is Bacon's own rendering of Eccl.4.12, confirms

a suspected allusion in "this threefold cord of love hate and gain" (X.352).

The closing phrase of an early letter to Essex, "wishing that God may conduct you by the hand pace by pace" (IX.31) might be taken as a reference to Jer.31.32, "I tooke them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt" (AV). The dedication of the final edition of the Essays to Buckingham ends with a similar expression, "God lead your Grace by the hand" (VI.373). We might take these to be mere formalities current at the time, but they must rank as biblical allusions when checked against the earlier Advice to Villiers (1st version), which ends,"Deus manu sua te ducat, that's the heart prayer of, Your most obliged servant" (XIII.26) . The Latin is an indirect quotation of the Vulgate version of Ps. 138.10, "manus tua deducet me."

As representative of a very large class of similar references we might cite Bacon's words to the King, "your Majesty . . . will I hope shed the dew of your grace and goodness upon me in the end" (XIV.281) . This is an obvious adaptation of Prov.19.12 where the King's favour is said to be "as dewe vpon the grasse" (AV). God's mercy is also a chief attribute of the king . Hence, "the depths of his mercy" (XII.298), his inclination "to temper mercy with justice" (XIV.520), and the "sweet showers" of his favour (XIV.139) . All will agree that Bacon was indebted for such sentiments to Ecclus.2.23(2. 18), "for as his maiestie is, so is his mercie," and Ecclus. 35.26(35.20), "the mercie of God is beautiful in the time of tribulation, as a cloude of raine in the time of drught."

Such phrases as "as the Scripture saith," or "as Salomon saith," or"as the Psalm saith," even though occasionally the ascription is wrong, are direct signals of biblical origin . If, however, we had to rely on such phrases we should miss many effective allusions . For example, in the course of Bacon's charge against Weston, one of those concerned in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury , he called him "this dumb devil" which"by the means of some discreet divines and the potent charm of justice together, was cast out; neither did this poisonous adder stop his ear to those charms, but relented and yielded to his trial" (XII.302). "Dumb devil" recalls a miracle of Christ (Mark 9.24) and "this poisonous adder" alludes to the "deaf adder" of Ps. 57.5-6 which "stoppeth her ears" and "refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer: charm

he never so wisely" (Pr.Bk.) .

Christ's famous injunction that our "almes may be in secret" (Matt.6.4,AV) is not merely paraphrased but directly alluded to in the statement that Henry VII "was a great alms-giver in secret" (VI.238). Similarly, "great hypocrites are the true atheists, who are ever handling holy things without reverencing them" (I.694) is based on Christ's censure of those who sound a trumpet before them in the streets and synogogues (Matt.6.2).

Sometimes Bacon quoted the Bible almost word for word but did not indicate his source, as it was hardly necessary. Such are "The whole need not the physician,but the sick"(XIII. 185 and Matt.9.12), or "Your wytness is a reed shaken with y^e^ wynd" (XI.75 and Matt.11.7) . We might also cite "sorry I am with all my heart, that in this case the blind did lead the blind" (XI.355 and Matt.15.14) . "Love is the law and the prophets" (XIV.442) and "a law of love" (X.268) are clearly based on Matt.22.37-40 . Similarly, "God . . . putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble" (VI.167) is almost exactly quoted from Luke 1.52 . "That we also may be wise in our generation" (XI.25) ranks as a certainty when we remember that "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light" (Luke 16.8,AV) . Or, "God Almighty loves a cheerful giver" (XII.137), which is a slight embellishment of 2 Cor.9.7 .

"Thanksgiving and petition go well together, even to God himself" (XIV.299) might pass as an original remark, or even a common one . But no one will dissent from the view that Bacon meant to allude to Phil.4.6, "In euery thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiuing, let your request be made knowen vnto God" (AV) . Even small phrases, however seemingly prosaic, cannot escape notice when measured against the Bible. Thus, "victoria Fidei" (I.830) becomes a certainty when compared with 1 John 5.4, "this is the victorie that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith" (AV). Instances of the same kind can be multiplied indefinitely and are a tribute to the care with which Bacon read and absorbed the Bible .

EXAMPLES OF GROUP II

To this class belongs a large number of instances which probably have a biblical origin . Because they are not indisputable we cannot class them as certainties . We know from his chaplain Dr. Rawley that Bacon "read much, and that with great judgment" (I.12) and there is much reason to suppose that many allusions which seem to be biblical, but whose origin is open to dispute, may derive from intermediate sources such as the Fathers or contemporary commentaries on Scripture, of which Bacon evidently was an avid reader . Also, some allusions depend on particular versions and raise the question whether or not Bacon's acquaintance extended to the version or versions concerned . Others are words and phrases of whose biblical origin there is a strong probability, but which many may prefer to interpret as proverbial . A number of allusions in this class at first sight appear not to be biblical . The probability of their biblical origin depends on other evidence . The reader is free to judge whether all the examples chosen warrant inclusion in this class or not .

A good example of this kind is the striking passage in the Advancement of Learning where Bacon wrote that "the corrupter sort of mere politiques" never care "in all tempests what becomes of the ship of estates, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune, whereas men that feel the weight of duty and know the limits of self-love, use to make good their places and duties, though with peril"(III. 279). The whole similitude seems to be borrowed from the story of the shipwreck of St. Paul , the best evidence being Bacon's advice to the King elsewhere that in a certain trial for treason there must be no dissension between the Government and Bench : "I must say to your Majesty in this and the like cases, as St. Paul said to the centurion when some of the mariners had an eye to the cockboat, Except these stay in the ship, ye cannot be safe " (XII.96 and Acts 27.31) . We may recall that St. Paul felt the "weight of duty" (Cf. the "weight of glorie" of 2 Cor.4.17), that he knew "the limits of self-love" (Cf. 2 Tim.3.2,"men shal be louers of them selues," quoted by Bacon in VIII.80), and made good his place and duty,"though with peril." With this last we might compare the words of St. Paul in 2 Cor.11.25-6, "thrice I suffered

shipwracke: a night and a day I haue bene in the deepe. In iourneying often, in perils of waters . . . in perils of my owne countreymen . . . in perils in the sea . . . "(AV)

Another instance from the same book is "Cleanness of body was ever esteemed to proceed from a due reverence to God, to society, and to ourselves" (III.377) . We might reasonably take the allusion as referring to the instructions given Aaron and his sons to be washed and annointed before they ministered unto God in the priest's office(Ex.40.12-13). The phrase "Cleanliness is indeed next to godliness", quoted by Wesley (Sermon xcii), is supposed to be taken from this passage in Bacon . Dr. A.S. Bettelheim contended that the words are found in nearly the same form in the works of Phinehas ben Yair, one of the Hebrew Fathers, and inferred that he was Bacon's source . Phinehas wrote that "' the doctrines of religion are resolved into carefulness;carefulness into vigourousness, vigourousness into guiltlessness; guiltlessness into abstemiousness; abstemiousness into cleanliness; cleanliness into godliness,'--- literally, next to godliness" (Bartlett's Fam.Quots.ed.1939,N.Y.,p.112n). There is however no evidence that Bacon was acquainted with the works of Phinehas ben Yair, although he referred to some of the other Hebrew Rabbins (III.276,297 and VI.478) . Surmises such as Dr. Bettelheim's may be more misleading thanhelpful. My personal opinion is that Bacon alluded to the washing and annointment of Aaron and his sons, though this is admittedly quite disputable .

Another instance, which some may think belongs rather to the first class than to this is Bacon's remark in the Commons about the "Instrument of Union" between England and Scotland and the harmonising of the laws of the two countries : "It was prettily and pithily said in my mind, if children, why tribute? if tribute, why are we called children?" (X.304) . Quite probably he alluded to those non-Israelite tribes of Palestine who were made tributary by Solomon --- "Their children that were left after them in the land,whom the children of Israel were not able vtterly to destroy,vpon those did Solomon leuie a tribute of bond-seruice vnto this day" (3 K.9.21,AV). The probability is heightened if we remember that elsewhere Bacon likened England and Scotland to the union of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, over both of which Solomon ruled , but the phrasing of his remark is just

vague enough to admit of doubt .

In a Prayer or Psalm addressed to God (XIV.230),his "secret darts" are mentioned. The words thus given are not found in any Bible, but it is reasonable to suppose that Bacon meant to allude to Job's bitter cry that "the arrowes of the Almightie are within me" (Job 6.4,AV) . Aside from the fact that Job was one of his favourite books (he often compared himself to Job),we might expect such an allusion in a prayer of this kind . Moreover there are other references to Job in the same prayer which rank as certainties. For instance, "Thou judgest the hypocrite" (XIV.229) is an adaptation of Job 8.13, "the hypocrites hope shall perish"(AV).

We might cite as excellent examples of this class various words and phrases used by Bacon concerning Henry VII. For instance, the king granted a general pardon in the last year of his reign "as expecting a better coronation in a better kingdom" (VI.237) . Can we understand this to refer to God, who "crowneth thee with mercy and loving kindness" (Ps.102.4(103.4),Pr.Bk.) and to the "better countrey,that is, an heauenly"(AV), of Heb.11.16? Or is Bacon's language mere traditional Christian phraseology? There seems to be some doubt . Henry VII's "happy warfare" (VI.245) probably alludes to the "good warfare" of 1 Tim.1.18(AV) and his "living exercised" (VI.245) to "exercise thyselfe rather vnto godlinesse" of 1 Tim.4.7 (AV) . Similarly we may suppose that when Bacon spoke of Henry as "a Christian soldier" (VI.108) he had in mind "Gods soldier of Jesus Christ" of 2 Tim.2.3 (AV). Some might assert that "Christian soldier" is too common a phrase for which to claim a biblical source, though there is no evidence that it was proverbial in Bacon's time. True, if we understand "Christian soldier" to be biblical, we must also include a host of others with even weaker claims, such as "beating the air" (VI.435 and 1 Cor.9.26), and even "far be it from me" (XIV.351 and 1 K. 2.30 &c.) . Certainly they are found in the Bible, but it is open to question that Bacon consciously meant them as biblical allusions .

Another instance, which comes close to being a borderline case, is the statement that "for Peace and War, and those things which appertain to either; I in my disposition and profession am wholly for peace, if it please God to bless this kingdom therewith, as for many years he hath done"(XIII.

44) . Ps.119.7(120.7), "I am for peace; but when I speak, they are for warre"(AV) naturally springs to mind, and Bacon's words have every appearance of being paraphrased from this verse . They should correct a popular theory that he was a champion of war . Bacon took considerable pains to cite Scripture in support of the doctrines he advanced . That he meant to allude to the Bible here for the same reason is not in the least improbable .

The next example has stronger claims, based as they are on Ecclesiastes, another of Bacon's favourite biblical Books . "The guide of decency . . . is time and season" (III.447) and "there is a time for all things" (XII.247) were very probably inspired by Eccl.3.1, "To euery thing there is a season, and a time to euery purpose vnder the heauen"(AV). The same may be said of "There is a time for justice and a time for mercy" (XIV. 322) ,which echoes "a time to kill,and a time to heale" (Eccl.3.3,AV) . Or, "there is a time for envy and a time for pity" (XIV.314) . Bacon was a great master of words and a supreme artist in the use of the English language ,but he felt no inducement to reproduce the Bible's text exactly. He chose rather to embellish it to suit the circumstances or alter it to fit the occasion . The probability of biblical origin is not thereby lessened, but merely more difficult to perceive .

"Forsake not an old friend, for the new is not comparable to him" (Ecclus.9.14(9.10),AV) was probably, if not indisputably, responsible for the words Bacon wrote to Essex: "every honest man, that hath his heart well planted, will forsake his King rather than forsake God, and forsake his friend rather than forsake his King; and yet will forsake any earthly commodity, yea and his own life in some cases, rather than forsake his friend" (X.141-2). There is an unquestionable scriptural basis to this remark, though there are several candidates for the source . For instance, Bacon may have had in mind John 15.13, "Greater loue hath no man then this, that a man lay downe his life for his friends" (AV). Obviously the biblical doctrine of the King's divine right also influenced the passage . There could be no better statement than this of the reasons why Bacon deserted Essex . As we know that he felt morally justified in the desertion, the probability of a biblical origin is even stronger . In the same vein he wrote later about Buckingham, "I know my Lord will not forsake me" (XIV.391).

A large number of short phrases are very probably, though not incontestably, allusions to the Bible . A good example of this kind occurs in a letter, written after his fall from power, which Bacon sent to King James asking for a full pardon and begging that he "may die out of a cloud" (XIV.442) . His frequent figure of the King as God's minister on earth makes it very likely that he alluded to God's words in Is.44.22, " I haue blotted out, as a thicke cloude thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sinnes: returne vnto me, for I haue redeemed thee"(AV).

The Prayer or Psalm addressed to God is full of allusions, though many are disputable . For example, there are two candidates for Bacon's description of himself as being kept by God in his "fatherly school, not as a bastard, but as a child" (XIV.230). Did he have Gal.3.24-6 in mind? St. Paul wrote ,"the Lawe was our Schoolemaster to bring vs vnto Christ, that we might be iustified by Faith. But after that Faith is come, we are no longer vnder a Schoolemaster. For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus" (AV). Or was he thinking of "if ye be without chastisement,whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sonnes"(AV) of Heb. 12.8? Some may prefer one source to the other--- perhaps Bacon had both in mind,--- but no one will deny the scriptural basis of the passage .

In Henry VII Dr. Warham expresses his hope that the Duchess of Burgundy "would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her neice to reign in much honour" (VI.146) . We have a variation of the same image in the Colours of Good and Evil where Bacon speaks of "the divine powers whose favours we taste" (VII.88). On one count there is a probable allusion to Heb.6.4-5,"those who haue tasted of the heauenly gift . . . And haue tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come"(AV). On another, there are similar passages which also have a claim. We might cite 1 Pet.2.3, "If so bee yee haue tasted that the Lord is gracious." Or it may be that Bacon meant to allude to Ps.33.9(34.8), "O taste, and see how gracious the Lord is" (Pr.Bk.) Or to Luke 14.24, "none of those men which were bidden, shall taste of my supper"(AV). There can be no last word as to which was the source .

"You would haue drawn me out of the fire; now out of the

mire"(XIV.352) are words Bacon intended to address to Prince Charles . Again, "why should I not think, but that thrice noble prince, who would have pulled me out of the fire of a sentence, will help to pull me (if I may use that homely phrase) out of the mire of an abject and sordid condition in my last days?" (XIV.385). Both figures in this characteristically Baconian comparison are probably biblical . His inveterate practice was to address royalty in terms normally reserved in the Bible for God . Thus, in Zech.3.2,God, referring to Joshua (a figure of Christ) asks Satan, "Is not this a brand pluckt out of the fire?" (AV). Bacon's language, however, is perhaps closer to Jude 24, "And others saue with feare, pulling them out of the fire" (AV) . The second clause probably alludes to the supplication to God in Ps.68.15 (69.15): "Take me out of the mire,that I sink not" (AV).

EXAMPLES OF GROUP III

The third class includes all those passages which it is possible to argue were inspired by or are in some way indebted to Scripture . These are not advanced for the purpose of convincing the reader that their indisputable source was the Bible . They may be rejected or not, but to omit them entirely would make the scope of our inquiry too small . Since our object is to examine Bacon's biblical knowledge and its uses, possibilities of every kind must be considered .

An excellent example of this kind of allusion is a passage in the essay Of Custom and Education:

> Mens Thoughts are much according to their Inclination: Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning,and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they haue beene Accustomed . (VI.470) .

It is possible that Bacon had in mind the familiar words of the General Confession (Communion) of the Prayer Book, "We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty." As will be shown in due course, Bacon was familiar with the Prayer Book, and if we accept the authenticity of a prayer said to be his, we might cite in evidence the variation, "pardon and forgive us all our sins

and disobedience, whether in thought, word, or deed committed against thy divine Majesty" (VII.261) . Moreover, in the Advancement of Learning Bacon declared that "Sin . . . divideth itself into thought, word, or act" (III.489) .

It should be pointed out that the words of the General Confession depend on "Let vs not loue , in word, nor in tongue, but in deede and truth" (1 John 3.18) . The preposition "in" instead of the Confession's "by" is interesting, but not very helpful . Cf. Shakespeare's "Either in discourse or thought, or actual deed" (Othello, V.ii.153). The order of "thought, word, and deed" is, however, common to both Bacon and the Confession, but not to Shakespeare . Except for the order of words in the passage in the essay (taking "Discourse and Speeches" to mean words) the resemblance to Scripture might seem superficial . Quite possibly Bacon was indebted to other parts of the Bible . For example, Ecclus.4.29(4.24), "for by speach wisedome shall be knowen, and learning by the word of the tongue"(AV), or Ecclus.4.34 (4.29), "Be not hastie in thy tongue, and in thy deeds slacke and remiss" (AV) , express somewhat similar sentiments . It is almost inconceivable that Bacon did not have some biblical passage in mind, but it is just possible that he did not . The possibility of a scriptural source is strengthened if we consider expressions found elsewhere such as "words as are fit to go before deeds" (XIII.183) and "prevent words with deeds" (XII.27) .

In the same class we might include other examples not unconnected with the foregoing, where Bacon speaks of "words the female, acts the male" (XII.57) . To some this might suggest that he meant to allude to the Temptation , as it was the words of Eve that caused Adam to eat the forbidden fruit (Gen.3.12), while to others it would seem too far-fetched . Yet "in verbis masculis" meant "such words as are fit to go before deeds"(XIII.183) and libels were "the females of sedition" (VI.153) . The metaphor may have been a favourite . Dr. Rawley tells us that in writing his books Bacon "did rather strive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough, as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal" (I.11) .

Bacon's tendency to employ, in his relations with the

King, scriptural words and phrases usually reserved for the Deity, has already been mentioned . The idea of the sovereign as God's lieutenant on earth was one of those uppermost in his mind whenever he turned his attention, publicly or privately, to the sovereign . Consequently we may expect to encounter large numbers of expressions which might otherwise escape notice, except that they answer this description . When the office of Lord Treasurer was vacant, he advised the King to appoint a man "who shall bear in his forehead the best character of fitness for your service" (XIV. 86) . This is a good example of the third kind of allusion . Is it possible that he meant to compare the Lord Treasurer's relationship to the King with that of Aaron's toward God? In Ex. 28.38 God commanded that the plate of the Miter "shall be vpon Aaron's forehead, that Aaron may beare the iniquitie of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow, in all their holy gifts: and it shall be alwayes vpon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the Lord" (AV) . Such an allusion would have added grace and beauty to the suggestion made, and it would not have been lost on the King . But we can only surmise that Bacon had Aaron in mind . Marks on the forehead are mentioned elsewhere in the Bible, notably regarding Cain and in the Apocalypse, but the allusion to Aaron would have been more pertinent .

Our next example comes dangerously near to being a mere parallel . In various places Bacon seems to refer to Eccl. 6.9, "Better is the sight of the eyes, then the wandering of the desire" (the marginal note in AV has "then the walking of the soule") . Thus, "the sight is the most spiritual of the senses" (II.630), or "a pleasant dreame . . . makes the mind . . . wandring : wherefore all our hope is to be bestowed vpon the heauenly life to come . But here on earth the purer our sense is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and the wiser soule" (VII.248) .

Except when he chose to quote directly, Bacon felt under no obligation to make acknowledgment of his scriptural borrowings . When they were obvious to the reader or listener so much the better, but he took no pains to make them so . Thus when he wrote of the traitor Edward Squire that "the eyes of his understanding (were) blinded and sealed up" (IX. 113), there can be little doubt that the allusion intended

was to St. Paul's words to the Ephesians that "the eyes of your vnderstanding being inlightned . . . yee may know what is the hope of his calling" (Eph.1.18,AV) . The same cannot be said of "the sight is the most spiritual of the senses" (II. 630), though very possibly it was based on Ecclesiastes . This is not to say that Bacon's thought was not original . Like all great writers , his capacity to assimilate the words and ideas of others was very highly developed . In the course of time they became almost his own . He gave them a new life and a new vigour, and their ultimate source was submerged and forgotten . The germ of one such idea (which may have had a similar biblical origin) is found in the Promus (f.108) where Bacon jotted down, "the ey is the gate of the affection, but the ear of the vnderstanding ."

A stronger example is a remark in a speech to Parliament in 1610. "The records," he told them, are "reverent things, but like scarecrows" (XI.200) . At first glance, there are probably few people who would concede any biblical allusion here . It is quite possible, however, that the mataphor was borrowed from the Bible, though the reference seems rather obscure . Scarecrows are mentioned in Scripture only once, in Bar. 6.69 (6.70) where, in disparagement of the idols of the heathen , it is said "For as a scarecrow in a garden of Cucumbers keepeth nothing : so are their gods of wood, and laid ouer with siluer and gold" (AV) . Considering the agreement in sense between Bacon's remark and the passage in Baruch, this might almost be a strong probability, though obviously there can be no last word in the matter .

Numbers of such passages could be ranked as possibilities, and, if the evidence were a little stronger, probabilities . Thus, when Bacon reminded the Lords that the Earl of Somerset was "yet of your number and body, a Peer as you are; so as you cannot cut him off from your body but with grief" (XII.307), are we intitled to assume that he alluded to Christ's famous command, "if thy right hand offend thee, wut it off and cast it from thee: For it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell ?" (Matt.5.30,AV) . There is at least room for doubt .

Does "the spirit and life of this question" (VII.605) refer to St. Paul's "the letter killeth, but the spirit giueth life?" (2 Cor.3.6,AV) . Was "afflictions are truly called

trials" (XIV.312) inspired by "a great trial of affliction" (2 Cor.8.2,AV),or "satisfaction of the inner man" (XI.280) by "his Spirit in the inner man?" (Eph.3.16) . In some cases the possibility is strong, in others not .

It is true that many such phrases found in Bacon occur also in contemporary Bibles . In some cases agreement with Scripture seems more accidental than intentional . We should take note of them but there is no reason to press the case for their biblical origin too far . For example, "the people's hearts are more knit to (the King) than before" (XII.45), "knitteth their hearts"(XIII.209), and "Ye knit my heart to you" (III.137), are possibly allusions to 1 Para.12.17. Or, "Simplicity of heart" (X.157 and Wisd.1.1); "bastard slips" (VII.635 and Wisd.4.3) ; "fled. . . to the four winds" (XI.293), "dispersed to the four winds" (XII.7), "leaving (them) to the four winds" (VI.192 and Dan.11.4) . Such phrases, however reminiscent of the Bible they may be, lack the certainty of, for example, "the gates of death" (XII.221,309n and Job 38.17), "the shadow of death" (XIV.281 and Job 3.5), or "a kingdom divided in itself" (VI.107 and Matt.12.25) .

There are many other examples to tax our ingenuity . For instance, it has been thought that the words "Romanus sedendo vincit" (Pro.f.94) are possibly a mistaken recollection of Is.30.7, where it is said of the Egyptians that "their strength is to sit still"(AV) . But this is an extreme case and is hardly within the limits of the third group .

PARALLELS

Parallels between Bacon and the Bible are extremely easy to find . Indeed, a book published in the middle of the last century (J.G.Hall, Thoughts on Holy Scripture by Francis Bacon) is nothing but a collection of passages from his works together with the biblical verses they are supposed to resemble . But this method of treatment is very deceptive. There is already such abundant evidence of Bacon's care and exactitude in quotation and allusion, that we need not rely on parallels .

Bacon's 900-odd direct (italicised) quotations from Scripture, many of which occur again and again, should be

enough to convince anyone that these are the parts of the Bible which undoubtedly impressed him most and were his favourites . If we add to these the large number of certain, probable, and possible allusions of which we have already given instances, we have a fair picture of the manner in which he quoted Scripture . There are, however, parallels whose importance should not be discounted.

Quotations and obvious allusions are doubtless good evidence of Bacon's biblical knowledge, but they do not show the actual influence of the Bible so well as passages in which no ostensible allusion occurs, but which are possibly based on parts of Scripture with which Bacon was familiar . Though many parallels must be rejected as too remote, some should not be omitted from our inquiry. Sometimes they reveal a knowledge of the Bible that would otherwise be unnoticed, and sometimes they seem to echo biblical verses quoted elsewhere .

A typical parallel of this kind occurs in the course of a letter sent to the King after Bacon's fall from power , in which he reviewed his long service : "Neither was I in these seventeen years ever chargeable to your Majesty, but got my means in an honourable sweat of my labour" (XIV.298) . Is it possible that in this passage he compared himself to St. Paul? In almost the same words St. Paul reminded the Thessalonians that he and his companions had supported themselves when they visited their city:" Neither did we eate any mans bread for nought : but wrought with labour and trauaile night and day,that wee might not bee chargeable to any of you" (2 Thess.3.8,AV) .

If we were to select one Book of the Bible to illustrate parts of Bacon's writings in which no direct quotations or obvious allusions occur, a good choice would be Ecclesiasticus. The worldly wisdom and shrewd observations of this entertaining Book had a strong appeal for Bacon . With the possible exception of Proverbs, there is no biblical Book that offers so much good advice on the conduct of everyday life as the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach . It deals with revenge, health, children, friendship, politics, love, and many other subjects not touched on in the same detail elsewhere in Scripture . Many of the topics handled are the same as those Bacon wrote about in the Essays . It would be strange indeed if we we were to find no parallels between them ,but some are close enough to suggest that he may have been indebted to Ecclesiasticus.

It is a curious fact that , with two possible exceptions, Bacon never quoted direcly from the biblical books known in the English Church as the Apocrypha . The two exceptions are both disputable . It is true that Martius, the "Militer Man" of An Holy Warre, refers to the Book of Wisdom by name (II.22 and Wisd.15.18), but why, with this exception, are there no other obvious allusions to the Apocrypha in Bacon's works ? It is possible that the reason can be found in a remark he made about superstition, which he described as "reiecting the light of the scriptures, and giuing of it self ouer to vngrounded traditions and writings doubtful and not Canonicall" (VII.241+ "apocryphis" in the Latin original) . He perhaps referred to the books of the Apocrypha declared uncanonical by Article VI of the Church of England . If so, this could be a reason why he avoided direct reference to the Apocrypha .In the New Atlantis it was only "the canonical books" St.Bartholomew sent to Bensalem(III.138).

It is submitted that having decided not to quote directly from the uncanonical books , Bacon instead borrowed from them without due acknowledgment, which is why parallels can so easily be drawn between them and his works . There is some evidence to support such a theory . For example he attributed "Suavis cibus a venatu" (I.685), as already noted, to Solomon, though it is more likely that the quotation originates in Ecclus.36.21(36.19) . Similarly, the statement that "Solomon were no true man, if in matters of malice the woman should not be the superior" (XIII.241), although it has affinities with Eccl.7.29, is in fact very much closer to Ecclus.25.26, "Al malice is short to the malice of a woman." For what it is worth, Bacon's habit of spelling Goliath as "Goliah" originated in Ecclus. 47.5. If these were the only links with Ecclesiasticus, there would be room for doubt . But there are many more .

In one part of Ecclesiasticus the author discusses the relationship between youth and age . Did Bacon have it in mind in Of Youth and Age when he wrote that young men are "like an unready horse that will neither stop nor turn?"(VI. 477). Compare Ecclus. 30.8, "An vntamed horse becometh stubburne, and a dissolute childe wil become headie." Or, compare "perhaps Youth will have the preeminence, as Age hath for the politic" in the same essay (VI.478) with Ecclus. 33.22-3 :"It is better that thy children should seeke to thee, then that thou shouldst stand to their courtesie . In all thy workes keepe to thy selfe the preheminence" (AV) .

Ecclesiasticus comments on the theme that health is better than wealth and that excessive grief is hurtful. In Of Regiment of Health we find many remarks closely resembling those in Ecclesiasticus. Are we justified in concluding that he knew these passages in the Wisdom of Ben Sirach? "Examine thy customs of diet", Bacon advises (VI.453); Ben Sirach reminds us that "a cherefull and good heart will haue a care of his meat and diet" (Ecclus.30.27(30.25),AV). Or, compare "To be freeminded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and of exercise, is one of the precepts of long lasting" (VI.453), with "the gladness of the heart is the life of man,and the ioyfulness of a man prolongeth his days" (Ecclus.30.23(22),AV). Further precepts of Bacon's for long life, "avoid envy; anxious fears; anger fretting inwards; subtle and knotty inquisitions . . . sadness not communicated" (VI.453) are parallelled by "Envy and anger shorten a man's days and pensiveness will bring old age before the time" (Ecclus.30.26), "Give thy soul not up to sadness, and afflict not thyself in thy own counsel" (Id.22), and "drive away sadness far from thee, for sadness hath killed many" (Id.24-5).

Parallels of this kind are quite common in Bacon, especially in the Essays.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF BACON'S KNOWLEDGE & USE OF SCRIPTURE

BACON'S ACQUISITION OF BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE

If we take into consideration all possible sources of biblical influence, it is fairly obvious that hardly a day could have passed for Bacon without making contact in some way with the Bible. There was much he could not have avoided. Like all great houses of the time, York House, his father's residence in the Strand, and Gorhambury, his country mansion, had chapels, and Bacon and the rest of the family probably attended daily service . The habit of church-going was no doubt enjoined on him when young , and we have it from Rawley that in later life "he repaired frequently, when his health would permit him, to the service of the Church, to hear sermons, and to the administration of the sacrament" (I.14).

When he was a young man, we learn that he sometimes went with his mother to hear Travers, the great Puritan reformer, lecture at the Temple (VIII.31) . Sermons of that kind must have acted as a constant stimulus to his knowledge of the Bible. Of contemporary preachers he mentions "Mr.Marbury"(VII.133);and Whitehead (VII.163), Laud,Grindal,and Aylmer Bishop of London are also referred to (VII.154,171,180) . Launcelot Andrewes was his lifelong friend, and,according to Aubrey, so was Donne . Of Hooker he makes no mention, but it is difficult to believe, in view of Hooker's connexion with Whitgift and Burghley, Bacon's uncle, that he did not know him . It is not surprising to find frequent allusions to sermons and preaching in Bacon's works (see II.411,412,414-15;III.487-8;VIII.88; XIII.452; XIV.176) .

There is no reason to suppose that much of Bacon's biblical knowledge was acquired in Church . Divine service, the use of the Prayer Book and hearing sermons and homilies would no doubt add something to biblical knowledge he alreafy possessed . Similarly, his interpretation of a text may just as well have depended on a sermon he had heard as on a commentary he had read .

That Bacon was an attentive listener at all times we can by no means grant . He seems to have paid more attention to the sound of the preacher's voice than to what he said. We can easily picture him in Church . He sat behind the pulpit or on the sides, and sometimes before it, where, he said, he could "hear the preacher's voice better"(II.414-15) .When he sat at too great a distance he could not distinguish what was said (II.411), and "in a room or in a chapel vaulted below and vaulted likewise in the roof, a preacher cannot be heard so well, as in the like places not so vaulted," because "the subsequent words come on before the precedent words vanish" (II.412) .

That Bacon acquired some of his biblical knowledge from other authors is beyond all doubt . He seems to commend "prolix commentaries upon the Scriptures, with harmonies and concordances," but certainly preferred "positive divinity collected upon particular texts of Scripture in brief observations "(III.487) . One may see that he was acquainted with the works of the Fathers from his frequent, sometimes inaccurate, quotations from their works . But "it is not St. Augustine's nor St. Ambrose works that will ùake so wise a divine," he noted, "as ecclesiastical history thoroughly read and observed" (III. 330) . St. Thomas Aquinas was evidently a favourite author . He had , Bacon said, "the largest heart of the school divines" (XIV.478) . See Chap.VI.,p.151.

His acquaintance with the works of St. Jerome,Eusebius, Baronius, and many others, has been pointed out by editors. St. Bernard is mentioned in XIV.481, Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II) in VII.154 and 159, the Spanish theologian Francisco de Victoria in VII.30. The "learned civilian", whose comment on Ps.10.7 is referred to in XIII.65 and XIV.178, may have been either Erasmus or Budaeus . The works of the pseudo-Dionysius (III.296) and Philo Judaeus(I.466n) were known to him, as well as those of Bruno, Campanella,and Telesius, the last-named of whom, more than of any other writer, Bacon was a follower . Ficino,the Italian mystic, is mentioned in II.201,where his comment on 3 K.1.2 is quoted. The Renaissance encyclopediests, including Cornelius Agrippa, Cardan, Bodin, and Du Bartas, also influenced Bacon .

Undoubtedly he was acquainted with contemporary polemical writings . Among these we may include with

reasonable certainty the works of Andrewes, Hooker, Whitgift, and Cartwright . His own Observations on a Libel (1592), which was widely circulated in manuscript, was an answer to the libellous Responsio ad edictum Reginae Angliae of Father Parsons(VIII.143), whose Resolution is mentioned in an earlier work (VIII.93) . He is also known to have owned Acosta's Sermons for Advent (I.516n) . As already stated, he was also no doubt familiar with the writings of the Hebrew Fathers . Not improbably they were introduced to him by his mother , who mentioned "the great Rabbis" in a letter to Burghley (VIII.41). He seems also to have known the writings of the Cabalists, and may have had personal acquaintance with Robert Fludd, one of the most learned of their number (I.526n,612n). This is by no means a complete list, but it shows how wide was the range of Bacon's reading . It is important that all the works mentioned are concerned in some way with Scripture . As well as reading the Bible itself, he must have acquired further knowledge from these books , and in some cases his debt to an intermediate source was acknowledged .

Bacon, who himself had a special genius for analogy, could not fail to appreciate the same talent in others. This is clear from his praise of a biblical analogy in one of his cousin Salisbury's speeches:

> His Lordship's fourth reason was . . . that it was the duty of subjects rather to take honours from kings' servants and give them to kings,than to take honours from kings and give them to their servants: which he did very elegantly set forth in the example of Joab, who,lying at the seige of Rabbah,and finding it could not hold out,writ to David to come and take the honour of taking the town . (X.361 and 2 K.12.29).

I should not care to advocate a suggestion that Bacon imitated others in their use of the Bible . It might be thought that his fairly frequent allusion to life as a pilgrimage is too common a metaphor to be classed as biblical . It is true that the same figure is found in many contemporary writers , notably Shakespeare,who may have acquired it from Euphues, but Bacon undoubtedly borrowed directly from the Bible. For example, "make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many" in the New Atlantis (III.150) obviously alludes to Jacob's reply to Pharaoh,"The dayes of the pilgrimage of my life are an hundred thirtie yeares, few, and euil" (Gen.47.9) . The contrast between the

the Bible's "few and euil" and Bacon's "good and many" cannot escape notice . There are numbers of comparable allusions, and Bacon once linked the metaphor with Ps.119.6: "I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage" (XIV.230-1) . This is apparently his own version of the Vulgate's "Multum incola fuit anima mea" (Ps.119.6), which he quoted four times elsewhere . Cf. also the "strangers and pilgrims" mentioned in 1 Pet.2.11. A similar figure in Ex.6.4 and 2 Cor.5.1-7 was twice adapted by Bacon (IV.390;V.215) . "Journey's end", or similar phrases (III.232,388 &c.), amplify the same view of life . No doubt Bacon honestly felt himself to be a sojourner in the world---"a traveller striving earnestly to arrive at the end of his journey where he may rest," as he says in one place . He was indebted to the Bible for the metaphor, and not to a secondary source .

To a far lesser extent, ordinary conversation can also be reckoned as a means of acquiring biblical knowledge . Fortunately we have many indications of the way in which Bacon and his acquaintance spoke . Excellent examples are found in Bacon's Apophthegms , including many biblical allusions . Biblical allusions are also found in the Table Talk of Bacon's friend John Selden .

Bacon himself tells us that he quoted the Bible in private conversation :

> I said to your Lordship last time (he wrote to Essex) Martha,Martha,attendis ad plurima,unum sufficit (Luke 10.41), win the Queen: if this be not the beginning, of any other course I see no end . (IX.40) .

And later:

> at Nonsuch, where (as my duty was)I came to his Lordship,and talked with him privately about a quarter of an hour,and he asked mine opinion of the course was taken with him; I told him, My Lord, Nubecula est, citò transibit (Cf.Wisd.2.3): it is but a mist"(X.148).

Rawley also records an example of Bacon's use of biblical analogy in ordinary conversation . On this occasion he referred to his Sylva Sylvarum,or Natural History:

> I have heard his Lordship speak complainingly,that his Lordship (who thinketh he deserveth to be an architect in this building) should be forced to be a workman and a labourer,and to dig the clay and burn the brick,and more than that,(according to the hard condition of the Israelites at the latter end)to gather the straw and stubble over all the fields to burn the bricks withal. (II.336 and Ex.5.7) .

And again, evidently in allusion to God's creation of light (Gen.1.3),

> his lordship hath often in his mouth the two kinds of experiments, experimenta fructifera and experimenta lucifera : experiments of Use, and experiments of Light. (II.336)(For experimenta fructifera see Matt.7.20).

According to Aubrey (Brief Lives), Bacon was in the habit of saying to his servant Hunt ("a notable thrifty man" who "loved this world"), "the world was made for man (Hunt) and not man for the world" — a simple paraphrase of Christ's remark that "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (Mark 2.27, AV) . Just as in his speeches and writings, Bacon seems to have alluded to the Bible in his ordinary conversation . We have, of course, no means of judging whether biblical allusions in others' conversation ever stirred his imagination or drew his attention to a passage whose value he had overlooked .

THE BIBLE IN BACON'S CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

There is no particular record that Bacon heard the Bible read in childhood or read the Bible in early youth, though everything known about the subject points to that probability . In the first place the Bible was the most popular book of the time and all children, with the possible exception of Roman Catholics, began their acquaintance with it at an early age . In the second place, Bacon was the son of parents who were both devout Protestants who would have felt duty-bound to give their children a good grounding in Scripture . They had moreover connexions in the highest places of church and state, and were intimate with those responsible for the translation and production of several contemporary Bibles .

The father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was Queen Elizabeth's Keeper of the Great Seal . As a conformist, he was appointed to preside over the unsuccessful Westminster Conference of 1559, called to settle differences between Catholics and Protestants . Although Cranmer testified that he was of "good judgment touching Christ's religion," and George Whetstone wrote of him that "his faith most delightes his soule" and that he "daily liued as he would howrely dye," and his

son called him "a Christian politic counsellor" (VIII.3), nothing of his personal religion was actually known until the early part of this century, when a collection of his poems and prayers was published (The Recreations of His Age, 1903:issued 1919) . Though Sir Nicholas Bacon perhaps was, as Camden wrote of him, "little versed in theology" (quoted in XI.214), his prayers testify that he had a simple and sincere faith . Of interest is the acknowledgment that his parents had given him instruction in the Bible (having raised him "in knowledge of thy worde") . From the hope expressed that his own children would in their turn be devout (praying to have "frute that maye honor thee"), it is safe to assume that the youngest son Francis made his acquaintance with the Bible at an early age.

We know that Bacon's mother, his father's second wife, was deeply religious, and a passionate, almost fanatic adherent to the Puritan cause . At least after her husband's death in 1578, nothing concerned her more or gave her more cause to worry, than the spiritual education of her two sons Anthony and Francis . A woman of considerable intellectual accomplishment, Lady Bacon had before her marriage translated and published fourteen sermons of Bernardino Occhino, the Italian theologian . He had sought refuge in England with Peter Martyr , whose connexion with the making of the 2nd Prayer Book of Edward VI is well known, and it is tempting to conjecture that Bacon's mother knew both men. She certainly knew Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a friend of her husband, and when she published her translation of Bishop Jewel's Apologia in English (1564), Parker wrote a prefatory letter .

Spedding believed that it would have been impossible for Bacon not to have imbibed the Puritan zeal of his mother, to whom "the cause of the Nonconformists was the whole cause of Christ" (VIII.8). "Such a mother (he wrote) could not but endeavour to lead her child's mind into the temple where her own treasure was laid up, and the child's mind, so led, could not but follow thither with awful curiosity and impressions not to be effaced" (VIII.2-3). It may well be that impressions of this kind left their mark on Bacon , but there is another side to the story . True, she spoke of him as "a towardly young gentleman and a son of

much good hope in godliness" (VIII.244), but elsewhere she shows clearly that her opinion of his behaviour was not high . She advised Anthony to "unfeignedly profess the true religion of Christ . . . and to testify the same by hearing and delighting in those religious exercises of the sincerer sort" , but warned him not to consult his brother for advice or example ("In hoc noli adhibere fratrem tuum ad consilium aut exemplum", VIII.112) . And again to Anthony: "I pity your brother,yet so long as he pitieth not himself but keepeth that bloody Percy . . . as a coach companion and bed companion . . . whose being about him I verily fear the Lord God doth mislike and doth less bless your brother in credit and otherwise in his health . . ."(VIII.244) . Indeed to his mother Bacon's servants seemed "cormorant seducers and instruments of Satan to him committing foul sin by his countenance, to the displeasing of God and his godly true fear" (VIII.245). And later, when Bacon was 35 years old, she wrote to Anthony:" I am sorry your brother with inward secret grief hindereth his health. Everybody saith he looketh thin and pale . Let him look to God, and confer with Him in godly exercises of hearing and reading, and contemn to be noted to take care ." (VIII.364n). But despite the apathy of which his mother accused him in later years, the Bible must have begun to exert an influence on him when quite young .

Quite probably his parents owned copies of contemporary English Bibles . Sir Nicholas Bacon had been the friend of Archbishop Cranmer, whose connexion with the Great Bible is well known . It was through the influence of Bacon's father with Queen Elizabeth that Matthew Parker obtained his appointment to the primacy, and the Bishops' Bible of 1568 was produced under his direction . Furthermore, in negotiations with the Queen concerning that version, Sir William Cecil, Lady Bacon's brother-inlaw, played a leading part . It is inconceivable that Bacon's family did not own a copy, despite the fact that, as we shall see, that version had small influence on their son.

The Genevan Bible was popular with all classes, and Bacon's family must have owned a copy. . . . Quite possibly they knew some of those concerned in its translation .

Probably his acquaintance with the Latin Bible began also at an early age . According to Rawley his mother was "exquisitely skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues" (I.3), and his own wide use of the Vulgate must have had an early foundation . The Vulgate's influence in England was by no means brought to an end by the Reformation . It enjoyed considerable popularity among the reformers, and Theodore Beza, the great Protestant theologian, preferred its text as a source above all others .

Of other Latin versions we may mention that of John Immanuel Tremellius, which began to appear in 1569 and was for long regarded as the best translation from the Hebrew. When in England Tremellius lived in much friendship with both Cranmer and Parker. Was he also a friend of Bacon's parents? We can only guess. There is some evidence that Bacon knew his version , but whether his acquaintance with it began in this way we do not know .

A Latin version of the New Testament also popular with the reformers was that of Theodore Beza . There is an interesting connexion between that great authority and the Bacons . When Anthony Bacon was at Geneva in 1580, he lodged with Beza, who esteemed him so highly as to dedicate his Meditations, "out of respect to him," to his mother Lady Bacon . At the same time Beza sent an ancient copy of the Pentateuch in six languages to her brother-in-law Lord Burghley, for presentation to the University of Cambridge (Strype's Annals, III.i.110;ii.197, quoted in DNB). Quite possibly Bacon came to know Beza's version in this way, though he may have known it earlier .

Curiously, Bacon did not mention by name any of the Protestant versions, a fact we may take, perhaps, as evidence that he assumed his readers' acquaintance with them . The Roman Catholic English translation of the New Testament (Rheims,1582), a version with which his family certainly had no connexion, is the only one he named, perhaps because it was unfamiliar to most .

The fact that Bacon made nearly a thousand direct quotations from Scripture is sufficient proof that he read the Bible . Precisely when he began to read it himself depends on whatever pains his mother took to instruct him. When he was twelve years old he was sent to Cambridge, but before

that time he must have heard the Bible read at home. The most impressive parts of the Old and New Testaments were by then probably familiar to him. . We may suppose that the mother would have read the Bible to her sons in English, probably in the Genevan version, but the possibility that she had already introduced them to a Latin or Greek Bible is not to ruled out . It would have depended much on the precocity of her two sons, and undoubtedly both decidedly precocious. But whatever the language, his acquaintance with Scripture must have begun early.

Assuming that Bacon began to learn the Bible from the beginning, let us take the narrative in Genesis . Readers of the Advancement of Learning, the New Atlantis, or the Essays, to name only three works, must be well aware of the large number of allusions to the Creation, the Temptation, the Fall, the Imposition of Names, the Knowledge of Good and Evil, the Curse, and other incidents . The narrative's importance to the Christian religion would have been impressed on his mind with fiery zeal by a mother of such strong religious tendencies as Lady Bacon's . First impressions are usually the most lasting, and there is no part of the Bible to which Bacon more frequently alludes than the first four chapters of Genesis. It is said that the germ of the idea of the Great Instauration first occurred to Bacon when he was at Cambridge (I.4). Confessedly he hoped that the Instauration would come into being "for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate" (III.294), in order that in this way man could regain the command over nature which he forfeited at the Fall. The enduring influence of Genesis on Bacon's thought probably had an early beginning , nor was it confined to the first few chapters, familiar to everyone. No less than 25 of all the persons and places mentioned in Genesis are named by Bacon in his writings .

If there is one particular Book of the Bible which Bacon was sure to hear at home it was the Psalms. The Psalms, in the version found in the Prayer Book, exercised a great influence on him . Nor is it difficult to imagine the effect the intensely moving language of the Psalter must have had on his impressionable mind. The Book of Job was/also clearly a favourite, as we have said, not only because of its

"aspersion of natural philosophy" (III.220); but also because in the course of his life Bacon seems often to have compared his own trials and tribulations with those of Job. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, as we have said, were other favourites----with the exception of the Deity, Bacon's mention of Solomon far outnumbers that of any other biblical personage--- and his acquaintence with them probably began early.

DID BACON STUDY THE BIBLE AT CAMBRIDGE?

Although we know from his writings that Bacon read and studied the Bible in maturity, very little is known about its place in his childhood education. Whether it figured as a formal subject of study, perhaps supervised by a clergyman, or whether he read it at his mother's or some one else's behest are questions to which there can be no final answer. Certainly the relation between Bacon and his mother, which would have had religious elements, is of supreme importance, though unnoticed by his biographers, to an understanding of his later character.

Not much more is known about Bacon's study of the Bible at Cambridge. He was sent to Trinity College at the age of twelve years (1573) and took his B.A. degree in 1575. While there his tutor was Dr. John Whitgift, the future Archbishop of Canterbury. If Whitgift exercised any influence on Bacon, and quite probably he did, it was likely to have been religious in substance and Calvinistic in form. It is significant that Whitgift was an uncompromising foe of the Nonconformists and as such would have held many views diametrically opposed to those of Bacon's mother. We know that after he became Archbishop she had nothing but distaste for his policy. "He loves his own glory," she wrote to Anthony Bacon, "more than the glory of Christ" (VIII.112n).

Can we assume that Whitgift gave much of his time to Bacon as his pupil? He was Master of Trinity and Vice-Chancellor of the University during Bacon's residence. He was also engaged in writing his great polemical work the Defense, published in 1574, an answer to the Puritan reformer Thomas Cartwright (whom Bacon later knew, VIII.117n).

We cannot avoid the question by supposing that Whitgift's relations with Bacon were purely formal,as they might be today. All the evidence points to a close and personal relationship between the Master and his pupils.Among them were many illustrious names,about one of whom ~~them~~ he wrote to Cecil on 19 August,1570, "My Lord Zouch is in good health,thanks be unto God,and shall not lack my carefulness and diligence." Whitgift seems to have shown great "carefulness and diligence" toward all his pupils.It is recorded that he held them "to their publique disputations and exercises;and prayers which he neuer missed,chiefly for deuotion, and withall to obserue others absence,alwaies seuerely punishing such omissions and negligences"(Sir G.Paule,Whitgift,1612,p.81).

Whitgift's Accounts with his college pupils have survived and have been printed(British Magazine,xxxii-iii(1847-8)).They were kept in his own hand with great care,and show how far his "carefulness and diligence" extended.Under Anthony and Francis Bacon's names we find "oyle for frances neck xiij^{d}," "for dyeng frances stockings xiij^{d}","a mouse trap iiijd","an eurinall iij^{d}", "a dosen of buttons for frances dubblet and setting them on iiij^{d} and "for a desk in mr frances studie vj^{s}vj^{d}".An item of interest is "for a laten bible for antho.vij^{s}".Another,"tutor at the amūtia.xxvj^{s}viij^{d}",suggests regular instruction.A fair picture of the kind of books used can be gathered from entries under other pupils' names.Among them are Prayer Books,service books,Bibles, Psalm Books,Hebrew and Greek grammars,and four dialogues by Sebastian Castalione,whose version of the Bible Bacon probably knew later.A "greke testament"is also mentioned.According to Morison (Founding of Harvard College,1935,p.68),the freshman in 16th century Cambridge warmed up in September "for the more serious studies of the academic year by reading the Greek Testament." Bacon probably studied Hebrew and Greek under Whitgift.Whatever he studied,Bacon could hardly have avoided acquiring biblical knowledge from Whitgift.Mullinger,in his study of Cambridge at this period, asserted that "as the tutor stood not merely in loco parentis in relation to his pupil,but was also his instructor and to a great extent his companion,the influence he could thus exercise was incalculable,and when exerted for good was productive of results that could not be mistaken and were widely felt and recognised" (ii.398).

We cannot assume that the Bible was taught as a subject at Cambridge,though there may well have been religious instruction in which Scripture played a part.In the Royal Injunctions of 1535,which were still in effect, it

was ordered that "all students should be permitted to read the Scriptures privately or to repair to public lectures upon them" and that "all divinity lectures should be upon the Old and New Testaments, according to the true sense thereof" (Cooper, Annals, I.375). Rawley tells us that Bacon "fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle" because it was "barren of the production of works for the life of men"(I.4) . We may wonder whether the Bible influenced this decision . In any case, it seems certain that while he was at Cambridge his mind was as much occupied with religion as it was with philosophy . Which is perhaps why he later wrote to the Earl of Rutland, "I hope your Lordship doth still nourish the seeds of religion which during your education at Cambridge were sown in you" (IX.11).

Unfortunately it is not known what Bacon meant by the words in a letter of 1618 to Isaac Wake ,"not forgetting the knowledge I had when I was young of your good father" (XIII. 325) . The father was Arthur Wake, Canon of Christ Church, who was deprived of his Northamptonshire living in 1573 for nonconformity . We can only conjecture what the "knowledge" referred to was . Possibly Wake had given Bacon religious instruction before he was sent to Cambridge .

Rawley described Bacon as "a Master in Divinity,as well as in Philosophy or Politicks, and . . . versed no lesse in the saving Knowledge than in the Universall and Adorning Knowledges" (Resus.,1657,Epist.to the Reader) . To be a Master of divinity argues more than a mere nodding acquaintance with Scripture. Rawley's remark suggests that Bacon was a serious student of the Bible, and Bacon himself called divinity "that art of arts" (XIV.176) .

DID BACON HAVE GENUINE RESPECT FOR SCRIPTURE?

Did Bacon have an innate respect for Scripture? Did he in fact learn to love the Bible from an early age? The question is not easy to answer . If we take his mother's censures seriously, we must conclude that he fell far short of being a good Christian. Even were this so, it would not necessarily mean that he had lost his interest in the Bible. The outward forms of religion are by no means everything, of course, but they are something . The fact that Lady Bacon found him

"too negligent" in his duty "to serve the Lord duly and reverently"(VIII.113)is perhaps best understood as a mother's irritation with her son's independence,---even though the son was thirty years old. He did not,as far as is known, ever condemn religion with an eye to rejecting it.

According to Christian standards, there were many serious flaws in Bacon's character. Anyone wishing to appraise that character with fairness and not with reproach must recognise the simple fact that by nature Bacon was homosexual. Of this there is ample contemporary evidence; even his mother seeming to be well aware of it, though, strange to say, his modern biographers are silent on the subject. It would be easy to follow the fashion of a psycho-analytical age and find in Bacon's writings,and especially in his prayers, a tissue of complexes and inhibitions and sexual obsessions. Indeed, it is rather surprising that Bacon has not long ago been subjected to that kind of treatment. It would be possible to read into many of his remarks a profound feeling of guilt as the basis of the relationship between God and himself. It could be argued that the elaborate theology of the Confession of Faith is nothing but the flimiest hypocrisy and that there is ulterior significance in his use of Scripture. But it is wiser to regard Bacon as a sincere Christian who,like all of us, had his particular shortcomings. He is distinguished from others by being well aware of his own imperfections. Alone of his works, the New Atlantis gives us a glimpse of the world as Bacon wished it would be,and it is significant that the people of Bensalem had no touch of "masculine love"(III. 153)."A man's ideal,"Spedding remarked,"though not necessarily a description of what he is ,is almost always an indication of what he would be"(III.122).

Many will share the opinion that Bacon's principles were of the very highest order,but that in practice he fell far short of them.Even his fall from power is tinged with a kind of chronic inability to put words and thoughts into deeds.His great friends,like Tobie Matthews and Launcelot Andrewes,probably recognised the basic sincerity of his character,---both Matthew and Jonson spoke of his essential "virtue,"---but others did not.Charles,Lord Stanhope,a friend for 21 years,summed up Bacon's life as one of "Sodomy,Simonye,Sacriledge,"and scribbled under his portrait "Tantillus puer,tantus peccator,"---so small a boy,so great a sinner(see his copy of Rawley's Resusci-

tatio,1661,in the Bodleian Library).

It is not easy to agree with Prof.Bush's opinion that he "would have been shocked at a hint that he was less than a good Christian ." Bacon was well aware of his own shortcomings as a Christian , but he shows a very sincere respect for the Word of God . He has been called a utilitarian, as Ellis very clearly perceived, "not because he loved truth less than others, but because he loved men more" (I.58).

He frequently reaffirmed his respect for the Scriptures which to him were "the fountains of the water of life" (III. 483 and Apoc.21.6), "the surest medicine against superstition and the most approved nourishment for faith"(I.197). That these words are more than a mere generalisation is evident from the frank description of himself in a notebook he meant to destroy, as "inclined to superstition"(XI.79) .

He condemned the interpretation of Scripture which was "only after the manner as men use to interpret a profane book" (III.487) . Especially appealing to Bacon was the Bible's "divine poesy" and its "perennial philosophy"(IV.293). Most beautiful of all is the passage in his prayer to God, of the sincerity of which I have no doubt, "Thy creatures have been my books, but Thy Scriptures much more. I have sought Thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found Thee in Thy temples" (XIV. 230) .

No one should think, Bacon advised, "that a man can search too far or be too well studied in the book of God's word" (III.268), but many will believe that Bacon himself searched too far and that some of his remarks come dangerously near to being disrespectful to Scripture . Familiarity can sometimes unwittingly breed contempt . The question is simple: Did Bacon treat his biblical sources with the respect due in one who had been bred to regard the Bible as the Book of God's word?

We can hardly avoid the question by assuming that the majority of Elizabethans and Jacobeans were nominally Christians, and what seem to be profane allusions to us were to them mere wit . Those who believe Shakespeare was a devout man will find many passages in the plays to cause them misgivings, and the same is true , and perhaps to a greater extent, of Bacon . His works however abound in what appear to be deeply sincere professions of most steadfast belief. The best example is the impressive Confession of Faith . Those who find Bacon insincere would probably base their reasons ,

however , on nothing more substantial than the belief that a theory of material progress, such as that outlined in the Great Instauration, is irreconcilable with a spiritual outlook .

We might mention James Howell, a contemporary of Bacon, as one who found him blasphemous . He considered as profane Bacon's remark regarding Prince Charles and the King, that "the work of the Father is creation; of the son redemption" (XIV.352)/. To us such words used to a king or prince would seem to be not only the grossest flattery, but to sensitive people the worst kind of blasphemy . Nor can we ignore the fact that this is but one example (though an extreme one) of a very large class of biblical allusions which are more or less similar in this respect . The concept of the sovereign as God's lieutenant upon earth, or the theory of the divine right, is one that permeates all Bacon's writings . The belief in the divine right was then universally accepted . Shakespeare, for instance, believed in it, and in England it was particularly useful in strengthening the hand of Elizabeth and James against the Catholics . As the theory was biblical in origin, the Bible was used to show that a Protestant sovereign, just as well as a Catholic, was the annointed of God, and therefore that rebellion against government authority was wilful disobedience to God . The theory, which had obvious practical advantages, was well expounded in the Homily, "Of Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates." As it will be shown in the course of this chapter that the attributes of God as found in Scripture were constantly used by Bacon in addressing or referring to the sovereign, it is submitted that such figures were used simply and solely for their rhetorical effect, and that it cannot in fairness be said that Bacon was either a gross flatterer or a blasphemer .

(Letters, ed. J. Jacobs, 1890, p. 219).

challenge the papal claims and to

It would be strange indeed if Bacon, so often entrusted with the prosecution of those charged with blasphemy, should have been blasphemous himself . (See XII.141 and 162) . In fact blasphemy was so abhorrent to him that he made it one of the three reasons (and for this he has often been strongly criticised) for which it was allowable to "propagate religion by wars or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences" (VI.384) . But the best passage

occurs shortly after the foregoing:

> It was great blasphemy when the devil said, I will ascend and be like the Highest (Is.14.14); but it is greater blasphemy to personate God,and bring him in saying, I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness . (VI.384) .

This subject. There aretwo amusing stories about Bacon connected with/ "He thought," according to Rawley, "that Moses was the greatest sinner that was, for he never knew any break both tables at once but he" (VII.181/ and Ex.32.19). The other records that "entering the Earl of Arundel's garden,where there were a great number of ancient statues of naked men and women,(he)made a stand,and as astonished,cried out, The resurrection "(VII. 177 and note) . Only the overscrupulous would hold these incidents against Bacon .

"Some things are privileged from jest, namely religion," he wrote (VI.526:Cf.VI.414,VII.109), and elsewhere noted his belief that "a jest is many times the vehicle of a truth which would not otherwise have been brought in"(I.702). Ben Jonson testified that Bacon found it hard to "spare,or passe by a jest" (Wks,ed.Herford & Simpson,viii.590), and his mind, ordinarily alive to analogies of every kind, made no exception of the Bible . This is not to suggest that Bacon was blasphemous or even insincere . Many devout people are not beyond appreciating amusing incidents in Scripture . Who can help smiling about Eutychus who dozed off because St. Paul's sermon was so long, and fell out of the window? Even though he killed himself, he was ,to be sure, restored again to life (Acts 20. 9-12). Bacon was,in fact,no more blasphemous than his friend Launcelot Andrewes,who remarked in a sermon,"If it be not Immanu-el,it will be Immanu-hell"(On the Nativity).

We cannot accuse Bacon of profanity without accusing many others . Queen Elizabeth justified her knighting of some less favoured gentlemen before those preferred with the remark, "I have but fulfilled the Scripture; the first shall be last,and the last first" (VII.167) . King James asked, when it was suggested he sell some outlying Crown lands he never used, "Do you think that Salomon had use and pleasure of all his three hundred concubines?"(VII.167). Bacon obviously relished such stories, and there are many more recorded in his Apophthegms (VII.123ff) . "Laughter," as he remarked,"hath its source from the intellect" and "is proper to man"(II.570); What he believed sincerely in his own heart was not a matter for jesting.

BACON'S USE OF THE BIBLE FOR RHETORICAL EFFECT

Those in doubt as to the seemingly profane passages will npt be reassured by the constantly reiterated association of the monarch with God . "Your Majesty hath done as God Almighty useth to do, which is to turn evil into good" (XIV. 114 and 4 Esdr.2.14), or "You are Creator-like" (XIV.384 and Gen.1.1), are simple examples . A particularly good one is the following:

> Your Majesty's Star-chamber, next your court of Parliament, is your highest chair. You never came upon that mount but your garments did shine before you went off . (XIV. 289).

The King's entry into the Star Chamber is clearly compared to Christ's ascent into the mountain and his transfiguration before the disciples . "And his garments became shining and exceeding white as snow" (Mark 9.2) . The version in Matt. 17.2, "And his face did shine as the sunne", is perhaps echoed when Bacon elsewhere speaks of "that virtue which doth so much shine" in the King(XII.217) .

Another is,

> Per potestatem suaviter disponentem, your Majesty will graciously save me from a sentence with the good liking of the House,and that cup may pass from me. (XIV.241).

This was written just after Bacon was charged with bribery and corruption . The Latin evidently alludes to Wisd. 8.1, where Wisdom (a figure of Christ) "disposeth al thinges swetely" (the Vulgate has "disponit omnia suaviter") . Note that in the final clause Bacon compared himself to Christ in the garden of Gethsemane : "O my Father,if it be possible, let this cup passe from me: neverthelesse,not as I will,but as thou wilt"(Matt.26.39,AV). Later he wrote to Buckingham, "I thank God I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution, so that worldly matters are but mint and cumin" (XIV.282-3 and Matt.26.39;Id.23.23). It is significant that in the same sentence Bacon compared both the King and himself with Christ . His purpose in doing so undoubtedly was to dramatise the grave position in which he found himself . As his aim in most of his relations with the King was to persuade, it was very natural to allude to the one book for which the King was bound to have the highest respect. Bacon's use of biblical language and illustration

was therefore to a large extent rhetorical .

Why Bacon used the Bible for rhetorical effect is no secret. "The duty and office of Rhetoric," he wrote, "is to apply Reason to Imagination for the better moving of the will" (III.409) . The will of man is "most maniable and obedient" and "admitteth most medicines to cure and alter it." Of these "the most sovereign of all is Religion,which is able to change and transform it in the deepest and most inward inclinations and motions" (VII.100) . Use of the Bible's language and precepts was obviously the best means by which Religion could make the will of men "maniable and obedient." And why? Because, as he wrote elsewhere, "words of similitude" serve to "second and feed the imagination" (II.657) and "the belief that religious texts have power, may strengthen the imagination. And for the same reason Hebrew words (which amongst us is coubted the holy tongue, and the words more mystical) are often used" (II.657) . And elsewhere,

> We see that in matters of faith and religion our imagination raises itself above our reason; not that divine illumination resides in the imagination; its seat being rather in the very citadel of the mind and understanding; but that the divine grace uses the motions of the will as an instrument of virtue;which is the reason why religion ever sought access to the mind by similitudes,types,parables,visions,dreams" (IV.406).

This revealing passage shows that Bacon had clearly perceived that part of the Bible's persuasive force lay in its wide use of literary devices of the kind mentioned , and he therefore determined to use them himself , and for similar reasons . It must be reiterated that when his aim was to persuade, it was primarily for its rhetorical effect that he quoted Scripture . Such was his object in all his philosophical writings, in all his speeches and addresses in Parliament and at the bar, and in a great many of his letters and occasional writings . His whole purpose was to move men's wills; for he was far from being a mere observer of the times . The Great Instauration was a collection of works or projected works whose object was to persuade men to follow a suggested course of action, and the Bible was appealed to as the best means of moving their wills. That is why most of Bacon's important philosophical doctrines are presented to the reader in the borrowed robes of biblical phraseology . His parliamentary speeches, and also his

legal addresses , had as their object the persuasion of a particular audience or jury . As the Bible was the most influential book of the age, there was no authority to which he could more effectively have appealed. The rightness or wrongness of any problem could be cast into vivid relief against a background of scriptural precedents . At a time when religion and politics were practically inseparable, appeals to the Bible were appeals to the faith to which men's lives and fortunes were inevitably tied.

Let us take a typical example of Bacon's use of Scripture for rhetorical effect . In a famous passage in the Advancement of Learning Bacon reaffirmed his doctrine of the separation of religion and science and condemned the school of Paracelsus and others for having pretended to find all scientific truth in the Bible and for having dismissed as "heathenish and profane" all other philosophy:

> But there is no such enmity between God's word and his works. Neither do they give honour to the Scriptures,as thcy suppose,but much imbase them . For to seek heaven and earth in the word of God,whereof it is said,Heaven and earth shall pass,but my word shall not pass(Matt. 24.35),is to seek temporal things amongst eternal:and as to seek divinity in philosophy is to seek the living amongst the dead, so to seek philosophy in divinity is to seek the dead amongst the living(Luke 24.5):neither are the pots or lavers whose place was in the outward part of the temple(Ex.40.7) to be sought in the holiest place of all,where the ark of the testimony was seated (Ex.40.2-3). Again,the scope or purpose of the Spirit of God is not to express matters of nature in the Scriptures,otherwise than in passage, and for application for man's capacity and to matters moral or divine.(III.486).

Actually, Bacon could have said the same thing in far fewer words, though if the passage were shorn of its biblical quotations and allusions it would undoubtedly lose much of its force. Does he give the impression here of using his biblical sources merely for their persuasive,rhetorical effect?

Evidently Professor Whitaker thought so, for he called Bacon's solution of the problem of reason and faith in this passage "a masterpiece of ingenuity": "By arguing that the Scriptures are too far above such mundane considerations to be befouled with scientific matters, he grants them all the glory and authority that their most zealous partizans could desire; but he also gets rid of them, much as a superannuated bank president is sometimes made chairman of the board. Moreover, it seems to me that he betrays himself in the sentence: 'There is no such enmity between God's word and his works.' For he

tacitly assumes that the works are as the irreligious philosophers have portrayed them and places the Bible on the defensive . It is not that science can be reconciled with the Bible but the Bible can be reconciled with science---no slight shift in point of view" (pp.120-2) .

It might be added that there are other texts as well as Matt.24.35 on which Bacon based his doctrine of the separation of religion and science .His adaptation of Matt.22.21,"Render unto Faith the things that are Faith's" (I.131), was repeated eight other times (I.176,545;III.184,218,350,527,788;VII.259) and was used to stress the importance of "the extreme prejudice which both religion and philosophy have received and may receive by being commixed together"(III.350) . Matt.22.29, "You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God," occurs the same number of times and to similar purpose.The text was utilised to suggest that Christ himself was an advocate of Bacon's theory, "the power of God" being interpreted to mean the material substance of creation and "the Scriptures" being God's word,the symbol of faith (I.197,469; III.184,221,301,501,597;VII.240;VIII.74). Repetition itself is a device of rhetoric, and Bacon's possible fears that his doctrine of the separation of religion and science would not be accepted at their face value by everyone have been amply justified . The separation of religion and science is not a biblical but a Baconian doctrine, though Bacon appropriated many biblical texts to support it . Such a theory would agree with his conviction that religious words and texts have power to strengthen the imagination and that the office of rhetoric was to "apply Reason to Imagination for the better moving of the will."

Professor Whitaker pointed out that Bacon's use of analogy as a form of scientific proof was a habit of thought borrowed from the Renaissance encyclopedists,and added:"they allowed wholly unscientific qualifications such as qualitative standards of worth or dignity and the artifice of rhetoric to enter into their thinking about purely natural situations, and in the former of these faults Bacon followed them"(p.212). I should go further and say that Bacon's use of"the artifice of rhetoric" entered largely into his exposition of scientific theory and that biblical words and texts were its most frequent vehicle of expression , expressly utilised for their psychological effect .

As an instance of Bacon's rhetorical use of Scripture when addressing a particular audience we might examine a speech he made in the Star Chamber against duels, his object being to defend a Royal Proclamation of 1613 designed to put a stop to the practice of duelling and make an example of the accused . He began with St. Paul's quotation of Deut.32.35 in Rom.12.19,

> that when revenge is once extorted out of the magistrate's hand contrary to God's ordinance, Mihi vindicta, ego retribuam, and every man shall bear the sword not to defend but to assail, and private men begin once to give law to themselves, and to right their own wrongs, no man can foresee the dangers and inconveniences that may arise and multiply thereupon. (XI.400) .

He went on to assert that

> both in divinity and in policy, offenses of presumption are the greatest (Prov.3.34) . Other offenses yield and consent to the law that it is good (1 Tim.1.8). . . but this offense expressly gives the law an affront (XI.400) . . . . we have not to do, in this case, so much with particular persons, as with unsound and depraved opinions, like the dominations and spirits of the air which the Scripture speaketh of (XI.401 and Eph.1.21, Col.1.16). . . For the remedies, I hope some great and noble person will put his hand to this plough (XI.402 and Luke 9.62).

The Bible made no distinction of degrees of murder:

> it is true, I find in the Scripture that Cain inticed his brother into the field and slew him treacherously (Gen.4.8), but Lamed vaunted of his manhood that he would kill a young man and if it were in his hurt (Gen.4.23): So as I see no difference between an insidious murther and a braving and presumptuous murther, but the difference between Cain and Lamed .(XI.404).

In a later speech some of the same passages of the Bible were appealed to, and others added . Probably one of the most effective was the statement,

> It is to set a vile price upon the blood of the subject thus to condemn law; for we read in stories that in every battle the virtue of a few persons carried away the day,

Which was followed by the abrupt rhetorical question,

> Will you have the sacrifices of men, not of bulls or oxen? (XIII.109) .

Many of his listeners may have caught the allusion to Hebrews, "For if the bloud of goates and of oxen (AV has "bulls" and "goats") and the ashes of an heifer . . . sanctifieth the polluted . . . how much more hath the bloud of Christ . . .?(Heb.9.13-14:Cf.Heb.10.4).

Whether these were Bacon's exact words we can only guess, as the surviving reports of the speech are both incomplete and in one the question is omitted altogether .Let us assume that the first reporter got them right, or nearly right, while the second was so impressed by Bacon's words that he forgot to write them down. After all, the total effect of Bacon's rhetoric must have been very striking indeed . We have Jonson's testimony that his hearers "could not cough, or looke aside from him without losse . . . No man had their affections more in his power. The feare of every man that heard him, was, lest hee should make an end" (Wks,ed.Herford & Simpson,viii.590).

Finally, we might take one example from the vast number of letters and other documents Bacon addressed to the King . All such letters show a uniform tendency to use words and texts of Scripture which in the Bible appear as either spoken of or by the Deity . In the following letter Bacon appealed for the King's help. He had already been charged for corruption by the House of Lords, but he had not yet received their sentence . The object of the letter (which is quoted in full) was to pave the way for the King's intervention on his behalf, but without actually suggesting it :

> It may please your most excellent Majesty,
> I think myself infinitely bounden to your Majesty, for vouchsafing me access to your Royal Person,and to touch the hem of your garment . I see your Majesty imitateth him that would not break the broken reed,nor quench the smoking flax;and as your Majesty imitateth Christ,so I hope assuredly my Lords of the Upper House will imitate you: and unto your Majesty's grace and mercy,and next to my Lords,I recommend myself. It is not possible,nor it were not safe,for me to answer particulars till I have my charge;which when I shall receive,I shall without fig-leaves or disguise excuse what I can excuse,extenuate what I can extenuate,and ingenuously confess what I can neither clear nor extenuate. And if there be any thing which I mought conceive to be no offence,and yet is,I desire to be informed,that I may be twice penitent,once for my fault,and the second time for my error. And so submitting all that I am to your Majesty's grace,I rest——
> 20 April,1621. (XIV.240).

"To touch the hem of your garment" at once suggested to the King that Bacon had the same faith in him as the diseased woman had in Christ who touched the hem of his garment and was made whole (Matt.9.20).

The next allusion to Christ explains itself and refers to "the bruised reede" of Is.42.3(AV),meaning a heart contrite for its sins . Bacon seems to have confused it with the

"broken reed" of Is.36.6 (AV), but compare the next verse, "He shall not faile nor be discouraged"(the marginal note in the Authorised has "broken"). So far Bacon has kept the relationship between himself and the King as that between a diseased or contrite man and Christ.

The next allusion introduces a new relationship---that between Adam in the garden of Eden and God. Hence,"without fig-leaves or disguise"(Gen.3.7). Bacon admits his sin, but will not commit Adam's sin by hiding it, an analogy he expanded two days later in his submission to the Lords:

> I hope I may say and justify with Job in these words: I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom. (XIV.243 and Job 31.33).

In the same document he addressed the Lords as "nobles . . . reverend prelates, who are the servants of him that would not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax"(XIV.244)---- a remark this time alluding to Christ, not to the King, and clearly revealing the promiscuous way in which Bacon was capable of using Scripture when his aim was rhetorical and the occasion demanded it. To the King he had written,

> and as your Majesty imitateth Christ, so I hope assuredly my Lords of the Upper House will imitate you.

Not only do we have the submission to the Lords, which followed his letter to the King, but we are also fortunate in having a Memoranda preceding it, containing an account of what he intended to say in an interview with the King. The Memoranda clearly shows that biblical imagery was deliberately chosen as a means of dramatising his adverse position and arousing the King's sympathy. He intended to thank his sovereign "for admitting me to touch the hem of his garment" (Matt.9.20), and to say that "according to my faith, so be it unto me"(in allusion to Christ's words when he healed the blind men, Matt. 9.29). He would declare his readiness to "make an oblation" (Cf.Rom.12.1) of himself into the King's hands, and to say that he was "as clay in his hands" (Jer.18.6), and express his hope that "his Majesty may make a vessel of honour or dishonour of me (2 Tim. 2.20-1), as I find favour in his eyes(Gen.18.3), and that I submit myself wholly to his grace and mercy . . . knowing that his heart is inscrutable for good (Prov.25.3) . . . if your Majesty will graciously give me the hearing, I will open my heart unto you (Acts 16.14), both touching my fault, and fortune. For the former of these, I shall deal ingenuously with your Majesty, without seeking fig-leaves(Gen.3.7) or subterfuges" (XIV.237-8).

Bacon's first "humble submission and supplication" to the Lords is a masterpiece of carefully constructed rhetoric in which a number of the foregoing biblical allusions are included . He hoped that they would not make an example of him and reminded them

> that the beginning of reformations hath the contrary power of the pool of Bethesda,for that had strength to cure only him that was first cast in(John 5.4) .

His final hope that the taste he had had of their loving affections

> was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace which now in the conclusion will more appear (XIV.245)

is strongly reminiscent of Ecclus.32.14,"Before a storm goeth lightning: and before shamefacedness goeth favour :and for thy reuerence good grace shall come to thee."

The submission was read to the Upper House on the 24th of April,1621 and seems to have made a strong impression. It was greeted with a pause and "no Lord spoke to it after it was read for a long time" (XIV.248). But for all its rhetoric and use of biblical (and classical) allusions , it could not conceal the fact that Bacon had not confessed to a single charge against him. His confession was too general and it failed to satisfy the strong party opposed to him in the Lords. A message was therefore sent asking whether he intended to defend himself, and his answer was that he would make "a particular confession to every point,and after that an humble submission"(XIV.250).

The second "confession and humble submission" reached the House on April 30th and was ordered to be read. It was longer than the first and in striking contrast to it. It is one of the most prosaic of all his writings. In it Bacon abandoned rhetoric (as it had abandoned him) and made no effort to "move the will" of the Upper House by applying reason to imagination. . Carefully chosen quotations from Scripture had failed in their effect and were therefore omitted. The Confession is simple, straightforward,and factual. Only once, at the end, did Bacon beg the Lords to cast their "eyes of compassion" upon his person and estate:

> I was never noted for an avaricious man. And the

Apostle saith, that <u>covetousness is the root of all evil</u> (1 Tim.6.10). I hope also that your Lordships rather to find me in the state of grace (XIV.261 and Rom.5.2).

"State of grace" is another expression Bacon normally used to define his position with the King (XIV.402,412,349). As a last attempt, and with great dignity, he used it to suggest his innocence to the Upper House.

CHAPTER III

BACON'S USE OF BIBLICAL VERSIONS

VERSIONS KNOWN TO BACON

There can be no doubt that the majority of Bacon's biblical quotations are from the Latin Vulgate . There are at least two quotations from Beza's Latin New Testament, and there are hints that he knew Tremellius's version . His use of other Latin versions is far less certain .

Of English versions the Genevan was that with which he shows greatest familiarity before 1611. After that date he seems to have relied on the Authorised . As he mentioned the Rhemish New Testament by name, and as his family had certain links with the production of the Bishops' Bible, particular care has been taken to discover whether Bacon was acquainted with either of those versions. No doubt he had seen the Rhemish, but there is really no case for the suggestion that he used the Bishops.' Bacon also shows a wide knowledge of the Prayer Book, and especially of the Psalter . There are hints that he may have known the earlier versions of Tyndale and Coverdale and the Great Bible , but the passages in question may have derived from other sources, now unknown to us .

The problem need not be complicated by trivial possibilities . Broadly the versions involved are only the Latin Vulgate and the English Genevan and Authorised, and Common Prayer . All of Bacon's biblical quotations and allusions conform more or less to one or more of these four versions. When it agrees with none of them, the chances are that it is one of Bacon's countless independent renderings .

Independent renderings of Scripture also need cause us no trouble. They are by far the most interesting of all the versions under review, for the good reason that they are Bacon's own. He was no slavish quoter of any version. It was the sense of the original that mattered: his own rendering might be as good or even better than someone else's. He took a word from here and borrowed a phrase from there.

Occasionally he took the trouble to copy whole verses accurately from the Vulgate text, but usually he relied on his memory , and more often on his invention . Obviously it would be foolish to charge Bacon with unauthorised deviations from Scripture, or even to blame him for his inaccuracies . His object was not to quote in the usual meaning of the word.

All the evidence suggests that Bacon's own renderings were quite intentional. For his own reasons he preferred them often to the recognised versions . If he followed any principles in the matter, they were probably the same as those he laid down for effective expression in speaking and writing :"It is a good precept generally in seconding another,yet to add somewhat of one's own" (VI.501). Bacon's original versions of Scripture suggest that he followed the principle of adding "somewhat of one's own." Actually, his genius was of a kind that would suffocate if not allowed to exercise itself freely. He therefore held that in the interpretation of the Bible "the literal sense is,at it were,the main stream or river; so the moral sense chiefly,and sometimes the allegorical or typical, are they whereof the church hath most use" (III.487). To him it was "the moral sense," not "the literal sense," that was important .

Rawley observed that if Bacon "had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before,so that the author should find his own speech much emended and yet the substance of it still retained"(I.12-13). Spedding also recognised that this was probably the true explanation of Bacon's habit of inaccurate quotation, and asserted that when he "quotes an author as 'saying' anything, we are always to understand the words 'in effect'" (I.685n). Both these opinions are worth noting. Nor can we overlook the fact that Bacon's mind was probably full of independent renderings he had seen in the course of secular reading or heard in sermons or homilies, renderings with which we can hardly hope to have acquaintance .

Quotations and allusions in Latin translations of works written by Bacon originally in English---as distinct from those written originally in Latin---present a slight difficulty . In most cases they are clearly not Bacon's (though he may have revised them) and they are therefore

not included here . The De Augmentis, the Latin translation in greatly expanded form of the Advancement of Learning, is the only exception to this rule . It is called a translation but, as Bacon said, "was enlarged almost to a new work" (XIV. 436).

THE LATIN VULGATE

With the exception of the Vulgate, no case has ever been advanced that Bacon used one version of the Bible rather than another . Of all versions, English or Latin, he used the Vulgate most. Some 400 quotations are taken almost verbatim from that version . Nearly 300 other Latin quotations show its influence in some way . It is impossible to determine how many of his independent renderings in English were influenced by the Latin Vulgate, but many of them certainly were.

It is not surprising that the only Bible which we happen to know was in Bacon's actual possession contained the Vulgate text. This was the great Antwerp , or Plantin's Polyglot, otherwise known as the Royal Polyglot Bible . A handsome set in eight volumes, with Bacon's punning device of a boar stamped in gold on the vellum binding, it has been in the library of Jesus College, Oxford since at least 1631, though how it came there is not known . It was edited by Arias Montanus and undertaken and published at the Plantin Press in Antwerp by command of Philip II of Spain, 1569-72. According to Tenison, Bacon left his "great Bibles of the King of Spain " to Rawley (Baconiana, 1679, p.79). No bequest of the kind is mentioned in his two extant wills, though another or earlier will seems once to have existed (XIV. 540n). Nor does Rawley's will make any mention of the Bibles.

The Polyglot contains Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts .In the first volume the Latin is the Vulgate and a literal version of the Septuagint, while below is added the Chaldee paraphrase side by side with a Latin translation. In the N.T. (vol.5) the text is again the Vulgate and also a Latin version of the Syriac.

Unfortunately there are no grounds for assuming that Bacon made much use of his copy of the Polyglot, nor do we know when it came into his possession. Except for a few inkspots, there is no sign whatever that the volumes in Jesus

library were ever used . Though the Polyglot was the only Bible known to have belonged to Bacon, it was certainly not the version he thumbed through for ordinary purposes. Why then did he buy an expensive Bible in five languages and eight volumes ? The inference is that he was interested in the Semitic versions or their Latin translation, and perhaps even wished to study the languages involved .It is not likely that he bought the Bible for show. "Wise men use them," he wrote of studies (VI.497), and probably he thought the same of books.

It has not been possible, nor would it serve any useful purpose, to determine which version of the Vulgate Bacon used . The question hardly arises because many of the quotations from the Vulgate are free to the extreme: if they agree with a particular variant of the Vulgate text, it is probably by chance.

St. Jerome's text had been revised a number of times before the 16th century, those of Alcuin (about A.D.802) and Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (about 1089) being the best known. The Vulgate was again revised by Cardinal Ximenes; then under Pope Sixtus V (1585-90), and, as this was found to contain many errors, again under Pope Clement VIII in 1592. This edition, known as the Clementine, has remained the official version of the Roman Church. Its modern revision, begun in 1907 under Pope Pius X, is not yet completed.

There are slight indications that Bacon used an earlier text (as, for instance, that of the Antwerp Polyglot), but there are no grounds for building up a case on mere coincidences of spelling or on agreement in minor words. For example, his quotation of Apoc.2.4 (X.106), "habeo adversum te pauca" ("I haue somewhat against thee") happens to agree exactly with the Sixtine. The others omit "pauca." Spedding thought "adversum" was wrong and changed it to "adversus," the reading in all versions of the Vulgate at Apoc.2.14 ("habeo adversus te pauca"). Bacon's use of the Vulgate was however too extensive and too free to allow us to suppose that in this trivial instance he quoted from the Sixtine. For practical purposes his quotations, when accurate, agree with the Clementine, the version used since 1592.

In our appendix more than 380 quotations from the

Vulgate are listed. More than 200 of these are exact reproductions of the Vulgate text, though in many cases only portions of verses . The remainder are variations of one kind or another that lend themselves to no particular description. Among them are included indirect quotations, abbreviated quotations, quotations whose word-order differs from the original, or in which syntactical changes have been made, or in which words are substituted from other verses or to complete the sense.

Bacon's independent Latin renderings are also listed at the end. Few are entirely free from the Vulgate's influence . Like all other Latin renderings, Bacon's are inevitably related to it. The fact that there are more than 200 accurate quotations from the Vulgate is the best evidence that he held that version in high esteem. This is roughly one third of all his Latin quotations, which in turn account for approximately two-thirds of all his quotations from the Bible. These figures confirm Bacon's expressed preference for Latin, "the universal language" (VI.373) ,believing that "these modern languages," in his celebrated phrase, "will at one time or other play the bank-rowtes with books" (XIV.429).

THE GENEVAN

The Bible printed at Geneva in 1557(N.T.) and 1560(O.T.) enjoyed wide popularity in Bacon's day, and was owned and read by all classes . When Whitgift was Bacon's tutor at Cambridge, he called it "the translation of those learned and godly men "(Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, 1574,p.804), and his pupil's acquaintance with it probably began when he was a boy. Of his 270-odd quotations from the English Bible roughly one quarter show the influence of the Genevan. Only a few quotations however can be isolated as from the Genevan and no other version. Numbers of Genevan readings were adopted by the Bishops', Rhemish, and Authorised Versions and it is not always possible to know which was Bacon's source .

"A good conscience is a continual feast" (III.423 and Prov.15.15) is peculiar to the Genevan . B has "a quiet hart," D "a secure minde," and AV "he that is of a merry

heart." The quotation occurs in the Advancement of Learning and Bacon's comment shows how much depended on the version. By these words Solomon showed "plainly that the conscience of good intentions,howsoever succeeding,is a more continual joy to nature than all the provision which can be made for security and repose" (III.423). He could not have quoted from the other versions with the same effect.

Another exact use of the Genevan is the mention of "the reprehension of St. Paul, speaking of the enticing speech of man's wisdom"(VIII.91 and 1 Cor.2.4). The others have "the enticing words of man's wisdom," except for the Rhemish's "persuasible wordes of humane vvisdom."

Single words or phrases from the Genevan seem to have stuck in Bacon's mind rather than whole verses , which is why it is not always easy to decide to which version he was actually indebted. A good example of this kind is the contrast between his two versions of Prov.26.4 . In 1589 he praised a bishop "who remembered that a fool was to be answered,but not by becoming like unto him" (VIII.77). Three years later he mentioned "the error whereof Salomon speaketh thus,Answer not a fool in his own kind,lest thou also be like him"(VIII. 150).

The first version is indirectly quoted, and is Bacon's own rendering. "Like unto him" is as in the Bishops' (also Co,Ma,Ta,Cr). The second version likewise is in entire agreement with no other, though "Answer not a fool" occurs in all, and "lest thou also be like him" only in the Genevan. The phrases in agreement with the Bishops' and Genevan are both trivial, though on mere count of words the Genevan's case is stronger.

There are several near-quotations:"He that praiseth his friend aloud,rising early,it shall be to him no better than a curse"(VI.502 and Prov.27.14). The Genevan has,"He that praiseth his friend with a loud voice,rising eerly in the morning,it shall be counted to him as a curse." Similarly, "To respect persons is not good: for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread"(VI.401 and Prov.28.21),is very close to the Genevan's "To have respect of persons is not good: for that man will transgress for a piece of bread." This was almost certainly written before 1611. Compare the same verse quoted exactly from the Authorised Version in 1620(XIV.103; See Chap.III,p.75 below).

In at least one case Bacon not only alluded to the Genevan rendering, but elsewhere translated it into Latin. "The columbine innocency" mentioned in the Advancement of Learning (III.430) obviously alludes to Christ's injunction to the disciples in Matt.10.16, contrasted as it is with "serpentine wisdom." The Genevan has "innocent as Doues", and is peculiar to that version. The Bishops' has "harmlesse," the Rhemish "simple." Hence a similar allusion in the Latin original of the Meditationes Sacrae reads "De Columbine Innocentia" (VII.234), and its translation(probably by Bacon) "of the innocency of the Doue"(VII.244). In the De Augmentis it is "innocentis columbine"(I.729). When Bacon quoted the verse from the Vulgate, he substituted innocentes for the Vulgate's simplices :"Estote prudente sicut serpentes,innocentes sicut columbae"(VII.234-5),while its translation agrees with the Genevan:"Be you wise as serpents,and innocent as doues"(VII.245 and Matt.10.16). None of the Latin versions have "innocentes." It was Bacon's word, borrowed from the Genevan, and he clearly preferred it to the others,whether Latin or English. Shakespeare on the other hand preferred the Bishops' "harmlesse" (2 Hen.6.III.i.71).

"Salomon," which is Bacon's usual spelling, is as in the Genevan and Prayer Book and in the Vulgate . No doubt he borrowed the Latin spelling, though "Solomon", as in the Bishops",sometimes occurs.

The next is from Bacon's speech in Parliament proving the King's right to impose . "Kings," he told them, "shall not be bound by general words" and "Samson (was)not to be bound by cobwebs but by cords" (XI.199) . He alluded to the "cordes" with which Samson was bound by Delilah (Judg. 16.7-8). "Cordes" as in the Genevan. The Bishops' has "withs," to which Shakespeare referred.

The Genevan abounds in marginal notes , many worth reading and there is evidence that Bacon was indebted to at least some of them. An example is his remark that "the Post-Nati" (those born after the union of the crowns of England and Scotland) "are infants that (as the Scripture saith) know not the right hand from the left"(X.339). He alluded to Jonah 4.11,"And shoulde not I spare Nineueh,that great citie,wherein are sixe score thousand persons,that cannot discerne betweene their right hand, and their left hand"(G). "The Post-Nati are infants"

is probably indebted to the Geneven marginal note, "Meaning, that they were children and infants."

The next is his version of Acts 22.25-8, which runs as follows:

> St. Paul . . . charged the officer with the violation of the privilege of a citizen of Rome, the captain said to him: 'Art thou a Roman? That privilege hath cost me dear.' To whom St. Paul replied, 'But I was so born'(X.95).

The Geneven has "Then the cheife captaine came, and said to him, Tell me, art thou a Romane? And he said, Yea. And the chiefe captaine answered, With a great summe obteined I this burgeship. Then Paul said, but I was so borne." Bacon's "That privilege hath cost me dear" may have been indebted to the Genevan marginal note, "This priuiledge w s oft times giuen in recompense of seruice." A Genevan marginal note may have been responsible for Bacon's version of Hab.2.2. See Chap.V, p.214.

Bacon's warning to the Judges before the Summer Circuits of 1617 to avoid corruption argues acquaintance with a Genevan marginal note :

> Do good to the people, love them and give them justice. But let it be, as the Psalm saith, nihil inde expectantes; looking for nothing, neither praise nor profit.(XIII.211).

Setting aside the fact that the quotation is not from the Psalms, but from Luke 6.35, the English which follows it is of interest because it suggests that Bacon had seen the Geneven's marginal note, though he seems to have forgotten where. The Geneven in Luke 6.35 has "looking for nothing againe" and the typically Calvinistic marginal note adds "Not only not hoping for profite, but to lose the stocke and principall, for as much as Christ bindeth himselfe to repaie the whole with a most liberall interest."

Twice he referred to James I as "the fountain of grace" (XIII.189, XIV.322). The words in that form do not occur in any version of the Bible, but are found in the Geneven marginal note to Cant.4.15. The text is "O fountaine of the gardens, O well of liuing waters," which the marginal note explains as referring to Christ, "who is ye fountaine of al grace."

In the Jurisdiction of the Council of Wales (X.373) Is.32.1-3, Prov.31.8, Prov.20.28, and Ex.18.21-2 are quoted in consecutive order, with the references noted in the margin, as the powers and duties which "by the ordinance of God . . . properly belongeth to a King." They are quoted from the

Genevan, but very loosely, which is rather surprising, because Bacon could scarcely have quoted them from memory .

"Though the wise man say, Hope deferred is the fainting of the soul "(XI.164) depends on the Genevan of Prov.13.12, though "soul" appears to be Bacon's translation of the Vulgate's "animam."

"That there is no end of making books,and that much reading is weariness of the flesh" (III.264).is quoted indirectly from the Genevan. Both "and much reading" and "weariness of the flesh" are peculiar to that version(Eccl.12.12). The Bishops' has "too much study wearieth the body." "That we be not spoiled through vain philosophy" a few lines further on (III.264) is a shortened form of the Genevan version of Col. 2.8, though when, in the paragraph following, Bacon cited the same verse again, he rendered it in his own way as "that admonition of St. Paul,That we be not seduced by vein philosophy" (III.266).

"The work of his hands" (III.350 and Ps.18.2) is exactly quoted from the Genevan . So also is the distinctive version of Eccl.2.15,"If it befal to me as befalleth to the fools, why should I labour to be more wise?"(III.372). The Genevan omits "If" and has "fool."

"The causeless curse shall not come" (III.481 and Prov. 26.2) is very near to the Genevan's "curse that is causelesse shall not come" . Bacon's version reoccurs in VIII.76, though later (XII.141) it became part of a conflation:"as the bird flies away,so the causeless curse shall not come." "As the bird" occurs in all versions except the Genevan.

When , in 1605 , Bacon quoted Ps.43.22 as "the secrets of the heart," (III.486), it was to the Genevan version he referred . All other English versions then published had "the very secrets of the heart." (V= "abscondita cordis").

"No man can, by care taking (as the Scripture saith) add a cubit to his stature"(VI.452) offers evidence that Bacon knew the Genevan of Matt.6.27:"Which of you, by taking care,is able to add one cubit unto his stature?" Alone of the versions the Genevan has "by care taking." Compare the Item listed in Gesta Grayorum (VIII.329) forbidding the Knights of the Order to be "inquisitive towards any lady or gentlewoman,whether her beauty be English or Italian,or whether with care-taking she have added half a foot to her stature . . ." Of interest is Bacon's mother's advice to him to "contemn to be noted to take care"

(VIII.364n).

In the essay Of Riches (XI.460) Prov.18.11 is quoted as follows: "Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man." This is clearly related to the Genevan: "The rich man's riches are his strong citie,and as an high wall in his imagination." "Imagination" is peculiar to the Genevan, but "strong hold" is possibly borrowed from the Bishops' or earlier versions of Prov.10.15:"The riche mans goodes are his strong holde." Compare VII.60:"The riches of a man are as a strong hold in his own imagination."

In the Controversies of the Church Bacon speaks of

> the wise counsel of Salomon,that the course of contentions is to be stopped at the first;being else as the waters,which if they gain a breach,it will hardly be ever recovered. (VIII.86) .

The words "as the waters" are closest to the Genevan version of Prov.17.14:" The beginning of strife is as one that openeth the waters." Where the Genevan has "as" and "waters," the other versions have "like" and "water."

Ahasuerus's question quoted in X.144, "What should be done to the man that the King would honour" (Esth.6.6), is obviously based on the Genevan:"What shalbe done vnto the man,whome the King will honor?"

In the Advancement of Learning "Serah" is spelt as in the Genevan . So also "Philistims" for Philistines, in IX.117.

Sometimes, long after he had grown accustomed to using the Authorised Version, the Genevan rendering would still linger in his memory. So, "I have not hid my sin as did Adam,nor concealed my faults in my bosom"(XIV.243). The Genevan has "If I haue hid my sinne as Adam,concealing mine iniquitie in my bosom"(Job 31.33). This was written in 1621. The Authorised has "If I covered my transgressions,as Adam:by hiding mine iniquitie in my bosome."

The version of Dan.12.4 given in III.221,"Many shall pass to and fro and knowledge shall be increased," is in exact agreement with the Genevan, except for the word "pass." The Genevan has "runne." "Pass" occurs only in the Douay, but Bacon's "pass to and fro" is probably translated from the Vulgate's "pertransibunt."

Versions of Prov.18.13,Luke 10.7,and 1 Cor.5.11-12 occur in the Northumb MS(ff.27-8), and are all indebted to the Genevan .

"Having a shew of godliness"(VI.435) could only have originated in the Genevan of 2 Tim.3.5. Similarly, when Bacon wrote "I may truly say to the English,go to the pismire thou sluggard" (XIII.24) he could only have referred to the Genevan version of the well-known text in Prov.6.6. The Genevan alone has "pismire." The Bishops', following the Great Bible, has "emmet;"whereas the Douay has "emmote," and the Authorised "ant." Compare VII.177:"The Empirical philosophers are like to pismires."

"Facility, or softness . . . taketh an honest mind prisoner" (VI.404) is perhaps indebted to the Genevan version of Judith 16.11:"her beautie toke his (Holofernes') minde prisoner."So G,followed by AV.The others,except D,have "captiuated his minde"; D has "made his soule captiue."

Bacon's English version of Prov.25.2, "The glory of God is to conceal a thing,but the glory of the King is to find it out"(III.299) offers evidence of the Genevan's influence. "Conceal" is peculiar to that version .

In the essay Of Revenge (VI.385) Bacon wrote that "Salomon ,I am sure,saith,It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence" (Prov.19.11). The Genevan has "his glorie is to passe by an offence."

In Henry VII it is stated that the King in a letter

> expresseth himself as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom,when he had for his son-in-law a King of Scotland and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy (VI.237).

See the Genevan in Jer.1.18:"For I,behold I this day haue made thee a defenced citie, and an yron piller and walles of brass against the whole land." "Brass" is the Genevan's distinctive word in this verse, though it is found also in a Marginal reading of Coverdale's. His text has "wall of stele."

Bacon's two versions of Eccl.2.12,"In these things, who is he that can come after the King?"(XIII.211), and "Who is he that in such things shall come after the King?"(XIV.177), are both based on the Genevan:"Who is the man that will come after the King in things?"

In addition there are numbers of other cases where readings agree with the Genevan as well as with one or more other versions. In some instances it is quite impossible to decide whether Bacon was indebted to the Genevan or to an alternative source.

The profession in Bacon's Prayer or Psalm,"I have been as a dove,free from superfluity of maliciousness"(XIV.230),

alludes to James 1.21:"lay aperte all filthines,and superfluitie of maliciousnes."So G,and all preceding versions. B and AV have "naughtinesse."

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

There can be no doubt whatever of Bacon's familiarity with the Prayer Book. His knowledge of it, and his criticism of some of its contents, is clearly set forth in the section intitled "Concerning the Liturgy,the Ceremonies,and Subscription" in the Pacification and Edification of the Church of England (X.114-18) . He there speaks of the "divine service or liturgy" as

> the immediate hallowing of the name of God,and the principal work of the first table,and of the great commandment of the love of God (X.115 and Ex.20.1-7).

In the Advancement of Learning he stated that "the Litwrgy or service . . . consisteth of the reciprocal acts between God and man" (III.489) . All the evidence suggests that his acquaintance with the Prayer Book began early and lasted throughout his life. Archbishop Parker was one of those directly concerned inthe making of the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559, and Bacon's family probably knew many of the others. Whitgift, as we have shown, held his pupils strictly to their prayers and devotions.

The Prayer Book of 1559 is that with which we are chiefly concerned ,as it was the book in use from Bacon's birth to the end of Elizabeth's reign. But Bacon's closest connexion with the liturgy was with the Revised Prayer Book of 1604.

When James I came from Scotland in 1603 to ascend the English throne, Bacon presented him with his treatise,the Pacification and Edification of the Church of England, which was printed in 1604, though "called in" (X.102). At the same time the King was greeted with a petition from the Puritans begging for Prayer Book revision, a petition answered by the Hampton Court Conference of 1603-4. Bacon's paper offered advice to the King on all the questions in dispute,and to some extent his advice was followed (especially regarding Private Baptism:see X.117 and Cf.F.E. Brightman,The English Rite, 1915,I.clxxx). Though as a whole the conference was a failure, Whitgift, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed to direct the revision of the Prayer Book. The Catechism was completed byvthe final section on the sacraments, prayers and thanksgivings were added,and a few corrections and alterations made. By the spring of

1604 the new Prayer Book was published and confirmation of it by Act of Parliament was necessary.

It is not generally known that Bacon's name headed the list of the sub-committee that "was appointed to 'capitulate the alterations' and lay them before the Committee (to which, with other questions, it had been referred)in writing,'together with their own opinion of the said book'"(X.177). This took place on 23 March,1604. The capitulation and written opinions,of which Bacon may have been and quite probably was the author,are,as far as I can discover,not in existence. No doubt they were similar to those found in the Pacification. Bacon, though only indirectly, may have influenced some of the slight alterations made in the Revised Prayer Book of 1604. After that date he seems to have used the new book. At least in 1616 I find him advising Villiers to reread the King's proclamation ("which himself penned") prefixed to the Revised Book, which censured innovetions in Church government(XIII.18,31).

A. THE PSALTER

It is therefore not surprising that Bacon had considerable knowledge of the Liturgy. Counting his Translation of Certain Psalms , Bacon quoted more from the Psalter than from any other book of the Bible. A large sumber of such quotations, examples of which follow, can be identified as agreeing with the version in the Prayer Book and with no other.

For example,

> For matter of division and breach of unity, it is not without a mystery that Christ's coat had no seam,no more should the Church if it were possible. Therefore if any minister refuse to use the book of common prayer,or wilfully swerveth in divine service from that book,or if any person whatsoever do scandalize that book,and speak openly and maliciously in derogation of it;such men do but make a rent in the garment,and such are by you to be inquired of. (XI.268).

Bacon alluded here to the Act of Uniformity of 1559 which forbade bringing the Prayer Book into disrepute . Christ's coat having no seam refers to John 19.23. "No more should the Church" refers to a favourite illustration of Bacon's.He used it first in 1603 ,stating that "an ancient father . . . finding the vesture of the Queen(in the psalm),which did prefigure the Church,was of divers colours,and finding again that Christ's coat was without seam,he concludeth well,*In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit* "(X.97 *and* S.Aug.*Enarr.in* Ps.44,Sec.24). The

vesture of the Queen as of "divers colours" is the reading peculiar to the Psalter (based on the Vulgate): "Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours." (Ps.44.14-15:45.10, Pr Bk).

The well-known remark that "an overspeaking Judge is no well-tuned cymbal" (VI.583) alludes to Ps.150.5, which in the Prayer Book begins, "Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals." No other versions has "well-tuned." The Authorised and Douay, for example, have "high-sounding." Compare "Cymbals and Harps let them be tuned well" (VII.286), which Bacon interpolated into his version of Ps.149.3.

When Bacon spoke of "the King's charge, which is my lanthorn" (XIII.184), he referred to the Prayer Book version of Ps.118.105 (119.105), "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet." The Prayer Book alone has "lantern." He also called penal laws bed if instead of being as a lantern to the feet, they are as nets in the path---"non lucernam pedibus praebeant, sed retia potius objicient" (I.815). The Vulgate title of the Psalm, "Lucerna Pedibus," was retained in the Prayer Book. Shakespeare used the same image. "Nets in the path" refers to Ps.30.5 (31.5, Pr.Bk.).

In the Charge Against William Talbot Bacon referred to the King and his family as "in the chair of majesty (his vine and olive branches about him)" (XII.7). The figure in these words occurs in Ps.127.3 of the Prayer Book, and also in Holy Matrimony: "Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine: upon the walls of thine house. Thy children like the olive-branches round about thy table" (Ps.128.3-4). "Olive-branches" is the Prayer Book's word: the others have "olive-plants."

In a royal proclamation written by Bacon in the King's person, he asserted "It hath pleased God ("even our God" followed here in the MS, but is crossed out) to annoint us with the oil of gladness and gratulation above our progenitors kings of either nation" (X.236). Clearly he alluded to the Prayer Book version of Ps.44.8 (45.8), "God, even our God, hath annointed thee with the oil of gladNess above thy fellows." "Even our God" is found exclusively in the Prayer Book. The others have "God, thy God" and also in Heb.1.9, where the verse of the Psalm is quoted. "Gratulation" is Bacon's own addition.

Other examples of correction quotation of the Psalter are: "There shall no deceitful person dwell in my house" (XIII.24 and Ps.100.7), "Let their table be made a snare"

(XII.215,309 and Ps.68.23), and "starting aside like a broken bow"(VII.602 and Ps.77.57).

Bacon's version of Ps.103.15(104.15) is of interest:

> And Bread that is all Viands Firmament,
> And giues a firme and solid Nourishment;
> And Wine Mans Spirits for to recreate;
> And Oyle his Face for to exhilarate. (VII.282).

All versions have "wine," "oyle," and "bread", in that order. Bacon has changed the order to "bread," "wine", and "oyle." The order thus given occurs in the Prayer Book version (following the Vulgate) of Ps.3.8,though"corn" is substituted for "bread." The word "oyle" is omitted in G, B,and AV. The same order is found in Deut.7.13,though less likely as a source for Bacon than the Psalter. In the New Atlantis he has the order "metal," "wine," and "corn or bread"(III.166). Florio's Montaigne has "wine,corn,or mettle"(Bacon also omits "oil"), which Shakespeare rendered also "metal,corn,or wine,or oil"(Tempest,II.i.160).

Bacon's allusions to the Psalter are not,however, entirely limited to the Prayer Book. "If thou,Lord,should be extreme to mark what is done amiss,who may abide it? . . . And as it followeth;But with thee is mercy,that thou mayest be feared"(XI.98 and Ps.129.3-4) resembles the Prayer Book version(with which Ma,Ta,Cr and B agree) only to some extent: "If thou,Lord,wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss: O Lord,who may abide it? For there is mercy with thee:therefore shalt thou be feared." But the second part of Bacon's rendering is much closer to the Genevan, to which he was probably indebted:"But mercy is with thee,that thou maiest be feared." Compare the same quotation ,differently phrased, in a prayer doubtfully ascribed to Bacon:"There is mercy with thee,O Lord,that thou mayest be feared"(VII.261). The fact that this rendering shows evidence of familiarity with both the Prayer Book and Genevan versions is a point in favour of the prayer's claim to authenticity.

"Mischief is imagined as a law" (XI.414) depends on the Prayer Book's "which imagineth mischief as a law"(Ps.93.20).

All these instances confirm that Bacon had wide knowledge of the Psalter . In the Promus (f.102b) he made note of a Spanish proverb, which could be truthfully applied to himself: "Si vos sabes mucho tambien se yo mi salm" (You know many things, but I know my Psalms). It was apparently his love

of the Psalter that led him to paraphrase seven of his favourite Psalms and publish them in 1624 in a small volume (dated 1625) intitled a Translation of Certaine Psalmes Into English Verse, dedicated to his friend George Herbert. They are not translations in the unusual sense, but paraphrases. Probably he had the Vulgate before him as he wrote. There are definite signs of the Prayer Book's influence. It is not possible to list all instances of Bacon's indebtedness here, but one is of interest.

His paraphrase of Ps.89.9(90.9) is:"As a Tale told,which sometimes men attend, And sometimes not,our Life steales to an end"(VII.279). Alone of the versions the Prayer Book has, "we bring our years to an end,as it were a tale that is told." The notion that the tale was tedious is found also in Shakespeare. Bacon may have had in mind Ecclus.22.8-9: "Hee that telleth a tale to a foole,speaketh to one in a slumber:when hee hath told his tale,he will say, what is the matter?"(AV).

In Ps.38.6(39.6) of the Prayer Book the length of life is called a span: "Beholde,thou hast made my days as it were a span long: and mine age is even as nothing in respect of thee." Bacon's poem The World begins, "The world's a bubble, and the life of man less than a span"(VII.271). The figure was not uncommon. For example, Shakespeare and Bacon's friend Sir John Davies both used it. Only the Prayer Book has "span"; G,B, and AV have "handbreadth." The Douay follows the Vulgate and has "thou hast put my daies measurable."

B. THE COLLECTS,EPISTLES,and GOSPELS

"The author and life giver of them all was the prerogative of our Kings"(X.373), perhaps owes something to "Lord of all power and might,which art the author and giver of all good things" (Collect,7th Sunday after Trinity). This is a more likely source than Acts 3.15 ("the authour of life") or John 6.33 ("giveth life to the world"). Compare XIV.120, where the King is called "the author of beneficence."

In accordance with the theory of divine right Bacon wrote that "both among the heathen,and amongst the Christians, the word,sacred,hath been attributed unto kings,because of the conformity of a monarchy with a divine Majesty"(VII.645).Hence the hope expressed to James I that

> unto your Majesty's sacred ears(open to the air of all virtues)there might perhaps have come some small breath of the good memory of my father .(X.62)

This was meant as a hint that the King should avail himself of Bacon's services. We might associate this with "Let thy merciful ears,O Lord,be open to the prayers of thy humble servants"(Collect,10th Sun.after Trin).

It is not our object to urge trivial cases on the reader, but one perhaps deserves mention. In the Controversies Bacon wrote:

> St.James saith, This is true religion,to visit the fatherless and the widow etc. So as that which is with them but philosophical and moral, is,in the phrase of the Apostle,true religion and Christianity.(VIII.91).

The quotaion is closest to the Genevan of James 1.27, which however has "pure religion." No version has "true religion" and when he quoted the same verse later he followed the Vulgate (VII.238) which he translated as "pure and immaculate religion"(VII.249). Compare the Collect for the 7th Sunday after Trinity,"increase in us true religion,nourish us with all goodness . . ."

A stronger case is Bacon's mention of"the Devil,who is called The envious man,that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night "(VI.397). The allusion is to the Parable of the Tares,Matt.13.27-8. The Gospel for the 5th Sunday after the Epiphany has "Sir,didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them:The envious man hath done this." "Envious man" is found also in Ty,Ms, Cr, as well as in the Genevan, but not in the others.

C. COMMUNION

The word of God is called "the fountain of wisdome" in Ecclus.1.5,and the phrase occurs also in Prov.18.4 in some versions. In XI.119 Bacon wrote to the King of "that fountain of wisdom and universality which is in yourself." Possibly he remembered the petition from the Communion,"Al-

mighty God,the fountain of all wisdom."In addition,Bacon's frequent references to himself and his service as a "sacrifice" probably allude to the words of the Communion,"And here we offer ...our soules and bodies,to be a reasonable,holy,and lively sacrifice unto thee"(Cf.also Rom.12.1,"a liuing sacrifice,"G).

PURITANISM When Bacon asked why a minister should "be troubled for saying in baptism,do you believe ? for dost thou believe?" (VIII.89) he obviously alluded to the words in Public Baptism. Like most strict Protestants of the time, he was opposed to the office of Private Baptism,which he described (as he wrote of usury in later years,XIV.415) as "but a concessum propter duritiem cordis"(X.117 and Matt.19.8).

In the essay Of Adversity Bacon spoke of Christian resolution as sailing "in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world"(VI.386). He may have alluded to the prayer in Public Baptism that the newly baptised "may so pass the waves of this troublesome world,that finally they may come to the land of everlasting life." Cf.Ps.87.8(88.7): "Thou hast afflicted me with all thy waues"(AV).

E.THE LITANY

"The very form of prayer in the book of common prayer hath Thy Servant Elizabeth, and no more"(VIII.89) alludes to the Litany in the Prayer Book of 1559. A very full reference to the Litany occurs in a sheet of notes drawn up for an interview with the King:"I may allude to the three petitions of the Litany,Libera nos Domine ,parce nobis Domine, and exaudi nos Domine"(XIV.350). The Litany referred to here presents a slight problem, as the words as given by Bacon are closer to the Roman liturgy than to the Latin version of the Prayer Book(authorised about 1560). The English equivelent of "Libera nos Domine" is "Good Lord,deliver us;" of "parce nobis Domine," "Spare us,good Lord;" but the third general petition,"We beseech thee to hear us,good Lord," is in the Latin Prayer Book,"Te rogamus audi nos." Near the end of the Litany in the same book occurs "Exaudi nos clementer Domine Jesu Christe." Bacon's version was probably his own hasty translation of the familiar English into Latin. Perhaps unconsciously "exaudi nos Domine," as in the Roman Liturgy, occurred to him. Compare Bacon's disgust at a lord treasurer who had delayed to pay his pension:"To use the prayers of the Litany,Good Lord deliver me from this servile dependence" (XIV.397). See also Chap VI,p.141("to forgive our enemies").

F. THE CATECHISM

The Sixth Commandment appears in a distinctive form in the Catechism:"Thou shalt do no murder." All other versions known

to Bacon do not use the word "murder" in Ex.20.13.G,B,D,and AV have "Thou shalt not kill." In Matt.19.18 "Thou shalt not murder"occurs in the Rhemish,and "Thou shalt doe no murder" in the Bishops'. Shakespeare,like Bacon,also preferred "murder" to "kill." As far as Bacon is concerned,there is no way of knowing whether he alluded to the word as found in the Catechism or in one of the versions named. Quite likely he referred to none of them. "Murder" was a legal term and Bacon was very familiar with it. His remarks about the Sixth Commandment seem to be made from a lawyer's point of view:

> Where a man is slain upon forethought malice . . .the law terms murther;and it is an offence horrible,and odious,and cannot be blanched nor made fair,but foul. (XI.272).

Or,

> For a difference to be made in case of killing and destroying man,upon a fore-thought purpose,between foul and fair,and as it were between single murther and vied murther,it is but a monstrous child of this later age,and there is no shadow of it in any law divine or humen.(XI.404).

Or,

> It was ever admitted,and so ranked in God's own tables, that murder is of offenses between man and man . . . the greatest. (XII.309).

If we substitute "killing" for "murder" in these passages the meaning would suffer. Presumably Bacon used "murder" in its legal sense, but he may have been influenced by the Catechism or by the Rhemish or Bishops'. The N.T.form of the 6th Commandment seems to have been in regular use."Thou shalt do no murder is the form found in Launcelot Andrewes'treatise on the 10 Commandments(Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine,Pt.iv).

MATRIMONY Large numbers of allusions to marriage may have been influenced by the form of the ceremony in the Prayer Book. For example, in the New Atlantis, "Marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence;and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage . . . the faithful muptial union of man and wife,that was first instituted"(III.152 and 1 Cor.7.2,9;Gen.2.24), recalls the Prayer Book's "an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency . . . ordained for a remedy against sin,and to avoid fornication."

The language, if not the context, of a remark to Buckingham, "I have found much of (God's) divine favour towards me both in sickness and in health,prosperity and adversity"(XIV. 432), is highly reminiscent of the words in Holy Matrimony,

"for better for worse,for richer for poorer,in sickness and in health."

In the Confession of Faith the Church is called "Christ's spouse and Christ's body,"(VII.225),which, though alluding indirectly to Cant.4.8 and Apoc.21.9, were perhaps indebted to the words in the Marriage Service that "this man may love his wife,according to thy word(as Christ did love his spouse the Church,who gave himself for it,loving and cherishing it even as his own flesh:)." Elsewhere Bacon called the Church "Christ's wife"(X.125).

H. THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

"Pains of death" (VI.379) in the remark, "Imagine what the pains of death are when the whole body is corruoted and dissolved," probably alludesto the burial service:"suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee." "Pains of death" occurs also in Acts 2.24.

"To sing a Placebo" and "to sing a requiem" were both proverbial phrases, and it is doubtful that Bacon derived them from any source other than popular speech. In the Middle Ages Vespers was often called the Placebo from the first word of the antiphon with which it began:"Placebo Domine in regione vivorum." (Ps.114.9). The Mass for the dead was often called (as it still is in the Roman Church) the Requiem, from its antiphon,"Requiem aeternam dona eis,Domine,et lux perpetua luceat illis"(4 Esdr.2.34). The forms Placebo and Requiem lingered on after the Reformation. They occur in the Latin Primer of 1545. See X.325,"to sing a placebo," "sing him a song of Placebo"(VI.427); "so sing a mass of requiem I hope abroad"(VIII.349).

I. OTHER OFFICES

The Nunc Dimittis of Morning Prayer is mentioned by Bacon in VI.380,IX.260, and XIV.349. The text is St.Simeon's Canticle in Luke 2.29:"Lord,now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.For mine eyes have seen: Thy salvation." Cf.Bacon's words to the King:"I may now in a manner sing nunc dimittis,now I have seen you"(XIV.349). See Chap.VI,p.130.

THE AUTHORISED VERSION

One of the objections to Bacon's proposal that the laws of England should be digested into a new code was that"it will impose a new charge upon all lawyers to furnish themselves with new books of law." Bacon thought the objection too trivial for a matter of such high importance as a new digest of the laws, though, he added, "it mought have been used of the new translation of the Bible, and such like works. Books must follow sciences,and not sciences books"(XIII.67). This was written in 1616 and "the new translation" referred to the Authorised Version of the Bible.

Actually, there is no evidence that either churches or individuals were compelled or felt obliged to furnish themselves with copies of the new version,though "whenever an old Church Bible was worn out,it was necessarily replaced by a new one of the version of 1611,because no other Bible in large folio was purchasable"(Pollard's Intro.to the 1911 Reprint of AV,1611, p.34). Editions of the Genevan ,however, were printed in 1611, 1612,1614,1615, and 1616. "After this,although for another fifteen or twenty years eminent ecclesiastics,ordained before 1611,continued to take into the pulpit their old Geneva pocket editions,no doubt marked and familiar to their hands,and had no hesitation in using this version for their texts,the King's printers were encouraged to print no more Geneva Bibles,and the production of them was thus driven underground"(Pollard,p.37).

Bacon's remark suggests that he had purchased a copy of the new translation , which would account for the quotations undoubtedly taken from it; though in general he followed the same practice as others and continued to quote the Genevan. Some of the translators of the Authorised were certainly known to him personally;otherswere members of his college in Cambridge. Two of them,Launcelot Andrewes and Henry Savile,were his friends.

Bacon's version of Prov.28.21 agrees exactly with the Authorised rendering:"To have respect of persons is not good; for for a piece of bread that man will transgress"(XIV.103).The repetition of "for" is peculiar to the Authorised,which therefore must be Bacon's source. Compare this quotation (1620) with another version resembling the Genevan in VI.401,written about the year the Authorised was published. See Chap.III,p.60.

Eccl.12.11 is quoted accurately from AV in VII.123n--- "the words of the wise are as goods(sic)," but this is not

found in the original edition.

It is of interest to note that Bacon's version of Deut.27. 17 in Of Judicature (VI.582),"Cursed(saith the Law)is he that removeth the land-mark," was published a year after the Authorised and has a connexion with that version. The Authorised was the first English translation to have the word "land-mark" in this place: "Cursed be he that remooueth his neighbours land-marke."

By 1613 the Authorised had began to manifest its influence on Bacon: "Above all that is called God"(XII.6 and 2 Thess.2.4) and "Let us do evil that good may come thereof; of whom the apostle saith excellently,that their damnation is just"(XII.158, 167 and Rom.3.8). It should be added that both examples agree with the other preceding versions with the exception of the Geneven; but when the Geneven is wide, the Authorised is a likelier source than the Bishops' or any of the others.Here as elsewhere it is possible to make claims for several versions.

Two curious instances should be mentioned here, as they are both connected with the Authorised. The first is Bacon's remark, written in 1592,"Knowledge is a double of that which is;the truth of being and the truth of knowing is all one"(VIII.123). It is difficult to believe that the words "knowledge is a double of that which is," are not an allusion to Job 11.6, as it is rendered in the Authorised:"the secrets of wisdome . . . are double to that which is." The Authorised reading is distinctive. In the other versions "double" occurs only in the Geneven("thou hast deserved double"),in the Great Bible("why he rewarded the double") and in the Bishops'("thou hast (deserved) double"). "To that which is," so close to Bacon's "of that which is," occurs in no other version.

The Hebrew is correctly translated as "double." "Manyfolde," as in Co and others(Vulgate = "multiplex") is a paraphrase. The authorities agree that "the etymology and exact meaning" of the word following "double" in the Hebrew,"are both uncertain" (Internat.Crit.Comm,1921,ii(notes)p.30). The word is translated "his law is" by Coverdale and others (the Vulgate has "lex ejus"),while the Geneven and Bishops have "according to right."

The question is complicated,but there are possible solutions. It is just possible that Bacon in some way influenced the Authorised rendering. Three of Job's translators were members of Trinity, Bacon's College. One of the rules for the translators was that in any place of "speciel Obscurity", they could"send to any Learned Man in the Land,for his Judgement of such a place"

(Pollard,p.29).Or Bacon may have translated from the Greek Septuagint,the Latin version of which has "quod duplex erit ad id quod secundum te"(Antwerp Polyglot). Compare also Ecclus.42.25:"(his workes) are a double one agaynst another" (B).

The second instance is Bacon's use of the words "honour" and "reputation" when alluding to Eccl.10.1. Dr. Melsome, who first pointed out Bacon's indebtedness to Eccl.10.1 (Bacon-Shakespeare Anatomy,1945) did not notice that he often referred to that verse before 1611 in words found only in the Authorised Version. For instance, "Of Honour and Reputation" was chosen as the title of an essay first printed in 1597,which elaborates the theme of Eccl.10.1: "some in their actions do woo and affect Honour and Reputation . . . and some . . . darken their virtue in the shew of it"(VI.505). Compare the Authorised reading:"Dead flies cause the oyntment of the Apothecarie to send foorth a stinking sauour;so doeth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisedome and honour." "Honour" and "in reputation" are found exclusively in AV. The Genevan, for example, has "in estimation for wisedome and for glorie." In addition to the instance quoted ,"honour and reputation" occurs before 1611 also in IX.86("a sweet odour of honour and reputation"), and XI.234. After 1611 the phrase occurs in XII.176 and 276. Is it conceivable that the essay Of Honour and Reputation, in view of its connexion with Eccl.10.1, influenced the Authorised Version's rendering? See Chap.VI,p.178.

RHEIMISH N.T.

As already stated, the Roman Catholic translation of the New Testament published in 1582 is the only version Bacon mentioned by name. In 1603 he commended "the discretion and tenderness of the Rhemish translation" for its preference in rendering the controversial word ἀγάπη as "charity" and not as "love."(X.116): "finding in the original the word ἀγάπη and never ἔρως ,(they) do ever translate Charity and never love,because of the indifferency and equivocation of that word with impure love."

The mere mention of the Rhemish, however, proves nothing. It does not mean that Bacon knew the version well or

used it to any great extent. It was not a version that had any great circulation in England. It was known chiefly because Fulke, in his Confutation of 1589(reprinted in 1601), included its entire text alongside the Bishops.'

In the passage quoted Bacon touches on the contemporary controversy between those preferring the trahslation "charity" and those preferring "love." It had begun when Sir Thomas More disputed Tyndale's insistence on "love" or "kindness" for ἀγάπη .

There are several things wrong with Bacon's mention of the Rhemish , and with his avowed preference for its "discretion and tenderness" in translating "Charity."

In the first place, Bacon was inconsistent in saying he preferred the translation "Charity." For example, he has "if any have left his first love"(VIII.81 and Apoc.2.4), where the Rhemish has "Thou hast left thy first charitie." Likewise in Latin he has "relinquere amorem primum"(VIII.351) and "primus amor"(VIII.359),where the Vulgate has "charitatem primam." No version has "amor." Admittedly, these quotations were made before he expressed his preference for "charity" in 1603, but even afterwards (1607-12) he wrote that "Talk (is) but a tinkling cymbal,where there is no love"(VI.437 and 1 Cor.13.1), though the Rhemish has "charity." However,in an allusion to Eph.4.15 in 1620,"ut . . . veritatem in charitate colamus"(I.131), he followed the Vulgate and Rhemish,which has "doing the truth in charitie," though AV(following B) has "speaking the trueth in loue."

In the second place, Bacon was wrong in supposing that the Rhemish translators finding ἀγάπη in the original and never ἔρως, always rendered it "Charity and never love." Though correct in saying that ἔρως does not occur in the Greek N.T., ἀγάπη is often translated "love" in the Rhemish, e.g. Rom.13.10, where ἀγάπη is translated "loue" in the Rhemish,the Vulgate having "dilectio." It can be argued that the Rhemish translators merely anglicised the Vulgate's"charitas" "Charitas" occurs in the Vulgate N.T. 90 times, "amor" only twice. Though "charity" is usually preferred,there are cases where the Rhemish has "love" for the Vulgate's "charitas","amor", and "dilectio," though the Greek has ἀγάπη for all three. ; Bacon's collation of the Rhemish with the Greek was not very careful.

The Rhemish purported to be and to a large extent was

a translation from the Latin Vulgate. It must be reiterated that for this reason it is sometimes impossible to know whether Bacon was translating from the Vulgate or quoting from the Rhemish. It is submitted that in most cases of the kind he translated from the Latin.

Often agreement with the Rhemish depends on very minor words. For instance,"Sufficient for the day is the euill thereof"(VII.246 and Matt.6.34) agrees with the Rhemish , all other versions having "unto," which Spedding in error printed for the original's "for." Also,"hath not a few things but many things"(VIII.81 and Apoc.2.4) probably depends on "I haue against thee a few thinges" of the Rhemish. "The Lord will strike thee"(VIII.81 and Acts 23.3) is of interest because it shares the word "strike" with the Rhemish.The others have "smite." But who can say whether "strike" is not Bacon's trsnslation of the Vulgate's "percutiet?"

"No new thing is happened unto us"(VII.11) may be indebted to the Rhemish rendering of 1 Pet.4.12," as though some new thing happened to you." The others have "strange thing," here again though Bacon may have translated the Vulgate's "novi aliquid," or even rendered into English his own Latin version of the same verse," Nil novi accidit vobis"(XI.313).

Similarly, "Justice could not have been crowned"(XII.302) may depend on the "crovvne of iustice" of the Rhemish or the Vulgate's "corona justitiae"(2 Tim.4:8).

A nearly exact case of agreement is "Be angry but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger"(VI.510 and Eph.4.26). The key word is "anger": the others have "wrath."

When Bacon wrote that "Not that every scrupulous or superstitious prescript is effectual,no more than every straight way is the way to heaven"(III.377), there is a strong probability that he referred to the Rhemish of Matt.7.14,"Hovv narrovv is the gate,and straite is the vvay that leadeth to life." "Straite way" is peculiar to the Rhemish. In the others the "ways" are "narrow" and "broad;" in the Rhemish "straite" and "large"(v?13). In the other versions the gates are "strait" and "wide;" in the Rhemish they are"narrovv" and "brode."

"And persevere to the end"(III.151) argues familiarity with "he that shal perseuere vnto the end,he shal be saued" of the Rhemish(Matt.10.22),which differs from the others. Again, he may have translated the Vulgate's "perseveraverit usque in finem."

It would almost seem that when Bacon's renderings happen to agree with the Rhemish it depends on mere coincidence. There can be no doubt that he habitually translated from the Vulgate. For example, the Vulgate's "superabundavit gratia"(Rom.5.20) became in Bacon "he will in grace superabound"(XII.36n), "grace shall abound or superabound"(XIII.189), or "the clemency of his Majesty and the state do superabound"(XIV.481), which are all his own renderings. He did not follow the Rhemish, which has "grace did more abound."

Occasionally Bacon was even more literal in his translation than the Rhemish. Where the Vulgate has "Cum enim sit inter vos zelus et contentio,nonne carnales estis?(1 Cor.3.3), Bacon wrote "whilst there is amongst you,zeal and contention, are ye not carnal?"(VIII.83). The Vulgate's "zelus" is not translated "zeal" in any version. The Rhemish has "emulation." In XIV.372,in a reference to the Parable of the Talents, "banks or mounts of perpetuity" seems to refer to the Rhemish of Matt.25.27:"thou oughtest therfore to haue committed my money to the bankers." "Exchangers" in the others. "A resolution . . . to put forth that poor talent . . . to banks or mounts of perpetuity"(XIV.372).

TREMELLIUS

The New Testament translated into Latin by John Immanuel Tremellius with the aid of his son-in-law Francis Junius was published at Frankfort in 1569. His own translation of the Old Testament followed in the years between 1575 and 1579. It was for many years considered the most accurate rendering. Tremellius resided for a time in England and his translation was printed at London in 1593. Bacon had good facilities for consulting his version,but there is no evidence that he used it to a great extent.

The most important example is Bacon's quotation of Prov.18.1:

> Pro desiderio quaerit cerebrosus,omnibus immiscet se. (I.723)
>
> (a heady man seeks to satisfy his desire,and intermeddles with everything).

Spedding thought that this was "probably another version" (I.723n):it is in fact a slightly abbreviated quotation from Tremellius:

> Pro desiderio quaerit cerebrosus,omnibus quae sunt immiscet se.

This is wide of the Vulgate, which has "Occasiones quaerit qui vult recedere ab amico;omni tempore serit exprobabilis" ("He seeke th occasions that wil depart from a frend:he shal euer be subiect to reproch"). Nor does he, in this case, seem to have translated from any English version. Without any doubt whatever he quoted Tremellius's version here, though elsewhere there is strangely little evidence to support it.

For example, Bacon's version of Apoc.14.13,"Opera eorum sequuntur eos"(their works follow them) is in exact agreement with Tremellius and no other version(the Vulgate has "opera enim illorum sequuntur illos), but the instance is comparatively trivial. Bacon's version occurs in I.723 (a few lines before the quotation of Prov.18.1 from Tremellius) and III.424.

Sometimes Bacon borrowed a rendering from any version but the Vulgate. Jude 9 is quoted as "Increpet te,Dominus" (the Lord rebuke thee) in VIII.81,which agrees with any version except the Vulgate,which has "Imperet tibi Dominus" ("the Lord command thee"). Tremellius may have been his source.

There are a number of less significant cases of agreement such as the substitution of "autem" for the Vulgate's "vero" in 1 Cor.8.1(III.266).This and other cases are probably coincidental. Thus Eccl.2.15 is quoted accurately from the Vulgate in I.589,except for the substitution of "eventus" (as in Tremellius), where the Vulgate has "occasus." Similar substitution in Prov.29.8(I.756) of "derisores" (as in Tremellius) for the Vulgate's "pestilentes" cannot be taken as an argument for indebtedness to Tremellius. In this case the rest of the quotation disagrees with Tremellius, but is in accordance with certain other versions. Or Bacon may merely have translated AV's "scornefull", in the same verse.

Agreement with Tremellius in the Latin translation of the Essays (1638) may be discounted on the grounds that Bacon was not responsible,or not wholly responsible for it (VI.370),and because there are certain inconsistencies. For example, Luke 18.8(as quoted in VI.379) agrees in its Latin translation with Tremellius, though Bacon's Latin version of the same verse (VI.425) does not.

"Longanimity" is described in III.434-5 as "commonly .

. . ascribed to God." The usual English rendering of the attribute mentioned in Ex.34.6 is "long-suffering", as in the Authorised. Of the Latin versions Tremellius alone has "longanimis." The Vulgate has "misericors."

Of some interest is the possibility that Bacon derived the word "moss" in his version of 3 K.4.33 from a marginal note in Tremellius's version. It is stated in Sylva Sylvarum that

> the Scripture saith that Salomon wrote a Natural History, from the cedar of Libanus, to the moss growing upon the wall; for so the best translations have it. And it is true that moss is but the rudiment of a plant; and (as it were) the mould of earth or bark.(II.510).

"For so the best translations have it" clearly refers to the word "moss", which Bacon obviously thought was a better contrast with "the cedar of Libanus" than the usual "hyssop." Significantly no Latin version I have seen translates the word as "muscus," nor does any English version have "moss" in 3 K.4.33. Invariably it is "hyssop."

When Bacon quoted the same verse in Latin (I.467 and 751) he used "muscus;" when in English, it was invariably "moss" (II.510, III.145, 220, 299, 501). 3 K.4.33 is quoted also in VIII.334 and alluded to in I.124, but moss is not mentioned in either place. Elsewhere moss is said to be "but a rudiment between putrefaction and an herb" (III.220, 299 and I.467), and the word is curiously used in his remark that in the advancement of science he does not "make haste to mow down the moss (muscum) or the corn in blade, but waits for the harvest in its due season." (I.213).

The word "Moss" is not Bacon's own translation from the Hebrew. Both the Hebrew and the Septuagint Bibles have "hyssop", which is not a moss. Quite possibly by "translations" Bacon meant tralsations, which are changes in the use of a word, or the uses of a word in a less proper but more significant sense. Bacon spoke of "that excellent use of a metaphor or translation" (III.10) as though he understood "metaphor" and "translation" to be identical. In this sense the Translation of Certaine Psalmes is in effect a tralation, not a translation, of the original. Whatever the meaning, Bacon's remark suggests that he had borrowed the word "moss" from some other translation.

Such an interpretation occurs in Junius's edition of Tremellius (London, 1593). In the course of a note to Ex.12.22

(where the word "hyssopum" occurs in the text) Junius wrote: "Graeci et Latini hyssopum, nos aliquando muscum." He then explains his personal disagreement with the accepted term "hyssopum," his reason for preferring "muscus" being that in 3 K.4.33 the contrast is obviously meant to be between the highest and the lowest---from the cedar of Mount Libamus to the moss that grows upon the wall. He held that "hyssop," which is a low bush, but certainly not the lowest plant, robs the comparison of much of its point. Junius being a German,"nos aliquando muscum" might suggest that "moss" was the term used in German Bibles, as it is not found in other versions in modern languages. But Luther has "Isop" in both Ex.12.22 and 3 K.4.33,and so do all German versions I have seen. Evidently Bacon borrowed the word not from any of the "translations," but from Junius's note. From this it is possible to infer that Bacon had seen a copy of the 1593 edition,which would agree with the fact that in 1594, he quoted 3 K.4.33, but did not mention moss:"Salomon wrote an herbal of all that was green upon the earth"(VIII.334). But by 1603 (and ever afterwards) he used "moss:" "Salomon . . . is said to have written a natural history of all that is green from the cedar to the moss"(III.220).

Though not accepted by any English or other version, "moss" for "hyssop" in 3 K.4.33 may have had a limited currency in England. An instance occurs in the Herball (1597) of John Gerarde,whom Bacon no doubt knew,and his book might have been Bacon's source. In his dedication to Sir William Cecil (his employer and Bacon's uncle)Gerarde says,

> The example of Salomon is before the rest and greater, whose wisedome and knowledge was such,that he was able to set out the nature of all plantes,from the highest Cedar to the lowest Mosse.

Apart from Bacon and Gerarde I know of no instance of "moss" occurring in a version of 3 K.4.33. It is remarkable that the editors of the great Oxford Dictionary overlooked the word as a tralation for hyssop.

Tremellius possibly influenced Bacon's version of Eccl.11.4:"Qui respicit ad ventos,non seminat;et qui respicit ad nubes non metet"(I.748,III.447)("respicit"as in Tr);so likewise his version of Prov.22.28:"Terminum antiquum ne moveas"(X.270); "Terminus antiquus non movebitur"(IX.66). Tr="Ne moveto terminum antiquum." The Vulgate has "Ne transgrediaris terminos antiquos."

BEZA'S LATIN N.T.(1557)

Bacon quoted at least twice from this version. The evidence depends on the rendering in I.802 of Matt.6.27:

> Qui sollicite cogitando potest apponere ad staturam suam cubitum unum?
> (who by thinking anxiously can add one cubit to his stature?)

Beza has,

> Quis . . . solicite cogitando potest apponere ad staturam suam cubitum unum?

The other versions are considerably different, and the same difference is found in Luke 12.25. Compare the Vulgate:

> Quis autem vestrum cogitans potest adjicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum?(Matt.6.27)

Similarly Bacon's "Execrabilis ista turba, quae non novit legem"(III.283 and John 7.49) is close to Beza's "Sed turba haec quae non novit legem, execrabilis est". Juda also has "execrabilis" but the Vulgate has "maledicti sunt."

Another case of agreement is, "Vos nihil scitis"(Pro. f.88 and John 11.49), exactly as in Beza. The Vulgate has "vos nescitis quidquam." Bacon's rendering of Heb.7.7 shows the futility of attaching too much weight to the influence of any particular version: "Sine ulla(Beza,V)controuersia(Bez,Tr)quod minus est(Bez,V)majore(Tr)benedic..."(Pro.f.85b). Cf. "without all controversy"(III.273:Heb.7.7,1 Tim.3.16). See Chap.I,p.11(2 Tim.3

TES PAG- Bacon seems to have quoted once from Pagnimus's version, 2)

8) the earliest Latin Bible of modern times. A revision of its text was used in the Antwerp Polyglot as the interlinear Latin translation to the O.T. in Hebrew.

Bacon's rendering of Eccl.10.1(I.755) is as follows:

> Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguentum optimum, sic hominem pretiosum sapientia et gloria, parva stultitia.
> (as dead flies cause the best ointment to stink, so does a little folly the man who is valued for wisdom and glory.

This differs from all versions, but Pagnimus is very close:

> Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguenti sic hominem pretiosum sapientia et gloria stultitia parva.

Bacon, it will be seen, has on his own authority introduced the adjective "optimum." Compare the difference with the Vulgate:

> Muscae morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti; pretiosor est sapientia et gloria, parva et ad tempus stultitia.

Bacon's distinctive version of Job 12.18, "Solvam cingula regum"(VI.408,XII.6) is closest to Pagnimus. See Chap.VI, p.153.

OTHER VERSIONS

A. BISHOPS'

As already mentioned, it would be impossible to assemble enough evidence to argue that Bacon was indebted in any way to the Bishops' Bible. This may seem surprising at first. The Bishops was undertaken and published under the auspices of Archbishop Parker , the friend of Sir Nicholas Bacon. By a Canon of 1571 it was ordered that every cathedral should have a copy , and "as far as it could be done," all churches. By the 80th Canon of 1603 the Bishops' was made the only version that could lawfully be used in churches. Moreover in the first folio edition of 1568 an engraved portrait of Lord Burghley, Bacon's uncle, was printed before the Psalms. At least after he became Archbishop, Whitgift enforced its use. There is probably no version with which Bacon is more intimately connected on external, and less on internal, evidence.

(He had declined Parker's request to translate a N.T. Epistle).

The reasons for this are probably quite simple. In the first place, the Bishops' Bible got its name from the Puritans who called it that to distinguish it from the Genevan, as the Bishops were supposed to dislike (and Parker certainly did) the bitter marginal notes of the Genevan. Bacon's mother, at least, would have preferred the Genevan on principle, and while Bacon was his pupil at Cambridge Whitgift certainly relied on the Genevan. Even though the Gensvan was not allowed to be printed in England during Parker's lifetime, it was the winner in the long fight for supremacy with the Bishops.' Though the Bishops' was the version authorised for use in all churches, there can be no doubt that the Genevan frequently took its place.

We can measure the negative influence of the Bishops' version on Bacon by the disparity between its readings and those of, say, the Genevan, and sometimes the Authorised. Thus, if we had only the Bishops' to rely on, we should never have recognised the origin of Bacon's "superfluity of maliciousness:" or "some new thing is happened unto us," or "softness . . . taketh an honest mind prisoner."

A large number of the Bishops' renderings are, however, ruled out as sources, because they happen to agree with the Genevan or some other version. The best that can be said for the Bishops' is that there are a few possible instances

in which Bacon may have used it. One of these, the words "strong Hold", in his version of Prov.18.11(VI.460,VII. 60) has already been mentioned as possibly borrowed from the Bishops' version of Prov.10.15. But "strong hold" is by no means uncommon in other versions, e.g. the Great Bible.

When we read of the Turks that they were "a people that is without natural affection, and as the Scripture saith, that regardeth not the desires of women"(VII.22), we can take the quotation as from either the Bishops' or the Genevan of Dan.11.37./ though it is not exact in either case. But why the Bishops, when so much other evidence points to the Genevan?

Just as certainly as Shakespeare quoted the Bishops' on many occasions, so just as certainly Bacon did not. The point is of some importance in dispelling the illusion that Bacon and Shakespeare were the same person. It is true that both Bacon and Shakespeare were much indebted to the Genevan . But the Bishops' Bible, which exercised a wide influence on Shakespeare, had none on Bacon. Similarly, practically there is/no evidence that Shakespeare knew the Latin Vulgate, the version on which Bacon chiefly relied. Though there are many points of similarity between Bacon's and Shakespeare's knowledge and use of the Bible, the Bishops' version is not one of them.

A simple example is one already mentioned in passing. Bacon remarked that "Samson (was) not to be bound by cobwebs but by cords"(XI.199) and referred to the Genevan account of the story in Judg.16.7-8, where Samson was bound by Dililah with "cordes." Shakespeare, in alluding to the same incident, punned on the "seuen withs that were yet green" mentioned by the Bishops" (Love's Labour'sLost, I.ii.94). Bacon was familiar with the Genevan version of the story, and Shakespeare with that in the Bishops.'

Bacon's version of Deut.15.4,"that there be no begger in Israel"(XI.252), may be compared with the Bishops':"there shal. be no beggar among you.""Beggar"is the distinctive word, not found in G, though D has it. But the Bishops' has merely copied the rendering as given in Co, Ma, Ta, and the Great Bible.

"Reasonable service," in Bacon's rendering of Rom.12.1 (III.479), occurs only in the Bishops' and Rhemish:"Our reason able seruice of God." The others have "reasonable serving." Was Bacon influenced by the Bishops', or Rhemish, or neither?

The Bishops' "Painted sepulchres"(Matt.23.27) is found also in the Great Bible. See Chap.VI, p.167.

B. THE GREAT BIBLE (CRANMER'S) & OTHER SOURCES

There is one reason to suppose that Bacon had heard, or was otherwise familiar with, the Great Bible, though here again it should be stressed that he might easily have got the information from other sources.

"Leaven " is used in the Bible with three different meanings, but Bacon used it only in the figurative sense of St. Paul's words in 1 Cor.5.6 and Gal.5.9. He excommunicated the incestuous adulterers of the Church of Corinth and warned them to purge out the old leaven,or the sinners, who do injury to the Church.

Bacon wrote that Roman Catholic books tended "to sour the lump of all Papists in their loyalty"(XII.162). Seminary priests are also blamed because by their arts they "depraved and soured with a new leaven of malignity the whole lump of Catholics,which had before been more sweet" (VI.315), because "a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits"(VI.152).

The distinctive word is "sour" instead of the well-known "leaven" of modern versions. Compare Coverdale, whose version alone has "sowereth"in both 1 Cor.5.6 and Gal.5.9:

> Knowe ye not that a litle leauen sowereth the whole lompe of dowe? (Also Gal.5.9) Pourge out therefore the olde leauen,that ye maye be new dowe like as ye are swete bred . . . let vs kepe Easter,not in ye olde leauen nor in the leauen of maliciousness,and wickednes, but in the swete bred of pureness and of the trueth. (1 Cor.5.6-8).

"Sowereth" as in Tyndale, Matthew,Taverner,and the Great Bible. The Great Bible was still read in some Churches in Bacon's time and "sowereth" may well have been proverbial. Compare the Homily "Of the Resurrection:"

> In trust of his mercy,take you in hand to <u>purge this old leaven</u> of sin,that corrupteth and soureth the sweetness of your life before God(p.470).

See also the 9th paragraph of "To the Reader,"prefixed to the Authorised Version:"such as are,if not frozen in the dregs,yet sowred with the leauen of their own superstition." Hence, Henry VII's journey to the north "purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people" who had been "in no good affection towards him"(VI. 43). The author of "To the Reader" is unknown.

Elsewhere Bacon stated that he entered into a discussion of controversies in the church "out of no vein of

popularity,ostentation,desire of novelty . . . or any the like leaven," but with "simplicity and sincerity of affection"(X.103). In "To the Reader" it is said of the Church,"Hath her sweet bread bene min led with leauen?" (10th para.). Similar expressions are found in XIV.63 ("a little of the old leauen"), IX.160("pure and unleavened" ---with reference to his "course" towards the Queen), and IX.117("purge out this leaven so strange and odious"). Bacon also took a scientific interest in the action of leaven on dough (I.342,600;II.195,277).

Clearly "soureth" for "leaveneth" was proverbial, and therefore the evidence in favour of the Great Bible "Soureth, according to the Oxford Concordance, occurs as late as 1642(with reference to 1 Cor.5.6).Launcelot Andrewes,on the other hand,invariably wrote "leaveneth the whole lump." C. DOUAY O.T.

The Douay O.T. published by the Roman Catholic College at Douay in 1609-10 was,like the Rhemish,a translation in general from the Vulgate. It would be surprising if Bacon,whose command of Latin was exemplary, had had recourse to it. When agreement between the Douay and Bacon's renderings occur,they must be regarded scepticelly. All such cases are probably coincidental, as Bacon is known to have translated from the Vulgate himself.

Most of these are too trivial to mention, but one example of exact agreement will suffice. Bacon's version of Eccl.3.6 (written in 1594) was "A tyme to gett and a tyme to loose"(Pro.f.86b). No English version then published had "gett" in this verse. The Douay was the first to use "gett", and AV adopted the same word. The disparity between the dates shows the futility of drawing any conclusions from such agreements.

D. OTHER LATIN VERSIONS

Similarities between Bacon's renderings and other versions are more or less of the same kind. For example, Bacon's version of Rom.7.7(Pro.f.91b),"Non nossem peccatum nisi per legem," may be compared with Castalione's version, "peccatum non nossem nisi per legem." The Vulgate has "cognovi" for "nossem." Similarly, Bacon's "viri,fratres, quid agemus?"(VIII.91 and Acts 2.37) resembles Castalione's "quid agemus,uiri fratres?" rather then the Vulgate's "Quid faciemus,viri fratres?" Or Bacon's version of Ex.16. 3(I.616,III.383),"ad olles carnium," agrees with Juda,

though the disagreement with the Vulgate's "super ollas carnium" is too small to matter.

For other resemblances between Bacon's renderings and Castalione's version see Chap.IV,p.99(Acts 3.21),Chap.V,p.114(Heb.2.2), and Chap.VI.p.139(James 1.20).

CHAPTER IV

WHEREIN BACON'S USE OF THE BIBLE WAS UNIQUE I

Did Bacon in his use of the Bible differ from his contemporaries, or from other writers before him or since? Not being primarily a dramatist like Shakespeare, he did not use the Bible with the same dramatic effect that a writer of plays could achieve ; not being primarily a theologian like Andrewes, Hooker, or Whitgift, or Cartwright, he did not use Scripture as a fundamental criterion to which all his opinions and proposals could be referred; and not being primarily a poet, like Donne or Herbert, he did not make conspicuous use of the Bible as a vehicle of emotion. Was then Bacon original or inventive in his use of Scripture?

Many would perhaps agree with the opinion of Canon Henry Todd (quoted by Noble,p.98), that "Bacon often misinterpreted and misapplied Scripture, Shakespeare rarely," though this, as far as I can see, is based on nothing but confident assumption. Instead, Bacon, in his interpretation and application of Scripture, was highly original. His so-called misinterpretations and misapplications of the Bible will be discussed in the Chapter following. Here we are concerned with his original uses of Scripture.

I propose to explain the assertion at the head of this Chapter not by a lengthy rehearsal of the many ways in which Bacon manifested his genius for applying specific biblical analogies or other illustrations, or by examining the long list of his independent renderings, but by a brief review of six instances in which Bacon showed originality in applying his knowledge of the Bible. The first, which is the longest, is the Doctrine of Idols, the second is Hercules and the earthen pot in Of Adversity, the third is the Mercury Rod in Of Unity in Religion, the fourth is "Suavibus Modis," the fifth is "Gloria in Obsequio," and the last is the "Despised Weed" of Bacon's Prayer,or Psalm.

THE DOCTRINE OF IDOLS

In the Novum Organum, in Book I,Aphorism xxxix, the four Idols are thus described:

> There are four classes of Idols which beset men's minds. To these for distinction's sake I have assigned names,---calling the first class Idols of the Tribe; the second, Idols of the Cave; the third, Idols of the Market-place; the fourth, Idols of the Theatre (IV.53).

It is proposed to ask and to attempt to answer the question, Does Bacon's Doctrine of the Idols have its origin in the Bible? "Have its origin" is a strong phrase, and needs qualification. I should not care to be an advocate of any theory claiming that Bacon's doctrine of idols, or any other of his doctrines, actually derived from the Bible. "Books," he wrote (and he specially referred to "the new translation of the Bible" of 1611)," must follow sciences, and not sciences books."(XIII.67). There is, however, reason to believe that the word "idol" (the meaning of which as a false mental conception Bacon introduced into the language) was borrowed from the Bible , where it means "worshipped image." To adapt the Bible's language concerning idols and idolatry as a persuavive means of presenting his doctrine about the false mental conceptions of the human mind was in accordance with his rule "to apply Reason to Imagination for the better moving of the will"(III.409).and with his belief that "words of similitude" serve to "second and feed the imagination" (II.657). As already mentioned , he held that of all the means of moving the will of man(which was so "maniable and obedient") the most important was religion, "which is able to change and transform it in the deepest and most inward inclinations and motions"(VII.100). No provision was made for acknowledgment of sources , nor should we expect to find it. The purpose of his rule of rhetoric was to persuade his readers or hearers without any realisation on their part that they were being persuaded.

Another reason why in this case Bacon would have avoided acknowledgment was that his borrowings were mostly from, as I have said, the Book of Wisdom, an uncanonical book. Very seldom did he quote from the Apocrypha directly. It is curious that his only mention of an apocryphal book concerns idols:

> I remember, the Book of Wisdom noteth degrees of idolatry, making that of worshipping petty and vile idols more gross than simply the worshipping of the creature. (VII.22 and Wisd.15.18).

This passage is the best evidence that Bacon's remark

about Sir Thomas Overbury, that "the greatest fault that ever I heard by him was, that he made his friend his idol"(XII.216), is a direct allusion to the Bible. Somerset is meant, whose minion Overbury was. Hence the remainder of the passage,

> And some of the prophets, as I take it, do the like, in the metaphor of more ugly and bestial fornication.(VII.22 and Ezek.16.17, Hos.4.12; Wisd.14.12),

Cf.

and the comparable mention of "the Spirit of Fornication" in the New Atlantis (III.152 and Hos.4.12).

This brings us to the crux of the matter, which is the possible similarity between Bacon's censure of idols as worshipped objects and idols as fallacies of the human mind. In both cases the contrast is between the worship of a false god and the true God:

> There is a great difference between the idols of the human mind and the ideas of the divine mind, that is to say, between certain empty dogmas, and the true signatures and marks set upon creatures as they are found (in nature). (Novum Organum, Aph.xxiii: I.160). (1620)

> POLLIO. . . If, as you say, there be a difference between worshipping a base idol and the sun, there is a much greater difference between worshipping a creature and the Creator. For the Turks do acknowledge God the Father, creator of heaven and earth, being the first person of the Trinity, though they deny the rest.(An Holy Warre, VII.22-3). (1622)

The difference between the worship of a true God and a false god or idol had strongly impressed itself on Bacon's mind. He made the same distinction in the Charge Against Oliver St.John in 1615:

> There is a great difference, I tell you, (though Pilate would not see it) between Rex Judaeorum and se dicens Regem Judaeorum. And there is a great difference between a benevolence and an exaction called a benevolence.(XII. 139-40 and John 19.21).

It would be difficult to say whether Bacon borrowed this contrast from the Bible (the words se dicens in the last quotation are his own version) or whether he only used the Bible to illustrate it. The same distinction is certainly found in Scripture, e.g. the "difference betweene holy and vnholy"(Lev.10.10, AV: Cf.Ezek.44.23), but "a much greater difference between worshippings creature and the Creator" (VII.22) and the mention of the Turks clearly relate back to the theme of Bacon's remark about Overbury, and refer

to St. Paul's censure of the sodomites

> Who changed the trueth of God into a lye,and worshipped and serued the creature more than the Creatour.(Rom.1.25,AV).

Martius, in An Holy Warre, had just described the Turks as a people that is without natural affection(Rom.1.31), and,as the Scripture saith,that regardeth not the desires of women. (VII.22 and Dan.11.37).

From these instances it is plain that Bacon considered "the idols of the human mind" (which are "certain empty dogmas") as identical with "worshipping a creature", and "the ideas of the divine mind" as identical with "worshipping the Creator.". Incidentally, it is in this distinction that the germ of Bacon's doctrine of the separation of religion and science(or reason and faith) lies. Therefore,

> God is only self-like,having nothing in common with any creature,otherwise than is shadow and trope(Cf.Is.40.18).Therefore attend his will as himself openeth it,and give unto faith that which unto faith belongeth(Cf.Matt.22.21);for more worthy it is to believe than to think and know.(III.218).

It seems to have been for this reason that Bacon wrote in the Promus,"Non credimus quia non legimus"(f.88b)---we do not believe because we do not read, and in the Prayer,or Psalm, "Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more"(XIV.230).

The doctrine of Idols is one of the essential doctrines of Bacon's philosophy. Until Ellis disposed of the suggestion, it was thought ~~they were~~ thought to have been borrowed from Roger Bacon's four Hindrances to knowledge.Ellis concluded that it was ~~they were~~, "so far as he(Bacon)was aware,altogether his own"(I.90). But Bacon must have been aware that the idols of the human mind were the same idols condemned in the Bible because their worship was worshipping the creature and not the Creator. He could not have thought of one,having noted the "degrees of idolatry" in the Book of Wisdom(VII.22), without thinking of the other.

Ellis claimed that Bacon used the word idol(idolon) only in antithesis to idea(as in the 23rd Aphorism of the Novum Organum)but that he nowhere referred to an idol as an image of a false God.(I.89). Hallam pointed out that to read "idol" as "worshipped object" was an error fallen into by many(Intro. to the Lit.of Europe,III.iii.60). Both writers might have ~~erred~~ phrased their remarks differently had they been aware of the extent of Bacon's indebtedness to the Bible. Bacon re-

ferred to idols as "worshipped objects"in many places. It requires no deep perception to see that Bacon used the word "idol" in a figurative sense, and thereby gave it a new meaning. He did not entirely separate it from its significance as "worshipped object", but extended its meaning from the image of a false god to the false notions that have taken possession of men's minds. We must not forget that Bacon was a man of the Renaissance who, unlike many of his critics, as noted by Prof. Bush,"never lost sight of the whole range of knowledge"(Eng. Lit.in the Early 17th Cent,p.261). Though he championed the separation of religion and philosophy, his own religion and philosophy were complementary,and are best understood by reference to each other.

The issue of idols of the human mind versus idols as worshipped objects is one of great interest to an inquiry into Bacon's knowledge and use of Scripture, because of the strong probability that the Bible was their common source. It is now proposed to illustrate the conjecture that the one derived from the other.

In the early Meditationes Sacrae (1597),heresies "which deny the power of God"(VII.253) are divided into three parts, the second of which is

> of those who think it too injurious to the majesty of God to allow of an active and affirmative principle being set up against him,and therefore reject such boldness;but nevertheless bring in a negative and privative principle in opposition to him.(VII.253).

Though the second part of heresy is here given no name, idolatry is certainly meant,as is clear from a comparison with the same division into three of the "declinations from religion" at the end of the Advancement of Learning, the second of which is described simply as

> Idolatry,when we worship false gods,supposing them to be true(III.490).

We now turn to Bacon's doctrine of idols as described in their first form . There were but three(I.139,III.549) , and they were not called idols; nor are they given that name in the Advancement of Learning (In De Augmentis,the doctrine is briefly explained and the word"idol"is used). It is in the Advancement of Learning asserted that "the root of all superstition" is the belief

> That to the nature of the mind of all men it is consonant for the affirmative or active to affect more than the negative or privative: so that a few times hitting or presence,countervails oft-times failing or absence. (III.395). (For a similar passage see II.668).

Though this is followed by a number of examples taken from classical authors,it is impossible to believe that Bacon was not indebted to the following passage from the Bible:

> Whom men could not honour in presence,because they dwelt farre off,they tooke the counterfeit of his visage from farre,and made an expresse image of a king whom they honoured,to the end that by this their forwardnes,they might flatter him that was absent,as if he were present. Also the singular diligence of the artificer did helpe to set forward the ignorant to more superstition.(Wisd.14.17-18,AV).

When , in the Novum Organum (1620) , Bacon presented the doctrine in its final form, there were four Idols:

A. IDOLS OF THE TRIBE (IDOLA TRIBUS)

> The Idols of the Tribe have their foundation in human nature itself,and in the tribe or race of men . . . For it is a false assertion that the sense of man is the measure of things. On the contrary, all perceptions as well as of the sense as of the mind are according to the measure of the individual and not according to the measure of the universe. And the human understanding is like a false mirror,which receiving rays irregularly,distorts and discolours the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it(I.163).

That the sense of man is not the measure of things is the theme of the 13th and 15th chapters of the Book of Wisdom,where those who worship man-made gods are strongly condemned. Cf.Wisd.15.8:

> And employing his labours lewdly,he maketh a vaine God of the same clay,euen he which a little before was made of earth himselfe,and within a little while after returneth to the same . . .(AV)

"The false mirror"(described in the Adv.of Learning as "an enchanted glass,full of superstition and imposture,"III.395)probably alludes to Jas.1.23-4:

> For if any be a hearer of the word and not a doer,he is like vnto a man beholding his naturall face in a glass:for hee beholdeth himselfe,and goeth his way,and straightway forgetteth what maner of man he was.(AV:Cf. III.461,VI.441).

At the same time ,in scorning the doctrine of making man communis mensura, Bacon remarked that Velleius the Epicurean "needed not to have asked why God should have adorned the heavens with stars,as if he had been an Aedilis,one that should have set forth some magnificent shews or plays." For, he remarked of God,"if that great work-master had been of an human disposition,he would have cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders,like the frets in the

roofs of houses"(III.396). See Wisd.13.1-2:

> Surely vaine are all men by nature,who are ignorant of God,and could not out of the good things that are seene, know him that is:neither by considering the workes,did they acknowledge the worke-master.
>
> But deemeddeither fire,or wind,or the swift aire,or the circle of the stars,or the violent water,or the lights of heauen to be the gods which gouerne the world.(AV).

The doctrine of Idols is closely linked with Bacon's separation of reason and faith. It was not by chance that the passage quoted from the Meditationes Sacrae occurs in an explanation and interpretation of Matt.22.29---"You err,not knowing the Scriptures,nor the power of God,"---a text with which,as I have said (Chap.II,p.49),the separation of reason and faith is connected.

Henry VII was also "vexed with idols(meaning the idols of the people:Lambert Symnell and Perkin Warbeck).But the King said that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself to be vexed with idols(Lev.18.4),and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his friends"(VI.194). The use of the word "idol" in this third sense seems to be a further extension of Bacon's doctrine that the idols of the tribe have their foundation "in the tribe or race of men." Even the phrase,"Idols of the Tribe," has a biblical ring about it.Cf.Deut.29.17-18.

B. IDOLS OF THE CAVE (IDOLA SPECUS)

> The Idols of the Cave are the idols of the individual man. For everyone (besides the errors common to humen nature in general)has a cave or den of his own,which refracts and discolours the light of nature(I.164).

Although Bacon expressly stated that the Idols of the Cave were suggested by Plato's famous image of the cave,he guarded himself against being supposed to represent the full intention of Plato's parable,adding parenthetically that he did not intend to enter into "the exquisite subtlety of the allegory"(I.645).

Compare the description of the idolaters in the Egyptian darkness:

> They were scattered vnder a darke vaile of forgetfulnesse being horribly astonished,and troubled with (strange) apparitions.For neither might the corner(The Vulgate has spelunca,a cave or den)that helds them keepethem from feare:but noises(as of waters)falling downe,sounded about them,and sadde visions appeared vnto themwith heauie countenances.No power of the fire might giue them light: neither could the bright flames of the starresendure to lighten that horrible night . . . being much terrified, they thought the things which they saw to be worse then the sight they saw not(Wisd.17.3-6).

The "darke vaile of forgetfulnesse" seems to suggest that the darknesse plagued the minds as well as the bodies of the Egyptians.In the last verse the Vulgate says that they thought the things which they did not see,the creations of their own fear,more terrible than those they saw. With the "strange apparitions" and "sadde visions" (Vulgate,"personae tristes illis apparentes") compare Bacon's "strange and absurd imaginations" and "false appearances"(I.645). Elsewhere the word "spectra"(phantoms) is used by Bacon with the same force as "idola" (III.607).

Idols of the Cave arise from an individual's temperament and personality. Bacon, who knew Overbury,thought that his only fault was,as already stated, "that he made his friend his idol"(XII.216). If the Countess of Somerset had pleaded guilty to receiving and keeping poisons to murder Overbury, Bacon would have charged her with a vow of secrecy "like the Egyptian darkness, a gross and palpable darkness that may be felt"(XII. 303n and Ex.10.21). Both are examples of Idols of the Cave.

C. IDOLS OF THE MARKET-PLACE(IDOLA FORI).

> There are also Idols formed by the intercourse and association of men with each other,which I call Idols of the Market-Place,on account of the commerce and consort of men there.For it is by discourse that men associate;and words are imposed according to the apprehension of the vulgar. And therefore the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding, and thrdws all into confusion,and leads men away into numberless empty controversies and idle fancies(I.164).

Compare Wisd.14.20-2:

> And so the multitude,allured by the grace of the worke, tooke him now for a god,which a litle before was but honoured as a man. And this was an occasion to deceiue the world:for men seruing either calamitie or tyrannie, did ascribe vnto stones,and stockes,the incommunicable Name. Moreouer this was not enough for them,that they erred in the knowledge of God,but whereas they liued in the great warre of ignorance,those so great plagues called they peace(AV).

Compare also James 3.5-8:

> Euen so the tongue is a little member and boasteth great things . . . the tongue is a fire,a world of iniquitie:so is the tongue amongst our members,that it defileth the whole body,and setteth on fire the course of nature . . . the tongue no man can tame,it is an vnruly euill,ful of deadly poyson(AV). (See also Prov. 10.19).

D. IDOLS OF THE THEATRE (IDOLA THEATRI)

> Lastly,there are idols which have immigrated into men's minds from the various dogmas of philosophies,and also from wrong laws of demonstration.These I call Idols of the Theatre;because in my judgment all the received systems are but so many stage-plays,representing worlds of their own creation after an unreal and scenic fashion(I.164).

Compare the words in Wisd.15.4-6 of those men whom God delivered from idolatry:

> For neither did the mischieuous imuention of men deceiue vs:nor an image spotted with diuers colours, the painters fruitlesse labour(Vulgate=umbra picturae, the shadow of a picture).The sight whereof entiseth fooles to lust after it,and so they desire the forme of a dead image that hath no breath.Both they that make them,and they that worship them,are louers of euill things,and are worthy to haue such things to trust vpon(AV).

The word "theatre" possibly originated in a remark of Epicurus's, quoted by Seneca:

> It is a poor saying of Epicurus,Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus(each is to other a theatre large enough),as if man,made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects,should do nothing but kneel before a little idol,and make himself a subject,though not of the mouth(as beasts are),yet of the eye,which was given him for higher purposes (VI.397:Cf.III.279).

A remark in Of Counsel may be compared with the "dead image" of Wisd.15.5:

> It is vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters,if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons;for all matters are as dead images;and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons(VI.426).

Also in Of Custom and Education:

> a man would wonder to hear men profess,protest, engage,give great words,and then do just as they have done before;as if they were dead images,and engines moved only by the wheels of custom(VI.471).

Finally, Bacon concluded the presentation of the doctrine of Idols in the following words:

> Idols,and their equipage . . . must be renounced and put away with a fixed and solemn determination,and the understanding thoroughly freed and cleansed,the entrance into the kingdom of man,founded on the sciences,being not much other than the entrance into the kingdom of heaven,whereinto none may enter except as a little child(I.179 and Matt.18.3).

The Idols of the human mind, therefore, corrupt philosophy with superstition and an admixture of theology,just as worshipped idols are the root of all superstition and "the beginning,the cause,and the end of all evill"(Wisd. 14.27,AV). An examination of Bacon's doctrine of idols reveals his very considerable knowledge of the Book of Wisdom. Moreover, he showed great originality, as well as a keen psychological insight, in giving new meaning to the word Idol by applying the Bible's language and imagery concerning idolatry to his philosophical doctrine of false illusions of the human mind.

The doctrine of Idols is only one example of how Bacon used biblical terminology in his philosophical and scientific works. Others are "Instauratio Magna"(Acts 3.21: Castalione has "instauratio omnium"), the"Parasceve" (I. 394 et seq. and Mark 15.42), "Magnalia Naturae"(I.573~~n &c.~~ and Ps.105.21,Ecclus.42.21,Acts 2.11), "Sermones Fideles", the Latin title of the trsnslation of the Essays(XIV.531 and 1 Tim.4.9), and "De Sapientia Veterum"(VI.617 et seq. and Ecclus.39.1)---"the wise man wil search out the wisdom of al the ancientes."

HERCULES AND THE EARTHEN POT OR PITCHER

In 1609, in the Wisdom of the Ancients, Bacon remarked that

> The voyage of Hercules especially, sailing in a pitcher (in urceo) to set Prometheus free, seems to present an image of God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh (in carne tanquam fragili vasculo) to redeem the human race. (VI.676).

In the essay Of Adversity (1625) the same remark occurs in a slightly different form. It is there asserted as a "strange fiction of the ancient poets" that

> Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher; lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the waves of the world. (VI.386).

Bacon's editors have been unsuccesful in tracing the source of the statement that the voyage of Hercules was made "in an earthen pot or pitcher." Reynolds examined all the known variations of the story and its classical sources, but was unable to explain the "earthen pot or pitcher." Nor was he evidently aware that the rest of the passage alluded to the Bible. Ignorance of that fact led him to infer that Bacon's reference to a pot or pitcher was his own invention, though strangely enough in this case he did not condemn Bacon for his inaccuracy.

I prefer to consider this not as an inaccuracy, but as deliberate fusing by Bacon of biblical with classical sources. It must be reiterated that he was primarily a man of the Renaissance. Two sources of learning were open to him, Christian and classical. To Bacon the real or apparent points of contact and contrast between Greek philosophy and tradition and Christian theology and symbolism were a living reality in a way which has long ceased to have significance for many of us. If this point is borne in mind the confusion will seem as natural as it probably was.

The confusion in this case was simple. Bacon's memory seems to have played him a trick and he confused the two meanings of the word "vessel," namely a vessel for household use, and a sea-going vessel. The word is used in these two different senses within a few verses of each other in the Book of Wisdom (chapters 13-15). The fact that the image of Christian

resolution sailing in the frail bark of the flesh to redeem the world is quite possibly an allusion to Wisd.14.6, increases the probability that Bacon borrowed his "earthen pot or pitcher" for Herculesofrom the Bible.

Let us take the confusion between the two meanings of "vessel" first.In Wisd.13.11 the carpenter is commended because he "cutteth down a tre mete for the worke,and pareth of all the barke thereof cunningly and by art maketh a vessel profitable for the use of life"(G).The carpenter's sin was that he used the left-over wood to carve an idol,the image of a man,to which he prayed(Wisd.13.11-19). This brings the 13th chapter to a close,and the 14th begins:

> Againe,one preparing himselfe to saile,and about to passe through the raging waues,calleth vpon a piece of wood more rotten then the vessel that carrieth him.(Wisd. 14.1,AV).

In this passage the meaning of the word "vessel" has already changed. It is no longer "a vessel profitable for the use of life" but "a vessel that carrieth him," or a ship. The latter meaning is retained in Wisd.14.5-6:

> Neuerthelesse thou wouldest not that the worke of thy wisedome should be idle,and therefore doe men commit their liues to a small piece of wood,and passing the rough sea in a weake vessell,are saued.For in the old time also when the proud giants perished,the hope of the world governed by thy hand,escaped in a weake vessell,and left to all ages a seed of generation.(AV).

This is followed by a long passage about the perils of idolatry until, in Wisd.15.7,the word "vessel" is used again in its first sense;though here the vessel is made not of wood, but earth:

> For the potter tempering soft earth,fashioneth euery vessell with much labour for our seruice:yea of the same clay hee maketh both the vessels that serue for cleane vses:and likewise also all such as serue to the contrary.

Bacon's "fragilis vasculus"(frail vessel) and "frail bark" were perhaps confused with Wisd.15.13:

> Now he $\overset{t}{y}$ of earth maketh frayle vessell and ymages knoweth himself to offende aboue all other.

This is Coverdale's rendering, which was adopted by all subsequent versions as "frayle vessells" until the Authorised, which introduced "brickle vessels." Bacon wrote "fragilis vasculus" (VI.676) two years before the Authorised Version appeared. The use of the word "vessel" in the 14th and 15th chapters of Wisdom with two different meanings is,

however, peculiar to the Authorised. None of the other versions speaks of the boat in which the hope of the world fled as a "vessel," but as a "shippe" or an "arke." The Vulgate has "ratis." The "barke" pared off by the carpenter in Wisd.13.11, the "arke" in Wisd.14.6, and Bacon's "frail bark" are other terms which his memory may have confused.

It seems possible that having confused the two meanings of "vessel", he wrote "fragilis vasculus" in 1609, but changed this to "frail bark" in 1625. Hercules, who was made to sail in a pitcher ("in urceo") in 1609, was by 1625 in "an earthen pot or pitcher," while God the Word or Christian resolution, got a "frail vessel" in the earlier version and "a frail bark" in the later. Readers of the first version were given no hint that the conveyance in which the Word of God "hastened" was anything but a pitcher, like that of Hercules, whereas readers of Of Adversity were plainly told that Christian resolution was carried by mankind like a ship through the waves of the world. It is somewhat surprsing, therefore, that in the Latin translation of the essay (published in 1638)---whether Bacon was its translator or not we do not know,----"in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the waves of the world" became "in Fragili Carnis Testâ, per Mundi Fluctus," "Testa" in Latin can only mean, not a ship or bark, but an earthen pot or pitcher, so that, in effect, the Latin translator of Of Adversity returned to the original version of the Word of God travelling like Hercules in an earthen pot or pitcher, and not in a "bark."

It will be seen that the metaphor in the passage of 1609 is substantially different from that of 1625. "God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race" possibly alludes to John 1.14, "And the word was made flesh." In the original Latin, "vasculum," vessel, of course meant a utensil, not a ship, and it is probable that Bacon had in mind St. Paul's metaphor for the human body as an earthen vessel: "we haue this treesure in earthen vessels, that the excellencie of the power may be of God, and not of vs" (2 Cor.4.7, AV). The meaning is that we bear the treasure of Christ through the world not in vessels of silver and gold (like the treasure of earthly conquerors) but in earthen vessels---that is, our bodies, made by God from the dust of the earth. To make the comparison with Hercules more apposite, Bacon had him sail on his voyage in a pitcher or

earthen pot or vessel. It was not a mere inaccuracy on his part. He had (VI.670) ,following the story as reported by Athenaeus,Macrobius,and Appllodorus, already mentioned that Hercules sailed across the ocean in a cup(*in poculo").

By the substitution of the word "bark" for "vessel" in the version of 1625,Bacon completely altered the meaning of the metaphor. In doing so he consciously or unconsciously referred /to Noah (a figure of Christ) who, as "the hope of the world," "escaped in a weake vessell,and left to all ages a seed of generation"(Wisd.14.6,AV). Yet in the Latin translation (1638) "the frail bark of the flesh" becomes once again "the frail earthen pitcher of the flesh"(Fragili Carnis Testâ) of the earlier version.

We do not know whether Bacon lived to see the Latin translation of the Essays completed, but such of it as he did complete (or supervised the completion of) was certainly done with care, because Latin was the language in which he hoped the Essays would live(VI.369). Because of its later date, the Latin translation is the higher authority, and the reversion from "frail bark" to "frail vessel" was no doubt intended as the final correction.

Why then did Bacon write "frail bark" in 1624 or 1625? I think the answer may be that in 1624 he was also engaged in writing the New Atlantis. In that work he described how Christianity was brought to Bensalem, how, in miraculous circumstances,"a small ark or chest of cedar" bearing the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments,appeared on the sea (III.138). This was almost certainly intended to symbolise the ark of Gen.6.14 and Wisd.14.5-6. The original ark was of "gopher-wood," but the cedar was a tree planted by God(Ps.103.16), and therefore holy. St. Bartholomew's words in his letter to the peopleof Bensalem ,saying that he was "warned by an angel . . . that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea"(III.138) ,alluded to Gen.7.18,And the Arke went upon the face of the waters"(AV). "

> And thus was this land saved from infidelity as the remain of the old world was from water by an ark(III.139). . . the ark. . . saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge(III.140).

The "small ark" was Bacon's "frail bark" in which "Christian resolution" sailed "thorough the waves of the world" bringing the Word of God to redeem the human race in Bensalem.

It should perhaps be added that the interpretation I have given is in disagreement with that advanced by Professor Lemmi. He was chiefly concerned with the classical sources of Bacon's description of the voyage of Hercules:

> Hercules sailed across the ocean in a cup(in poculo)that was given to him by the Sun,came to Caucasus,shot the eagle with his arrows,and set Prometheus free.(VI.746).

When Prof.Lemmi discussed Bacon's subsequent mention of Hercules he wrote:

> Bacon did not mention the sun this time,but he may have thought of Mal.iv.2 and other biblical passages(Rev.i.16, Ps.19.4,84.11). Bacon's words incline me to believe that he was familiar with certain incidents in the myth of Prometheus which indeed are strikingly suggestive of the Atonement.Hercules binds himself vicariously,with a crown of olive,for Prometheus(Apollodorus,Library,II.5.11)and finds in Chiron a substitute who shall die in his place (Id,5.4) . . . I suspect that some Alexandrine exegesist did in fact explain the voyage of Hercules as an allegory of the Advent, for Julian makes a mocking reference to the herd's having walked across the sea(Orations VII);but under the circumstances Bacon hardly needed to be shown the way(The Classic Deities in Bacon,1933,p.140).

He held that Hercules was primarily the symbol of the philosophical courage of stoic wisdom, wisdom in Plato (and in the Bible) being as the sun shining from heaven. With regard to the "frail vessel" Prof. Lemmi wrote:

> The myth speaks of a vessel and Bacon doubtless remembered passages in which man and his body appear under this figment.The righteous man is not as a weaker vessel;he knows how to possess his vessel in sanctification;he is indeed a chosen vessel.Or,to descend to less august examples,he is an earthen pot floating down the stream of life and unafraid despite the iron pots around him.(p.139).

Prof.Lemmi's analysis is suggestive, but his purpose was ostensibly to discover Bacon's classical rather than biblical sources. He missed the significant change from "vessel" to "bark," which points to the Book of Wisdom. Hercules sailing "in a Cuppe"(so Sir Arthur Gorges translated "in urceo" in 1619) first presented an image of the divine word and then "lively" described"Christian resolution."He represents these things rather than stoic wisdom. And so Bacon wrote of his sentence, in equivocal language not unconnected with the symbol of Hercules,

> I thank God I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution,so that worldly matters are but mint and cumin. (XIV.282-3:Cf.Chap.II,p.46).

THE MERCURY ROD AND THE WORD OF GOD

There are a number of Bacon's biblical interpretations which would hardly obtain the sanction of orthodoxy. Perhaps the two most outstanding instances are his assertion that Pan was sprung from the Divine Word through the medium of confused matter, and his identification of the brasen serpent of the Old and New Testaments with the caduceus (or two entwined serpents) of Mercury or Hermes. The explanation is substantially the same in both cases.

The most familiar passage in which the allusion occurs in in Of Unity in Religion:

> It is most necessary that the Church by doctrine and decree, Princes by their sword,and all learnings,both Christian and moral,as by their Mercury rod,do damn and send to hell forever those facts and opinions tending to the support of (the subversion of states and governments).(VI.384).

The phrase "as by their Mercury rod" clearly refers to Homer(Odyssey,v.47ff,xxiv,1-5) and Virgil (Aeneid,iv,242-4), where Mercury is described as sending with his wand (caduceus) pale ghosts to gloomy Tartarus.

But why is it that the Church, in the first instance, is advised to destroy these subversive opinions "as by their Mercury rod?" The reason, as far as I can judge, is because Bacon believed Mercury to be the Word of God:

> Nature(represented by Pan)is either the offspring of Mercury---that is,of the Divine Word(an opinion which the Scriptures establish beyond question,and which was entertained by all the more divine philosophers);or else of the seeds of things mixed and confused together.(VI.709:also I.523) . . . Pan . . . is sprung from the Divine Word,through the medium of confused matter(which is itself God's creature)(VI.709:I.523-4).

The germ of the idea, as pointed out by Prof.Lemmi(Op.cit. p.67) ,seems to be taken from the Mythologiae of Natalis Comes. In that work it is stated that

> Mercury is the Divine Power or Will . . . which brings all things about,and Pan,or the totality of simple, natural bodies,is governed by the Divine Will . . . (Mythologiae,V.6).

Also,

> Nihil verò est aliud Pan quam natura ipsa à diuina prouidentia,menteque;proficiscens ac procreata.(ed.1605,p.450).

Bacon, however, has gone further than Natalis Comes. His statement that the Bible establishes beyond question that Mercury is the Divine Word seems to be based on such verses as the

following:

His word runneth very swiftly(Ps.147.15,Pr.BK.) , or
He sent his word and healed them(Ps.106.20(107.20)Pr.Bk.)

Mercury was the messenger of the gods and his caduceus (symbolised by two serpents entwined) was an instrument for healing as wellfas for sending ghosts to Tartarus.Bacon, perhaps following an ancient tradition, identified the caduceus of Hermes or Mercury with the "brasen serpent" of Num.21.9, which was a figure of Christ crucified(John 3.14).

Earlier he had written that

> the preaching of the holy word of God . . . is the lifting up of the brazen serpent,the ministry of faith,and the ordinary means of salvation(X.115).

See Num.21.8-9:

> And our Lord spake to him:Make a brasen serpent,and sette it for a signe:he that being striken looketh on it,shall liue. Moses therfore made a BRASEN SERPENT,and set it for a signe:whom when they that were striken,looked on,they were healed.

Also John 3.14-15:

> And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wildernesse: euen so must the Sonne of man be lifted vp,That whosoeuer belieueth in him,should not perish,but haue eternall life (AV)/

Characteristically,when he had occasion to refer to the story of Aaron's rod, Bacon confused it,evidently,with the "brasen serpent" of Moses, and so wrote,"as the serpent of Moses;might devour the serpents of the enchanters"(III.327-8 and Ex.7.12). And it is a curious fact that when,eighteen years later,the Advancement of Learning was revised and translated(with the help of others) into Latin, the same error, "serpent of Moses", instead of "serpent of Aaron", was repeated (I.492). In Ex.7.12 is is said that the enchanters "cast down euery man his rod and they became serpents:but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods"(AV).The connexion between this and Bacon's identification of Mercury as the Divine Word is quite clear:

> Therefore it is most necessary,that the Church by Doctrine and Decree;Princes by their Sword;and all Learnings, both Christian and Morall,as by their Mercury Rod;Doe Damne and send to Hell,for euer,those Facts and Opinions . . . (VI.384).

Mercury's rod was the rod of the Word of God,and perhaps Aaron's rod as well. The image occur again in Bacon's remark about Pindar that it was his peculiar gift to strike men's minds with some striking expression,as with a divine rod--"veluti virgula divina"(I.746).

SUAVIBUS MODIS

We have already cited Bacon's allusion to Wisd.8.1,"Per Potestatem suaviter disponentes,your Majesty will graciously save me from a sentence with the good liking of the House" (XIV.241). V has "disponit omnia suaviter"("(Wisedome)disposeth al thinges swetely"). This was written in 1621,and after that date, but not before it,the phrase suavibus modis occurs in Bacon's works five times(XIV.152,225,313,384,392). Rawley ascribed the expression to James I (I.13) through misreading; I believe, a letter from Bacon to the King in which he wrote:

> your Majesty would sometimes say . . . that I had a way to deal in business suavibus modis;which was the way was most according to your own heart. (XIV.384).

Suavibus modis is Bacon's own phrasing of the King's words. His preference for doing all things by gentle or sweet means may have been suggested ,or perhaps stimulated by Wisd. 8.1. Indeed,the theory that the best things are accomplished by gentle rather than harsh methods is a prominent part of Bacon's thought. Whether it was suggested to him by the Bible or not,he undoubtedly used Scripture in an original way to illustrate an identical theme.

For instance, in the Essay Of Judicature he wrote:

> Qui fortiter emungit,elicit sanguinem ;And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought,it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-Stone.(VI.507).

The Latin is Bacon's quotation,from the Vulgate,of the second part of Prov.30.33(borrowing "fortiter" from the first part).The Vulgate has,"qui vehementer emungit elicit sanguinem" ("he that violently cleanceth his nose,wringeth out bloud").

In the Controversies of the Church of England he had written:

> laws are likened to the grape,that being too much pressed, yield an hard and unwholesome wine. Of these things I must say:Ira viri non operatur justitiam Dei;the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.(VIII.90 & Jas. 1.20).
> Cf. also Apoc.19.15:
> the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God(AV).

This verse,as well as Prov.30.33 and James 1.20,may have suggested the metaphor.

The same figure is applied with great beauty in the De Augmentis:

> In wines . . . those which flow freely from the first treading of the grape are sweeter than those which are

> squeezed out by the wine-press,because the latter taste somewhat of the stone and the rind;so are those doctrines most wholesome and sweet which ooze out of the Scriptures when gently crushed,and are not forced into controversies and commonplaces. (I.836).

"Goddes presse;Voluntaries",listed in the Promus(f.114), may refer to those doctrines which are "not forced into controversies and commonplaces,"but are like wines that "flow freely from the first treading of the grape." See also VI.684:

> I find the wisdom of the ancients to be like grapes ill-trodden:something is squeezed out,but the best parts are left behind and passed over.

Bacon called a projected treatise,in which those doctrines "gently crushed" were collected, "the Emanations of the Scriptures"(I.836). This is listed among the Desiderata.

The origin of the striking illustration of the wine-press is probably biblical,as are other figures concerning wine. In XI.368 Bacon compared himself with Elihu,oneof Job's counsellors, who "saith of himself that he was like a vessel of new wine,that could not but burst forth in uttering his opinion." See Job 32.19-20:

> Behold,my belly is as wine,which hath no vent;it is ready to burst like new bottles. I will speake,that I may be refreshed(AV).

Elsewhere Bacon praised the eloquence of Isaiah and described him as "full of God's promises of the New Testament,as a skin full of sweet wine"(II.134). Apparently with the "new bottles" of Job 32.20 in mind,he called the last of the Desiderata at the end of the De Augmentis "Heavenly Bottles (Utres Coelestes),or Emanations of the Scriptures"(I.840). Rain is called "the bottles of heaven" in Job 38.37(AV),but he probably alluded to Job 32.19.

It is submitted that the remarkable way in which Bacon used the Bible to illustrate the theme of suavibus modis is far from being a misapplication of Scripture. He seems to have taken the imagery of the Bible,and then subtly combined it in his mind with memories of wine-making and wine-presses---memories, perhaps, of his travels in France as a young man. Certainly to take Elihu's metaphor and apply it so brilliantly to Isaiah requires more than ordinary ability, and more than ordinary knowledge of the Bible.

GLORIA IN OBSEQUIO

An excellent example of the dexterity with which Bacon could apply Scripture is found in a letter to the King advising him on the choice of a Lord Chancellor:

> For myself,I can only present your Majesty with gloria in obsequio: yet I dare promise,that if I sit in that place your business shall not make such short turns upon you as it doth,but when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed . . . (XII.243)

The reference to the Bible is perhaps not immediately apparent,but I have no doubt that Bacon alluded to Prov.25.6-7 and to Luke 14.10-11,and that the King understood the allusion:

> Appeare not glorious before the king,and in the place of great men stand not. For it is better that it be said to thee: Come vp hither; then that thou be humbled before the prince(Prov.25.5-6).

This passage has its counterpart in the New Testament, where Christ says:

> when thou art bidden,goe,sit downe in the lowest place; that when he that inuited thee,commeth,he may say to thee: Frende,sit vp higher. Then shalt thou haue glorie before them that sit at table with thee. Because euery one that exalteth him self,shal be humbled:and he that humbleth him self,shal be exalted(Luke 14.10-11).

It is submitted that by gloria in obsequio Bacon meant to suggest that only by humbling himself could he be exalted to the great office of Lord Chancellor. Elsewhere in the same letter he was very careful not to "appear glorious before the King:"

> I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it(XII.242).

Gloria in obsequio is not, as far as I know,found in any Bible. It was Bacon's own phrase chosen from the Parable of the Invited Guest and neatly applied to illustrate his own position to the King. A parallel text which may also have suggested it is Ecclus.20.11:"There is an abasement because of glory"(AV). Bacon's avowal in his Prayer to God,"when I have ascended before men,I have descended in humiliation before thee' (XIV.230),is probably indebted to the passage from St.Luke,or its equivalent in Matt.23.12:"Whosoeuer shall exalt himselfe shall be abased:and he that shall humble himselfe,shall be exalted"(AV).Yet compare Bacon's private note:"upon amendm^{t} of my fortune . . . I grew indisposed and inclined to superstition" (XI.79). See Chap.VI,p.148.

THE "DESPISED WEED"

The following sentence occurs in the Prayer,or Psalm, of 1621:

> the state and bread of the poor and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes(Ps.71.12-14);I have hated all cruelty(Prov.11.17)and hardness of heart(Deut.15.7). I have(though in a despised weed)procured the good of all men(XIV.230).

As the words "despised weed" have aroused some irresponsible comment,and have been taken as an allusion to his supposed authorship of the Shakespearean Plays, it is perhaps more necessary in this case than in others to point out Bacon's biblical source.Very probably it was 1 Cor.1.28:

> base things of the world;and things which are despised, hath God chosen,yea and things which are not,to bring to nought things that are.(AV).

"Procured the good of all men" no doubt refers to the material benefits to mankind the Great Instauration would bring. Bacon's doctrine was primarily a revolutionary one, and one of its aims was "to bring to nought things that are." "Despised weed" was probably intended to mean that Bacon had conceived and begun the Great Instauration despite the fact that he suffered throughout his life "in a despised weed,"---that is,in a physically(perhaps morally was also meant)weak and unhealthy body. The word "weed" is used in its early sense of "garment," and in two other places Bacon speaks of "our shoes and garments(that is,our body,which is as the clothing of the soul)"(I.598,II.103). Cf.Phil.2.7,where it is said of Christ,

> he made himself of no reputation,taking on him the shape of a servant,and became like unto men,and was found in his apparel as a man(Pr.Bk.,Epistle,Sunday Before Easter).

And in Phil.3.21 St.Paul asks, "Who shall change our vile bodie?"(AV). "Weed" meaning "garment" or "clothing" occurs in IX.230:"the King was forced to put himself into a pilgrim's weeds,and in that disguise to steal away."

The assertion that he had procured the good of all men, though in a "despised weed", suggests that Bacon may have compared himself with Christ.

Examples of this kind of scriptural application could be multiplied almost indefinitely. One instance will suffice as typical of scores of others, and shows the ingenuity with

Bacon could adapt a biblical metaphor. In the Redargutio Philosophiarum the idea of Greece as the mother of western philosophy is well illustrated by the ancient philosopher, who says:

> Remember(as the Prophet saith)the rocks whence we are hewn,and consider sometimes that it is Greece whose authority we follow(III.563-4).

He alluded to Is.51.1:

> yee that seeke the Lord:looke vnto the rocke whence yee are hewen,and to the hole of the pitte whence ye are digged(AV).

Occasionally Bacon adds valuable comment:

> I have sometimes thought of the words in the psalm,let their table be made a snare(Ps.68.23,Pr.Bk.):which most certainly is true of impoisonment;for the table,the daily bread for which we pray(Matt.6.11),is turned to a deadly snare.But I think sure that that was meant of the treachery of friends that were participant of the same table. (XII.215).

Or he combines an allusion to the Bible with a homespun metaphor:

> The word (the bread of life) they toss up and down, they break it not. (VIII.92 and John 6.35).

CHAPTER V

IMPERFECTIONS IN BACON'S BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE

Bacon, as he himself was probably well aware, was not unlike those "best men" who, in an adaptation of Eccl.10.1, he said were like "the best precious stones, wherein every flaw or icicle or grain are seen and noted more than in those that are generally foul and corrupted"(XIV.178). If this was true of Bacon's character, it was also true of his knowledge and use of the Bible. Just as many critics have made capital out of his lesser defects, so others have dismissed his use of the Bible as a mere tissue of misquotation and misapplication of Scripture. It would be improper to contradict the assertion outright. There are, it cannot be denied, many defects of the kind. Just as we have no means of gauging accurately the extent of Bacon's biblical knowledge, so there are no means of knowing how many of the misquotations and misapplications in Bacon's use of the Bible were intentional. The best we can do is to examine the merits or demerits of a few outstanding examples. In so doing we should charitably remember Rawley's remark that Bacon had "an use and faculty to dress(the words of others)in better vestments and apparel than they had before"(I.12-13), and that in general he quoted from memory. But the change was not always an improvement.

THE WALL OF SHILO

In Bacon's "Memorial of Access" for an interview with the King, Luke 13.4 is quoted as follows:

> they were not the greatest offenders in Israel, upon whom the wall of Shilo fell.(XIV.351).

The Authorised, to which the other versions are similar, has:"Of those eighteene, vpon whom the towre in Siloe fell, and slew them, thinke ye that they were sinners(margin="debtors")aboue all men that dwelt in Hierusalem?" Modern editions of AV(and RV) have "Siloam," as in G and B."Offenders," which is Bacon's own word, is found in no contemporary version, though it was adopted by the Revised Version of 1881. Nor do "Israel" or "wall of Shilo" occur in any of the Bibles. Of these, "wall of Shilo" is the most interesting. The Siloe of Luke 13.4 is usually identified with "the waters of Siloe"

of Is.8.6,where AV has "waters of Shiloah."Probably Bacon accepted this identification and so wrote "Shilo"(the MS is written in Greek characters).But why "wall" and not "tower?"

It is unlikely that Bacon confused "the towre in Siloe" with the walls of Jericho,which also fell down and killed many people(Josh.6.20-1,Heb.11.30).Instead,he seems to have taken enough interest in the pool called "Siloé" or "Shiloah" to have read and remembered other passages in which it is mentioned.Of these 2 Esdr.3.15(Neh.3.15)is a possibility:"But the gate of the fountaine repaired Shallum the sonne of Colhozeh . . . hee built it . . . and the wall of the poole of Siloah by the kings garden . . ."(AV). Bacon may have remembered "the wall of the poole of Siloah" when he wrote "wall of Shilo." Moreover,modern scholarship is on his side.Hastings believed that "the towre in Siloe",of which nothing further is known,may have been part of the city walls near the pool of Siloam.

HE THAT RUNNETH BY MAY READ IT

In the Advancement of Learning Hab.2.2 is quoted as follows:"Some times,it pleaseth God . . . to write (his will) in such text and capital letters that,as the prophet saith,he that runneth by,may read it"(III.341).

Both Ellis and Spedding believed this to be a misquotation and misrepresentation of the meaning of the original.It is true that the usual rendering,as given in the Authorised Version,agrees with those found in the Septuagint and Vulgate, though the text of both has been variously interpreted:"And the Lord answered me and said,Write the vision,and make it plaine vpon tables,that he may runne that readeth it."The words thus given were considered by Grotius,among others,to mean that the vision was to be so written that the reader should be quick in comprehending it(Opera,Amsterdam,1679,I.537).St Jerome,on the other hand,held that the writing was to be so plain that the reader might run and not be prevented from reading by his speed(Opera,Paris,1533,VI.83v).The Vulgate has "ut percurrat qui legerit eum," the translation of which into English has varied.The first edition of the Douay Bible (1609-10)has "that he which runneth may read it ouer",which follows St.Jerome's interpretation.Later editions have "that he that readeth it may run over it",which is exactly opposite in sense. The difference in thought is clearly between "he

who runs may read" and "he who reads may run."

Of these two interpretations Bacon seems to have preferred the first,or that of St.Jerome,as did the translators of all the early English versions.Coverdale,followed by Matthew, Taverner,and the Great Bible,has "that who so commeth by,maye rede it." The Genevan,followed by the Bishops' and Authorised, was the first to adopt the opposite interpretation,"that he may runne that readeth it." The alternative,however,was added in a marginal note,which was possibly Bacon's source:"Write it in great letters,that he that runneth may read it."

Ellis,who had Bacon's copy of Acosta's Conciones de Adventu(1609)before him(I.516n),believed that an allusion to Hab.2.2 in that book underlined(presumably by Bacon)was responsible for the error:"Sed explanari in tabulis visio prophetica jubetur,ut possit celeriter a legente percipi," and suggested that Bacon "connected celeriter with legente instead of with percipi"(I.516n).But Ellis overlooked the fact that the Advancement of Learning,in which Bacon's rendering occurs,was published in 1605.

The Latin translation of the quotation in De Augmentis (1623),"quivis etiam in cursu ea perlegere possit"(I.516),perpetuated Bacon's version. Castalione,whose Latin Bible is the only one which conveys a similar meaning,has "Scribe oraculum, & in tabulis sic exprime,ut id uel currentes legere possint." The others agree more or less exactly with the Vulgate.The Vulgate's "ut percurrat qui legerit eum" is in fact ambiguous, which explains the emendation of the rendering in the first edition of the Douay.

Spedding thought it would be a curious inquiry to discover who first made this "mistake"(III.341n),but he did not realise that Bacon's version was not an error,but a variant interpretation,which has now,despite the influence of AV, passed into the language.See,for example,Cowper,Tirocinium, line 79,"he that runs may read." The same occurs in Tennyson's The Flower.Whatever his source,whether the Genevan marginal note,St.Jerome,Castalione,or the ambiguous Latin of the Vulgate,Bacon's rendering of Hab.2.2 followed an interpretation accepted by others before him.

THE MIRACLE ABOUT MONEY

Bacon had it firmly fixed in his mind that Christ's miracles were concerned solely with healing the body of man,and not with honour or money---"except that one for giving tribute to Caesar"(III.373).The miracle of the money is related in Matt.17.23-6,but as Wright remarked(p.302)this "was not wrought for the payment of the Roman tribute but for the tax which was due to the Temple." Bacon was quite convinced that t the tribute was due to Caesar and not to the Temple,thereby missing the point of Christ's question about "the kings of the earth"(Matt.17.25)that,as the Son of God,he should be exempt from the temple-tax.

(Adv.of Learning,ed.1926)

The error was easy to make.The money mentioned in Matt.17.24 refers to the temple-tax,but the money mentioned in Matt.17.25 does in fact refer to the tribute due to kings,whom Christ introduced by way of analogy.Caesar,however,is not nemed by Christ,who referred only to "the kings of the earth."The marginal notes in the Genevan and in Tomson's Revised Genevan N.T., do not draw a clear distinction between the two kinds of tribute,though the text of both is less redundant than AV,which has "tribute money" in verse 24 and "tribute" in verse 25.

The Genevan note says that the "polle money"(Matt.17.24) was paid by the Israelites by law(Ex.30.13),"and at this time they payed it to the Romans."This is erroneous:it was not until the reign of Vespasian,after the destruction of the Temple by Titus(A.D.70),that the Jews were compelled to pay their former temple-tax for the support of the temple of Jupiter Capitolimus at Rome.The Revised Tomson N.T.(1576)noted that the miracle of the money showed "that Christ doeth willingly obey Caesars edictes,he sheweth that ciuile policie is not taken away by the Gospel." This note(translated from Beza)is to the whole of verse 24.But to "polle money" the note reads:"they that vvere from tvventie yeres of age to fiftie,payed half a sicle(shekel)of the sanctuarie.Ex.30.13.This vvas an Attick didrachme vvhich the Romanes exacted after they had subdued Iudaea." The word translated as "polle tax" in Matt.17.24 was the sum owed by every adult male Jew to cover the cost of public sacrifice in the Temple.The word translated as "tribute" in the next verse is not the same word,but meant the imperial tax due to Caesar or his deputy.Clearly Bacon confused the two.

See VII.234,I.587,and XI.200 where,speaking of the King's

right to impose,Bacon added:"So he wisheth that for this sea-penny(for it is no land-penny),if it be due to Caesar we(query he?)may have it.But if not,that we(query he?)may lose net and labour and all." The word in Matt.17.26 is "hook";"net" was possibly the result of confusion with Luke 5.6.

Another possibility is that Bacon confused the miracle of the money with the "tribute to Caesar" of Matt.22.17,which was not a miracle.In his statement that the government unfairly charged the Nonconformists "as though they denied tribute to Caesar"(VIII.89)Bacon alluded to the crowd's cry to Pilate that Christ was guilty of perverting their nation and "forbidding to giue tribute to Caesar"(Luke 23.2,AV).Though independent,Bacon's version represents the meaning of the original.

TO-MORROW THOU AND THY SON SHALL BE WITH ME

> The Essay Of Prophecies opens with the following passage:
> I mean not to speak of divine prophecies;nor of heathen oracles;nor of natural predictions;but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory,and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul,To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.(VI.463).

The sense of all versions agrees with the rendering given in AV:"Then said Samuel . . . to morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes bee with mee"(1 K.28.16,19). In the 16th and 17th centuries there was much difference of opinion as to whether ghosts were devils or the souls of those in purgatory,Protestants in general subscribing to the former,and Catholics to the latter view.In all versions it is said in effect that "Saul vnderstood that it was Samuel"(Id,14);there is no suggestion that the Pythonissa was the speaker.The Genevan note reads:"To his(i.e. Saul's)imagination,albeit it was Satan,who to blinde his eyes tooke vpon him the forme of Samuel"; the long annotation in the Douay begins,"It is not defined nor certaine,whether the soule of Samuel appeared,or an euil spirit tooke his shape,and spake to Saul." The story is repeated in Ecclus.46.23,where it is said that Samuel "slept,and he notified to the King,and shewed him the end of his life,and he exalted his voice out of the earth in prophecie."

Bacon clearly ascribed the prophecy not to the spirit of Samuel,but to the woman who had called him up.Evidently he did not believe that the figure was either an evil spirit in Samuel's shape,or the actual soul of Samuel. The quotation,ascribed as it is to the Pythonissa,has aroused comment,and led Reynolds

to ask:"Are we to conclude that Bacon held that the spirit of Samuel was not raised,but that a cheat was practised on Saul helped out by ventriloquism;or is it a mere inaccuracy?"(p. 258).

Apparently Reynolds was unaware that the question of whether the figure was Samuel,or an evil spirit,or something else,was one which has vexed Jewish and Christian theologians for centuries,and long before Bacon's time. All the Jewish writers affirm that it was Samuel who appeared and prophesied to Saul. Among Christians agreement has not been unanimous, though most held the opinion that it was Samuel who appeared. Of those on the other side St.Jerome is the most notable, and it is probable that he was Bacon's source:

> In Samuelis phantasmate Pythonissa loquitur ad Saulem, Cras eris mecum(In the illusive likeness of Samuel the Pythonissa says to Saul,Tomorrow thou shalt be with me) (St.Jerome,in Matt.6.34,quoted in Wordsworth's ed.of the Bible,1866).

Possibly Bacon was also acquainted with the Septuagint, in which "a woman that hath a Pithonical spirite"(1 K.28.7:"a familiar spirit" in AV) is called "a woman who is a ventriloquist".Reynolds also seems to have been unaware of the passage in Sylva Sylvarum(written at about the same time as the Essay) where Bacon remarks that

> There have been some that could counterfeit the distance of voices(which is a secondary object of hearing)in such sort,as when they stand fast by you,you would think the speech came from afar off,in a fearful manner.How this is done may be further inquired.But I see no great use of it but for imposture,in counterfeiting ghosts or spirits. (II.425).

He would have had no difficulty in agreeing with St. Jerome's opinion about the Pythonissa. But it is curious that he did not follow Luther and Calvin in believing that,in the words of the Genevan note,"it was Satan,who to blinde (Saul's) eyes tooke vpon him the forme of Samuel." Elsewhere he noted (and he was evidently an eye-witness)that the religious madman Hackett's prayers for God's absence ihstead of for his presence "may have been the voice of Satan himself,put into Hackett's mouth by the evil spirit("a Daemone malo")that possessed him"(VI.356).

Bacon's "thy son" is an error for "thy sonnes", as in all versions.

THE ARROW THAT FLIES BY NIGHT

Whenever Bacon referred to Ps.90.6 he changed the meaning of the original.The Vulgate speaks of "sagitta volante in die",which in the Prayer Book is rendered as "the arrow that flieth by day." Bacon altered this to "tanquam sagitta nocte volans;it is the arrow that flies by night"(XII.215 and XII.309).

There are two plausible explanations.The first is that Bacon confused Ps.90.6 with the previous verse.The Vulgate has "Scuto circumdabit te veritas ejus;non timebis a timore nocturno;A sagitta volante in die,a negotio perambulante in tenebris,ab incursu,et daemonio meridiano"("With shilde shal his truth compasse thee:thou shalt not be afrayed of the feare in the night.Of the arrow flying in the day;of the busines walking in darkenes:of imuasion,and the midday diuel"). It may be that he confused "the arrow that flieth in the day" (Pr.Bk.)with "the feare in the night" or "the busines walking in darkenes." Cf. "the Arrow,that flyeth in the Darke"(VI.385) and "the one sort(of pamphlets)flieth in the dark"(VIII.78).

A second possibility is that Bacon failed to distinguish between "the arrow that flieth in the day" of the Psalm, and what is said in Greek and Roman literature of Apollo,that he slew his enemies with the arrow that flies by night.See,for exsmple,Iliad,I.63-6. Apollo was also god of the pestilence caused by heat.Cf.Ps.90.6:"The pestilence that walketh in the darkness:the plague that destroyeth at noone daye"(G).Apollo and his bow are mentioned in III.303,and Bacon was doubtless familiar with the story. In fact,had he not specially stated that a Psalm was his source(XII.309)we might easily mistake its origin as classical.

JUDAS ISCARIOT AND "ALL HAIL"

Whenever Bacon alludes to Judas's greeting of betrayal to Christ he quotes itves "All Hail." Shakespeare does the same(3 Hen.VI.V.vii.33-4,Rich.II.IV.i.169,L.L.L.V.ii.340),and I can do no better than to quote what Mr.Noble wrote on this subject:

> In none of the versions does Judes greet his master with "All Hail!" In Matt.xxvi.49,all the versions from Tyndale to Rheims,with the exception of Whittingham,Genevan and Tomson,have "Haile master." The three exceptions have "God saue thee." In Mark xiv.45,the Tomson,alone of the versions,has "Haile Master,"(but not in the first edition:Mr.Noble used a text of 1590).The point is that

nowhere did any version represent Judas as saying "All Hail."

In the Gospels "All Hail" only occurs in Matt.xxviii.9 as a translation of the verb of greeting in the plural, when Jesus met Mary Magdalene and the other Mary after the Resurrection:"All haile" in the Bishops' as also the Rheims,but "God saue you" in the Genevan and Tomson.

Shakespeare evidently overlooked the actual form of Judas's greeting and had it firmly fixed in his head that it was "All Hail".(p.104).

The significant fact that both Bacon and Shakespeare made the same error suggests a common source.Judging from the Oxford Dictionary,the expression "All-hail"was in regulat use, but Bacon overlooked the actual form of Judas's greeting, just as Shakespeare did.Eclectic citation and conflation are two common habits of Bacon's biblical quotation.. Examples of his confusion with one part of Scripture with another are "the wall of Shilo" and the Miracle about Money,already discussed.That he borrowed "All Hail" from Matt.28.9 and used it in alluding to Matt.26.49 is quite in accordance with his usual practice.

Of Edward Squire,who in 1597 succeeded so far in his conspiracy to murder Queen Elizabeth as to put poison in her saddle,Bacon wrote:"Thus was her Majesty's sacred and precious life by the 'all-hail' of a second Judas betrayed"(IX. 116).Essex's overture to the populace in his abortive attempt to overthrow the Queen is described as "an all-hail and a kiss to the City"(IX.230)---"the better to insinuate himself into the favour of the City,as coming like a friend with an All-hail,or kiss,and not as an enemy"(IX.282).This last recalls a remark made elsewhere,"A false friend is more dangerous than an open enemy"(XIII.15),and both recall Prov.27.5-6:"Open rebuke is better then secret loue.Faithfull are the woundes of a friend:but the kisses of an enemy are deceitfull"(AV). On another occasion Bacon told the Commons that Nonconformist ministers contemptuously described the Anglican custom of kneeling as "like All-hail to Christ"(X.265). "All-hail" was doubtless an expression in regular use;otherwise why did Shakespeare make exactly the same error as Bacon?

Between 1597 and 1605,whenever Bacon alluded to Judas's greeting of betrayal,he used the words "All Hail."In other references to Judas,"All Hail" is not mentioned.For example, he wrote of the King that "to flatter . . . were to betray his Majesty with a kiss"(Matt.26.49 and XIV.116).Cf.XIII.15: "If you flatter(the King),you betray him."

THE CONFUSION OF SABBATH WITH SABAOTH

Bacon never alludes to "Sabbaoth" in its true meaning of "Lord of hosts." His allusions are invariably to the Sabbath, the day of rest, and here his spelling was sometimes at fault. But whether the error was his, or his secretary's, or the compositor's, cannot with any certainty be known. Before 1603 the spelling "Sabaoth" occurs (VII.221), although "Sabbath" is clearly meant, and since the MS is written in the hand of one of Bacon's servants, it may perhaps be assumed that Bacon would have corrected it had he thought it wrong. The usurer is called "the greatest Sabaoth-breaker" (XIV.415) in a paper of 1623 which Bacon must have looked over and surely would have corrected had he thought correction necessary. Yet in the Essay Of Usury (1625) the same phrase appears properly as "the greatest Sabbath Breaker" (VI.473). Was the correction made by Bacon?

Similarly, "Sabaoth" of the Advancement of Learning (III.447) became "sabbatum" in the Latin translation of 1623 (I.828), and the English editions of the Advancement of 1629 and 1633 retained the correction.---just as "Sabaoth" of the first edition of the Merchant of Venice became "Sabbath" in the second edition and folio.

There is no confusion between the words when used by Bacon in Latin, which is perhaps a reason for rejecting as a correction the "sabbatum" of the De Augmentis. "Sabbatum" occurs in several of Bacon's Latin prayers (I.145, III.794), and he may have borrowed the word from St. Augustine.

Had Bacon had to rely solely on English Bibles he could hardly have avoided confusing the two words. All versions up to an including the AV were in disagreement as to their spelling. But Bacon knew Latin and Greek, and possibly the rudiments of Hebrew. There is no confusion in Hebrew or Greek nor is there in the Vulgate.

Taking all the facts into consideration, we may take it that Bacon probably knew the distinction between the two words, but possibly did not. In any case he seems to have been quite indifferent to their correct spelling, which makes it futile to found an argument on whether he did or did not. Even as late as 1755 Dr. Johnson, in the 1st edition of his Dictionary, made the same error.

WE ARE GLAD O KING THAT WE GIVE ACCOUNT TO YOU,BECAUSE YOU DISCERN WHAT IS SPOKEN

In the course of a speech to a committee of the Commons Bacon is reported to have said:

> We might say,as was said to Solomon,We are glad O King that we give account to you,because you discern what is spoken.(X.170).

It would be difficult to say whether these were Bacon's actual words or not. Spedding thought the Journals' notes "probably genuine," but pointed out that they were "merely disjointed fragments,made to look continuous by the simple process of writing them out in sequence.The note-taker seems to have set down as much as he could follow:sometimes the beginning of a sentence,sometimes the end . . ."(X.171). Bacon had,however,just referred to Herod Agrippa,and the reference,which was not an easy one,has been accurately recorded.There is no particular reason to suppose the reporter at fault in writing down Bacon's allusion to Solomon.

The point is that the words quoted are not found in any story about Solomon. Possibly Bacon meant to allude to David. Cf.the words of the widow of Tekoah:

> the word of my Lord the king shall now be comfortable:for an Angel of God,so is my lord the king to discerne good and bad . . . (2 K.14.17,AV).(Bacon might have confused this with Solomon's petition to God for an understanding heart,"that I may discerne betweene good and bad," 3 K. 3.9,AV).

It is equally possible that he meant to allude to King Agrippa,before whom St.Paul gave an account of his life.Turning to Festus, St.Paul said:

> For the king knoweth of these things,to whom also I speake constantly. For I thinke ~~~~ none of these things to be vnknowen to him . . . Beleeuest thou the prophets, king Agrippa?(Acts 26.26-7).

Bacon,as already stated,had just mentioned Herod Agrippa:

> I am not one of Herod's flatterers . . . (X.170 and Acts 12.21-3:see Chap.I,p.9).

Perhaps he confused Agrippa with Herod (also called Agrippa),and confused them both with Solomon or David."Discern what is spoken" seems to refer to Solomon, but "give account to you" to Agrippa. The distinctive feature of St.Paul's speech was that he was "giving account of himself" to Agrippa. The verse following(Acts 26.28)is quoted in the Advancement of Learning as follows:"as Agrippa said unto St.Paul,half a Christian"(III.306:Bacon's unique rendering).It was probably written at about the same time (1604).

OTHER DEFECTS

There are other defects in Bacon's biblical knowledge, a few of which deserve mention. In III.328 "the serpent of Moses" is described as devouring the serpents of the enchanters, whereas in fact it was "Aaron's rod"(Ex.7.12). For the probable confusion between Ex.7.12 and Num.21.8-9 and John 3.14-15, see above Chap.IV,p.106.

Bacon seems also to have believed that "Christ appointed to be offered, a pair of doves"(XI.299),though the Bible distinctly states that the doves were offered by Mary(Luke 2.22,24) The reason for the error is perhaps that the parenthetical verse 23 ("As it is written in the law of the Lord,Euery male that openeth the wombe shalbe called holy to the Lord",AV) might give a hasty reader of verse 24 the impression that it was Christ himself who offered the sacrifice.

"The eyes of the handmaid look perpetually towards the mistress" occurs in III.433. The point is, in all versions of Ps.122.2,that the eyes of the handmaid look to the <u>hands</u> of her mistress. In the Latin version Bacon (or whoever was responsible for this part of the translation of the <u>De Augmentis</u> ---it may have been George Herbert(I.420)),corrected the error. Thus "oculi ancillae perpetuo ad manus dominae respiciunt"(I.732,as in V).

For Bacon's erroneous ascription of Luke 6.35 to the Psalms see Chap.I,p.13 and Chap.III,p.62.

Some of Bacon's amalgams and conflations cannot properly be called errors, though no doubt they appear so. An example is his rendering of Ps.84.11:

Mercy and truth have kissed each other (XII.303n).

The Bible has "Mercie and truth haue met each other: iustice and peace haue kissed." Bacon has deliberately abbreviated and combined the two clauses. The words were intended to be spoken in court to the Countess of Somerset,had she pleaded guilty, and were to be followed by the remark:

> there is no meeting or greeting of mercy,till there be a confession or trial of truth. (XII.303n).

A curious instance occurs in the <u>Meditationes Sacrae</u>,where Bacon wrote:

> Jesus Agnus Dei sine ira et judiciis(VII.234)
> (Jesus is the Lamb of God without wrath or judgments,VII. 244).

Both wrath and judgment are, however, mentioned as divine

attributes in the Apocalypse .

It is difficult to see on what Bacon's assertion is based,unless it be the opinion advanced by some that "wrath is no passion on the part of God,but each one brings it upon himself by his sins"(Origen,Against Cels.IV.72,quoted in The Bible,ed.J.H.Blunt). In Apoc.6.16-17 it is stated:

> hide vs from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lambe: for the great day of his wrath is come,and who shall be able to stand? (AV)

Admittedly "the wrath of the Lambe" is "a splendid paradox", though it seems a "contradiction in terms"(New Commentary ed.Gore,Goudge,and Guillaume,1929,p.691),but Bacon, in his eagerness to show that above all else Christ was a healer (VII.244),was not sufficiently careful in quoting from the Apocalypse, and failed to qualify his statement that the Lamb was without wrath or judgments.

Other less significant errors may also be noted.For example,in XI.405 it is stated that "Joab,when the armies were met,gave leave,and said,Let the young men play before us "(2 K. 2.14).The description is slightly inaccurate,no doubt because Bacon quoted from memory.It was Abner who said,"Let the yong men rise,and play before vs." Joab's answer was merely,"Let them rise."

Bacon cited Nehemias's words in 2 Esdr.2.1,"And I had not before that time been sad before the King "(VI.429), as though they were an admission on the part of Nehemias that he had used them as an artifice to provoke King Artaxerxes to ask him the reason for his sadness. The Bible does not state,however, that Nehemias had an ulterior motive. It was Bacon's gloss, and a good one.

He also confused (and in this case the confusion is happy)/the story of Christ's healing of the woman troubled with an issue of blood(Matt.9.20) with his healing of the blind men(Matt.9.29-30):

> I think myself infinitely bound to his Majesty for admitting me to touch the hem of his garment(Matt.9.20). And that,according to my faith,so be it unto me(Matt.9. 29-30 and XIV.237).

CHAPTER VI

LIST OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES IN THE ESSAYS

Bacon's Essays are perhaps the most representative of all his writings: they are certainly representative of his biblical knowledge and its use. He hoped they would "last as long as books last" and considered them "the best fruits that by the good encrease which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield"(VI.373).

Most of the Essays deal with public life and public affairs, though some are concerned with psychological, ethical,and other varied themes. It is remarkable that in a series of fifty-eight essays, most of them non-religious, the Bible plays so large a role. The reason may be that, as suggested by Professor Bush,"of his countless biblical allusions many permit a political application and some have it forced upon them."(Op.cit.,p.185).

The text quoted is that of the edition of 1625 as reprinted by Arber in A Harmony of the Essays (1871). The pagination refers to the sixth volume of Spedding's edition of the works,and the page is followed by the line,e.g. VI.379.20. The sequence can be followed without difficulty in any other edition of the Essays.

Although all identifiable allusions have been included in the list, except in special cases, comment has been restricted . It has not been possible to quote all related passages found elsewhere in Bacon's works nor would it be desirable to do so. Large numbers of passages whose resemblance to the Bible was only slight have also been omitted.

References to the MS are to Harl.MS.5106, transcribed between 1607 and 1612. References to the Latin translation are to Operum Moralium et Civilium(1638).

OF TRUTH

1624-5.The essay is an important summary of Bacon's ethical principles,and is full of biblical allusion.

VI.377.1

What is Truth;said jesting Pilate; And would not stay for an Answer.

John 18.38:"Pilate saith to him:What is truth?" No version states or otherwise implies that Pilate jested, except perhaps the Prayer Book, which has (Gospel for Good Friday) "What thing is truth?" Note the ring of contempt. The Latin translation has "Quid est veritas?"(as in all Latin versions,but Bacon has "Quod est veritas" in Pro.f. 88) and "Pilatus derisor"(scornful or scoffing Pilate:see Prov.13.1,15.12). Cf. "(Christ's) authority and pre-eminence . . . is to be Truth itself"(VIII.74 and John 1.17,14.6:see also II.105,VII.260).

377.11

> a naturall,though corrupt Loue,of the Lie it selfe.

Ps.51.5:"Thou louest euill more then good;and lying rather then to speake righteousness"(AV). Apoc.22.15:"euerie one that loueth and maketh a lie."

See Job 13.7(sub JOB),with which Cf.Ecclus.34.4,8; Acts 5.4;1 Cor.10.20.

377.18-19

> Truth may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day . . .

The pearl was a common figure in Bacon's time. Cf. the "pearle of great price" (Matt.13.46).See also Matt.7.6. In both "pearle" refers to divine truth.

For Matt.7.6 see I.753,X.48,Pro.f.83; for Matt.13.45-6 see VII.19.

378.2-5

> One of the Fathers . . . called Poesie,Vinum Daemonum (wine of devils);because it filleth the Imagination,and yet it is,but with the shadow of a Lie.

Not "one of the Fathers,"but probably a confusion between St.Jerome("Daemonum cibus,Ep.126) and St.Augustine ("vinum erroris,"Conf.i.16) and 1 Cor.10.21:"Yee cannot drinke the cup of the Lord,and the cup of deuils"(AV: V has "calicem daemoniorum"). The devil was "the father of lyes" (XII.141 and John 8.44). "Shadow of a Lie" recalls Ecclus. 34.2:"As he that apprehendeth a shadow,and pursueth the winde;so is he also that attendeth to lying visions." In brief; Poetry,likened to wine,is the shadow of the devil, who is the father of lies. (Cf.IV.315).

378.13-14

The first Creature of God,in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense . . .

Gen.1.3:"And God said:Be light made.And light was made." Cf:"Knowledge being in creation an angel of light" (III.217 and Cf.2 Cor.11.14). Bacon(as opposed to St.Augustine and others)believed that the light created on the first day was corporeal,not spiritual(I.145,VII.259).

See also I.180,190,203,215;II.336,394,501;III.147,165, 185,296;IV.17;VI.378;X.197;XII.349.

Id.14-15

the last,was the Light of Reason . . .

Gen.2.7: "God . . . breathed into his face the breath of life,and man became a liuing soule." This was the "intellectual light" God gave as the "top and consummation" of his workmanship(I.145,VII.259).

See also I.565,604;III.355,379;479; IV.19,397;VII.35, 219,221,251,664;X.219;XIV.120.

Id.15-16

his Sabbath Worke,euer since,is the Illumination of his Spirit.

John 20.22:"hee breathed on them,and saith vnto them, Receiue ye the Holy Ghost"(AV).Cf."The Father of Illuminations or Lights"(III.327 and Jas.1.17:Cf.I.200,491;III.166, 221,223).

See also Heb.4.9(I.145;VII.221,243,260); 2 Pet.1.4, Matt.11.28(III.351,472,477,794 and Cf. VI.473.35,551. 1-3).

Id.16-17

First he breathed Light,vpon the Face,of the Matter or Chaos . . .

Gen.1.3. See lines 13-14 above.

Id.17

he breathed Light,into the Face of Man . . .

Gen.2.7. See lines 14-15 above.

Id.18.

still he breatheth and inspireth Light into the Face of his Chosen.

John 20.22. See lines 15-16 above. See also John

15.19:"I haue chosen you out of the world"(AV),and Cf. Ecclus.25.15,Bar.4.2. "The Holy Ghost . . . illuminateth the Church to the end of the world"(VII.222).

378.26-7

so alwaies,that this prospect,be with pitty,and not with Swelling,or Pride.

This was Bacon's condition for regarding the world below from the "vantage ground of truth." The idea is essentially biblical,pity being a Christian virtue,and pride a vice. According to Rawley, in cases at law Bacon "looked upon the example with the eye of severity,but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion"(I.13). "Knowledge hath in it somewhat of the serpent,and therefore where it entereth into a man it makes him swell"(III.264 and Gen.3.1,1 Cor.8.1).

For Pity (Is.63.9,Ps.102.13,Matt.18.33) see II.16,88,570; III.136,154,559; V.44,279; VI.380.4,395,526; XIV.261,321, 357,383,519.

For Swelling or Pride(Gen.3.1,1 Cor.8.1) see I.131,153, 363;III.164,185-6,264,431,500;VI.437,738,754;VII.222;XI. 415;XII.5;XIII.184,212;XIV.124,242(Gen.3.1); I.131,433, 435,567;III.185,222,264,265,266,268;Pro.f.88b(1 Cor.8.1). For "swellings" meaning "controversies"(2 Cor.12.20)see VI.718;XII.162;XIII.108,109.

378.27

it is Heauen vpon Earth . . .

Matt.6.10:"Thy will be done,in earth as it is in heauen"(AV).

Id.27-9

to haue a Mans Mind moue in Charitie,Rest in Prouidence, and Turne vpon the Poles of Truth.

Cf.1 Cor.13.6:"(Charitie) Reioyceth not in iniquitie, but reioyceth in the trueth"(AV).

378.36-7

the Serpent;which goeth besely vpon the belly . . .

Gen.3.14:"And the Lord God said vnto the serpent . . . vpon thy belly shalt thou goe . . ."(AV).

See also I.614,790; III.431,472.

379.6-7

a Lie faces God,and shrinkes from Man.

This is Bacon's comment on a quotation of Montaigne's from Plutarch. It was probably influenced by his own conflation of Job 13.7 with Job 13.9:"Will you lie for God,as one man will do for another,to gratify him?"(III.267).See also Acts 5.4:"Thou hast not lied vnto men,but vnto God"(AV).

379.9-10

the last Peale to call the Iudgements of God,vpon the Generations of Men . . .

1 Cor.15.52:". . . at the last trumpe,(for the trumpet shall sound,and the dead shall be raised incorruptible,and we shall be changed)"(AV).

Id.10-11

. . . it being foretold,that when Christ commeth,He shall not finde Faith vpon the Earth.

Luke 18.8:"When the Son of man commeth,shall hee find faith on the earth?"(AV). That Christ foretold this is apparent from the text itself,and need not be traced(as it was by Reynolds) to St.Cyprian. The vagueness of phrasing was possibly due to a confusion in Bacon's mind between Luke 18.8 and Matt.24.5:"For many shall come in my name,saying,I am Christ:and shall deceiue many"(AV). Cf.VIII.166-7:"It was foretold that in the latter days there should come those that should deceive many;but in faith thou(referring to the heretic Hackett)hast deceived but a few." For "the latter days" see 1 Tim.4.1 and Cf.VIII.74.

OF DEATH

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Reprinted 1625,with
some additions.

VI.379.15-16

the Contemplation of Death,as the weges of sinne,and passage to another world,is Holy,and Religious.

Rom.6.23:"For the wages of sinne is death:but the gift of God is eternal life,through Jesus Christ our Lord"(AV). The biblical quotation is not found in the MS or ed.1612.

379.22-3

imagine,what the Paines of Death are,when the whole Body,is corrupted and dissolued.

Cf.Pr.Bk.,Burial of the Dead;" suffer us not at our

last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee." See Acts 2.24:"hauing loosed the paines of death"(AV);Ecclus. 28.7:"Remember corruption and death"(AV). Cf.2 Cor.5.1.

379.26

Naturall Man.

Let.trans.= "homo animalis." The phrase is an allusion to 1 Cor.2.14:"Animalis autem homo non percipit ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei."(V) Tyndale(1526)was the first(following Luther)to translate the phrase as "natural man,"rejecting the Vulgate's "animalis." In this he was followed by all official versions of the English Church,as well as by the Genevan.The Rhemish has "sensual man." Perhaps for clarity's sake,Bacon always referred to "natural man" in English,but "homo animalis" in Latin.In Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature (VI.403.14)the single word "man" became "homo animalis" in the Latin translation,just as "the natural man" of the Adv.of Learning(III.341) became "homo animalis"in the De Augmentis(I.516). "A natural man" appears in the same antithesis to "spiritual" in VII.20 and IX.9.

380.1

Loue slights (Death).("esteemes it not"in MS and ?d. 1612).

Cf.Cant.8.6:"Loue is strong as death"(AV).

380.4

Pitty(which is the tenderest of Affections). . .

See above 378.27.

380.24-6

the Stoikes bestowed too much cost vpon Death,and by their great preparations,made it appeare more fearefull.

Bacon made the same remark five times elsewhere(Northumb.MS.f.7,I.693,726,III.427,IX.9),two of which are of interest:"Ought(the Stoics)not to haue taught men to die as if they had lived,and not to live as if they continually should die?"(Northumb.MS.f.7) and "he that doth live in fear, doth die continually"(IX.9). The language of both suggests 1 Cor.15.31("I die dayly,"AV) as a source,and yet Bacon's meaning was not the same as St.Paul's. 1 Cor.15.31 is quoted twice elsewhere("we die daily,"VI.600 and "we may daily die unto sin,"VII.261),but both occur in writings ascribed to Bacon on doubtful authority. "Continually," which was omitted in

the last four allusions to the Stoics,was possibly borrowed from Montaigne:"si nous avons sceu vivre constamment et trenquillement,nous sçaurons mourir de mesme"(Essais,iii.12).

380.28-9

It is as Naturall to die,as to be borne.

Bacon's poem The World ends with the following couplet:

What then remains,but that we still should cry
Not to be born,or being born to die(VII.272).

When,in his last will,Bacon left fifty pounds "to the poor of St.Michael's,near St.Alban's,where I desire to be buried," he gave as his reason "because the day of death is better than the day of birth"(XIV.540 and Eccl.7.2).He omitted the first part of the verse,which explained his action:"A good name is better then precious ointment:and the day of death, then the day of ones birth"(AV). "Not to be born,or being born to die" occurs in nearly the same form in other minor poems of the time.Cf.Wisd.5.13:"Assoone as we were borne,(we) began to draw to our end"(AV); Ecclus.14.19:"one commeth to an end,and another is borne"(AV).See also Ecclus.40.11;41.13.

380.33

the Dolors of Death(ed.1625).

Ps.17.5:"Circumdederunt me dolores mortis"(V)(The sorrowes of death haue compassed me").Bacon's phrase was probably recollected from the Vulgate.

380.34-5

the sweetest Canticle is,Nunc dimittis;when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends,and Expectations.(ed.1625).

See Chap.III.p.74.

See also IX.6:"an absolute victory"(1 Cor.15.54);XI.57: "Princes . . . doe not crown(the winners of justs,triumphs &c) belowe whear they perfourmed but calleth them up.So God by death"(Cf.1 Cor.9.25:see also VI.420,Pro.f.90);XIV.215:"I am not far from heaven,whereof I feel the first fruits"(Rom.8. 23);XIV.281:"Let me live to serve you,else life is but the shadow of death"(Job 3.5 &c.);XIV.528:"Think of your grave as I do of mine"(Ecclus.14.12,Eccl.11.8)

OF UNITY IN RELIGION

1612-25.Printed 1612(Of Religion)
Enlarged and reprinted 1625.The Essay abounds in biblical allusion.

VI.381.2-3

the true Band of Vnity. (1625)

Eph.4.3:"Careful to keepe the vnitie of the spirit in the bond of peace." No version has "band," but Cf.the Rhemish's "band of perfection"(Col.3.14). For "true Band of Vnity" the Lat.trans.has "Vnitatis et Charitatis vinculis." Cf.Col.3.14:"Caritatem habete,quod est vinculum perfectionis"(V). Cf.VII.223:"There is no unity in universal nature,not that of the soul and body of man(Eph.4.4)so perfect (as). . . the unity of the three persons in Godhead" (1 John 5.7).

For Eph.4.3 see I.834,VIII.74,X.205,237,244.For Col. 3.14 see I.742,III.442,X.314.

381.8-9

the true God hath this Attribute,That he is a Iealous God.

Ex.20.5:"I the Lord thy God am a iealous God"(all versions except Ta and D).

See also VI.658,VII.219.

Id.13-14

the well Pleasing of God . . . is All in All . . .

Two references: Heb.13.21,"working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight",AV(Cf.Phil.4.18,Col.3.20) and 1 Cor.12.6,"The same God,which worketh all in all"(AV)(Cf. VII.219). For "all in all" see III.502,VI.402,441.

Id.14-15

those,that are without the Church;. . .those,that are within. (1625)

1 Cor.5.12:"What haue I to doe to iudge them also that are without? Do not ye iudge them that are within?"(AV).

Cf. VI.381,382; Northumb.MS f.28.

Id.23

one saith,Ecce in Deserto;Another saith,Ecce in penetralibus . . .

Matt.24.26:"Si ergo dixerint vobis:Ecce in deserto est, nolite exire;Ecce in penetralibus,nolite credere."(V)

See also VIII.74 and Cf.line 26 below.

Id.25

an Outward Face of a Church . . .

Cf. St. Paul's question to the Church of Corinth:"Do ye looke on things after the outward appearance?"(2 Cor.10.7).

Id.26

Nolite exire,Goe not out.(1625)

Matt.24.26 (see line 23 above). The Rhemish has "Goe ye not out."

See also VIII.80.

Id.26-30

The Doctor of the Gentiles(the Propriety of whose Vocation,drew him to haue a speciall care of those without)saith; If an Heathen come in,and heare you speake with seuerall Tongues,Will he not say that you are mad?(1625)

For St.Paul as Doctor of the Gentiles see Acts 22.21: "into the Gentiles a farre vvil I send thee." For "those without"(1 Cor.5.12,1 Tim.3.7) see lines 14-15 above. The final quotation is a parephrase of 1 Cor.14.23:"If therefore the whole church come together into some place,and all speake with tongues,and there come in those that are vnlearned,or vnbeleeuers,will they not say that ye are mad?"(AV)."Heathen" and "seuerall" occur in no version.

Id.30-1

Atheists,and prophane Persons . . .(1625)

Cf.Heb.12.16:"Lest there be any fornicatour,or profane person,as Esau,who for one morsell of meat sold his first birthright"(AV).

Id.33

To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.(1625)

Ps.1.1, Bacon's rendering.perhaps influenced by Archbishop Parker's metrical version of the Psalm:"scorners chairs." "Scorners Chayre" occurs also in Nashe(Pasquil's Ret.c.iiij). Cf. VII.277:"Nor sate him downe in Scorners chaire."

382.3-5

the Fruit towards those that are within(see 381.14-15) . . . is Peace;which conteineth infinite Blessings ;It establisheth Faith;It kindleth Charity . . .

Cf.Gal.5.22:"But the fruite of the Spirit is,Charitie, ioy,peace,patience,benignitie,goodnes,longanimitie,mildnes, faith,modestie,continence,chastitie."

Id.5-6

The outward Peace of the Church,Distilleth into Peace of Conscience . . .

Cf.Deut.32.2:"My doctrine shall drop as the raine,my speech shall distil as the deaw,as the smal raine vpon the tender herbe,and as the showres vpon the grass"(AV).

Id.11-13

Is it peace,Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me. (1625).

4 K.9.22,19:"Is it peace,Jehu?(22). . . What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me"(19,AV).

The same is quoted from the Vulgate in I.834.

Id.14

certaine Laodiceans,and Luke-warme Persons . . . (1625)

Apoc.3.14-16:"Vnto the Angel of the Church of the Laodiceans,write . . . I know thy workes,that thou art neither cold nor hot . . . So then because thou art luke-warme,and neither cold nor hot,I wil spew thee out of my mouth"(AV).Cf.Bacon's version of Apoc.3.15-16:"Vtinam esses calidus aut frigidus sed tepidus es eveniet vt te expuam ex ore meo"(Pro.f.128). Cf.also: "if any be neither hot nor cold"(VIII.81). It is of interest that in both cases Bacon inverted the Bible's word-order and has "hot nor cold" instead of "cold nor hot."The explanation is probably found in Erasmus's Adagia (No.270),which Bacon recorded in the Promus(f.100):"Ex eodem ore calidum et frigidum." This in turn was borrowed from Aesop's Man and the Satyr:"I will have nought to do with a man who can blow hot and cold with the same breath." Cf.XIII.47:"the lukewarm neuters and false-hearted friends and followers."

Id.17-21

the Leage of Christians,penned by our Sauiour himselfe . . He that is not with vs,is against vs:And againe,He that is not against vs,is with vs.

Matt.12.30 and Luke 9.50. "He that is not with me,is against me"(Matt.12.30,AV);"He that is not against vs,is with vs"(Luke 9.50,G & B). Evidently for the sake of oppositeness Bacon changed "me" in Matt.12.30 to "vs" to agree with Luke 9.50,which is exactly quoted from the Genevan(also Bishops'). Not a misquotation, but a conflation. The change from "me" to "we" was probably made for a better effect. For the same quotations see III.482,X.108,I.834. In the latter the Latin was no doubt translated from the English:"Qui non est nobiscum,est contra

nos" and "Qui contra nos non est,nobiscum est." Cf.St. Paul's words,which Bacon may have remembered:"Si Deus pro nobis,quis contra nos?"(Rom.8.31). Bacon's rendering of Matt.12.30 has elements of Rom.8.31.

For Luke 9.50 see VIII.75.

382.32-5

> it is noted by one of the Fathers;Christs Coat,indeed, had no seame;But the Churches Vesture was of diuers colours; whereupon he saith,In veste varietas sit,Scissura non sit. (1625)

Two references:John 19.23 and Ps.44.10. "Now the coate was without seame,wouen from the top thorowout"(AV, John 19.23).For the same reference see I.834,III.482,X.97, 98,108,337,XI.268,XII.217,XIII.51. "Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold,wrought about with divers colours"(Ps.44.10(45.10),Pr.Bk.) Cf.also Ps.44.14-15: "Al the glory of that daughter of the king is within,in borders of gold,clothes round about with varieties". For the same reference see I.834,III.482,X.97,108,337,XI.268 (indirect). Bacon's interpretation of the texts is evidently original."In veste varietas sit,scissura non sit" are quoted from St.Augustine(Enarratio in Ps.44.Sec.24),though, according to Reynolds(p.26)they are not by him or by any of the Fathers mentioned in connexion with John 19.23.Bacon's coupling of the two verses is therefore of more than ordinary interest. For "In veste varietas &c." ,usually quoted in conjunction with John 19.23, see Pro.f.91b,X.97,108,224, 314,337,VII.731.Cf.III.535:"Errori varietas,veritati unitas competit"(variety is proper to error,unity to truth). In his description of Pan as"sprung from the Divine Word" (VI.709) Bacon remarked that his mantle had "spots scattered all over it" like particular objects ,which are "generally variegated on the surface"(VI.711). The Puritans'conception of the surplice as "like a coat with many patches"(in allusion to Joseph's coat,Gen.37.3)is referred to in X.265. Cf.the Homily against Contention and Brawling:"O how the Church is divided! . . . O how the coat of Christ,that was without seam,is all to rent and torn!"(p.142).

383.7

> God aboue . . . knowes the Heart . . .(1625)

Ps.43.22:"Deus . . . novit abscondita cordis"(V).The

Lat.trans.has "Scrutatur et novit"(searches and knows).See 1 Para.28.9:"Omnia corda scrutatur Dominus"(V). For Ps.43.22 see also I.835,III.486,IX.249,XIV.229,340,518. For 1 Para. 28.9 see XII.248.

383.8

. . . fraile Men . . . (1625)

Cf.Ps.38.5:"Lord,make me to know mine end,and the measure of my dayes,what it is:that I may know how fraile I am"(AV,Ps. 39.4).Cf.VII.262:"Make us ever mindful of our last end"(attributed to Bacon on doubtful authority).Cf.Ecclus.8.6:"wee are fraile euery one"(B).

Id.10-13

S.t Paul,in the Warning and Precept . . . Deuita profanas vocum Nouitates,et Oppositiones falsi Nominis scientiae. (1625)

1 Tim.6.20,quoted from the Vulgate,except that the participle "devitans" becomes the imperative "devita." "Auoyding prophane and vaine bablings,and oppositions of science,falsly so called"(AV). Quoted also(in Latin) in I.453,III.285,VII. 239.

Id.21-3

Truth and Falshood,in such things,are like the Iron and Clay,in the toes of Nabucadnezars Image ;They may Cleaue,but they will not incorporate.(1625)

Dan.2.42-3:"And as the toes of the feete were part of yron,and part of clay,so the kingdome shall be partly strong, and partly broken(43). And whereas thou sawest yron mixt with myrie clay,they shall mingle themselues with the seede of men: but they shall not cleaue one to an other,euen as yron is not mixed with clay"(AV). The image is referred to again in XIV. 358-9:"Kings,by giving their subjects good laws,may(if they will)make Nabuchadonozor's image of monarchy golden from head to foot"(Dan.2.38). See below VI.447.27 and Cf.NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Id.26-7

the Lawes of Charity,and of humane Society. (1625)

1 Tim.1.5:"the end of the commandement is charity"(AV). Cf.also the saying of Christ on the same subject(e.g. Acts 20. 35:"Beatius est dare quam accipere,"quoted in I.722,III.424, IX.9,X.315,XII.171). In An Holy Warre Zebedaeus says that the extirpating of "giants,monsters,and foreign tyrants" is not only lawful for civilised nations but "meritorious even of

divine honour"(VII.35)."And this,I say,is not to be measured so much by the principles of jurists,as by lex charitatis; lex proximi;which includes the Samaritan as well as the Levite;lex filiorum Adae de massâ unâ; upon which original laws this opinion is grounded"(VII.36). For"lex charitatis" see 1 Tim.1.5 &c. For "lex proximi" see Luke 10.30-5.Curiously,Bacon made no mention of the Priest in the Parable of the Good Samaritan. For "lex filiorum Adae de massâ unâ" see Gen.1.27,2.7 and Cf.X.314:"the creatures are all one mass and lump."

383.27-8

> There be two Swords amongst Christians;the Spirituall, and Temporall.(1625).

Luke 22.38:"And they said,Lord,behold,here are two swords.And hee saide vnto them,It is ynough"(AV). Cf.Pro.f. 85b:"Ecce duo gladij hic"(V); VII.18:"Ecce unus gladius hic." Bacon's interpretation of the text is orthodox.The clause which follows,"And both haue their due Office,and place,in the maintenance of Religion," may be compared with what is said in VIII.92:"the word is double edged,and cutteth on both sides,as well the superstitious observances,as the profane transgressions"(Cf.Heb.4.12:"the word of God.is... sharper then any two edged sword"(AV)). In VII.26 Eupolis asks whether it would be wise "by the temporal sword to open a door for the spiritual sword to enter" to punish infidelity or conquer countries and peoples. Cf.Eph.6.17:"the sword of the Spirit"(AV) and see III.482,X.126. Cf.also X.112 ("sword-right from God"),XII.379.

Id.30-8

> But we may not take vp the Third sword,which is Mahomets Sword,or like vnto it;That is,to propagate Religion,by Warrs,or by Sanguinary Persecutions,to force Consciences;except it be in the cases of Ouert Scandall, Blasphemy,or Intermixture of Practize,against the State.

Editors have taken exception to this statement.Reynolds remarked that the rule enlarged to cases of scandal and blasphemy "is quite broad enough to cover the Inquisition itself"(p.30). However Bacon's words may be construed,they are certainly based on an orthodox interpretation of the Bible. In XII.8 he says that "the ways of God Almighty . . . turneth the sword of Rome upon the kings that are the vassals of Rome,and over them gives it power;but protecteth those

things which have not accepted the yoke of his tyranny from the effects of his malice." That "Sanguinary Persecutions" are in certain cases allowable would seem clear from Ps.149.6-8,Bacon's version of which is as follows:

> O let the saints bear in their mouth his praise;
> And a two-edged sword drawn in their hand
> Therewith for to revenge the former days
> Upon all nations that their zeal withstand;
>
> To bind their kings in chains of iron strong,
> And manacle their nobles for their wrong.(VII.286: "nobles in yron manicles"(D,Ps.149.8).

Indeed of the Anabaptists,whom he mentions a little further on in the text(386.13 below), he wrote:"They profess the pulling down of magistrates:and they chaunt the psalm, To bind their Kings in chains,and their nobles in fetters of iron(Ps.149.8). This is the glory of the saints(Ps.149.5), much like the temporal authority that the Pope challengeth over princes.But then this is the difference,that that is a furious and fanatical folly,and this is a sad and solemn mischief"(XII.158:see also XII.166). In VII.27 Zebedaeus asks "whether it be not lawful to make a war for the revenge or vindication of blasphemies against the Deity and our blessed Saviour?" Cf.Lev.24.16:"Hee that blaspheme th the Name of the Lord,he shall surely be put to death"(AV). Jude 10 is quoted in Pro.f.88b:"Quaecunque ignorat blasphemat" (V="Quaecumque. . .ignorant,blasphemant") and in Northumb. MS f.27:"St.Jude saith of that they knowe not(they speak) evill,and in that they knowe they are perverted,as indeed they goe together."(Bacon's version).

383.36-7

> all Gouerrment . . . is the Ordinance of God.(1625)

The translation has:"quae omnia manifestissime tendunt ad majestatem imperii minuendam et auctoritatem magistratuum labefactandam;cum tamen omnis legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata." See Rom.13.1. Cf.Tit.3.1:"Put them in minde . . . to obey magistrates"(AV). Cf.XII.6:"above all that is called God (2 Thess.2.4);that is,lawful Kings and magistrates."For government as the ordinance of God(Rom.13.1-7) see also I.431,692,II.642,III.144,261,VI.32,398,VII.644,X.235,371, XI.293,XII.5,164,249,299,309,XIV.243,427.

383.37 and 384.1

> this is,but to dash the first Table,against the Second.

Ex.32.19:"Moses . . . cast the Tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount"(AV). See Chap.II.p.45. For this reason Bacon called Moses "vir animosus"(II.138).

384.10

the temporall Sword . . .

Luke 22.38. See above 383.27-8 and Cf.VII.20.

Id.13-14

It was great Blasphemy,when the Deuill said;I will ascend,and be like the Highest. (also ed 1612).

Is.14.14, Bacon's rendering, translated from the Vulgate in abbreviated form.Cf.III.443:"Ascendam,et ero similis Altissimo." See also I.742,III.185,and compare below 403. 16-17. In the Bible the speaker is "the king of Babylon"(Is. 14.4),but Bacon followed an early tradition in calling him "the Deuill." Elsewhere he followed another tradition in referring to the Devil as "that person which exalts himself above all that is called God,supra omne quod dicitur Deus (2 Thess.2.4,V).Note it well,not above God(though that in a sense be true)but above all that is called God"(XII.6:all versions but G).For other references to blasphemy see XII. 141,162,167,XIII.158.

Id.16

the Prince of Darknesse. (also ed.1612).

This title for the Devil probably has its source in the Genevan,Eph.6.12:"and against the worldly gouernors,the princes of the darkenesse of this worlde." But this is in the plural,and does not specifically refer to the Devil except by implication. The earliest occurrence I have been able to find is at the end of the 3rd part of the Homily "Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion", where it is said that the leaders of rebellions are "the ungracious patterns of Lucifer and Satan,the prince of darkness"(p.616). This Homily is attributed to Jewel and was first published in 1562,five years after the first printing of the Genevan N.T. "The devil which is the prince of darkness" is found also in a prayer appended to some Prayer Books in the later part of Elizabeth's reign,but whose date is not later than 1566 (Liturgical Services,Parker Soc'y,1847,p.270).The phrase occurs again in Tomson's Preface to the Revised Genevan N.T. (1576) and in Shakespeare(All's Well,IV.iv.45-6;Lear,III.iv. 147).

384.19-21

Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Doue, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Rauen.

Ed.1612 has "Neither is there such a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in stead of the likenesse of a Doue, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a Vulture, or Rauen" (VI.543). The earlier version os important because it shows Bacon's source, Matt.12.31: "All maner of sinne and blasphemie shall be forgiuen vnto men: but the blasphemie against the Holy Ghost shall not bee forgiuen vnto men" (AV). See also Mark.3.28, Luke 12.10. "Sins of malice against the Holy Ghost" are mentioned in III.185 and 489. Under the heading "Play" in the Promus (f.110) is the following entry: "the syn against y^e^. holy ghost termd in zeal by one of y^e^. fathers" (f.110). The "sin against the Holy Ghost" is also mentioned in the Homily "Of Repentance" (p.568), and in other contemporary theological writings. "The Liknesse of a Doue" certainly alludes to Luke 3.22: "And the holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, like a Doue, vpon him" (AV). See III.150 and VII.234 (Matt.3.16). Bacon perhaps meant to contrast the miracles of Christ ("the spirit of Jesus is the spirit of the dove," VII.243) with the inferior miracles of others, such as Elijah, who "wrought miracles" (VII.243) and was fed by the ravens (3 K.17.6). See Meditationes Sacrae (VII.243-4).

Id.21

the Barke of a Christian Church . . .

Ed.1612 has "the Barke of St.Peter" (VI.543-4) . The allusion is to the Holy See; St.Peter, a fisherman (Matt.4.18), was traditionally the first Pope. See also VI.113. Hence "Ecclesiae Navis" (the ship of the Church) in I.829.

Id.25-6

as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for euer . . .

See Chap.IV.p.105f.

Id.28-30

that Counsel of the Apostle . . . Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei . (1612)

James 1.20. Bacon's rendering is original. "Ira hominis" as in Ca alone: the others have "ira viri." Cf. the Vulgate

"Ira enim viri justitiam Dei non operatur,"quoted more or less accurately in VIII.90:"Ira viri non operatur justitiam Dei; the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."

The English is Bacon's own version,written in 1589(or earlier),though it happens to agree with AV(1611).

OF REUENGE

1624-5.Printed 1625.

VI.384.36

Reuenge is a kinde of Wilde Iustice . . .

For the same remark see I.703. Rom.12.19(quoting Deut. 32.35)provides a parallel,which,judging from Bacon's allusions to these verses elsewhere,was probably his source:"Not reuenging yourselues my deerest,but giue place vnto wrath,for it is written,Reuenge to me:I wil reward,saith our Lord."See XI.291 and 400,XIV.472,and Cf.Heb.10.30. "The Divine Revenge" (III.142,VI.27 and Deut.32.35) was incorrectly stated by Gough(New Atlantis,ed.1924,p.57) to mean the Nemesis of the Greeks.It was a phrase in regular use(Cf.Hooker,Eccl.Pol.VIII. ix.3). For other references see VI.380 and VII.27(God's visits"). For "Lex Talionis" see VII.347:"the ancient lex talionis;oculus pro oculo,dens pro dente"(Ex.21.24,V).See also X.89.For Lev.19.18("Seeke not reuenge")see VII.20.

384.37-8 and 385.1

> For as for the first Wrong,it doth but offend the Law; but the Reuenge of that wrong,putteth the Law out of Office.

Bacon's remarks to the same effect elsewhere point to a biblical source.In IV.488-9 it is stated:"He who requites violence with violence,sins against the law(Cf.Lev.19.18) but not against the man. . .He that did the first wrong made a beginning of mischief,he that returned it made no end . . . He that was ready to return an injury was behindhand more in time perhaps than in will"(Cf.Lev.19.18). Quite possibly Bacon meant to allude to the murder of Asahel by Abner(2 K. 2.23).Cf.XII.309:"the murder of Abner by Joab(2 K.3.27), though it were by David respited in respect of great services past,or reason of state(2 K.3.31),yet it was not forgotten"; and XI.291:"Joab's case . . . was a murder upon revenge . . . for a dear brother"(2 K.3.27).

385.1-3

in taking Reuenge,a Man is but euen with his Enemy;But

in passing it ouer,he is Superiour:For it is a Princes part to Pardon.

According to the theory of divine right,the sovereign was God's lieutenant on earth and his actions were godlike. Forgiveness and mercy are both attributes of God.Cf.Is.55.7: "let him returne vnto the Lord,and he will haue mercie vpon him,and to our God,for hee will abundantly pardon"(AV). See also Dan.9.9.

385.3-5

Salomon,I am sure,saith,It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.

Prov.19.11:"his glorie is to passe by an offence"(G).

Id.21-2

Base and Crafty Cowards,are like the Arrow,that flyeth in the Darke.

See Chap.V.p.118.

Id.24-5

we are commended to forgiue our Enemies . . .

This is part of a quotation from Cosmus,Duke of Florence which has not been traced."Forgiue our Enemies" was possibly taken over from Bacon's source, or it may be his own version, confused with the Litany:"That it may please thee to forgive our enemies." Matt.6.14 has "if yee forgiue men their trespasses"(AV), and Matt.5.44 "Loue your enemies"(AV)(quoted in I.742;830-1,III.185,218,443,478,VII.235). See also Ecclus. 28.3-5.

385.26-8

the Spirit of Iob,was in a better tune;Shall wee(saith he)take good at Gods Hands,and not be content to take euill also?

Job 2.10:"shall wee receiue good at the hand of God,and shall wee not receiue euill?"(AV). "Content" occurs only in Co,Me,Ta.

OF ADUERSITIE

1624-5.Printed 1625.

386.15-19.

Hercules . . . Liuely describing Christian Resolution; that saileth,in the fraile Barke of the Flesh,thorow the Waues of the World.

See Chap.IV.p.100ff.

386.19-21

The Vertue of Prosperitie,is Temperance;The Vertue of Aduersitie,is Fortitude.

Cf.Ecclus.11.27:"In the day of prosperitie,there is a forgetfulnesse of affliction;" Wisd.8.7:"righteousnesse . . . teacheth temperence . . . and fortitude"(AV). Also Ps. 93.13(94.13):"That thou mayest give him patience in time of adversity"(Pr.Bk.). Cf. XIV.316:" I have approved myself to your Lordship a true friend,both in the watery trial of prosperity(see Ps.68.2) and the fiery trial(1 Pet.4.12)of adversity."See also Ecclus.2.5;"For gold is tried in the fire,and acceptable men in the furnace of aduersitie"(AV).

Id.21-2

Prosperity is the Blessing of the Old Testament . . .

Cf.Ps.17.51(18.51):"Great prosperity giveth he unto his King . . . and unto his seed for evermore"(Pr.Bk).Also Ps. 127.5(128.6):"thou shalt see Jerusalem in prosperity all thy life long"(Pr.Bk.). Prosperity is everywhere promised in the O.T.If his people abide by his law, God will bring them to "a lande flowing with milke and hony"(Ex.3.8,AV). The word "prosperity" occurs 31 times in the AV Version of the O.T. and Apocrypha,but not once in the N.T. See also Gen. 22.17. Under the heading "Benedictions and Maledictions" in the Promus(f.108b) the Vulgate version of Ps.1.3 is listed: "Et folium eius non defluet"("his leafe also shall not wither,and whatsoeuer he doeth,shall prosper,"AV).Cf.Bacon's words to Rutland:"I commend your good endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them"(IX.18).

Id.22-4

Aduersity is the Blessing of the New;which carrieth the greater Benediction,and the Clearer Reuelation of Gods Fauour.

Matt.10.34:"I came not to send peace,but a sword."(AV). "I am come to send fire on the earth"(Luke 12.49,AV). "The greater Benediction" evidently alludes to Heb.7.7,of which Bacon's version,quoted loosely from Beza,is as follows: "Sine vlla controversia quod minus est majore benedic . . ." (Pro.f.85b). "Majore"(greater) is peculiar to Tremellius. Cf.V:"Sine ulla autem contradictione,quod minus est,a meliore benedicitur."("And without all contradiction,the lesse is blessed of the better,"AV). It is assumed by Bacon that the reader knows that Melchisedech(a figure of Christ) gave a blessing to Abraham(Gen.14.19-20) and that therefore

Christ, by whose coming God's favour was clearly revealed, blessed Abraham himself, the great father of the Hebrew race.

386.24-6

> euen in the Old Testament, if you Listen to Dauids Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols . . .

A general reference to the Book of Psalms. For David's harp see 1 K.16.23. An example of the first kind would be the 6th Psalm, and of the second, the Jubilate Deo (Ps.99).

Id.26-8

> the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of Iob, than the Felicities of Salomon.

With "the Pencill of the holy Ghost" Cf.2 Cor.3.3: "written not with inke, but with the spirit of the liuing God, not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart"(AV:Cf.XIII.67).

The last two allusions are general, but Cf.Job 10.15: "see thou mine affliction"(AV) and the Queen of Sheba's words to Solomon:"thy wisedome and prosperitie exceedeth the fame which I heard"(3 K.10.7,AV).

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

1624-5.Printed 1625.

VI.388.15-16

Nakednesse is uncomely, as well in Minde, as Body.

Gen.2.25:"And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed."(AV) The implication of Bacon's words is that nakedness was comely before the Fall. Cf.IV.22:"Nakedness of the mind is still, as nakedness of the body once was, the companion of innocence and simplicity." Eve's nakedness in the state of innocence was mentioned by Bacon with approval(I.365,VII.221) and was described ideallistically in the New Atlantis in connexion with Adam and Eve's pools"(III.154).

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Enlarged slightly and
reprinted 1625.

VI.390.3-5

Children sweeten Labours;But they make Misfortunes more bitter:They increase the Cares of Life;but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death.

Cf.Ecclus.40.18-19;Id.41.1: "To labour and to be content with that a man hath,is a sweet life. . . children and the building of a citie continue a mans name(40.18-19). O Death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liueth at rest in his possessions . . .(41.1).

Id.7-9

the Noblest workes,and Foundations,haue proceeded from Childlesse Men. (1625)

Cf.Wisd.4.1:"Better it is to haue no children,and to haue vertue: for the memoriall thereof is immortal:because it is knowledge with God and with men"(AV).Cf.VIII.140:"She (Queen Elizabeth)liveth a virgin and hath no children,so it is that which maketh all her other virtues and acts more sacred,more august,more divine." The allusion may be to Matt.19.12:"For there are eunuches which were borne so from their mother's wombe:and there are eunuches which were made by men:and there are eunuches which haue gelded them selues for the kingdom of heauen.He that can take,let him take." The last sentence was twice quoted by Bacon from the Vulgate: "Qui potest capere capiat"(Pro.ff.83 and 88).

Id.17-18

As Salomon saith;A wise sonne reioyceth the Father;but an vngracious sonne shames the Mother.

Prov.10.1,Bacon's rendering,and independent of all others.See also Prov.15.20. Of interest because it perhaps reflects the relationship between his own parents and himself. Quoted from V in I.754,III.451.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Reprinted 1625 with
slight additions.

VI.391.16-18

the best workes,and of greatest Merit for the Publike, haue proceeded from the vnmarried,or Childlesse Men.

See above 390.7-9.

OF ENUY

1624-5. Printed 1625.

VI.393.3

the Scripture calleth Enuy, An Euill Eye.

The association of the evil eye with envy is found in several places in the Bible, though the versions vary. In Prov.23.6 D has "an emulous man" and AV "him that hath an euill eye." In Prov.28.22 D has "a man that . . . emuyeth others", and AV "he that . . . hath an euill eye." Similar allusions to the evil eye are found in II.653, VI.465, XII.137.

It has been thought that "oculus malus" (II.653) was a reference to Mark 7.22, and it is true that the phrase occurs only there in the Vulgate, though not specially in connexion with envy. Perhaps Bacon had in mind Matt.20.15: "Is thine eye euill, because I am good?" (AV). Traditionally this is interpreted to mean, Are you envious, because I dispense my grace to others besides you? , which suits the context better both here and elsewhere. But the best reference is Ecclus.14.8: "The emulous man hath a wicked eye" (AV) Cf. Ecclus.31.14.

Id.8.

an Emulous Eye . . .

Cf. Tob.4.17: "let not thine eye be emulous" (AV).

Id.18-19

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever emulieth Vertue in others.

Cf. 4 Esdr.16.50: "Like as an whore emulieth a right honest and vertuous woman" (AV).

394.20-3

Cains Enuy, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother Abel; Because when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on.

Gen.4.3-8, as explained in Heb.11.4: "By faith Abel offered vnto God a more excellent testimony then Kain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts" (AV).

Id.34-5

Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most emuied, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; For fresh men grow vp, that darken it.

The theme of Eccl.10.1. See Chap. VI, p.178.

394.38 and 395.1

Emuy is as the Sunne Beames, that best hotter,vpon a Banke or steepe rising Ground;then vpon a Flat. (transferred from Of Nobility,1612:VI.549).

Cf.Ecclus.43.3-4:"At noon he burneth the earth,and who can abide his burning heat.The sun,three times as much,burneth the mountains,breathing out fiery vapours and shining with his beams,he blindeth the eyes."

395.10-11

Chanting a Quanta patimur.

Cf.Acts 9.16(God's words to Ananias about St.Paul):"Ego enim ostendam illi quanta oporteat eum pro nomine meo pati"(V) ("For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake"). See also 1 Cor.4.12,2 Cor.1.6,2 Mac.7.18,32.Cf. IX.82:"Quae mala cum multis patimur leviora videntur."

396.18-21

For as Infection,spreadeth vpon that,which is sound,and tainteth it;So when Emuy, is gotten once into a State,it traduceth euen the best Actions thereof,and turneth them into an ill Odour.

The theme of Eccl.10.1.See Chap.VI,p.178.

397.3-5

Emuy . . . is the proper Attribute,of the Devill,who is called; The Emulous Men,that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night.

Matt.13.27-8: "Master,sowedest not thou good sede in thy field?from whence then hathe it tares? And he said to them,The emulous man hathe done this"(G). "Emulous man" as only in the Prayer Book and earlier versions(see Chap.III.p.71).Ignorance of the Genevan(or earlier versions)led Reynolds to protest that "the text says nothing about an envious man.The Greek is ἐχθρὸς, the Vulgate inimicus,the English,his enemy"(p.67).Cf.the remark thirty-one years earlier(in probable allusion to Sir Robert Cecil)when Bacon failed to obtain the Solicitorship:"Invidus homo hoc fecit"(VIII.359). V has "inimicus homo hoc fecit"(Matt 13.28)."Invidus" is found in no Latin version,but was clearly translated from the English by Bacon himself.

There is an echo of "the envious man" elsewhere:"this man hath sown good seed;and he that shall draw him into envy for it sows tares"(XII.46). The Parable of the Tares is referred to as follows:I.829,834,III.482,490,VIII.87,165,X.107,XI.254,267, It is referred to indirectly in X.141("his heart well planted";

Cf.Matt.13.19);XIV.455("the good . . . is . . . inned");VI.88 ("all was inned"),and I.7("it did not fill his barn"),---all of which probably refer to Matt.13.30. Possibly he alluded to the versions of the Parable in St.Mark (4.29)when he wrote, "I am unwilling to put my sickle in another's harvest"(VII. 732:see also IX.96 and Cf.Deut.23.25).

OF LOUE

Printed 1612.Re-
printed with additions 1625.

VI.397.25-9

> As if Man,made for the contemplation of Heauen,and all Noble Objects,should doe nothing,but kneele before a little Idoll,and make himselfe subiect,though not of the Mouth(as Beasts are)yet of the Eye;which was giuen him for higher Purposes. (1625).

Cf.Wisd.15.4-5:"Neither did the mischieuous imuention of men deceiue vs:nor an image spotted with diuers colours . . . the sight whereof entiseth fooles to lust after it,and so they desire the forme of a dead image that hath no breath"(AV); Cf.also Rom.1.25.The point of the analogy is that idolatry,as shown by the author of Wisdom,led on to immorality of every kind,and especially "changing of kinde(Or,sexe),disorder in mariages,adulterie,and shameles vncleannesse"(Wisd.14.26,AV). St. Paul declares the same fact in Rom.1.23-32.Overbury's worst fault was "that he made his friend his idol"(XII.216). The love of which Bacon speaks is no doubt sensual love, whether heterosexual or homosexual.Failure to appreciate this fact has led to much irresponsible criticism of the Essay.

398.11-13

> whosoeuer esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both Riches and Wisedome. This Passion,hath his Flouds . . .

Cf.Cant.8.7:"Many waters cannot quench loue,neither can the floods drowne it: if a man would giue all the substance of his house for loue,it would vtterly be contemned"(AV).Cf. Ecclus.47.21 (of Solomon):"Thou didst bow thy loines vnto women,and by thy body thou wast brought into subiection"(AV).

Id.12-16

This Passion hath his Flouds,in the very times of Weaknesse;which are,great Prosperitie;and great Aduersitie; though this latter hath beene lesse obserued.Both which times kindle Loue, and make it more feruent,and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly.

Cf.Ecclus.9.9:"Loue is kindled as a fire."(AV) By "Loue" is meant "lust"(V="concupiscentia").Cf.III.153:"unlewful lust being like a furnace." The same verse probably inspired the expression "kindleth Charity"(VI.382).Cf.also "feruorem charitatis"(III.296 and 1 Pet.4.8). Love or Lust is kindled by idolatry or superstition("The causes of superstition are pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies",VI.416) as stated in Wisd.14.26 and Rom.1.23-32. "After some great pleasing at first and increase of ♀ (meant probably as an astrological symbol for homosexuality)I found an extreme symptome after sleepes remedyed by a purging pill"(XI.80). Superstition, that is,idolatry,and by implication,sexual indulgence,seems to have overtaken Bacon at times of "great Prosperitie,"as he recorded in a private notebook:"I have found now twyse upon amendm^t of my fortune disposition to melancholy and distast,specially the same happenyng against y^e long vacacion when company failed and business both,for upon my Sollicito^rs place I grew indisposed and inclined to superstition.Now upon Milles place I find a relaps unto my old symptome as I was wont to have it many yeers agoe,as after sleepes"(XI.79).

OF GREAT PLACE

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Reprinted with slight
additions 1625.

VI.399.27-8

good Thoughts(though God accept them). . .

Ps.18.15:"Let the words of my mouth,and the meditation of my heart: be always acceptable in thy sight"(Pr.Bk.,Ps.19.14). See a similar version,based on AV, in VII.260(doubtfully attributed to Bacon).

Id.31

Merit,and good Works,is the End of Mans Motion . . .

Eph.2.10:"created in Christ Iesvs in good workes,which God hath prepared that we should walke in them."

Id.33-4

if a Man,can be Partaker of Gods Theatre,he shall like-

wise be Partaker of Gods Rest.

Cf.2 Pet.1.4,"partakers of the divine nature,"AV(see Heb.3.14) and Heb.4.9,"there remaineth therefore a rest" (V="sabbatismus")to the people of God"(G). In similar Prayers (I.145,VII.259) God's "Vision" replaces God's "Theatre,"which here refers to the Creation,a metaphor borrowed from St. Augustine's version of 1 Cor.4.9(De Civ.Dei.xiv.9) and referred to also in I.718 and III.421.

399.34-6

> Et comuersus Deus,vt aspiceret Opera,quae fecerunt manus suae,vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis; And then the Sabbath.

Gen.1.1,Bacon's version. Quoted also in I.145,III.794, VII.233. The MS has "Sabboth." For allusions to "God's Rest" on the seventh day(Gen.2.2) see I.145,III.296,VII.221,260.Cf. III.296:"the day wherein God did rest and contemplate his own works,was blessed above all the days . . ."(Gen.2.3).

401.3-4

> As Salomon saith;To respect Persons,is not good;For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.

Prov.28.21. Cf. the Genevan:"To haue respecte of persones is not good: for that man will transgresse for a piece of bread." Quoted exactly from AV in XIV.103,and from V in I.763 and III.450. A variation of the same theme is found in V.50: "Where respect of persons prevails,there will be unequal measures everywhere,and for the most trifling reason,as it were for a morsel of bread,judgment will be perverted."

OF BOLDNESS

1624-5. Printed 1625.

VI.402.2-3

> as if it were All in All.

Though perhaps proverbial(Cf.Hamlet,I.ii.187),the phrase "all in all" occurs in the Bible in a famous passage(1 Cor.12. 6) which may have been Bacon's source.See above VI.381.14.He spoke with contempt of those who held "divinity all in all, whereas it should be only above all"(III.502).

OF GOODNESSE AND GOODNESSE OF NATURE

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Reprinted with additions 1625.

VI.403.13

Goodnesse . . . is . . . the Character of the Deitie.

Ex.34.6:"The Lord God . . . abundant in goodnesse and trueth"(AV).The Lat.trans.adds that goodness is "adumbrata quaedam Effigies,et Character"(a kind of shadowed image and character).Cf.Wisd.7.26,where Wisdom is called "the vndefiled mirroure of the maiestie of God,and the image of his goodnes"(G). The Vulgate has "imago bonitatis illius."

403.15-16

Goodnesse answers to the Theologicall Vertue Charitie, and admits no Excesse,but Errour.

Cf.1 Cor.13.4-6:"Charitie suffereth long,and is kinde: charitie emulieth not:charitie vaunteth not it selfe,is not puffed vp,Doeth not behaue it selfe vnseemly,seeketh not her owne,is not easily prouoked,thinketh no euill,Reioyceth not in iniquitie,but reioyceth in the trueth"(AV).

Id.16-19

The desire of Power in Excesse,caused the Angels to fall;
The desire of Knowledge in Excesse,caused Man to fall;
But in Charity,there is no Excesse.

Three references: Is.14.12-15(see also III.185,217 and Cf.VI.384.14 above); Gen.3.5-7, and 1 Cor.13.4-6(see lines 15-16 above). Elsewhere Bacon wrote that the angels "might fall,and not be restored in their state,but yet remain in being,though under wrath and corruption"(VII.220 and Jude 6).

404.8

. . . which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner.

Judith 16.11:"her beautie toke his minde prisoner"(G).

Id.11-12

He sendeth his Raine,and maketh his Sunne to shine,vpon the Iust,and Vniust.

Matt.5.45,Bacon's own rendering. It is curious that, although he quoted Matt.5.44-5 no less than nine times,the phrase "he maketh his sun to arise on the euil,and the good" (G) is omitted in all but two(III.185 and 478).In the others the sun is not mentioned. Although the sun is mentioned here, the meaning of the original has not been retained. Cf.the Genevan:"your Father . . . maketh his sunne to arise on the euil,and the good,and sendeth raine on the iuste,and vniuste."

404.16-17

Diuinitie maketh the Loue of our Selues the Patterne; The Loue of our Neighboure but the Portraiture.

Lev.19.18:"Loue thy neighbor as thy selfe"(AV). Cf. Matt.5.44.

Id.18

Sell all thou hast,and giue it to the poore,and followe me.

Mark.10.21, Bacon's shortened version,the probable reason for which can in this wase be traced.In view of the remarks which follow in the text,it seems certain that he had before him,as Reynolds pointed out(p.90),a passage in St. Thomas Aquinas,where Mark 10.21 is quoted thus:"Vade,vende omnia quae habes et de pauperibus . . . et sequere me"(Sum. Th.Sec.Sec.,Qu.184,Art.iii),the words "et habebis thesaurum in coelo;et veni" of the Vulgate being omitted. Bacon rendered St.Thomas's shortened version into English.

Id.31

the Dogs,that licked Lazarus Sores.

See Chap.I.p.5.

405.12-16

if he haue S.t Pauls Perfection,that he would wish to be an Anathema from Christ,for the Saluation of his Brethren,it shewes much of a Diuine Nature,and a kind of Conformity with Christ himselfe. (1625)

Rom.9.3.:"Optabam enim ego ipse anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus meis"(V). The word"anathema," taken from the Greek,occurs in all Latin versions excepting Castalione.The substance of Bacon's remark is known in theology as the conditional sacrifice of salvation(I.718n),which is also touched on in I.718,III.185,421. In III.185 Moses is mentioned with St.Paul as having brought anathema on himself(Ex.32.32). Like St.Paul he apparently offered to bear the people's sin as their substitute .A man who does the same may be said to have "a kind of Conformity with Christ himselfe" because only Christ,who was sacrificed for mankind,is able to expiate sin.

OF NOBILITY

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Enlarged 1625.

VI.405.21-3

Nobility attempers Soueraignty,and drawes the Eyes of the People,somewhat aside from the Line Royall. (1625)

Based on a conflation of 2 K.15.6 and 3 K.1.20.Absalon,

a conspirator against his father David's throne,"enticed the hearts of the men of Israel"(2 K.15.6);Bathsheba,desiring to know who was to be David's successor after his death,said: "the eyes of all Israel are vpon thee,that thou shouldest tell them"(3 K.1.20,AV).After Salisbury's death Bacon wrote of him to James I that "he loved to have the eyes of all Israel a little too much upon himself"(XI.280),which,as an allusion to 3 K.1.20,makes no sense without reference to 2 K.15.6(to similar effect Essex is compared with Absalon in IX.248-9:see ABSALON),since Salisbury,like Absalon,drew attention to himself and away from the King.That the idea is borrowed from one verse and the language from another is characteristic of Bacon.Similarly,in XII.28 the King's assurance is given that there was no one in the Upper House "that seeketh . . . to draw the eyes of both houses upon him"; Villiers as "a new-risen star" is warned that "the eyes of all men are upon"him (XIII.28); "Popular men are disliked as standing in the light of kings and drawing the eyes of the people upon themselves" (V.48);and Richard III,when Duke of Gloucester,was constantly "drawing the eyes of all(especially of the nobles and soldiers)upon himself"and away from his brother(VI.28).Before Henry VIII succeeded his father "all men's hearts turned towards him;and not only their hearts,but their eyes also;for he was the only son of the kingdom.He had no brother;which though it be a comfort for kings to have,yet it draweth the subjects' eyes a little aside"(VI.269). An instance of the merging of two biblical verses to describe similar situations. Cf.1 Hen.IV.III.ii.70:"being daily swallowed by men's eyes."

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

1607-12.Greatly enlarged and printed 1625.(An Italian translation of the MS was printed in 1618).

VI.406.30

Shepheards of People.

I.e. kings. A biblical metaphor.Moses and David were both "pastors of their people"(III.429,VII.644 and Num.27.17, Ps.77.70-1).Curiously Bacon overlooked the fact that Cyrus was given the title of "Shepherd" by God(Is.44.28).See CYRUS.

408.23

Soluam cingula Regum.

Job 12.18:"I will loosen the girdles of Kings"(Bacon's version,XII.6). It is sometimes assumed that this is a composite quotation from Job 12.18 and Is.45.1.But Bacon probably quoted Pagnimus' version of Job 12.18 from memory:"Vinculum regum solvit,et ligavit cingulum." Cf.the Vulgate:"Balteum regum dissolvit,et praecingit fune renes eorum." In his not unfamiliar fashion he has changed the person of solvit,put cingulum in the plural,and altered the word-order,retaining the three important words and omitting the others.

OF ATHEISME

1607-12.Printed
1612.Enlarged and
reprinted 1625.

VI.412.18

The Foole hath said in his Heart,there is no God.

Ps.13.1(14.1) as in the Pr.Bk.,G,and B; also Ps.52.1(53.1) G. Quoted also in VII.251-2(Latin version,VII.239-40,from V) 415.6

Humane Frailty.

See above VI.383.8.

OF SUPERSTITION

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Enlarged and reprinted
1625.

VI.416.18-19.

The Causes of Superstition are:Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies. (MS and ed.1612="the pleasing of Ceremonies).

The best parallel is Wisd.14.15-19 where a father is described as having made an idol of his dead son,and appointed "ceremonies and sacrifices"(G)for his worship(verse 15).In time worship of the son became law,aided by the artificer who "thrust forwarde the ignorant to increase the superstition"(G), and being "willing to please . . . laboured with all his cunning to make the image of the best facion"(G,verse 19).Cf.XI.80:"After some great pleasing at first . . ."(See above 398.12-16).

Bacon did not here refer to church rites and ceremonies, but to sensual love.Cf.Shakespeare:"The perfect ceremony of love's rite"(Sonnet 23:Cf.Sonnet 105:"Let not my love be

call'd idolatry"). By "Superstition" idolatry is evidently meant.Cf.St.Paul's word to the idol-worshipping Athenians: "in all things yee are too superstitious"(Acts 17.22,AV). While retaining the biblical doctrine that immorality follows in the wake of idolatry,Bacon also believed that idolatry resulted from immorality.

416.19-20

> Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse.(MS and ed.1612="the excesse of outward holinesse.").

Matt.23.25:"Woe vnto you Scribes and Pharisees,hypocrites;for yee make cleane the outside of the cup,and of the platter,but within they are full of extortion and excesse" (AV).Cf.XIV.359:"The better works of perpetuity in Princes are those that wash the inside of the cup," in allusion to Matt.23.26:"Thou blinde Pharisee,first make cleane the inside of the cuppe and the dish,that the outside may become cleane."

Id.23-6

> The taking an Aime at diuine Matters by Human,which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations;And lastly, Barbarous Times,Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters.(first clause,1625).

The first clause is differently expressed in the Latin version,which in translation reads:"The inopportune and foolish taking of examples from human things to transfer them to divine things." Cf.Wisd.14.20-1:"And so the multitude allured by the grace of the worke,tooke him now for a god,which a little before was but honoured as a man.And this was an occasion to deceiue the world:for men seruing either calamitie or tyrannie,did ascribe vnto stones,and stockes, the incommunicable Name"(AV).

Id.29-30

> wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes.

The theme of Eccl.10.1.Cf.Chap. VI,p.178.

OF TRAUAILE

1625.

No biblical allusions.

OF EMPIRE

1607-12.Printed
1612.Enlarged and
reprinted 1625.

VI.419.7

That the Kings heart is inscrutable.

Prov.25.3,Bacon's version,translated from the Vulgate: "cor regum inscrutebile." The verse was quoted by Bacon no less than 15 times,most frequently in allusion to James I. See I.448,776;III.144,261,280,460;VIII.332;IX.177,196,198; XI.164;XIV.237,244,519; and Cf.VI.6.

423.13-14

> Memento quod es Homo;and Memento quod es Deus,or Vice Dei. (Remember that you are a man;and remember that you are God,or God's lieutenant).

Ps.81.6-7:"I saide:Yow are goddes,and the sonnes of the highest al. But you shall die as men:and fal as one of the princes." Cf.XIII.15:"Kings are stiled Gods upon Earth,not absolute,but Dixi dii estis,and the next words are,sed moriemini sicut homines;they shall die like men,and then their thoughts perish"(Bacon's version of Ps.81.6-7,based on V).See also XI.178.In the so-called spurious Essay of A King(VI.595) there is a very similar passage.For kings as "Vice Dei" see Wisd.6.4-5 and Rom.13.1-4.

OF COUNSELL

1607-12. Printed
1612.Reprinted with
additions 1625.

VI.423.26-7

> one of the great Names,of his blessed Sonne;The Counsellour.

Is.9.6,Bacon's phrasing. The Genevan,followed by D and AV,has "counsellor"; the others "the giuer of counsel."

Id.27-8

> Salomon hath pronounced,that In Counsell is Stability.

See Prov.11.14:"There is health where is much counsel"; Prov.20.18:"Establish the thoghts by counsel"(G). Cf.Ecclus. 22.19,Is.33.6.

Id.32-3,424.1

> Salomons Sonne found the Force of Counsell,as his Father saw the Necessity of it.For the Beloued Kingdome of God was first rent,and broken by ill Counsell.

3 K.12.13-19:"the king(Rehoboam) . . . forsooke the old mens counsell that they gaue him(13). . . So Israel rebelled against the house of David vnto this day"(19,AV).Cf.Ecclus. 47.28. See also 3 K.11.11:"the Lord said vnto Solomon . . .

I wil surely rend the kingdome from thee,and will giue it to thy seruant"(AV).

425.27-8

Men will Counsell with an Eye to themselues.

Prov.12.5:"The counsels of the wicked are deceit"(AV).

Id.28

Non inueniet Fidem super terram.

Luke 18.8,Bacon's version. See above 379.10-11.

426.17

all Matters,are as dead Images.

Cf.Wisd.15.5:"They desire the forme of a dead image that hath no breath"(AV).

427.21

sing him a Song of Placebo.

See Chap.III.p.74.

OF DELAYES

Printed 1625.

No biblical allusions.

OF CUNNING

Printed 1612.
Greatly enlarged and
reprinted 1625.

VI.429.25-6

As Nehemias did; And I had not before that time been sad before the King.

2 Esdr.2.1:"I had not bene beforetime sad in his presence"(AV,Nehemiah 2.1). Note that Bacon quoted Nehemiah's words as an example of the use of an artifice to provoke a question.His interpretation is of interest,although the Bible does not say that Nehemiah's sudden sadness had an ulterior motive.

431.25-7

But Salomon saith; Prudens aduertit ad Gressos suos: Stultus diuertit as Dolos. (the wise man taketh heed to his steps:the fool turneth aside to deceits).

Prov.14,8 and 15,conflated."Prudens" is evidently Bacon's translation of "the prudent" of the Geneven(verse 15);"aduertit ad Gressos suos" from Tr("aduertit ad gressum suum", verse 15);"Stultus diuertit ad Dolos" possibly from Tr ("stultitia advertere ad dolum") in verse 8. For the same conflation see I.766,VIII.202("Vir prudens"&c).

OF WISEDOME FOR A MANS SELFE

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Reprinted with additions
1625.

VI.431.30

An Ant is a wise Creature for it Selfe.

Cf.the well-known passage in Prov.6.6-8.A similar illustration is used in III.454.In VII.177 the Empirical philosophers are said to be "like to pismires;they only lay up and use their store"(see also I.201,III.583),which Ellis referred to Stobaeus(Floril.No.82)--- why,I do not know,because elsewhere Bacon says that "the wisest of kings refers sluggards to the ants(ad formicas:see Prov.6.6);and for my part I hold all men for sluggards who care only to use what they have got,without preparing for new seedtimes and new harvests of knowledge" (I.650-1). In XIII.24 he wrote:"I may truly say to the English go to the pismire thou sluggard. I need not expound the text" (Prov.6.6). G has "pismire," Cr and B "emmet," D "emmote," and AV "ant,"---the first version to use the word. Mr.Noble(p.230) made the singular suggestion that Shakespeare's use of "ant" (Lear,II.iv.68-9) possibly influenced the reading of AV. Bacon's use of "ant" in III.386(1605) and VI.431(1607-12)are just as likely,but hardly probable,influences.Bacon also used "pismire"(as in G) after 1611(VII.177,XIII.24).See also Prov. 30.25.

431.32

Louers of Themselues.

2 Tim.3.2:"Men shal be louers of them selves."See VIII.80: "when . . . they wax worldly,lovers of themselves,and pleasers of men(Eph.6.6,"men pleasers,"G and B),then men begin to grope for the church as in the dark."See also VI.439.24.It is of interest that in the next paragraph of the text(VI.432.39-40) Bacon quoted Cicero as speaking of those who are "Sui Amantes sine Riuali"(lovers of themselves without rival),though the text is quoted inaccurately.See Epist.ad Quintum Fratrem,iii. 8:"quam se ipse amans sine riveli."The phrase "Sui Amantes" is no doubt borrowed from Beza's version of 2 Tim.3.2:"Erunt enim homines sui amantes."

432.27-30

Extreme Selfe-Louers . . . their Study is but to please .

2 Tim.3.2 and Eph.6.6.Cf.VIII.80 and line 32,p.431 above.

OF INNOUATIONS

Printed 1625.

VI.434.5-7

as the Scripture saith; That we make a stand vpon the Ancient Way,and then looke about us,and discouer,what is the straight,and right way,and so walke in it.

Jer.6.16,Bacon's rendering.In the Latin version the English has been translated literally;where quoted elsewhere the Latin is Bacon's own version.See III.290,X.105,XI.183,Cf. XIII.36:"the old way is the good way."

OF DISPATCH

1607-12. Printed 1612.
Slightly enlarged and
reprinted 1625.

VI.435.20-1

an Vnseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre.

Cf.1 Cor.9.26:"so I fight,not as it were beating the aire."See XIV.178:"not to beat the air only." Cf.Pr.Bk.,Epist. for Septuagesima,"So fight I,not as one that beateth the air." The figure was not proverbial.

OF SEEMING WISE

1607.Printed 1612.The
final sentence added,and
reprinted 1625.

VI.435.34-5

the Apostle saith of Godlinesse;Hauing a shew of Godlinesse,but denying the Power thereof.

2 Tim.3.5,two versions conflated:"having a shew of godliness"(G) and "but denying the power thereof"(AV,following B).

OF FRIENDSHIP

1607-12. Printed 1612.
Entirely rewritten,enlarged,
and reprinted 1625.

VI.437.12

a Higher Comuersation.

Cf.Phil.3.20:"our comuersation is in heauen"(AV).Rawley wrote of Bacon:"This lord was religious:for though the world be apt to suspect and prejudge great wits and politics to have somewhat of the atheist,yet he was conuersant with God,as appeareth by several passages throughout the whole current of his writings"(I.14).Cf.Wisd.8.3:"(Wisedome)is comuersant with God,she magnifieth her nobilitie:yea,the Lord of all things himselfe loued her"(AV).

Id.19

Talke(is)but a Tinckling Cymball,where there is no Loue.

Cf.1 Cor.13.1:"Though I speake with the tongues of men and of Angels,and haue not charity,I am become as sounding brasse or a tinkling cymbal"(AV).See also III.222,266."Charitie" as in the Rhemish(also B,Revised N.T.1572 and AV). By "Loue" Bacon seems to mean sensual love, not charity("charity" occurs in the version given in III.266).Probably what he called "impure love"(X.116) is meant. Thus Fulke Greville was called his "primus amor"(VIII.359),though the Vulgate has "charitatem . . .primam",and no version has "amor."See Chap. III.p.78.

437.26

without(Friends)the World is but a Wildernesse.

Cf.Is.14.16-17:"Is this the man . . . That made the world as a wilderness . . .?"(AV).See VII.22:"this nation hath made the garden of the world(Gen.2.8) as a wilderness." Also,in allusion to Ex.19.1 and Num.10.12,"To a Christian making for the Land of Promise,the world is but a wilderness"(IV.390)and "the wilderness of this world"(V.215).

Id.27-9

> whosoeuer in the Frame of his Nature and Affections,is vnfit for Friendship,taketh it of the Beast,and not from Humanity.

Cf.Ecclus.13.19:"Euery beast loueth his like,and euery man loueth his neighbour"(AV).

Id.30

Fruit of Friendship.

There are a number of close parallels between Of Friendship and the 6th Chapter of Ecclesiasticus,which deals with the difference between true and false friends. In the Essay the phrase "Fruit or Fruit of Friendship" occurs repeatedly. See Ecclus.6.17-20:"He that feareth God shal likewise haue good frendshipe: . . . As he that ploweth,and that soweth,goe to her,and expect her good fruites.For in her worke thou shalt labour a litle,and shalt quickly eate of her generation"(G has "of her frutes").

439.24

Louers of Themselues.

See above VI.431.32.

440.21-3

Frendship . . . maketh Day-light in the Vnderstanding.

Cf.4 Esdr.14.25:"I shall light a candle of vnderstanding

in thine heart which shall not be put out"(AV).

440.25-6

Faithful Counsell,which a Man receiueth from his Frend.

Prov.27.9:"With the good counsels of a frend the soule is sweetned."

Id.39-41

a Man . . . whetteth his Wits as against a Stone,which it selfe cuts not.

Eccl.10.10 and Prov.27.17,conflated.See below VI.504.6-7.

441.5

Faithfull Counsell from a Frend.

See above 440.25-6.

441.11-14

there is as much difference,betweene the Counsell,that a Frend giueth,and that a Man giueth himselfe,as there is between the Counsell of a Frend,and of a Flatterer.

Cf.Job 17.5:"He that speaketh flattery to his friends, euen the eyes of his children shall faile"(AV).

Id.17-21

The best Preseruatiue to keepe the Minde in Health,is the faithfull Admonition of a Frend. The Calling of a Mans Selfe,to a Strict Account,is a Medicine,sometime, too Piercing and Corrosiue.

Bacon seems to have had before him the 6th Chapter of Ecclesiasticus. Cf.the following:"A faythful frend,is the medecine of life and immortality:and they that feare our Lord shal finde him.He that feareth God,shal likewise haue good frendship:because according to him shall his frend be"(Ecclus. 6.16-17). Bacon's remarks in effect comment on these two verses

Id.24

grosse Errours.

Quite possibly this phrase is of biblical origin,originating,in the first instance,with the Egyptian darkness(Ex.10. 21-2),which was "a gross and palpable darkness that may be felt"(XII.303n). The Egyptians,like "vnnourtured soules,haue erred"(Wisd.17.1,AV). Cf."grosse darknesse"(Is.60.2,Jer.13.16, AV)."Gross and palpable"(from V's "densae,ut palpari")has interesting parallels.Cf."a slander . . .gross and palpable" (XII.141);"clouds of error"(III.316:see Ex.14.20,"a cloude and darknesse to them,"AV); and "palpable error"(XIV.139). Hence "grosse Errours." Cf.Twelfth Night,IV.ii.47-9:"there is

no darkness but ignorance,in which thou art more puzzled than the Egyptians in their fog."Cf.also Epist.Ded.to AV(1611): "some thicke and palpable cloudes of darkenesse."The phrase "gross and palpable" seems to have passed into the language even before Bacon's time.

441.27-9

as S.Iames saith,they are as Men,that looke sometimes into a Glasse,and presently forget their owne Shape,and Fauour.

James 1.23-4,Bacon's rendering.Quoted also III.461.The phrase "as in a glass"(veluti in speculo)is a favourite with Bacon,and not only with him.It occurs,for example,five times in the Homilies(pp.11,63,435,450,491).

Id.35

All in All.

See above VI.381.14.

442.23-4

it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients,to say,That a Frend is another Himselfe.

Ascribed to Pythagoras(Porphyry,Life,33).Reynolds thought that Bacon called the speech "sparing" because he understood it (wrongly)as referring to the convenience or "fruit" of friendship(p.199). Bacon's interpretation of the speech may depend on Ecclus.6.11-19,which begins as follows:"A sure frend wil be vnto thee euen as thine owne selfe"(Cr). See also Ecclus.7.23 and 33.31.

Id.25

For that a Frend is farre more then Himselfe.

The Lat.trans.has "Amici officia,propriss cujusque vires superent"(the services of s friend surpass one's own strength). Cf.Ecclus.6.14:"A faithful friend is a strong defence:and he that hath found such an one,hath found a treasure"(AV).

OF EXPENCE

Printed 1597.Enlarged and reprinted 1612.Enlarged and printed(in Latin)in De Augmentis(1623),in English(1625).For the Latin version see I.793-803.

VI.443.11-12

Voluntary Vndoing,may be as well for a Mans Country,as for the Kingdome of Heauen.

"Vndoing" is translated in the Latin version as "Paupertas"(poverty).The allusion is to the warning Christ

gave his disciples(with reference to the wealthy man who had "great possessions")that "a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdome of heauen"(Matt.19.22-3,AV).See also Mark 10.23, Luke 18.24.Cf.III.456:"no man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being."

OF THE TRUE GREATNESSE OF KINGDOMES AND ESTATES

Printed 1612.Greatly
enlarged and reprinted
1625.

VI.445.15-18

(there is a kind of resemblance betweene the Kingdome of heauen,and the Kingdomes vpon the earth:omitted in 1625). The Kingdome of Heauen is compared,not to any great Kernell or Nut,but to a Graine of Mustard-seed;which is one of the least Graines,but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit,hastily to get vp and spread.

Matt.13.31-2:"The kingdome of heauen is like to a graine of mustard seed,which a man tooke,and sowed in his field.Which indeed is the least of al seeds:but when it is growen,it is the greatest among herbes . . ."(AV).See also VII.49,X.323,and XIV. 175 for similar passages.Matt.13.31("grano sinapis,"as in V)is quoted in I.794,II.9. Seeds and sowing are very common figures in Bacon."It will be enough for me," he wrote of the Great Instauration,"to have sown a seed for posterity and the Immortal God"(I.216).

446.16-18

The Blessing of Iudah and Issachar will neuer meet;That the same People or Nation,should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse("laid"in ed.1612:omitted 1625)betweene Burthens.

Gen.49.9,14:"Judah is a Lyons whelpe(9). . .Issachar is a strong asse,couching downe betweene two burdens"(14,AV)."Laid" was Bacon's own word:the closest is the Douay's "lying." See also I.795.

447.27

the Trunck of Nebuchadnezzars Tree of Monarchy.

Dan.4.10-15.See VI.383.21-3 above.

449.3-5

the vse of Slaues . . . is abolished,in greatest part,by the Christian Law.

Matt.7.12:"Therefore all things whatsoeuer ye would that men should doe to you,doe ye euen so to them:for this is the Law and the Prophets"(AV).Cf.Tob.4.16.

449.26

it is so plaine, That euery Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth.

Prov.14.23:"In euery labour there is some profite"(B). The Lat.trans. has "In quo plurimum impendit Studii"(in the study which he most considers).The word "most"(plurimum)is found in no version in the first part of the verse.Similarly,when Bacon quoted the whole verse in I.765 and III.451, "In omni opere bono erit abundantia;ubi autem verbe sunt plurima,ibi frequenter egestas,"he interpoleted the word "bono,"which occurs in no version.The rest is an accurate quotation from V:"In euerie (good)worke there shal be abundance:but where many words are,there is oftentimes pouertie." Probably he quoted from memory and confused the phrase with "every good work,"which is found eight times in the Epistles of St.Paul.One which has bearing here is 2 Cor.9.8:"ut . . . semper . . . abundetis in omne opus bonum"("that . . . alwaies you . . . may abound vnto good workes").Quite probably,Bacon confused this verse with Prov.14.23 and so wrote "In omne opere bono erit abundantia."For another reference to 2 Cor.9.8 see VII.220.

452.19-20

No Man can, by Care taking(as the Scripture saith)adde a Cubite to his Steture.

Matt.6.27. See Chap.III.pp.63 and 84.

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH
Printed 1597.Reprinted
with additions 1612.Enlarged
and reprinted 1625.

VI.453.6

Examine thy Customes,of Diet . . .

See Chap.I.p.29.

Id.12-14

To be free minded,and cheerefully disposed,at Houres of Meat,and of Sleep,and of Exercise,is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting.

See Chap.I.p.29.

Id.15-18

Auoid Emule;Anxious Feares;Anger fretting inwards;Subtill and knottie Inquisitions . . . Sadnesse not Communicated.

See Chap.I.p.29.

OF DISCOURSE

Printed 1597;reprinted
with additions 1612;enlarged
and reprinted 1625.

VI.455.27-33

As for Iest,there be certaine Things,which ought to be priuiledged from it;Namely Religion . . . some ... dert out somewhat,that is Piquant,and to the Quicke:That is a Vaine,which would be brideled.(the latter part added 1625).

Cf.James 1.26:"If any man among you seeme to be religious,and bridleth not his tongue,but deceiueth his owne heart,this mans religion is vaine"(AV).See also James 3.2. Cf.III.152:"religion,the chiefest bridle of all vices".Cf. I.695.

456.1-2

the difference betweene Saltnesse and Bitternesse. (added 1612).

Col.4.6:"Let your speech bee alway with grace,seasoned with salt:that you may know how yee ought to answere euery man;" Eph.4.31:"Let all bitternes . . . be put away from you"(AV).Cf.XI.249:"Salt,in the scripture,is a figure both of wisdom(Col.4.5-6)and lasting"(Num.18.19).

Id.4

He that questioneth much,shall learne much.

1 Macc.10.72:"Aske and learne"(AV).

Id.13-15

If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge,of that you are thought to know;you shall be thought another time, to know that,you know not.

Cf.Ecclus.32.12:"In manie thinges be as it were ignorant, and heare holding thy peace and withal seeking."

Id.29-30

Discretion of Speech,is more then Eloquence.

Cf.Prov.2.11-12:"Discretion shall preserve thee,vnderstanding shall keepe thee, . . . from the man that speaketh froward things"(AV);Prov.5.1-2:"Bowe thine eare to my vnderstanding.That thou mayest regard discretion,and that thy lips may keep knowledge"(AV). Cf.XI.265:"Proceed with understanding and discretion."

OF PLANTATIONS
Printed 1625

VI.457.7-8

When the World was young,it begate more Children.

Though this has been taken as a reference to Lucretius (Reynolds,p.241),it is probable that Bacon alluded to the patriarchs and those who followed them after the Flood.Thus Jacob is mentioned as having had "a numerous family"(II.133 and Gen.28.14), Noah and his sons are said to have "peopled the world"(III.150 and Gen.9.1), and God's injunction to "increase and multiply"(Gen.1.28) is alluded to five times(I.485,III.321,VIII.174,IX.370,XIV.363). "Instances of longevity mentioned in heathen authors",Bacon wrote(II.135)"are not to be depended on."He probably held the same opinion about their records of progeny.

459.3-4

aboue all,let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse,as they haue God alwaies,and his Seruice before their Eyes.

The comparison is with the children of Israel in the wilderness(Ex.13.20-1)."The Church of the Jews" is mentioned in VII.222 and 225.See Acts 7.38:"the church in the wilderness." Cf.the "great pillar of light" in the New Atlantis (III.137),which seems to symbolise the "pillar of fire,to giue them light to goe by day and night"(Ex.13.21,AV).

OF RICHES
1607-12. Printed 1612.
Enlarged and reprinted 1625.

VI.460.7-9

Where much is,there are Many to consume it;And what hath the Owner,but the Sight of it,with his Eyes?

Eccl.5.10(5.11),Bacon's own rendering.

Id.16-17

Riches are as a strong Hold,in the Imagination of the Rich Man.

Prov.18.11:"The rich man's riches are his strong citie, and as an high wall in his imagination"(G,which alone has "imagination")."Strong hold" was possibly borrowed from the Bishops'/earlier versionsof Prov.10.15:"The riche mans goodes are his strong holde." The same conflation occurs in VII.60.

Id.29-30

Qui festinat ad Diuitias,non erit insons.

Prov.28.20,Bacon's version,quoted also in III.276. Quoted from V(omitting "autem")in Pro.f.82:"Qui festinat ditari non erit insons"("hee that maketh haste to be rich, shall not be innocent,"AV).Bacon's "insons" is a variant of "innocens";"Divitiae" occurs frequently in V.Cf.Prov.28.8: "Qui coaceruat divitias"("he that heapeth together riches").

461.3-6

> when Riches come from the Deuill,(as by Fraud,and Oppression,and vniust Meanes,)they come vpon Speed.The Waies to enrich are many,and most of them Foule.

Cf.1 Tim.6.9-10:"they that wil be rich,fall into temptation and a snare,and into many foolish and hurtfull lusts, which drowne man in destruction and perdition.For the loue of money is the root of all euill"(AV). 1 Tim.6.10 is quoted also in XIV.261 and from V in VII.418.The same metaphor,extended to other things,is found in I.158,III.356,395,VI.44.

Id.8-10

> The Improuement of the Ground,is the most Naturall Obteining of Riches; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths. (1625).

Gen.1.11:"And God said,Let the earth bring foorth grasse,herb yeelding seed,and the fruit tree yeelding fruit after his kinde,whose seed is in it selfe,vpon the earth"(AV). Cf.II.475:"Plants or vegetables . . . are the principal part of the third day's work.They are the first producat,which is the word of animation." See also Ecclus.40.1:"Great trauel is created to al men . . . from the day of their coming forth of their mothers wombe,vntil the day of their burying,into the mother of al." Cf.VI.600(doubtfully attributed to Bacon): "all those hours which we share,even from the breasts of our mother,until we return to our grand-mother the earth,are part of our dying days."

Id.33-7

> Vsury is the certainest Meanes of Gaine,though one of the worst;As that,whereby a Man doth eate his Bread;In sudore vultûs alieni; And besides,doth Plough vpon Sundaies. (1625).

Usury was prohibited in the Mosaic Law(Ex.22.25,Lev.25.35-7,Deut.23.20),and is certainly inconsistent with Matt.5.42.

Gen.3.19:"In the sweate of thy face shalt thou eate bread"(AV),quoted or alluded to also in I.145,365,465;II.81; III.296,381;VI.176;VII.233,260;XIV.298,415.See also VI.474.

5-6 below.With the final clause of the text Cf.Ex.20.10.See alo XIV.415 and VI.473.35 below.

462.23-4

Riches haue Wings,and sometimes they Fly away of themselues.

Prov.23.5:"Riches certainly make themselues wings,they fly away as an Eagle toward heauen"(AV).

Id.30-1

Glorious Gifts and Foundations,are like Sacrifices without Salt . . . (added 1625).

Lev.2.13:"What sacrifice soeuer thou offerest,thou shalt season it with salt." Cf.XI.249:"I do find it a positive precept of the old law,that there should be no sacrifice without salt:the moral whereof(besides the ceremony)may be,that God is not pleased with the body of a good intention,except it be seasoned with that spiritual wisdom and judgment,as it be not easily subject to be corrupted and perverted." Therefore, Sutton's bequest to the Charterhouse seemed to him "as a sacrifice without salt." "Seasoned with Religion as with salt" (I.837) replaced "tanquem adeps sacrificii" (Lev.3.9 : III. 491)in the Latin translation of the Advancement of Learning. See also III.620.

Id.31-2

the Painted Sepulchres of Almes,which soone will putrifie and corrupt inwardly. ("inwardly" added 1612).

Matt.23.27:" Wo vnto you Scribes + Pharises,ye Ipocrites: for ye are like vnto painted Sepulchres which indede appeare beautifull outward,but are within full of dead mennes bones, + of all filthinesse" (Cr). "Painted Sepulchres " as also in Co and B. "Whited" or "Tombes"in the others. The Latin translation agrees with the Vulgate("sepulchris dealbatis"). Cf. also IX.110-11: "deep vault of hypocrisy."

OF PROPHECIES

Printed 1625.

VI.463.3-5

Saith the Pythonisse to Saul; To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me.

See Chap.V.p. 116-17.

Id.33-5

there went a Prophecie in the East;That those that should come forth of Iudea,should reigne ouer the World: which . . . may be was meant of our Sauiour.

Matt.2.6(quoting Mic.5.2):"And thou Bethlehem in the land of Jude,art not the least among the Princes of Jude:for out of thee shall come a Gouernour that shall rule my people Israel"(AV).See also Is.9.6:"And the gouernment shalbe vpon his shoulder"(AV).

OF AMBITION

1607-12. Printed 1612.
Enlarged and reprinted 1625.

VI.465.34

an Euill Eye.

See above 393.3.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

1625.

No biblical allusions.

OF NATURE IN MEN

1607-12.Printed 1612 with slight additions,and with other additions 1625.

VI.470.11-13

they may say,Multùm Incola fuit Animæ meæ:when they conuerse in those Things,they doe not Affect.

Ps.119.6,quoted from V:"My soule hath bene long a seiourner." The same is quoted in X.253,XI.146,281,and alluded to in III.321.See Chap.II.pp.32-3.

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

1607-12.Printed 1612.Enlarged and reprinted 1625.

VI.470.21-4

Mens Thoughts are much according to their Inclination: Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infused Opinions;But their Deeds are after as they haue beene Accustomed.

See Chap.I.pp.22-3.

471.8

As if they were Dead Images.

See 426.17 above.

OF FORTUNE

1607-12.Printed 1612, with slight additions. Reprinted with other additions 1625.

472.30-3

The Way of Fortune,is like the Milken Way in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot,of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene asunder,but Giuing Light together.(the latter clause added 1612).

The same metaphor occurs in the New Atlantis ,where Jo-sabin the Jew calls Christ "the Milken Way"(III.151),a name "inferior to his divine Majesty," because not biblical.Apoc. 1.20,"the seuen Starres are the Angels of the seuen Churches", AV,is usually understood as referring to ministers of Christ's Gospel.In this sense they are stars of the Galaxy,with Christ as their head.Cf.XIII.452:"Your Church illightened with good preachers,as an heaven of stars;" and XIV.176:"We may truly to God's great glory confess,that since the primitive times there were never so many stars(for so the Scripture calleth them)in that firmament." Possibly Bacon gave Christ the title "Milken Way " because Christ, together with his ministers,was "a Meeting or Knot,of a Number of Small Stars;Not Seene asunder,but Giuing Light together." I have rejected Gough's explanation that Christ is called"the Milken Way" because he is "the Way to Heaven,"following the belief of primitive peoples that the Milky Way is "the path of the dead"(New Atlantis,ed. 1924,p.64).

473.17-18

> it is Greatnesse in a Man,to be the Care,of the Higher Powers.
>
> Rom.13.1:"Let euery soule bee subiect vnto the higher powers:For there is no power but of God"(AV).

OF VSURIE

1623("Usury and the Use Thereof":see XIV.415 ff).
Printed 1625.

VI.473.33-5

> They say,that it is Pitie,the Deuill should haue Gods part,which is the Tithe.
>
> Lev.27.30:"And all the tithe of the land,whether of the seed of the land,or of the fruit of the tree,is the Lords:it is holy vnto the Lord"(AV).See also XIV.415.

Id.35 and 474.1

> That the Vsurer is the greatest Sabbath Breaker,because his Plough goeth euery Sunday.
>
> See above 461.33-7.

474.4-6

> That the Vsurer breaketh the First Law,that was made for Mankinde,after the Fall;which was,In sudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum; Not,in sudore Vultûs alieni.
>
> Gen.3.19:"In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane"(V).The word

"comedes" seems to be borrowed from Gen.3.18:"comedes herbam terrae"("thou shalt eat the herbe of the earth").See above 461.33-7 and Cf.XIV.415.For general allusions to the Curse see II.14,VII.30,221,222.

474.10-11

Vsury is a Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis(a concession because of hardness of heart).

Matt.19.8,adapted:"Moses,because of the hardnesse of your hearts,suffered you to put away your wiues:but from the beginning it was not so"(AV). V has "ad duritiem cordis";by coincidence Münster's Latin version has "propter." Quoted from V in Pro.ff.83 and 91b. The same adaptation of Matt.19.8 occurs in X.117,XIV.415. For "hardness of heart" see VII.261 (perhaps spurious),XIV.226,528. For "from the beginning it was not so" see X.106 and note,110,XII.155,163. When the phrase"ab initio" alone occurs(e.g.VII.352)it is probably legal.

475.3

Vsury . . . is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates.

Cf.James 5.3:"Your gold and siluer is cankered,and the rust of them shall be a witnesse against you,and shall eate your flesh as it were fire"(AV).

OF YOUTH AND AGE

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Enlarged and reprinted 1625.

VI.477.8-9

there is a youth in thoughts as well as in Ages.

That antiquity was the world's youth was an idea adopted by Bacon as a means of showing how science had been thwarted by submission to the authority of the ancients.He may have borrowed it from Bruno,Casmann,Gilbert,Galileo,or Campanella, in whose works similar reflexions are found,but its ultimate source is very probably biblical.See 4 Esdr.14.10:"Quoniam seculum perdidit juventutem suam,et tempora appropinquant senescere"(V)("For the world hath lost his youth,and the times begin to waxe old,"AV). Cf.XIII.66:"But things too ancient wax children with us again"; I.190:"the old age of the world is to be accounted the true antiquity"; III.291:"Antiquitas saeculi juventus mundi"(Antiquity of times is the youth of the world).

477.34 and 478.1-2

> Young Men . . .Vse extreme Remedies at first;And,that which doubleth all Errours,will not acknowledge or retract them,like an vnready Horse that will neither Stop,nor Turne. (The Lat.trans.,for "vnready Horse," has "equus male domitus"---a horse badly broken in).

Cf.Ecclus.30.8:"An vntamed horse becometh stubburne,and a dissolute childe wil become headie."Cf.Launcelot Andrewes: "a pampered horse will be hard to rule"(Pattern of Cat.Doct. Pt.IV:ed.1846,p.236)

478.11-12

> But for the Morall Part,perhaps Youth will haue the preheminence,as Age hath for the Politique.

Cf.Ecclus.33.22-3:"For it is better that thy children should seeke to thee,then that thou shouldst stand to their courtesie.In all thy workes keepe to thy selfe the preheminence"(AV). "Preheminence" in AV alone.

Id.12-16

> A certaine Rabbine,vpon the Text;Your Young Men shall see visions,and your Old Men shall dreame dreames; Inferreth,that Young Men are admitted nearer to God then Old;Because Vision is a clearer Reuelation,then a Dreame.

The text referred to is Joel 2.28,but the version given is that of the Geneuan(followed by Bishops' and AV)of Acts 2.17,where the two clauses of Joel 2.28 are quoted in reverse order.The "certaine Rabbine," as Dr.Ginsburg pointed out(Reynolds,p.302)is Abravanel,on the Later Prophets(1520). The same quotation of Acts 2.17(Joel 2.28)occurs in I.444, III.276.

OF BEAUTY

1607-12.Printed 1612.
Reprinted with slight
additions 1625.

VI.478.34

> Vertue is like a Rich Stone,best plaine set.

Cf.Eccl.10.6:"Folly is set in great dignitie,and the rich sit in lowe place"(AV); Prov.31.10:Who can find a vertuous woman?for her price is farre aboue Rubies"(AV).V has "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet?"(A valiant woman who shal finde?"). As in the Bible,the "Vertue" referred to is excellency of any kind,not moral virtue alone. Cf.I.689:"Virtue, like a noble jewel,is best set without much gold and ornament;" and VI.500.17-19:"the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil." See also Promus f.96b:"A ring of gold in a swynes snowte"(Prov.11.22). "Ring" in all versions except G and AV ("jewel").

479.26-8

certainly it is no maruaile,though Persons in Yeares, seeme many times more Amiable;Pulchrorum Autummus pulcher.(the autumn of beautiful persons is beautiful).

The saying,ascribed to Euripides,is Notedby several classical authors,among them Pluterch(Alcibiades,I.5).Quoted by Bacon accurately in VII.145,but here misquoted, and misapplied.Reynolds ,after examining the sources,summed up:"It is clear on the whole case,that Bacon's assertion of the superior beauty of the old must be defended on some other authority than that which he here forces into use"(p.307).Quite possibly the "other authority" was the Bible.Cf.Ecclus.26.22: "As the cleare light is vpon the holy candlesticke,so is the beautie of the face in ripe age"(AV); Prov.20.29:"The glory of young men is their strength:and the beautie of old men is the gray head"(AV).See also Is.28.4:"the ripenesse of Autumne".

Id.30-2

Beauty is as Summer-Fruits,which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last.

Is.28.4:"And the glorious beautie which is on the head of the fat valley,shall bee a fading flowre,and as the hastie fruite before the summer:which when hee that looketh vpon it, seeth it,while it is yet in his hand,he eateth it vp"(AV).Cf. VI.109:"This was but a summer fruit,which they thought was almost ripe,and would be soon gathered:The other was more lasting."

480.1-2

Beauty . . . if it light well,maketh Vertues shine,and Vices blush.

Cf.Ecclus.26.19-22:"A holie and shamefast woman,is grace vpon grace.And al weight is not worthie a continent soule.As the sunne rysing to the world in the high places of God,so is the beautie of a good woman for an ornament of her house.A lampe shyning vpon the holie candlesticke,and the beautie of the face vpon stayed age."

OF DEFORMITY

1607-12. Printed 1612
Reprinted with slight
additions 1625.

VI.480.4-6

Deformed Persons are . . . for the most part,(as the Scripture saith)void of Naturall Affection.

Rom.1.31,Bacon's version(also 2 Tim.3.3)."Without natural affection" in G,B,and AV.The words in Rom.1.31 refer to sodomites,Lesbians,and idolaters(Rom.1.27),and it is to these,in the first instance,that the description "Deformed Persons" is given by Bacon.No one,to my knowledge, has pointed out that in the Essay the word "deformity" is used in several senses,namely in its literal sense of misshapen,and in its figurative sense of morally disfigured,debased,or polluted."Without natural affection" occurs also in VII.22, and clearly alludes to the sodomites condemned by St.Paul. The Turks are there described as "a people that is without natural affection,and as the Scripture saith,that regardeth not the desires of women"(Dan.11.37,G and B).

480.12-13

the Starres of Naturall Inclination,are sometimes obscured,by the Sun of Discipline,and Vertue.

Cf.Jude 13(alluding to sodomites):"wandring stars,to whom is reserued the blacknesse of darkenesse for euer"(AV); Ecclus.24.37:"(God)sendeth discipline as the light."(the Vulgate has "mittit disciplinam sicut lucem").

OF BUILDING

Printed 1625.

VI.482.20-1

A Side for the Banquet,as is spoken of in the Booke of Hester.

Esth.1.5:"(Assuerus)commanded seuen daies a feast to be prepared in the entrance of the garden,and of the wood,which was planted with royal garnishing and with hand." Hester," a spelling in regular use,is found in Coverdale,and in the Homilies.

OF GARDENS

Printed 1625.

VI.485.20

God Almightie first Planted a Garden.And indeed,it is the Purest of Humane pleasure.

Gen.2.8:"The Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden"(AV).The second sentence seems to refer to the Vulgate rendering.Cf.the Douay:"Our Lord God had planted a Paradise of pleasure."

OF NEGOCIATING

Printed 1597.Reprinted
with slight additions 1612
and 1625.

VI.494.5-7

In all Negociations of Difficultie,e Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once.(added 1625).

In allusion to Matt.25.24,where the unprofitable servant in the Parable of the Talents said to his master:"reaping where thou hast not sowen,and gathering where thou hast not strawed" (AV).The same Parable(Matt.25.14-30)is alluded to elsewhere as follows: III.279("Ecce tibi lucrefeci,"own version of Matt.25.20);VI.89("an ill talent");VII.13 or XIV.372-3("banks":Cf. "bankers" of Matt.25.27,R),180("reap but small profit");VIII.358("poor talent");IX.53;X.235;XI.106("reap no benefit":Cf. VIII.358)391;XII.172("reap profit for which they never sowed"); XIV.230("exchangers" as in Matt.25.27;"napkin" as in Luke.19.20),313,349("utter darkness"as in Matt.25.30),358,363,424,437 (as in Luke 19.20). Cf.501.25 below(Eccl.11.4).

OF FOLLOWERS AND FREENDS

Printed 1597.Slightly enlarged
and reprinted 1612,1625.

No biblical allusions.

OF SUTOURS

Printed 1597.Reprinted
with additions 1612,1625.

VI.496.17-18

else he may be led by the Nose. (added 1625)

This figure of speech has long been proverbial, but in Bacon's time it was not.Possibly he had in mind God's words to Sennacherib:"Thou hast been mad against me,and thy pride hath come up to my eares.Therefore I will put a ring in thy nose, and a bit between thy lips:and I will turn thee back by the way,by which thou camest"(4 K.19.28,Is.37.29,AV).Cf.XIII.202: "Be a light to jurors to open their eyes,but not a guide to lead them by the noses." In allusion to the rings put in the noses of oxen and camels by which to guide them. The same figure was used by Shakespeare(Othello,I.iii.407),but it was not yet proverbial.

OF STUDIES

Printed 1597.Reprinted
with additions,1612,1625.

VI.497.13-15

Studies serue for Delight . . . Their Chiefe Vse for Delight,is in Priuatenesse and Retiring.

Cf.Ecclus.38.25:"The wisedome of a learned man cometh by opportunitie of leasure:and he that hath litle busines shal become wise"(AV).

497.19-20

To spend too much Time in Studies,is Sloth.

Cf.Eccl.12.12:"Too much study wearieth the body"(B). See Chap.III.p.63.Cf.III.327:"Great quantity of books maketh a shew rather of superfluity than lack."

Id.20

To vse them too much for Ornament,is Affectation.

Cf.Ecclus.21.24:"Learning is vnto a wise man,as an ornament of gold,and like a bracelet vpon his right arm"(AV).

Id.21-2

To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler.

Cf.Ecclus.21.22:"Doctrine vnto fooles,is as fetters on the feete,and like manacles on the right hand."

OF FACTION

Printed 1587.Reprinted with additions 1612,1625.

VI.500.7-8

make the King,Tanquàm vnus ex nobis.

Gen.3.22,where God says:"Loe Adam is become as it were one of vs." The Vulgate has "quasi unus ex nobis." "Tanquam" is Bacon's word.

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

Printed 1597.Reprinted with additions,1612,1625.

VI.500.18-19

the Stone had need to be Rich,that is set without Foile.

See above 478.34.

Id.33 and 501.1

How can a man comprehend great Matters,that breaketh his Minde too much to small Obseruations?

Cf.Luke 17.20:"The kingdome of God commeth not with obseruation"(AV:the marginal note has "Or,with outward shew"). Cf.I.200:"It was said of spiritual things,Regnum Dei non venit cum observatione"(V,word-order changed:quoted also VII. 56),and III.223:"The amplification of the power and kingdom of mankind over the world . . . is a work truly divine,which cometh . . . without . . . observation."

501.25-7

Salomon saith; He that considereth the wind,shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds,shall not reape. (added 1612).

Eccl.11.4,Bacon's version. Cf. D:"He that obserueth the winde,shal not sowe,and he that regardeth the cloudes shall not reape"(G). Quoted loosely from Tr in III.447.Bacon's "considereth" was probably translated from V's "considerat," though that word refers not to the wind,but to the clouds.

Id.28-30

Mens Behauiour should be like their Apparrell,not too Strait,or point Deuice,but free for Exercise or Motion. (added 1625).

Cf.Ecclus.19.27:"A mans attire,and excessiue laughter,and gate,shew what he is"(AV).Cf.III.447:"Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind . . . it ought not to be too strait or restrained for exercise or motion."

OF PRAISE

1607-12.Printed 1612. Reprinted with additions 1625.

VI.502.10-11

(as the Scripture saith)Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis.(a good name is like a fragrant ointment).

Eccl.7.2,Bacon's rendering,the sense slightly altered.Cf. AV:"A good name is better then precious ointment."Cf.VI.373: "A good name is as a precious ointment";XIII.110:"a good name is like a good odour"(another version has,"a good name . . . is a good odour",XIII.110n); X.110:"Men's souls are more precious than their bodies or goods,and so are their good names."

Id.34-6

Salomon saith,He that praiseth his Frend aloud,Rising Early,it shall be to him,no better then a Curse.

Prov.27.14,based on G(see Chap.III,p.60).A Latin version quoted in I.768 appears to be a translation of the English.

503.10-11

S.t Paul,when he boasts of himselfe,he doth oft enterlace; I speake like a Foole.(added 1625).

2 Cor.11.23:"I speake as a foole"(AV,following G and B). Bacon evidently alludes to the three similar expressions in 2 Cor.11.17,21,23:"I speake . . . as it were foolishly"(17), "I speake foolishly"(21), and "I speake as a foole"(23).Cf. VIII.76(also III.481):"St.Paul was content to speak thus,Ego,

non Dominus;I,and not the Lord(1 Cor.7.12); Et,secundum consilium meum;according to my counsel(1 Cor.7.40).But now men do too lightly say,Non ego,sed Dominus;not I,but the Lord(1 Cor.7.10).

503.11-12

> But speaking of his Calling,he saith;Magnificabo Apostolatum meum. (added 1625).

Rom.11.13,Bacon's version,no doubt translated from AV: "I magnifie mine office." Quoted from the Vulgate in Pro.f. 86:"Ministerium meum honorificabo"("I vvil honour my ministerie").

OF VAINE-GLORY

Printed 1612.Reprinted with additions 1625.

VI.504.6-7

> as Iron sharpens Iron,so by Glory one Courage sharpneth another. (added 1625).

Prov.27.17:"Yron sharpeneth yron so doeth man sharpen the face of his friend"(G).For variations see XIV.414:"as iron sharpeneth iron,so one man's wit edgeth another";Pro. f.93b:"Iron sharpeth against Iron";Northumb.MS.f.12:"mindes are sharpened against mindes,as Iron is against Iron."

A comparable figure occurs in Eccl.10.10:"If the iron be blunt and one hath not whet the edge he must then put to more strength,but the excellencie to direct a thing is wisdom"(G:D="and after industrie shal wisdom folow").For Bacon's variations see III.223:"the fool putteth to more strength, but the wise man considereth which way", III.322:"If the iron be not sharp,it requireth more strength;but wisdom is that which prevaileth."

Another originates in Ps.63.4:"They have whetted their tongues like a sword." Cf.X.120:"whet men's speeches";XIV. 481:"whet the lawes";VII.208:"they who have long agone forsaken the truth of God,which is the touchstone,must now hold byvthe whetstone";XI.381-2:"There must be brought in to be Solicitor some man of courage and speech . . . for in a weapon what is a back without an edge?";VI.440:"a Man . . . whetteth his Wits as against a Stone,which it selfe cuts not."

Bacon seems mentally to have confused the three verses.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

Printed 1597.Slightly enlarged
1607-12.Slightly enlarged and
printed 1625.

VI.505.8-12

some in their Actions,doe Wooe and affect Honour,and Reputation:Which Sort of Men,are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little admired.And some,contrariwise, darken their Vertue,in the Shew of it.

Cf.Eccl.10.1:"Dead flies cause the oyntment of the Apothecarie to send foorth a stinking savour:so doeth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisedome and honour"(AV).

In the explanation of Eccl.10.1 in the De Augmentis Bacon wrote that

> as in the clearest diamond every little cloud or speck catches and displeases the eye,which in a less perfect stone would hardly be discerned;so in men of remarkable virtue the slightest faults are seen,talked of,and severely censured,which in ordinary men would either be entirely unobserved,or readily excused.Hence a little folly in a very wise man,a small offence in a very good man,a slight impropriety in a man of polite and elegant manners detracts greatly from their character and reputation. . . (V.42).

There was probably no verse of the Bible whose wisdom appealed to Bacon more strongly than Eccl.10.1, and none which he applied so often and in such dissimilar circumstances. "Honours make both virtues and vice conspicuous"(IV. 475), and therefore some men who affect honour and reputation "darken their Vertue,in the Shew of it." Ultimately the same theme was crystallized into what he called a "principle of philosophy," namely, "that the corruption or degeneration of the best things is the worst"(XIV.171). See I.755;III.162, 427;VI.217,378,394,404,561;VII.86;IX.86,178;XI.234;XII.176, 276,313;XIII.25,112,213;XIV.63-4,171,178. Cf.Chap.III,p.77.

505.27-8

Emuy . . . is the Canker of Honour.

Cf.Prov.14.30:"emuie (is) the rottennesse of the bones" (AV).Cf.II.172:"Envy is the worst passion,and preys on the spirits,which again prey on the body . . . it is always at work."

OF JUDICATURE

Printed 1612.Reprinted
with additions,1625.

VI.507.2-5

Cursed(saith the Law)is hee that remoueth the Land-marke. The Mislaier of a Meere Stone is to blame.But it is the

Vniust Iudge, that is the Capitall Remouer of Land-marke s, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie.

Deut.27.17, Bacon's version. Probably written in 1611 or 1612 and of interest because it shows that Bacon may have been acquainted with the Authorised Version within a year of its publication. The AV was the first version to use "land-marke" in this place: "Cursed be he that remooueth his neighbours land-marke." He did not, however, use the word elsewhere, writing instead of "mere-stones" (VII.566, 687, XIII.202) and "mark" (XIII.202). See VII.687: "a mere-stone of the King's inheritance, and as a hedge about his vineyard" (Matt.21.33: Cf. VII.689).

507.5-6

One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, than many Foule Examples.

The theme of Eccl.10.1. See above 505.8-12.

Id.6-8

they doe but corrupt the streame; the other corrupteth the fountaine. So saith Salomon; Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram aduersario.

Prov.25.26, Bacon's version. Cf.V: "Fons turbatus pede, et vena corrupta, justus cadens coram impio" ("A fountaine trubled with the foote, and a vaine corrupted, the iust falling before the impious"). The same is quoted nearly correctly in III.450. For indirect allusions to Prov.25.26 see VI.38, XI.166, XII.140, XIII.265, XIV.157, 226. "To trouble the waters" and similar expressions, may refer to the same verse or to John 5.7-9, but were probably proverbial. See III.471, VI.113, 411, VIII.196, 275, X.381, XI.166, XII.183, XIV.85.

Id.14-17

There be (saith the Scripture) that turne Iudgement into Wormewood; And surely, there be also, that turne it into Vinegar; For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it sowre.

Amos 5.7. Bacon's version agrees with Douay. Quoted also in VI.217: "(Dudley and Empson) being lawyers in science and privy counsellors in authority, (as the corruption of the best things is the worst) turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine" (Cf.Prov.21.7). The connexion in Bacon's mind between Amos 5.7 and Eccl.10.1 is apparent from the following: "The best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest wine makes the sharpest vinegar" (XII.313). Cf.also IX.194 (" e

quintessence of wormwood";and XII.161:"to have turned judgment into fury"(Cf.Amos 6.13,Ezek.5.15).See also XIII.190: "Fresh justice is the sweetest"(Cf.Shakespeare:"sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds,"Sonnet 94).See below VI. 509.6-7.

507.22-3

God vseth to prepare his Way,by Raising Valleys,and Taking downe Hills.

Is.40.3-4,but,judging from a similar allusion in XII.299, no doubt a reference to the version of Is.40.3-4 quoted in Luke 3.4-5:"Prepare ye the way of the Lord,make his paths straight.Euery valley shall be filled,and euery mountaine and hill shalbe brought low:and the crooked shall bee made straight,and the rough wayes shall be made smooth"(AV).Cf.XII. 299:"The King is as well able to level mountains as to fill valleys." In St.Luke the valleys are to be "filled";in Isaiah they are to be "exalted."Cf.also XIV.226:"The true straight line of nobleness,without crooks or angles."

Id.27-30

Qui fortiter emungit,elicit sanguinem; And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought,it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone.

Prov.30.33. See Chap.IV.p.107-8.

Id.35-7

that Shower ,whereof the Scripture speaketh;Pluet super eos Laqueos: For Penall Lawes Pressed,are a Shower of Snares vpon the People.

Ps.10.7,Bacon's rendering. V has "Pluet super peccatores laqueos"("He shal reyne snares vpon sinners").All versions have "rain snares."Quoted also in I.815,VII.315n,X.19("super nos"),336,XIII.65.Cf.XII.144:"Penal Laws . . . lie as snares upon the subjects"; XIII.71:"Statutes . . . yet snaring and in force." This application of Scripture was borrowed by Bacon from "a learned civilian"(XIII.65),who may have been Erasmus(Reynolds,p.372).

508.8-9

an Ouer-speaking Iudge is no well tuned Cymball.

Ps.150.5:"Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals"(Pr.Bk.) In his paraphrase of Ps.149.3(see VII.286),Bacon interpolated the word "Cymbals,"which occurs in no version,but possibly was borrowed from Ps.150.5.

Id.21-3

Iudges . . . should imitate God,in whose Seat they sit;

who represseth the Presumptuous,and giueth Grace to the Modest.

Prov.3.33-4:"The Lord . . . blesseth the habitation of the iust.Surely he scorneth the scorners:but he giueth grace vnto the lowly"(AV). Bacon's version is highly original,nor does it agree with either James 4.6 or 1 Pet.5.5,in both of which Prov.3.34 is quoted.Cf.XI.400:"Both in divinity and in policy,offences of presumption are the greatest."

509.5-8

Grapes,(as the Scripture saith)will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles: Neither can Iustice yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse,amongst the Briars and Brambles,of Catching and Poling Clerkes and Ministers.

Matt.7.16,Bacon's version.Cf.AV:"Yee shall knowe them by their fruits.Doe men gather grapes of thornes,or figges of thistles?" In Pro.f.128 the correct sequence is given:"No man gathereth grapes of thornes nor figges of thistelles." "Ex fructibus eorum"(Matt.7.20:"By their fruits you shall know them")occurs in III.578,and "ex fructibus" in I.183, both in passages where briars and brambles are also mentioned,suggesting that Matt.7.16 was closely connected in Bacon's mind with the Parable of Jotham(XII.44-5)."Experimenta fructifera"(I.128,180,203,215,633;II.336,501)probably refers to Matt.7.20.Other allusions to briars,thorns,and brambles are as follows:Parable of Jotham(Judg.9.8-15)II.688-9,III.488,577; VII.86,X.106,XIV.177;Num.33.55("thornes in your sides,"AV) VI.80,621,X.299,XIII.115; Prov.15.19("hedge of thornes,"AV) I.763,III.450,XII.108.

Id.36

Meum and Tuum.

According to the great Oxford Dictionary "Meum and Tuum" is "a popular phrase to express the rights of property."Possibly the origin/by of its use Bacon was biblical.Cf.3 K.3.26:"Let it be neither mine nor thine,but diuide it"(AV); John 17.10:"And all mine are thine,and thine are mine"(AV).See also VI.239, VII.731,X.309,325,382,XI.183,XII.143,XIII.41.

510.4-6

Let Iudges also remember,that Salomon's Throne,was supported by Lions,on both Sides;Let them be Lions,but yet Lions vnder the Throne. (added 1625).

3 K.10.19-20:"And two lyons stood beside the stayes.And twelue lions stood there on the one side and on the other vpon the sixe steps"(AV).The same analogy occurs in VII.688 and XIII.202.

510.11-13

Iudges . . . may remember,what the Apostle saith,of a Greater Law,then theirs; Nos scimus,quia Lex bona est, modò quis eâ vtatur Legitimè.

1 Tim.1.8,Bacon's version.Cf.AV:"But we know that the Law is good,if a man vse it lawfully."Quoted from V(word-order changed)in Pro.f.91b.Cf.XI.400:"Other offences yield and consent to the law that it is good."

OF ANGER

Printed 1625.

VI.510.16-17

We haue better Oracles:Be Angry,but Sinne not.Let not the Sunne goe down vpon your Anger.

Eph.4.26,quoted almost accurately from R("and sinne not").All other versions have "wrath" for Bacon's "anger." Cf.VII.230:"Neither hath the sun almost set upon my displeasure." "Displeasure" was possibly suggested by other passages.Cf.Ps.2.5:"Then shall hee speake vnto them in his wrath,and vexe them in his sore displeasure"(AV).

Id.27-8

The Scripture exhorteth vs;To possesse our Soules in Patience.

Luke 21.19:"In your patience possess ye your soules" (AV).

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

Printed 1625.

VI.512.8

Salomon saith;There is no New Thing vpon the Earth.

Eccl.1.10:"There is no new thing vnder the sunne"(AV). Bacon had it firmly fixed in his mind that there was nothing new "vpon the Earth."The phrase occurs four times in Ecclesiastes and is common elsewhere in the Bible.Cf.III. 314:"Nil novi super terram." In VII.11(printed also in XIV. 371)he speaks of "that which the Scripture also tendereth for satisfaction,that no new thing is happened unto us." He referred to the Rhemish of 1 Pet.4.12:"Thinke it not strange in the feruour is to you for a temptation,as though some new thing happened to you"(all other versions have "strange thing").Bacon's "unto us" recalls AV's "vnto you." In the Latin translation the quotation appears as "nil novi nobis accidisse"(Cf.V's "quasi aliquid vobis contingat"). See also XI.313:"Sure I am,nil novi accidit vobis." It is

quite conceivable that Bacon meant to allude,not to 1 Pet.4.12,but to Eccl.1.10.

512.10-11

So Salomon giueth his Sentence;That all Noueltie is but Obliuion.

Eccl.2.16:". . . the times to come shal couer al thinges together with obliuion." V has "futura tempora obliv-ione cuncta pariter operient." The Lat.trans.has "omnem nov-itatem nihil aliud esse,quam oblivionem."

Id.21-3

the Three yeares Drought,in the time of Elias,was but Particular,and left People Aliue.

Luke 4.25:"In Israel in the dayes of Elias the heauen was shut vp three yeres and sixe moneths:when great famine was throughout all the land"(AV).In James 5.17 it is again stated that the famine lasted for three and a half years,but in 3 K.17 the length of its duration is not specified.That the"drought"(which is Bacon's own word)"left People Aliue" is clear from 3 K.17 and 18.

514.7-8

The True Religion is built vpon a Rocke;The Rest are tost vpon the Waues of Time.

In allusion to the wise man who "built his house vpon a rocke"(Matt.7.24,AV)."And it fell not,for it was founded vpon a rocke"(Id,25).Cf.Matt.16.18:"Thou art Peter,and vpon this rocke I will build my Church."(AV).See III.473:"The divine foundation is upon the rock." In VII.20 it is said that the fortunes of Jaime I of Aragon "seemed to be built upon the rock." The same metaphor is appliedto Buckingham in XIV.356 and 356n,to the royal prerogative in X.374,to duty in IX.193, and to the law in X.331. For similar expressions see II.160, XII.187,and XIV.432.

"Tost vpon the Waues of Time" alludes to the rest of the Parable and concern the"foolish man which built his house vpon the sand:And the raine descended,and the floods came, and the windes blew,and beat vpon that house,and it fell,and great was the fall of it"(Matt.7.26-7,AV).See also I.213 ("philosophy and science built on such a sand"),III.473("the human foundation hath somewhat of the sand"),and IX.193 ("though my state lie buried in the sands").

CHAPTER VII

LIST OF BIBLICAL PROPER NAMES

Biblical proper names occur in Bacon's works in bewildering confusion.It is not always easy to know where to draw the line between those possibly biblical and those possibly not. The following list includes a number of doubtful names.They are included for the sake of completeness,but the reader is not urged to accept them. Such are "Euro-aquilo," "Carthaginians," and "Tyrians." Certain names found in the New Atlantis have also been included,not because they are biblical,but because their biblical origin is beyond dispute. Many names have been omitted altogether. Such are "Balaam's Ass"(the name of a book), and the topographical names of Palestine found in the Sylva Sylvarum. As it stands, the list comprises 184 proper names. If, however, we omit "Ark," "Daemon," "Devil," the names of the Deity,"Gentiles," "Hebrews,""Jews," "Holy Ghost," "Paradise," "Rome," and many others occurring internally in biblical quotations, there are 150 proper names in all Bacon's works.

Bacon's use of biblical names has an interest of its own. Although we are certainly not thrilled by the comparison of James I with Solomon---"he hath hitherto been another Salomon in this our Israel"(XIII.44),----there are compensations. His admiration for Bodley as "having built an Ark to save learning from deluge" is a noble and moving tribute. Equally touching is Bacon's petition to the Lords to revoke the sentence of his banishment:"It may be you shall do posterity good,if out of the carcase of dead and rotten greatness(as out of Samson's lion) there may be honey gathered for the use of future times."

Numbers of Bacon's allusions to persons mentioned in the Bible are not at once apparent. An example is the remark that St. Paul was "only learned amongst the apostles"(III.299), based on Festus's complaint that much learning had made him mad. And who,off-hand,would know what "Gamaliel's reason" was?(VII.323). Why was Isaac "chaste" and England "this our Israel?" Who can say spontaneously why Bacon's "understanding gentleman" called Abimelech a bastard ? There is more in Bacon's use of biblical names than meets the ordinary eye.

LIST OF BIBLICAL PROPER NAMES

AARON, the first high priest of the Jews, son of Amram and brother of Moses.

See II. 133 (Ex. 4.14, 6. 20, 7. 7, 32. 4; Num. 33. 39; Deut. 34. 7; Judg. 20. 28), III. 409 (Ex. 4. 16), 328 (confusing Ex. 7. 12 with Num. 21. 8,9).

BACON. . . . peace should flow unto the furdest parts of the kingdom, as the ointment of A.'s head to the skirts of his garment. . . (X. 274 and Ps. 132. 2).

ABEL, the second son of Adam whose sacrifice to God was better accepted than his brother Cain's. Because (Gen. 4. 2) he was a shepherd, Bacon calls Abel " a lively image of a contemplative state" (III. 297).

See also VI. 394 (Gen. 4. 4).

ABIMELECH, son of the Hebrew judge Gideon. He murdered all his seventy brothers except Jotham, the youngest, and made himself King of Israel for three years. In the Parable of Jotham A. is compared to the bramble which threatened fire and destruction to the other trees unless annointed king over them. It was A.'s tyranny which was alluded to in 1614 in the speech against Undertaking---the contemporary word for packing the House of Commons with supporters of the King's policy.

BACON. We have accepted the bramble to reign over us. . . and this bramble of contention and emulation; this A. which (as was truly said by an understanding gentleman) is a bastard (for every fame that wants a head, is <u>filius</u>

<u>populi</u>), this must reign and rule amongst us" (XII. 44-5 and Judg. 9. 14- 20).

The point made by the "understanding gentleman" and appreciated by Bacon was that A. was a bastard because his mother was a Shechemite concubine (Judg. 8. 31). See JOTHAM.

ABNER, the General of Saul's Army. The death of Asahel at the hands of Abner was revenged by Joab, who trescherously murdered Abner.

See XI. 291 (2 K. 2. 23, <u>Id</u>. 3. 27) and XIII. 308-9 (2 K. 3. 31-9). Cf. Chap. VI, p. 140.

ABRAHAM, the original possessor of God's promise.

See III. 150 (Rom. 4. 11), 151 (see NACHORAN), 478 (Rom. 4. 22); II. 133 (Gen. 12. 2-3, <u>Id</u>., 25. 7); VII. 150 (Gen. 12. 2); X. 310 (Gen. 13. 7,9, <u>Id</u>., 14. 12-16).

ABSALON, third son of David, against whose throne he conspired . It was said of Absalon the conspirator that "when a man came vnto him to salute him, he put forth his hand, and taking him, kyssed him" (2 K. 15. 5).

BACON . . . every man took notice and note of (Essex's) affable gestures, open doors, making his table and his bed so popularly places of audience to suitors, denying nothing when he did nothing, feeding many men in their discontentments against the Queen and the state, and the like, as they every were since A.'s time the forerunners of treasons following.... (IX. 248-9)

Of interest in the parallel between Absalon and Essex is that Absalon "intised the heartes of the men of Israel " (2 K. 15. 6: G, "stale the heartes"), and Essex had " a head corrupted in his allegience" (IX. 249) . Mr. Noble attributed to the same source King Henry's words, "I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts" (<u>1 Hen.IV</u>.III. ii. 52). Cf. the statement that the Pope sent agents "to steal and win away the hearts and allegiances of the people" (XI. 270) .

ACHITOPHEL, the trusted counsellor of David, but/a party to Absalon's conspiracy. After Absalon's seizure of the throne, Achitophel advised him to consolidate his power by sending him (AChitophel) to pursue and murder David. But "his advice was not followed" (2 K. 17. 23).

BACON. (To Sir John Devis, clerk to Essex's council of conspiracy) This A. plot you thought to have followed . . . (IX. 238).

Achitophel is taken as the O. T. counterpart of Judas Iscariot. Note that Essex is compared with both Absalon and Judas (see JUDAS). "Achitophel" spelt as in later editions of the Bishops'. ("Ahitophel" in G, followed by 1572 ed. of B, and AV) .

ADAM, the first man , who fell from the state of innocence at Eve's instigation. Though Adam wished to be as God,as the serpent promised, the curse upon his sin did not deprive him of rule over the creatures. Bacon took this to mean that man's control over nature lay within his own grasp.

See I. 523 (Gen. 3. 5), III. 150 (Gen. 4. 1-2), III. 154 (Gen. 2. 25), III. 422 (Gen. 5. 24), VI. 636 and I. 523 (Gen. 3. 6), VII. 30 (Gen. 3. 17-19), XII. 308 (Gen. 4. 1), XIV. 243 (Job 31. 33). For the expression "son of Adam" (Deut. 32. 8, Ecclus. 40. 1,G) see II. 133, VII. 36, XII. 157, XIII. 82, and XIV. 340.

For man's dominion over nature (Gen. 1. 26) see I. 223, III. 217, 294, VII. 30, 220,221,222.

For man as the image of God (Gen. 1. 27) see I. 602, III. 350, VII. 221, 222, 250, XIV. 352.

For the imposition of names in paradise (Gen. 2. 19) see I. 132, 434, III. 219, 264-5, 296, 500, X. 237-8.

For the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 3. 5) see I. 131-2, 433-4, 465,523,742, II. 14, III.185,217,219, 265,296-7,443,500, VI. 403, VII.222, XI.191, and Northumb. MS. f. 11.

For the fall of man (Gen. 3. 6) see I. 365, 518, 614, III. 265, VI. 636, VII. 30, 222 (Rom. 5. 12).

AGRIPPA, the tributary king in Palestine who replied to St. Paul, "Almost thou perswadest mee to bee a Christian" (Acts 26. 28,AV).

BACON. Antonimus Pius... became, as A. said unto St. Paul, half a Christian . (III. 305-6) .

AHAB, a wicked king of Israel.

BACON (to Lord Sanquhar) For if you had sought to take away a man's life for his vineyard, as A. did . . . . surely the murder had been more odious . (XI. 291 and 3 K. 21. 1-17) .

AHASUERUS, king of the Persians and husband of Esther.

See I. 513 (Dan. 9. 1 , Esth. 2. 21), III. 339 (Esth. 6. 1, Id. 2. 21-2), X. 144 (Esth. 6. 6). "Ahasuerus," as spelt in the Bishops' (followed by AV). Otherwise "Assuerus" (X. 144), as in V.

AMMONITES, a people descended from Benammi, a son of Lot.

Nahash the Ammonite offered to make a covenant with the men of Jabesh on condition he could pluck out all their right eyes (1 K. 11. 2).

BACON . . . . if the Pope or King of Spain would demand of us to forsake our religion, upon pain of a war , it were as unjust a demand as . . . the Ammonites to the Israelites of their right eyes . (XIV. 482).

ANANIAS , "the sacrilegious hypocrite" (VII. 233) who sold a piece of land, by fraud kept back part of the price, and gave the rest to the Apostles (Acts 5. 1-2). When St. Peter told him , "Thou hast not lied to men, but to God ," Ananias "fel dovvne ,and geue vp the ghost" (Acts 5. 4-5). See VII. 233 . "The unclean sacrifice of a lie" (III. 267) and "a lie faces God , and shrinks from man" (VI. 379) possibly allude to St. Peter's reprimand .

ANNA , the prophetess who at the time of Christ's circumcision in the temple prophesied of his greatness . See II. 135 (Luke 2. 36-8) .

ANTICHRIST , as named in the 1st and 2nd Epistles of St. John, has been variously interpreted. Generally it meant a false teacher animated by Satan .

See III. 288, 352, VI. 145, VII. 253, VIII. 164, XII. 162.

APOCALYPSE , the final book of the N. T. , is mentioned in III. 138. See REVELATION .

APOSTLE or APOSTLES . "The Apostle" was used by Bacon to introduce quotations, and usually referred to St. Paul .

AQUILA , together with his wife PRISCILLA, were first the hosts of St. Paul (Acts 18. 2) and then his fellow-labourers (Rom. 16. 3) .

See II. 141 (Acts 18. 26 and 1 Cor. 16. 19) .

ARCTURUS , the brightest star of the constellation Bootes .

See III. 298 (Job 9. 9 and 38. 31, both quoted from V).

AREOPAGITE . See DIONYSIUS .

ARK, in allusion to Noah's Ark or the Ark of the Testimony, is usually treated by Bacon as a proper noun .

See III. 341 (Gen. 7. 17, Josh. 3. 6, 3 K. 8. 6), VII. 225 (Ex. 40. 3-4), X. 119 (2 K. 6. 6-7).

BACON.(to Sir Thos. Bodley , founder of the Oxford library bearing his name) . . . you having built an A. to save learning from deluge . . . (X. 253 and Gen. 6. 14).

ASSYRIANS , mentioned as invaders from the East in VI. 515 .

See 4 K. 18 and 19 .

ATHALIAH, a wicked Queen of Judah who on the death of Ahaziah her son "arose and slew al the Kinges seede." But Ahaziah's son Joas (spelt as in V) was stolen away from Athaliah and Jehosheba and saved from death (4 K. 11. 1-2) .

WARBECK . Almighty God . . . saved little Joas from the tyranny of A. when she massacred the King's children . . . (VI. 164) .

AUSTER , The word in the Vulgate for the South.
See III. 298 (Job 9. 9) .

BABEL or BABYLON. The two terms are used interchangeably in the O. T. The Tower of Babel in Shinar , the great edifice which was to reach to heaven, evoked God's displeasure and brought about the Confusion of Tongues.
See II. 134 (1 Esdr.3. 12, 3 Esdr. 5. 63), VIII. 336 (Gen. 11. 4-9), XII. 8 (Is. 14. 22). See Chap I,p.7

BACON . The Lord Treasurer (Salisbury) . . . set afoot the Great Contract , like the Tower of Babylon, building an imagination as if the King should never after need his people more, nor the people the King . . . in the end undid his baby that he had made . . . (XII. 178-9)

"Baby" was perhaps meant as a pun on Babylon .

BACON . Naphtha . . . was the bituminous mortar used in the walls of Babylon . (III. 818) .
See Gen . 11 . 3 . Herodotus could have been Bacon's source (i. 179) . For "Walles of Babylon" see the Authorised Version in Jer. 51. 58 ("wall" in the others) .

For the Confusion of Tongues (Gen. 11. 9) see I. 653, II. 15, III. 297, 401, VII. 35, 607, 651, X. 223,236. For the Curse (Gen. 11. 7) see I. 653, III. 401, VII. 664 . See also VII. 284(Ps.136.1), 285 (Ps. 136. 8) .

BARTHOLOMEW , an Apostle of Christ (Matt. 10. 3). Bacon calls him "a servant of the Highest" (Cf. Luke 6. 35), and portrays him as the bringer of Christianity to the people of Bensalem (III. 138-9) . See also VII. 136 .

BENJAMIN , the youngest son of Jacob from whom the twelfth tribe of Israel descended and took its name. In their wars with the other tribes of Israel the Benjaminites, except for 600 men , were all slain . (Judg. 20).
See II. 133 .

BENSALEM , the name of the island commonwealth in the New Atlantis . Though not biblical , the word is derived from the Bible , and is usually explained as meaning "Son of Peace." There is general agreement that the "Salem" of Ps. 75. 3 (76. 2) is Jerusalem . Jerusalem was where Solomon built the Temple, and Bacon's

allegorical equivalent is Bensalem, where King Solamona founded Salomon's House (III. 145) . Alternatively Bacon meant to identify Bensalem with "the heauenly Hierusalem" of Heb. 12. 22 .

BETHESDA , the pool mentioned in John 5. 2 where Christ cured the impotent man of his infirmities (John 5.5-9). See XIV. 244 (John 5. 4). Referred to, though not by name, in III. 135, and the miracle in X. 295 . "Bethesda" spelt as in V. See PROBATICA . See Chap.II, p.53.

CAESAR , the Roman emperor and temporal power in Palestine in the time of Christ .

Mentioned in III. 373, VII. 234, XI. 200 (See Chap. V, p.161.), VIII. 89 (Luke 23. 2). Otherwise, allusions are to classical sources .

CAIAPHAS , High Priest of the Jews at the time of Christ's passion and crucifixion .

See VII. 223 (Matt. 26. 3) .

CAIN , Adam's first born (Gen. 4. 1), a tiller of the soil (Id.4. 2) , his sacrifice to God not acceptable (Id.5), slew his brother out of envy (Id.8), despaired of his punishment from the Lord (Id. 13) .

See II. 133, III. 297, VI. 394, IX. 225, XI. 291, 404, XII. 308, XIII. 99 ("this same wicked child of Cain, Bertram") ,108, XIV. 384. See Chap. II, p.50.

CALEB , one of the spies sent by Moses to view the Promised Land .

See II. 134 (Ecclus. 46.11 : Cf. Num. 14. 38; 26. 65, Josh. 14-15 , Judg. 1. 15) .

CANAAN , the Promised Land to which the Israelites were brought from Egypt .

See VI. 80 (Num. 33. 55), VII. 31 (Deut. 32. 21, Ex. 3. 8, Id.23. 29-30, Josh. 17. 18, Ecclus. 50. 27-8) .

CARTHAGINIANS are mentioned in the Vulgate (Ezek. 27. 12) as traders and merchants . AV has "Tarshish." The statement that the Carthaginians were a "colony, which is yet further west, of the Tyriens" (III. 140) may have been based on the Bible .

CHALDEES - CHALDEAN . That is, Babylonian .

See III. 380 (Is. 47. 13-14), VII. 285 (3 Esdr. 4. 45, Ezek. 35. 3-15), XI. 64. See also I. 554 (Dan. 2. 10-11) .

CHAM (as in V) or HAM (G), third son of Noah and ancestor of the Canaanites . Finding his father drunk with wine , he uncovered his nakedness and "told it to his two brethren abroad" (Gen. 9. 22) . For this he and his posterity were cursed by Noah to be the servants of servants to his two brethren (Id.9. 25) .

BACON . Only C. purchased his curse with revealing his father's disgrace (VIII. 82) .

CHERUBIM were celestial beings next in order to the Seraphim, whose descriptions in the Bible differ considerably from one another .

See III. 130, 152 , 155(Cf. Ex. 25.20, Ps. 17. 11, Ecclus. 49.10), 296 .

CHRIST is alluded to by name or epithet as follows : II. 16 and 88 (Matt.1.23); III. 138, 150(Is.9.6),151(Is.7.14, Id.9.6, Apoc.7.17), 263, 297, 299(Luke 2.46), 305, 486, 489; VI. 126,152,238,379,381,405,423(Is.9.6); VII. 19(Cant.5.1),20,26,150,220(John 17.21),222(Deut.18.15, Luke 24.19,Acts 3.22,Gen.40.8,Matt.5-7,Heb.7.24), 223 (Rom.9.5,Heb.7.26-7,John 1.29,1 Cor.6.20,2 Cor.5.21, Apoc.5.12,Jer.23.6,Matt.4.23,John 1.1,Heb.9.11-12,Eph. 2.19-20,Id.14, Heb.7.25,John 3.2,Is.25.8,Col.1.13,Mark 16.6,Matt.1.20,Luke 2.4,7,John 1.14,2 Cor.5.18,1 John 2.27), 223-4(Luke 24.46), 224(Acts 10.41,Id.1.3,Luke 24.33,Mark 16.19,Rom.8.34,Acts 17.31,Matt.24.30), 225 (Apoc.21.9,Cant.4.8,1 Cor.12.27, 1 John 2.27), 244 (Luke 5.6,John 2.1-10,Matt.21.19-21,Prov.27.18,Matt.14. 17-21,Matt.8.26,Matt.21.14,Matt.9.33,Matt.9.24-5), 260, 261(Matt.3.17), 262,347,645(Is.9.6); VIII.74,75,83,164, 165,181n,197; IX. 130(Matt.9.12); X. 97,108,121(Eccl. 12.14), 125(Apoc.21.9,Cant.4.8), 265; XI. 200,229,268; XII. 144(Is.9.6),166,217; XIII. 51; XIV. 240,461,494; Northumb. MS ff. 1(Philemon 20), 23 .

See also JESUS, SAVIOUR, MEDIATOR, REDEEMER , LAMB OF GOD , SON OF GOD .

CITY OF GOD or CIVITAS DEI (as in Ps. 45. 5) was used by Bacon as a kind of general title for his doctrine of unity. Possibly the phrase was borrowed from St. Augustine.

See I. 829, 834, 840; III. 482 .

COLUBER, the word in the Vulgate for one of the 48 ancient constellations .

See III. 298 (Job 26. 13) .

CRETANS , inhabitants of Crete . Their vices are mentioned by St. Paul .

See III. 436 (Tit. 1. 13, Id.12, quoting Epimenides) . The first parts of Tit. 1. 12 and 13 are quoted consecutively in the Promus (f. 88b) .

CYRUS , King of the Persians, who released the Jews from captivity, and exacted from all of them money and material with which to build the Temple (1 Esdr. 1. 4, 3 Esdr. 2. 6-7) . See XI. 234 .

Although Cyrus was called the Shepherd in the Bible (Is. 44. 28) as well as the Annointed of the Lord (Is. 45. 1), Bacon quoted Xenophon (Cyropoedia) as the authority (VII. 644) . It is expressly stated that God gave him those titles for the sake of "my seruant Iacob, and Israel myne elect" (Is. 45. 4) : "I girded thee: and thou hast not knowen me" (Id.5) . Hence the description of Cyrus as "no Christian" (VII. 29) .

DAEMON , originally in Greek a spirit generally, whether good or evil, was, in the English versions of the N. T. in Bacon's time, invariably translated devil. The word in V, borrowed from the Greek, is daemon, and when Bacon wrote in Latin he used this word . It must not be confused with "Diabolus" (Devil) as in 1 Pet. 5. 8 .

See VI. 356(Acts 19. 16), 378; VII. 234 (Matt. 8. 28-33); XI. 268 and I. 197(Deut.18.10-12); XII. 96 (Mark 9.24), 165(Mark 5.9), Luke 8.30), 219(Mark 9. 24), 302(Id) ; XIII. 314 (Id) . Cf. XIII. 15, 28: "Malus Genius."

BACON . Evil spirits . . . seem to foretell the tempest they mean to move . (VI. 277) .

DANIEL , the prophet . See I. 200 (Dan. 12. 4) .

DAVID , sone of Jesse, King of Judah and all Israel, called by Bacon "a wise and a good King" (XIII. 24) . He is alluded to as follows : I. 815 (Matt. 13. 35, Id. 27. 35); II. 201(3 K. 1.2); III.324(1 K.30.24), 387(1 K. 16.11), 429(Ps.77.70-1); VI. 159-60(2 K. 24.17), 386; VII. 644(Ps.77.70-1), 646(1 K.18.7), 675(2 K.24.17) ; X. 98(2 K.4.8, Id.5.1-5), 361(2 K.12.26-9); XI. 118 (1 K.16.23), 266(Ps.100.7), 291(2 K.11.4,17), 405(1 K. 17.37); XII.48(Ps.38.3:Cf.Pro.ff.83 and 108), 308 (2 K. 3.31-9); XIII.24(Ps.100.7), 108(Matt.13.35, Id.27. 35); XIV.461 and 482(1 K.17.47, Ps.117.6) .

DEVIL , the fallen angel, the Evil One, adversary and accuser, is alluded to by name or epithet as follows : III. 431(Gen.3.1,14, Jas.1.15, Id.4.5, Prov.23.32); VI. 403(Is.14.12-15:see also III.185,217;Cf.VI.384), 384 (Is.14.14:see also I.742,III.185,443), 384(Eph.6.12), 397(Matt.13.28), 461, 473; VII. 220(Matt.25.41), 222 (Gen.3.1,4,Apoc.12.9,Is.14.11); VIII.81(Jude 9, Zach. 3.2), 359(Matt.13.28); IX. 249 ; XI. 293(Matt.4.3, 1 Thess.3.5); XII.141(John 8.44,Job 1.9); 158(Eph.6.12), 300(John 8.44,Job 1.9); XIII. 108; XIV. 415, 494(Matt. 4.8) .

The Thrones, Principalities, and Dominations (Vulgate, "Dominatio") of Eph.1.21 and Col. 1. 16 are in III. 296 called "angels of power and ministry . . . angels of office and domination ." That Bacon believed them to be evil angels or devils seems clear from his comperison of "unsound and depraved opinions" with "the dominations and spirits of the air which the Scripture speaketh of" (XI. 401) . See also Zach. 6. 5 .

DIONYSIUS the Areopegite was the first to be converted (together with a woman called Damaris) when St. Paul preached in Athens (Acts 17. 34) . The De Coelesti Hierarchiâ, long accredited to his authorship , is mentioned in III. 296 .

DIOTREPHES, a prominent Christian admonished by St. John the Apostle . See VIII. 82 (3 John 9) .

EDOM occurs in Bacon's verse translation of Ps. 136. 7. See VII. 285 (3 Esdr. 4. 45) .

EGYPT , EGYPTIANS are mentioned as follows : I. 527 (Gen. 37.28); III. 219(Acts 7.22),297(Id), 383(Ex.16.3), 445 (Gen.41.53-7), 500 (Acts 7.22); VI. 638(Gen.37.28); VII. 233(Ex.7-11); VIII.52(Ex.16.3); XI. 312(Deut.11.10-11), 179 (Id). See also XI. 64 : "Aegiptians ."

BACON . . . with an oath or vow of secrecy which is like the Egyptian darkness, a gross and palpable darkness that may be felt . (XII. 303n) .

EHUD , a judge of Israel who, by murdering Eglon King of Moab, left the land in peace for 80 years .(Judg. 3. 30). Bacon inferred that Israel was at peace for 80 years under Ehud's government, supposing him to have been a centenarian at least. See II. 134 . "Ehud" as in AV .

ELI the High Priest and one of the Judges of Israel . See II.134 (1 K. 4. 18: 1 Sam. 4.18,Al K. 2.23, Id. 3. 13, Id. 4. 15), 143 (1 K. 3. 13) .

ELIAS or ELIAH are variants of one name , as is ELIJAH . A famous prophet (Ecclus.48.3) who "wrought miracles (Ecclus.48.15) and shut up heaven that no rain should fall upon the earth" (VII.233). See II. 134(4 K.2.11), III.151(Mal.4.5, Matt.11.10,14), 153(3 K.17.18), VI.184(Mal.4.5, Matt.11.10,14), 512 (Luke 4.25, Jas.5.17, 3 K.17,18) , VII. 233(3 K.17. 1, 4 K.1.10-12), 548(3 K.18.45, Id.19.19) .

Spelt "Elias" (as in V and AV,N.T.) except for "the Eliah" (apparently Bacon's variation) in III. 151 .

ELIHU , the youngest of Job's counsellors and hence "the inferior".

BACON . (To the King) . . . mine incessant care and infinite desire that your Majesty's affairs may go well have made me in the case of E. , who though he was the inferior amongst Job's counsellors, yet saith of himself that he was like a vessel of new wine, that could not but burst forth in uttering his opinion . (XI. 368 and Job 32. 4, 19) .

The same metaphor is applied to Isaiah in II. 134 .

ELIZEUS (so spelt by Bacon,as in V) or ELISHA , the prophet annointed by Elijah to take his place .

See II. 143(4 K. 2. 23, Id.13.19, Id.5.27, 3 K.19. 19, 4 K. 5.16), VII. 233(4 K. 2.24), 234(Deut. 25.4: Cf. 1 Cor. 9.9, 1 Tim.5.18 : Is. 25.10) .

ELIMAS , the sorcerer whom St. Paul struck blind.
See VII. 233 (Acts 13. 7-12) .

EMMAUS , the village six furlongs from Jerusalem towards which Cleophas and Simon were journeying when Christ met them after his resurrection .
See VIII. 92 (Luke 24. 28) .

ENOCH , one of the patriarchs, and seventh from Adam .
See III. 422 and VII. 238 (Gen. 5. 18, Id.24, Jude 14, 15) . "Enoch" (VII. 238) spelt as in V,N.T.; "Henoch" (III.422) spelt as in V,O.T.

ESTHER , Queen of Assuerus, King of the Persians. Bacon commended her for not painting her face (I. 602) . "Esther" (I. 602) spelt as in V. "The book of Hester" (spelt as in Coverdale) is mentioned in V. 482.

EVANGELISTS . The four Evangelists are alluded to in VI. 301 and VII. 125 .

EURO-AQUILO , the word in the Vulgate for the northeast wind (Acts 27. 14) . Ellis suggested, rather improbably, that Bacon coined the word (see II. 28 and note) . The Euroaquilo was the wind that drove St. Paul from Crete to Clauda, previous to the shipwreck---an incident in which Bacon elsewhere showed considerable interest .

EVE , the first women . See III. 154 .

EZEKIEL the prophet . Mentioned once in III. 454 .

GAMALIEL , the learned Pharisee and teacher of St. Paul who urged before the council trying Peter and the other apostles that they be released (Acts 5. 38-9) . See VII. 323 . "Gamaliel" is the name Bacon gave to the "Protestant Zelant" in An Holy Warre (VII. 17) .

GENESIS . The Book of Genesis is mentioned in I. 175 .

GENTILES . Bacon referred to St. Paul as "the Doctor of the Gentiles" (VI. 381) . See Acts 22. 21 .

GIBEONITES were condemned to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Josh. 9. 23, AV) to the Israelites because they made a league with Joshua under false pretences (Josh. 9. 15). Zebedaeus compared the position of the conquered Moors in Spain with theirs (VII. 20) .

GIDEON , the famous judge called by God to deliver Israel from its oppressor Midian . See Chap.I,p.13.
also
See/II. 498 (Judg. 6. 37-8), VII. 645(Judg.8.22) .

GOD . No useful purpose would be served by listing Bacon's countless allusions to the Deity . Many of them are little more than conventional references . Equivalent names for God are found frequently, and mention of his attributes is very common . Thus, though generally "the Almighty" or "the Divine Majesty", there are also equivalents such as " a divine marshall" (VI. 413), "judge of all truth" (XIII. 384 and Is. 42. 3), "Rewarder" (I. 545 and Heb. 11. 6), "a Preserver" (II. 16,88 and Job 7. 20), and "paymaster" (XIV. 455 and Prov. 19.17) .
See also I. 545 (John 1.1, Ps. 21.29, Gen. 17. 1, Job 9. 4, Acts 2. 23, 1 Para.16. 34, 1 Thess. 4. 6, Deut. 26. 10) ; II. 9 and VI. 126 (Ps. 32. 3), I. 830 (Ps. 145. 5) , II. 16,88 (Ps. 85. 15) ; III. 137 and XI. 120 (Ex. 8.19; Id. 31.18) , III. 185 (Matt. 6. 13), 218 (Is. 40. 18), 223 (Mal. 3. 6), 224,527 and VII. 259 (Rom. 3. 2); VII. 22 (Gen. 1. 1), 23 (1 John 5. 7), 219 (Matt. 19. 17, Rom. 16. 27, 1 John 5. 7, Rom. 8.8, 1 Cor. 4. 9), 220, 225 (2 Thess. 1.10); VIII. 134(Is. 10. 26); X. 115 (Matt. 6. 9 and Deut. 6.5); XIII. 74 (Ps. 84. 8), 44 (Rom. 15. 33,1 Cor. 14. 33 : Cf. XII. 309) , 384 (Ps. 7. 10); XIV. 229 (Eccl. 12. 1), 230 (Ps. 17. 2, 18. 9) .
God is also called "the author of good" (I. 200).
For other allusions to the Works of the Six Days see III. 146, VI. 636, VII. 220, 221 .

GOLIAH or GOLIATH , the Philistine giant slain by David.
See XI. 405 (1 K. 17. 37), XIV. 461 and 482 (1 K. 17. 47, Ps. 117. 6: 118.6,Pr. Bk.) . Bacon's spelling "Goliah" is found only in Ecclus. 47. 5 (47. 4), excepting Co, Ma, Ta , and B . The difference is no doubt based on V , which has "Golia" in Ecclus. 47. 5, but "Golieth" in 1 K. 17. 23 .

HABACUC , one of the minor prophets . Mentioned in I. 770 (quoting Hab. 1. 15-16). "Habecuc" as in V .

HEBREW or HEBREWS are mentioned in I. 523, 655, 768 ; III. 145, 146; VI. 636 ; VII. 285 (own rendering of Ps. 136. 3), 548; XI. 354 .

HENOCH . See ENOCH .

HEROD THE GREAT , in whose reign Jesus was born (Matt. 2. 1) . See VII. 223 .

HEROD AGRIPPA , King of Judaea and all Palestine , who persecuted the Christians to please the Jews . See I. 170 (Acts 12 . 21-3) . Cf. Chap. I, p. 9; Chap. V, p. 121.

HESTER . See ESTHER .

HOLY GHOST , the Third Person of the Trinity , is mentioned as follows : Pro. f. 110 , III. 489 , VI. 384 , VII. 222, 223, 224 ; VIII. 164 (some MSS have "unholy ghost"). For various attributes of the Holy Ghost see III. 150 (Matt. 3. 16) , 185 (John 15. 26) ; VI. 384 and VII. 234 (Matt. 3. 16) ; VII. 223 (Luke 1. 35; John 6. 64); 224 (Matt. 3. 11, John 3. 5, John 6. 64, John 3. 8) ; 225 (John 14. 26, 1 John 5. 6), 234; XIV. 229 (John 14. 16, AV) .

For the Gift of Tongues bestowed on the Apostles by the Holy Ghost (Acts 2. 1-11) , see III. 138, 299 ; VII. 225.

HOSEA , the first of the Minor Prophets , is mentioned in VII. 31 (quoting Hos. 8. 4) .

HYADAS , a group of stars . The word occurs in the Vulgate version of Job 9. 9 , quoted in III. 298 .

ISAAC , the only son of Abraham and Sarah . See VI. 164 (Gen. 22. 10-12). That Isaac lived to the age of 180 is noted in II. 133 (see Gen. 35. 28). In the same place Bacon calls him chaste ("castus"), evidently alluding to Isaac's marriage at the age of 40 (Gen. 25. 20) and the fact that no children were born until 20 years later (Id. 26) . The remark that Isaac led a quiet life (II. 133) probably alludes to his going into the fields to meditate on the day he met his wife Rebecca (Gen. 24. 63) .

ISAI. See ISSAY .

ISAIAS (as in V) or ISAIAH , the great Prophet .

BACON . I. . . . was a man of wonderful eloquence, and the evangelical prophet , being full of God's promises of the New Testament , as a skin full of sweet wine (II. 134 and Job 32. 19). See ELIHU .

ISHBOSHETH , son of Saul . See X. 98 (2 K. 4. 6) .

ISHMAEL (as in AV), son of Abraham by Sarah's handmaid Hagar . See II. 133 (Gen. 16. 12, Id. 25. 17) .

ISRAEL or ISRAELITES are mentioned as follows :

II. 133 (Judg. 20), 336 (Ex. 5. 7) ; III. 482 (Ex. 2. 11-13, Acts 7. 24-8:Cf. VIII. 74), 336, also I. 508 and X. 98 (3 K. 12. 20-1, 2 K. 5. 1-5) ; VI. 80 (Num. 33. 55:see also VII. 31); VII. 286 (Ps. 149. 2), 644 (Ps. 77. 70-1); XII. 40-1 (Num. 11. 4,6,32-4) ; XIV. 351 (Luke 13. 4) , 482 (1 K. 11. 2) .See Chap.II,p.33(Ex.5.7).

BACON . (of James I) . . . the King your master . . . hath hitherto been another Salomon in this our Israel . . . (XIII. 44) .

ISSACHAR , fifth son of Jacob . Bacon compared the blessing Jacob gave Issachar with that he gave Judah as examples of two opposites which "will never meet." See I. 795 and VI. 446 (Gen. 49. 14) . Cf. JUDAH .

ISSAY (evidently Bacon's own spelling) or JESSE , the father of King David (1 K. 16. 11-13) .

"Issay" in III. 387; "Issei" (as in V) in I. 620 .

JACOB , otherwise Israel , the patriarch son of Isaac . For details of his age and character see II. 133 (Gen. 31. 42, Id. 35.3, Id. 28. 14, Id. 47. 28, Id. 29. 20, Id. 29. 11, Id. 27. 36, Id. 30. 31-43 .) Jacob's well, described in John 4. 12 as that from which Jacob drank and gave to his children and cattle , was used by Jesus as a symbol of ordinary refreshment compared with himself, the well of living waters (John 4. 6-15) . Bacon used the metaphor to compare the Scriptures with other books (III. 483 and John 4. 13-14). The story of the woman of Samaria who met Christ at Jacob's well was used by Bacon with dramatic effect in his suit to the King for the Attorney's place :

BACON . I did conceive your Majesty may think it rather a kind of dullness, or want of faith, than modesty, if I should not come with my pitcher to Jacob's well, as others do . (XI. 241 and John 4.6-7).

JAMES , one of the three chief Apostles and patron saint of Spain , to which country, according to legend, he journeyed . See VI. 125 .

JAMES, one of the twelve apostles , called the Less , is mentioned only in connexion with quotations from his Epistle . See Northumb. MS f. 26; I. 777 ("Jacobus") ; III. 461 ; VI. 441 ; VIII. 74, 75, 83, 91 ; XIV. 296 .

JEHOVAH is mentioned once in Bacon's paraphrase of the 136th (137th) Psalm : "The Prayses of Iehoua's glorious Name" (VII. 285 and Ps. 136. 4) . Cf. 1 Para.29.13: "we prayse thy glorious name."

JEHU , a King of Israel raised up by God to destroy the wicked house of Ahab and abolish idolatry . See I. 834 and VI. 382 (4 K. 9. 19, 22) .

JERUSALEM is mentioned as follows : VII. 19(Heb. 12. 22), 223 (John 19. 20), 285 (Ps. 136. 7) ; X. 314 (Ps. 136. 7, Is. 62. 1 &c.) . The spelling of the word varies . In X. 314 and VII. 223 the MSS have "Jerusalem" and the printed copy "Hierusalem" ; in VII. 19 "Hierusalem" and the same in VII. 285 . B has "Hierusalem" and G (followed by AV) "Ierusalem."

JESSE . See ISSAY .

JESUS . This form occurs in VII. 234. "Jesus Christ" in III.138 and VII. 223,225, 261 . "Christ Jesus" once, but in a prayer of dubious authenticity (VII. 262) .

JETHRO , priest of Madian, father-in-law and counsellor of Moses . See X. 112 (Ex. 18. 13-27) .

JEW (S) are mentioned as follows : II. 134 (1 Esdr. 3.12, 3 Esdr. 5. 63) , 650 (Ex. 30. 37) ; VII. 31 (Hos. 8.4, Deut. 32. 21), 222 and 225 (Acts 7. 38), 223 (Eph. 2. 14) ; X. 96 (Acts 22. 3) .

JEZABEL , the wicked queen of Ahab who "paynted her face with stibicke stone . . . and beheld through the

window" when Jehu came to Jezreel (4 K. 9. 30) . See I. 602 .

JOAB , the general of King David's army , is mentioned as follows : X. 361 (2 K. 12. 26-9) ; XI. 405 (2 K. 2. 14) ; XI. 291 and XII. 308 (2 K. 3. 27) . See Chap. II,p.32 and Chap.VI,p.140.

JOABIN , the name of the Jewish merchant of Bensalem in the New Atlantis (III. 151) . The name is not biblical but is certainly derived from the Bible . There are two persons called Joab in Scripture, the general of David's army (see JOAB) and another mentioned in 1 Para. 4. 14 described as "Ioab the father of the Vale of Artificers ." Cf. 2 Esdr. 11. 35 : "Ono, the valley of craftesmen" (AV) .

JOAS , son of Ahazish king of Judah , was stolen away and saved by Jehoshebe from the murderous queen Athaliah (VI. 164 and 4 K. 11. 1-2). See ATHALIAH .

JOB , the great model of patience in affliction , is mentioned as follows : I. 175 ; II. 134 (Job 42. 16, Id. 1. 4, Id. 31.14, Id. 29.22, Id. 30. 25, James 5. 10-11) ; III. 219 and 267 (Job 13. 7,9 : Cf. I. 197, III. 184,502,596) , 220, 501, 298 ; VI. 385 (Job 2.10), 386 (Job 10.15) ; VIII. 77 (Job 29. 24) ; VII. 235 and 245 (Job 31. 29) ; XI. 368 ; XIV. 213 (Job 9. 20: Cf. VII. 179), 243 (Job 27. 6) .

JOHN THE BAPTIST , the precursor of Christ . Mentioned in VII. 238 and 249 (Matt. 3) . "Johannes Baptista" in VII. 238 ; "Iohn Baptist" in VII. 249 (translation) .

JOHN THE APOSTLE , the beloved disciple of Christ, is mentioned as follows : II. 105 (John 13. 23), 141 (John 13. 23, Matt. 10.3, Apoc 4. 7 : Cf. Ezek. 1.10, Is. 6. 2,6) ; VII. 125 ; VIII. 91 ; X. 106 . "The Eagle" mentioned in III. 453 refers to St. John (see Ezek.1.10 and Apoc.4. 7) .

JONAS , the prophet swallowed by a whale and after three days and nights cast upon dry land by command of God . See III. 134 (Jon. 2. 4, 11) .

JONATHAN , eldest son of Saul and beloved friend of David . See XI. 229 (1 K. 20. 36) .

JOSEPH , son of Jacob , was sold by his brothers into Egypt . See I. 527 and VI. 638 (Gen. 37. 28) ; II. 133 (Gen. 50. 25, Id. 41.41, Id. 41.33, Id. 37. 4, 28) ; VII. 186 (spurious? : Gen. 39.10) ; VIII. 338 (Gen. 47. 20) .

JOSHUA (spelt as in AV) , the successor of Moses and a famous warrior . See II. 134 (Ex. 17.13, Deut. 3. 28, Josh. 24. 29) ; VII. 20 (Josh. 9. 15) .

JOTHAM , youngest son of Gideon , who escaped the massacre of his brothers by Abimelech . The Parable of Jotham concerning Abimelech's usurpation (Judg. 9. 7-20) is referred to in XII.44-5.

JUBAL , "the inventor of music ," is referred to, though not by name , in I. 466, III. 219, 297, and 500. He is curiously omitted from a similar passage in III. 166 .

JUDAH , fourth son of Jacob . Bacon compared Judah's with his brother's Issachar's blessing as examples of two opposites which "will never meet." See I. 895 ("Juda" as in V) and VI. 446 (Gen. 49. 9) . Cf. ISSACHAR .

JUDAH , the independent kingdom ruled by Solomon's descendants , with Jerusalem as its capital . See I. 508 ; Cf. III. 336 . The statement that the union between Judah and Israel lasted "by the space of seventy years at least" (X. 98) is based on a comparison of 2 K. 5. 5 and 3 K. 11. 42 .

JUDAS ISCARIOT , one of the twelve apostles and betrayer of Christ . See VII. 223 (Matt. 26. 47, Id. 10. 4, Id. 26. 48) .

BACON . Thus was her Majesty's sacred and precious life by the "all-hail" of a second J. betrayed . . . (IX. 116 and Matt. 26. 49) . See Chap V, p.119.

JUDE , one of the twelve apostles , is mentioned by Bacon only in conjunction with quotations from his Epistle . See Northumb. MS f. 26; I. 719 ("Juda" as in V) ; III. 422; VII. 238 .

JUDEA , that is, the kingdom of Judah, a province of the Roman Empire in the time of Christ . Mentioned as such in VI. 463 ("Iudea") .

JUDGES . The Book of Judges is mentioned by name in VII. 645 , followed by an incorrect reference . For Judg. xviii. 22 read Judg. 8. 22 .

JUDITH , the famous woman who delivered Israel by killing Holofernes (Judith 8-16) . Mentioned in I. 602 .

LAMB OF GOD , a title given to Christ . See VII. 219 (Apoc. 13. 8 and Ecclus. 24. 14), 234 and 244 (but Cf. Apoc. 6. 16) .

LAMECH , son of Methusael . Traditionally , Lamech in hunting slew Cain, mistaking him for a wild beast ,and then killed the youth who had led him into the mistake . In English translations there is a remarkable lack of clarity in rendering Lamech's boast to his wives . The Genevan, to which Bacon's three versions are closest, has "I would slay a man in my wound, and a young man in mine hurt ." Modern scholars generally agree that Lamech's boast is made to defy his enemies and defend himself, instead of looking to God, as Cain did, for protection. See XI. 404 (Gen. 4. 23) . See also the two versions of the same verse in XIII. 108 .

LAND OF PROMISE . The expression occurs in this form in Heb. 11. 9 and in some versions is treated as a proper noun . The words are usually capitalised by Bacon . See I. 598; II. 103 ; VII. 31 (Josh. 17. 18); IX. 200 ; XI. 312 and XII. 179 (Deut. 33. 28, Id.11. 10-11) .

LAZARUS , the beggar in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus . He lay at the gate of the rich man and the dogs came and licked his sores .
See VI. 404 (Luke 16. 21) . See Chap.I,p.5.

LEGION , the unclean spirit cast out by Christ (Mark 5. 9 and Luke 8. 30 . It was to the latter Gospel that Bacon referred .
BACON . . . . like the Devil called L., for it doth at once enter and search into the hearts of all that are any ways prepared or of any predisposition to be traitors . (XII. 165 and Luke 8. 30 : Cf. Prov. 18.8,Id.26. 22) .

LEVI , one of the twelve patriarchs . See II. 133 (Ex. 6. 16, Gen. 34. 25-6, Ex. 6. 18, 20) .

LEVIATHAN , the great sea monster . Bacon retained the word in his paraphrase of Ps. 103.26(104.26) . See VII. 283 .

LEVITE , a descendant of Levi, the progenitor of the priestly tribe . In the Parable of the Good Samaritan the Levite was the second who saw the man wounded by the robbers and passed by .

BACON . . . Lex proximi . . . includes the Samaritan as well as the L. (VII. 36 and Lev. 19. 18, Luke 10. 32, 36).

LOT , nephew of Abraham . See III. 153 (Gen. 19. 8) ; X. 310 (Gen. 13. 9) .

LUKE , the Evangelist and, according to ancient tradition, author also of the Acts of the Apostles . See II. 141 (2 Tim. 4. 11, Col. 4. 14) ; VII. 125 .

MADIAN (spelt as in V), a people against whom the Israelites successfully fought under Gideon . Mentioned in VII.645 .

MAGI , according to Matt. 2. 1-12, were the wise men who came from the east and followed a star to where the Christ child lay . The "three kings" of Ps. 71. 10 have been long identified with them . Hence Bacon wrote "tres magi" and "tres reges." See I. 573 ; VI. 244 ; VIII. 334 .

MARK , the Evangelist of the Second Gospel . Mentioned in VII. 125 .

MARTHA . The story of Mary and Martha , with its doctrine of putting first things first, appealed to the practical side of Bacon's nature . In three places he quoted (in Latin) Christ's words to Martha : "Martha, Martha, thou art careful , and art troubled about very many things . But one thing is necessarie" (Luke 10. 41-2) . See I. 687 ; VII. 83 ; IX. 40 ; XI. 391 . Cf. IX.352.

MARY , sister of Martha , mentioned in I. 687 ("Maria") and in XI. 391 . (Luke 10. 39) .

MARY , the Blessed Virgin , mother of Christ , is referred to by name or epithet as follows : VII. 134 , 223 (Gal. 4. 4, Luke 1. 27, Id. 1. 48) .

BACON . . . the blessed Virgin may be truly and catholicly called Deipara, the Mother of God . . . (VII. 223) .

MATTHEW , the Apostle and Evangelist . Mentioned in VII.125.

MEDES are mentioned (VII. 56) as a people subdued by the Persians . The Medes are mentioned in several places in Scripture , but Bacon's allusion does not appear to be biblical .

MEDIATOR , a title given to Christ in 1 Tim. 2. 5 . Treated by Bacon as a proper noun , as in G, though not in B or V. Mentioned in VII. 219(twice) , 220 (three times), 223 .

MESSIAH , a name given to Christ in the N. T. Mentioned twice in III. 151 (John 1. 41, Mal. 4. 5, Matt. 19. 28).

METHUSELAH , the patriarch who lived 969 years (Gen. 5. 27) is strangely omitted from Bacon's list of long-lived biblical personages (II. 132). Bacon possibly gave the name "Methusalem Water" to a receipe "generally against the dryness of age" (III. 829, 834) . "Methusalem" , the corrupted form (after Jerusalem) ,occurs in no version, but was in regular use .

MICHAEL the archangel (Jude 9) and "great prince" (Dan. 12. 1) of the angels , is mentioned by name or epithet as follows : VII. 19, 134, 136 (1 Thess. 4. 15) ; VIII. 81 (Jude 9, Zach. 3. 2) ; XIII. 15 and 28 (2 Mac. 11. 6).

MOABITES , a people always hostile to the Jews . See II. 134 (Judg. 3. 30) .

MOLOCH , the idol of the Ammonites .

ZEB . We must beware therefore how we make a M. or an heathen idol of our blessed Saviour . . . (VII. 28 and Jer. 32. 35) .

MOSES , the great law-giver of Israel , is mentioned by name as follows : II. 133 (Ex. 6. 20, Deut. 34. 7, Ex. 32. 19, Num. 12. 3, Ex. 4. 10, Ps. 89. 10) , 148 (Ps. 89. 10) , 470 (Ex. 4. 10) ; III. 151 , 185 (Ex. 32. 32), 219 (Acts 7. 22:see also III. 297,500 and Cf. 151) , 328 (Ex. 7. 12) , 409 (Ex. 4. 16), 422 (Ex. 24-31) , 429 (Cf. Num. 27.17), 482 (Ex. 2. 12, Acts 7. 26) ; VII. 181 (Ex. 32. 19), 224 (Ex. 24. 4), 233 (Ex. 7-11), 31 (Deut. 32. 21), 548 (Ex. 17. 11) ; VIII. 80 (Matt. 23. 2-3) ; X. 112 (Ex. 14.19 &c, Ex. 18.18, Ex. 18. 13-27); XI. 312 (Deut. 11. 10-11) ; XIV. 360 (Ex. 24. 4: see III. 297) .

NACHORAN . According to Joabin the Jew in the New Atlantis , the people of Bensalem "were of the generations of Abraham , by another son, whom they call Nachoran " (III. 151) . The name, though an invention of Bacon's, is certainly of biblical origin . Abraham had no son of

that name , but his four eldest sons were called Zamran, Jecsan, Madan and Madian (Gen. 25 .2). Nachor (the Vulgate spelling) was the name of (1) Abraham's grandfather (Gen. 11. 22-5 &c.) and (2) Abraham's brother (Gen. 11. 26-7, Josh. 24.2). Nachor with the ending an (as in the names of the four elder sons) would therefore have been appropriate, had Abraham had a son of that name . Bacon seems to have formed Nachoran from Nachor , just as Shakespeare possibly formed Caliban from Caleb (meaning dog in Hebrew) .

NEBUCHADNEZZAR , King of Babylon , is referred to as follows : VI. 383 (Dan. 2. 42-3) , 447 (Dan. 4. 10-15: also I. 796, XIV. 358-9) ; VII. 55 (Dan. 2. 38) . "Nebuchadnezzar" as in G and AV (I. 796, VI. 447) ; "Nabuchodonosor" as in V and B (VII. 55). "Nabucad-nezar" (VI. 383) and "Nabuchadonozor" (XIV. 359) are apparently original variants .

NAZARITE, the term given to a person consecrated to God by certain acts of abstinence (Num. 6. 1-21) . Bacon applied the word to all Jews .

BACON . . . the words they use are so few and so little mixed, that one may plainly perceive from their very language that they were a Nazarite nation ("gentem . . . Nazaraeam"), separated from the rest of the nations . (I. 655) .

NEHEMIAS , the priest who helped the Jews in returning to Israel from captivity . See VI. 429 (2 Esdr. 2. 1) .

NEOPHYTE , or one newly converted . Of the English versions the word occurs only in R .

BACON . . . in effects of grace . . . we see ST. Paul makes a difference between those he calls Neophytes , that is newly grafted into Christianity , and those that are brought up in the faith . (X. 340 and 1 Tim. 3. 6) .

NICODEMUS , a Pharisee who came by night to Christ to be taught . See III. 481 (John 3. 4) .

NIMROD , proverbial as a "hunter before the Lord ." Mentioned in VII. 646 (Gen. 10. 8-9) .

NOAH , the great patriarch , is mentioned by name as follows: II. 133 (Gen. 5. 29, Id. 9. 28-9) ; III. 143

(Gen. 7. 23), 150 (Gen. 9. 1), 341 (Gen. 7. 17); X. 106 (Gen. 9. 23) ; XI. 378 (Gen. 8. 9). Spelt "Noah" as in G and B.

"The inventor of wine" (III. 166) probably alludes to Noah (Gen. 9. 20), as likewise the words Bacon wrote to Sir Thomas Bodley about his library at Oxford : ". . . you having built an Ark to save learning from deluge . . . " (X. 253 and Gen. 6. 14) .

ORION , the brilliant constellation , occurs in the Vulgate version of Job 9. 9, quoted in III. 298 .

PARADISE , or the garden of Eden . Bacon never refers to Eden, always to Paradise , the word in the Vulgate , borrowed from the Septuagint . See III. 158 and XIII. 303 (Gen. 2. 10) ; III. 219, 264, and 296 (Gen. 2. 19) . Cf. also III. 296 (Gen. 2. 15) ; VI. 485 and VII. 22 (Gen. 2. 8) .

PAUL the Apostle is mentioned as follows : II. 141; III. 185, 264,266,285,299,306,414,436; VI. 302,383,405,503; VII. 35n,125n,233; VIII. 76, 81, 83,91,165; IX.116; X.95,96, 115,322,340; XII. 96,167; XIV. 61,114; Northumb.MS. f.28. See also III. 299 (Acts 26. 24: Cf. Pro.f.88b) , VI. 405 and III. 185 (Rom. 9. 3: Cf. III. 421) .

PERSIAN (S) . Persian magic is mentioned in III. 348, X. 90, I. 542, 573 . Bacon connected the magicians of Persia with the Magi (Matt. 2. 1) in I. 573 and VII. 334 . See also II. 201 (Esth. 2. 12); VI. 515; XI. 64. Other feferences to Persia are probably not biblical .

PETER the Apostle to whom Christ gave the keys of heaven (Matt.16.19) and made head of the Church (Id.16.18) . See VII. 233 ("Petrus" as in V), 135,154n,155; VI.113; XI. 250; XIV. 472 .

PHARAOH . The Pharaoh against whom Ezekiel prophesied (Ezek. 29) is mentioned in III. 454 .

PHARISEES , members of the Jewish religious sect enjoying great prestige in Jesus's time , are mentioned in III. 283 (John 7. 49) and VIII. 80 (Matt. 23. 2-3).

PHILISTINES were inveterate enemies of the Israelites . See IX. 117 (1 K. 31 . 4) . Spelt "Philistims" (as in G) in the earliest authority for the text (Letter

to an English Gentleman in Padua, 1599,p. 9) .

PHINEAS , one of the heroes of Israel. See II. 133-4 (Judg. 20. 28, Num. 25. 11, Ecclus. 45. 28) .

PILATE , Pontius Pilate, fifth Roman Procurator of Judaea . See VI. 377 (John 18. 38) ; VII. 223 (Luke 3. 1, Matt. 27. 2: Cf. Apostles' Creed) ; XII. 139-40 (John 19. 21) . See Chap.I,p.4.

PLEIADAS , a cluster of stars mentioned in the Vulgate version of Job 38. 31 (III. 298) .

PRISCILLA , the hostess of St. Paul and then his fellow-labourer . See II. 141 (Acts 18.2, Rom. 16. 3) .

PROBATICA , the Vulgate word , borrowed from the Septuagint, for the pool of Bethesda (John 5. 2). The word comes from Greek and means "belonging to sheep." Hence V's "probatica piscina" (sheep-pond). R has "Probatica. Mentioned in the 1638 Latin translation of the New Atlantis ,where the English reads "some divine pool of healing " (III. 135) .

PYTHONISSA , the word used in 1 Para. 10. 13 of the Vulgate for the witch of Endor, whom Saul consulted. See VI. 463 (1 K. 28. 19) .

RABBAH , capital city of the Ammonites . See X. 361 (2 K. 12. 26, 29) ; and Cf.Chap.II,p.32.

RAHAB , the woman of Jericho who sheltered the spies sent by Joshua to explore the Promised Land . See VIII. 92 (Josh. 2, Heb. 11. 31) .

REDEEMER , a title given to God as the deliverer of sinners. See VII. 260 (Ps. 18.15) ; XII. 7 ; XIV. 229 (Is. 49. 26) . The Redemption is mentioned in III. 478 and VII. 221 (Ps. 110. 9) .

REHOBOAM , the son and successor of Solomon in the kingdom of Israel . See X. 187 (3 K. 12. 13, 14, 19). "Salomon's son " in VI. 423 .

REVELATION (as in all English versions except R) or Apocalypse of St. John. Mentioned in III.316, VII.245.

ROME - ROMAN . See VII. 223 and X. 95 (Acts 16.22, Id. 22. 25-8, Id. 22. 3 .

SALOMON or SOLOMON , the son and successor of David, is named and quoted by Bacon more often than any other biblical personage, excepting the Deity . In most cases the name is spelt "Salomon" (as in V,G, and Pr. Bk.), but "Solomon" (as in B and AV) also occurs. That it was spelt "Solomon" by Bacon at least twice is certain from two papers of which MSS exist in his own hand (see XIII. 241 and XIV. 392). Solomon is mentioned by name as follows: Northumb. MS.f.26;II.510; III.137,145,146, 150,154,155,156,164,219,220,264,265,266,276,298,299,311, 322,329,338,357,372,409,418,430,447,448,452,457,481,500, 610; VI.237,373,385,386,390,401,423,431,460,501,502,507, 510,512,685; VII.60,123n,167,321,632,688; VIII.76,81, 86,92,150,202,334("Solyman",as in no version); IX.61; X. 98,103,170; XI.166; XII.108,218,301,310; XIII.18, 44,110,202,211,241; XIV.103,171,172,392,414,470; I.124, 221,685,723,751,752,756,758,759,761,764,765,766,767. Otherwise "that heavenly leader" (III.423), "Coelestis Dux et Imperator" (I.720), "the wisest king"(X.182), "sanctus philosophus"(VI.655,678;I.132), "the wisest of men"(XIII.18) and "the wise man" (VII.688;XI.164) .This last is reminiscent of the Homilies, where the author of Proverbs,Ecclesiastes,Wisdom,and Ecclesiasticus is almost always called "the wise man."

SAMARITAN . The Good Samaritan is mentioned in VII. 36 (Lev. 19.18) . See LEVITE .

SAMSON , the famous judge of Israel, renowned for his physical strength . See X. 370 (Judg. 16. 29-30); XI. 199 (Judg. 16.7) ; XIV. 322 (Judg. 14. 5-9) , 491 (Judg. 16. 29-30). Spelt "Samson" in all versions of the O.T. The spelling "Sampson" (X.370,XIV.491) occurs in the Vulgate of Heb. 11. 32, followed by G, R , and AV . See Chap.I,p.13 and Chap.III,p.61.

SAMUEL ,the last and greatest of the judges of Israel . See III. 387 (1 K. 16. 11), 490 (1 K. 15. 23) .

SARAH , wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac . See II. 133 (Gen. 12. 11, Heb. 11.11, 1 Pet. 3. 6, Gen. 24. 67, Id. 18. 12, Id. 23. 1) ; III. 478 (Gen. 18. 12) . "Sarah" spelt as in G.

SAREPTA , a Phoenician town between Tyre and Sidon . See III. 153 (3 K. 17. 18) . "Sarepta," the Greek form of

Zarephath , occurs only in the N.T. See Luke 4.26 .

SATAN , a title frequently given to the Devil in Scripture. See I. 482 (Apoc. 2. 24 : also III. 316 and VII. 234, 245) . Bacon spelt the word in three different ways : "Satana" (VII.234), "Sathan" (VII.245,III.316), and "Sathana" (I. 482) . The adjective "Satanica" occurs in VI.356 .

SAUL , the first king of Israel . See VI. 463 (1 K. 28.19); VII. 644 (1 K. 10. 1, Ps. 57. 9), 645-6 (1 K. 18.7-8); IX. 117 (2 K. 1. 6-16, 1 K. 28. 6, 1 K. 31. 3-4); X. 98 (2 K. 2.8-9) .

SAVIOUR , a title given to Christ . See III. 137,150(Gen.12. 3),151,221,299,301,304,305,373,390,482,486,501; VI.382, 463; VII. 27,28,49,86,223,225,261,262 ; VIII. 75,83, 87,92,149,165; IX.160; X. 103,106,108,323; XII.7 (Is. 49. 26); XIII.20; XIV. 228,231 . "Selvator" (as in V) in I.634,753,834,836; "Servator" (as in all Latin versions except V and Erasmus) in I. 587,677,834,837; II.105,134,135,141; VII.233. Bacon used the terms interchangeably, e.g. in I. 834 "Servator" and "Salvator" occur within three sentences of each other . Cf: "Salvatores sive servatores " (VI.506 and note) .

SEM (as in V), the eldest son of Noah . See II. 133 (Gen. 11.10-11) .

SERAPHIMS , angels of the highest order . See II. 141; III. 151, 296 (.Is. 6. 2,6 , Apoc. 7. 15) .

SHILO is mentioned in XIV. 351 . See Chap. V, p. 112-13.

SIMEON , the man of advanced age who received Christ in the Temple and blessed God . See II. 134-5 (Luke 2. 25) .

SION (as in V), the mount or eminence of Jerusalem ; figuratively the Church of God. See VII. 285 (Ps. 136.1); VII. 285 (Ps. 9.12,Is.4.5) ; VII.286 (Ps. 149. 2) .

SON OF GOD , the title given to Christ in John 1. 34 and elsewhere, occurs as follows : II. 16 and 88 (John 3.16) ; VII. 219, 220,222,223 (John 3.16,1 Tim.1.17), 224 . For "sons of God" see VII. 226 (Rom.8.19:Cf. 1 Peter 1.5, Rom.6.22) .

TOBIAS (as in V) , the name of two saintly men, father and son, whose story is told in the Book of Tobias . See II. 134 (Tob. 1.20, Id.4.7, Id.14.15) . In giving

the ages at which they died Bacon followed AV and not the Vulgate . Tobias the Elder lived to 158, as in AV (Tob.14.11). V gives it as 102(Id.14.2) . Tobias the Younger's age is given as 127 in AV and by Bacon (Tob.14.14). V gives it as 99 (Id.14.16).

TRINITY . The Trinity (as in 1 John 5. 7) is mentioned in III. 185; VII. 23,219,223; X. 37 .

TUBAL- CAIN is alluded to, though never by name , as "the inventor of works in metal" (see Gen. 4. 22) in I.466; III. 166,219,297,500 .

TYRIANS , inhabitants of Tyre, are mentioned in III. 140 (Ezek.27.25-7) .

WISDOM . The Book of Wisdom is mentioned in VII. 22 .

NOTE ON THE APPENDIXES

The first three of the following four indexes conform to their description as already given (Chap.III.pp.55-7).

Appendix I is designed to show the very extensive influence of the Latin Vulgate as manifested in Bacon's works.It includes 386 quotations of whose origin there can be very little doubt. All are exact,or nearly exact, quotations from the Vulgate. Large numbers of other Latin renderings are also indebted,though in a lesser degree,to the Vulgate. However, as a division must be made somewhere, they are included among Bacon's independent versions in Appendix III. Of these there are approximately 300, or more than two-thirds of the 458 independent renderings. In practical terms,the Vulgate influenced nearly all Bacon's Latin renderings and many of his English.

Appendix II has been added with some misgivings. It is not intended to convey the impression that Bacon actually quoted from 11 other versions of the Bible,over and above the Vulgate. A number of his renderings, however, conformed more or less accurately with Latin or English versions with which, quite possibly,he was familiar. There is no doubt whatever that he quoted from the Genevan, the Authorised Version, and the Prayer Book. The impossibility of determining with certainty whether Bacon quoted from the Rhemish and Douay , or translated directly from the Vulgate, must be reiterated. The question whether he quoted from the other Latin and English versions, seeing that the evidence rests in some cases on close resemblances,is very difficult. With the possible exception of Tremellius,their case is not very strong.

Appendix IV is an index of all the important biblical quotations and allusions in Bacon's works, and of all those mentioned in this study.

It is hoped that by these means an estimate of Bacon's indebtedness to Scripture may be formed.

APPENDIX I

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS FROM THE VULGATE

Vol.& Page	Bib.Ref.	Initial Words of Text
1. I.200	Luke 17.20	Regnum Dei
2. I.365	Gen.3.18-19	In sudore
3. I.433	1 Cor.8.1	Scientia inflat
4. I.434	Gen.3.5	Boni et
5. I.444	Joel 2.28	Juvenes vestri
6. I.453	1 Tim.6.20	Devita profanas
7. I.464	Gen.1.1.	Deus creavit
8. I.464	Col.1.16	Thronis,Principatibus
9. I.465	Gen.3.19	Sudor vultus
10. I.467	Job 26.7	Qui extendit
11. I.467	Job 26.13	Spiritus ejus
12. I.467	Job 38.31	Nunquid conjungere
13. I.467	Job 9.9	Qui facit
14. I.467	Job 28.1-2	Habet argentum
15. I.467	Prov.25.2	Gloria Dei
16. I.470	Job 4.16	Aura leni
17. I.484	Matt.11.19	Justificata est
18. I.491	Jas.1.17	Pater Luminum
19. I.493	Prov.26.13	Dicit piger
20. I.510	Prov.10.7	Memoria justi
21. I.516	1 Cor.2.14	Homini animali
22. I.541	Eccl.3.14	Didici quod
23. I.565	Gen.2.7	Formavit hominem
24. I.565	Gen.1.20,24	Producant aquae
25. I.568	Prov.4.12	Non arctabuntur
26. I.604	Gen.1.20,24	Producant aquae
27. I.634	Matt.13.52	Omnis scriba
28. I.670-1	Prov.16.21	Sapiens corde
29. I.719	Gen.5.24	cum Deo
30. I.722	Acts 20.35	Beatius esse
31. I.730	Prov.18.2	Non recepit
32. I.734	Tit.1.12-13	Increpa eos
33. I.735	Ps.61.11	Divitiae si
34. I.742	Col.3.14	Vinculum perfectionis
35. I.742	Is.14.14	Ascendam et
36. I.742	Gen.3.5	Eritis sicut
37. I.742	Matt.5.44-5	Diligite inimicos
38. I.746	2 Para.20.33	Sed adhuc

39.	I.751	Prov.15.1	Mollis responsio
40.	I.752	Prov.29.9	Vir sapiens
41.	I.753	Prov.9.7	Qui erudit
42.	I.753	Matt.7.6	Ut non
43.	I.754	Prov.10.1	Filius sapiens
44.	I.754	Prov.10.7	Memoria Justi
45.	I.754	Prov.11.29	Qui conturbat
46.	I.755	Eccl.7.9	Melior est
47.	I.758	Gen.9.4	Non comedendo
48.	I.758	Prov.29.11	Totum spiritum
49.	I.761	Prov.29.21	Qui delicate
50.	I.761	Prov.22.29	Vidisti virum
51.	I.762	Eccl.4.15	Vidi cunctos
52.	I.762	Eccl.9.14-15	Erat civitas
53.	I.763	Prov.15.19	Iter pigrorum
54.	I.763	Prov.28.21	Qui cognoscit
55.	I.763	Prov.28.3	Vir pauper
56.	I.764	Prov.25.26	Fons turbatus
57.	I.765	Prov.17.9	Qui celat
58.	I.767	Prov.9.9	Da sapienti
59.	I.770	Ezek.29.3	Dicis,Fluvius
60.	I.770	Hab.1.15-16	Exultant et
61.	I.776	Prov.25.3	Corda eorum
62.	I.788	Matt.23.23	Haec oportet
63.	I.794	Matt.13.31	Grano sinapis
64.	I.805	1 Cor.14.8	Si enim
65.	I.815	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
66.	I.830	1 Cor.13.12	Cognoscemus sicut
67.	I.830	Ps.18.2	Coeli enarrant
68.	I.830-1	Matt.5.44-5	Diligite inimicos
69.	I.833	John 3.4	Quomodo posset
70.	I.833	1 Cor.7.12	Ego,non
71.	I.833	1 Cor.7.40	Secundum consilium
72.	I.834	Eph.4.5	Una Fides
73.	I.834	4 K.9.19,22	Nunquid pax
74.	II.9	Matt.13.31	granum sinapis
75.	II.38	John 3.8	unde . . . quo
76.	II.39	Ps.134.7	Qui producit
77.	II.81	Gen.3.18-19	panem suum
78.	III.34-5	Ps.88.38	solem et
79.	III.142	Gen.28.12	scala coeli
80.	III.183	Eccl.3.11	Cuncta fecit

81.	III.185	Gen.1.1	Creavit Deus
82.	III.185	Gen.1.3	Dixit Deus
83.	III.185	Matt.5.44-5	Diligite inimicos
84.	III.185	Is.14.14	Ascendam et
85.	III.223	Job 4.16	in aura leni
86.	III.231	Ps.106.40	Errare fecit
87.	III.264	1 Cor.8.1	Scientia inflat
88.	III.285	1 Tim.6.20	Devita profanas
89.	III.298	Job 26.7	Qui extendit
90.	III.298	Job 26.13	Spiritus ejus
91.	III.298	Job 38.31	Nunquid conjungere
92.	III.298	Job 9.9	Qui facit
93.	III.298	Job 10.10	Annon sicut
94.	III.298	Job 28.1-2	Habet argentum
95.	III.302	Job 4.16	aura lemi
96.	III.319	Matt.11.19	Justificata est
97.	III.329	Prov.26.13	Dicit piger
98.	III.338	Prov.10.7	Memoria justi
99.	III.340	Dan.12.4	Plurimi pertransibunt
100.	III.348	Eccl.3.14	Didici quod
101.	III.355	Gen.2.7	Formavit hominem
102.	III.355	Gen.1.20,24	Producant aquae
103.	III.357	Prov.4.12	Non arctabuntur
104.	III.379	Gen.1.24	Producat
105.	III.381	Gen.3.18-19	In sudore
106.	III.409	Prov.16.21	Sapiens corde
107.	III.424	Acts 20.35	Beatius est
108.	III.431	Prov.18.2	Non recipit
109.	III.436	Tit.1.12-13	Increpa eos
110.	III.436	Ps.61.11	Divitiae si
111.	III.443	Is.14.14	Ascendam et
112.	III.443	Gen.3.5	Eritis sicut
113.	III.443	Matt.5.44-5	Diligite inimicos
114.	III.445	2 Para.20.33	Sed adhuc
115.	III.448	Prov.29.9	Vir sapiens
116.	III.449	Prov.29.21	Qui delicate
117.	III.449	Prov.22.29	Vidisti virum
118.	III.449	Eccl.4.15	Vidi cunctos
119.	III.449	Eccl.10.4	Si spiritus
120.	III.449	Eccl.9.14-15	Erat civitas
121.	III.450	Prov.15.1	Mollis responsio
122.	III.450	Prov.15.19	Iter pigrorum

123.	III.450	Eccl.7.9	Melior est
124.	III.450	Prov.28.21	Qui cognoscit
125.	III.450	Prov.28.3	Vir pauper
126.	III.450	Prov.25.26	Fons turbatus
127.	III.450	Prov.28.24	Qui subtrahit
128.	III.451	Prov.22.24	Noli esse
129.	III.451	Prov.11.29	Qui conturbat
130.	III.451	Prov.10.1	Filius sapiens
131.	III.451	Prov.17.9	Qui celat
132.	III.452	Prov.18.8	Verba bilinguis
133.	III.452	Prov.9.7	Qui erudit
134.	III.452	Prov.27.19	Quomodo in
135.	III.454	Ezek.29.3	Dicis,Fluvius
136.	III.466	Prov.30.19	qualis est
137.	III.470	Matt.23.23	Haec oportet
138.	III.474	Apoc 4.6	Et in
139.	III.478	Ps.18.2	Coeli enarrant
140.	III.481	John 3.4	Quomodo possit
141.	III.481	John 16.17	Quid est
142.	III.481	1 Cor.7.12	Ego,non
143.	III.481	1 Cor.7.40	Secundum consilium
144.	III.481	1 Cor.7.10	Non ego
145.	III.484	Rom.11.33	O altitudo
146.	III.485	1 Cor.13.12	Videmus nunc
147.	III.486	Rom.11.20	Noli altum
148.	III.489	John 4.23	In spiritu
149.	III.489	Hos.14.3	vituli labiorum
150.	III.490	1 K.15.23	Quasi peccatum
151.	III.491	Lev.3.9	tanquam adeps
152.	III.756	Ps.88:38	Solem et lunam
153.	VI.380	Luke 2.29	Nunc dimittis
154.	VI.381	Matt.24.26	Ecce in
155.	VI.383	1 Tim.6.20	Devita profanas
156.	VI.405	Rom.9.3	Anathema
157.	VI.427	Ps.114.9	placebo
158.	VI.461	Gen.3.19	in sudore
159.	VI.470	Ps.119.6	multum incola
160.	VI.474	Gen.3.18-19	in sudore
161.	VI.507	Prov.30.33	Qui fortiter
162.	VI.507	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
163.	VI.651	Gen.1.24	Producat
164.	VI.685	Eccl.2.9	Sapientia quoque

165.	VII.56	Luke 17.20	Regnum Dei
166.	VII.151	Matt.6.28	Lilia agri
167.	VII.233	Mark 7.37	Bene omnia
168.	VII.234	Prov.18.2	Non accpiit
169.	VII.234	1 Thess.5.21	Omnia probate
170.	VII.235	Job 31.29	Si gavisus
171.	VII.235	Matt.6.34	Sufficit diei
172.	VII.238	Matt.9.13	Misericordiam volo
173.	VII.238	Jas.1.27	Religio munda
174.	VII.238	1 John 4.20	Qui non
175.	VII.238	Job 35.7	Si juste
176.	VII.238	2 Cor.5.13	Sive mente
177.	VII.239	1 Cor.9.22	Omnia omnibus
178.	VII.239	1 Tim.6.20	Devita prophanas
179.	VII.239	1 Tim.4.7	Ineptas et
180.	VII.239	Col.2.4	Nemo vos
181.	VII.239	Ps.13.1	Dixit insipiens
182.	VII.240	Heb.1.16	retibus suis
183.	VII.241	John 5.39	Scrutamini
184.	VII.241	Jer.9.17	Contemplamini
185.	VII.242	Ps.30.21	Proteges eos
186.	VII.315	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
187.	VII.347	Ex.21.24	oculus pro
188.	VII.405	Heb.12.15	radix amaritudinis
189.	VII.418	1 Tim.6.10	radix omnium
190.	VII.538	Matt.6.2	receperunt mercedem
191.	VII.602	Mark 1.27	nova doctrina
192.	VII.644	Ps.77.70-1	Et elegit
193.	VII.646	1 K.18.8	Quid ei
194.	VII.646	Gen.10.9	ipse coepit
195.	VII.664	Gen.11.1	unius labii
196.	VII.706	Heb.12.1	nubem testium
197.	VIII.59	Ps.56.2	in umbra
198.	VIII.74	Matt.24.26	Ecce in
199.	VIII.76	1 Cor.7.12	Ego,non
200.	VIII.76	1 Cor.7.10	Non ego
201.	VIII.76	1 Cor.7.40	secundum consilium
202.	VIII.80	Matt.24.26	nolite exire
203.	VIII.81	Acts 23.3	percutiet te
204.	VIII.83	1 Cor.3.3	cum sit
205.	VIII.83	Jas.3.15-16	non est
206.	VIII.90	Jas.1.20	Ira viri

207.	VIII.93	Is.56.7	domus orationis
208.	VIII.94	1 Thess.5.21	Omnia probate
209.	VIII.149	Matt.10.24	non est
210.	VIII.149	Prov.10.7	Memoria justi
211.	VIII.174	Gen.1.28	Crescite et
212.	VIII.208	Ps.11.5	linguam nostram
213.	VIII.349	Eph.6.6	ex animo
214.	VIII.359	Ps.145.2	Nolite confidere
215.	IX.9	Acts 20.35	Beatius dare
216.	IX.36	1 John 3.20	Nam Deus
217.	IX.52	Matt.12.34	ex abundantia
218.	IX.61	Prov.24.34	major corde
219.	IX.130	Luke 4.23	Medice,cure
220.	IX.185	Prov.30;19	Via navis
221.	IX.191	Prov.14.14	bomus vir
222.	IX.195	Eccl.7.11	ad tempora
223.	IX.260	Luke 2.29	Nunc dimittis
224.	IX.352	Luke 10.42	unum est
225.	X.19	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
226.	X.30	Ps.8.3	ex ore
227.	X.57	Matt.26.31	percutiam pastorem
228.	X.62	Cant.2.1	Ego sum
229.	X.74	Job 4.16	aura leni
230.	X.92	Eph.2.20	lapis anguleris
231.	X.106	Apoc.2.4	habeo adversum
232.	X.109	Heb.7.12	Translato sacerdotio
233.	X.110	Eccl.4.10	vae soli
234.	X.110	Matt.18.17	Dic Ecclesiae
235.	X.114	Is.56.7	Domus mea
236.	X.189	1 Thess.5.21	Omnia probate
237.	X.205	Eph.2.20	lapis angularis
238.	X.223	Gen.11.1	unius labii
239.	X.253	Ps.119.6	multum incola
240.	X.304	1 John 5.6	non in aqua
241.	X.310	Matt.25.9	Ne forte
242.	X.325	Ps.114.9	placebo
243.	X.325	Ps.115.10	Credidi propter
244.	X.336	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
245.	X.351	Matt.12.34	ex abundantia
246.	XI.146	Ps.119.6	multum incola
247.	XI.191	Matt.16.19	claves regni
248.	XI.192	Heb.9.26	ab origine

249.	XI.199	Matt.16.19	claves regni
250.	XI.241	2 Esdr.13.6	in fine
251.	XI.243	Heb.6.18-19	ancora spei
252.	XI.281-2	Ps.119.6	multum incola
253.	XI.291.	Rom.12.19	mihi vindicta
254.	XI.371	Jas.3.15	animalis sapientia
255.	XI.391	Luke 10.42	ad unum
256.	XI.400	Rom.12.19	mihi vindicta
257.	XII.6	2 Thess.2.4	supra omne
258.	XII.24	Job 1.21	Dominus abstulit
259.	XII.25	Gen.1.16	luminare majus
260.	XII.28	1 Cor.13.5	Charitas non
261.	XII.44	Gal.5.15	si invicem
262.	XII.48	Ps.38.3	Silui a bonis
263.	XII.101	Matt.22.4	omnia parata
264.	XII.101-2	Luke 2.14	bonam voluntatem
265.	XII.113	Acts 4.22	signum sanitatis
266.	XII.144	Is.66.24	usque ad
267.	XII.144	Mark 7.37	omnia bene
268.	XII.162	Gen.1.16	duo luminaria
269.	XII.171	Acts 20.35	Beatius est
270.	XII.184	4 K.17.34	antiqui moris
271.	XII.214	4 K.4.40	mors in olla
272.	XII.217	Job 30.14	tanquam jamua
273.	XII.261	Eph.6.6	ex animo
274.	XII.271	Ps.115.12	quid retribuam?
275.	XII.300	Ps.117.23	a Domino
276.	XII.309	Ps.9.7	cum sonitu
277.	XIII.15	Ps.81.6-7	Dixi dii
278.	XIII.16	Luke 2.47	responsa
279.	XIII.19	Is.45.3	secreta et
280.	XIII.20	Matt.5.9	Beati pacifici
281.	XIII.31	Eph.6.6	ex animo
282.	XIII.44	Matt.5.9	Beati pacifici
283.	XIII.65	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
284.	XIII.82	Num.21.22	via regia
285.	XIII.233	1 Cor.9.22	omnibus omnia
286.	XIV.61	1 Cor.9.22	omnibus omnia
287.	XIV.114	2 Cor.3.15	super cor
288.	XIV.114	Acts 13.22	secundum cor
289.	XIV.114	1 Cor.9.22	omnibus omnia
290.	XIV.135	Jer.32.39	cor unum

291.	XIV.149	Jer.32.39	cor unum
292.	XIV.169	Ps.115.12	quid retribuam?
293.	XIV.169	Jer.32.39	cor unum
294.	XIV.175	Eph.2.20	lapis angularis
295.	XIV.176	Matt.5.9	Beati pacifici
296.	XIV.178	Ps.10.7	Pluet super
297.	XIV.178	2 Cor.5.17	novas creaturas
298.	XIV.190	John 19.30	consummatum est
299.	XIV.201	Matt.14.31	Modicae fidei
300.	XIV.292n	Ps.129.1	de profundis
301.	& XIV.293 XIV.297	2 Cor.5.17	nova creatura
302.	XIV.316	2 Para.14.6	quietus est
303.	XIV.349	Luke 2.29	Nunc dimittis
304.	XIV.361	Prov.30.19	via navis
305.	XIV.415	Gen.3.18-19	in sudore
306.	XIV.519	2 Cor.5.17	nova creatura
307.	Pro.f.83	Ps.11.9	in circuitu
308.	Pro.f.83	Ps.38.3	Silujja
309.	Pro.f.83	Ps.115.10	Credidj propter
310.	Pro.f.83	Prov.10.7	Memoria justi
311.	Pro.f.83	Prov.18.2	Non recipit
312.	Pro.f.83	Prov.23.23	Veritatem emi
313.	Pro.f.83	Matt.7.6	Nolite dare
314.	Pro.f.83	Matt.19.12	Qui potest
315.	Pro.f.83	Matt.19.8	Quoniam Moses
316.	Pro.f.83	Acts 5.29	Obedire oportet
317.	Pro.f.83	1 Cor.3.13	Et uniuscujusque
318.	Pro.f.83	2 Cor.13.8	Non enim
319.	Pro.f.83	2 Tim.4.7	bonum certamen
320.	Pro.f.84b	4 K.4.40	Mors in olla
321.	Pro.f.85b	Ps.147.16	Qui dat
322.	Pro.f.85b	Matt.6.28	Lilia agri
323.	Pro.f.85b	Luke 22.38	Ecce duo
324.	Pro.f.85b	Jonah 3.5	A majore
325.	Pro.f.85b	Ps.11.9	In circuitu
326.	Pro.f.85b	John 21.23	Exijt sermo
327.	Pro.F.85b	Heb.7.7	Sine vlla
328.	Pro.f.86	Matt.6.2	Receperunt mercedem
329.	Pro.f.86	Matt.9.29	Secundum fidem
330.	Pro.f.86	Rom.11.13	Ministerium meum
331.	Pro.f.86b	Apoc.14.13	Beati mortuj
332.	Pro.f.87b	Matt.5.21	Audistis quia

333. Pro.f.87b	Rom.3.6	Secundum hominem
334. Pro.f.87b	Ps.30.21	Proteges eos
335. Pro.f.87b	Ps.47.9	sicut sudiuimus
336. Pro.f.87b	Ps.115.10	Credidj propter
337. Pro.f.87b	Prov.9.7	Quj erudit
338. Pro.f.88	Prov.14.6	Quaerit derisor
339. Pro.f.88	Prov.18.2	Non recepit
340. Pro.f.88	Prov.20.27	Lucerna Dej
341. Pro.f.88	Prov.23.23	Veritatem emi
342. Pro.f.88	Eccl.7.9	Melioe est
343. Pro.f.88	Matt.19.12	Qui potest
344. Pro.f.88	John 4.22	Vos adoratis
345. Pro.f.88	John 19.22	Quod scripsj
346. Pro.f.88b	Acts 26.24	Multae te
347. Pro.f.88b	1 Cor.2.6	Sapientiam loquimur
348. Pro.f.88b	Matt.11.19	Et Justificata
349. Pro.f.88b	1 Cor.8.1	Scientia inflat
350. Pro.f.88b	Phil.3.1	Eadem vobis
351. Pro.f.88b	Col.2.4	Hox autem
352. Pro.f.88b	1 Thess.5.21	Omnia probate
353. Pro.f.88b	1 Tim.4.9	Fidelis sermo
354. Pro.f.88b	2 Tim.3.7	Semper discentes
355. Pro.f.88b	Tit.1.12	Proprius ipsorum
356. Pro.f.88b	Tit.1.13	Testimonium hoc
357. Pro.f.88b	Heb.12.1	Tantam nubem
358. Pro.f.88b	Jas.1.19	Sit omnis
359. Pro.f.88b	Matt.27.64	Error novissimus
360. Pro.f.88b	Jude 10	Quaecunque ignorant
361. Pro.f.89b	John 4.22	Vos adoratis
362. Pro.f.89b	1 Cor.2.6	Sapientiam loquimur
363. Pro.f.89b	Matt.11.19	Et Justificata
364. Pro.f.89b	Ps.115.15	Pretiosa in
365. Pro.f.89b	Prov.9.9	Da sapienti
366. Pro.f.90	Ps.145.2	Nolite confidere
367. Pro.f.90	Mark 7.37	Bene omnia
368. Pro.f.91	Ps.38.6-7	Veruntamen vane
369. Pro.f.91	2 Cor.13.8	Non possumus
370. Pro.f.91	Eccl.2.9	Sapie(n)tia quoque
371. Pro.f.91b	Matt.19.8	Quoniam Moses
372. Pro.f.91b	Heb.9.16	Ubj testamentum
373. Pro.91b	1 Tim.1.8	Scimus quia
374. Pro.f.108	Ps.35.4	Noluit Intelligere

375. Pro.f.108	Ps.36.1	Noli aemularj
376. Pro.f.108	Ps.17.27	Cum perverso
377. Pro.f.108	Ps.31.3	Quia tacuj
378. Pro.f.108	Ps.115.10	Credidj propter
379. Pro.f.108	Ps.38.3	Obmutuj et
380. Pro.f.108	Ps.38.10	Obmutuj et non
381. Pro.f.108	Ps.38.2	Posuj custodiam
382. Pro.f.108	Ps.37.14	Ego autem
383. Pro.f.108b	Ps.1.3	Et folium
384. Pro.f.114	Phil.4.13	Omnia possum
385. Northumb MS f.28	1 Cor.13.7	Charitas omnia sperat
386. Northumb.MS f.28	1 Cor.13.7	Charitas omnia sustinet

APPENDIX III

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS BASED ON OTHER VERSIONS

1. GENEVAN

Vol.& Page	Bib.Ref.	Initial Words of Text
1. III.144	3 K.4.29	large heart
2. III.150	Is.9.6	everlasting father
3. III.264	Eccl.12.12	That there is
4. III.276	Joel 2.28	Your young
5. III.350	Ps.18.2	the work
6. III.372	Eccl.2.15	If it befal
7. III.423	Prov.15.15	a good conscience
8. III.481	Prov.26.2	the causeless
9. III.482	Luke 9.50	He that is not against
10. III.486	Ps.43.22	the secrets
11. VI.381	Ex. 20.5	jealous God
12. VI.382	Luke 9.50	He that is not against
13. VI.385	Prov.19.11	It is the glory
14. VI.401	Prov.28.21	To respect
14. VI.413	Ps.13.1	The fool
16. VI.423	Is.9.6	The Counsellor
17. VI.452	Matt.6.27	by care
18. VI.460	Prov.18.11	Riches are
19. VI.478	Joel 2.28	Your young
20. VI.502	Prov.27.14	He that
21. VI.503	2 Cor.11.23	I speak like
22. VII.60	Dan.11.37	regardeth not
23. VIII.74	Prov.18.11	The riches
24. VIII.75	Acts 7.26	Ye are
25. VIII.75	Eph.4.5	one faith
26. VIII.76	Luke 9.50	He that is not against
27. VIII.76	1 Cor.7.12	I, and not
28. VIII.76	1 Cor.7.10	Not,I,but
29. VIII.80	Prov.26.2	the causeless
30. VIII.81	Matt.7.29	as having authority
31. VIII.81	Deut.17.6	two witnesses
32. VIII.81	Apoc.2.4	left his first
33. VIII.81	Apoc.3.15	be neither hot
34. VIII.86	Jude 9	The Lord rebuke
35. VIII.91	Prov.17.14	as the waters
36. VIII.92	1 Cor.2.4	the enticing
37. VIII.197	Heb.11.31	by faith
38. X.108	Phil.4.7	that it passeth
39. X.108	Eph.4.5	one faith
40. X.144	Luke 9.50	he that is not ageinst
41. XI.98	Ps.129.4	but with
42. XI.166	Ex.20.12	Honour thy
43. XI.405	2 K.2.14	Let the young
44. XII.6	Job 12.21	he poureth
45. Northumb.MS f.28	Luke 10.7	Goe not from howse to howse
46. Northumb.MS f.28	1 Cor.5.11-12	What haue I

2. RHEMISH N.T.

1.	III.151	Matt.10.22	persevere to
2.	III.221	Matt.22.29	You err
3.	III.266	1 Cor.13.1	If I spake
4.	III.301	Matt.22.29	You err
5.	III.486	Matt.24.35	Heaven and
6.	III.501	Matt.22.29	You err
7.	III.396	Mark 7.22	Evil eye
8.	VI.510	Eph.4.26	Be angry
9.	VI.514	Matt.7.24	Build upon
10.	VII.11	1 Pet.4.12	that no new
11.	VIII.76	1 Cor.7.40	according to
12.	VIII.80	Matt.24.26	Go not out
13.	VIII.81	Apoc.2.4	hath not a few
14.	VIII.81	Acts 23.3	The Lord will
15.	VIII.82	Matt.23.7-8	the salutation

3. AUTHORISED VERSION

1.	III.151	John 9.24	give God
2.	III.153	3 K.17.18	that he was come
3.	VI.377	John 18.38	What is Truth
4.	VI.382	4 K.9.19,22	Is it peace
5.	VI.507	Deut.27.17	Cursed is
6.	VI.510	Luke 21.19	To possess
7.	VII.123n	Eccl.12.11	The words
8.	VII.131n	Gen.37.32	Know now
9.	VII.260	Gen.1.31	everything was
10.	VII.260	Eccl.2.11	all was
11.	XII.6	2 Thess.2.4	above all that
12.	XII.158,167	Rom.3.8	Let us do
13.	XII.176	Eccl.10.1	honour and
14.	XIII.18	Prov.24.21	My son,fear
15.	XIV.103	Prov.28.21	to have

4. PRAYER BOOK (PSALTER)

1.	VII.602	Ps.77.57(78.58)	starting aside
2.	VIII.203	Ps.24.2(25.2)	O Lord
3.	XI.98	Ps.129.3(130.3)	If thou
4.	XI.414	Ps.93.20(94.20)	mischief is
5.	XII.158	Ps.93.20(94.20)	imagines mischief
6.	XII.215	Ps.68.23(69.23)	Let their
7.	XII.309	Ps.68.23(69.23)	His table
8.	XIII.24	Ps.100.7(101.10)	there shall no

5. TREMELLIUS

1.	I.435	11 Cor.8.1	scientia inflat
2.	I.723	Apoc.14.13	opera eorum
3.	I.723	Prov.18.1	Pro desiderio
4.	III.424	Apoc.14.13	opera eorum
5.	III.434-5	Ex.34.6	longanimity
6.	VI.431	Prov.14.8,15	prudens advertit
7.	VIII.81	Jude 9	Increpet te
8.	VIII.202	Prov.14.8,15	vir prudens

6. DOUAY

VI.463	1 K.28.19	To-morrow thou
VI.507	Amos 5.7	There be
XII.214-15	Ps.139.4	the poison of
Pro.f.86b	Eccl.3.8	A tyme

7. PAGNINUS

I.755	Eccl.10.1	Sicut muscae

8. JUDA

I.616	Ex.16.3	ad ollas
III.383	Ex.16.3	ad ollas
VII.675	2 K.24.17	Qui fecerunt
VIII.74	Acts 7.26	Vos estis

9. CASTALIONE

VIII.91	Acts 2.37	Viri,fratres,quid agemus?
Pro.f.91b	Rom.7.7	Non nossem

10. BEZA (N.T.)

I.802	Matt.6.27	Qui sollicite
III.283	John 7.49	Execrabilis ista
XI.140	John 15.13	majores charitates
Pro; f.88	John 11.49	Vos nihil scitis

11. GREAT BIBLE (CRANMER'S)

VIII.74	Jas.1.19	Let euery
VIII.92	John 6.35,51	bread of life
XIV.261	1 Tim.6.10	covetousness is

APPENDIX III

INDEX OF INDEPENDENT RENDERINGS

	Vol.& Page	Bib.Ref.	Initial Words of Text
1.	I.132	Prov.25.2	Gloriam Dei
2.	I.134	Prov.18.2	Non accipit
3.	I.175	Luke 24.5	inter viva
4.	I.179	Matt.18.3	in quod
5.	I.197	Job 13.7,9	Deo per
6.	I.197	Matt.22.29	Erratis nescientes
7.	I.200	Dan.12.4	Multi pertransibunt
8.	I.221	Prov.25.2	Gloriam Dei
9.	I.400	Tit.1.15	Omnia enim
10.	I.431	3 K.4.29	Cor illi
11.	I.433	Eccl.12.12	Faciendi libros
12.	I.433-4	Eccl.1.18	In multa
13.	I.434	Col.2.8	Ne decipiamur
14.	I.434	Eccl.1.8	Oculum videndo
15.	I.434	Eccl.3.11	Omnis Deus
16.	I.435	Prov.20.27	Spiritus hominis
17.	I.435	1 Cor.13.1	Si . . . linguis
18.	I.435	Col.2.8	Ne decipiamur
19.	I.435	Eccl.2.13-14	Satis . . . perspexi
20.	I.436	Col.2.8	nae iste
21.	I.436	Job 13.7,9	An oporteat
22.	I.444	Prov.28.20	Qui festinat
23.	I.444	Prov.23.23	Veritatem eme
24.	I.446	Matt.25.20	Ecce tibi
25.	I.458	Jer.6.16	State super
26.	I.458	4 Esdr.14.10	Antiquitas saeculi
27.	I.463	Prov.27.6	Fidelia vulnera
28.	I.466	Acts 7.22	gnarus et
29.	I.466	Lev.13.12-15	Si effluoruerit
30.	I.467	Job 10.10	Annon sicut
31.	I.467	3 K.4.33	a cedro
32.	I.469	Matt.22.29	Erratis,nescientes
33.	I.477	Eccl.12.11	Verba sapientum
34.	I.479	Eccl.1.10	Nil novi
35.	I.482	Apoc.2.24	abyssus sive
36.	I.486	Eccl.10.10	Ferrum si
37.	I.488	1 K.30.24	ut aeque
38.	I.492	Ex.7.12	serpens Mosis
39.	I.507	Job 26.7?	maxime e
40.	I.514	Dan.12.4	Plurimi pertransibunt
41.	I.515	2 Pet.3.8	Cui unus
42.	I.516	Hab.2.2	quivis etiam
43.	I.523	Gen.3.5	Deo similis
44.	I.527	Ps.18.2	Coeli enarrant
45.	I.546	Col.2.4,18	Nemo vos
46.	I.546	2 Cor.2.11	Stratagematum ejus
47.	I.548-9	John 5.43	Veni in
48.	I.567	Eccl.3.11	opus quod
49.	I.567	Is.6.3	Sancte,sancte
50.	I.589	Eccl.2.15	Si unus
51.	I.598	Matt.7.13-14	via arcta
52.	I.604	Gen.2.7	Formavit hominem
53.	I.609	Gen.3.19	In sudore
54.	I.653	Gen.3.19	comedendo panem
55.	I.670	Ex.4.16	Habes Aaronem
56.	I.675	Prov.20.14	Malum est
57.	I.677	Matt.9.11	conversaretur cum
58.	I.685	Hab.1.15-16	Laetantur et

59.	I.685	Prov.9.17	suavis cibus
60.	I.687	Luke 10.41-2	Martha,Martha
61.	I.713	Prov.4.23	Ante omnia
62.	I.718	Ps.115.15	pretiosa in
63.	I.720	Prov.15.15	Conscientiam bonam
64.	I.722	Prov.27.1	Ne glorieris
65.	I.729	Prov.14.6	Quaerentis derisori
66.	I.729	Matt.10.16	serpentina . . . prudentia
67.	I.732	Ps.122.2	oculi ancillae
68.	I.742	Ps.144.9	Misericordia ejus
69.	I.748	Eccl.11.4	Qui respicit
70.	I.750	3 K.4.29	Cor illi
71.	I.751	3 K.4.33	de omni
72.	I.751	Prov.17.2	Servus prudens
73.	I.752	Eccl.7.22	Sed et
74.	I.753	Prov.6.11	Advenit veluti
75.	I.756	Prov.29.8	Homines derisores
76.	I.757	Prov.29.12	Princeps qui
77.	I.758	Prov.12.10	Justus miseretur
78.	I.759	Eccl.10.4	Si spiritus
79.	I.760	Prov.18.17	Primus in
80.	I.764	Prov.22.24	Noli esse
81.	I.765	Prov.14.23	In omni
82.	I.765	Prov.27.5	Melior est
83.	I.767	Eccl.7.17	Noli esse
84.	I.768	Prov.27.14	Qui laudat
85.	I.768	Prov.27.19	Quomodo in
86.	I.773	Prov.20.5	Consilium in
87.	I.777	Jas.1.23-4	Eum qui
88.	I.790	Eccl.1.14	omnia sint
89.	I.790	Ps.7.15	Concepit iniquitatem
90.	I.791	Matt.6.33	Primum quaerite
91.	I.795	Gen.49.9,14	leonis catulus
92.	I.830	Rom.4.22	Abrahame imputabatur
93.	I.830	Is.8.20	Ad Legem
94.	I.831-2	Rom.12.1	Rationalem cultum
95.	I.834	Matt.12.30	Qui non
96.	I.834	Luke 9.50	Qui contra
97.	I.834	Acts 7.26	Cur certatis
98.	I.835	Matt.24.35	Coelum et
99.	II.160	Matt.6.25	est supra
100.	II.470	Ex.4.10	linguae praepeditae
101.	II.595	Ps.147.16	qui dat
102.	II.641	Prov.20.27	lucerna Dei
103.	III.35	Eccl.1.4	generationes migrare
104.	III.35	Matt.24.35	coelum et
105.	III.81	Eccl.3.11	Cuncta fecit
106.	III.129	Ps.106.24	showeth his
107.	III.137	Matt.6.33	first seek
108.	III.145	3 K.4.33	cedar of
109.	III.151	Matt.26.24	it is well
110.	III.183	Prov.20.27	Lucerna Dei
111.	III.183	Prov.25.2	Gloriam Dei
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113.	III.217	Is.14.14	I will
114.	III.217	Gen.3.5	that he
115.	III.218	Matt.5.44-5	Love your
116.	III.218	Lev.11.44	Be you
117.	III.219	Job 13.7,9	Will you
118.	III.220	Prov.25.2	is to conceal
119.	III.220	Prov.20.27	The spirit
120.	III.220	Prov.23.23	Buy the truth
121.	III.220	Eccl.3.11	God hath

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123.	III.221	Eccl.3.11	hath set
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125.	III.222	1 Cor.13.1-3	If I have
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133.	III.265	Prov.20.27	The spirit
134.	III.266	1 Cor.8.1	Knowledge bloweth
135.	III.266	Col.2.8	That we
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137.	III.267	Job 13.7,9	Will you
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155.	III.350	Col.2.4,18	Let no man
156.	III.351	2 Cor.2.11	We are
157.	III.352	John 5.43	Veni in
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