

## Notes to Chapter 4

(1) C.R. Ch. I, p. 6. Evidence for Dee's activities here is confined to details supplied by himself; he does not figure in such university records as Valerie Andrea, *Fasti Academici Studii generalis Lovaniensis...*Louvain, 1635.

(2) Dee's applications for license to travel, his professed object to seek out private conferences with learned foreigners, from which might emerge benefit to the commonwealth, his proposals for the establishment at St. Cross, etc. seem to echo, as do his associate Bourne's remarks on the duties of a citizen abroad and the justification of such journeys (the Preface to the Reader of *A Treasure for Travelers 1578* suggests that mature men between the ages of 40 and 56 should be those sent abroad as travellers to acquire information "to profyt their country," who should especially be those learned in the mathematics to improve their knowledge), Plato's strict regulation of these matters in the *Laws*: indiscriminate, undirected migrancy is undesirable and not to be permitted yet (XII 951 B-C) "amongst the mass of men there always exist--albeit in small numbers--men that are divinely inspired; intercourse with such men is of the greatest value and they spring up in badly governed states, just as much as in those that are well governed. In search of these men it is always right for one who dwells in a well-ordered State to go forth on a voyage of enquiry by land or sea....so as to confirm thereby such of his native laws as are rightly enacted and to amend any that are deficient."

(3) C.R. ch. 2, p. 8.

(4) Even at Padua Galileo received a salary of only 180 florins as Professor of Mathematics in 1592, while those of Civil Law and Philosophy received 1,400 and 1,800 respectively. The lectures of the Professor of Mathematics at Pisa a few years after this were still occupied with the exposition of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* (J.J. Fahie, *Galileo*, London, 1903, p. 36; Rouse Ball, *History of Mathematics at Cambridge*, p. 9). Even in Paris, despite a vigorous renaissance under Ramus, the precarious state of the new teaching is evidenced by such incidents as that in 1566 when the Aristotelian Camerarius bought the chair of Mathematics at the College of France, and when suit was brought against him, admitted his total ignorance of this science, but declared he would lecture on philosophy, but that if need be, could learn all the mathematics necessary to the appointment in three days. He was confirmed in his position (Graves, *Ramus and Educational Reform*, pp. 88-89).

(5) J.H. Randall Jr., *Development of Scientific Method in the School of Padua* (J.H.T. I, 1940, 177 ff), p. 205.

(6) "Quia mathematica teste Apolonio prima et certissima scientia est, sine qua Aristoteles illiud omnium artium robur et fundamentum, minime intelligi potest (in omnium enim demonstratione ad mathematicum sese ut omnia failius percipianter convertit)" it was decreed that public lectures should be given in it, and candidates for bachelorship, and mastership, should study Sacrobasco, Euclid, arithmetic and music. (*Hurkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg*, Tecl. I, 1502-1611, ed. W. Friedensburg, Madeburg, 1926, p. 73, Doc. 54, Sommergemestes, 1514. See also for notice of this Reform Friedensburg, *Geschichteder Universität Wittenberg*, Haller, 1917, p. 106 et seq.)

(7) *Mathematical Magick*, "To the Reader."

(8) Cp. Olschki, *Bildung und Wissenschaft*, pp.414-415. "Wahrend in Italien und auf dem ganzen Kontinent nur Übersetzen und Epigmen sich mit Mathematischen Dingen Geschäftigen, zeigt die deutsche Gelehrtenwelt ausgestprochene mathematische Interessen, die sich in origineller Productivität offenbaren."

(9) C.R. ch. 2, p. 7. What form this "testimonie of the Universitie" took is unknown;

Cooper apparently only on the ground of this remark of Dee's declares that he received the degree of LL.D. there (*Athenae Cantas* II, p. 498). Davenport had earlier made the same statement (*Dict. of Biog.*, 1831, p. 219).

(10) See Strype's notice of his death in 1574 (*Annals* II, i p. 529); he was "one of the finest gentlemen of this age, for his worth in learning, arts and warfare; and who was once in nomination to marry Queen Elizabeth."

(11) *Preface*, b<sup>1</sup>: *Diary*, Dec. 4, 1588.

(12) Dee's visitors at Louvain, the emperors who offered him employment, his instruction of Pickering, are given C.R. ch. 2, pp. 6-9.

(13) Socrates acknowledges Mercury as the God that invented number, geometry, astronomy and letters, his conential attributes (e.g., *Phaedrus* 274 c. et seq--where the first reference is to the Egyptian Thoth--important for later identifications with Trismegistus), and the *Astronomicon* opens with an invocation to him as the power which revealed the secrets of the heavens--the conformations of which control all that comes to pass to man. In alchemical texts "the Mercury of the Philosophers" has a wide variety of supposed references--the primal matter underdlying all things, any agent whose generative properties direct the process of transmutation, or even the Stone itself; only the utmost importance of whatever it may be is universally agreed upon (vide infra ch. 6 for details). As used in astrology, an almanac for 1386 states of Mercury: "Under whos constellacyon be born filosofys of all the 7 scyences and men that be perfyte of works of hand. Mercuri makys men born under his constellacyon to be proude and fayer spekar, of gode wytte, and remeberance, movyng and lyghtly passyng into diverse contryes, that he may every new thyng lerne and specially things that be never hard of byfore." (See Bühler op. cit. p. 617.) (It is as the fount of human ingenuity that he is celebrated in Ronsard's *Hymn to Mercury*, and Dante writes of the Planet:

"Questa picciola Stells si correda  
De buoni spiriti, che son stati altivi,  
Perchè onore e fami gli succeda" (*Paradiso*, VI, 112)

But Dee, though he seems to have employed Mercury almost as a personal sign, was not strictly by nativity a "mercurialist," he paid close attention to his own horoscope, and if this had any effect on his government of his actions and development of interests, it must be regarded as unfortunate that the important position Mercury occupies there, in Cancer in the eighth house, would have assured him according to the usual interpretations, not only of talents for philosophy and mathematics and of his antiquarian interests, but of especial success in hidden spiritual matters, and in penetrating the secrets of invisible worlds! He may have considered himself a "mercurial" spirit in the fashion of Bruno, who wrote "Non cessat providentia Deorum (dixerunt Aegyptii Sacerdotes) statutis quibusquam temporibus mittere hominibus *Mercurios quosdam*; etiam si eosdem minime vel male receptum iri praecognoscent" (*De Umbris Idearum*, Paris, 1582, f a iiv).

(14) Julian, says Ammianus (XVI, 5, 5 Ammianus Marcellinus Loeb, ed. J.C. Rolfe, Vol. I, p. 216) "occulte Mercurio supplicabat quem mundi velociorem sensum esse motum mentium suscitantem theologicae prodidere doctrinae." Plotinus (III, 6, 19) speaking of the barren passivity, the entire indeterminateness of matter, and the intellectual origin of form which gives it actuality says "the ancient wise men obscurely signifying this in their mysteries, represent the ancient Hermes always possessing the organ of generation erect, thus manifesting that it is intelligible reason which generates the sensible universe." Thomas Taylor interpreting the wanderings of Ulysses onthe pattern of Porphyry's *Cave of the Nymphs*, dilates on the function of Mercury as "the rational energy" supposedly represented by the Palace of Alcinous (*Select Works of Porphyry*, p. 295); citing Proclus to the effect that Mercury "unfolds into light intellectual gifts, fills all things with divine *reason* (i.e., forms and productive principles) elevates soul to intellect, wakens them as from profound sleep, converts them through investigations to themselves and by a certain obstetric art and invention of pure intellect brings them to a blessed life." Lewes quotes a

similar passage from Proclus without source. Mercury's function is to reveal God's will to men, teaching them science by filling them with the genius of Invention: "Invention is the energy of the soul," and "This science which descends into the soul from above via Mercury is more perfect than any science obtained by investigation....(it) fills the soul with the influence of the higher causes," by such Illumination the Gods "discover to us the order of the Universe" (*History of Philosophy*, 4th ed., London, 1871, Vol. I, p. 406).

(15) *Opus Majus*, Vol. I, pp. 278-285. Mercury, the god, is of course employed satirically as a representation of Christ by Desperiers in *Cymbalum Mundi*, 1531. This may be unconnected with any traditional equivalence however, and have been prompted solely by the obvious common function they have as intermediaries between God and man.

(16) See Lenoble, *Mersenne*, p. 153, who quotes I Param. tract 1, VI, p. 12, VII, p. 18, on the Logos, "id vocamus Nam in universis nihil conditum est supra hoc: hoc nihil potior est." "Sed hoc tamen tente illud creaturas universas tam coeli quam terrae conservare: et insuper omnia Elementa ex eo et in ipso vivere" etc.

(17) Dee made a few notes of events in this early period of his life in his copy of Stöfflers *Ephemerides*, Ashmole MS. 423 f. 294 et seq. is a 17th century transcript of these. Most of the material, however, apart from entries of very minor interest (recording merely exact dates of visit to Antwerp, by waggon, and Brussels in 1550 and so forth), Dee incorporated in the *Compendious Rehearsall*.

(18) C.R. ch. 2, p. 7. Dee retained a copy of these lectures which is now lost; his list of his own MS works includes *Prolegomena et dictata Parisiensia in Euclidis Elementorum Geometricum librum primum et secundum*. No contemporary references to them has been found, nor do the various *Euclids* issued in France in the succeeding period--as for instance, Dee's friend Petrus Montaneus' edition of the tenth book in 1551 with a lengthy preface on the dignity of mathematics--make mention of or reveal any trace of provable influence from Dee's efforts in popular instruction. (Pierre Forcadet de Benzie, Mathematical reader at Paris, however, whose preface includes the usual eulogy of geometry as the highest of the sciences, adorns his edition of the first six books in 1564, with half-silhouette drawings of solid objects in perspective, to represent "ocularly" the various definitions and axioms.)

(19) *Orontij Finci Delphinatis...In sex priores libros geometricorum elementorum....Demonstriones*, Paris, 1536, f ij<sup>r</sup>. In the epistle to Francis I whom he salutes as the restorer of mathematics in France, Finé derives the practise from the doctrine of ancient philosophers, and insists that mathematics, as the key to all other arts, should be prior to them as a discipline in education: "Hinc preclara illa & toti Orbi decora liberali\_ arti\_ facultas, cœterarum mater & alumna, ad veter\_ philosophor\_ imitation\_, prudentissima sancit institutione; ne quispiã in doctorum, seu (ut vocãt) magistror\_ admittatur ordin\_, ni c\_ cœteris philosophici discursus authoribus, sex priores libros geometricor\_ elementor\_ Euclidis salt\_ audiuerit quasi ignoratis geometricæ rudimentis ad cœteras disciplinas praeclusa videatur esse via: Cuius rei vestigia, Parisiensis adhuc obseruat academia qui enim ad laureã adspirãt philosophicã: iureiurãdo profitetur arctissimo, sese prenomatos Euclidis libros audiuisse...."

(20) Concluding phrase of title of *The Garden of Cyruse of the Quincuncial Lozenge....*, London, 1658.

(21) C.R. ch. 2, p. 8. Dee adds that he has letters in his possession establishing his acquaintance with all these. Of those he mentions here, Petrus Montaneus produced an edition of the Tenth book of Euclid at Paris in 1551 Jacobus Goupylus edited and translated Greek works chiefly on medical subjects (first B.M. ed. of any publication by him, 1551). Turnebus also edited with extraordinary industry, numbers of classical works of a more general type, including, it may be noted, the works of Philo (the B.M. contains nearly thirty works edited with commentaries by

him, in a variety of editions, and a dozen or so original works, poems, or moral reflections, etc.). Franciscus Vicomercatus was an Aristotelian physicist, his *de Principiis Resum Naturalium* was not published until 1596 at Venice, apparently posthumously; at this date he had edited Aristotle's *De Anima* with commentary and extended discussion (1543) and later produced editions of the *Meteorologica* (1556) and *Physica* (1564); Jacobus Sylvaniusis Jacque du Bois, a naturalist and physician, also an editor of great medical texts, Hippocrates, Galen, etc. Paschasius Hamellius, was to produce a commentary *In Archimedes librum de numero arenae*, 1557. Postel had already established his reputation as an orientalist, cabalist, historical and religious writer, and was to bring out his translation of the *Jetzirah* in 1552. Danesius is probably Pierre Danes, later Bishop of Lavour (it is unlikely that it is Lambert Daneau--1530-1596--a French protestant clergyman, whose anti-scientifically biased *Physica Christiana*, 1576, was translated by Thomas Twyne two years later as *The Wonderful Woorkmanship of the Woorld* [see Johnson, *Astronomical Thought*, p. 186], though Twyne has usually [e.g., Taylor: *Tudor Geography*, p. 31] been said to have been a friend of Dee's--a statement resting perhaps on Woods' assertion [*Ath. Ox.*, II, p. 130] that he was much respected by Dee and Allen). Ranconnet was a president of the parliament of Paris, and a great friend of Cardan's, who had much admiration for Ranconnet as a scholar, and who declared that to see him again was enough in itself to make his journey from Italy to France worth while (see Cardan, *Book of my Life*, trans. Stoner, London, 1931, ch. 13, p. 53 and n. 5, p. 303). Mizaldus, of whose works Dee formed a large collection, had at this date published a work on weather prediction (1546), and one on comets (1549) in which he had already set out what was to be the chief theme of his later writing--the basing of medical theory on the Macrocosm-Microcosm analogy, the methods of reasoning from one to the other, and practical means for exploiting the harmony existing between them--"conciliating" the effluence of the stars and the humours, etc. (developed in *Harmonia caelestium corporum et humanorum dialogus undecim*, Paris, 1555; Thorndyke, *History of Magic and Science*, V, pp. 299-301).

(22) On Fernel's early mathematical works, see Sir Charles Sherrington, *The Endeavour of Jean Fernel*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 14 et seq, on the financial difficulties he encountered in pursuing this study, p. 18 et seq.

(23) Ramus, *Praelationes Epistolae, Orationes*, p. 199. He had hoped Pena would be his collaborator and a worthy successor to himself; "Joannes Penam nostrae disciplinae alumnum nactus mathematici oneris fasce sublevatum & exoneratum putar!" etc., but Pena died at the age of thirty--on his promise and untimely death see Freigius, *Petrie Romi Vita*, p. 29.

(24) Quoted in conclusion of E.S. Carlos' trans. of Galileo's *Sidereal Messenger*, London, 1880.

(25) *Praefationes Epistolae Crationes*, p. 187--"qui primus regia professione in Galliam mathematicas artes retulit" (= *Libri Dui*, Basle, 1569, Preface, f3).

(26) C.R. ch. 2, p. 8.

(27) C.R. ch. 3, p. 10, on Dee's livings, pensions, etc., see Cooper, *Ath. Cantab.* II, 498. *Calendar Patent Rolls Ed. VI*, Vol. V, 1926, London, records 31 March, 1553 (p. 199), the presentation of John Dee, Clerk to the rectory of Upton upon Severn, void by promotion of John Harley to episcopal see of Hereford, and at the King's gift *pleno jure*.

(28) For details see Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, Vol. II, 27 ff; Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. II, 84 ff.

(29) *Ennead*, I, 3 ("On dialectic") 3.

(30) In his Aldine *Iamblichus*, 1516, against Ficino's description of a stone brought

from India, "qui aceto perfusus movebatur parumper in rectum, immo obliquum mox ferebatur in gyrum, donec exhalaret vapor aceti," Dee has noted "J.D. Similem ego lapidem vidi de ejusdem qualitatis: anno 1552 vel 1553. Ar d'tra H. Cardanus Mediolanensis vo'es Franciscus et Monsieur Brandaolphus Legatus Regis Gallici in aedibus Legati in Sawthwerk" (Reported *N.Q. S. VIII Vol. I*, p. 126). Cardan had come to London after staying in 1552 in Scotland--to which he had been invited in order to treat the asthma of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews--and Paris, where his circle of acquaintances had had many common elements with that of Dee--such as Ranconnet and Jean Fernel with whom he declared he had been "on the best of terms," but suspicions of impiety and magic seem to have been already aroused. To many he was a man of bad reputation, thus he records of his stay in Paris, "There I happened to see the great Orontius, but he refused to visit me" (*Book of my Life*, trans. Stoner, London, 1931, ch. 29, pp. 98-99).

(31) C.R. Ch. 3, p. 10.

(32) D.I. Struik, *Mathematics in the Netherlands during the first half of the XVIIth Century*, p. 119 (Isis XXV, 1936). (The gulph that is here referred to was general and even more apparent in England than the Netherlands, which Struick particularly considers.)

(33) 1581, *Positions*, p. 242. Many there are who profess scorn of this learning, he continues (p. 243) but in defence of mathematics, one may "oppose the whole auncient Philosophie, and all wel appointed commonweales against such mock mathematicalles, without whose helpe they could not live, nor have houses to hide their heades though they thanke not their founders." Some lectures in mathematics were delivered in the late fifteen eighties by Thomas Hood, under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of London, for the better instruction of Captains of train bands, and the first professorship in mathematics was also established in London, at Gresham College, 1596, Oxford following in 1619 with the Savilian foundations in astronomy and geometry.

(34) In *Libelli Quinti*, 1547 (in possession of Royal College of Physicians). "Veni in Serviti\_ comitis W. Pembrok, 1552 fine februarii die 28." Other entries are various times of birth for casting nativities, including that of Pembroke's second wife. (According to Aubrey this Earl could neither write nor read, but had a stamp for his name. Notorious is his violent adjuration to the nuns that he drove from Wilton Abbey on Mary's death.)

(35) Ajr. The application of mathematics to military affairs was, as here by Dee, much stressed in the sixteenth century by those who wished to prove the utility and even necessity of his study. So important was it considered, that Mersenne discussing the causes of the revival of interest in mathematics, writes that while for a long time this science had been regarded at best merely as an amusement, harmless but unprofitable "on les iugées nécessaires en nostre temps à raison de la guerre, des fortifications et de plusieurs parties de la police" (quoted Lenoble, *Mersenne*, p. 353). The *Stratoticos* of Digges, Dee's "adopted son," is one exemplificatio of this theme, an extensive exercise in the possible application of the mathematical "arts" to the "science" of warfare, and in the preface remarkrs (perhaps a little over confidently in light of some of his own practical endeavours vide infra Ch. VII n 79) that now "By experience I find that it is only the grosse and ignorant and rude sort," who deem the arts and such theoretical sciences antagonistic or incompatible.

(36) The cause of tidal motions was the subject of much perplexed and fruitless debate, as it long remained (Whewell's *History of Scientific Ideas*, 1858, Vol. I, p. 165, complains that this still remains the one blot on the Newtonian theory of gravitation upon which tides could not yet be fully accounted for or predicted). The vulgar account was a vague ascription of them, on astrological grounds, to the motions of the heavens; it is difficult to imagine that Dee's "true account" could have differed in kind from this (indeed he cites the motions of seas and rivers since they are not "quicke things," as otherwise inexplicable observable celestial effects, *Preface*, biiij<sup>r</sup> vide supra ch. III n 59) though it may possibly have been more precise in the terms of its analysis (Galileo offered an explanation dispensing with heavenly influences, but he put this forward as a

complete novelty and regarded it as one of his greatest personal discoveries); astronomers had already noted the regular occurrences of neap or flood tides at times of opposition or conjunction of sun and moon.

(37) E.g., *De Docta Ignorantia*, I, 25.

(38) The full title gives an idea of supposed importance of the work: *Signorum Coelestium vera configuratio aut asterismus, stellarumve per suas imagines aut configurationes dispositio, & in eum ordinem quem illis Deus prafixerat restitutio, & significatorum expositio, sive Coelum Repurgatum & apotelesmate summo determinatum. Nam si per significaciones stellarum videbitur quid sit in totius mundi imperiis futurum.* But Postel does not treat myths indulgently in this work, but attacks them as distortions introduced by Satan of the true biblical events; Aries is "really" Abraham's ram; Gemini, Jacob and Esau, etc.; however, the macro-microcosm analogy is accepted as an additional guide to his interpretations of the significance of the constellations and suggested reformations of names and symbols.

(39) Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 91 (On Chancellor, p. 90 et seq). Elsewhere Prof. Taylor observes (p. 73) of Chancellor--"the first great English pilot," at this time in the Household of Sir Henry Sydney that it was these astronomical studies made "in John Dee's company" that fitted him for the task of 1553, the search for a North East Passage.

(40) For details see Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe*, p. 330. Brahe, *Opera*, Vol. I, ed Dreyer. Prolegomena Editionis XXIII-XXIV.

(41) Pt. 2, Proposition 3.

(42) Professor Taylor writes, *Tudor Geography*, p. 91, "Together the two men set about a series of observations on which they could base a new table of Ephemerides for 1553...." Dee himself only says "he and I made sundry observations meridian of the suns height as partly may appear by our writings in *my Ephemerides* A. 1554 et A° 1555" (C.R. Ch. VII, p. 28). This would seem to refer to written entries made probably, as is the case of Dee's diary jottings, in printed ephemerides from other hands. (Professor Taylor's further statement here that Digges "made a third observer at these meetings" and had been Dee's friend "from College days," is an ungrounded assumption suggested by the N.D.B.'s mistaken identification of Digges with a Thomas Degge who graduated at Queen's, Cambridge, in 1546, which is approximately the year of Thomas Digges' birth--see Johnson, *Astronomical Thought*, p. 157.

(43) *Vita*, p. 28.

(44) *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Lane Poole, p. 197. The entry is taken from Bale's MS and does not appear in his two printed versions of this work. A note of the source is appended "Ex officina eiusdam Thome," i.e., a Thomas Knight who also supplied information to Bale about Dr. Caius but seems otherwise unknown.

(45) C. Fell Smith, *Dee*, p. 14.

(46) C.R. ch. 5, p. 20. (Cardan had been employed to fulfil this same duty for Edward VI, and had confidently predicted a long and prosperous life though troubled in health at the ages of 23, 34 and 55). But any correspondence with Elizabeth at Woodstock might well be thought potentially treasonable. She had just been released from the Tower, where she had been under suspicion of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion, and was still in deep disgrace and under close observation and restraint.

(47) Cheke's letter to Mary expressing religious obedience of 25 July, 1556, is Landsdown MS 3 art 54.

- (48) *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, p. 137 (No. 254).
- (49) Sir Thomas Benger, who received very lenient treatment in the Fleet Prison (*Privy Council Records*, VII, July 1555). His arrest with Dee indicates the political complexion of the incident, for Dee describes him as at this time "auditor" to Elizabeth and as one of the intermediaries who had engaged his own "travailes" on her behalf (C.R.V. p. 20).
- (50) Tho. Martin to Devonshire at Calais (*Cal. State Papers*, Mary Domestic, Vol. 5, June 8, 1555).
- (51) Strype (*Annals* I, 2, pp. 53-54) reproduces a paper that fell into Burleigh's hands in 1574 containing a list of English person's in Spanish dominions who had been given pensions by the King of Spain. Under the headings "Persons gone towards Spain to sue for pensions" is the name "M. Pridieux."
- (52) C.R. Ch. 5, p. 20.
- (53) *G.R.M.* A Necessary Advertisement.
- (54) Foxe: *Acts and Monuments* 1563, 1459 b (apropos of the examination of Green). Bourne had been knighted by Mary the day after her coronation. (M.S. College of Arms, I, 7, f 74.) No favourable reports of him seem to survive. Of his surly and ungracious behaviour to Wyatt at the latter's execution see Tennison, *Elizabethan England*, Vol. I, p. 60.
- (55) *Acts P.C.*, N.S. 5, p. 139 (No. 257) all the accused were separated and variously imprisoned.
- (56) "Andrew Borde, the first Englishman to issue a printed Almanak and Prognostication (1541) recognises in his preface that prognosticating was against the laws of both God and the Realm." (Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacs*, p. 5.)
- (57) *Acts P.C.* N.S. 5, p. 143 (No. 261).
- (58) *Ibid*, p. 176 (no. 300).
- (59) C.R. ch. 5, p. 20.
- (60) No other candidate has ever been suggested though. In Strype's *Life of Parker* (Vol. I, pp. 468-470) is an account of a curate of Maidstone, John Day, who was in trouble for papistry in 1566, and was accused of mocking burning martyrs in 1557. In Strype's *Annals* (III, 1, pp. 25-28). An ecclesiastical officer, Dr. John Deye is described as in religious trouble in 1581; either of these two seems impossible however, as possible substitutes for Dee in Foxe's account. Some confusion in Foxe's work might have been caused, since the Bishop of Chichester's name was George Day, and he was present frequently at interrogations of heretics conducted by Bonner.
- (61) For an examination in some detail of Foxe's accuracy, and of the pains he took to correct mistakes etc. see Stoughton's introduction to the *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. I, p. 73 et seq.
- (62) See D.N.B. article on Green; he had written to Goodman abroad a letter in which the phrase occurred: "the queen is not dead," and this formed the grounds for the original indictment on which he had been arrested; he had been acquitted of this charge only, like Dee, to be further detailed for religious examination.
- (63) *Mathemalogi\_prime pts Andrea Alexandri Ratisbonesis Mathematici sup. novam et veterem logicam Aristotelis*, Leipzig, 1504 (in library of R.C.P.); it bears the signature "Joannes Deus 1551 Londini," and at the end is entered: "Perlegi anno 1555 inter 18m et 24m Septebris

fullhamiæ in aedibus singularis amici mei, Reverd: in Chro' patris Edm\_d Bonar Londiniensis  
escope, J.d...."

(64) *Acts and Monuments* (hereafter A.M.), 1563, p. 1253. The phrase mentioning Dee by name was omitted in 1576 ed. and thereafter (see A.M. ed Pratt, 1583, text, Vol. VII, p. 349).

(65) A.M., 1563, p. 1414 (b). (The name Dee, or M. Deyus in the Latin of 1559 was altered in 1576 to "a Doctor" and Bonner's references to him by name struck out. A.M. ed. Pratt VII, p. 641-642.) It is interesting, though the parallel was perhaps unintentional, that when this interview was "written up" Dee should have been shown as taking his stand on St. Cyprian who was popularly supposed to have been a conjuror in early life (e.g., Daneau, *A Dialogue of Witches*, discussing great men who were previously sorcerers--K IV<sup>v</sup>, "Saint Cypriane himselfe, who afterwarde became a Christian, and was Byshop of *Carthage*, before that he was converted to the fayth of Christ, it is read of him how earnestly and diligently he was addicted to that studie [i.e., sorcery] which afterwarde, through the great goodnesse of God, he forsooke and renounced").

(66) A.M., ed. Pratt, VIII, p. 659, notes that the phrase mentioning Dee was struck out after 1576--in Latin ed. 1559, p. 607, it read "Primum Custodiae Doctoris Chadsei deinde Doctoris Raye (i.e. Dayi) magni illius (sic enim appellauit) exorcistae."

(67) A.M., 1563, 1460a-1462a. Dee was certainly not on the same status with Greene as he was to claim afterwards; he cannot from this letter be described as a "fellow prisoner." Moreover, Dee's name is not mentioned as those of his other friends are in letters of Greene's of this time, printed by Miles Coverdale (in *Certain most godly fruitful and comfortable letters of such true saintes and holy martyrs....*, John Day, London, 1564), one in particular of these is significant in its silence (pp. 557-559) for in it Greene lists the names of such as are friends of his in prison with him, and of others he has met in his captivity (he asks his friends outside to work for the delivery or relief of these) but it contains no mention of Dee.

(68) A.M., 1563, 1444b (the phrase from between "Testament" and "whereunto" struck out in 1576 ed., A.M., ed. Pratt, VII, p. 681). Greene was burnt in 1556, Henry Maikyn records (*Diary*, 1550-1563, Camden Soc., Pub. 42, 1846, pp. 99-100) "The xxij day of January whent into Smythfelde to berne betweyn vij and viij in the mornyng v men and ij women, on of the men was a gentyllman of the ender tempull, ys nam Master Gren, and they wer all bernyd by ix at ij postes; and ther wher a commanment thrughe London over nyght that no yong folke shuld come ther, for ther the grettest [number] was as has byne sene at swyche a time."

(69) G.R.M., "A Necessary Advertisement by an Unknown friend" (written by Dee himself, who is not in this defence even consistent throughout in the use of the third person). The reference to the Ferrys's charge is made certain by a marginal inscription in Greek letters opposite a passage decribing the harm done him by false accusers, "shameless liars computing murder and Treason," which reads, transliterated, "As, Clerks who hung himself in the Tour, Sir John Bourn Knigt Pridiox, Maxel etc." Bourne and Pridieux have been previously mentioned. There is a brief reference to Clarke in Foxe, but it adds little to Dee's note (A.M., ed. Pratt, Vol. 8, p. 634, "under God's punishment upon persecutors and contempers of the gospel": "Clark an open enemy of the Gospel and all godly preachers in King Edwards days hanged himself in the Tower of London"). Maxwell remains otherwise unknown.

(70) The name Vincent Murphyn is set in the margin of the previous paragraphs, describing how Dee has suffered by the act of a "factor" of the Devils in "counterfeiting of other honest and learned men their letters." Though the implication is perhaps that those in Foxe are forged, those emanating from Murphyn would seem to be different and of a recent date, though Dee is afraid that by them, Foxe's charges "may (with some) seem to be undoubtedly confirmed." Dee brought a suit against Murphyn and obtained damages (vide *Infra*. ch. VII, Notes p. 378 n. 2).

(71) Pratt notes in his ed. of A.M., Vol. VII, p. 756: "It is observable that after the Latin edition of 1559, and the English of 1563, Foxe has (for whatever reason) disguised the name of Dr. Dee in every instance." (Thus even reporting the arrest of Benger and Cary, only Dee's initial remained in the text, VII, p. 77, and later the list of accused is modified to read "Benger, Cary, Dxxx and Field"; VII, p. 85. The only instance in which it remained was a mention of Dee by Greene as present with Dr. Dale and Master George Mordant at one of his interrogations where a footnote was appended, "Master Dee was yet under bond of recognisance for his good abearing and forthcoming till Christmas next after.") Dee probably procured the modifications through George Day, who was both the printer of his own books--including the G.R.M. in which Dee's complaints appeared--and the *Acts and Monuments*, as well as being a close friend of Foxe himself who had lived for some time in Day's house (see D.N.B. article on Foxe).

(72) Dee also appears as Bonner's chaplain and a Bachelor of Divinity conducting interrogations in another publication *The Examinations of the Constant Martyr of Christ, John Philpot, 1559*. The reports are substantially the same as in A.M. for mentions of Dee, see 94<sup>f</sup>, G4<sup>v</sup>, G8<sup>v</sup>-Hi<sup>v</sup> (there are minor inaccuracies of description, as in this last passage: "In this meanwhile came in the bachelor of divinity [i.e., Dee], which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Master Chancellor" in a dispute on the form of procedure at the Council of Nicea, but on the whole its account seems indisputable). The chief difference between the reports here and those on Dee in A.M. however, is that nowhere here is the word "conjurator" applied to him.

(73) G.R.M., p. 15.

(74) On Dee's degrees and Manchester appointment vide infra Ch. 10, Note 34, p. 526.

(75) A.M., ed. Pratt VII, pp. 736-737.

(76) *de Superficierum Divisconibus*, ed. Dee and Commandine Pisa, 1570. Dee, Pref. Letter f + 4<sup>r</sup>.

(77) E.g., A.M., ed. Pratt, VII, p. 660.

(78) On Bonner's unpopularity the D.N.B. states "Even Queen Elizabeth it is said, looked coldly on him, and refused him her hand to kiss, when he with the other bishops, went out to meet her at Highgate on her accession." The high feeling, and its long persistence against him in England, important for the appreciation, perhaps, of the violence with which Dee insists on the falsity of Foxe's record, is well illustrated by the outbursts Bonner's death in the Marshalsea (Sept. 5, 1569) provoked. *An Epitaph or rather a short Discourse made upon the Life and Death of Dr. Bonner sometime vnworthy Bishop of London*, issued nine days after on Sept. 14 (Broadside--printed *Harleians Miscellany I*, ed. Parks, Vol. 1, London, 1808, pp. 612-617) is interesting for its pervading nationalistic tone; Bonner is exhibited chiefly to be hated as a traitor to his native country (a charge which Dee, engaged on intensely patriotic works in the seventies, would be only too anxious to avoid). Bonner is represented (p. 613) as

"Of English blood, though English love  
Were small in all his waies  
As did appear by Roomishe Acts....  
Whiche proovde him not an Englishman,  
But sure a Roman right,  
For never faithful Englishe hart  
Was foe to native soil;  
Yet hee in native land did seeke,  
Christ's faithful flock to soil."

At the same time (1569) appeared an even more virulent pamphlet--in form a ferocious parody on the ceremony of the mass--*A Commemoration or Dirige of Bastarde Edmonde Boner alias*

*Sauage, usurped Bishop of London* (compiled by Lemeke Auale) of which the incessant personal invective may be illustrated by the following description of Bonner (f, B1<sup>v</sup>):

"Meeke in mynde as a Wolfe, and simple as a Foxe,  
As chaste as the he Goate, as slender as the Oxe,  
As liberall as the She Beare, as swete as the Brocke...  
As wholesome as a madde Dog, as cleanly as a Bore...  
Paale as the Turkie Cocke, as gentle as a Snake,  
The like is not in all helle if you seeke hym with a rake."

It is perhaps significant that Dee's denials of this connection and his complaints of slander (1576) did not appear until after the death of Bonner himself, but this is perhaps more charitably accounted for on the assumption that Dee's acquaintance with Day, the printer of *Acts and Monuments*, did not begin until Day brought out the English Euclid (1570--and thereafter Dee's G.R.M., 1576) for the second edition in 1568 of the *Aphorisms* was published by Wolfe--and that it may have been Day who first brought the offending passages to Dee's notice, which were struck out in the ensuing edition (1576) of *Acts and Monuments*.

(79) *Discourse Apologeticall*, 1594; published 1604 f. B3<sup>v</sup> (reprinted *Chetham Misc I*, see p. 79).

(80) E.g., Browne in *Religio Medici*, I, Sect. 56, which is throughout an apology justifying his Anglican conformity, nevertheless declared "Those who do confine the Church of God either to particular nations, Churches or Families, have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it."

(81) Vide infra. Ch. 9, n. 126, p. 468.

(82) Dee's interest in Clement can be established, though from various fragmentary pieces of evidence only. There are quotations from him in the later spiritual books (e.g., Sloane MS 3191 f1<sup>r</sup>) and a number of marginal notes, showing Dee's wide reading in his works as those in Stöffler's *Calendarum Romanum Magnum*, 1518 (in Wellcome Institute) acquired by Dee in Paris 1550, in which Clement's name is underlined almost every time it is mentioned.

(83) E.g., G.R.M., p. 23. Dee describes those philosophers who share his ideals with respect to England's future as the true *Brytish* and *Christian Druids*, they being also Political Philosophers, and not Sophisticate." Dee's reference to them may relate to the tradition that they held the doctrine of Pythagoras; Hippolytas in that part of his work which was extant and well known in Dee's time speaks of this (*Refutation of All Heresies*, Bk. 1, ch. 2, p. 33, trans. MacMahon. Ante Nicene Lib. Edinburgh, 1868) when he mentions among the pupils of Pythagoras who escaped the destruction of Croton "Zamolxis, who is also said to have taught the Celtic druids to cultivate the philosophy of Pythagoras." But they are not infrequently mentioned eulogistically by "Platonic" writers, interested in antiquities in Dee's day. (The Rev. Jonathan Williams, an antiquarian of the last century still spoke of them in Dee's manner: "This ambitious invader [Caesar] attests its [Britains] superiority, and affirms that the druidical institution originated in Britain and passed from thence into Gaul; so that who ever aspired to be complete adepts in this mystical science were wont to resort to Britain." "The worship of the true God was preserved inviolate by the British Druids, under every adverse circumstances of their country" etc., *History of Radnorshire*, pp. 21, 27).

(84) How close Dee's association with Acontius, who had come to England in 1559 and was under the patronage of Leicester (D.N.B. Article: Acontius) was, is a matter of conjecture. But Ramus wrote to Acontius in 1565 (he discusses Acontius' *de Methodo* of 1557, a plea for the systemisation of all existing knowledge, declaring it to be very similar, though not quite equivalent to his own doctrines)--sending letters to Dee under the same cover which he asks Acontius to deliver (Ramus, *Praefationes*, etc., pp. 203-204). Moreover, Ramus wrote to Dee that he has sent two works over to be delivered "Quobus in tota insula doctrisimis hominibus," one being

Acontius, who recommended that Dee should be the other recipient (Ibid, pp. 204-205). It was probably Acontius' scientific and mechanical work that drew them together, and the period of these letters suggests that Dee was perhaps associated with him in the great engineering feat Acontius undertook under licence, from 1562 onwards, of reclaiming some 2,000 acres of land inundated by the Thames (by 1566 he had recovered some 600 acres).

(85) Vide infra, p. 403 et seq.

(86) *Discourse Apologeticall: A2<sup>v</sup>* (cp. *Chetham Misc.*, I, pp. 71-72).

(87) For analysis of this work see Th. Freudenberger, *Augustinus Steuchus und sein literarisches Lebenswerk*, p. 347 et seq. (Munster 1935, Reformationgeschichtliche Studien und Texte Heft 64/65.) Steucho tries at once to prove the universal nature of fundamental religious truths which can be discovered in the writings of all the pre-Christian schools and constructs "generalogies" for the transmission of doctrines from Hebrew sources, which doctrines were specially preserved, he finds, by the Platonists.

(88) *Micro Cosmographie*, 1628, p. 7.

(89) E.g., Aristotle, *de Caelo*, II, 12 (292a).

(90) *Timaeus* 22a. Derivation of classic thought from the Egyptians and so ultimately the Jews became one of the commonest features of much Renaissance antiquarianism. Peucer, for instance, explains that the Egyptians conserved the teachings of the Patriarchs and hence Orpheus was able to write of the coming of Christ and his birth of a virgin became "il a hanté les prestres d'Egypte" (*Les Devins*, IV, 3, p. 179).

(91) *Lives*, Bk. 1, Prologues (Vol. I, p. 3).

(92) See Festugiere, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* I, pp. 19-44.

(93) *Hermetica*, ed. W. Scott, Vol. I, Introd. 17 et seq.

(94) E.g., passages Gabriel Harvey selected from J.T. Freigius, *Mosaicus (Marginalia)*, p. 208).

(95) *de Civitate Dei*, VIII, 23 (Vol. I, pp. 245-247). Hermes is here condemned as one who "knowing God, glorified Him not as God."

(96) Cited, with approval, by Evelyn, *Sculptura*, pp. 13-14.

(97) *de Civitate Dei*, VIII, 10 (Vol. 1, pp. 235-236), "Whence Plato might have that knowledge that brought him so near to Christian doctrine."

(98) *Strom*, I, 15; 1, 25; V, 14; VI, 2 and 3.

(99) *Opus Majus*, I, Ch. 9-16 (Bacon returns to this theme several times, and interestingly, in *The Miracles of Art and Nature*, ch. 8, he cites the pseudo-Aristotle, *Secreta Secretorum*, as authority and unimpeachable evidence for his claim, that "All Nations had their originals of Philosophy from the Hebrews").

(100) *Praeparationis Evangelicae*, II, 7 (*Opera*. Migne: Patr. Curs. Comp. Ser. Graec. 21, Paris, 1857, cols. 694-696).

(101) E.g., Kelly, *Theatre of Terrestrial Astronomy*, Ch. 1 (*Works*, p. 116 et seq), Bostocke,

*The difference between the Ancients...and later Philosophers*, F4<sup>v</sup> et seq (Vide infra Ch. 6 for this argument in relation to alchemy).

(102) Lactantius, *Divinorum Institutionum*, lib. 6, Ch. VII (Migne, *Patrologus Curs. Comp.* [Lat.] 1st Serv. Vol. VI, cols. 659-660, 1844). The passage is so important as a source of doctrines on the light of Nature that it may perhaps be quoted extenso. Lactantius' chapter is entitled "de erroribus Philosophorum, ac varietate legum." He asserts that philosophers would reach truth if they fixed their attention on "illud coelesto lumen, quod sanis mentibus multo clarior sol est, quam hic quem carne mortali videmus" and which would lead them "ad summa sapientiae." He goes on, "Susceptenda igitur Dei lex est, quae nos ad hoc iter dirigit: illa sancta, illa coelestis, quam Marcus Tullius in libro de Republica tertio pene divina voce depinxit; cujus ego ne plura dicerem, verba subjeci Est quidem lex, vera, recta ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna; quae voce ad officium, jubendo, vetando, a fraude deterrat;...Huic lege nec obrogari; fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest. Nec vero aut per Senatum, aut per populi solvi hac lege possumus. Neque est quaerendus explanator, aut interpres ejus alius. Nec erit alia lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia post hac: sed et omnes gentes, et omnes tempore una lex, et sempiterna, et immutabilis continebit; unusque erit communis quasi magister et imperator omnium Deus, ille legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator; cui non parebit ipse se fugat, ac naturam hominis aspernatus, hoc ipso luet maximas poenas etiamsi caetera supplicia quae putantur effugerit."

(103) Quoted, P.O. Kristoller, *Theory of Immortality in Marsilio Ficino* (J.H.I. Vol. 1, 1940, pp. 299-319).

(104) An English example of Dee's day is Fulke-Greville:

"Religion thus we naturally profess;  
Knowledge of God is likewise universal;  
Which divers nations diversely express,  
For Truth, Pow'r, Goodness, men do worship all.  
Duties to parents, child time men and place,  
All known by Nature, but observed by Grace."

*A Treatise of Religion*, V. 10, in *Works*, ed. Grosart, Fullers Worthies, Lib. 1870, Vol. I, p. 242.

(105) See Lenoble, *Mersenne*, 187 et seq.

(106) E.g., Hermes, *Foimandres* (lib. IX, Ch. 3, *Hermetica* I, p. 181 et seq) insists that the knowledge of the Good is always available to all though neglected by many, while declaring that the "seeds" of man's thoughts, good or evil, are implanted in him at all times by surrounding spiritual powers.

(107) Quoted, J. Owen, *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance*, London, 1908, p. 185 (Cusa "justifies" Protagoras for this same reason, *de Beryllo*, Ch. 37; *Oeuvres Chaises*, ed. Gandillac, 489-490).

(108) Thus Plotinus II, 2, b "On the Virtues," says, of the practise of these, in it "there is no sin but a correction of the Man. Nevertheless the endeavour is not to be without sin but to be a God."

(109) E.g., Sihler, *Augustus to Augustine*, pp. 88-89. "That deeper experience of the essential impotence and insolvency of the Soul, which turns to God in Christ as the hart longeth after the waterbrooks....is an experience, which as an experience....is unrecorded in Clements' extant works."

(110) *Strom*, I, 13 (*Works*, Vol. I, p. 389 et seq).

(111) II *Apologia* 13 (*Works*, p. 68). Similarly *Apologia I*, 46 (*Works*, p. 35). Christ "is the word of whom the whole human race are partakers, and those who lived according to reason, are

Christians, even though accounted Atheists. Such among the Greeks were Scorates and Heraclitus and those who resembled them...."

(112) As Proclus, *Commentary on Timaeus*, or Cicero, *De Nat. Deor* I, 14, II 23 and 28.

(113) *Confessions* I, 2--on Internality of God to Man--leading to II, 5-6--an analysis of sin exhibited as a mistaken idea of acquiring some good, so that not even Catiline himself loved his own villanies, but rather that for the sake of which he did them," and since all things are to be found in God the only motive for "sin" is "to mimic a maimed liberty" but this is a flight not only from God but from human nature ("O monstroustness of life, and depth and death: could I like what I might not, for nothing else than that I might not"), and achieves nothing positive for (III, 7) evil is "nothing but a privation of good, up to the point at which a thing ceases altogether to be."

(114) *Ennead* VI, 9, 8.

(115) E.g., E. Anagnine, *Pic de la Mirandole*, p. 112, Cusa made "la premiere brèche dans l'édifice du Moyen Age, en proclamant que toutes les religions servent la même vérité universelle."

(116) *Preface A Ij<sup>v</sup>*.

(117) *Opus Majus* VII (Vol. 2, pp. 646-647).

(118) *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, VI 5 (London, 1945, p. 305), it is "The truest and most characteristic expression of this religious indifference" etc.

(119) Marinus, *Life* (XIX) (Rosan, *Proclus*, pp. 23-24) remarks "he observed the Egyptian holy days more than the Egyptians themselves." "In general he observed the important holidays of all peoples and of every nation in the way proper to each"; "For, as this most pious man always used to say, it befits the philosopher not to observe the rites of only one city or of only a few nations, but to be the minister of the whole world in common."

(120) *de Occ. Phil.*, III, 4, Agrippa, as a cautious afterthought, adds two qualifications to the last phrase: the recompense if not eternal, will be temporal, or at least a diminution of future punishment.

(121) M.V. Anastos (*Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4, pp. 183-305. Comb. Mass. 1943) observes how in the elaborate ritual Pletho prescribed for celebrants and worshippers at religious ceremonies in the *Nomoi* "each separate postulate has pagan and Christian prototypes" (p. 258). This might be interpreted, of course, as an attempt to reintroduce paganism under Christian guise, but equally as an example of syncretism, in which this careful selection was made of rituals which thus had a double confirmation of their validity.

(122) This is one of the themes of Cusa's *de docta Ignorantia*; that the conclusions the human mind attains by reasons, approximate to religious truth as polygons to a circle: no matter how much the number of sides is increased, they never become equivalent to the circle, and hence on the one hand for final adherence to religious dogma an act of faith is necessary, though, on the other, the findings of reason may be seen continually to approach and delimit this religious position.

(123) Quoted Robb, *Neo-Platonism of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 36.

(124) Ronsard, *l'Art Poétique*, 1565 (*Oeuvres*, ed. Cohen, Paris, 1950, 998). By the latter part of the 17th century variants of such a statement are so common that in becoming platitudinous they are entirely disassociated from their former definite metaphysical context, and have but the vaguest connection with anything beyond a conventional argument for the deism of the age of reason (e.g., St. Catherine arguing against Polytheism; Dryden, *Tyrrahnic Love*, III, 2--  
"....Reason with your fond religion fights,

For many gods are many infinites;  
This to the first philosophers was known,  
Who, under various names, ador'd but One.")

(125) *The Governour*, III, 23, p. 272-273.

(126) *A dialogue between a Teacher and a Pupil*, pp. 65, 84.

(127) Thus though Herbert finds unnecessary all particular revelations in his investigation of ancient religions (*de Religione Gentilium*)--he seeks only to discover his five essential propositions and dispenses with the conception of the intellect's ascent to God as the justification of truth in the natural man, yet he still makes the basis of his philosophy (in *de Veritate*) a "Platonic" epistemological analysis distinguishing four levels of cognition, corresponding to separate faculties of the soul, the highest of which informs and controls the activities of the others. His survey of ancient beliefs is a typical Renaissance activity, but it also looks forward, in his treatment of the "common notions" he arrives at through this, to that "primitivism" so frequently recurrent in later thought, and more usually associated particularly with Rousseau (an excellent example of this in the early nineteenth century is de Bonald--quoted and discussed, Brunschvicg, *L'Épreuve Humaine*, p. 104 ff: All peoples' "ont retenu, dans leurs Transformations successives, la tradition des notions primitives qu'ils avaient reçues, et des premiers sentiments dont ils avaient été imbus," and "Sans doute, ces grandes vérités sont plus sensibles a mesure que l'on remonte au premiers jours des sociétés, ou plutôt de la société....Ainsi, et je le dis dans le sens le plus rigoureux, une peuplade d'Iroquois, qui momment le *grand esprit*, est pour la raison une autorité bien plus grave que vingt académies de beaux esprits qui en nieraient l'existence").

(128) *Preface*, \*j<sup>v</sup>.

(129) On these aspects of Dee's thought vide infra Ch. 9.

(130) See Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance*, p. 30 et seq.

(131) The Notebook is Ashmole M.S. 337. The extracts from *de Anima* etc., begin f. 51. Dee's preliminary remarks 54<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>. The volume also includes horoscope memoranda from 1564-1565 onwards, for which the book has been reversed and which partially mingle with this section; these are also notes of experiments in the transmutation of metals, and of household expenses of various dates from 1569-1591.

(132) Cp. *Preface*, ciiij on Man, "the Lesce World" who is not solely "natural" but "who also participates with Spirites and Angels."

(133) Lenoble, *Mersenne*, p. 151, quoting Mersenne's reproduction of the condemnation.

(134) *La Recherche de la Vérité*, Paris, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 31 and 22.

(135) *De Immortalitate*, Cap. VIII, p. 39.

(136) *de Anima* I, 4, 10 408B (ed. Hicks, p. 33).

(137) E.g., *Preface*, \*j<sup>f</sup>.

(138) *Epistolæ....de Secretis operibus...*1618, p. 76 (it is perhaps also worth noting here that one of the MSS Dee acquired--it came originally from St. Augustine's, Canterbury--was "Excerpts de libro Avicennæ de Anima per fratnem Rogerum Bacon" now Ashmole MS 1467).

- (139) *De Occ. Phil.*, lib. III, Cap. 36 and 43.
- (140) Quoted Crowley, *Roger Bacon, the Problem of the Soul in his Philosophical Commentaries*, p. 191.
- (141) *Opus Tertium* XXVI (ed. Brewer 95ff). Bacon has instanced the hen on whose legs grew a spur in response to its feelings of triumph at the victory won by a cock.
- (142) Cp. *Ennead* IV, 7, 8: the only basis of distinction between intellectual and sensible perception is that the former makes no use of body, "Hence if to perceive intellectually is to apprehend without body, by a much greater priority it is necessary that the nature which thus perceives should not be body" etc.
- (143) Chapman, *Caesar and Pompey*, V, ii 11 141-142. The passage continues:  
 "For to that object ever is referr'd  
 The nature of the soule, in which the acts  
 Of her high faculties are still employde."
- (144) *Preface* aii<sup>r</sup>.
- (145) Quoted Lenoble, *Mersenne*, p. 286, from *de Veritate*, Qu. II, Art 6--discussing the only defence of Mersenne and other of his contemporaries against Pomponazzi's arguments on the soul--i.e., the attempt to show that the mind was capable of operations distinct from, and independent of, the presence of "phantasies" ultimately derived from sense.
- (146) Saliba, *Avicenna*, pp. 174-175.
- (147) *Critique of Aristotle* (or Adonai), ed. Wolfson, Prop. 22, p. 302 (also note p. 686); Prop. X, p. 257.
- (148) T.I.S. (1743 ed.) I, 1, 38-40 (Vol. I, pp. 47-49) I, 5 (Vol. II, p. 862) I, 3, 34 (Vol. I, p. 144).
- (149) Sloane MS. 3188 f 56.
- (150) See Crowley, *Roger Bacon*, p. 82 et seq.
- (151) *Op. Tert.*, (ed. Brewer) p. 120-121.
- (152) *Fons Vitae*, (ed. Boeumker) II, 33-34, p. 318-319; I 19 p. 294.
- (153) T.I.S. V, 3, Vol. II, p. 808, 864.
- (154) See Rosan's analysis, *Proclus*, p. 66 et seq (p. 71, each existence is both an effect and a cause, and indissolubly linked in the chain by these relations, "the activity of the cause is the same as the potentiality of the effect, since the effect pre-exists in the activity of its cause" etc.).
- (155) See *Hermetica*, Vol. I, p. 395 fragments, exc. 3, from Stobaeus, contrasting immortal "bodies" consisting of a single type of matter and mortal bodies; also *Poimanders* Lib XI, 11, p. 215, "every living body, be it immortal or mortal, rational or irrational, is composed of matter and soul" while separated from matter the soul would seem to be mere potentiality, an unrealised actuality, preserved in quasi existence by God, since "Here is likewise *soul by itself, laid up in the matters keeping.*"
- (164) *de Civitate Dei*, Bk. XIII, Ch. 16 (Vol. 2, pp. 11-12).

- (165) Ibid, Bk. XXIII, Chs. 26-28 (Vol. 2, pp. 396-399).
- (166) *Preface*, \*j<sup>v</sup>.
- (167) See Gautier Vignal, *Pic de la Mirandole*, p. 132.
- (168) *de Immortalitate*, cap. 8, p. 30, cap. 9, p. 47.
- (169) Cudworth, T.I.S., V. 3, Vol. 11, p. 861.
- (170) *de Anima* 111, 4-5, 430a.
- (171) Cp. Pico, *Conclusiones nongentae*, p. 76 (no. 8 secundum Simplicium).
- (172) *Theaetetus* 184c-186e, *Phaedo* 72e-76d (cp. *Ennead* IV, 7, 6).
- (173) *de Anima*, 111, 1, 5; 425a (p. 111).
- (174) Thus Sextus Empiricus finds a sufficient refutation of all Plato's thought in the argument arising from the premiss that "every conception must be preceded by experience through sense, and on this account if sensibles are abolished all conceptual thought is necessarily abolished at the same time." "Thus every attempt to establish the existence of intelligibles is unsound since their existence must be shown either by an apparent thing--which cannot be done--or by a non-evident thing--which must in turn be previously confirmed by an apparent" (*Against the Logicians*, Bk. 2, 60-62. *Works*, Vol. 11, p. 267-269). A distant late echo is Shelley's *Necessity of Atheism* which again claimed to base its conclusions entirely on the proposition that "The Senses are the source of all knowledge to the mind."
- (175) *Soliliquia* I, 3, 8 (*Oeuvres* S.1. Opuscles V, p. 40), he continues "Omne autem quod scimus, recte fortasse etiam credere dicimur, at non omne quod credimus etiam scire."
- (176) *De Quantitate Animae*, VII, 12, 12. (*Oeuvres* S.1. Opusc. V, p. 250.)
- (177) Ashmole MS 337 f 54<sup>v</sup>.
- (178) *De Immortalitate*, cap. XV, pp. 118-121.
- (179) *Strom*, 11, 4-5 (Vol. 11, 8-9).
- (180) *Critique of Aristotle*, ed. Wolfson, Introd. to Bk. 1, p. 135.
- (181) *De Doct. Ign.*, III, 11.
- (182) *de Anima*, I, 3, 22-23, 407b (pp. 26-28).
- (183) Ibid I, 1, 9-11, 403a (pp. 6-8).
- (184) Ibid II, 1, 5-11, 412b-413a (pp. 50-52).
- (185) *Soliliquia* II, 13, 23-24 (p. 132).
- (186) Ibid II, 13, 24 (p. 134).
- (187) *De Immortalitate Animae* IV, 5 (*Oeuvres* Ser. 1, Opusc. 5, p. 178).

- (188) *de Anima* II, 1, 12-13, 413a (p. 53), I, 4, 12-14 408b (p. 33).
- (189) *Preface* ciiij<sup>v</sup> et passim.
- (190) *Soliliquia*, 1, III, 8 p. 40.
- (191) *Preface* f<sup>\*v</sup>.
- (192) *Ennead* V, 3, 9.
- (193) *The Intelligible World*, pp. 221, 276-277.
- (194) T.I.S., I, V, 3 Vol. 11, p. 862.
- (195) E.g., Porphyry, *Auxiliaries to the Perception of Intelligible Natures*, No. 31. (Taylor, *Select Works Porphyry*, p. 201 et seq.) Intellect is considered as being in God, soul in intellect, body in soul. Ibn Gebirol (F.V. V, 18, p. 293) "forma continet materiam, sicut unaquaeque harum continet aliam; et deus excelsus et sanctus continet voluntatem." Pico declared himself ready to defend--from such a standpoint--the two apparently contrasting propositions (No. 3, 4 *Secundum Mercurium Trismegistum, Conclusiones Nongentale*, p. 83) "Anima in corpore, mens in anima, in mete verbum, tum horum pater Deus," and "Deus circa omnia at per omnia, mens circa Animam, anima circa aerem, aer circa materiam"; the standard "positivist" objection to this procedure has always been that what is evident and partly known is explained by reference to hypothetical entities which are not known in any way directly, which cannot be certified by perception, and in many cases are in themselves totally inconceivable. This point is taken up by Crescas in his defence of the existence of a real infinity and the value and even necessity of the "concept" of it for philosophy, against Aristotle's rejection of these because "the infinite cannot be comprehended by knowledge." Crescas' position is that "it is not necessary that principles should be known in this way, all that is demanded is that being posited they can form a sufficient basis for deductions terminating in evident truth" (*Critique*, Prop. 1, Pt. 11, p. 193), knowledge of principles of being of this sort is certified not by the mind's ability to comprehend them, but by the coherency they introduce into thought, and the resultant satisfaction of the appetencies of the soul directed towards such unified logical explanation. Wolfson quotes in a note on Crescas' position (from Shemtob Ibn Shem-tob on the *Intermediate Physics: Critique*, p. 427): "When we are deprived of the knowledge of something, we have a longing for it, and no sooner do we come into possession of that knowledge than this longing disappears. Hence we do know that we have a knowledge of the principles, inasmuch as that knowledge causes our longing for it to disappear."
- (196) See Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, p. 42 ff. cp. Leonardo's dictum "Le corps de l'homme est la première oeuvre de l'âme qui a réalisé en lui son idéé de la forme humaine: le principe de la vie n'est pas distinct du principe de la pensée" quoted by Charbonnel (*La Pensée Italienne*, p. 446) who comments "à ce point de vue il rappelle Plotin et annonce Bruno."
- (197) *Laws* 895e et seq.
- (198) *de Anima* I, 3, 3-7, 405a-406 (pp. 20-22).
- (199) It occurs in the *Physics* II, 2, 194b. (Loeb ed. Wickstead and Cornford, who suggest there is a lacuna in the text after \_\_\_\_\_ and conjecturally expand to "In nature man generates man, but the process presupposes and takes place in natural material already organized by the solar heat and so forth.")
- (200) *Preface* biiij<sup>v</sup>. "For Man and the Sonne are the cause of mans generation." In the *Monas*

and *Aphorisms* (vide infra Chs. 5 and 6) the sun figures as the chief agent in natural generation for Dee. This passage was however often cited also by neo-Platonists wishing for philosophical reasons to exalt the dignity of the sun, and who were far from drawing any such conclusions from the passage as Dee's present ones, e.g., Julian, *Hymn to the Sun* (*Works*, Vol. I, p. 415).

(201) *De Immortalitate*, IX, p. 56 and 60-61. A note made by Dee in his Ptolemy (f10<sup>v</sup>) in his early years may be relevant as possibly reflecting an early phase of naturalistic scepticism. (It has no connection with the adjacent printed text except in so far as man is there considered as subject to physical astrological forces)--"Homine *ut facit Natura*--corpus, spiritus, anima."

(202) *De Moribus Eccl.*, I XXVII 52 (*Oeuvres* S. 1 Opusc. I ed Gosselin p. 212).

(203) *De Immortalitate* V and VI (pp. 24-25\_).

(204) *de Anima* I, 4, 12, 408b (p. 33).

(205) *De Caelo* 1, 10, 279b.

(206) *Ennead* IV, 7, 1.

(207) *In libros de Anima*, p. 169 (edited Ferri in *La psicologica di Pietro Pomponazzi*) cp. *De Immort.*, VIII, p. 41 "omne incorruptibile est ingenitum...sed, per concessa, anima intellectiva est incorruptibilis; ergo ingenita, ergo nunquam inceptit, quod est oppositum concessi."

(208) T.I.S., I, 5, 3, Vol. II, p. 860; I. 4, 12, Vol. 1, p. 221; 1, 1, 37, Vol. 1, pp. 45-46.

(209) *Conclusiones nongentae*, p. 80, No. 7; p. 92, No. 3, "secundum opinionem Chaldeorum theologorum."

(210) *De Immort.*, XIII, p. 86.

(211) *On the Phaedo*, quoted T. Taylor, note to *Enn.* IV, 3, 12.

(212) E.g, *De Immort.*, VI, p. 25.

(213) *de Anima*, 1, 5, 1-3, 409b, p. 36.

(214) See Robin's discussion in *La Théorie Platonicienne des Idées et des nombres d'après Aristote*, who exhibits a number of contradictions and confusions in Aristotle's criticism, having their source in his indiscriminate use of the term "La vérité est que, dans l'usage aristotélicien du mot substance il y a une amphibologie qui n'est pas seulement dans les termes, mais qui touche au fond même de la pensée" p. 102.

(215) *Fons Vitae* III, 2, p. 76.

(216) Crowley, *Roger Bacon*, pp. 95, 144-156. This view is also attributed here to Chancellor, Middleton, Pecham and others.

(217) *de Anima*, 11, 4, 2, 415a-b (pp. 63-64).

(218) The philosopher is, of course, Aristotle; *de Anima*, 1, 3, 23, 407b, p. 29 comments on the "Pythagorean fables." "This is absurd, for each body appears to have a distinctive form or shape of its own," but cp. Pomponazzi *de Imm.*, 8, p. 38; *in libro de Anima* (Ferris, p. 169).

(219) See Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, I, p. 111.

- (220) *De Immort.* Vii, p. 29, VIII passim.
- (221) Ibid, p. 1; II p. 8; VII, p. 20.
- (222) Ibid IV, p. 11.
- (223) *de Anima* 111, 4, 1-6 428a-b, p. 131-133, III, 8, 3, 432a, p. 145.
- (224) *De Imm.* IV, p. 11-13, VIII, p. 110.
- (225) Goichon, *Avicenna*, 21-22.
- (226) *de Anima* 11, 4, 6, 429b, p. 132 (cp. Hicks note, p. 485).
- (227) *De Immort.*, IVVV, p. 36-38. That existence involves activity of some kind is also stressed in the Hermetic writings *Porimander* Lib. XI (2) (*Hermetica* 1, p. 217) declares that "a man cannot exist and yet he be doing nothing" and even "God if he ceases to do his work is no longer God."
- (228) *In libro de Anima*, p. 169.
- (229) T.I.S. 1, V. 3, vol. 11, 867-868.
- (230) *Soliloquia* II, XX, 36 (*Oeuvres* S. 1 Ops. p. 162).
- (231) *Elegie à Philippes Des-Portes* (*Oeuvres* Vol. II, poèmes posthumes, 647-649) begins:  
 "Nous devons à la Mort et nous et nos ouvrages....  
 (God alone is eternal, the elementary man is dissolved)  
 C'est un extreme abus, une extreme folie  
 De croire que la Mort soit cause de la Vie  
 (a reference to the argument of the *Phaedo*?)...  
 L'une est sans mouvement, et l'autre nous remue  
 Qui la forme de l'ame en vigeur continue  
 Nous fait ouyr et voir, juger imaginer....  
 (for men)  
 L'heur vient de la vertu, la vertu d'action,  
 Le Mort, privé du faire, est sans perfection.  
 L'heur de l'ame est de Dieu contempler la lumiere,  
 ....Mais au contemplement l'heur de l'homme ne gist;  
 Il gist a l'oeuvre seul, impossible à la cendre  
 De ceux que la Mort faict soubs les ombres descendre."
- (232) *De Immort.*, IX, p. 47.
- (233) Ibid, VIII, p. 36.
- (234) Crowley, *Roger Bacon*, pp. 84, 170.
- (235) *Opus Majus*, VII, Vol. II, p. 854-855.
- (236) *De Immort.*, VII, p. 40, IX, p. 48.
- (237) *Critique*, props. 1 and 11, pp. 189-191, 217.
- (238) *Ennead*, V. 7.

- (239) Crescas, *Critique*, prop. 3, p. 271.
- (240) For a summary of the dispute in which this is a major feature see Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd*, p. 206 et seq.
- (241) Quoted Wolfson from "Happalat-ha-philosofim," in note to Crescas, *Critique*, p. 485.
- (242) Quoted Wolfson from "Happalol-ha-Happolah" 1, *Ibid*, pp. 486-487.
- (243) *de Anima*, I, 5, 22-27 411b (pp. 44-47). "Aristotles Worm" finds a curious metaphysical reincarnation in Schopenhauer's "bulldog ant of Australia" which illustrates the way the "Will" may be divided in the same way as soul is held to be here, for the "head and tail" on being severed from each other will "invariably" proceed to fight to the death. (*World as Will and Idea*, 11, 27, trans. Haldane and Kemp, 1906, Vol. 1, 192-193). Augustine records how some of his pupils became fascinated by the mechanical multiplication of individual life apparently possible by dividing up worms, and the bearing it might have on the nature of the soul. Finally, feeling in capable of explaining the phenomenon satisfactorily, Augustine, perhaps prudently, forbade them to speculate any further on the subject. (*De Quantitate Animae*, XXXi, 62-63, *Oeuvres S. 1*, Opusc. V. pp. 358-360.)
- (244) Goichon, *Avicenna*, p. 100 et seq.
- (245) *Critique*, Pt. II, prop. 16, p. 295; and Wolfson's introduction, p. 108.
- (246) *De Civitate Dei*, XIII 16, Vol. II, p. 12; cp. XXII, 26 Vol. II, p. 397.
- (247) *Fons Vitae* IV, 1, pp. 212-213.
- (248) A usual school distinction, e.g., Deacon and Walker, *Dialogicall Discourses*, 1601, p. 57: Corporal substance is in place locally; spiritual substances--and devils and angels are substantial creatures--is in place determinatively; that is in that place where it manifests its operations, since it cannot possibly be said to be anywhere else.
- (249) *In Libro de Anima*, p. 169.
- (250) *Physics*, VII, 6, 258e. Aristotle's arguments against the soul being a source of motion and the neo-Platonic answers to these were very familiar even in the middle ages, from, for example, Macrobius' lengthy exposition and refutation of Aristotle's doctrines on this point in *de Somn. Scip.*, II, 14-16.
- (251) *Critique*, Prop. VII, pp. 241-247.
- (252) *de Anima*, I, 3, 8, 406c, p. 23.
- (253) *Physics*, VIII, 7, 260c-261a.
- (254) de Boer, *Theory of Knowledge of the Cambridge Platonists*, p. 60 et seq.
- (255) Saliba, *Avicenna*, p. 74 et seq.
- (256) *Soliloquia*, I, 4, 9 (p. 44) cp. Dee, *Preface* \*V-\*jF "Probabilitie and sensible profe, may well serve, in thinges naturall: and is commendable: In mathematicall reasonings, a probable Argument, is nothyng regarded: nor yet the testimony of sense, any whit credited"--speaking of the nature of "Thynges Mathematicall" which approach "supernatural" entitles though not so "absolute and excellent," "But are things immateriall: and nevertheless by materiall thinges hable

somewhat to be signified" and by means of which man can "mount vp (with Speculative winges) in spirit, to behold in the Glass of Creation....all things....visible and invisible: mortall and immortall: Corporall and Spirituall."

(257) Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, p. 239 et seq.

(258) *de Anima*, III 4, 2-3, 429a (-. 131).

(259) *Fons Vitae*, V, 18, p. 291.

(260) *Preface*, f\*v.

(261) *Ibid*, f\*v.

(262) *Ibid*, f\*r. Many accounts of this period of the intellectual facilities enjoyed by the soul after death similarly seem to exclude most of what would usually be thought to make up the personal character of this entity. Thus Raleigh in the preface to the *History of the World*, a work in which he was anxious to exhibit his religious orthodoxy as far as possible, questions whether "the souls of the blessed" could "admit the mixture of any second or less joy, nor any return of foregone and mortal affections, kindred or children, of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can assure us, and the wisest men doubt."

(263) *Récherche de la Vérité*, Preface, Vol. I, p. 19, from *de Gen. ad. litt.*, I, 50.

(264) *Ibid*, I, Vol. I, pp. 33-36.

(265) Thus Ramus attacks Aristotle's ethics, claiming the doctrine they teach must be totally false "since in the eyes of Aristotle, souls are mortal, and the happiness of man is reduced to this perishable life." *Collectanea Praefationes*, p. 337 (see Graves, *Ramus*, p. 175). The Paracelsian Bostock, in *The Difference betwene the auncient....and the latter Phisicke*, 1585, which is not altogether dissimilar in many respects from certain aspects of Dee's thought denounces Aristotle for breaking with the tradition of true mysticall philosophy that had been preserved down to Plato. Aristotle "Was his ingrate and unkind scholer. Wherefore *Plato* used to call him a moyle, whose propertie is wh\_ he hath filled his belly with his dam's milke, then to kicke at her with his heeles." Bostock's chief reason for this abuse is that "*Aristotle* maketh no mention of the immortalitie of the soule, neither doth he attribute any felicitie to it after the death of man: Whereby *Alexander Aphrodisienses* concludeth, that he denyeth the immortalitie of the soule," he complains also that "that heathenish philosopher doth teach that *homo & Sol generāt homin\_*," but he also finds fault with Aristotle for not teaching the possibility of the mind's ascending from natural things to the higher realms of the intelligibles, and declares that as he did not look to divine causes in his natural philosophy he was led to produce a system inculcating atheism (Giiii<sup>v</sup> and 11-14).

(266) E. Gavin, *La Filosofia*, Vol. II, p. 25.

(267) Quoted Gavin, *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 35. A work which Dee certainly had in mind when writing these propositions was Vitus Amerbachius' *Quatuor libri de Anima*. Argentorati, 1547. The B.M. copy (8461.aaa.12) has no name in it, but has annotations in two hands, one of which is the same as that Dee uses in Ashmole MS 337, and indeed he may have originally intended to write his propositions on the fly leaf of this work, as the heading has been set down there "Quaestiones adam & ain." The work written by a Danish Aristotelian is a commentary on the *de Anima*, though it does not follow the order of exposition of Aristotle's work, but rearranges its material according to selected topics, and discusses most of the points Dee raises. The author himself accepts the unity of the active intellect and does not suggest that any other part of man survives death, which would permit "personal" immortality. Thus (p. 222) "Porro Themistius etiam disputat, utrum sit

unus intellectus omnium hominum & hoc magis propendet, ut sentiat unum esse. Quod sic puto concedi posse, ac sane Aristotelem etiam hoc sensisse, ut sit unum quiddam intellectus in omnibus hominibus specie, non numero. [This reservation hardly applies to discarnate souls, unindividuated by material separation.] Si enim intellectus est idem cum eo, quod intelligitur & existit, & omnes homines idem, ac eodem modo intelligunt, quaecumqz vere intelligunt, necesse est eundem esse in omnibus hominibus intellectum." Dee has written in many critical marginal notes, with cross references to many authorities. He comments on Aristotle's definition of the soul as the form of the body (p. 35), that it is inadequate as applied to human souls, though it may be accepted as describing those of brutes. Many of his observations are markedly Platonic. He observes (36-37) "A\_ã est Substiã non acc\_s....quia \_ causa notissima motus, e eius principi\_ intern\_ e activ\_....Cum dico ã\_ã \_ substantia: non intelligo substantia ut logicis capitur pro re quae substat accidentibus: sed pro eo quod dat esse rei existenti...." Another work Dee may have consulted is Cardan's work on the soul which, though rather an anthology than an original work, is markedly sceptical in tone and also covers much the same ground as Dee. Cardan followed Aristotle on the question, seeming to accept only survival of the impersonal intellect. (One of his "Familiar Sayings" he sets down, is "I know that the souls of men are immortal the manner I know not"--*Book of my Life*, Stoner, p. 265.)

(268) *Treatise against Judiciall Astrology*, p. 109. The passage goes on contemptuously: "The like follie to this I heard once uttered by a deciphring rogue who because he had been in Italy and abroad thought he might say what he list....another beast I heard once in a publike lecture....say that he could prove predestination out of Arma Virumque cano."

(268A)Some evidence of a connection between Dee and Heydon is provided by Walter Rye, who is unaware of the present passage in *Norfolk Mystics and the Influence of Dr. Dee in Creating a New Local School of Them*, p. 199 et seq (in *Historical Essays*, III, pp. 187-204).

(269) *A Defence of Judiciall Astrology*, Cambridge, 1603, Ch. XX, pp. 418-419. Heydon continues, of Dee, "But his wrong is very great, and so much the more aggravated, for that after this detractor hath thus plaied his part in the old comedie, in effect he chargeth him to be a Coniurer (from whence the whole scope of his preface is to deliver him) and besides in extreme contempt matcheth him with a diciphering rogue...."

(270) On Carleton and for these quotations from Wood and Camden see D.N.B. article.

(271) Σ\_\_\_\_\_G\_\_\_\_\_; *The Madnesse of Astrologers*, Oxford, 1624, pp. 115-119.