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Montaigne's Essays

In Three Books. With Notes and Quotations. And an Account of The Author's Life ; With a short Character of the Author and Translator, by the late Marquis of Halifax; With the Addition of A Complete Table to each Volume

Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de

London, 1743

Chap. 19. That to study Philosophy is to learn to die.

urn:nbn:de:hbz:466:1-53388

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which of the three he had in greateft Effeem, Chabrias, Iphicrates, or himfelf; You must first see us die (faid he) before that Question can be rejobued : And in Truth, he would infinitely wrong that great Man, who would weigh him without the Honour and Grandeur of his End. God Almighty has ordered all Things as it has beft pleafed him: But I have in my Time feen three of the most execrable Perfons that ever I knew in all Manner of abominable Living, and the most infamous to boot, who all died a very regular Death, and in all Circumstances composed even to Perfection. There are brave and fortunate Deaths. I have feen Death cut the Thread of the Progress of a prodigious Advancement, and in the Height and Flower of it's Encrease of a certain Person, with so glorious an End, that, in my Opinion, his ambitious and generous Defigns had nothing in them fo high and great as their Interruption; and he arrived, without compleating his Courfe, at the Place to which his Ambition pretended with greater Glory, than he could himfelf either hope or defire, and anticipated by his Fall the Name and Power to which he afpired, by perfecting his Career. In the Judgment l make of another Man's Life, I always observe how he carried himfelf at his Death; and the principal Concern I have for my own, is, that I may die handfomly, that is, patiently, and without Noife.



C H A P. XIX. That to ftudy Philosophy is to learn to die.

Gleero fays, That to fludy Philosophy is nothing but to prepare a Man's felf to die. The Reafon of which is, because Study and Contemplation do in some fort withdraw from us, and deprive us of our Souls, and employ it feparately from the Body, which is a kind of learning to die, and a Refemblance of Death, or elfe because all the Wisdom and Reasoning in the World does in the End conclude in this Point, to teach us not to fear to die. And to fay the Truth, either our Reason does gross abuse us, or it ought to have no other Aim but our Contentment only, nor to endeavour

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deavour any Thing, but in Sum to make us live well, and, as the holy Scripture fays, at our Eafe. All the Opinions of the World agree in this, That Pleafure is our End, though we make use of divers Means to attain unto it, they would otherwife be rejected at the first Motion; for who would give ear to him that fhould propole Affliction and Mifery for his End ? The Controverfies and Disputes of the Philofophical Sects upon this Point are merely verbal, Transcurramus folertiffimas nugas *, Let us fkip over these learned and fubtle Fooleries and Trifles; there is more in them of Oppolition and Obstinacy than is confistent with fo facred a Profession : But what Kind of Person sever Man takes upon him to perfonate, he over-mixes his own Part with it; and let the Philosophers all fay what they will, the main Thing at which we all aim, even in Virtue itself, is Pleasure. It pleases me to rattle in their Ears this Word, which they fo naufeate to hear ; and if it fignify some supreme Pleasure and exceffive Delight, it is more due to the Affiltance of Virtue than to any other Affistance whatever. This Delight, for being more gay, more finewy, more robuft, and more manly, is only to be more ferioufly voluptuous, and we ought to give it the Name of Pleafure, as that which 15 more benign, gentle, and natural, and not that of Vigour, from which we have derived it: The other more mean and fenfual Part of Pleafure, if it could deferve this fair Name, it ought to be upon the Account of Concurrence, and not of Privilege; I find it lefs exempt from Traverfes and Inconveniencies, than Virtue itfelf; and belides that, the Enjoyment is more momentary, fluid, and frail; it has it's Watchings, Fasts, and Labours, even to Sweat and Blood; and moreover, has particular to itfelf fo many feveral Sorts of tharp and wounding Pattions, and fo flupid a Satiety attending it, as are equal to the fevereft Penance. And we millake to think that Difficulties should lerve it for a Spur and a Seafoning to it's Sweetnefs, as in Nature, one contrary is quickened by another ; and to fay when we come to Virtue, that like Confequences and Difficulties overwhelm and render it auftere and inacceffible ; whereas, much more aptly than in Voluptuoufnefs, they

* Seneca Ețist. G 2

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enable, sharpen and heighten the perfect and divine Pleafure they procure us. He renders himself unworthy of it who will counterpoife his Expence with the Fruit, and does neither understand the Bleffing, nor how to use it. Those who preach to us, that the Quest of it is craggy, difficult, and painful, but the Fruition pleafant and grateful, what do they mean by that, but to tell us, that it is always unpleafing ? The most Perfect have been forc'd to content themfelves to afpire unto it, and to approach it only with out ever poffeffing it. But they are deceived, and do not take Notice, that of all the Pleafures we know, the very Purfuit is pleafant : The Attempt ever relifhes of the Quality of the Thing to which it is directed; for it is a good Part of, and confubstantial with the Effect. The Felicity and Beatitude that glitters in Virtue, fhines throughout all her Apartments and Avenues, even to the first Entry, and utmost Pale and Limits. Now of all the Benefits that Virtue confers upon us, the Contempt of Death is one of the greatest, as the Means that accommodates human Life with a foft and easy Tranquillity, and gives us a pure and pleasant Tafte of living, without which, all other Pleafures would be extinct; which is the Reafon why all the Rules by which we are to live centre and concur in this one Article. And although they all in like Manner with one Confenter. deavour to teach us alfo to defpife Grief, Poverty, and the other Accidents to which human Life, by it's own Nature and Conftitution, is fubjected, it is not neverthelefs with the fame Importunity, as well by Reafon the fore-named Accidents are not of fo great Neceffity, the greater Part of Mankind paffing over their whole Lives, without ever knowing what Poverty is; and fome without Sorrow a Sicknefs, as Xenophilus the Mufician, who lived a hundred and fix Years in a perfect and continual Health; as allo becaufe at the worft, Death can, whenever we pleafe, cu fhort, and put an End to all these Inconveniencies. But as to Death, it is inevitable.

> Omnes eodem cogimur; omnium Versata Urna; serius, ocyus Sors exitura, et nos in æternum Exilium impositura Cymbæ*.

> > * Hor. 1. 2. Ode 3.

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We all are to one Voyage bound; by Turn, Sooner or later, all must to the Urn : When *Charon* calls abroad, we must not flay, But to eternal Exile fail away.

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And confequently, if it frights us, 'tis a perpetual Torment, and for which there is no Confolation nor Redrefs. There is no Way by which we can poffibly avoid it; it commands all Points of the Compafs: We may continually turn our Heads this Way and that, and pry about as in a fulpected Country, quæ quaft faxum Tantalo, femper impendet *, but it, like Tantalus's Stone, hangs over us. Our Courts of Juffice often fend back condemn'd Criminals to be executed upon the Place where the Fact was committed, but carry them to all fine Houfes by the Way, and prepare for them the beft Entertainment they can,

> Dulcem elaborabunt saporem: Non avium citharæque cantus Somnum reducent §.

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——the Taftes of fuch as these Choicest Sicilian Dainties cannot please, Nor yet of Birds or Harps, the Harmonies Once charm asleep, or close their watchful Eyes.

Do you think they could relifh it? And that the fatal End of their Journey being continually before their Eyes, would not alter and deprave their Palate from tafking these Regalio's?

Audit iter numeratque dies spatioque viarum Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura ||.

He Time and Space computes, by Length of Ways, Sums up the Number of his few fad Days; And his fad Thoughts, full of his fatal Doom, Can dream of nothing but the Blow to come.

The End of our Race is Death, 'tis the neceffary Object of our Aim, which if it frights us, how is it poffible to advance a Step, without a Fit of an Ague ? The Remedy the Vulgar ufe, is not to think on't: But from what brutifh Stupidity can they derive fo grofs a Blindnefs ? They muft bridle the Afs by the Tail.

* Cicero de finib. l. 1. § Hor. l. 3. Ode 1. G 3 Glaud. Qui

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Qui capite ipfe fuo instituit vestigia retro*. He who the Order of his Steps has laid To Light, and natural Motion retrograde.

Tis noWonder, if he be often trapp'd in the Pitfall. They use to fright People with the very Mention of Death, and many crois themselves, as if it were the Name of the Devil; and becaufe the making a Man's Will, is in Reference to dying, not a Man will be perfuaded to take a Penin Hand to that Purpole, 'till the Physician has pass'd Sentence upon him, and totally given him over; and then, betwixt Grief and Terror, God knows in how fit a Condition of Underflanding he is to do it. The Romans, by Reason that this poor Syllable Death was observed to be fo harfh to the Ears of the People and the Sound fo ominous, had found out a Way to soften and spin it out by a Periphrasis, and instead of pronouncing bluntly, fuch a one is dead, to fay, Juch a one has lived, or, juch a one has ceased to live : For, provided there was any Mention of Life in the Cafe, tho' paft, it carried yet fome Sound of Confolation. And from them it is that we have borrowed our Expression of the late Monfieur fuch and fuch a one. Peradventure (as the Saying is) the Term we have lived is worth our Money. I The Author's was born betwixt eleven and twelve o'Clock

in the Forenoon, the laft of February, 1533, according to our Computation, beginning the Year the first of January, and it is now but just fifteen Days fince I was compleat nine and thirty Yearsold; I make account to live at leaft as many more. In the mean Time, to trouble a Man's felf with the Thought of a Thing fo far off, is a fenfelefs Foolery. But what, Young and Old die after the very fame Manner, and no one departs out of Life otherwife, than if he had but just before entered into it; neither is any fo old and decrepid, who has heard of Meibufalem, that does not think he has yet twenty Years of Conflicution good at leaft. Fool that thou art, who has affured unto thes the Term of Life? Thou dependent upon Phyficians Tales and Stories, but rather confult Experience, and the Fragility of human Nature: For, according to the common

* Lucret. 1. 4.

Courle

Courfe of Things, 'tis long fince that thou livedft by extraordinary Favour. Thou haft already out lived the ordinary Term of Life, and that it is fo, reckon up thy Acquaintance, how many more have died before they arrived at thy Age, than have attained unto it, and of those who have ennobled their Lives by their Renown; take but an Account, and I dare lay a Wager thou wilt find more who have died before, than after five and thirty Years of Age. It is full both of Reafon and Piety too, to take Example by the Humanity of *Jesus Christ* himfelf, who ended his Life at three and thirty Years. The greatest Man that ever was, was no more than a Man, *Alexander*, died alfo at the fame Age. How many feveral Ways has Death to furprize us?

Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis. Cautum est in horas*.

Man fain would fhun, but 'tis not in his Power T' evade the Dangers of each threat'ning Hour.

To omit Fevers and Pleurifies, who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of Britany should be pressed to Death in a Crowd, as that Duke was at the Entry of Pope Clement into Lions? Have we not feen one of + Henry II. our + Kings killed at a Tilting; and did of France, runnot one of his ‡ Anceftors die by the Juitle ning against of a Hog? Æschylus being threatned with Montgomery. the Fall of a House, was to much Purpose 1 Philip, the to circumfpect to avoid that Danger, when eldest Son of he was knock'd o'th' Head by a Tortoife-Lewis the thell falling out of an Eagle's Talons in the Gross, the 40th Fields. Another was choaked with a Grape-King of France. itone; an Emperor killed with the Scratch of a Comb, in combing his Head. Æmilius Lepidus, with a Stumble at his own Threshold; and Aufidius with a Juftle against the Door, as he entered the Council-Chamber. And betwixt the very Thighs of Women, Cornelius Gallus, the Prætor; Tigillinus, Captain of the Watch at Rome; Ludovico, Son of Guido de Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua; and (of worse Example) Speusspeus, a Platonick Philosopher, and one of our Popes. The poor Judge Bibius, whilft he

* Hor. l. 2. Ode 13.

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reprieved a Criminal for eight Days only, was himfelf condemned to Death, and his own Day of Life was expired. Whilft Caius Julius the Phyfician was anointing the Eyes of a Patient, Death closed his own; and if I may bring in an Example of my own Blood, a Brother of mine, Captain St. Martin, a young Man of three and twenty Years old, who had already given fufficient Teffimony of his Valour, playing a Match at Tennis, received a Blow of a Ball a little above his right Ear, which, though it was without any Manner or Sign of Wound, or Depretfion of the Skull, and though he took no great Notice of it, nor fo much as lat down to repose himself, he nevertheless died within five or fix Hours after of an Apoplexy, occasioned by that Blow. Which fo frequent and common Examples paffing every Day before our Eyes, how is it possible a Man should difengage himfelf from the Thought of Death ; or avoid fancying, that it has us every Moment by the Collar ? What Matter is it, you will fay, which Way it comes to pais, provided a Man does not terrify himfelf with the Expectation? For my Part, 1 am of this Mind, that if a Man could by any Means avoid it, though by creeping under a Calf's Skin, I am one that fhould not be afhamed of the Shift : All I aim at is, to pass my Time pleafantly, and without any great Reproach, and the Recreations that most contribute to it, I take hold of ; as to the rest, as little glorious and exemplary as you would defire.

prætulerim _____ delirus inersque videri, Dum mea delectant mala me, vel denique fallant, Quam sapere, & ringi *.

A Fool, or Coward, let me cenfur'd be, Whilft either Vice does pleafe or cozen me, Rather than be thought wife, and feel the Smart Of a perpetual aching anxious Heart.

But 'tis Folly to think of doing any thing that Way. They go, they come, they gallop and dance, and not a Word of Death. All this is very fine, but withal, when it comes either to themfelves, their Wives, their Children, or Friends, furprifing them at unawares, unprepared,

* Hor. Epift. 2. 1. 2.

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then what Torment, what Outcries, what Madnefs and Defpair ! Did you ever fee any thing fo fubdued, fo changed and fo confounded ? A Man must therefore make more early Trial of it; and this brutish Negligence, could it possibly lodge in the Brain of any Man of Sense, (which I think utterly impossible) fells us his Merchandize too dear. Were it an Enemy that could be avoided, I would then advise to borrow Arms even of Cowardice itfelf to that Effect : But seing it is not, and that it will catch you as well flying, and playing the Poltron, as flanding to it, like a Man of Honour :

Mors & fugacem persequitur Virum, Nec parcit imbellis juventæ Poplitibus, timidoque tergo +.

No Speed of Foot prevents Death of his Prize, He cats the Hamstrings of the Man that flies; Nor spares the tender Stripling's Back does start T' out-run the Distance of his mortal Dart.

And feeing that no Temper of Arms is of Proof to fecure us,

Ille licet ferro, cautus se condat, & ære Mors tamen inclusum protrabet inde caput ‡.

Shell thee with Steel, or Brass, advis'd by Dread, Death from the Cask will pull thy cautious Head.

let us learn bravely to ftand our Ground and fight him. And to begin to deprive him of the greateft Advantage he has over us, let us take a Way quite contrary to the common Courfe. Let us difarm him of his Novelty and Strangenefs; let us converfe and be familiar with him, and have nothing fo frequent in our Thoughts as Death : Let us, upon Occafions, reprefent him in all his moft dreadful Shapes to our Imagination : At the Stumbling of a Horfe, at the Falling of a Tile, at the leaft Prick of a Pin, let us prefently confider, and fay to ourfelves, Well, and what if it had been Death itfelf? And thereupon let us encourage and fortify ourfelves. Let us evermore, amidft our Jollity and Feafting, fet the Remembrance of our frail Condition before our Eyes, never fuffering ourfelves

+ Hor. 1. 3. Ode 2. ‡ Propert. 1. 3. Eleg. 17. alias 16.

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to be fo far transported with our Delight, but that we have fome Intervals of reflecting upon, and confidering how many feveral Ways this Jollity of ours tends to Death, and with how many Dangers it threatens us. The Egyption were wont to do after this Manner, who, in the Height of their Feaffing and Mirth, caufed a dried Skeleton of a Man to be brought into the Room, to ferve for a Moment to their Guefts.

Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum, Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur bora*.

Think every Day, foon as the Day is paft, Of thy Life's Date, that thou haft liv'd the laft; The next Day's joyful Light thine Eyes shalt see, As unexpected, will more welcome be.

Where Death waits for us, is uncertain ; let us every where look for him. The Premeditation of Death, s the Premeditation of Liberty; who has learnt to die, but forgot to ferve. There is nothing of Evil in Life, for him who rightly comprehends, that Death is no Evil ; to know how to die, delivers us from all Subjection and Conftraint. Paulas Æmilius answered him whom the miserable King of Macedon, his Prifoner, fent to entreat him that he would not lead him in his Triumph, Let him make that Request to bimfelf. In Truth, in all Things, if Natured not help a little, it is very hard for Art and Industry to perform any thing to Purpole. I am, in my own Nature, not melancholy, but thoughtful; and there is nothing I have more continually entertained my felf withal, than the Imaginations of Death, even in the gayeft and most wan ton Time of my Age;

Jucundum cum ætas florida vir agere +.

Of florid Age in the most pleasant Spring.

In the Company of Ladies, and in the Height of Mirth, fome have perhaps thought me poficified with fome Jealouly, or meditating upon the Uncertainty of fome imagined Hope, whilst I was entertaining myfelf with the Remembrance of fome one furprized a few Days before with a

* Horat. l. 1. Epift. 4. + Catullus, Num. 69. burning

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burning Fever, of which he died, returning from an Entertainment like this, with his Head full of idle Fancies of Love and Jollity, as mine was then, and that, for ought I knew, the fame Definy was attending me.

Jam fuerit, nec post unquam revocare licebit *.

But now he had a Being amongst Men, Now gone, and ne'er to be recall'd agen.

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Yet did not this Thought wrinkle my Forehead any more than any other. It is impoffible but we must feel a Sting in fuch Imaginations as these at first; but with often revolving them in a Man's Mind, and having them frequent in our Thoughts, they at last become fo familiar as to be no Trouble at all: Otherwife I, for my Part, should be in a perpetual Fright and Frenzy; for never Man was fo distrustful of his Life, never Man fo indifferent of it's Duration. Neither Health, which I have hitherto ever enjoy'd very ftrong and vigorous, and very feldom interrupted. does prolong, nor Sicknefs contract my Hopes. Methinks I escape every Minute, and it eternally runs in my Mind, that what may be done To-morrow, may be done To-day. Hazards and Dangers do, in Truth, little or nothing haften our End, and if we confider how many more remain, and hang over our Heads, befides the Accident that immediately threatens us, we shall find that the Sound and the Sick, those that are abroad at Sea, and those that fit by the Fire, those that are engaged in Battle, and those that fit idle at Home, are the one as near it as the other : Nemo altero fragilior est: Nemo in crastinum sui certior +: No Man is more frail than another: No more certain of the Morrow. For any thing I have to do before I die, the longest Leifure would appear too fhort, were it but an Hour's Bufinefs I had to do. A Friend of mine the other Day, turning over my Table-Book, found in it a Memorandum of fomething I would have done after my Deceafe; whereupon I told him, as it was really true, that though I was no more than a League's Diftance only from my own Houfe, and merry and well, yet when that Thing came into my Head, I made hafte to write it down there, because

Lucret. 1. 3.

+ Senec. Ep. 19. I was

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I was not certain to live 'till I came Home. As a Ma that am eternally brooding over my own Thoughts, a who confine them to my own particular Concerns; I a upon the Matter at all Hours as well prepared as I am en like to be, and Death, whenever he fhall come, can brin nothing along with him I did not expect long befor We fhould always (as near as we can) be booted and fpurk and ready to go, and above all Things, to take Care at the Time to have no Bufinefs with any one, but a Man's fil

Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo Multa *?

Why cut'ft thou out fuch mighty Work vain Man? Whofe Life's fhort Date's compriz'd in one poor Span For we shall there find Work enough to do, without an need of Addition; one complains more than of Death that he is thereby prevented of a glorious Victory; and ther that he must die before he has married his Daughte, or fettled and provided for his Children; a third feem only troubled that he must lofe the Society of his below. Wife ; a fourth, the Conversation of his Son, as the print cipal Concerns of his Being. For my Part, I am, thank be to God, at this Inftant, in fuch a Condition, that Ias ready to diflodge, whenever it shall please him, without any Manner of Regret. I difingage myfelf throughout from all worldly Relations, my Leave is foon taken of a but myself. Never did any one prepare to bid Adieu the World more abfolutely and purely, and to fhake Hand with all Manner of Intereft in it, than I expect to do. The deadest Death's are the best.

manent (dit il) opera interrupta, minæque Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina Cælo ‡. Stupendious Piles (fays he) neglected lye, And Tow'rs, whofe Pinnacles do pierce the Sky.

* Hor. 1. 2. Ode 16. + Lucret. 1. 3. ‡ Virg. Æneid. 1.4. A Man

A Man must defign nothing that will require fo much Time to the finishing, or at least with no fuch passionate Defire to fee it brought to Perfection. We are born to Action.

Cum moriar, medium solvar & inter opus *.

When Death shall come, he me will doubtles find Doing of something that I had design'd.

I would always have a Man to be doing, and as much as in him lyes, to extend and fpin out the Offices of Life; and then let Death take me planting Cabbages, but without any careful Thought of him, and much lefs of my Garden's not being finished. I faw one die, who at his last Gasp feem'd to be concerned at nothing so much, as that Destiny was about to cut the Thread of a Chronicle History he was then compiling, when he was gone no farther than the fifteenth or fixteenth of our Kings,

Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi earum Jam desiderium rerum, superinsidet una +.

They tell us not, that dying we've no more The fame Defires and Thoughts that heretofore.

We are to difcharge ourfelves from thefe vulgar and hurtful Humours and Concerns. To this Purpole it was, that Men first appointed the Places of Sepulture, and Dormitories of the Dead, near adjoining to the Churches, and in the most frequent Places of the City, to accustom (fays *Lycurgus*) the common People, Women, and Children, that they should not be startled at the Sight of a dead Corps; and to the End, that the continual Objects of Bones, Graves, Monuments, and Funeral Obsequies, should put us in Mind of our frail Condition.

Quinetiam exhilarare viris convivia cæde Mos olim, & miscere epulis spectacula dira Certatum serro, sæpe & super ipsa cadentum Pocula, respersis non parco sanguine mensis ‡.

'Twas therefore that the Ancients at their Feafts With tragick Objects us'd to treat their Guefts,

* Ovid. Amor. lib. 2. Eleg. 10. + Lucret. l. 3. ‡ Silius Italicus, l. 11. Making

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Making their Fencers with their utmost Spire; Skill, Force, and Fury, in their Prefence fight, 'Till Streams of Blood of those at last must fall, Dash'd o'er their Tables, Dishes, Cups, and all.

And as the Ægyptians after their Feasts were wont to prefer the Company with a great Image of Death, by one that cried out to them, Drink and be merry, for fuch shalt thous when thou art dead; fo it is my Cuftom to have Death not only in my Imagination, but continually in my Mouth; neither is there any Thing of which I am fo inquifitive, and delight to inform myfelf, as the Manner of Men's Deaths, their Words, Looks, and Geftures, nor any Places in Hiftory I am fo intent upon ; and it is manifest enough, by my crowding in Examples of this Kind, that I have a particular Fancy for that Subject. If I were a Writer of Books, I would compile a Register, with the Comment of the vari ous Deaths of Men, and it could not but be useful, for who should teach Men to die, would at the same Time teach them to live. Dicearchus made one, to which he gave that Title; but it was defigned for another, and lefs profitble End. Peradventure fome one may object, and fay, that the Pain and Terror of Dying indeed does fo infinitely exceed all Manner of Imagination, that the best Fencer will be quite out of his Play when it comes to the Pufh: But let them fay what they will, to premeditate is doubtlets a very great Advantage; and befides, is it nothing to come lo far, at leaft, without any visible Diffurbance or Alteration! But moreover, Nature herfelf does affift and encourage us. If the Death be fudden and violent, we have not Leifure to fear; if otherwife, I find, that as I engage farther in my Difeafe, I naturally enter into a certain Loathing and Difdain of Life. I find I have much more ado to digest this Refolution of Dying when I am well in Health, than when tick, languishing of a Fever; and by how much I have less to do with the Commodities of Life, by Reason I even begin to lofe the Ufe and Pleafure of them, by fo much I look upon Death with lefs Terror and Amazement ; which makes me hope, that the farther I remove from the first, and the nearer I approach to the latter, I shall sooner ftrike a Bargain, and with lefs Unwilling nefs exchange the one for the other. And, as I have experimented in other Occurrences;

Occurrences, that, as Cæfar fays, Things often appear greater to us at a Diffance than near at Hand, I have found, that being well, I have had Difeafes in much greater Horror than when really afflicted with them. The Vigour wherein I now am, and the Jollity and Delight wherein I now live, make the contrary Effate appear in fo great a Disproportion to my present Condition, that by Imagination I magnify and make those Inconveniencies twice greater than they are, and apprehend them to be much more troublefom than I find them really to be, when they lye the most heavy upon me, and I hope to find Death the fame. Let us but observe in the ordinary Changes and Declinations our Conftitutions daily fuffer; how Nature deprives us of all Sight and Senfe of our bodily Decay. What remains to an old Man of the Vigour of his Youth and better Days?

Heu fenibus witæ porti quanta manet *? Alas! To Men of youthful Heat bereft, How fmall a Portion of Life is left?

Cæsar, to an old Weather-beaten Soldier of his Guards, who came to afk him Leave that he might kill himfelf, taking Notice of his wither'd Body and decrepid Motion, pleafantly answered, Thou fanciest then that thou art yet alive. Should a Man fall into the Aches and Impotencies of Age, from a sprightly and vigorous Youth on the Sudden, I do not think Humanity capable of enduring fuch a Change : But Nature leading us by the Hand, an eafy, and as it were an infenfible Pace, Step by Step, conducts us to that miferable Condition, and by that Means makes it familiar to us. to that we perceive not, nor are fenfible of the Stroke then, when our Youth dies in us, though it be really a harder Death, than the final Diffolution of a languishing Body, which is only the Death of old Age, forafmuch as the Fall is not fo great from an uneafy Being to none at all, as it is from a fpritely and florid Being to one that is unweildy and painful. The Body, when bowed beyond it's natural Spring of Strength, has lefs Force either to rife with, or support a Burthen; and it is with the Soul the tame, and therefore it is that we are to raife her up firm

* Corn. Gall. vel potius Maximian Eleg. 1.

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and erect against the Power of this Adversary: For, as is impossible she should ever be at Rest, or at Peace with in herself, whilst she stands in Fear of it; so if she once can assure herself, she may boast (which is a Thing as were above human Condition) that it is impossible tha Disquiet, Anxiety, or Fear, or any other Disturbance, should inhabit, or have any Place in her,

> Non vultus inflantis tyranni Mente quatit folida : neque Aufter Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ, Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus *.

A Soul well fettled is not to be fhook With an incenfed Tyrant's threatning Look; Nor can loud Aufter once that Heart difmay, The ruffling Prince of flormy Adria; Nor yet th'uplifted Hand of mighty Jowe,

Though charg'd with Thunder, fuch a Temper move. She is then become Sovereign of all her Lufts and Pafiion, Miftrefs of Neceffity, Shame, Poverty, and all the other Injuries of Fortune. Let us therefore, as many of us as can, get this Advantage, which is the true and fovereign Liberty here on Earth, and that fortifies us wherewithal to defy Violence and Injuffice, and to contemn Prifons and Chains.

---- in Manicis &

Compedibus, fævo te sub custode tenebo. Ipse Deus, simul atque volam, me solvet, opinor; Hoc sentit, moriar: Mors ultima linea rerum est +.

With rugged Chains I'll load thy Hands and Feet, And to a furly Keeper thee commit.

Why let him fhow his worft of Cruelty, God will, I think, for afking, fet me free; Ay, but he thinks I'll die; that Comfort brings, For Death's the utmoft Line of human Things.

The Contempt of Death, a certain Foundation of Religion. Our very Religion itfelf has no furer human Foundation than the Contempt of Death. Not only the Argument of Reafon invites us to it; for why fhould we feat to lofe a Thing, which being loft, can

* Horat. 1. 3. Ode 3. + Ibid. 1. 1. Epift. 16.

never be miffed or lamented ; but also feeing that we are threatned by fo many Sorts of Deaths, is it not infinitely worfe eternally to fear them all, than once to undergo one of them? And what matter is it when it shall happen, fince it is once inevitable ? To him that told Socrates, The Thirty Tyrants hath fentenced thee to Death ; and Nature them, faid he, What a ridiculous Thing it is to trouble and afflict ourfelves about taking the only Step that is to deliver us from all Mifery and Trouble? As our Birth brought us the Birth of all Things, fo, in our Death, is the Death of all Things included. And therefore to lament and take on that we shall not be alive a hundred Years hence, is the fame Folly as to be forry we were not alive a hundred Years ago. Death is the Beginning of another Life. So did we weep, and fo much it coft us to enter into this, and fo did we put off our former Veil in entring into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once, and is it reafonable fo long to fear a Thing, that will fo foon be difpatch'd? Long Life and fhort are by Death made all one; for there is no long nor fhort to Things that are no more. Ariflotle tells us, that there are certain little Beafts upon the Banks of the River Hypanis, that never live above a Day: They which die at eight of the Clock in the Morning, die in their Youth, and those that die at five in the Evening, in their extremest Age: Which of us would not laugh to see this Moment of Continuance put into the Confideration of Weal or Woe? The most, and the least of ours, in Comparison of Eternity, or yet to the Duration of Mountains, Rivers, Stars, Trees, and even of fome Animals, is no less ridiculous. But Nature compels us to it, Go out of this World, fays she, as you entered into it; the same Pass you made from Death to Life, without Passion or Fear, the same, after the same Manner, repeat from Life to Death. Your Death is a Part of the Order of the Universe, 'tis a Part of the Life of the World.

Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt *.

* Lucret. 1. 2.

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Mortals among themfelves by Turns do live, And Life's bright Torch to the next Runner give*.

'Tis the Condition of your Creation; Death is a Pan of you, and whilft you endeavour to evade it, you avoid yourfelves. This very Being of yours, that you now enjoy, is equally divided betwixt Life and Death. The Day of your Birth is one Day's Advance towards the Grave.

Prima, quæ witam dedit, hora carpfit †. The Hour that gave of Life the Benefit, Did alfo a whole Hour fhorten it.

Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet ‡. As we are born, we die, and our Life's End Upon our Life's Beginning does depend: Y S a

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All the whole Time you live, you purloin from Life, and live at the Expence of Life itfelf; the perpetual Workd our whole Life is but to lay the Foundation of Death; we are in Death whilft you live, becaufe you still are also Death, when you are no more alive. Or if you hadn ther have it fo, you are dead after Life, but dying all the while you live; and Death handles the Dying more rudel than the Dead. If you have made your Profit of Life, you have had enough of it, go your Way fatisfied.

Cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis ||.

Why fhould'st thou not go, like a full gorg'd Guel, Sated with Life, as he is with a Feast?

If you have not known how to make the beft Ufe of it and if it was unprofitable to you, what need you care a lofe it; to what End would you defire longer to keep it!

----- cur amplius addere quæris (omne) Rurfum quod pereat male & ingratum occidat §?

And why renew thy Time, to what Intent, Live o'er again a Life that was ill spent?

Life in itfelf is neither good nor evil, it is the Scened good or evil, as you make it; and if you have lived

* Alluding to the Athenian Games, wherein those that a Race carried Torches in their Hands; and the Race being dolly delivered them into the Hands of those that were to run next. † Senec. Her. fur. chor. 3. ‡ Manil. Aft. 4. Lucret. I. 3. § Ibid. Day

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Day you have feen all; one Day is equal and like to all other Days; there is no other Light, no other Shade, this very Sun, this Moon, thefe very Stars, this very Order, and Revolution of Things is the fame your Anceftors enjoyed, and that fhall also entertain your Posterity.

Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes Afpicient *.

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Your Grandfires faw no other Things of old, Nor fhall your Nephews other Things behold.

And come the worft that can come, the Diffribution and Variety of all the Acts of my Comedy is performed in a Year. If you have observed the Revolution of the four Seasons, they comprehend the Infancy, Youth, Virility, and old Age of the World. The Year has play'd his Part, and knows no other Way, has no new Farce but must begin, and repeat the fame again ; it will always be the fame Thing.

Verfamur ibidem, atque infumus usque +. Where ftill we plot, and ftill contrive in vain; For in the fame State ftill we do remain.

Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur Annus ‡. By it's own Foot-steps led, the Year doth bring Both Ends together in an annual Ring.

Time is not refolved to create you any new Recreations.

Nam tibi præterea quod machiner, inveniamque Quod placet nihil eft; eadem sunt omnia semper ||.

More Pleafures than are made Time will not frame, For to all Times all Things shall be the fame.

Give Place to others, as others have given Place to you. Equality is the Soul of Equity. Who can complain of being comprehended in the fame Defliny wherein all Things are involved? Befides, live as long as you can, you fhall by that nothing fhorten the Space you are to lye dead in the Grave; 'tis all to no Purpofe; you fhall be every Whit as long in the Condition you fo much fear, as if you had died at Nurfe.

Mors æterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit §.

* Lucret. vel Manil. + Lucret. 1. 3. + Virg. Georg. 1.2. H Lucret. 1. 3. § Ibid. H 2 And

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And live as many Ages as you will, . Death ne'ertheless shall be eternal still.

And yet I will place you in fuch a Condition as you have no Reafon to be difpleafed ;

In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum. Stansque jacentem *.

When dead, a living Self thou canft not have, Or to lament, or trample on thy Grave.

Nor fhall you fo much as wifh for the Life you are for cerned about.

Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit, Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum †.

Life, nor ourfelves we wish in that Estate, Nor Thoughts of what we were at first create.

Death were less to be feared than Nothing, if the could be any Thing less than Nothing.

- multo mortem minus ad nos effe putandum, Si minus effe potest quam quod nibil effe videmus .

If lefs-than Nothing any Thing can flow, Death then would both appear, and would be fo. Neither can it any Way concern you, whether you are ing or dead : Living, by Reafon that you are ftill in Ber Dead becaufe you are no more. Moreover, no one before his Hour; and the Time you leave behind we more yours, than that was lapfed and gone before you?

into the World; nor does it any more concern you. Respice enim quam nil ad nos anteacta vetustas Temporis æterni fuerit ||.

Look back, and tho' Times past eternal were, In those before us, yet we had no Share.

Wherever your Life ends, it is all there; neither the Utility of Living confift in the Length of Days in the well hufbanding and improving of Time, and as one may have been, who has longer continued in World, than the ordinary Age of Man; that has

* Lucret. 1. 3. + Ibidem. 1. Ibidem. || Ibidem

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lived but a little while. Make Ufe of Time while it is prefent with you. It depends upon your Will, and not upon the Number of Days, to have a fufficient Length of Life. Is it poffible you can ever imagine to arrive at the Place towards which you are continually going ? and yet there is no Journey but hath it's End. But if Company will make it more pleafant, or more eafy to you, does not all the World go the felf fame Way ?

omnia te vita perfuncta sequentur*.

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When thou art dead, let this thy Comfort be, That all the World, by turn, must follow thee.

Does not all the World dance the fame Brawl that you do? Is there any Thing that does not grow old as well as you? A thousand Men, a thousand Animals, and a thousand other Creatures die at the fame Moment that you expire.

Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora secuta est, Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris Ploratus, mortis comites, & funeris atri †.

No Night fucceeds the Day, nor Morning's Light Rifes, to chafe the fullen Shades of Night; Wherein there is not heard the difmal Groans Of dying Men mix'd with the woful Moans Of living Friends, as alfo with the Cries And Dirges fitting Fun'ral Obfequies.

To what End fhould you endeavour to avoid, unlefs there were a Poffibility to evade it ? You have feen Examples enough of those who have received fo great a Benefit by Dying, as thereby to be manifeftly delivered from infallible Mileries; but have you talked with any of those who feared a Difadvantage by it? It must therefore needs be very foolifh to condemn a Thing you neither experimented in your own Perfon, nor by that of any other. Why (fays *Nature*) doft thou complain of me and Deftiny? Do we do thee any Wrong? Is it for thee to govern us, or for us to difpose of thee? Though peradventure thy Age may not be accomplished, yet thy Life is. A Man of low Stature is as much a Man as a Giant; neither Men nor their Lives are measured by the Ell. *Chiron* refused to be immortal, when he was acquainted with the Conditions

* Lucret. 1. 3. + Ibid. 1. 2. H 3 under

under which he was to enjoy it, by the God of Time !! felf, and it's Duration, his Father Saturn. Do but feriouth confider how much more infupportable an immortal and painful Life would be to Man than what I have already defigned him. If you had not Death to eafe you of you Pains and Cares, you would eternally curfe me for having deprived you of the Benefit of Dying. I have, 'tis true, mixt a little Bitternefs to it, to the End, that feeing d what Conveniency and Use it is, you might not w greedily and indifcreetly feek and embrace it: And it you might be so established in this Moderation, as neithe to naufeate Life, nor have any Antipathy for dying, which have decreed you shall once do, I have tempered theor and the other betwixt Pleafure and Pain; and 'twas Ith first taught Thales, the most eminent of all your Saga that to live and to die were indifferent ; which made in very wifely answer him who asked him, Why then didk not die ? Because (fays he) it is indifferent. The Element of Water, Earth, Fire, and Air, and the other Parts this Creation of thine, are no more the Inftruments thy Life than they are of thy Death. Why doft the fear thy last Day, it contributes no more to thy Diffolut than every one of the reft? The last Step is not the Cast of Lassitude, it does but confess it. Every Day trave towards Death, the last only arrives at it. These are to good Leffons our Mother Nature teaches. I have offe confidered with myfelf whence it fhould proceed, that War, the Image of Death, whether we look upon it as a our own particular Danger, or that of another, fhoul without Comparison appear less dreadful than at Home," our own Houses, (for if it were not fo, it would be Army of whining Milk-fops) and that being fiill in a Places the fame, there should be notwithstanding mud more Affurance in Peafants and the meaner Sort of People than others of better Quality and Education; and Id verily believe, that it is those terrible Ceremonies and Pr parations wherewith we fet it out, that more terrify than the Thing itself; a new quite contrary Way Living, the Cries of Mothers, Wives, and Children, the Vifits of aftonished and afflicted Friends, the Attendanced pale and blubbered Servants, a dark Room fet round with burning Tapers, our Beds environed with Phyficians and Divinesi

Of the Force of Imagination.

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Divines; in fine, nothing but Ghoftlinefs and Horror round about us, render it fo formidable, that a Man almost fancies himfelf dead and buried already. Children are afraid even of those they love best, and are best acquainted with, when disguised in a Vizor, and so are we; the Vizor must be removed as well from Things as Persons; which being taken away, we shall find nothing underneath but the very same Death that a mean Servant, or a poor Chamber-maid died a Day or two ago, without any manner of Apprehension or Concern. Happy therefore is the Death that deprives us of the Leisure to prepare Things requisite for this unnecessary Pomp, a Pomp that only renders that more terrible, which ought not to be feared, and that no Man upon Earth can possibly avoid.

CHAP. XX. Of the Force of Imagination.

Ortis Imaginatio generat casum, A strong Ima-Axiom. gination begets Accident, fay the School-Scholaft. men. I am one of those who are most sensible of the Power of Imagination: Every one is juftled, but fome are overthrown by it. It has a very great Impression upon me; and I make it my Bufinefs to avoid wanting Force to refift it. I could live by the fole Help of healthful and jolly Company. The very Sight of another's Pain does materially work upon me, and I naturally usurp the Sense of a third Person to share with him in his Torment. A perpetual Cough in another tickles my Lungs and Throat. I more unwillingly vifit the Sick I love, and am by Duty interested to look after, than those I care not for, and from whom I have no Expectation. I take Poffeffion of the Difease I am concerned at, and lay it too much to Heart, and do not at all wonder that Fancy should distribute Fevers, and fometimes kill fuch as allow too much Scope, and are too willing to entertain it. Simon Thomas was a great Phyfician of his Time : I remember, that hap-H4 pening