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1 It hath been long since well observed, That every Art & Science hath some certain Principles upon which the whole Frame and Body of it must depend; and he that will fully acquaint himself with the Mysteries thereof, must come furnisht with some *Praecognita* or προλήψεις, that I may speak  
 5 in the language of the *Stoicks*. Were I indeed to define *Divinity*, I should rather call it a *Divine life*, then a *Divine science*; it being something rather to be understood by a *Spiritual sensation*, then by any *Verbal description*, as all things of Sense & Life are best known by Sentient and Vital faculties; γνῶσις ἐκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητος γίνεται, as the Greek Philosopher

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4 *Praecognita*] “things learnt beforehand”

4 προλήψεις] “preconceptions”

9 γνῶσις ἐκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητος γίνεται] “knowledge of everything comes by likeness”; *Enneads*, I.8.1

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1 1] This marks the start of Worthington's *First Discourse*.

5 *Stoicks*] cf. *De natura deorum*, where Cicero says that “such an innate idea Epicurus calls prolepsis, that is to say, a certain form of knowledge which is inborn in the mind, and without which there can be no rational thought or argument” Cicero, *The Nature of the Gods*, I.43. Smith's suggestion of the Stoa as a source is a careful direction of the reader's response. Samuel Parker, it should be noted, regarded “argument by Induction through a series of propositions depending upon and orderly deduced from your first Proleptick Principles” as the particular “method that Plato pretends to” Parker, *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie*, p.35. Although Smith saw such prolepses as “either the First Principles of Science, or the Ultimate complement and perfection of it” John Smith, *Select Discourses* p.97, he tied himself to no such strict method. His prose is directed by rhetorical, rather than dialectical considerations. For the scope of the tradition on which Smith draws, cf. Leibniz, *New Essays*, pp.42-3. On the Epicurean origin of prolepsis, see Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms*, p.164.

5–6 I should rather call it a *Divine life*, then a *Divine science*] Smith's dictum is echoed by Jeremy Taylor: “Theologie is rather a Divine life than a Divine knowledge” J. Taylor, *Works*, VI, p.379. It is taken up and expounded by Henry Scougal in his popular work, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man; or the Nature and Excellency of the Christian Religion*, Scougal, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man; or the Nature and Excellency of the Christian Religion* pp.41-2. The work is as derivative as its title suggests, and draws principally on Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647* and the *Select Discourses*.

9 Greek Philosopher] Plotinus

hath well observed, Every thing is best known by that which bears a just resemblance and analogie with it: and therefore the Scripture is wont to set forth a *Good life* as the *Prolepsis* and Fundamental principle of *Divine Science*; *Wisdom hath built her an house, and hewen out her seven pillars*: But *the fear of the Lord is* רֵאשִׁית הַחֵכְמָה *the beginning of wisdom*, the Foundation of the whole fabrick.

We shall, therefore, as a *Prolegomenon* or Preface to what we shall afterward discourse upon the Heads of Divinity, speak something of this *True Method of Knowing*, which is not so much by *Notions* as *Actions*; as Religion it self consists not so much in *Words* as *Things*. They are

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4–5 *Wisdom hath built her an house, and hewen out her seven pillars*] Proverbs, 9,1: “Wisdom hath builded her house: she hath hewen out her seven pillars.”

5 רֵאשִׁית הַחֵכְמָה] “fear of god wisdom”

5 *the beginning of wisdom*] Proverbs, 9,10: “The feare of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy is vnderstanding”.

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1–2 Every thing is best known by that which bears a just resemblance and analogie with it] The principle that “All knowing comes by likeness” is a common one, having, for other Platonists, the sanction of the Hermetic tradition, as well as of St Thomas Aquinas and the Fathers. Hermes’ maxim that “the like is intelligible by the like” (Westcott, “The Divine Pyramider of Hermes Trismegistus”, p.79) is quoted by Traherne (Traherne, *Christian Ethicks*, p.226). And Gregory of Nyssa speaks of “the irresistible bias of like to like” in his *De anima et resurrectione* Migne, *De anima et resurrectione*. Jeremy Taylor also quotes Plotinus’ remark, which he translates: “everything is best known by its similitudes and analogies” J. Taylor, *Works*, VI, p.395. Henry More stressed that the common, innate ideas are necessarily implied in this principle: “If like be known by like, then must the mind/ Innate Idolums in itself contain,/To judge the forms she doth imprinted find/ Upon occasions” More, *Philosophical Poems: 1647*, p.237.

5 *the fear of the Lord is* רֵאשִׁית הַחֵכְמָה *the beginning of wisdom*] Smith’s auditors would doubtless have recalled also Psalm 111, 10; Proverbs 1,7; Ecclesiasticus 1, 14; and Job 28, 28. Smith’s choice of such a resonant verse illustrates his receptivity to Wisdom literature in all its diverse forms. Such a fear is to be sharply distinguished from the superstitious, as it was by Cudworth: “this Religious Fear, is not a Fear of God, as a meer Arbitrary Omnipotent Being, much less as Hurtful and Mischievous ...but an awful regard of him, as of one who is Essentially Just” (Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.660).

10 Religion it self consists not so much in *Words* as *Things*] These antitheses are more elaborately developed in Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, pp.39-40. The classical opposition of words to things, and its significance in the seventeenth century, is surveyed in Howell, “Res et verba: Words and Things”. See also Introduction, Chapter 3.

not alwaies the best skill'd in Divinity, that are the most studied in those *Pandects* which it is sometimes digested into, or that have erected the greatest Monopolies of Art and Science. He that is most *Practical* in Divine things, hath the purest and sincerest Knowledge of them, and not he that is most *Dogmatical*. Divinity indeed is a true Efflux from the Eternal light, which, like the Sun-beams, does not only enlighten, but heat and enliven; and therefore our Saviour hath in his *Beatitudes* connext Purity of heart with the Beatifical Vision. And as the Eye cannot behold the Sun,

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7–8 our Saviour hath in his *Beatitudes* connext Purity of heart with the Beatifical Vision] Matthew 5, 8 :“Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.”

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2 *Pandects*] Blount explains: “*Pandects* (Gr.) Books that handle all subjects, or all the parts of the Subject whereof they treat” Blount, *Glossographia*.

3–5 He that is most *Practical* in Divine things, hath the purest and sincerest Knowledge of them, and not he that is most *Dogmatical*] A constant assertion by all the Cambridge Platonists, this view was epitomised by Whichcote in the maxim that “He knows most, who Does best” in Whichcote, *Moral and religious aphorisms*, p.103.

6–7 which, like the Sun-beams, does not only enlighten, but heat and enliven] cf. Whichcote, *Select notions*, p.45: “Outward heat (say Philosophers) calls forth Mens inward heat, and that we call fire, is light in its Element above. They say, so doth Divine influence *evocare calorem internus*, call out the heat in us”; and Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.33. The main outline of the analogy, fundamental to the work of Plotinus, and a central impulse in his expression, was given characteristic treatment by More in “Antipsycho-pannychia” (More, *Philosophical Poems: 1647*, p.243). Smith’s use of solar imagery is discussed in introduction, but the experience it suggests was an enduring theme of the movement, surfacing even in John Norris’ assertion that “there is a Beatifick Temper as well as a Beatifick Vision” in J. Norris, *An essay towards the theory of the ideal or intelligible world. Design’d for two parts: The first considering it absolutely in it self, and the second in relation to human understanding ...* p.309.

7 *Beatitudes*] The eight blessings in the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5.

8–3 And as the eye ... *Godlike*] cf. Whichcote’s treatment of Plotinus’ analogy: “Now, as nothing can perceive the sun, though never so full, though it enlightens all things by its beams, but the eye that is sun-like; (*the eye of man is of a complexion suitable to the sun*, and of all a man’s powers and faculties nothing perceives the sun but the eye, which is sun-like;) so nothing perceives God, *though he be visible and remarkable*, but a deiformed soul, a soul reconciled to God, a soul settled in purity and holiness. Nothing but a sun-like eye perceives the sun; nothing but a God-like soul perceives God.” Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.314; and Thomas Jackson’s *A Treatise concerning the Original of Unbelief etc.* Jackson, *Works*, p.1032. For Jeremy Taylor’s citation of Plotinus’ maxim that “the eye that is not made solar cannot see the Sun; the eye must be fitted to the splendor” see J. Taylor, *Works* pp.387-8. Like Taylor, Benjamin Whichcote also developed the

ἡλιοειδῆς μὴ γινόμενος unless it be *Sun-like*, and hath the form and resemblance of the Sun drawn in it; so neither can the Soul of man behold God, θεοειδῆς μὴ γινομένη, unless it be *Godlike*, hath God formed in it, and be made partaker of the Divine Nature. And the Apostle *S.Paul*, when he  
 5 would lay open the right way of attaining to Divine Truth, he saith that *Knowledge puffeth up*, but it is *Love that edifieth*. The knowledge of Divinity that appears in *Systems* and *Models* is but a poor wan light, but the powerful energy of Divine knowledge displaies it self in purified Souls:

9 ἡλιοειδῆς μὴ γινόμενος] “without becoming sunlike”; Plotinus, *Enneads*, I.6.9.

11 θεοειδῆς μὴ γινομένη] “without becoming godlike”; adapted from *Enneads* I.6.9.

12 partaker of the Divine Nature] 2 Peter, 1.4: “Whereby are giuen vnto vs exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might bee partakers of the diuine nature, hauing escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.”

14 *Knowledge puffeth up*, but it is *Love that edifieth*] I Corinthians, 8,1: “Now as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.”

idea that “the eye of the Soul to Christ, is as the bodily eye to the Sun”, with reference to the divine glory. In this context, his sermon on Philippians 3,7, (Whichcote, *Select notions* p.45), the analogy is suggestive of the opinion that “the soule may be tired, as well as the body, and the understanding dazeled, as well as the eye” (John Donne, “Sermon VII” in Donne, *Eighty sermons*, p.63). Cudworth, too, introduces the analogy in a similar context: “Gods everlasting decree, is too dazeling and bright an object for us at first to set our eye upon” Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.9. Although this aspect of the analogy is supported by both Hebraic and Platonic traditions (cf. *Republic* 515c-516), Smith prefers to emphasise its positive facets.

14 *Knowledge puffeth up*, but it is *Love that edifieth*] In translating ἀγάπη as “love” rather than “charity” as the 1611 Bible does, Smith may possibly have followed the Genevan version. He does not seem elsewhere to show a marked preference for it, and would probably have drawn on a more general theological position for support. As Patrides observed, “the Cambridge Platonists would not have endorsed any attempt to distinguish between agape and eros” Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists* p.37. Within the Platonic framework of their thought, it is inconceivable that love, “which issuing forth from God centres it self within us, and is the Protoplastick virtue of our Beings” (John Smith, *Select Discourses*, p. 157), should not be a unity. They were generally susceptible to the interpretations by Origen (prologue to *Commentary on the Canticles*) and Pseudo-Dionysius (*Divine Names*, IV, 12) of St Ignatius’ statement that “my love is crucified” (Epistle to the Romans, 6). Plotinus speaks of an Eros “which is an eye filled with vision, a seeing that bears its image with it”, and derives the name from “the fact that its essential being is due to this ὄρασις, this seeing” (*Enneads*, 3.5.3). cf. J. Taylor, *Works* IV, p. 390 and Whichcote’s almost peremptory assertion of the the love-principle: “Universal Charity is a thing Final in Religion” Whichcote, *Moral and religious aphorisms*, no 679.

here we shall finde the true πεδίον ἀληθείας, as the ancient Philosophy speaks, *the land of Truth*.

To seek our Divinity meerly in Books and Writings, is *to seek the living among the dead*: we doe but in vain seek God many times in these, where his Truth too often is not so much *enshrin'd*, as *entomb'd*: no; <sup>5</sup> *intra te quaere Deum*, seek for God within thine own soul; he is best discern'd νοερᾶ ἐπαφῇ, as Plotinus phraseth it, by *an Intellectual touch* of him: we must *see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and our hands*

1 πεδίον ἀληθείας] “the plain of truth”; *Enneads* I.3.4, VI.7.3.

3–4 *to seek the living among the dead*] cf. Luke 24, 5: “And as they were afraid, and bowed downe their faces to the earth, they said vnto them, Why seek ye the liuing among the dead?”

6 *intra te quaere Deum*] “look for God within yourself”

7 νοερᾶ ἐπαφῇ] “by intellectual touch”; cf. *Enneads* I.2.6.

2 *the land of Truth*] Other references to the “land of truth” occur principally at *Enneads* 1.3.4 and 6.7.13. Pace Williams 1859, *Axiochus* 371b is irrelevant. In *Phaedrus* 248b, Plato described the place as the feeding ground of “the highest part of the soul”, and Plotinus’ references emphasise the stability of a soul centred in God, a “stationary wandering, a wandering within the Meadow of Truth from which it does not stray”; cf. Proclus, *Platonic Theology*, IV,15. For a similar idea see Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.28, and Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.24. For More’s identification of the “land of truth” with “the divine Understanding Exhibitivè, which is the Intellectual World” in More, *Annotations Upon the Two Foregoing Treatises, Lux Orientalis ... and the Discourse of Truth*, p. 264), see Lichtenstein, *Henry More: the rational theology of a Cambridge Platonist*, p.64.

3–4 *to seek the living among the dead*] Micheletti compares Bacon: “And as to seeke Divinitie in Philosophy, is to seeke the living among the dead; So to seeke Philosophy in Divinitie is to seek the dead amongst the living” (Bacon1605, p.114), Mario Micheletti, *Il pensiero religioso di John Smith*, p.224, n36.

7 *an Intellectual touch*] Perhaps an echo of Ficino’s paraphrase of Plotinus I.8.6.: “An sapientia quidem inspectio est eorum quae possidet intellectus; intellectus autem tactu quodam habet?” Ficinus, Creuzer, and Moser, *Plotini Enneades cum Marsilii Ficini interpretatione castigata*, p.11). Brehier, *The Philosophy of Plotinus* points out that touch is the sense which is, for antiquity, “both the most immediate and the most obscure” (p.157). Mackenna translates the phrase as “an immediate presence” Plotinus, *Enneads*, p.35. For Plotinus the experience is to be found by the search within: “All that one sees as a spectacle is still external; one must bring the vision within and see no longer in that mode of separation but as we know ourselves; thus a man filled with a god ... need no longer look outside for his vision of the divine being; it is but finding the strength to see the divinity within” (*Enneads*, 6.8.10). cf. George Rust’s “inward touch” Rust, *A Letter of*

*must handle the word of life*, that I may express it in S. *John's* words. Ἔστι  
 καὶ ψυχῆς αἰσθησίς τις, The Soul it self hath its sense, as well as the Body:  
 and therefore David, when he would teach us how to know what the Di-  
 vine Goodness is, calls not for *Speculation* but *Sensation, Tast and see*  
 5 *how good the Lord is*. That is not the best and truest knowledge of God  
 which is wrought out by the labour and sweat of the Brain, but that which  
 is kindled within us by an heavenly warmth in our Hearts. As in the natural  
 Body it is the Heart that sends up good Blood and warm Spirits into the  
 Head, whereby it is best enabled to its several functions; so that which  
 10 enables us to know and understand aright in the things of God, must be  
 a living principle of Holiness within us. When *the Tree of Knowledge* is not  
 planted by *the Tree of Life*, and sucks not up sap from thence, it may be  
 as well fruitfull with *evil* as with *good*, and bring forth *bitter* fruit as well  
 as *sweet*. If we would indeed have our Knowledge thrive and flourish,  
 15 we must water the tender plants of it with Holiness. When *Zoroaster's*

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1 S. *John's* words] I John, 1,1: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life."

1-2 Ἔστι καὶ ψυχῆς αἰσθησίς τις] "There is also some sensation in the soul".

3 David] Psalms 34,8: "O taste and see that the LORD is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him."

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*Resolution Concerning Origen*, p.40. and Whichcote: "God gave a man mind and understanding, to make enquiry after God, if possibly he might feel him; feel him, that is, by a spiritual touch, when the mind is clear and free and undisturbed." Whichcote, *Works*, III, p.186.

15-1 When *Zoroaster's* Scholars asked what they should doe to get winged Souls] The story is told in Pico della Mirandola's *de dignitate hominis*: His Chaldean interpreters write that it was a saying of Zoroaster that the soul is winged and that, when the wings drop off, she falls headlong into the body; and then, after her wings have grown again sufficiently, she flies back to heaven. When his followers asked him in what manner they could obtain souls with well-feathered wings, he replied: "Refresh ye your wings in the waters of life." Again when they asked where they should seek these waters, he answered them thus by a parable(as was the custom of the man): "God's paradise is laved and watered by four rivers, from whose same source ye may draw the waters of your salvation. The name of that in the north is Pischon, which meaneth the right. The name of that in the west is Dichon, which signifieth expiation. The name of that in the east is Chiddikel, which expresseth light, and of that in the south, Perath, which we may interpret as piety." (trans. E.L. Forbes, in Ernst Cassirer, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, p 236.) On Zoroaster more generally, see Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.285ff.

Scholars asked what they should do to get winged Souls, such as might soar aloft in the bright beams of Divine Truth, he bids them bathe themselves in *the waters of Life*: they asking what they were; he tells them, *the four Cardinal Vertues*, which are *the four Rivers of Paradise*. It is but a  
 5 thin, airy knowledge that is got by meer Speculation, which is usher'd in by Syllogisms and Demonstrations; but that which springs forth from true Goodness, is *θειότερόν τι πάσης αποδείξεως*, as *Origen* speaks, it brings such a Divine light into the Soul, as is more clear and convincing than any Demonstration. The reason why, notwithstanding all our acute reasons  
 10 and subtile disputes, Truth prevails no more in the world, is, we so often disjoyn *Truth* and true *Goodness*, which in themselves can never be disunited; they grow both from the same Root, and live in one another. We may, like those in *Plato's* deep pit with their faces bended downwards, converse with *Sounds* and *Shadows*; but not with the *Life* and *Substance*  
 15 of Truth, while our Souls remain defiled with any vice or lusts. These are the black Lethe-lake which drench the Soules of men: he that wants true Vertue, in heaven's Logick *is blind, and cannot see afar off*. Those filthy

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22 *θειότερόν τι πάσης αποδείξεως*] "more sacred than any evidence"

32 *is blind, and cannot see afar off*] 2 Peter 1,9:"But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins."

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22 *θειότερόν τι πάσης αποδείξεως*, as *Origen* speaks,] Although the source of the quotation (if it be such) remains elusive, Jeremy Taylor followed Smith in attributing it to Origen: "But your great care is to be in the things of God and of Religion, in Holiness and true Wisdom, remembering the saying of Origen, that the knowledge that arises from Goodness is *θειότερόν τι πάσης αποδείξεως*, something that is more certain and divine than all demonstration, that all other learnings of the world" J. Taylor, *Works* p.405.  
 28 like those in *Plato's* deep pit] Plato introduces the famous metaphor of the cave in *Republic*, 514-16.

31 the black Lethe-lake which drench the Soules of men] In Plutarch, *de sera numinis vindicta*, 22, Aridaeus, a spirit guide, having conducted Thespesius to a place resembling the caves of Bacchus, explains to him about "the place of Lethe, that is to say Oblivion ... instructing him ... that reason and the intelligible part of the mind is dissolved and as it were, melted and moistened by this pleasure; but the unreasonable part which savoureth of the body, being watered and incarnate therewith, reviveth the memory of the body; and upon this remembrance, there groweth and ariseth a lust and concupiscence, which haleth and draweth unto generation (for so he called it), to wit, a consent of the soul thereto, weighed down and aggravated with over much moisture" in Holland, *The philosophie, commonly called, the morals written by the learned philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea*, p.559, quoted in Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, p.334); cf. More, *Philosophical Poems: 1647*, pp.21, 219 etc.

mists that arise from impure and terrene minds, like an *Atmospheare*, perpetually encompass them, that they cannot see that Sun of Divine Truth that shines *about* them, but never shines *into* any *unpurged* Souls; the darkness comprehends it not, the foolish man understands it not. All the  
 5 Light and Knowledge that may seem sometimes to rise up in unhallowed mindes, is but like those fuliginous flames that arise up from our culinary fire, that are soon quench'd in their own smoak; or like those foolish fires that fetch their birth from terrene exudations, that doe but hop up & down, and flit to and fro upon the surface of this earth where they were  
 10 first brought forth; and serve not so much to enlighten, as to delude us; nor to direct the wandring traveller into his way, but to lead him farther out of it. While we lodge any filthy vice in us, this will be perpetually twisting it self into the thread of our finest-spun Speculations; it will be continually

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3–4 the darkness comprehends it not] cf. John, 1,5: “And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.”

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1 *Atmospheare*] The metaphor recalls Aristotle’s description of the working of the brain in *On Sleep and Waking*, 457b-458a, and is reminiscent, in its use of a symbolism based upon, but not tied to natural philosophy, of passages such as Gregory of Nyssa’s *de hominis opificio*, XIII.3. See also Anderson, *Science in Defence of Liberal Religion: A Study of Henry More’s Attempt to Link 17th Century Religion with Science*.

6–7 those fuliginous flames that arise up from our culinary fire, that are soon quench’d in their own smoak] Another comparison based on contemporary science. cf. French, *The Yorkshire Spaw; or a Treatise on Four Famous Medicinal Wells, and St. Magnus Well, near Knaresborough*, ii.27 Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica: or, Enquiries into Very many Received Tenents And commonly presumed Truths*, p.130. Such descriptions of how fires are extinguished were readily incorporated into the model of a fire as used to account for the workings of the body. cf. Gratolarius, *Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Students; namelie such as be in their consistent age or neere thereunto*, p.53, and Power, *Experimental Philosophy, in Three Books: Containing New Experiments Microscopical, Mercurial, Magnetical: With Some Deductions, and Probable Hypotheses, Raised from Them, in Avouchment and Illustration of the Now Famous Atomical Hypothesis* p.57.

7–12 those foolish fires ... farther out of it] A conventional treatment of a popular image, cf. “Passion, before, or without Reason, is as Bad a Guide as an Ignis Fatuus” Whichcote, *Moral and religious aphorisms*, 42); “Error is a mad and a wild thing ...’Tis an absolute ignis fatuus, a Wild fire that will lead him into by paths” Whichcote, *Select notions*, p.77; “delusive spirits, like so many *Ignes Fatui*, lead them about in this bewildering Night that they have voluntarily brought upon themselves” More, *The Grand Mystery of Godliness* p.77; or “Men that have wearied themselves in the dark having been amused with false fires: and instead of going home, have wandred all night ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀνάβηταις. In untrodden, unsafe, uneasie ways; but have not found what their Soul desires” J. Taylor, *Works*, VI, p.374.

climbing up into the τὸ Ἡγεμονικόν, the *Hegemonically* powers of the Soul, into the bed of Reason, and defile it: like the wanton Ivie twisting it self about the Oak, it will twine about our Judgements and Understandings, till it hath suck'd out the Life and Spirit of them. I cannot think such black  
 5 oblivion should possess the Minds of some as to make them question that Truth which to Good men shines as bright as the Sun at noon-day, had they not foully defil'd their own Souls with some hellish vice or other, how fairly soever it may be they may dissemble it. There is a benumbing Spirit, a congealing Vapour that ariseth from Sin and Vice, that will  
 10 stupifie the senses of the Soul; as the Naturalists say there is from the *Torpedo* that smites the senses of those that approach to it. This is that

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1 τὸ Ἡγεμονικόν] “something capable of command”

2 like the wanton Ivie] cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XVI, 112

11 *Torpedo*] cf. Aelian, *De natura animalium*, I,36; Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, IX, 67; XXXII, 2.

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1 τὸ Ἡγεμονικόν] cf. Aetius in *SVF*, II, 227, “the Stoics call the ruling part of the soul τὸ ἡγεμονικόν”. Cudworth characterised it as “the ruling, governing, commanding, determining principle in us” Cudworth, *A treatise of Freewill* p.32). cf. John Smith, *Select Discourses*, pp.88-9, 397.

1-4 the *Hegemonically* powers ... Life and Spirit of them] cf. Parker, *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie*, p.76: “Thus their wanton and luxurious fancies climbing up into the bed of Reason, do not only defile it by unchast and illegitimate Embraces, but instead of real conceptions and notices of Things, impregnate the mind with nothing but Ayerie and Subventaneous Phantasmes”. Pace Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* II, p.35, the parody implies not only that Parker had read Smith’s work, but that he expected it to be familiar to his own readers. The parasitic habits of the white ivy were well attested by Pliny (*Naturalis Historiae*, XVI.112), who also pointed out that it disturbs “the mental faculties” and is of a “refrigerative nature” (XXIV.47). This latter accords well with the “benumbing spirit” and “congealing vapour” mentioned below. Its wantonness recalls the ivy’s traditional association with Bacchus, noted, for example, in Skinner, *Gazophylacium Anglicanum: Containing The Derivation Of English Words, Proper and Common*.  
 10-11 as the Naturalists say there is from the *Torpedo* that smites the senses of those that approach to it] Thomas Blount Blount, *Glossographia* described the torpedo as “a cramp-fish, that being alive stupifies the hands of him that touches it, though he do it with a long pole, but being applied after death produceth no effect”. Pliny speculated that its “property of benumbing even the most vigorous arm” arises because “there is in existence a certain power which, by the very exhalations and as it were emanations ... is enabled to affect the members of the human body” (*Naturalis Historiae*, IX.67; XXXII.2).  
 11-2 that venomous *Solanum*, that deadly *Nightshade*, that derives its cold poyson into the Understandings of men] More speaks of “that plant that bears death in the every

venomous *Solanum*, that deadly *Nightshade*, that derives its cold poyson into the Understandings of men.

Such as Men themselves are, such will God himself seem to be. It is the Maxim of most wicked men, That the Deity is some way or other like themselves: their Souls do more then whisper it, though their lips speak it not; and though their tongues be silent, yet their lives cry it upon the house-tops, & in the publick streets. That *Idea* which men generally have of God is nothing else but the picture of their own Complexion: that Archetypall notion of him which hath the supremacie in their mindes, is none else but such an one as hath been shap'd out according to some pattern of themselves; though they may so clothe and disguise this Idol of their own, when they carry it about in a pompous Procession to expose it to the view of the world, that it may seem very beautifull, and indeed any thing else rather then what it is. Most men (though it may be they themselves take no great notice of it) like that dissembling Monk, doe *aliter sentire in Scholis, aliter in Musaeis*, are of a different judgement in the Schools from what they are in the retirements of their private closets.

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12 *Solanum*,] cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXVI, 108

17–18 upon the house-tops] cf. Luke 12, 3

27 *aliter sentire in Scholis, aliter in Musaeis*] “to judge one way in the the school, another way in the study”

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name of it, *Solanum Loethiferum*”, (*letifer*, “qui provoke la mort” Francesco Arnaldi, *Novum glossarium mediae Latinitatis*.), adding that it “prevents death by procuring sleep, if it be rightly apply’d in a fever” More, *An Antidote Against Atheism* (II.6). Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants*, 7.15.4) remembered that it is lethal, and (9.19.1.), that it is said to “upset the mental powers”. Pliny agreed, affirming that “it has repressive and cooling properties” (*Naturalis Historiae*, XXVI.108). cf. *Enneads*, 4.5.1.

14 Such as Men themselves are, such will God himself seem to be] cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647* p.24

23–25 when they carry it about in a pompous Procession to expose it to the view of the world, that it may seem very beautifull, and indeed any thing else rather then what it is] If, indeed, this refers to the Catholic Church, one should note that Smith employs his characteristic device of placing an issue within a larger context than his contemporaries. cf. More’s *Grand Mystery of Godliness* [London, 1660] and his *Modest Inquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity* [Cambridge, 1664]. The Platonists’ attitude to an issue never central to their concerns is better represented by Whichcote, *Several Discourses* I, 247-78.

26 that dissembling Monk, doe] unidentified

There is *a double head*, as well as *a double heart*. Mens corrupt hearts will not suffer their notions and conceptions of divine things to be cast into that form that an higher Reason, which may sometime work within them, would put them into.

- 5 I would not be thought all this while to banish the belief of all *Innate notions* of Divine Truth: but these are too often smother'd, or tainted with a deep dye of mens filthy lusts. It is but *lux sepulta in opaci materia*, light buried and stifled in some dark body, from whence all those colour'd, or rather discolour'd, notions and apprehensions of divine things are begotten.
- 10 Though these *Common notions* may be very busie sometimes in the *vegetation* of divine Knowledge; yet the corrupt vices of men may so clog, disturb and overrule them, (as the Naturalists say this unruly and masterless *matter* doth the natural *forms* in the formation of living creatures) that they may produce nothing but Monsters miserably distorted & misshapen.
- 15 This kind of Science, as Plotinus speaks, τῷ ὑλικῷ πολλῷ συνοῦσα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσδεξαμένη, εἶδος ἕτερον ἠλλάξατο κράσει τῇ πρὸ τὸ χειρὸν, *companying too familiarly with Matter, and receiving and imbibing it into it selfe, changeth its shape by this incestuous mixture*. At best, while any inward lust is harboured in the minds of men, it will so weaken them, that they
- 20 can never bring forth any masculine or generous knowledge; as *Ælian* ob-

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1 *a double heart*] cf. Psalms, 12, 2: "They speake vanitie euey one with his neighbour: with flattering lips, and with a double heart do they speake."

7 *lux sepulta in opaci materia*] "light buried in dark matter"; perhaps a play on "color est lux in potentia, lux sepulta in pellucidi materia" ("colour is light in potential, light buried in transparent matter") in Kepler, *Ad Vitellionem paralipomena, quibus astronomiae pars optica traditur*, p. 11. Smith would also have met the idea in Boulliau, *de natura lucis*, p. 44. His copies of both are in Queens'.

15–16 τῷ ὑλικῷ πολλῷ συνοῦσα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσδεξαμένη, εἶδος ἕτερον ἠλλάξατο κράσει τῇ πρὸ τὸ χειρὸν] "consorting much with matter and receiving a form other than its own it has changed by a mixture which makes it worse"; *Enneads*, I.6.5

20–1 *Ælian* observes] *Ælian, De natura animalium*, I,37

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1 There is *a double head*, as well as *a double heart*] Multiplicity has always been thought ominous by Platonists. cf. this instance with the Spenserian character of More's *Daemon* in *Psychozoia* More, *Philosophical Poems: 1647*, p24.

7 *lux sepulta in opaci materia*] cf. "even those natural notions which wicked Men have of God, they are strangely tinctur'd and obscured by the temper of the Man; they are *lux sepulta in opaci materiâ, light buried and hid in matter and darkness*." Tillotson, *The works of the most reverend Dr. John Tillotson*, I, p. 767.

serves of the Stork, that if the Night-owle chanceth to sit upon her eggs, they become presently as it were ὑπηγέμια, and all incubation rendred impotent and ineffectual. Sin and lust are alway of an hungry nature, and suck up all those vital affections of mens Souls which should feed and  
 5 nourish their Understandings.

What are all our most sublime Speculations of the Deity, that are *not impregnated with true Goodness*, but insipid things that have no tast nor life in them, that do but swell like empty froath in the souls of men? They doe not feed mens souls, but onely puffe them up and fill them with Pride,  
 10 Arrogance and Contempt and Tyrannie towards those that cannot well ken their subtile Curiosities: as those Philosophers that *Tully* complains of in his times, *qui disciplinam suam ostentationem scientiae, non legem vitae, putabant*, which made their knowledge onely matter of ostentation, to venditate and set off themselves, but never caring to square and govern  
 15 their lives by it. Such as these doe but Spider-like take a great deal of pains to spin a worthless web out of their own bowels, which will not keep them warm. These indeed are those silly Souls that are *ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the Truth*. They may, with *Pharaoh's* lean kine, eat up and devour all Tongues and Sciences, and yet when  
 20 they have done, still remain lean and ill-favour'd as they were at first .

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22 ὑπηγέμια] “full of wind”; ie infertile.

31 that *Tully* complains] Cicero, *Disputationes*, II,4

32–33 *qui disciplinam suam ostentationem scientiae, non legem vitae, putabant*] “who thought philosophy was a display of knowledge, not a rule of life”; adapted from Cicero, *Disputationes*, II,4, where M comments on “How few philosophers are to be found ... who regard their teaching not as a display of knowledge but as the rule of life.”

37–38 *ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the Truth*] 2 Timothy, 3,7: “Euer learning, and neuer able to come to the knowledge of the trueth.”

38–39 *Pharaoh's* lean kine] Joseph's dream is related in Genesis, 41

40 lean and ill-favour'd as they were at first] Genesis 41, 20-21: And the leane, & the ill fauoured kine, did eate vp the first seuen fat kine. And when they had eaten them vp, it could not bee knowen that they had eaten them, but they were still ill fauoured, as at the beginning: So I awoke.

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23–25 Sin and lust are alway of an hungry nature, and suck up all those vital affections of mens Souls which should feed and nourish their Understandings.] An experience asserted equally firmly by Whichcote, and with equal regularity: “Worldings eat and never have enough, their food is barren, dry and void of nutriment” in Whichcote, *Select notions* p.44. cf. More's *Psychathanasia* in More, *Philosophical Poems: 1647*, p.126.

Jejune and barren Speculations may be hovering and fluttering up and down about Divinity, but they cannot settle or fix themselves upon it: they unfold the Plicatures of Truth's garment, but they cannot behold the lovely face of it. There are hidden Mysteries in Divine Truth, wrapt up one within  
 5 another, which cannot be discern'd but only by divine *Epoptists*.

We must not think we have then attained to the *right knowledge* of Truth, when we have broke through the *outward Shell of words & phrases* that house it up; or when by a *Logical Analysis* we have found out the dependencies and coherencies of them one with another; or when, like  
 10 stout champions of it, having well guarded it with the invincible strength of our Demonstration, we dare stand out in the face of the world, and challenge the field of all those that would pretend to be our Rivalls.

We have many Grave and Reverend Idolaters that worship Truth onely in the Image of their own Wits; that could never adore it so much as they  
 15 may seem to doe, were it any thing else but such a Form of Belief as their own wandring speculations had at last met together in, were it not that they find their own image and superscription upon it.

There is a *knowing of the truth as it is in Jesus*, as it is in a *Christ-like nature*, as it is in that sweet, mild, humble, and loving Spirit of Jesus,  
 20 which spreads itself like a Morning-Sun upon the Soules of good men, full

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5 *Epoptists*] cf. 2 Peter 1:16 where ἐπόπται is used to mean "eye witnesses".

17 own image and superscription] cf. Luke 20, 24: "Shew me a peny: whose image and superscription hath it? They answered, and said, Cesars."

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1 Jejune] Blount: "hungry, barren, empty" Blount, *Glossographia*.

3 Plicatures] Blount, *Glossographia* explains the word as a "folding or plaiting". cf. John Bannister's use of the term in a characteristically scientific context: "into this plicature ... are inmitted two Arteries named Carotidae" Bannister, *The historie of man sucked from the sappe of the most approved anathomistes in this present age compiled in th emost compendious fourme*, VII.96). For More's poetic use of the term, see *Psychzoia*, I.18 in More, *Philosophical Poems*: 1647.

5 *Epoptists*] This is the first and only use of "Epoptist" in the OED, a variation on the more usual "epopt". Its classical meaning is that of a person fully initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, ἐποπτεία being the highest form of initiation. It signifies a "beholder", as in Plutarch *Table-talk*, 718d. Smith's use of the word may have been suggested by Pico's *de dignitate hominis*, Ernst Cassirer, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* p.233. One might compare John Tolland's discussion in Tolland, *Christianity Not Mysterious* p.162.

of light and life. It profits little to know Christ himself after the flesh; but he gives his Spirit to good men, that searcheth the deep things of God. There is an inward beauty, life and loveliness in Divine Truth, which cannot be known but onely then when it is digested into life and practice. The  
 5 Greek philosopher could tell those high-soaring *Gnosticks* that thought themselves no less than *Jovis alites*, that could (as he speaks in the Comedy) ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ περιφρονεῖν τὸν ἥλιον, and cried out so much βλέπε πρὸς τὸν θεόν, *look upon God, that ἄνευ ἀρετῆς θεὸς ὄνομα μόνον, Without Vertue and real Goodness God is but a name*, a dry and empty Notion. The pro-  
 10 fane sort of men, like those old Gentile Greeks, may make many ruptures

1 It profits little] cf. 1 Timothy 4,8: “For bodily exercise profiteth little, but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.”

2 that searcheth the deep things of God] cf. 1 Corinthians 2:10: “But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.”

6 *Jovis alites*] “winged Joves”; cf. *Enneads*, III,4,2

6–7 as he speaks in the Comedy] Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 225. Socrates has been brought on suspended over the stage, and when Strepsiades asks him what he is doing up there, Socrates replies, “I walk the air in order to look down on the sun.”

7 ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ περιφρονεῖν τὸν ἥλιον] “walking about in the air and speculating about the sun”

7–8 βλέπε πρὸς τὸν θεόν] “Look to God”; *Enneads*, II.9.15

8 ἄνευ ἀρετῆς θεὸς ὄνομα μόνον] “God, without true virtue, is merely a name”; *Enneads*, II.9.15.

10 Gentile Greeks] Perhaps alluding to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, plundering the Temple in 179 BC, or mis-remembering Tacitus’ story in *Histories* 5.9 about Gnaeus Pompey, who entered the temple in 63 BC, finding that “the sanctuary was empty and the Holy of Holies untenanted.” cf. Cunaeus, *Petri Cunaei De republica Hebraeorum, libri III: Hebraea & Graeca omnia verbo tenus reddita Latine sunt: aut, postquam relata abunde sententia eorum est apponuntur: ut tardare haec res lectorem non possit*, p.365.

4–5 The Greek philosopher] Plotinus once more.

5 *Gnosticks*] The quotations which follow are from Plotinus’ treatise “Against the Gnostics”.

8 ἄνευ ἀρετῆς θεὸς ὄνομα μόνον] It is worth placing this quotation in its context: “For someone could say. “What prevents me from looking and refraining from no pleasure, or from having no control over my emotions and from remembering the name ‘God’ at at the same time being in the grip of all the passions and making no attempt to get rid of any of them.” In reality it is virtue which goes before us to the goal and, when it comes to exist in the soul along with wisdom, shows God; but God, if you talk about him without true virtue, is only a name.” The principle lies at the very heart of the Platonists’ moral thinking. cf. also Cudworth’s citation of it at Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.17.

in the walls of God's Temple, and break into the holy ground, but yet may find God no more there then they did.

Divine Truth is better understood, as it unfolds itself in the purity of mens hearts and lives, then in all those subtil Niceties into which curious  
 5 Wits may lay it forth. And therefore our Saviour, who is the great Master of it, would not, while he was here on earth, draw it up into any *Systeme* or *Body*, nor would his Disciples after him; He would not lay it out to us in any *Canons* or *Articles* of *Belief*, not being indeed so carefull to stock and enrich the World with Opinions and Notions, as with true Piety, and  
 10 a Godlike pattern of purity, as the best way to thrive in all spiritual understanding. His main scope was to promote an *Holy life*, as the best and most compendious way to a *right Belief*. He hangs all true acquaintance with Divinity upon the doing Gods will, *If any man will doe his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God*. This is that alone which will make us, as S. *Peter* tells us, that we shall not be *barren nor*

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13–14 *If any man will doe his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God*] John, 7, 17: "If any man will doe his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speake of my selfe."

1 as S. *Peter* tells us] 2 Peter, 1,8: "For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that yee shall neither be barren, nor vnfruitfull in the knowledge of our Lord Iesus Christ."

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5–7 And therefore our Saviour, who is the great Master of it, would not, while he was here on earth, draw it up into any *Systeme* or *Body*] This echoes Cudworth's assertion that "Christ was *Vitae Magister*, not *Scholae*", and his denial that any one "may know Christ sufficiently out of ... Treatises and Discourses, out ... mere Systems and Bodies of Divinity" Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647* pp. 14, 4. H.R. McAdoo argued cogently that systematic theology was not part of the true Anglican method McAdoo, *The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology*, Chap.1), but handbooks of dogmatic theology were widely used. Bartholomew Keckerman's *Systema SS. Theologia*, [Hanover, 1602], for instance, was a standard textbook at Christ's, and, at Emmanuel, Holdsworth recommended Marcus Friedrich Wendelin's *Christianae Theologia Libri II* [Hanover, 1634], even above Calvin's *Institutes* cf. Quantin, *The Church of England and Antiquity*, p.170.

14–1 This is that alone which will make us, as S. *Peter* tells us, that we shall not be *barren nor unfruitfull in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour*] cf. 2 Peter 1, 4-9. The emphasis on charity, on the implication of knowledge and action, and on fruitfulness are all reflected in important characteristics of Smith's texts. On the Hellenism of the verses, see Moffat, *The General Epistles*, and M. Green, *The Second Epistle General of Peter*, pp.64ff.

*unfruitfull in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour.* There is an inward sweetness and deliciousness in divine Truth, which no sensual mind can tast or relish: this is that ψυχικὸς ἀνὴρ, that *natural man* that savours not the things of God. Corrupt passions and terrene affections are apt of their  
 5 own nature to disturb all serene thoughts, to precipitate our Judgements, and warp our Understandings. It was a good Maxime of the old Jewish Writers, רוח הקדש לא שרה בצעב ולא בבצש the Holy Spirit dwells not in terrene and earthly passions. Divinity is not so well perceiv'd by a subtile wit, ὡσπερ ἀισθήσει κεκαθαυμένη *as by a purified sense*, as *Plotinus* phraseth  
 10 it.

Neither was the ancient Philosophy unacquainted with this Way and Method of attaining to the knowledge of Divine things; and therefore *Aristotle* himself thought a Young man unfit to meddle with the grave precepts of Morality, till the heat and violent precipitancy of his youthfull affections  
 15 was cool'd and moderated. And it is observed of *Pythagoras*, that he had several waies to try the capacity of his Scholars, and to prove the *sedateness* and *Moral* temper of their minds, before he would entrust them with

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3 ψυχικὸς ἀνὴρ] “natural man (as opposed to god)”

3 *natural man*] cf. I Corinthians, 2,14: “But the naturall man (ἄνθρωπος) receiueh not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishnesse vnto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.”

6–7 a good Maxime of the old Jewish Writers] based on Talmud: Shabbat, 30b; cited by Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed*, 2.36

7 רוח הקדש לא שרה בצעב ולא בבצש] “The Holy Spirit does not sing in sadness or in anger” (Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists*, p.135.

9–10 *Plotinus* phraseth it] *Enneads*, II.4.15

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7 רוח הקדש לא שרה בצעב ולא בבצש] Smith's source may have been a work such as Johannes Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum: continens elegantes sententias, proverbialia, apophthegmata, similitudines* or Plantavit de la Pause, *Florilegium Rabbanicum: complectans prae-cipuas Rabbiorum sententias*. cf. J. Taylor, *Works*, VI, p.386: “*In Passionibus Spiritus Sanctus non habibat*, The Holy Ghost never dwells in the house of passion”; and Whichcote, *Moral and religious aphorisms*, no.713: “Sublime Knowledge cannot dwell in an *unquiet Spirit*”.

12–13 *Aristotle* himself] cf. *Ethica nichomachea*, I,3: “a young man is not a proper hearer of lectures on political science ... and ... since he tends to follow his passions, his study will be vain and unprofitable, because the end aimed at is not knowledge but action.”

15 it is observed of *Pythagoras*] cf. Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorae*, XVII, for an account of the ways in which Pythagoras tested the fitness of his students.

the sublimer Mysteries of his Philosophy. The *Platonists* were herein so wary and solicitous, that they thought the Mindes of men could never be purg'd enough from those earthly dregs of Sense and Passion, in which they were so much steep'd, before they could be capable of their divine

5 Metaphysicks: and therefore they so much sollicite a χωρισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, as they are wont to phrase it, *a separation from the Body*, in all those that would καθαρῶς φιλοσοφεῖν, as *Socrates* speaks, that is indeed, sincerely understand Divine Truth; for that was the scope of their Philosophy. This was also intimated by them in their defining Philosophy to

10 be μελέτη θανατοῦ *a Meditation of Death*; aiming herein at only a *Moral way of dying*, by loosening the Soul from the Body and this Sensitive life; which they thought was necessary to a right Contemplation of Intelligible things: and therefore besides those ἀρεταὶ καθαρτικαὶ by which the Souls of men were to be separated from sensuality and purged from fleshly

15 filth, they devised a further way of *Separation* more accommodated to the condition of Philosophers, which was their *Mathemata*, or Mathematical Contemplations, whereby the Souls of men might farther shake off their dependency upon Sense, and learn to go as it were alone, without the crutch of any Sensible or Material thing to support them; and so be a

20 little inur'd, being once got up above the Body, to converse freely with Immaterial natures, without looking down again and falling back into Sense. Besides many other waies they had, whereby to rise out of this dark Body;

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5–6 χωρισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ] “a being separated from the body”; based on *Phaedo*, 67d, where Plato twice uses the phrase “χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος”, “a separation of the soul from the body”.

7 καθαρῶς φιλοσοφεῖν ] “philosophise purely”

10 μελέτη θανατοῦ ] “a practice of death”; cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 80e-81a

13 ἀρεταὶ καθαρτικαὶ ] “purifying virtues” cf. *Enneads*, I.2.3-5

16 *Mathemata* ] “things that are learnt”, esp. mathematical studies

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7 *Socrates*] cf. Plato, *Sophist*, 25e, where he speaks of “τῷ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως φιλοσοφοῦντι”, “the man who pursues philosophy in purity and righteousness.” cf. J. Taylor, *Works*, VI, pp.383-4: “And, therefore, the Pythagoreans taught their disciples χωρισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, εἰς τὸ καλῶς φιλοσοφεῖν, a separation from the things of the body, if they would purely find out truth and the excellencies of wisdom.”

16 *Mathemata*] cf. Plato, *Laws* 817c, Plutarch, *Table-talk*, 718d; and Aristotle's description of *aphairesis*, the process of abstraction which mathematics encourages, as “thinking of things that are embodied in matter as if they were not” (*de anima*, III, 431b.

ἀναβάσεις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου, as they are wont to call them, several steps and ascents out of this miry cave of mortality, before they could set any sure footing with their Intellectual part in the land of Light and Immortal Being.

And thus we should pass from this Topick of our Discourse, upon  
 5 which we have dwelt too long already, but that before we quite let it goe,  
 I hope we may fairly make this use of it farther (besides what we have  
 openly driven at all this while) which is, To learn not to devote or give  
 our selves up to any private Opinions or Dictates of men in matters of  
 Religion, nor too zealously to propugne the *Dogmata* of any Sect. As we  
 10 should not like rigid Censurers arraign and condemn the Creeds of other  
 men which we comply not with, before a full & mature understanding of  
 them, ripened not onely by the natural sagacity of our own Reasons, but  
 by the benign influence of holy and mortified Affection: so neither should  
 we over-hastily *credere in fidem alienam*, subscribe to the Symbols and  
 15 Articles of other men. They are not alwaies the *Best* men that blot most  
 paper; Truth is not, I fear, so Voluminous, nor swells into such a mighty  
 bulk as our Books doe. Those minds are not alwaies the most chast that  
 are most parturient with these learned Discourses, which too often bear  
 upon them a foule stain of their unlawful propagation. A bitter juice of  
 20 corrupt affections may sometimes be strain'd into the inke of our greatest  
 Clerks, their Doctrines may tast too sowre of the cask they come through.  
 We are not alwaies happy in meeting with that wholesome food (as some  
 are wont to call the Doctrinal-part of Religion) which hath been dress'd  
 out by the cleanest hands. Some men have too *bad hearts* to have *good*  
 25 *heads*: they cannot be good at Theorie who have been so bad at the

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1 ἀναβάσεις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου] “ascents from the cave”; cf. Plato, *Republic*, 514-515; Plotinus, *Enneads*, II.9.6

9 *Dogmata*] “philosophical tenets”

14 *credere in fidem alienam*] “believe in another faith”

18 parturient] “Parturient. (Lat.) travailling, being in Labour, or ready to bring forth” Blount, *Glossographia*.

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16–17 Truth is not, I fear, so Voluminous, nor swells into such a mighty bulk as our Books doe] A common complaint of what More called a “scripturient age”, given added depth by the Platonists’ efforts to establish a few fundamental truths as essential to a practical religious life. cf. Browne, *Religio Medici*, 1.24.

21 their Doctrines may tast too sowre of the cask they come through] cf. Whichcote, *Several Discourses* II, p.35

Practice, as we may justly fear too many of those from whom we are apt to take the Articles of our Belief have been. Whilst we plead so much our right to the patrimony of our Fathers, we may take too fast a possession of their Errors as well as of their sober opinions. There are *Idola specûs*,  
 5 Innate Prejudices, and deceitfull *Hypotheses*, that many times wander up and down in the Mindes of good men, that may flie out from them with their graver determinations. We can never be well assur'd what our *Tradition*  
*al* Divinity is; nor can we securely enough addict our selves to any Sect of men. That which was the Philosopher's motto, Ἐλεύθερον εἶναι  
 10 δεῖ τῆ γνώμη τὸν μέλλοντα φιλοσοφεῖν, we may a little enlarge, and so fit it for an ingenuous pursuer after divine Truth: He that will finde Truth, must seek it with a *free judgement*, and a *sanctified minde*: he that thus seeks, shall finde; he shall live in Truth, and that shall live in him; it shall be like a stream of living waters issuing out of his own Soule; he shall drink of  
 15 the waters of his own cisterne, and be satisfied; he shall every morning find this Heavenly *Manna* lying upon the top of his own Soule, and be

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4 *Idola specûs*] “idols of the cave”; *Novum Organum* in Bacon, *Works*, IV, 53ff. cf. Benjamin Whichote, *Aphorisms* 607

9–10 Ἐλεύθερον εἶναι δεῖ τῆ γνώμη τὸν μέλλοντα φιλοσοφεῖν] “free (or open) is the judgement of he who is going to philosophise”

12–13 he that thus seeks, shall finde] cf. Matthew, 7:7; Jeremiah, 29:13

14 a stream of living waters issuing out of his own Soule] John, 7:38; cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.80;

14–15 he shall drink of the waters of his own cisterne] cf. Proverbs, 5:15

15 be satisfied] cf. Psalms, 36:8

15–1 he shall every morning find this Heavenly *Manna* lying upon the top of his own Soule, and be fed with it to eternal life] cf. Exodus, 16; John, 6, 31:49

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4 *Idola specûs*] Bacon was not favourably received by the Platonists, not one of whom would have accepted his view that “the spirit of man ... is in fact a thing variable and full of perturbation, and governed as it were by chance.” Smith’s understanding of the *idola specus* owes as much to the apparitions of Plato’s cave and Plotinus’ εἰδολων as to Bacon.

9–10 Ἐλεύθερον εἶναι δεῖ τῆ γνώμη τὸν μέλλοντα φιλοσοφεῖν] Patrides: “probably adapted from several analogous statements by Philo, Origen, Diogenes Laertius and others (see *SVF*, III, 86, 89, 146, etc.).” However, an almost identical quotation is attributed to Alcinoüs on the title page of Rheticus, *Narratio prima de libris revolutionum Copernici*. Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Oratio in Origenem*, VI also offers a fairly close parallel.

fed with it to eternal life; he will find satisfaction within, feeling himself in conjunction with Truth, though all the World should dispute against him.

And thus I should again leave this Argument, but that perhaps we may all this while have seemed to undermine what we intend to build up. For  
 5 if Divine Truth spring onely up from the Root of true Goodness; how shall we ever endeavour to be good, before we know what it is to be so? or how shall convince the gainsaying world of Truth, unless we could also inspire Vertue into it?

To both which we shall make this Reply, That there are some *Rad-*  
 10 *ical Principles* of Knowledge that are so deeply sunk into the Souls of men, as that the Impression cannot easily be obliterated, though it may be much darkned. Sensual baseness doth not so grosly sully and bemire the Souls of all Wicked men at first, as to make them with *Diagoras* to deny the *Deity*, or with *Protagoras* to doubt of, or with *Diodorus* to question the  
 15 *Immortality* of Rational Souls. Neither are the *Common Principles* of Vertue so pull'd up by the roots in all, as to make them so dubious in stating the bounds of Vertue and Vice as *Epicurus* was, though he could not but sometime take notice of them. Neither is the *Retentive power* of Truth so weak and loose in all *Scepticks*, as it was in him, who being well scourg'd  
 20 in the streets till the blood ran about him, question'd when he came home, whether he had been beaten or not. *Arrianus* hath well observed, That the Common Notions of *God* and *Vertue* imprest upon the Souls of men, are

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13–15 with *Diagoras* to deny the *Deity*, or with *Protagoras* to doubt of, or with *Diodorus* to question the *Immortality* of Rational Souls] cf. Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I.1., where the third member of the trio is Theodorus, not Diodorus; cf. Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.130

21–1 That the Common notions ... then any else] Smith is perhaps recalling *Discourses*, II.11, where innate moral ideas are compared to geometrical concepts.

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1–2 feeling himself in conjunction with Truth, though all the World should dispute against him] A position easily confused with that of the enthusiast; cf.: “A man may be in as just possession of Truth as of a City, and yet be forced to surrender.” Browne, *Religio Medici*, 1.6.

17 *Epicurus*] The ancient Greek philosopher (341-270 BC) was the prime formulator of atheist thinking in the Platonists' view

21 *Arrianus*] Arrian (c. 86-160 AD) was a Roman historian and philosopher. Greek by birth, he is best known for his history of Alexander the Great, and *The Discourses of Epictetus*, written from lecture notes in about 108 AD.

more clear and perspicuous than any else ; and that if they have not more *certainty*, yet have they more *evidence*, and display themselves with less difficulty to our *Reflexive* Faculty than any Geometrical Demonstrations: and these are both available to prescribe out waies of Vertue to mens  
 5 own souls, and to force an acknowledgment of Truth from those that oppose, when they are well guided by a skilfull hand. Truth needs not any time flie from Reason, there being an Eternal amitie between them. They are onely some private *Dogmata*, that may well be suspected as spurious and adulterate, that dare not abide the tryall thereof. And this Reason is  
 10 not everywhere so extinguished, as that we may not by that enter into the Souls of men. What the *Magnetical* virtue is in these earthly Bodies, that Reason is in mens Mindes, which when it is put forth, draws them one to another. Besides in wicked men there are sometimes Distasts of Vice, and Flashes of love to Vertue; which are the Motions which spring  
 15 from a true Intellect, and the faint struglings of an Higher life within them, which they crucifie again by their wicked Sensuality. As Truth doth not alwaies act in good men, so neither doth Sense alwaies act in wicked men: they may sometimes have their *Lucida intervalla*, their sober fits; and a Divine spirit blowing and breathing upon them may then blow up some

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18 *Lucida intervalla*] “lucid intervals”; cf. Mede, *Diatribae. Discourses on Divers Texts of Scripture*: “him that is mad but by fits, and hath his *Lucida intervalla*” (p.90); a phrase most commonly used in a legal context.

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2–3 display themselves with less difficulty to our *Reflexive* Faculty than any Geometrical Demonstrations] cf. Whichcote, *Moral and religious aphorisms*, 298: “In *Morality*, we are as sure as in *Mathematics*”; for the assertion that “the grand *Articles* of our Belief” are “as demonstrable as *Geometry*”, see Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing, or, Confidence in opinions manifested in a discourse of the shortness and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its causes: with some relfexions on peripateticism, and an apology for philosophy*, p.209

5–6 to force an acknowledgment of Truth from those that oppose, when they are well guided by a skilfull hand] cf. Parker, *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie*, pp.34-5 for a similar view

11–12 What the *Magnetical* virtue is in these earthly Bodies, that Reason is in mens Mindes] The Cambridge Platonists regarded magnetism and gravity mainly in the light of Plotinus’ doctrine of universal sympathy; cf. *Enneads*, 2.3.7; Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.50. The issue is central to the question of the “Cartesianism” of the *Select Discourses* 16 which they crucifie again by their wicked Sensuality] cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.36

live sparks of true Understanding within them; though they may soon endeavour to quench them again, and to rake them up in the ashes of their own earthly thoughts.

5 All this, and more that might be said upon this Argument, may serve to point out the *Way* of Vertue. We want not so much *Means* of knowing what we ought to doe, as *Wills* to doe that which we may know. But yet all that Knowledge which is separated from an inward acquaintance with Vertue and Goodness, is of a far different nature from that which ariseth out of a true *living sense* of them, which is the *best discerner* thereof, and  
10 by which alone we know the true Perfection, Sweetness, Energie, and Loveliness of them, and all that which is ὄυτε ῥητὸν, ὄυτε γραπτὸν that which can no more be known by a naked Demonstration, then Colours can be perceived of a blind man by any Definition or Description which he can hear of them.

15 And further, the clearest and most distinct Notions of Truth that shine in the Souls of the common sort of men, may be extreemly clouded, if they be not accompanied with that answerable practice that might preserve their integrity: These tender Plants may soon be spoyl'd by the continual droppings of our corrupt affections upon them; they are but of a weak and  
20 feminine nature, and so may be sooner deceived by that wily Serpent of Sensuality that harbours within us.

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11 ὄυτε ῥητὸν, ὄυτε γραπτὸν] “neither spoken nor written”; cf. *Enneads*, VI.9.4 and Plato *Letters* VII, 341c; cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.5

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12–14 which can no more be known by a naked Demonstration, then Colours can be perceived of a blind man by any Definition or Description which he can hear of them] cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.6. One might expect Smith to have accepted some idea of symaesthesia, by which one sense might analogically support another (cf. Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing, or, Confidence in opinions manifested in a discourse of the shortness and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its causes: with some reflexions on peripateticism, and an apology for philosophy* p.67), but this is “to expect that sounds should be visible, or colours audible”, as Locke pointed out (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 3.4.11). For the Platonists, “such discourses as a blind man would make concerning colours” epitomised lack of meaning (George Rust, *Funeral sermon for Jeremy Taylor* in J. Taylor, *Works* I, p.4). The peculiar fitness of the organ to its object was for them an over-riding consideration.

While the Soul is πλήρης τοῦ σώματος, *full of the Body*, while we suffer those *Notions* and *Common Principles* of Religion to lie asleep within us; that γενεσιουργὸς δύναμις, *the power of an Animal life*, will be apt to incorporate and mingle it self with them; and that Reason that is within us, as  
 5 *Plotinus* hath well express'd it, becomes more and more σύμφυτος κακαῖς ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις δοξαῖς, it will be infected with those evil Opinions that arise from our Corporeal life. The more deeply our Souls dive into our Bodies, the more will Reason and Sensuality run one into another, and make up a most dilute, unsavourie, and muddie kind of Knowledge. We  
 10 must therefore endeavour more and more to withdraw our selves from these Bodily things, to set our Souls as free as may be from its miserable slavery to this base Flesh: we must shut the Eyes of Sense, and open that brighter Eye of our Understandings, that other Eye of the Soul, as the Philosopher calls our Intellectual Faculty, ἣν ἔχει μὲν πᾶς, χρῶνται δὲ ὀλίγοι,  
 15 *which indeed all have, but few make use of it*. This is the way to see clearly; the light of the Divine World will then begin to fall upon us, and those sacred ἐλλάμψεις, those pure *Coruscations* of Immortal and Ever-living Truth will shine out into us, and in Gods own light shall we behold

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1 πλήρης τοῦ σώματος] “filled with body”

3 γενεσιουργὸς δύναμις] “generative power”

5–6 σύμφυτος κακαῖς ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις δοξαῖς] Smith seems to understand this as meaning “grown together with the evil opinions which come later”.

14–15 ἣν ἔχει μὲν πᾶς, χρῶνται δὲ ὀλίγοι] “which everyone has but few use”

17 ἐλλάμψεις] “illuminations” or “irradiations”

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5 *Plotinus* hath well express'd it] cf. *Enneads*, 3.5.7.: “those who are impelled by desire for evil things have fettered all the loves in them with the evil passions that have grown up in their souls, just as they have fettered their right reason, which is inborn in them, with the evil opinions which have grown upon them.” HGW commented that Smith’s “translation cannot be admitted”.

9–12 We must therefore endeavour more and more to withdraw our selves from these Bodily things, to set our Souls as free as may be from its miserable slavery to this base Flesh] cf. *Phaedo*, 81ff; *Gorgias*, 493a; *Phaedrus*, 250c; *Enneads*, 4.7.1, 4.7.3 amongst many *loci*

13–14 other Eye of the Soul, as the Philosopher calls our Intellectual Faculty] cf. *Enneads*, I.6.8, where Plotinus exhorts the reader: “Shut your eyes, and change to and wake another way of seeing, which everyone has but few use.”

17 *Coruscations*] “flashes of light” or “scintillations”, usually used of atmospheric phenomena; cf. “*Corruscation*, (Lat.) a flash of Lightning, or a kind of seeming sparkling Fire, which appears oftenr [sic.] by Night. A Glittering” Blount, *Glossographia*

him. The fruit of this Knowledge will be sweet to our tast, and pleasant to our palates, sweeter then the hony or the hony-comb. The Priests of *Mercury*, as *Plutarch* tells us, in the eating of their holy things, were wont to cry out γλυκὺ ἡ ἀληθεια, *Sweet is Truth*. But how sweet and delicious  
 5 that Truth is which holy and heaven-born Souls feed upon in their mysterious converses with the Deity, who can tell but they that tast it? When *Reason* once is raised by the mighty force of the Divine Spirit into a converse with God, it is turn'd into *Sense*: That which before was onely *Faith* well built upon sure Principles, (for such our *Science* may be) now be-  
 10 comes *Vision*. We shall then converse with God τῷ νῶ , whereas before we convers'd with him onely τῇ διανοίᾳ with our *Discursive faculty*, as the *Platonists* were wont to distinguish. Before we laid hold on him onely λόγῳ ἀποδεικτικῶ, with a struggling, Agonistical, and contentious Reason, hotly combating with difficulties and sharp contests of divers opinions, and la-  
 15 bours in it self, in its deductions of one thing from another; we shall then fasten our minds upon him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῶ , with such a serene Under-

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1–2 sweet to our tast, and pleasant to our palates,] Psalms 119, 103: “How sweet are thy words vnto my taste! yea, sweeter then hony to my mouth.”; cf. Proverbs 24,13

2 sweeter then the hony or the hony-comb] cf. Psalms 19,10: “More to bee desired are they then gold, yea, then much fine gold: sweeter also then hony, and the hony combe.”

3 *Plutarch*] *De Iside et Osiride*, LXVIII, where he says that, “upon the nineteenth day of the first month they [the Egyptians] keep a solemn festival to Hermes, wherein they eat honey and figs, and withal say these words, ‘Truth is a sweet thing.’”

4 γλυκὺ ἡ ἀληθεια] “Truth is a sweet thing”

10 τῷ νῶ ] “with mind”

11 τῇ διανοίᾳ] “with understanding”

12–13 λόγῳ ἀποδεικτικῶ] “by demonstrative reasoning”

16 λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῶ] “by affirmative reasoning”; the opposition of the two terms may well derive from Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, 8.4, where he says that

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6–10 When *Reason* once is raised by the mighty force of the Divine Spirit into a converse with God, it is turn'd into *Sense*: That which before was onely *Faith* well built upon sure Principles, (for such our *Science* may be) now becomes *Vision*] cf. J. Taylor, *Works*, VI, p.393: “when our Reason is raised up by the Spirit of Christ, it is turned quickly into experience; and when our Faith relies upon the Principles of Christ, it is changed into Vision”; cf. S. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, pp.218, 304.

10–11 We shall then converse with God τῷ νῶ , whereas before we convers'd with him onely τῇ διανοίᾳ with our *Discursive faculty*,] cf. *1 Corinthians* 13:12, although the distinction is based on *Republic* 510b-e; cf. Aristotle, *Analytica posteriora* II, 100b; for the identification of *nous* with *hegemonikon* in Stoic thought, see Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms*, p.37. THIS NEEDS MORE, INC. PLOTINUS.

standing, γαλήνη νοεῖν, such an *Intellectual calmness* and serenity as will present us with a blissful, steady, and invariable sight of him.

And now if you please, setting aside the *Epicurean* herd of Brutish men, who have drowned all their own sober Reason in the deepest *Lethe* of Sensuality, we shall divide the rest of Men into these Four ranks, according to that Method which *Simplicius* upon *Epictetus* hath already laid out to us, with a respect to a Fourfold kind of Knowledge, which we have all this while glanced at.

The First whereof is ἄνθρωπος συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει, or, if you will, ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς, that *Complex and Multifarious* man that is made up of Soul and Body, as it were by a just equality and Arithmetical proportion of Parts and Powers in each of them. The knowledge of these men I should call ἀμυδρον δόξαν in Plutarch's Phrase; a Knowledge wherein Sense and

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the *Timaeus* "mingles the demonstrative with the enunciative" in Taylor's translation T. Taylor, *The Commentaries of Proclus on the Timaeus of Plato*, p.7.

1 γαλήνη νοεῖν] "intellectual serenity"; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria* 21.26  
 9 ἄνθρωπος συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει] "a man of mixed origin"; cf. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4; Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38

10 ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς] "the multiple man" cf. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4, Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38, and *Enneads*, 6.9.8

13 ἀμυδρον δόξαν] "indistinct or faint knowledge"

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1 *Intellectual calmness*] cf. Whichcote's "There ought to be serenity and calmness and clear apprehensions, fair weather within; that the noble *Platonist* calls *steadiness of mind and understanding, an intellectual calmness*: a just balance; no confusion; no provocation; no disturbance; no perturbation." Whichcote, *Works*, IV, pp.70-1.

6 *Simplicius* upon *Epictetus*] The *Commentary on the Enchiridion of Epictetus* by *Simplicius* of Cilicia (c.490-c.560) sees Stoicism through Neoplatonic eyes. The best text is Ilsetraut Hadot, *Simplicius - Commentaire sur le Manuel d'Epictète*. See also I. Hadot, *Simplicius, sa vie, son œuvre, sa survie: actes du Colloque international de Paris (28 sept. - 1er oct. 1985) : organisé par le Centre de recherche sur les œuvres et la pensée de Simplicius (RCP 739-CNRS)*, pp. 346-35, for a survey of Smith's use of the commentary, and, for *Simplicius' methods*, Balthussen, *Philosophy and Exegesis In Simplicius*.

13 in Plutarch's Phrase] Plutarch (c. 46 - 120 AD) was a Greek writer from Chaeonea, best known as a biographer and essayist, whose *Moralia* constitutes an important source for the Cambridge Platonists. A number of pseudepigraphical works were attributed to him. For this phrase, cf. J. Taylor, *Works* VI, p.386: "when a man is (that I may use *Plato's*

Reason are so twisted up together, that it cannot easily be unravel'd, and laid out into its first principles. Their highest Reason is ὁμόδοξος ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι complying with their senses, and both conspire together in vulgar opinion. To these that Motto which the *Stoicks* have made for them may  
 5 very well agree, βίος ὑπόληψις, their *life* being steer'd by nothing else but *Opinion* and *Imagination*. Their higher notions of God and Religion are so entangled with the Birdlime of fleshly Passions and mundane Vanity, that they cannot rise up above the surface of this dark earth, or easily entertain any but earthly conceptions of heavenly things. Such Souls as  
 10 are here lodg'd, as *Plato* speaks, are ὀπισθοβαρεῖς *heavy behinde*, and are continually pressing down to this world's centre: and though, like the Spider, they may appear sometime moving up and down aloft in the aire, yet they doe but sit in the loome, and move in that web of their own gross fancies, which they fasten and pin to some earthly thing or other.

15 The Second is Ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος, The man that looks at himself as being what he is rather by his Soul than by his

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2–3 ὁμόδοξος ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι] “of the same opinion as their senses”

5 βίος ὑπόληψις] The best known occurrence of the phrase is in Marcus Aurelius, 4.3. Antoninus, *De seipso et ad seipsum*, p.71 (Smith's copy is in Queens' library); Casaubon translates “This world is mere change, this life, opinion.” Casaubon, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* p.68

10 ὀπισθοβαρεῖς *heavy behinde*] “weighted behind”; not Plato, but Plotinus in *Enneads*, 6,9,4, where he speaks of a soul “still held back in the ascent by a burden which hinders the vision”; cf. Whichcote, *Several Discourses*, II, p.35: “We are as they say *heavy behind* (marginal note: ὀπισθοβαρεῖς). In this Body, the very Reason of our Mind is materiated, and the very Sentiments of our Souls (to use the common phrase) do taste of the Cask ...”; and “Those eagle eyed philosophers the *Platonists* ... tell us, that men are become *heavy behind*, that though they have an inclination in their souls, and a tendency upwards, yet they are presently born down by body” *ibid.* p.172.

15 Ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος] “a man essentially according to the logical life”; cf. H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus* p.4, Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38 (“those who have their essence in accordance with a rational life”).

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expression) συμφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει, mingled with his nature and his Congenial infirmities of *anger* and *desire*, he can never have anything but ἀμυδρον δόξαν a knowledge partly moral and partly natural”.

11–13 like the Spider, they may appear sometime moving up and down aloft in the aire, yet they doe but sit in the loome] cf. Coleridge's note after reading Smith in August 1804, in Coburn, *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* II, p.18.

Body; that thinks not fit to view his own face in any other Glass but that of Reason and Understanding; that reckons upon his *Soul* as that which was made *to rule*, his *Body* as that which was born *to obey*, and like an handmaid perpetually to wait upon his higher and nobler part. And in  
 5 such an one the *Communes notitiæ*, or common Principles of Vertue and Goodness, are more clear and steady. To such an one we may allow  
 τρανεστεράν και ἐμφανεστεράν δόξαν, *more clear and distinct Opinions*, as being already ἐν καθάρσει, in a Method or course of *Purgation*, or at least  
 10 fit to be initiated into the *Mysteria minora* the lesser Mysteries of Religion. For though these *Innate notions of Truth* may be but poor, empty, and hungry things of themselves, before they be fed and fill'd with the practice of true Vertue; yet they are capable of being impregnated, and exalted with the Rules and Precepts of it. And therefore the Stoick sup-  
 pos'd ὅτι τοιούτο προσήκουσιν αἱ ἠθικαὶ καὶ πολιτικαὶ ἀρεταί, that the doctrine  
 15 of Political and Moral vertues was fit to be delivered to such as these; and though they may not be so well prepared for Divine Vertue (which is of an higher Emanation) yet they are not immature for Humane, as having the Seeds of it already within themselves, which being water'd by answerable practice, may sprout up within them.

20 The Third is Ἄνθρωπος ἤδη κεκαθαρμένος, He whose Soule is *already purg'd* by this lower sort of Vertue, and so is continually flying off from the Body and Bodily passion, and returning into himself. Such in S *Peter's* language are those *who have escaped the pollutions which are in the world*

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7 τρανεστεράν και ἐμφανεστεράν δόξαν] “clearer and more explicit knowledge”

8 ἐν καθάρσει] “in the process of being purified”; cf. *Phaedo* 76c

9 *Mysteria minora*] “lesser mysteries”

14 ὅτι τοιούτο προσήκουσιν αἱ ἠθικαὶ καὶ πολιτικαὶ ἀρεταί] “that to such people belong the ethical and civic virtues”; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.5

20 Ἄνθρωπος ἤδη κεκαθαρμένος] “the already purified man”; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4, Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38 (“someone who is capable of living cathartically”).

23–1 *who have escaped the pollutions which are in the world through lust*] 2 Peter, 2, 20

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5 *Communes notitiæ*] “common notions”; again, the terminology is Stoic.

through lust. To these we may attribute a νόθη ἐπιστήμη, a lower degree of Science, their inward sense of Vertue and moral Goodness being far transcendent to all meer Speculative opinions of it. But if this Knowledge settle here, it may be quickly apt to corrupt. Many of our most refined

5 Moralists may be, in a worse sense then *Plotinus* means, πληρωθέντες τῆ ἑαυτῶν φύσει, full with their own pregnancy; their Souls may too much heave and swell with the sense of their own Vertue and Knowledge: there may be an ill *Ferment of Self-love* lying at the bottom, which may puffe it up the more with Pride, Arrogance, and self-conceit. These forces with which

10 the Divine bounty supplies us to keep a stronger guard against the evil Spirit, may be abus'd by our own rebellious Pride, enticing of them from their allegiance to Heaven, to strengthen it self in our Souls, and fortifie them against Heaven: like that supercilious *Stoick*, who when he thought his Mind well arm'd and appointed with Wisdome and Vertue, cry'd out,

15 *Sapiens contendet cum ipso Jove de felicitate*. They may make an aiery heaven of these, and wall it about with their own Self-flattery, and then sit in it as Gods, as *Cosroes* the Persian king was sometime laughed at for enshrining himself in a Temple of his own. And therefore if this *Knowledge* be not attended with *Humility* and a deep sense of *Self-penury* and

20 *Self-emptiness*, we may easily fall short of that True Knowledge of God which we seem to aspire after. We may carry such an Image and *Species*

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24 νόθη ἐπιστήμη] “bastard knowledge”; cf. *Timaeus*, 52b, *Enneads*, II.4.10, and Cudworth, *A Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, p.48 and 160.

28–29 πληρωθέντες τῆ ἑαυτῶν φύσει] “filled with their own life”; adapted from *Enneads*, 3,5,7.

36 that supercilious *Stoick*] Epicurus, in Seneca, *Epistles*, XXV

38 *Sapiens contendet cum ipso Jove de felicitate*] “a wise man may challenge the happiness of Jove himself”

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28–29 πληρωθέντες τῆ ἑαυτῶν φύσει, full with their own pregnancy] MacKenna translates: “true satisfaction is only for what has its plenitude in its own being”. Smith’s choice of word, and the following imagery, is perhaps suggested by νόθη ἐπιστήμη above.

38 *Sapiens contendet cum ipso Jove de felicitate*] Gunmere translates: “The things which we actually need are free for all, or else cheap; nature craves only bread and water. No one is poor according to this standard; when a man has limited his desires within these bounds, he can challenge the happiness of Jove himself, as Epicurus says.”

40–41 as *Cosroes* the Persian king was sometime laughed at for enshrining himself in a Temple of his own] The anecdote is perhaps drawn from Edward Livelie’s *A True Chronology of ... the Persian Monarchy*, [London, 1567, 1597] or Thomas Herbert’s *A Description of the Persian Monarchy*, [London, 1634].

of our Selves constantly before us, as will make us lose the clear sight of the Divinity, and be too apt to rest in a meer *Logical* life (it's *Simplicius* his expression) without any true participation of the *Divine life*, if we doe not (as many doe, if not all, who rise no higher) relapse and slide back by  
 5 vain-glory, popularity, or such like vices, into some mundane and external Vanity or other.

The Fourth is Ἄνθρωπος θεωρητικός, The true Metaphysical and Contemplative man, ὃς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν ζωὴν ὑπερτρέχων, ὅλως εἶναι βούλεται τῶν κρειττόνων, who running and shooting up above his own *Logical* or  
 10 *Self-rational* life, pierceth into the *Highest life*: Such a one, who by *Universal Love* and *Holy affection* abstracting himself from himself, endeavours the nearest Union with the Divine Essence that may be, κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψας, as *Plotinus* speaks; knitting his own centre, if he have any, unto the centre of Divine Being. To such an one the Platonists are wont to attribute  
 15 θείαν ἐπιστήμην a true *Divine wisdom*, powerfully displaying it self ἐν νοεῶν ζωῇ in an *Intellectual life*, as they phrase it. Such a Knowledge they say is alwaies pregnant with *Divine Vertue*, which ariseth out of an happy Union of Souls with God, and is nothing else but a living Imitation of a Godlike perfection drawn out by a strong fervent love of it. This Di-  
 20 vine Knowledge καλοῦς καὶ ἐραστοῦς ποιεῖ &c. as *Plotinus* speaks, makes

7 Ἄνθρωπος θεωρητικός] “the contemplative man”; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4; Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38 (“the theoretical person”).

8–9 ὃς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν ζωὴν ὑπερτρέχων, ὅλως εἶναι βούλεται τῶν κρειττόνων] H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4; Smith understands this in the sense given it by Wolf: “is enim vita rationi consentanea non contentus, quantus quantus est, Deorum esse collega studet”: “for, not content with the agreement of his reason, however great it may be, this man studies to be a colleague of the gods.” cf. Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.38 (“such a person, rising above even his rational life, wants to be wholly one of our superiors”).

12–13 κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψας, as *Plotinus* speaks] *Enneads*, 6.9.10; MacKenna translates: “centre coincides with centre”

15 θείαν ἐπιστήμην] “divine knowledge”; not identified

16 ἐν νοεῶν ζωῇ] “in intellectual life”; not identified.

20 καλοῦς καὶ ἐραστοῦς ποιεῖ &c. as *Plotinus* speaks] “makes beautiful and lovable”; *Enneads*, 1.6.7.

2 *Logical* life] cf. the next citation from *Simplicius*: λογικὴν ζωὴν H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.4.

20 καλοῦς καὶ ἐραστοῦς ποιεῖ &c. as *Plotinus* speaks] Armstrong translates: “For this

us amorous of Divine beauty, beautifull and lovely; and this *Divine Love and Purity* reciprocally exalts *Divine Knowledge*; both of them growing up together like that Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως that *Pausanias* sometimes speaks of. Though by the *Platonists* leave such a *Life and Knowledge* as this is,  
 5 peculiarly belongs to the true and sober Christian who lives in Him who is *Life* it self, and is enlightned by Him who is the *Truth* it self, and is made partaker of the *Divine Unction, and knoweth all things*, as *S. John* speaks. This *Life* is nothing else but God's own breath within him, and an *Infant-Christ* (if I may use the expression) formed in his Soul, who is in a sense  
 10 ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, *the shining forth of the Father's glory*. But yet we must not mistake, this *Knowledge* is but here in its *Infancy*; there is an higher knowledge or an higher degree of this knowledge that doth not, that cannot, descend upon us in these earthly habitations. We cannot

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3–4 that Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως that *Pausanias* sometimes speaks of] *Pausanias* tells the story in I,xxx,i: "Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god. The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (Love Avenged) they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From this time the resident aliens worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras." *Pausanias, Description of Greece*, p.164

3 Ἔρως] "Love"

3 Ἀντέρως] the god who avenged slighted lovers

7 as *S. John* speaks] 1 John,3,20: "For if our heart condemne vs, God is greater then our heart, and knoweth all things."

10 ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης] "the radiance of his glory"; Hebrews 1,3

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[the good], since it is beauty most of all, and primary beauty, makes its lovers beautiful and lovable."

3–4 that Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως that *Pausanias* sometimes speaks of] See Merrill, "Eros and Anteros" for a wide range of references to the myth. Smith's interpretation is thoroughly traditional, stemming ultimately from *Phaedrus*, 255d, but also owing something perhaps to Themistius 304d. Eunapius tells a remarkable story about Iamblichus, Eros and Anteros in his *Lives of the Sophists*.

8–9 This *Life* is nothing else but God's own breath within him, and an *Infant-Christ* (if I may use the expression) formed in his Soul] cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, pp.33-4

here see מאירה באספקלריא *in Speculo lucido* ; here we can see *but in a glass*, and that *darkly* too. Our own *Imaginative Powers*, which are perpetually attending the highest acts of our Souls, will be breathing a gross dew upon the pure Glasse of our Understandings, and so sully and be-  
 5 smear it, that we cannot see the Image of the Divinity sincerely in it. But yet this Knowledge being a true heavenly fire kindled from God's own Altar, begets an undaunted Courage in the Souls of Good men, and enables them to cast an holy Scorn upon the poor petty trash of this Life in comparison with Divine things, and to pittie those poor brutish *Epicureans* that  
 10 have nothing but the meer husks of fleshly pleasure to feed themselves with. This Sight of God makes pious Souls breath after that blessed time when Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life, when they shall no more behold the Divinity through those dark Mediums that eclipse the blessed Sight of it.

## 2

2 Having now done with what we propounded as a *Preface* to our following *Discourses*, we should now come to treat of the *main heads and Principles of Religion*. But before we doe that, perhaps it may not be amiss to inquire into some of those *Anti-Deities* that are set up against  
 5 it, the chief whereof are ATHEISM and SUPERSITITION; which indeed may seem to comprehend in them all kind of Apostasy and Prævarication

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1 [מאירה באספקלריא] cf. John Smith, *Select Discourses*, p.263; cf. Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae: or A Rational Account of the Christian Faith*, p.142. for an apparent echo.

1 *in Speculo lucido* ] "in a glass clearly"

1-2 here we can see *but in a glass*, and that *darkly*] cf. 1 Corinthians, 13, 12: "For now we see through a glasse, darkely: but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know euen as also I am knowen."

12 Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life] cf. 2 Corinthians, 5, 4: "For, we that are in this tabernacle, doe grone, being burdened, not for that wee would bee vnclothed, but clothed vpon, that mortalitie might bee swallowed vp of life."

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1 2] This marks the start of Worthington's *Second Discourse*. "The next discourse of Superstition is one of the best I ever read" commented Locke in February 1682 (letter 687 in J. Locke, *The Correspondence of John Locke: Letters 462-848*.)

1-2 *Preface* to our following *Discourses*] A reminder that this was delivered as part of Smith's catechetical duties at Queens