The Second Book of Justus Lipsius' *De Constantia*

Chapter I

The opportunity to take up the conversation anew. A walk to Langius' delightful garden, and praise of it.

On the following day, Langius decided to lead me to his gardens. He was cultivating two sorts of garden with clearly intense zeal,[i] one on a hill, near to the house, the other situated a bit further off, in a lower place, on the Meuse itself, 'the river which flows with a gentle current through a delightful town.'[ii]1
Thus when he surprised me tolerably early in my bedchamber, 'Should we take a walk, Lipsius?'[iii] he asked, 'or do you prefer a quiet place to sit?' 'No, if it is with you, Langius,' I said, 'I prefer a walk. But where are we going?' 'If you like, we will go to my gardens,' said Langius, 'which are by the river, not far from here. On the way, you will get exercise and you will see the town and the breeze will be welcomely cool in the heat.' 'Good idea,' I said, 'With you in the lead, I would go anywhere, even to the farthest reaches of India.' With that said, we asked for and took our coats and went on our way. At the entrance once I had cast my eyes all around with great interest, amazed inwardly at the elegance and cultivation, I said, 'Old friend, what is this delightfulness? what splendor! This is a heaven, Langius, not a garden. The starry heavens shine no more in the quiet night than these sparkling and blazing varied flowers of yours. Do they talk about the gardens of Adonis[2] or Alcinoos[3]? Mere sketches compared to these, mere pictures of flies.'[4] And at the same time I went closer and smelled and looked at some of the flowers, 'What should I wish for first,' I said, 'to become an eye like Argos,[5] or a nose with Catullus[6]? Thus pleasure caresses and stimulates both senses equally. Come, come all you perfumes of the Arabs: you are offensive compared to this home-grown and truly celestial exhalation.' Langius, charmingly pressing my hand, said, not without a smile, 'Meaning no offense, Lipsius, but neither I nor these my rustic flowers acknowledge such learned and urbane praise.' 'The praise is accurate, Langius,' I replied. 'Do you think I flatter? I say this in all seriousness from deep in my soul: the Elysian fields are not Elysian compared with this landscape of yours. Just look at what brilliance is all around. What order. How

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[1] A fragment found attributed to Ennius in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6.4§4.
[2] Women sowed fast-growing plants in pots, which were called 'gardens of Adonis' and then cast them into the sea in a ritual of Adonis.
[3] Alcinoos' garden is described at Homer, *Odyssey* VII line 112f.
[4] The phrase *imagines muscarum* "images of flies" makes little obvious sense: perhaps it should be *imagines musarum* 'images (i.e. not real) of the muses (*musarum*).' Perhaps the 'images of flies' is a reference to Petronius' *Satyricon* 135, where the hulls of beans on the floor look like 'images of flies,' but that seems a stretch.
[5] A reference to the 100-eyed giant named Argos Panoptes ('all-seeing Argos') who was set to guard Io in Greek mythology.
[6] The famous last line of Catullus 13 mentions a perfume which will make Fabullus want to become all nose.

everything fits in its own plot and raised bed such that tessellae are no more elegant in a floor mosaic. What abundance of flowers and greenery. What rareness and novelty. So that nature seems to have secluded in this little place whatever this earth or any other has in the way of excellence.

Chapter II

Praise of gardens in general. That their cultivation is ancient and natural. That kings and great men have practiced it. Finally, their delights put before the eyes, and my own pious prayer.

'This zeal of yours for gardens, Langius, is truly extraordinary and praisworthy. A pursuit to which, unless I am mistaken, the best most temperate people are drawn by their very nature.[iv] As evidence for which I call on the fact that you will not easily identify another pleasure on which the select few among peoples so eagerly agree in every era. [v] Have you reviewed the scriptures?[vi] You will see that gardens are coeval with the origin of the world: god himself gave a garden as a home and as it were a base for a blessed life to the first human. The secular literature? Look at how proverbs and tales talk of gardens of Adonis and Alcinoos and Tantalus[7] and the Hesperides,[8] and in true and reliable accounts, you will find nurseries set up by King Cyrus,[9] and the midair hanging flowers of Semiramis,[10] and the novel and well known garden of Masanissa,[11] admired in Africa. Now for the ancient Greeks and Romans[vii]: I could offer you how many famous people, who put aside their other concerns and devoted themselves to this one alone? Among them, in a word, are all the philosophers and the wise. They retreated far from the chaotic forum and town, to the enclosures of their gardens. Among them I see King Tarquin in

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[7] In mythology, Tantalus' chief crimes were that he stole ambrosia from Olympus and boiled up his son Pelops and tried to feed him to the gods. For this he was punished: he stands in a pool of water that recedes when he tries to drink, with a fruit tree near by that recedes when he tries to eat its fruit. Presumably because of the water and fruit tree, Lipsius imagines that occurring in a garden. Cf. *Odyssey* 11 line 582ff.

[8] The Hesperides are nymphs who tend a garden where Hera's golden apples grow in the far west of the Mediterranean world. They are mentioned by a great many Greek and Roman poets.

[9] Cyrus' gardens at Pasargadae gave rise to the English word "paradise." The Persian formal garden tradition is among the most influential in the world. See Arrian's *Expedition of Alexander* VI.29.

[10] Many significant ancient works near the Euphrates were attributed to the semi-legendary 'Semiramis' (there was a real queen named Shammuramat, who reigned in Assyria in the 9th c. BCE), but no source specifically attributes the hanging gardens, which are semi-legendary as well, to her. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the 1st c. BCE writes that the hanging gardens were built not by Semiramis but by a later king (*Bibliotheca Historica* II.10§1).

[11] Masinissa (aka Massinissa or Massena, c. 240 – c. 148 BCE) was a Numidian king who promoted settled agriculture in Numidia.

most ancient Rome walking quietly in his gardens cutting the heads off of poppies[12]; I recognize Cato the Censor who was devoted to his gardening and wrote seriously about it[13]; Lucullus similarly at leisure after his Asian victories[14]; Sulla pleasantly growing old, with his dictatorship laid aside[15]; Emperor Diocletian preferring his vegetables and lettuces at Split to the purple and all his scepters.[16] Nor do the common folk depart from their betters' opinion. I know that all the simple people, those who are free from evil ambition, are occupied in this pursuit. For there is some hidden inborn force in us whose deepest causes I do not easily report,[viii] which attracts not only we who are readily inclined to this blameless and free-born delight, but also those serious and stern people who reject and mock it. And just as it is not right that anyone look on the sky and those eternal fires in it without some hidden awe and reverence, so it is not right that anyone look upon the holy works of the earth and this decoration[ix][17] of the lower world without some sensation and feeling of joy. Look into your soul and mind, and it will say that it is captured by this sight, no that it is fed by it.[x] Examine your eyes and sense of sight, and they will profess that they find peace nowhere more gratefully than in the grounds and beds of gardens. Take some time, please, to look at these rows of flowers and their growth. Look here at the one from a cup, this one from a sheath, another growing from a bud.[xi] See how this one dies suddenly, another comes up in its place. Then look at the habit, the shape, the appearance, alike and different in a thousand ways in just one species. Where is the mind so hard that it does not soften and melt with some gentle thought at the sight? Now you are here, you attentive eye, cast yourself a bit on these shimmering colors.[xii] Look at this natural purple, this blood red, this ivory, this snow, this flame, this gold and so many colors which every artist is right to strive to equal with a brush: to strive to equal, but not to imitate really. Now what is this perfume emanating out[xiii]? What this intense breath? some portion of heavenly breeze poured down from on high? The poets of our people have not imagined in vain that flowers are born from the liquid life or blood of immortal gods. Oh truly they are a font of joy and pure pleasure! Oh sites

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[12] As Livy reports (I.54), Sextus Tarquinius sent a messenger to his father, Tarquin the Proud, to ask what he should do in Gabii. Tarquin the Proud just walked around silently cutting the heads off the tallest poppies. The messenger returned and told Sextus Tarquinius about the poppy-cutting, and so Sextus Tarquinius killed the foremost men of Gabii.

[13] Cato's *de Agri Cultura* (*On Agriculture*) is his only work on the subject and his only work to survive.

[14] Lucius Licinius Lucullus (118-57/56BCE) returned from the third Mithridatic war fabulously wealthy. Among other extravagant works, he built the "Gardens of Lucullus" on the Pincian Hill in Rome, influenced by his visits to Persian gardens.

[15] Although Sulla (138-78BCE) was dictator, he does not seem to be particularly associated with gardens.

[16] Diocletian abdicated in 305 and lived out his retirement in a palace in Sulona, the capital of Roman Dalmatia, where he tended to his vegetable garden (see, e.g. [Aurelius Victor], *Epitome de Caesaribus* 39.6, where he gushes over his cabbages on being asked to return to power).

[17] Lipsius'note explains that by *mundum mundi* he means 'decoration of the world' rather than some other sense of *mundus*.

of loveliness and Grace![18] Let my peace and life be in your shadows,[xiv] and far from civic unrest may I wander amazed at the joyful sight among these greens and flowers of the known and unknown world, now resting a hand on this one that is fading, now my eyes on another just blooming in a rambling revery relieved of all worries and labors.'

Chapter III

A discourse against certain meddlesome people who misuse gardens for vanity and laziness. What the true use of gardens is. That they are suited for the wise and learned, and that wisdom itself is nourished and brought forth in them.

After I had quite excitedly said those things, kindled to flame in voice and expression, with a good-humored expression Langius said to me, 'You certainly love the flowery purple nymph, but I fear lest you are inflamed beyond due proportion. For you praise gardens, but in such a way as to admire only the empty or external things about them and leave out their true and legitimate joys. For while you are looking greedily at the colors and finding peace in the raised beds, and seeking flowers of the known and unknown world, what am I after? to know that you are not one of that school which has arisen of late full of basely meddlesome and idle people who turn a thing of excellence and simplicity into an instrument of vanity and laziness. For they keep gardens for that end. They greedily seek out exotic plants and flowers and once they find them they care for them and watch over them so fussily, like no mother ever fussed over her son. These are the ones whose letters travel to Thrace, Greece, and India for the sake of a tiny seed or little bulb. These are the ones who take it more badly that some new flower dies than that their old friend does. Someone made fun of that Roman who wore black in mourning for his fish?[xv][19] These ones do it for a plant. Now if one of these suitors of Flora has found something quite novel or rare, how he preens! so the other suitors emulate and envy him and no few go home despondent, as long ago in the election of a praetor when Sulla or Marcellus went home defeated. What should I say except that this is a sort of giddy insanity not dissimilar to that of children who grow pale and quarrel about their dolls and figurines? But just look at their activity in the garden: they sit, they walk around, they yawn, they sleep, and nothing else. Precisely in order that their leisure have no interruption, as a tomb for their sloth. An unholy lot! and whom I would rightly bar from the rites of the true and secret garden, which I know to have arisen for tempered pleasure, not vanity: for rest, not torpidity. Am I such a lightweight that some rare plant buoys me up or depresses me, whether because I have acquired or lost it?[xvi] No. I value things at their worth: with all the primping of novelty put aside, I know that they are plants and

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[18] The Latin for 'loveliness and grace' is, literally, 'of Venuses and the Graces,' mythological figures frequently used symbolically.

[19] Varro *de Agri Cultura* III.17 describes Hortensius' fish ponds, and how Domitius made sport of them, but it is Crassus who is said to have put on mourning for a 'murena' (an eel or lamprey), according to Macrobius *Saturnalia* III.15 (who uses Latin similar to Lipsius') and Greek-writing authors Plutarch *de Sollertia Animalium* 976a7f. and Claudius Aelianus *de Natura Animalium* VIII.4.

flowers, brief and fleeting things, [xvii] in other words, about which the princely poet very fittingly said:

When Zephyr blows, it makes some grow and ripens others[xviii][20]

So I do not disdain those luxuries or refinements (as you see), but I differ from the Hortensiuses of the world in this, that I acquire these things without trouble, I possess them without worry, and I lose them without a care. Nor am I so withered, nay dead, that I hide and as it were bury myself among the shades of the garden. I find work to do in leisure here in the garden and my soul discovers something to do without any activity, something to work out without any work. 'Never am I less alone,' someone said, 'than when I am alone: never am I less at leisure than when I am at leisure.'[21] An extraordinary saying, and one which I dare say was given its birth in a garden. For gardens are prepared for the mind,[xix] not the body, for the mind's refreshment, not for corporeal relaxation, and for salubrious retreat from worries and problems. If humanity vexes you, here you will be at home with yourself. Does public service exhaust you? Here you will be replenished. Here you will find the nourishment of quiet for the soul and the inspiration of a new life from the more pure air.[xx] Do you see the ancient wise men? They lived in gardens. The erudite and learned souls of today? they delight in gardens and in gardens most of those writings which we admire and which no length of time or old age will abolish were forged. We owe so many treatises on nature to the greenery of the Lycaeum,[22] those on ethics to the shade of the Academy.[23] From the grounds of gardens flowed those rich rivers of wisdom from which we drink and which have inundated the earth with their fertile flood. For clearly the soul elevates itself and reaches for the heights when it is free and unfettered and looks at the sky, more than when it is shut in the cells of buildings or towns.[xxi] Hear, you poets, compose for me a poem that will endure. Here, you writers, think and write. Here, you philosophers, dispute about peacefulness and constancy and life and death. Lo, Lipsius, that is the true employment and goal of gardens. Leisure, retreat, meditation, reading, writing, and all as if by way of relaxation and play. Just as painters restore their weary eyes by looking at certain mirrors and green colors, so we restore our soul here when it is worn out or has wandered astray. And why should I hide from you my design. Do you see that arbor with topiary work? It is my home of the Muses, a gymnasium and palaestra for my wisdom.[xxii] There I fill my breast with serious or secluded reading or with the sowing of good thoughts. And I store up guidelines from them in my soul like weapons in an armory, which are ready for me against the force and vicissitudes of fortune. Every time I set foot in it, I bid all my vile and servile worries to stay out, and with heald held as high as possible, I look down on the pursuits of the unlearned people and the great inanity of humans in their affairs. I seem even to lay aside

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[20] Homer, *Odyssey* 7.119. Lipsius gives Greek (the same as modern editions) in the main text body, and his own translation in the margin.

[21] Cf. Cicero *de Officiis* 3.1, where the elder Scipio speaks (Lipsius probably refers to him), and *de Re Publica* 1.27, which are both so close to Lipsius' Latin that they must be his source (or perhaps Jerome *adversus Jovinianum,* Migne *PL* vol. 23, col. 278a).

[22] Even before it was a place of learning, there was a grove of trees in the Lycaeum, where Aristotle and later peripatetics held forth. It was also an exercise ground.

[23] The grounds of the Academy, where Plato founded his school, also held a grove of trees (olives sacred to Athena).

my humanity itself and to be taken on high by the fiery chariots of wisdom. Or do you think that I spend my time there worrying about what the Celts or the Celtiberians are machinating? Who holds the scepter of Belgium, or who loses it? whether the tyrant of Asia threatens us on land with a fleet? Or in a word,

> 'what the king of the frozen shore
> plans under the sign of the bear?'[24]

I do none of these. Fortified and closed away from externals, I stay within myself, free drom all cares except one, that I subject my broken and subdued soul to right reason and god, and that I subject all other human matters to my soul. So that whenever that fated day of mine comes, I shall take it with a composed countenance and not sadly, and leave this life not as one exiled but as one who has been released. That is my dalliance[25] in gardens, Lipsius, those are the rewards, which I would not exchange for all the treasure of the Persiand or Indians.

Chapter IIII

An exhortation to wisdom. That through it Constancy is reached. And earnest advice to youth to conjoin the serious writings of philosophy with the more pleasant and liberal ones.

Langius spoke, and in the end with that so high and constant speech, I confess truly, he put me in a daze, which, however, I interrupted by saying, 'O happy you, equally in leisure and in you cares! O life hardly human in a human! would that in some part it were permitted for me to imitate it and to crawl along on your path, even at some distance behind.' Langius, as if scolding, said 'To imitate? no, to overcome. It is not only your right in this to follow, but to overcome me. Too little distance, too little, Lipsius, have I moved myself along on this path of constancy and virtue, and I am not yet equal to the brave and the good, but jutting perhaps just a nose ahead of the weak and the bad in strength. But you whose character is vigorous and elevated, begird yourself and with me as leader, enter the path which leads straight to strength and constancy. The path I follow is wisdom, whose consistent and calm course I ask and advise you no longer to avoid stepping into.[xxiii] Up to now, have literature and the nine goddesses[26] been close to your heart? Good. For I know that the soul ought to be cultivated and prepared by this more pleasant external pursuit,[xxiv] 'before which one to whom divine seeds are entrusted is not suited.'[xxv][27] But it is not good if you stop at that, if they are your only pursuits, as they

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[24] Horace *Odes* I.26 lines 3-4. Usually *metuatur* 'is feared' is printed in this ode instead of Lipsius' *meditetur* 'plans,' but the meaning is similar either way, because of the context (*q.v.*).

[25] Although a rather easy word to coin, *muginatio* (from *muginor* 'loiter, dally') is rather rare. Lipsius' colleague Johann van der Does a Noortwiick, who wrote a poem for the frontmatter of *de Constantia*, uses it in Carmen X of *Epodon* I.

[26] The muses.

[27] From Augustine *de Ordine* I.2§4: Lipsius has changed the case of one Latin word (*idoneus* 'suited') to fit the quote into his own syntax.

say, 'from start to finish.'[28] For these ought to be our beginnings, not our products, our means, not our goal. If you had sat down to a feast, you would not taste just the cake and desserts, I trust. You would give some more solid mainstay by way of food to your stomach. In this public meal of teachings, why doesn't the same thing happen? Why not, I say, join this more nutritious meal of philosophy to those sweets of the rhetoricians?[xxvi] I do not mean to take them away (lest you silently slander me) but to add philosophy to them, and to temper the fluid and less-ruly-by-nature nymphs with this more challenging wine, so to speak. The suitors in Homer are not unjustly laughed at, because they turned to the serving maids and neglected Penelope. Beware lest the same thing happen to you, lest you grow ardent for her servants while the mistress of the house is spurned. The praise 'O learned man' is pretty, but 'O wise man' is better, and 'O good man' is the best! Let us pursue these and in our many labors, let us want to not only know things, but to understand wisely and to act.

'Learning is nothing if understanding is not present'[xxvii][29]

Says the old and true verse. How many among us are educated in the arts and yet bring dishonor to themselves[xxviii] and the whole name of literature? Some, because they are full of unbridled passions and criminal urges. Many, because they are vain and frivolous, air-headed[30] and have no care for anything serious.[xxix] They are learning foreign languages? But only the languages. Do they know how to read the Greek and Latin writers? They merely know how to read them and as Anacharsis cleverly said once about the Athenians, they use coins only for counting. Thus these ones use knowledge only for knowing. They have no care for life and deeds, so that, in my judgement, it's not for no reason that literature has a bad reputation among the masses, as if it were a teacher of iniquity. But literature's purpose is virtue, it you use it correctly.[xxx] Just add wisdom, for which literature ought to prepare our character. For just as certain trees do not bear fruit unless planted near males, as it were, so likewise with these virgins of yours who know only literature, unless they are conjoined with the virile strength of wisdom. To what end do you correct Tacitus, if your life is not corrrected? Why do you explain Tranquillus,[31] when you are in the darkness of errors? Why do you zealously wash away the stains and spots on Plautus, when you let your soul grow filthy and be slovenly? Switch your attentions to more important cares and work out a theory that is not only for ostentation, but for use.[xxxi] Turn to wisdom to correct your character, to calm and illumine your disturbed and squalid soul. That is what can stamp you with virtue and supply constancy, that alone, which can open the temple of a good mind to you.

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[28] Literally 'prow and stern.' Use of 'prow' and 'stern' to indicate the whole or sum total of something (as English "root and branch") is common in various locutions. Cf. Cicero *Epistulae ad Familiares* 16.24§1, who uses the same words as Lipsius does, (*prora et puppis,* translated above as 'tip to stern'), and calls it 'a Greek proverb.' In Greek, cf. e.g. [Dio Chrysostom], Oration 37 *The Corinthian*, §36.

[29] Menander, *Sententiae e Codicibus Byzantinis*, line 865 in Jäkel 1964.

[30] "Airheaded" translates Greek μετεωροί (which should be μετέωροι).

[31] Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, more commonly known today as 'Suetonius.'

Chapter V

Wisdom is acquired not by wishing but by attempting. A return to the conversation about constancy. That the desire to learn is a good sign in a youth.

That advice lit a fire in me which I did not hide, and I said, 'I am following you in spirit, my old friend. When will I follow in deed? What day will establish me in the true track of wisdom freed from these cares? and lead me on the path to constancy?' Langius replied in a scolding way, 'Are you devoutly wishing it instead of doing it? Moreover, doing so in vain, in the manner of the masses? For you will not transform from silly to wise, from frivolous to constant by wishful vows, as in stories Caeneus transformed from a woman into a man by wishing it.[xxxii] The proper way is to get to work and 'put your hand to it, together with Minerva,' as they say.[xxxiii32] Ask, read, and learn!' 'I know, Langius,' I replied, 'but you too, my friend, get to work and weave on with that thread of yesterday's conversation which the call to dinner unfortunately interrupted. Return to constancy, whose interruption you cannot defer without an expiatory sacrifice,' I said. Langius, gently declining with his head, said, 'So that I am included again in your game? I won't do it, Lipsius. Certainly not here in this place, which you ought to know is consecrated to my leisure, not to business. In fine, we will run this course another time.' 'No, now,' I said, 'and what place is more suited to this conversation about wisdom? I mean your pergola, which is like a temple to me and the little table in it is like an altar, at which to sit and perform rits to the goddess wisdom. In fine, I even take an omen from it.' 'How so?', asked Lipsius. 'As follows,' I said. 'Just as those who have sat in a room full of spices and perfumes carry the odor of the place back with them in their very clothes, so hope clings to me, like a breath of wisdom clings to the soul, from sitting there in wisdom's workshop, which is steeped in it.' Langius said, smiling, 'I fear that there is no weight in such a trifling omen. Nonetheless, Lipsius, let us go. For I won't dissemble. Your so noble passion also stirs and arouses me. And like the water inspectors, when they see some exhalation erupting from the earth in the morning, they take it as a sign of hidden water,[xxxiv] so to me is the hope of virtues from the prolific bubbling when this desire of learning precedes and becomes manifest in a youth.' And with those words he lead me and brought me into his pergola, where he sat at the little table. I first turned to the servants and said, 'You, stand watch, and especially, bar that door. Do you hear? Your life is gone if anyone alive enters here. I want no one admitted, no man, no dog, no woman, not even lady fortune herself, if she comes.' With that said, I sat down. Langius, smiling quite broadly, said, 'Do you wield the rod so? Your commands are so royal and severe.' 'Of course,' I said, 'I am rightly taking precautions against yesterday's misfortune. Continue the conversation, with god.'

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[32] Lipsius' Greek, supplied in the margin, is accurate. The proverb, which is akin to English 'god helps those who help themselves,' is found here and there in Greek, and identified as a proverb by Plutarch *de Proverbiis* Alexandrinorum fragment 36 as well as Zenobius, *Epitome Collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et* Didymi, Century 5§93 and by *Mantissa* Proverbiorum Century1§32.

Chapter VI

A third argument for constancy, from utility. That there are good disasters: observe their origin or their result. For they take their origin from god, who is eternally and unchangeably good, and thus the cause of no evil.

Langius thought for a little while, and began thus: 'In the conversation which I began yesterday about Constancy, Lipsius, I shall not depart from the subject of constancy. I shall follow the same order and I shall hold to the outline that I delineated once before.[xxxv] As you know, I constructed four battle lines, as it were, to fight on constancy's behalf against pain and depression. The first two of which, the ones about providence and necessay, I have completed, and I gave enough justification also of the idea that public evils are sent from above by god, and likewise that they are necessities and not to be avoided by any means of escape. I shall now muster the third battle line, which utility commands, and which consists in a legion, which I have appropriately called 'Adiutrix.'[33] The battle line, if you inspect it, is strong and experienced.[xxxvi] Somehow it slips into and insinuates itself into souls, and with a seductive force conquers them even when they are unwilling. For it sneaks in rather than break in, and persuades rather than use force and we allow ourselves to be led by necessity as easily as we are pulled along by necessity. I now set this legion against you and your soft troops, Lipsius. For they are useful, these things which we endure as 'public ills,' and they are conjoined with and good internal result and advantages for us, if, with the veil of worldly opinions removed, you cast your eyes at their origin and their result.[xxxvii] Of which the one is from the good, and the other leads to the good. For the origin of these disasters (as I proclaimed and explained sufficiently yesterday) is from god. that is, not only from the very highest good, but the originator of all good things, from their chief and source. From whom no more is it the case that anything bad emanates than that he himself is bad. That force is exclusively beneficial and healthy, which spurns equally doing harm and being harmed and whose solitary and greatest capability is to benefit.[xxxviii] So too those ancient swindlers, when they conceived in their mind that divine force of the higher ones, correctly called it 'Jove' from *juvo* 'help.' Or do you think that he is angered and provoked and hurls these things around like harmful weapons at the human race?[xxxix] You are wrong. 'Anger,' 'vengefulness,' and 'revenge' are names of a human emotion, born in weakness, affecting only the weak. His mind continues eternally in its own benevolence, and those harsh things which he brings to bear and heaps upon us are like medicines,[xl] pain-causing in appearance, healthy in reality and result. That Homer of philosophers[xli][34] rightly said: 'God does nothing bad, nor would it be the cause of a bad thing.' And better and more trenchantly our wise friend[xlii][35]: 'What causes gods to do good? their nature. Anyone who

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[33] 'Adiutrix' ('Helper') was the name of two Roman legions.

[34] Lipsius' quotation is correct Greek (slightly changed from our modern texts of Plato: Lipsius added a word for 'god' where Plato had a pronoun and omitted a particle that does not affect the meaning significantly). It is from *Republic* 379b9. Lipsius offers no translation.

[35] Seneca *Epistula* 95¶49-50, the source of this quotation/paraphrase, has several quite significant differences from Lipsius' text (Lipsius altered the bits in Italics and omits the part in parentheses): 'What causes gods to do good? their nature.

thinks that gods want to or are able to do do harm is in error. They are neither able to be injured nor to do it. The first mode of worship of the gods is to believe that they are gods. Next, to render unto them their greatness, and their goodness, without which there is no greatness. To know that they are the ones who are in charge of the world, who regulate this world as their own, who keep watch over the human race with care even for individuals. They neither give nor possess any evil.'

Chapter VII

That the result of disasters is always directed toward the good. Even if they are carried out by bad people for the sake of nefarious undertakings. That their force is broken and tempered by god. That all things are turned to our advantage. Along the way an explanation of why god uses the work of bad people in them.

Therefore, in origin disasters are good.[xliii] I claim that even in result, because always directed to the good and the healthy.[xliv] You are objecting to me silently, I know. How? You will sayy 'Wars and slaughter clearly have the goal of harming and doing injury, don't they?'[xlv] They do, I admit, if you look to humans. They do not, if you look to god. In order that you understand that, I need to bring to bear the light of certain distinctions. Divine disasters are of two sorts[xlvi]: some are pure, others mixed. I call 'pure,'[xlvii] DISASTERS WHICH ARE PURELY FROM GOD WITHOUT ANY PARTICIPATION OF THE HUMAN MIND OR HAND. I call 'mixed,'[xlviii] those WHICH ARE INDEED FROM GOD BUT THROUGH HUMANS AS AGENTS. Of the one sort are famines, barrennes, earthquakes, floods, diseases, and deaths. Of the other sort are tyrannies, wars, violent movements, and slaughters. Among them, all those which are drawn from the purest source are pure and unadulterated. Among the others, I would not deny an admixture of base things, because they have flown and run off through the impure channel of emotions. A human has participated in them. Why do you wonder if they are harmful and sinful?[xlix] You should rather wonder at how the provident benvolence of god turns that very harmfulness toward our health and the sinful toward our good.[l] You see the tyrant, who exudes threats and slaughter? Whose pleasure is doing harm? Who himself would be willing to perish as long as he can destroy? Leave him be. He will wander away from his own mind and god by some hidden string will pull him unaware and unwilling to his own end. As an arrow reaches the target of the one who shot it without any consciousness of itself, so those impious people do.[li] Clearly that supreme

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Anyone who thinks that gods *do not* want to do harm is in error: they are unable to. They are neither able to be injured nor to do it. (for in fact harming and being harmed are joined together. That greatest and finest nature of all has made those whom it has made immune to danger not dangerous themselves.) The first mode of worship of the gods is to believe that they are gods. Next, to render unto them their greatness, and their goodness, without which there is no greatness. To know that they are the ones who are in charge of the world, who regulate this world *by their power*, who keep watch over the human race *although they are sometimes careless of individuals*. They neither give nor possess any evil.' Lipsius' inaccurate version was used by others later.

force curbs and overcomes all human forces and directs their erring steps toward the finish line. Just as in the army the soldiers have various states of mind, and plunder inspires this one, glory inspires another, and hatred inspires another, and yet they all fight for victory and their leader, so all these good and bad states of the will serve in god's army and yet among a variety of goals they all come to this goal of goals, so to speak. 'But why,' you will say, 'does god use the works of evil people? Why does he himself not send those good disaster, or at least through good agents?' You inquire with too great zeal, my man, and I do not know whether I could explain those hidden things.[lii] I know this, that the plan of his deeds is steadfast to his nature, even when nothing about it is manifest to or consistent with us. And what is new or wondrous about that? See how the governor of a province proceeds legally against a criminal: he bids him to be prosecuted by a Brutianus or a lictor. [36] The father in a large family sometimes chastises his son himself, but sometimes he gives that task to a servant or a pedagogue. Why shouldn't the same custom exist for god? Why shouldn't he beat us with his own hand, when it seems appropriate, and when it seems not, with someone else's hand? There is no harm or injury in it. Did the slave get angry at hou? Does he have an intention to harm? It makes no difference. You just leave him aside and look at the intention of the one giving the orders. For the father is certainly present as an overseer and does not allow even one small blow to be added on to what he ordered. But why is sin mixed in and why is the poison of emotions attached to the divine arrows?[liii37] You are challenging me to climb a rough and hard hill, on which I will make an attempt. In order to show his wisdom and power, 'he judged it better to make good things out of bad than to allow no bad things' (the words are St. Augustine's).[liv38] For what is better or more wise than one who can bring good out of bad and turn what is devised for destruction toward health? Also, you praise the doctor who adds viper into his remedy with a quite healthy effect. Why do you disapprove of it in god if he mixes some human offenses with the remedy for disasters, with no harm to you? For he surely cooks down and consumes all the poison that is added with the hidden fire of his providence. In the end he does all these things in accordance with his power and glory, to which he connects all things by necessity. For what could express his power more than that he not only overcome enemies struggling against him, but that he do so in such a way that he brings them over to his side and his camp?[lv] that they fight for him? that they bear arms for his victory? It happens every day, when the will of god occurs in bad people, even if not by their agency. When bad people do things which are against his will, he turns them around in such a way that they do not occur contrary to his will. And

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[36] A 'Brutianus' was a servant to a Roman magistrate. They were so named from the tribe of Brutti, who went over to Hannibal's side in the Punic wars and so were not taken back as allies but made to serve magistrates as slaves (Aulus Gellius 10.3.19). A lictor was a Roman civil servant whose task was to attend and guard magistrates.

[37] Understanding the marginal note requires an unusual amount of material that must be understood from elsewhere.

[38] Found in *Enchiridion* Chapter VII, (§27): Scheel's text of the *Enchiridion* is slightly different (it has *benefacere* 'do good works' rather than 'make good things' and *esse permittere* 'allow to exist' rather than 'allow'), but the differences arguably do not add up to a significantly different meaning.

what miracle can be more remarkable 'than that bad people make bad people good'?[lvi39] Consider, Gaius Caesar, you are here for a little while. Go off and trample two pious names at once, fatherland and sone-in-law. This ambition of yours, although you don't know it, will serve god. No, it will serve your country, against which it was conceived.[40] For it will be the restoration and safety of the Roman state. You, Attila, fly from the edge of the world, thirsting for blood and plunder. Rape, slaughter, burn, and pillage! That bellicose savagery will be for god. It will be a goad to the Christians, who were buried and drowning in vices and luxuries. What about you two Vespasians? Destroy Judaea and the Jews. Take and lay waste the sacred city. To what end? You for glory and the enlargement of the empire, but that is an error. In truth, you are lictors and attendants for divine revange on an impious people. Go and avenge the death of Christ in Judaea, you who are probably crucifying Christians in Rome. Now you, our governor from the occident or from the orient, what do you intend with this war and cruel arms?[lvii41] To strengthen the sovereignty of the king, so you think, and the power of your people. You too are in error, because you are nothing other than the whip and scourge of the wanton Belgians. We could not cook up our own happiness except with the help of these Neronian baths. Examples of this sort are available from every age, in which god fulfills his own will by means of the base desires of others. Through others' injustice he has brought about his own just judgements. Which is why we should wonder at this hidden force of wisdom and not investigate it, Lipsius.[lviii] We should realize that all disasters are good in result, even if our blind or slow mind does not see how or reach that far. For often their true results lie hidden from us, but do extend to us although we remain ignorant of it. It is no different than some rivers, which disappear from view and hidden below the earth, but nonetheless are born to the sea.

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[39] Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophae*, IV, prose passage 6 §50: *ex quo saepe summa illa prouidentia protulit insigne miraculum, ut malos mali bonos facerent* ('from which the greatest providence has often brought forth a remarkable miracle, that the bad make the bad good'). In this passage, paraphrase and quotation have no crisp separation: the words Lipsius puts in Italics as a quote are very close to the original, but changed to fit Lipsius' grammar, and among the words leading up to the 'quotation,' there are several words from Boethius' sentence too.

[40] Gaius Julius Caesar's story is well known. Relevant parts to Lipsius include: Caesar had his daughter Julia married to cement an alliance with Pompey, who was thus Caesar's son-in-law. He later fought a civil war against Pompey, who was assassinated. The end result, after Caesar was assassinated and the dust had settled from the resulting power struggles, was that the Roman state was 'restored,' but in such a way that it became an empire ruled by one person, although much of the previous republic remained important.

[41] Andreas Viritius, who translated *de Constantia* into German in 1599, identified the person referred to here as 'Don Joan de Austria,' known in English as Don John of Austria, who was governor general of the Low Countries for Philip II of Spain from 1576 until his death in 1578. Lipsius' *Hesperus* 'Occident' refers to Spain, and *aurora* 'orient' refers to Austria (Don John was the illegitimate son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, born at Regensburg).

Chapter VIII

More clarity about the results of disasters. That they are threefold, and who are the sort whom they meet. Then a little more copiously about the training which benefits the good in more than one way, by strengthening, by testing, and by showing the way.

But if it is proper for me to raise more sail, and to send our ship deeper into the strait of divine matters, I could probably explain somewhat more clearly and openly about their results. The following Homeric line is right as a preface:

If I am able to do it, and if it has ever been accomplished.[lix42]

There are among them things which I seem to be able to understand and point out with sufficient certainly. There are those which I can comprehend and point out in an uncertain and perplexed form. Among the certain ones are these three: practice, chastisement, and punishment.[lx] For the most part the sending of calamities, if you pay attention, either exercises the good or chastises those who have slipped, or punishes the bad, and all of those are for our good. For to illustrate and to plant my foot on the first goal,[lxi] we see daily that all the best people either severally are oppressed by disasters or are involved in them together with the bad. We see it and we wonder at it, because we do not get the cause and we do not notice the result. For the cause is god's love for us, not hatred. The goal is not our harm but our benefit. For that exercise is of benefit in more than one way:[lxii] it strengthens, it tests, and it shows the way. It strengthens, because the world is like a gymnasium in which god trains his own in strength and virtue.[lxiii] We see that athletes are exercised by many tough means so that they win. Likewise thing about us in this gymn of disasters. For that trainer and exerciser of ours is fierce, an overseer of labor and suffering not only to the point of sweating, but of bleeding. Do you think that he keeps his own in soft surroundings? that he coddles them with luxury and treats? He does not. There are mothers who spoil and weaken their children by the frequent display of treats, and fathers, who save them by the display of severity. He is a father to us: thus he truly and sternly loves us. If you should want to be a sailer, you would be taught by storms. If to be a soldier, by perils. If to be truly a man, why do you avoid torments? There is no other way to strength. Do you see those weak and etiolated bodies, which it is rare for the sun to see, the wind does not touch, and a harsh breeze has not bent? Such are the souls of those soft and ever lucky ones whom the least breeze of adverse fortune undoes and lays low. Therefore, disasters strengthen us, and like trees which put down deeper roots when blown by the wind, so too do good people take root all the more in virtue, when they are pushed on occasion by adverse gusts. But they also test.[lxiv]Because otherwise how could someone confirm their own strength or progress? For a pilot, if the wind were to always fill the sails from the stern, he would never display his skill. If things are always obliging to a human, that person will never display virtue. There is one single touchstone of virtue that is not deceptive, and that is affliction. Demetrius said it excellently and truly: 'Nothing seems to me more unlucky than the one to whom nothing adverse has happened.' For our ruler does not spare such people, but rather he distrusts

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[42] The line occurs thrice in Homer: Iliad 14.196 and 18.427, and *Odyssey* 5.90, all in response to requests or anticipated requests. Lipsius' Greek is correct. His Latin contains an unusual word, *potissit*, which does not make obvious sense here: **perhaps because of my ignorance?**

them, and he does not indulge them, but casts them down and despises them. He expels, I say, those from the ranks of his legions as cowards and weaklings. Finally, disasters lead the way.[lxv] Because in disasters the strength and endurance of the good is like a light in this dark world. They call the others to the same things by their example, and show a path on which to go. Bias lost his goods and his country, but he calls upon mortals even today 'to carry all their good with them.'[43] Regulus died wretchedly under torture,[44] but he lives as an shining example of faithfulness. Papinianus is slaughtered by a tyrant,[45] but the axe imprints upon us the composure to die for justice. To sum up, so many choice citizens have been exiled or killed through violence and injustice, but from the streams of blood we drink daily constancy and virtue. All of which would lie hidden in darkness without the torchlight of disasters. Just as spices give out their odor far and wide, if you rub them, so the report of virtue is spread if you press it.

Chapter IX

Concerning chastisement, which is the second result. It is demonstrated that it too is of use to us, in two ways.

Now there is another result, chastisement,[lxvi] than which I deny that anything more gentle or better has been found for health. For it helps and saves us in two ways: either in the place of a scourge, if we have sinned, or of a curb, so that we do not sin.[lxvii] As a scourge, because it is the paternal hand which repeatedly beats those who have slipped. As an executioner which punishes us late but once for all. As a purification of fire or water which is applied to filth, so the chastisement of disasters to sins. And a scourge is what we deserve now, Lipsius. For we Belgians have long since lapsed and being corrupted by luxuries and riches. We have set out on the downhill path of vices. But god warns us and calls us back mercifully by inflicting enough blows that we are admonished and return to our senses, or rather we return to him. He has taken our goods from us, because we have used them for luxury. Our freedom, because we have abused it to the point of licentiousness. And with the gentle whip of calamities he purifies and cleanses our transgressions. And it is truly gentle. How small a part of what is owed do we pay? They

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[43] Cicero reports in *Paradoxa Stoicorum* I.8, that when Bias of Priene's city was taken and everyone was leaving with their possessions, Bias walked out with nothing. His fellow citizens asked Bias where his goods were, and he replied that he had all his goods with him. Bias was considered one of the Seven Wise Men of Ancient Greece. The same story is told of Stilpo by Seneca *De Constantia* V.6, and of Simonides in Phaedrus' Aesopic Fables, IV.23 line 14.

[44] Marcus Atilius Regulus was a Roman consul who was captured in the First Punic War. He was released to make peace, told the senate not to accept the peace, and returned to prison where he died under torture in 255BCE.

[45] Aemilius Papinianus was one of the most able Roman jurists. He was entrusted with caring for the emperor Severus' sons Geta and Caracalla on Severus' death. Caracalla, however, killed Geta and likely Papinianus and thousands of others. Lipsius' 'axe' may refer to the report that Papinianus was beheaded.

say that when the Persians were going to punish a famous man, they took his clothing and turban and hung them up and whipped them as if it were the man himself. That is what our father does. In every chastisement, he does not touch us, but rather our body, our fields, our wealth and all our externals. And a curb is also a chastisement, a thing which he hurls at the right moment when he sees that we are going to sin.[lxviii] As doctors sometimes let blood as a precaustion, not because you are sick but so that you do not become sick, so god by means of these calamities deprives us of some things, namely the wherewithal and the kindling of vices.[lxix] For he knows the natures of everyone, who has hidden,[lxx] and he does not judge our sickness by veins or complexion, but by our heart and inner being. Does he see the Etruscan character as lively and excessively stirred up? He putse them down with a prince. That of the Swiss as gentle and calm? He gives them a moderate government. And he is going to change those things in time perhaps, when they change themselves. Still, we complain. 'Why,' people say, 'are we afflicted with a longer war than others,' or 'why is our servitude more bitter?' You fool, although truly sick is your prudence greater than god's?[lxxi] Tell me why a doctor mixes more absynth or hellebore for this patient than that one?[lxxii] Surely because his sickness or nature demands it. Surely he does the same thing for you. He sees that a people is perhaps quite fierce, and so must be restrained by the lash: that another is quite gentle and able to be brought back on track by just the threat of a switch. But it does not seem so to you.[lxxiii] Undoubtably it really is in your best interest! Not even parents leave a knife or sword in the hands of a boy, even if he is very anxious for it. For they foresee the injury. Why should god indulge us to our destruction, since we are truly children ignorant of how to seek health or to reject things that will harm us? But cry if you want, as much as you want. You will still drink the cup of sorrows, because that heavenly doctor does not thoughtlessly set out a full one for you to drink.

Chapter X

Finally that punishment itself is good and healthy, with regard to god, humans, and the person who is punished.

Punishment pertains to bad people, it is true, but is not itself bad.[lxxiv] For firstly, it is good if you look to god, whose eternal and unchanging law of justice demands that human sins either be corrected or removed. Chastisement corrects those which can be washed away. Those which cannot, punishment removes. Next, it is good again, if you look to humans,[lxxv] whose society is not able to stand or endure if all things are done with impunity by those of violent and wicked character. Just as for individual security, an individual thief or assassin needs punishment, so for public security, there is need of an exemplary and common punishment. It is at times necessary that punishments be visited upon the tyrants and brigands of the world, so that there are examples to warn

> 'that there is an eye of justice which sees all'[lxxvi46]

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[46] Lipsius' version of this line (in indirect speech as εἶναι δίκης ὀφθαλμὸν) is not found anywhere in ancient literature, but it is found in direct speech (Ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς 'There is an eye of justice, ...') in several texts. Its original author is uncertain: it is listed

and proclaims to kings and peoples,

'having been warned, learn justice and not to despise the gods'[47]

Thirdly, it is good if you look to those very ones who are punished. For it is on their behalf, because it is not personal vengeance or revenge, and never could that godhead 'resolve to seek bitter penalties out of anger,' as the impious poet piously put it.[48] It is nothing other than a restraint and suppression of crime and, to speak precisely with the Greeks,[49] 'a correction, but not a retribution.'[lxxvii][50] As death is often mercifully sent to the good before a crime, so is it sent to the bad in a crime out of desperation, because they so love their crime that they could not be prised away from it except by cutting. Therefore god stops that unbridled course and kindly removes the sinners and those prepared to sin. Finally, all punishment is good from the point of view of justice, just as impunity is bad, because it brings about that criminals, that is to say, the wretched, live longer. Boethius put it sharply: 'that the wicked are happier paying their penalties than if no punishment of justice were restraining them.'[51] And he gives as a reason, that something good comes upon them (namely the punishment), which they did not have in the rest of their heap of crimes.

Chapter XI

Concerning the fourth result, which is not clear for humans. That it concerns either the preservation and security of the universe, or to its maintenance. An explanation of particulars in detail.

These three results, Lipsius, are certain and clear, and I have traversed them with a sure step. A fourth remains, which I traverse with a wavering step.[lxxviii] For it is less known and more removed, so that the human mind has a hard time following its trail with a sure footing. I see it only through a cloud. It is proper for me to look up to it, not to know it, to strive for it, but not to approach it. The result which I intend is a general one and touches on the preservation or maintenance of the universe.[lxxix] And concerning preservation I

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as by the comedian Philemon (frg. 246, line 5 Kock) as well as the comedian Menander (Menander, *Sententiae* I.179), while Kannicht and Snell list it as an unplaced tragic line (*Tragica Adespota* frg.421).

[47] A line proclaimed repeatedly in the underworld by Phlegyas in Virgil, *Aeneid* VI line 620.

[48] Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura* VI line 72, where Lucretius tells Memmius that the gods are removed from us and could never conceive a desire for revenge.

[49] Although the marginal note accurately quotes Aristotle, the Greek phrase here in the main text, κόλασις, ἀλλ' οὐ τιμωρία, is not found in Ancient Greek: Lipsius must have composed it himself.

[50] From Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1369b12. Lipsius' Greek is accurate.

[51] Boethius *Consolatio Philosophiae* Prose IV.4 *Feliciores, inquit, esse improbos supplicia luentes quam si eos nulla iustitiae poena coherceat* ("She said that the wicked are more fortunate serving their sentences than if justice's penalty were not restraining them"). Lipsius leaves out *inquit* "she said".

believe that god who made and arranged everything on earth built it in such a way as to limit individuals in number, in growth, and in weight.[lxxx][52] And it is not right for each genus to exceed its measure under peril of the decline or ruin of all. Thus the large bodies have their limits, the sky, the sea, the lands. So to each generation of animals a number has been laid down. Likewise to humans, to towns, to kingdoms. Do they desire to exceed them? then a whirlwind and tempest of calamities wears them down by necessity. For otherwise, they would harm and do damage to this beautiful work, the universe. And they often do want to exceed it, especially those to whom a law has been given about procreation and growth.[lxxxi] Consider humans. Who would deny that by nature we are born more frequently than we die by nature? To such a degree that any two humans produce from their union a hundred heads in a few years,[lxxxii] and of those not ten or twenty die. A herd of livestock would grow immense if the cattle breeders did not separate and select some for the meat market. Consider birds and fish. They would quickly fill the air or the waters if there were not struggles[53] and quasi-wars amongst them, and also the hunting by the human race. Consider towns and cities. Each age builds and constructs its own, and unless fires or ruins intervened, our earth and another besides would hardly hold them. And you can wander through the natural world in similar thought. What wonder then if our Saturnian father sometimes sends a scythe down into this abundant field and harvests a few thousand with a plague or a war?[lxxxiii] If he did not do so, what space would be left to hold us? What earth to feed us? A thing rightly perishes in part so that the whole of wholes may be eternal. As the health of the republic is the highest law for those who govern, so for god is the health of the world.[lxxxiv] And as my argument about its maintenance I make two inferences. First, because, without the variety and separate vicissitudes of its affairs,[lxxxv]I conceive of no embellishments in this huge contrivance.[lxxxvi] I admit that the sum is very beautiful, but dew-bringing night makes it more pleasant, as does the covering cloak of the dark mother. I admit that summer is most pleasant, but winter with her icy marble and white snow makes her more pleasant. If you do away with these things, truly you do away with the inmost feeling and deep joy whether of the sun or of summer. On this earth of ours, no one facet alone delights me: rather, I am captivated by the sight of the plains and the hills, the valleys and the cliffs, the cultivated fields and the wastelands, the meadows and the woods. Constant satiety and loathesomeness are the companions of sameness. And on this life's stage, so to speak, why should the same costume and mask always please me? No, it should not please me. But, on my soul sometimes there is a deep tranquillity and calm, which soon some whirlwinds of wars and tempests of cruel tyrants break up. Who would pray for this universe to be like a dead sea without wind or movement? But I am on the scent of still another sort of maintenance, more earnest and with an intrinsic good result.[lxxxvii] Written histories lead the way and show that practically all better and more civilized things follow the stormclouds of disasters. Wars disturb a people, but mostly they also sharpen

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[52] From *Septuagint, Sapientia Solomonis* XI.20 line 4. Lipsius changed 'you arranged' (διέταξας) to 'he arranged' (διέταξε) and has a mistaken acute accent on what should be σταθμῷ 'weight.'

[53] "Struggles" translates Latin *dissidium*, which is not a Classical Latin word, but likely a false reading for *discidia*.

them[lxxxviii][54] and introduce a varied culture and the arts. Romans once imposed a harsh yoke on the world, the yoke was salutary in its result. As the sun banishes darkness from the eyes, it banished barbarity from our souls. What would we Gauls or Germans now be, if the light of that great empire had not shone on us? Wild, shaggy people rejoicing in slaughter of ourselves and others, full of contempt for god and fellow humans. And I predict that the same thing will happen to the new world. The Iberians will completely pillage it with a wholesome severity and will soon refill and cultivate it. And just as those who have great plantations sometimes transplant trees, sometimes introduce new ones, and sometimes cut down trees, and manage all these things skillfully both for the good and for the harvest, so in the great field of the world god does the same thing. He is the most knowledgeable farmer and while in one place he breaks off some overburdened branches of families, in others he plucks and breaks off some leaves, humans. This helps the stock. But some die, and others fly as playthings of the winds. He sees one people withered and past the prime of their virtues and tosses them out. He sees another wild and infertile and transplants them. Some he mixes amongst themselves and is if by grafting he interbreeds them. You, with your power on the wane, weak and broken Italians, why do you possess the best lands? Go. Let the rough and robust Langobardians work this dirt more prosperously. You bad and soft Greeks, perish and let the barbarous Scythians spread and grow gentle on this land. Likewise with an intermixing of peoples, you Franks, occupy Gaul; you Saxons, occupy Britain; you Normans, occupy Belgium and the neighboring places. All of these and more are ready to hand, Lipsius, for the active reader, from the history and current events of the world. So let us be lifted up and let us know that whatever harm is privately visited upon us is a benefit to some part of the universe.[lxxxix] The downfall of this people or kingdom will be the rise of another, and nothing here truly perishes. It changes. Or are the Belgians alone select and distinguished in god's eyes? alone to be happy forever and the offspring of good fortune? Fools! There are many children of the great father, whom we should let him cherish and hold in his lap by turns, since he does not want to and is not able to hold all at once. Our sun has shone on us: now night comes for a while, and that radiant light goes off to the western skies and the sunset. Seneca, as usual, said it well and profoundly: the wise man 'takes nothing that happens to him amiss, and knows that the very things by which he seems to be injured are important for the maintenance of the universe and are among the things which complete the dutiful course of the world.'[55]

Chapter XII

An old and widespread objection to divine justice: why are penalties unequal? The question is far removed from human knowledge and shown to be impious.

When Langius laid aside the yoke for a while, I took it up. 'Your conversation is to me what a spring of water is to travelers in the heat. It supports and refreshes me and it controls my fever and temperature with a cooling draught. But it only tempers, it does not

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[54] Heraclitus fragment 53 Diels-Kranz.
[55] Seneca *Epistula* 74.20.

remove the fever.[xc] There is a thorn pricking my soul, which also pricked the ancients, about the inequality of punishing.[xci] For why does this weapon, this sword, if the scale of justice is fair,

...often bypass

the guilty, and take the life breath out of the the undeserving and the innocent[xcii][56]

Why, I say, are some undeserving people destroyed? Why does the guilt of ancestors often fall upon their descendants and later generations? That acrid smoke is in my eyes. Please remove it with the light of reason if you can.' Langius, with a knitted brow, said, 'Are you getting me off track again, young man? Please don't. Just as skilled hunters do not allow a dog to get off track, but stick to one prey, so I want you to follow only that trail which I have indicated. I am presenting to you the results of disasters, so that, if you are good, you feel yourself put through your paces; if you have slipped, you feel helped to your feet; if you are bad, you feel punished; but you are pulling me toward the root causes.[xciii] Wandering mind, what do you want by this inquisitive nosiness? To touch the celestial fires? You will melt. To climb into the citadel of providence? You will fall.[xciv] As moths and small little insects fly around the light of a lantern again and again until they are burned up, so the human mind leaps around that hidden flame. 'Let's hear the reasons,' you say, 'why divine vengeance bypasses these, and touches those?' Reasons" I shall most safely say that I do not know them.[xcv] For the celestial assembly has never taken me in, and I have not got its decrees. I know this only, that the cause of all causes is the will of god. Anyone who seeks another cause from it, does not know the strength and power of the divine nature. For it is necessary that every cause, of whatever sort, be prior to and greater than its effect. But nothing is prior to or greater than god and his will. God has gone before and has put his hand to everything. What more do you want? 'The greatest justice is the will of god,'[xcvi] as Salvianus correctly and piously said.[57] 'Nonetheless we demand a reason for the inequality,' they say. From whom? From god? to whom alone anything that is pleasing to him is allowed, and nothing is pleasing to him except what is allowed. If a slave demanded reasons from the head of a household, if an underling demanded reasons from a prince, the head of the household would consider it an affront, the prince would consider it rebellion. Do you have more temerity than that against god? Begone with you, misguided curiosity.[xcvii][58] 'The account does not balance unless it is audited by no one.' And still, when you have done everything, you will not

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[56] Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* II line 1103-4. Cf. Antoine LeWaitte, *Thomae Aquinatus Principatus Theologicus*, 1670, p.19, *At enim si deus est unde (quaerebat ille) mala? Si aequabilis justitiae illa lanx, cur hoc adversitatis telum '...plreumque nocentes / praeteris, exanimatque indignos inque merentes?* LaWaitte's passage is clearly lifted from Lipsius (same quotation, similar marginal note, same context, and much of the same introductory vocabulary and grammatical sentence: LeWaitte picks up his partial quotation a few sentences on in Lipsius).

[57] Saint Salvianus *de Gubernatione Dei* I.6.

[58] Sallustius Crispus made the remark, says Tacitus, out of fear that he be blamed for the murder of emperor Tiberius' grandson. The actual remark in Tacitus is that 'the account does not balance unless it is audited by only one person' (Lipsius prints *nulli* instead of Tacitus' *uni*): Sallustius meant by it that Tiberius should retain all power and not refer things to the Senate.

extricate yourself from your darkness, and you will not reach his counsels and decisions which are truly secret. Sophocles put it excellently:

> For you would not find out about divine affairs, since the gods keep them hidden
> Not even if you could go through everything in your search.[xcviii59]

Chapter XIII

And yet, to satisfy the curious, a separate response to three old objections. First to the one about evils that go unpunished. We will teach that they are postponed not dismissed, and that is because of humans themselves or because of god's nature, which is slow to punish.

The way is simple and crude, the only safe one, Lipsius.[xcix] The rest are deceptive and slippery and lead to lapses. Namely, in higher and divine matters the only smart thing is to discern nothing, the only knowledge is that you know nothing. Nonetheless, since then and now this cloud has entangled people's minds, I shall unfold you from it briefly if I can, and I shall bring you across this river you have gotten stuck in. You, celestial and eternal mind (he was looking upwards), grant me peace and pardon, if I say anything about these obscure matters that is less pious or pure, since I do so with pious intent. First, Lipsius, I think that I can his own justice generally to god, with one blow as follows. If god looks to human affairs, he also cares for them. If he cares, he directs them. If he directs them, he directs them with justice. And if with justice, how could he do so unjustly? For there is no direction or order without him, but a jumble, a mixing, and a confusion. What do you have to use against this argumentative weapon? What shield or what arms? If you are willing admit the truth, you have human ignorance.[c] 'I do not understand,' you say, 'why these are punished, but these are not.'[ci] Good. So you will join impudence to imprudence and because you do not understand the strength of the pure divine law, you will carp at it? What less just reason could there be against justice? If a guest wanted to judge the laws and institutions of your country, you would bid him be silent and depart, because he does not understand. But you , an inhabitant of this earth, will recklessly condemn as ignorant the laws of heaven? you, the work, will condemn the maker? Come on then, do it. For I shall press you more closely and I will examine clearly the cloudiness of your slander in the sunlight of reason, as you ask. Your objections are threefold[cii]: that he does not punish the bad,[ciii] that he punishes those who don't deserve it, and that he makes substitutions and exchanges. First, about the first objection. Divine vengeance wrongly passes over the bad, you say. Does it pass them over? No, as I think. It puts them off. If I held other's large debts, and were to demand it at once from one debtor, and put it off to another day for another; why would you find fault?[civ] For this is surely up to me and of my own doing. But our great god does the same thing, when although all bad people owe a punishment, he demands it at once from some, but in other cases, he puts it off to be paid with interest. What is bad about that? Unless perhaps you

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[59] Sophocles Fragment 919 Radt: found in Stobaeus *Anthologium* II.1§4. Given in Greek in the main text and in Latin translation in the margin. Lipsius' Greek is accurate, except that he prints an acute instead of a grave accent on ἀν.

are concerned on god's behalf, and fear lest he lose something by this kind delay. You are free from worry, my man: no one will ever run through and not repay the divine creditor's debt.[cv] We are all in his line of sight wherever we flee to, no, we are in his shackles and bonds. 'But,' you will say, 'I should like that tyrant to be punished now and his many victimes to be satisfied by his present slaughter. For thus the justice of god is more manifest.' His justice more manifest?[cvi] No, your stupidity is. For who are you to preceed god not only in punishment but even to prescribe his timing? Do you think he is your judge, or only your enforcer and assistant? 'Be off,' and 'lead the way,' 'give this one a whipping,' 'cover his head and hang him from an ill-starred tree.'[60] That is how you seem to me. What impudence! But things seem otherwise to god, whom you ought to know sees a bit more clearly and punishes with another goal. Your fieriness rouses you up and a desire for requital misleads you, but he is very far removed from such things, and looks to set an example and correct others.[cvii] He knows best to whom a thing is able to be useful and when. There are great movements afoot now and the most healthrul medicine often results in destruction if not given at the right time. He removed Caligula in the very first steps of his tyranny, but he allowed Nero to go about his dastardly business a bit longer, and he let Tiberius go about the longest. And don't doubt that it is for the good of whose who were also complaining at the time. Our uncorrected habits often need a lasting scourge , but we want it to be removed at once and to be consigned to the fire. That is one reason for his slowness, which affects us. Another is one which affects god himself.[cviii] It seems part of his character, 'to proceed with a slow step to punishment, and he makes up for the slowness of the punishment with its heaviness.'[61] Synesius put it well: 'the divine moves at leisure and in an orderly way.'[cix62] And the ancients who, in the same spirit, were imagining that the gods had woollen feet[63] did not have it wrong.[cx] Thus however anxious and quick to punishment you are, you should not seem to take amiss the habit of putting off punishment in such a way that it is increased.[cxi] Tell me, if you watch a tragedy, would you be indignant if Atreus or Thyestes comes on stage in high spirits or haughtily in the first or second act? If they

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[60] The last item is from Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* 4.13, where Cicero uses it as an example of an obsolete and unusually harsh formula from the time of Tarquin, renowned for a cruel regime.

[61] From Valerius Maximus, I.1, extern.3. In Valerius Maximus, however, the sentence is 'divine *anger* proceeds to punishment with a slow step, and compensates for the slowness of punishment with its heaviness.'

[62] Synesius, *Egyptians or On Providence* 2.5 line 49. The context in Synesius is rather different than Lipsius': Synesius is saying that there was a slow regaining process for the god Osiris after he came back from exile. It is not at all about divine judgement or punishment.

[63] Macrobius *Saturnalia* I.8.5 says that there is a proverb that the gods have woollen feet derived from the fact that Saturn was bound by a woolen bond that was loosened on a certain festival day. Petronius *Satyricon* XLIV mentions their woollen feet as well. An obvious explanation is that they move as silently as if they had wool on their feet, but no ancient source actually says that. It could be of different ritual significance. Erasmus *Chil.* I, Centur. X, Prov. LXXXII explains it as Lipsius does, that the gods come silently (and slowly).

have royal powers, threaten, and give orders? I don't think so. You would know that their happiness is short-lived, and you would wait for them to go to a foul ruin in the last act. In this world's plot, however, why are you more unfair toward god than to a poet?[cxii] An impious person flourishes. A tyrant lives. Yes. But consider that this is the first act and now, beforehand, anticipate that tears and anguish awaits that joy. The stage will soon flow with blood and those purple and golden clothes will be drenched in it. For our poet is good and will not recklessly change the plot lines of his own tragic play. In music, don't you tolerate an occasional dissonant voice, because you know that it will feed into harmony? Do the same here. 'But the injured do not always see the punishment.' What wonder? The plot is rather long and involved, and they were not able to sit in the theater for long enough. But others see it, and they are justifiedly afraid, because they see that by his rigid judgement the punishment of some is increased rather than absolved, that the day of penalty is deferred, not removed. Hence believe this, Lipsius: sometimes the impious may put off their penalty, but they are not let off, and no one commits a crime in their hard and does not have Nemesis at their back. For that goddess pursues, and to speak with Euripides,

> ... stalking with a silent and slow foot
> she will catch the evil-doers in time.[cxiii][64]

Chapter XIIII

Next it is shown that there are many punishments. Some are hidden and internal and accompany the crime itself, and so the evildoers never escape them. These are more burdensome than any external punishments.

In order for you to have a clearer grasp of it, however, I shall bring you at once to the very citadel of this cause: you must know that there are three sorts of divine punishments, the internal, the posthumous, and the external.[cxiv] I call 'internal' those WHICH AFFECT THE SOUL, BUT ARE STILL IN THE BODY.[cxv] Examples are anxieties and vexations, repentance and regret, fears, and a thousand pricks of conscience. The 'posthumous' are those WHICH AFFECT THE SAME SOUL, BUT WHEN IT IS FREE AND SEPARATED FROM THE BODY.[cxvi] Examples are those punishments which, when death has come, still await the evildoers, as the ancients believed, not without good reason. And the third sort, the 'external,' are those punishments WHICH AFFECT THE BODY OR THE THINGS AROUND IT.[cxvii] For example, poverty, exile, pain, diseases, deaths. And indeed it often happens that all of them by some just judgement of god coincide and fall on the impious. Surely the first two do so. To speak about the internal punishments: who has ever been so far along in every iniquity that he did not feel the fierce lashes and blows, as it were, in his soul, whether in the act of committing a sin, or

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[64] Euripides fragment 979 Nauck. Found in Plutarch *de Sera Numinis Vindicta* (*On the late punishment by divinity*) 549a10-11. Lipsius prints the Greek in the main body and a translation in the margin: his Greek is accurate: he prints the Doric adverbial dative σιγᾷ instead of Pohlenz' adverb σῖγα. A somewhat different version is found in Stobaeus, *Anthologium* I.3§21.

rather after the fact? For truly 'retribution is a consequence of injustice' as Plato once said. Or more truly and more forcefully, Hesiod, who called it a 'contemporary' of injustice.[cxviii][65] The punishment of the crime is coeval with, or rather, inherent in every crime[cxix] and nothing in life is free and without cares except innocence. Just as those to be crucified in the Roman rite carried their own cross, soom to be born upon it, so god has imposed on all the impious this cross of conscience by which they pay the penalty even before they pay it. Or do you think that the only punishment is that which happens before your eyes? the one which some body endures? It is not. All those external things of yours affect us lightly and not for long. The internal ones are the ones which torment us. Just as those who suffer from wasting or melancholy are thought to be more in the grip of disease than those who suffer from an inflammation or a fever, even though the latter are more apparent, so the evildoers are in the grip of a more serious punishment who are led on that slow path to their eternal death. Caligula, once was accustomed to giving orders cruelly 'that they be whipped such that they think they are dying': [66] that is what happened to those whom that murderous soul slaughtered and tormented daily with tiny blows. That splendor and power or wealth should not impress you. Because those who lie on a purple bed with fevers or gout are no more happy and blessed than they are healthy.[cxx] You see a beggar in a story, who plays the role of bejeweled and handsome. You see him, but you don't envy him, because under that gilded appearance you know there is mange, stench, and filth. Think the same about all those great and superb tyrants, 'whose minds, if they were thrown open,' says Tacitus, 'would be seen to be mangled and beaten, since just as bodies are torn up by blows, so the soul is by its cruelty, lust, and evil designs.'[67] They laugh often, I admit, but not a true laugh. They rejoice, but it is not a pure joy.[cxxi] No more, by Hercules, than those who are sentenced to death and are detained in prison. They sometimes attempt to distract themselves with various sorts of dice, but they do not. For the terror of imminent punishment remains stamped in their minds, and the image of their ghastly death never leaves their eyes. Look, I pray, with the veil of external things removed, at that Sicilian tyrant,

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[65] Plutarch, *de Sera Numinis Vindicta* 553f4-554a2 is the likeliest source of Lipsius' words. It reads ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τιμωρίαν ἀδικίας πάθην ("Punishment is a consequence of injustice."

The Platonic word ἀκόλουθος may refer to social status ('servant,' 'attendant,' 'follower of') or temporal sequence, or logical sequence, but the Latin Lipsius uses to translate it, *subsequa*, is more temporal or logical. Lipsius seems to be claiming that Hesiod used ἡλικιώτης, 'comrade,' 'contemporary,' 'contemporaneous,' which is not likely (it does not occur in the extant Hesiod: it occurs at Plato *Leges* 728c3-4 without the Hesiodic version). It is used of people as well as things. Plutarch, however, says that Hesiod does not follow Plato in saying that punishment follows injustice, but rather that it is coeval with it: based on his interpretation of things Hesiod does say (and which Plutarch quotes *loc. cit.*), such as "Bad counsel is the worst for the one taking counsel" (*Works and Days* 266) and 'He who plans bad things against another builds up evil for his own heart.' (Fragment 373 West and Merkelbach) Plutarch claims that Hesiod would have used the Greek word ἡλικιώτης of injustice,"contemporaneous" with evildoing.

[66] Suetonius *Caligula* 30 reports that this command was often given by Caligula and became proverbial for cruel punishment by small blows.

[67] From Tacitus *Annals* VI.6. Cf. the very similar passage at Plato *Gorgias* 524e.

Over whose impious neck a drawn sword hangs[68]

Hear the Roman lamenting, 'May the gods and goddesses strike me worse than I feel myself perish daily'[cxxii][69] Hear another one groaning; 'Thus I alone have neither a friend nor an enemy?'[cxxiii][70] These are true tortures of the soul, Lipsius, these are its crucifixions, to be continually anxious, full of regret, and fearful. Be careful not to compare the rack, the cord, and the hook[71] with them.

Chapter XV

That posthumous punishments also await evildoers. And for the most part indeed external punishments do too, which are confirmed by several famous examples.

Add to that the posthumous and eternal punishments, about which let it be enough that I posit them rather than explain them.[cxxiv] Also add to that the external punishments.[cxxv] Even if they were not present, when the two prior ones are imposed, who could justly find fault with heavenly justice? But they are imposed and it does not ever happen (surely it is rare) that obvious criminals who harm others do not also pay obvious and apparent penalties, some more quickly, others later. For some the penalty is visited on their own person, others on their family and friends.[cxxvi] You see and you complain that Dionysius in Sicily committed outrages, robbery, and carnage for many years with impunity?[cxxvii] Wait a bit. You will see that same Dionysius soon in disgrace, exiled, impoverished, fallen from a scepter to a walking stick (who would believe it?). The king of the great Island will open a school in Corinth, himself an exhibit of Fortune.[72] Elsewhere, you are indignant that Pompey and almost the whole army of the Senate are conquered at Pharsalia.[73] That a tyrant plays and frolics for a while in the blood of civil war? I pardon that in you. For I see that the tiller of good judgement was taken even from Cato himself

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[68] Horace, *Odes* III.1 line 17-18. Damocles is being invoked in the background: Horace is speaking more generally about how the sword over his head hinders any tyrant from enjoying a proverbial "Sicilian feast" (although Lipsius may have read *elaborarunt* 'did not increase' instead of *elaborabunt* 'will not increase' in Horace's next line, which would make the reference more specific to Damocles).

[69] Found in Suetonius *Tiberius* 67. In context, Tiberius is saying 'may the gods and goddesses strike me, if I know what to tell you, Senators,' and so it is quite different from how it seems in Lipsius.

[70] Suetonius *Nero* 47 reports that Nero went looking for friends and found none, then asked for a gladiator to come and kill him, but none came, upon which he made this remark.

[71] All instruments of torture.

[72] Lipsius puns: "school" and "exhibit" are the same word, *ludus*, in Latin. In the 4th century BCE, Dionysius II was tyrant over Syracuse, advised by Dion and Plato, but he became cruel and despotic and was ousted by Dion. After a stint as tyrant in Locri, he ended his life in Corinth as a school teacher (Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* III.27).

[73] The battle of Pharsalus (48 BCE), where Julius Caesar beat Pompey,was a turning point in the transition from Roman Republic to Roman Empire.

and that a doubtful sentiment issued from deep in his heart, 'that divine matters have a great deal of obscurity.'[74] But you, Lipsius, and you, Cato, turn your eyes this way a bit: one look will bring you back into grace with god. See that same Caesar, arrogant, a victor, in his own and others' opinion a god already, killed in the Senate and by the Senate, and not by a simple death, but done in by 23 blows, like a beast slipping in his own blood[cxxviii] and (what more you do want?) in the Curia of Pompey, with a statue of Pompey looming over him, being offered as a splendid victim to the spirits of the great Pompey.[75] Brutus, dying for his country and with his country, is an object of compassion to me, but I console myself too, when I see not much later those victors, on Brutus' tomb as it were, in the manner of gladiators joined in battle and one of the leaders, Marc Antony,[cxxix] conquered on land and see, in the company of three women, by a womanly hand meeting his death foully.[76] Where are you, shortly before master of the East? agitator of the Roman armies? Persecutor of Pompey and the republic? Lo, you hang on a rope with blood-stained hands! Lo, you creep alive into your own monument! Lo, not even by dying were you pulled away from the woman who was death to you! Consider whether Brutus on the point of death spoke his last words and wish in vane:

Zeus, may the one responsible for this evil not escape your notice.[cxxx][77]

Indeed, he did not escape notice, and did not escape.[cxxxi] Not like that other leader, who in no obscure way paid the penalty of youthful crimes himself, as did more notoriously all his descendants.[cxxxii] He may be the happy and great Caesar, truly August, but let him have Julia as a daughter, a niece, and let him lose grandsons by deceit and violence. Let him disown others and when he grows tired of this, let him wish to die and not be able to. Finally, let him live with his Livia, foully married, foully kept, and let him die a base death at the hand[cxxxiii] of she whom he loved to death. 'In sum,' says Pliny, 'he is a god and I don't know whether he just reached heaven or deserved it. He died with his enemy's own son[cxxxiv] as his heir.'[78] When the complaint about unfairness breaks out,

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[74] The remark is attributed to Cato by Plutarch in his *Cato the Younger* (§53, where the occasion was Pompey's abandonment of Italy: Cato thought that Pompey had been unstoppable when on the wrong side, but now that Pompey was on the right side, he was ineffectual: Plutarch's Greek is πολὺν ἔφη περὶ τὰ θεῖα πλάνον εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν). It is not, however, clear in Plutarch that Cato's remark attributes inconsistency or obscurity to the gods themselves, as Lipsius' citation of it clearly implies (else it makes no sense): saying they are full of obscurity may of course mean that they are so only to humans.

[75] The Curia or Portico of Pompey was in the Pompeian theater complex near the Campus Martius. Suetonius *Julius Caesar* LXXX reports that Caesar was killed in the portico of Pompey. Suetonius *Augustus* XXXI reports that Augustus moved a statue of Pompey from the portico where Caesar had been assassinated.

[76] Plutarch *Antony* §77 relates how Antony tried to commit suicide by stabbing himself, was brought to the tomb readied for Cleopatra, and was hauled up all bloody by means of a rope through a window by her and two female assistants, and with them died of his self-inflicted wound.

[77] Brutus' last words according to Plutarch, *Brutus* 51§1 line 7, were this quotation from Euripides, *Medea* (line 332). Greek in the main body and translation in the margin. Lipsius' Greek is accurate, except that he prints an acute accent on ὃς.

[78] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* VII.150.

these exampla and things like them should be considered,[cxxxv] and one should always turn the mind to both the lateness of punishment and its variety. Is that one not punished? Tomorrow, he will be punished. Is he not punished corporeally? Perhaps he is in his soul. Is that one not punished while alive? Surely he is while in death.

> In spite of a limp, punishment has never stopped chasing a criminal running ahead.[79]

For the divine eye keeps watch always and when you think it is asleep, it is turning a blind eye. You yourself have only to be fair to him and do not foolishly accuse our judge, since you are to be judged by him.

Chapter XVI

A response to the other objection, about the undeserving. It is shown that everyone deserves a penalty, because everyone is in a state of guilt, and with difficulty, no, there is no way for a human to discern who deserves more or less. That god is the only one who clearly sees guilt, and thus most justly punishes.

'But some undeserving and innocent people are punished,' you say. For this was your second complaint, or rather I should say, your second charge brought in bad faith.[cxxxvi] Heedless young man, will you speak so? Are there those who are undeservedly punished? Where then in the world have peoples ever been found who are without guilt?[cxxxvii] It would be boldness, no recklessness to posit that in one single human: you do not hesitate to establish peoples and races as free from sin? Utterly groundlessly. For we all sin and have sinned. We are born in a state of sin, and we live in a state of sin. And the armories of the heavens, to make a joke with the satyrist,[80] would lack a weapon if lightning was hurled every time there were deserving people. It should not be thought that humans, like fish born and raised in the salt sea and yet do not taste of salt, exist in the muck of the world, but themselves are free of muck. And if everyone is guilty, where are those undeserving peoples? For punishment is most justly ever a companion of guilt. 'But,' you will say, 'the inequality bothers me: some are penalized who have sinned lesser sins, while those who have sinned great sins flourish and are in power.'[cxxxviii] Of course this was so! And you will snatch the scales of celestial justice, I believe, with your hands and weigh it with your own sense and weights. where else does this estimation of equal and unequal trespasses than you putting yourself before god? But think about two things at this juncture, Lipsius. First, that other people's guilt is not able to be estimated by a human, and ought not to be.[cxxxix] For how could they be? Do you, little human, weigh out sins fairly, you who do not even pay attention to them? Do you distinguish them properly, who don't even see them? You will readily grant me that it is the soul which sins by means of the body and the tools of the senses, but in such a way that all the impetus and inertia of the crime is in the soul.[cxl] This is a fact in such a way that once you establish

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It is unclear why *excedat* is in the subjunctive here. It is not in modern editions.

[79] Horace, *Odes* III.2, line 32.

[80] An allusion to Juvenal, *Satire* XIII.13 line 83: *quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli* ('whatever weapons are in the armories of the heavens').

that someone has sinned unwillingly, the person has not sinned. If that is the case, how, I beg you to say, will you see through to the sin itself, you who don't even see where it lives, its abode? For you are so incapable of seeing another person's mind that you don't see your own. Therefore this is your boldness or recklessness, to claim for yourself the judgement and estimation of a matter neither fully seen nor to be seen by you, neither known nor to be known by you. Secondly, consider the following. Even if it absolutely is the case, there is no evil in it nor unfairness. It is not evil because it is for the good of those people themselves, who are chastised even in their smallest sins immediately.[cxli] That is divine love, and with good reason late punishment is feared by one to whom a more serious punishment applies. Likewise, there is no unfairness in it, because every one of us has merited punishment, as I said, nor is there, even in the best of us, such purity that there are no stains to be washed out as it were by the deceptive water of disasters. Which is why, young man, I bid you, earthly and petty judge, leave off this most vexed accusation about the degrees of sins.[cxlii] Leave it to god, who will ascertain these things much more fairly and certainly from his superior seat of judgement.[cxliii][81] He is the only one who can weigh out just deserts. He alone sees virtue and vice in its true appearance without any cosmetics to disguise it.[cxliv] Who could deceive the one who examines externals and internals alike? Who sees body and mind? Who sees their tongues and their insides? in sum, what is open to see and what is hidden from view? And who sees not only their accomplishments, but their causes and stages in a clear light. Thales, on once being asked, 'Whether a man doing injustice could escape the gods' notice?' responded correctly, 'Not even one thinking about doing injustice could.'[cxlv][82] But we on the contrary are in the clouds, because we not only do not see the hidden crimes when they are under the tunic (as they say) and admitted into the heart, but we don't see even those drawn forth into the light and in the open. For we do not see guilt itself and its violence, but external traces of it when the fault is committed an already fading. Often the best ones in our eyes are the worst in god's, and vice versa, those whom we have rejected are selected by him. Therefore close your mouth and your eyes about who is deserving and undeserving. Cases that are so difficult to judge are not well understood from outside the court.

Chapter XVII

A response to the third objections, about punishments that are transferred. It is shown by means of examples that this happens among humans too. What god's reason might be for such transference as well as a few other items of sufficiently attentive subtlety.

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[81] The word for 'knower of hearts' is Greek: it is first used in the New Testament (e.g. *Acts of the Apostles* I.24 line 2).

[82] The same Greek as Lipsius prints is found attributed to Thales in the *Apophthegmata* ('Sayings') of the 'Seven Sages,' Mullach's division 5, apophthegm 12. Versions with slight differences (tense of verb, dialect, etc.) are found elsewhere (e.g. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, I §36 line 4 and *Gnomologium Vaticanum* Sententia 316).

The third cause for suspicion of justice poured forth by you must be washed away, the objection concerning those put in place of others.[cxlvi] For, they say, god transfers punishments unjustly and the descendants do not wash away the guilt of their ancestors. Hah! Is it so novel or astonishing? I in turn am astonished that those who are astonished are astonished, since every day they do the same thing in their own country.[cxlvii] Tell me, friend, the privileges granted by a prince to one's ancestors because of virtue, they transfer to the descendants, don't they? They certainly do. And it is no different in the case of fines or penalties, I think, which are imposed on the same people because of a crime. Look at the crime of high treason, where clearly different ones are found guilty from those who are punished: human cruelty reaches the point of passing laws which punish innocent children with everlasting poverty, 'so that death is a comfort to them and life a punishment.'[83] You wicked souls! You are willing to permit it to some king or ruler, but unwilling to permit it to god, whose reason for severity is much more just, if you consider it carefully.[cxlviii] For we have all sinned, we have all in one been rebels against this great king, and that original stain has been propagated on to the unhappy offspring by so many planters of stocks.[cxlix] Thus there is a web and chain of crimes against god. My father or yours, for example, was not the first to sin, but rather all the father of our fathers were. So, why is it astonishing if he visits punishment on posterity not for their various offenses but for the offense that is tied to our common race and whose transmission has never been interrupted? But leaving off from these high-flying matters, I will also proceed by a more pedestrian way of reasoning. Know this, that god puts together what we out of weakness or ignorance separate,[cl] and that he sees families, towns, and realms, not as confused jumbles, but as a body with one nature.[cli] The family of the Scipios or Caesars is one to him. Rome or Athens, in its every age, is one. Likewise the Roman empire is one. Rightly so. For there is a certain bond, a society of regulations and law, which binds these large bodies and makes it so that even among those separated by age a community of rewards and punishments exists. Were the Scipios good once? in the eyes of that celestial judge, that should benefit their posterity too. Bad? it should harm them. Were the Belgians licentious, greedy, and impious? we ourselves should pay for that. Because in every external punishment, god looks not only at the present.[clii] He also looks back at the past and he equitably adjusts the scales of his justice according to the weights of these two times. I said 'external punishment'[cliii] and I want you to note that. For the faults themselves are not transferred, or there would be a confusion of offenses. The offense is gone, but the penalties or chastisements are in our vicinity, but not in us. They apply properly to our bodies and possessions, not to the internal soul. What harm is that? For we surely want to be heirs of comforts and rewards, if any are due to our ancestors: why should we refuse their burdens and punishments.?

Roman, although undeserving, you will pay for the offenses of your ancestors[84] sings the Roman bard. He is right, except that he adds 'although undeserving.' For it is most deserved, since our ancestors deserved it. But the poet was able to see only the

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[83] From the *Justinian Codex* 9.8.5§2. While the law spared the sons of those guilty of treasonously attempting to kill officials or illustrious persons, it deprived them of any inheritance whatsoever and barred them from honors and from taking oaths of loyalty, with the explicit intention Lipsius quotes.

[84] Horace, *Odes* III.6 line 1.

effect, and did not follow it up to the cause. Just as in one and the same human we rightly punish in old age an offence committed in youth, so god punishes old sins in empires or realms, because they are one and joined together by reason of their external community. In the eyes of god, who has all eternity enclosed in his encompassing mind, the separation of time does not divide us. Or did those wolves of Mars[cliv] once overturn so many cities and smash so many scepters with impunity? Did they unleash so many disasters and draw so much blood, all the while without shedding blood themselves? In that case I would confess that god is no protecting champion, 'who sees and hears what we do.'[clv][85] But it is not so. It is necessary they should pay the penalty at some time even in their descendants, late, but not too late. And this joining together applies not only to times in god's eyes, but also to parts.What I mean is as follows. Just as in a human when the hand, the penis, or the stomach has sinned[clvi], the whole body pays for it, so in some common assembly, often the offense of the few lights upon all, especially if those who sin be, as it were, the more worthy members, such as kings, princes, or magistrates. Hesiod put it truly, and from the very inner chamber of wisdom:

> Often a whole city suffers from a bad man
> who sins and devises wickedness.
> And to these from on high the son of Kronos sends great suffering,
> famine and plague at the same time.[86]

Accordingly, the whole fleet of the Argives perished

> On account of the offense of one and the rage of Ajax son of Oileus[87]

And one plague most justly did away with seventy thousand because of the unjust[clvii][88] lust of the king. And sometimes the contrary happens. Although all have sinned, god selects one or a few as offerings for the public guilt. If he departs a bit from the rigid law of parity in this, nonetheless from that inequality a new equality arises,[clviii][89] and a merciful justice exists for many, which seems to be cruelty against a few. Teachers too use a reed to whip just one from the whole group of mischief makers, don't they? From an army that has been routed, doesn't the general chastise a few by decimation? Each do

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[85] Plautus, *Captivi* II.ii line 313.

[86] Hesiod *Works and Days* 240-243. Lipsius provides the Greek followed by a Latin translation in the main body of his text. The Latin translation is slightly different from the Greek in its literal meaning:

> For the crime of one a whole city pays the penalty,
> if someone behaves sacrilegiously or unjustly.
> Jupiter has sent disasters here from high heaven
> plague or famine.

Lipsius' Greek is correct except that Lipsius prints ἐπαυρεῖ instead of ἀπηύρα (similar in meaning, but different words); ἀλιτραίνει instead of ἀλιτραίνῃ; and τοῖσι instead of τοῖσιν.

[87] Virgil *Aeneid* I line 41. Juno laments that she is forbidden to sink Aeneas and his men, although Athena was allowed to burn and sink Ajax' fleet because of Ajax' offense against her temple. Cf. *Odyssey* 4.499f. and 5.108f.

[88] See *2Samuel* chapter 24 verse 10: in punishment for David's holding a census, god offered David a choice. He chose three days of pestilence, during which 70,000 men died.

[89] Tacitus *Annals*XIV.44, from a speech by Gaius Cassius.

it with a sound policy, because the punishment of a few nonetheless deters and corrects all. I have seen doctors cut a vein in the foot or the arm, when the whole body is in pain: perhaps this is the same phenomenon? For these are hidden secrets, Lipsius,[clix] and if we are wise, we will not approach that sacred fire any more closely, some of whose sparks and flares we humans are perhaps able to see, but which itself we cannot see. As those who fix their eyes quite keenly on the sun lose them, so those who concentrate the mind on this light lose all light of the mind. I think, thus, we should refrain from this perilous and intricate question and content ourselves with merely this, that it is not humanly possible to assess offenses and that it should not be done.[clx] That in god's keeping there is another kind of scale, another kind of tribunal, and the way in which these judgements are kept hidden should not be held blameworthy by us, but tolerated and feared. I enjoin upon you this thought, with which I put my hand over the mouth of all meddlers: 'Many judgements of god are hidden: none are unjust.'[90]

Chapter XVIII

The transition to the last section, which is a collection of examples, is made. And it is shown that it is sometimes useful for some pleasantness to be mixed in with serious medicine.

'These are the things, Lipsius, which I thought should be said on behalf of divine justice against the unjust. I admit they are not part of my subject matter, but they are not beside the point, since we will no doubt bear disasters more equably and pleasantly if we are persuaded that they are not evil.'[clxi] And here in a break in the conversation, Langius suddenly broke out again, saying, 'Good. I have caught my breath. I have gotten past all those rocks in the form of questions, and I think I can sail into port under full sail. I am in sight of my fourth and last battle line,[clxii] which I shall gladly draw up. Just as sailors who see Gemini in a storm conceive great hope and encouragement, so I do, because the Gemella legion[91] has appeared to me after these floods. It is right for me to call it that in the ancient manner, because it has two heads, and I am to prevail in two matters by means of it, that neither are these things which we now suffer serious ills nor new. While I accomplish that, in the few things which remain, Lipsius, give me your willing attention.' 'Never was I more willing and attentive, Langius,' said I, 'for it pleases me too to have avoided those difficulties and from the serious and severe medicine, I eagerly await the gentle popular one. For that is what its title tells me it is going to be.' 'You are not wrong,' said Langius. 'For as doctors do not at once leave or drop the patient after they have burned and cut enough, but apply soothing poultices and salves to mitigate the pain, so I proceed with you, since I seem to have sufficiently purged you with the fire and sword of wisdom. I will now pamper you with gentle exhortations and I shall handle you with a gentler hand, as they say. I will climb down from that steep hill of philosophy and

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[90] Augustine *City of God* XVIII.18. Lipsius has switched the word order of Augustine's sentence (quoting from memory?).

[91] The *Legio Gemella* was formed in the late republic (49BCE) by Pompey out of two legions.

lead you back for a while into the pleasant fields of your philology.[clxiii] It is meant no more for your refreshment than your health. They say that Doctor Democharis gave goats' milk to Considia, a noble woman who refused all harsher medicine, but he grazed the goats on mastic trees. So I shall administer historical entertainments to you, but laced with a secret essence of wisdom. What does it matter how we heal the sick, as long as we really heal them?

Chapter XIX

That public ills are not as serious as they seem. First that fact demonstrated briefly by reason. For circumstances of things are often groundlessly feared, not the things themselves.

You, my legion, are now present, and you are above all the first cohort with which we fight for the claim that these ills are not serious.[clxiv] We want to bring that about with a twofold weapon, reason and comparison. Reason[clxv]: because if you look at it, in reality all of these which are present and are imminent are neither serious nor great, but they only seem so. Our opinion of them is what augments and distorts them and elevates them as if on platform shoes. Remove that cloud that surrounds them, if you know how, and see them in a clear light. Among public problems, you fear poverty, for example, or exile, or death. If, then, you look at these with resolute and accurate eyes, how small is their measure? If you examine them by their own weight, how light are they? Look here, this war or despotic regime will deplete you by means of high tributes. So what? then you will be poor.[clxvi] Nature gave you that sort of thing, and will take it away, won't it? But if the sad and ignominious word 'poor' displeases you, change it. Be 'free of burdens.' For fortune has raised you up and put you back down in a safer position. No can deplete you any further. What you thought was a loss, is a remedy. 'But I will even be an exile.'[clxvii] No, if you are willing, you will be a 'foreigner.' If you change your state of mind, you change your country. Wherever the wise person is, he is traveling: the foolish person is always an exile. 'But death at the hands of a tyrant hangs over me.'[clxviii] As if death does not hang over you every day at the hands of nature. 'But that death is ignominious, which comes from a sword or a noose.' O you fool, this or that death is not ignominious, unless your life be ignominious. From the founding of the world, a swift and violent death has always snatched all the best and most illustrious perople. This test must be applied to all things which seem horrible (I am giving you only a taste), and they must be examined bare of any clothing or disguise of opinions. But we wretches turn our attention to the superficial and external and do not fear the things themselves but the things that accompany them.[clxix] see, if you sail the sea and it becomes swollen, you go out of our mind and tremble all over as if you had been shipwrecked and had to drink the whole sea. But one or two pints would do it. If an earthquake suddenly arises, what clamor and fear/ You think that the whole town is going to fall onto you, if it falls into ruins, or at least the house, and you don't know that to crush your head, any one stone would be enough. It is no different in these disasters of yours, in which the din and the most superficial view of things especially scares us. Lo, a bunch of bodyguards! Lo, swords! What about those bodyguards and those swords of yours? What will they do? They will cut me down. What

is cutting down? Simply death, and lest the word itself is what terrifies you, the departure of the soul from the body.[clxx] All those battle lines of soldiers, all those threatening swords will do the same thing as one fever, as one berry, as one worm. But they are more harsh. No, more gentle by no small amount, since that fever which you prefer often tortures a human for a whole year. This one is pierced through by the blow and the weight. So Socrates did well,[clxxi] who was wont to call all these things nothing other than bogeys[92] or ghosts. If you put on such masks, do you see how children flee from you? But put them aside and show yourself in your true face, and they will approach again and embrace you. It is the same in these affairs: if you should see them with their masks removed and without ostentation, you would confess that your fear was a childish one. As hail collides with roofs with a great clatter, but rebounds off, so these things if they befall a strong soul are broken but don't break the soul.

Chapter XX

An approach to comparison of ills, but beforehand the exaggeration of the ills of the Belgians and the current era is fully refuted. Also it is shown that the human character is prone to increasing its grief.

Langius' so serious conversation was not what I had hoped or expected.[clxxii] Thus interrupting, I said, 'Where are you going off to? Is this what you promised? I was expecting the honey and sweet wine of historical narrations, but you press vinegar for me than which there is no more pure in the pantry of wisdom. What do you think? that you have to do with a Thales? you are dealing with Lipsius, who, as a human among average humans, still needs a remedy a bit more human.' Langius said with a gentle voice and face, 'I acknolwedge the justice of your accusation. For while I am chasing that pure ray of wisdom, I see that I have left the public path and slyly slipped back onto the rugged footpath of wisdom. But I am not correcting that and planting my foot on a better known path. Does the dryness of the Falernian[93] displease you? I am tempering it with the honey of examples for you. Now I come to comparisons and I will show clearly that there is nothing serious or great in these ills which are all around, if you compare them with ancient ones.[clxxiii] Once there were greater by many times and more grievous.' I broke in again and indeed with an impatient gesture, 'You claim this?' I said,

> And you expect that this will persuade me?[clxxiv94]

Never, Langius, as long as I have a head to think with. For what age in the past, if you

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[92] 'Bogeys' translates μορμολυκεῖα, which is what Plato says that Socrates called fears about death (Plato, *Phaedo*77e6-7). Arrian's notes about Epictetus (*Dissertationes* 2.1.15) also refer to Socrates' calling fears about death fear of μορμολυκεῖα.

[93] Falernian wine was made from grapes grown on Mt. Falernus and was the most renowned wine in Roman times.

[94] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII Kaibel paragraph 14 line 39 and the *Epitome* of *Deipnosophistae* Vol. 2.2 p.104 line 29 Peppink both report that Amphis, not Aristophanes, wrote this line. They also report it slightly differently (σὺ ταυτὶ προσδοκᾷς πείσειν ἐμέ: 'You (emphatic) expect that these things will persuade me?')

look at it properly, was as full of calamities as this one of ours or what one will be? What people, what region has born

so many things grievous to recount, bitter to endure[95]

as we have today? See how we are tossed by war,[clxxv] and not only an external one, but a civil one, and not only this but an internal one. For there are not only factions among us, but new factions of factions (oh my fatherland, what deliverance will save you?). Add to that plague, famine, taxes, pillaging, ravaging, and the most extreme tyrannical regime of extreme tyrannical regimes,[96] and oppression not only of our bodies, but of our souls. And what of the rest of Europe?[clxxvi] there is either war, or fear of war. Or if there is peace, it is accompanied by foul servitude under the pettiest rulers and no more fortunate than any war you like. Wherever you turn your eyes and mind, all is up in the air and looked upon suspiciously, and there are many more signs of ruin, as in a house that is not well supported. To sum up, Langius, as the flow of all rivers into the ocean, so seems that of diasters into the current age. And I am enumerating only those which are on our hands now at the present time. What of those which are imminent? about which I shall sing that Euripidean verse,

I look upon the wretched sea of so many evils
that I will never swim back out of them.[clxxvii][97]

Langius looked at me sternly and said by way of correction, 'Once again you lower yourself by these complaints of yours?[clxxviii] I thought you were already standing strong, and you fall. I thought that your wounds had closed: you are handling them anew. But you need some rest for your soul, if you are to heal. You claim that the current era is most unhappy. That is an old song to me.[clxxix] I know that your grandfather said the same thing. I know that your father did. I know that your children are going to the say it and that your grandchildren will too. It has been instilled in the human character by nature, to turn one's eyes quickly toward sad things and to look over the happy things.[clxxx] Just as flies and insects of that sort do not long sit on smooth and polished surfaces, but stick to rough ones, so your querulous mind lightly passes over a better throw of the die, but does not let go of a harsh one. It lays hold of it, inspects it, and often cleverly makes it worse. And just as lovers never fail to find in their mistress why she is exceptional beyond all others, so those in pain never fail to find in their grief why it is exceptional beyond all others.[clxxxi] We imagine non-existent things, and we are troubles not only by present things, but things to come as well. What is the price of our intelligence? No other than that just as a far off movement of dust makes some armies leave camp, so often the illusory shadow of a future crisis brings us down.

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[95] Cicero's translation of lines from Sophocles' *Trachiniae* line 1046 f., as found in the *Tusculan Disputations* (II.20).

[96] The Greek phrase ἔσχατ' ἐσχάτων 'the extreme of extremes' (usually modifying some noun) is first found in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* line 65, and in several later texts, but not applied to tyrannies.

[97] Euripides *Hippolytus* 822-3. Lipsius' Greek is wrong in that it prints ὁ τάλας (which really makes no sense although it is here translated as modifying 'sea') instead of δ', ὦ τάλας (which makes the clause mean 'o wretched me, I look upon a sea of so many evils'). Lipsius also prints μὴ πότ' instead of μήποτ' (no difference in meaning).

Chapter XXI

Next a more accurate and express refutation by comparison with past evils. First the wars and incredible disaster of the Judaeans.

You, Lipsius, put aside these ordinary things and join me in the comparison which you are demanding.[clxxxii] It will become clear to you throught this comparison that at one time not just similar disasters of every sort[clxxxiii] have occurred, but greater ones and that there are things to be grateful for in the current age rather than to complain about. We are tossed by war, you say.[clxxxiv] So? Were there no wars, then, in ancient times? Rather they were born, Lipsius, when the world was born, and they will not cease unless it does. Perhaps they were not as extensive or as serious as the current ones. That is so far from being the case that all the current ones are play and amusement (I am speaking seriously) if they are compared with the ancient ones. I will not find the entrance or the exit easily, if I once enter into the depths of these examples, but nonetheless, do you want to travel through the regions of the world a little? Let's go. Let us begin from Judaea, the holy land and people.[clxxxv] I will leave out what they suffered in Egypt, for these have been handed down and are easily found in the sacred books. I proceed to the latest ones, and the ones which are connected with their demise. My task is to lay them out one by one in a list as it were.[clxxxvi98] So, they suffered from civil and external war, in not more than a seven year span, the following:[99]
First in Jerusalem on the order of Florus 6,300 were killed.[100]
In Caesarea by the inhabitants, out of hatred of their people and religion,[clxxxvii] 20,000 were killed in one time.[101]
At Scythopolis (it is a city of The Valley of Syria), 13,000.[102]
At Ascalon in Palestine, also by the inhabitants, 2,500.[103]
At Ptolemaida likewise, 2,000.[104]
At Alexandria in Egypt, under Tiberius Alexander as governor, 50,000.[105]
At Damascus, 10,000.[106]

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[98] Titus Flavius Josephus was a Jewish historian who wrote in the 1st c. CE.
[99] Lipsius' numbers correspond fairly well with those in Flavius Josephus' *The Jewish War*, although some are different from those of Niese's text of *The Jewish War*, which is used here. Of course, numbers in ancient texts are notoriously subject to corruption. Lipsius includes all numbers reported by Josephus, except those of the slain as a result of inter-Jewish violence, but does not include any number when Josephus, without giving a number, reports that many died (as at *The Jewish War* II.478f.).
[100] Josephus *The Jewish War* II.307 reports that Florus had 3,600 men, with their wives and children, killed.
[101] Josephus *The Jewish War* II.457 reports that over 20,000 Jews were killed in one day in Caesarea.
[102] Josephus *The Jewish War* II.468 reports this number as over 13,000.
'Hollow Syria' is a region between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon mountains. Scythopolis is modern Beit She'an.
[103] Josephus *The Jewish War* II.477.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Josephus *The Jewish War* II.497.

Those wars were waged as rebellions or uprising: then in genuine open war at the hands of Romans:
At the capture of Joppa by Cesius Florus, 8,400 were killed.[107]
On Mount Cabulo, 2,000.[108]
In a battle at Ascalon, 10,000.[109]
Through ambushes again, 8,000.[110]
At Aphaca, when it had been captured, 15,000[111].
On Mt. Garizim, 11,600 were killed.[112]
At Jotapa, where Josephus himself was, around 30,000.[113]
At Joppa again, when captured, 4,200 went under.[114]
At Tarichaeis, 6,500 were killed.[115]
At Gamala, as many were killed as were hurled down precipitously, 9,000. and no one from that town was left alive, except 2 women, sisters.[116]
When Giscala was abandoned, in the flight, 2,000 were slaughtered and 3,000 women and children were captured.[117]
At the slaughter at Gadara, 13,000. 2,200 were captured, aside from those who in

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[106] Josephus, *The Jewish War* II.561: although he is following Josephus' ordering, Lipsius pulls this number out of Josephus' order because the killing at Damascus was not part of the war, but rather reported as a prophylactic action by the Damascenes themselves.
[107] Josephus, *The Jewish War* II.509. Lipsius prints 'Cesius,' but the name is elsewhere 'Cestius.'
[108] Flavius Josephus refers to a town called Chaboulon in Galilaia at *The Jewish War* II.503, where he mentions 2,000 people killed, but they are killed by the Jews and may not themselves be Jews. At II.512, however, over 2,000 are reported slain in the mountains near Asamon (these are apparently not reported by Lipsius: perhaps he confused these two occasions).
[109] Josephus, *The Jewish War* III.19.
[110] Josephus, *The Jewish War* III.25: these also fell at Ascalon.
[111] Josephus reports 15,000 killed at Japha, and 2,130 captured at *The Jewish War* III.305-6. Although there is a place in Lebanon known as 'Afqa' which has been spelled 'Apheca' as well, there is no 'Aphaca' or any similarly spelled place in Niese's text of Josephus: presumably Lipsius' 'Aphaca' is Japha.
[112] Josephus *The Jewish War* III.315. Mount Gerizim (various spellings occur) is near Nablus on the West Bank.
[113] Josephus, *The Jewish War* III.337-8 reports 40,000 were killed at Jotapata, and 1,200 captured.
[114] Josephus *The Jewish War* III.427 reports 4,200 Jews who had embarked on ships were killed at Joppa.
[115] Josephus *The Jewish War* III.532 puts the figure at 6,700 in Niese's text.
[116] Josephus *The Jewish War* IV.80-81 puts the Jewish slain at 4,000, those who jumped to their deaths at 5,000, and reports that only the two siseter survived.
[117] Josephus *The Jewish War* IV.115 reports that the Jewish soldiers escaped to Jerusalem, but Titus slew 6,000 women and children who had fled Giscala but were returning, and took 3,000 captive.

numberless hordes jumped into the river.[118]
At the villages of Idumaea, 10,000 were killed.[119]
At Gerasii, 1,000.[120]
At Machaerunte, 1,700.[121]
In the forest of Iardes, 3,000.[122]
In the fort at Massada, there died by their own hand 960.[123]
In Cyrene with Catulus as governor, 3,000 were killed.[124]
And in the city of Jerusalem itself, in all the time of the seige, 1,000,000 died or were killed, and 97,000 were captured.[125]
The sum amounts to 1,240,000, aside from countless ones whom I have left out.[clxxxviii]
What have you to say, Lipsius? Are you casting your eyes down upon these things? Lift them up, rather, and venture to compare a few years war in the Christian world with the disaster of just one people. What a small part of humanity and the earth it is, if compared with Europe?

Chapter XXII

About the calamities of the Greeks and Romans in war. The great number of those killed by a few generals. And the devastation of the new world and its wretched captivity.

I am not stopping here. I betake myself to Greece, where going through all the wars in order, whether waged among themselves or with others would be long and without profit. I will say this. That it, being so exhausted and its people so razed down by the continuous blade of calamities,[clxxxix] as Putarch[cxc] relates (which I never read without outrage and wonder) -- that it was all told able to raise at most 3,000 soldiers in his time: as many as the one little town of Megara had levied once in the Persian war. Alas, how that flower of our lands has fallen, the sun and salt**IS THIS AN IDIOM?POETIC ALLUSION?** of the peoples on earth. There is hardly a town today of any name at all in this exhausted Belgium of ours that could not reach that number of the sex suitable for war. Now should we travel among the Romans and Italy?[cxci] Augustine and Orosius have already lightened

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[118] Josephus, *The Jewish War* IV.435-6 reports 15,000 killed and 2,200 captured as well as countless men who jumped into the swollen Jordan River.
[119] Josephus *The Jewish War* IV.447-448 reports over 10,000 slain and over 1,000 taken captive in the Idumaean villages of Betabris and Kaphortobas.
[120] Josephus *The Jewish War*, IV.488.
[121] Nothing corresponding to this number or slain Macheruntes was found in Josephus, although at *The Jewish War*, III.555, Macherus is mentioned as a holdout city.
[122] Josephus *The Jewish War* VII.214-215.
[123] Josephus *The Jewish War* VII.400.
[124] Josephus *The Jewish War* VII.445-6 reports 1,000 were slain in Cyrene by governor Catullus (not Catulus, a different name).
[125] Josephus *The Jewish War* VI.420-421 reports 1,100,000 slain and 97,000 captured.

the load of the enumerations.[126] Consult them and the seas of ills in them. One war, the second Punic war, comsumed 1,500,000 humans in the lands of Italy, Spain, and Sicily within less than 17 years (I researched this carefully). The civil war of Caesar and Pompey consumed about 300,000, and the arms of Brutus, Cassius and Sextus Pompey consumed more. And why recount wars waged under the auspices and generalship of more than one?[cxcii] Behold one person, Gaius Julius Caesar (O plague and destruction of the human race!) confesses and even vaunts that 1,192,000 humans were killed by him in battles.[cxciii][127] And the carnage of the civil wars is not included in that reckoning. Those massacres occurred against non-Romans in the few years in which he was in charge of Spain and Gaul. That 'Great' Magnus, however, is even greater than him in this regard. He inscribed on a temple of Minerba, 'Routed, put to flight, slaughtered, and accepted in surrender 2,083,000. Into their club add, if you please: Quintus Fabius, whose count was 110,000 Gauls; Gaius Marius, at 200,000 Cimbri; in a later era, Aetius, who in the memorable battle of Catalonia killed 160,000 Huns.[128] And lest you think that there were only human cadavers in those wars, there were also the ruins of towns.[cxciv] Cato the Censor brags that he captured more towns in Spain than the number of days he spent there.[cxcv][129] Sempronius Gracchus, if we trust Polybius, destroyed 300 towns in Spain.[130] It is not the case that every age except ours has something to add to these examples, but the example we have to add is in another world. What funerals, good god, did those few Spaniards cause who were conveyed into those vast new lands 80 years ago? What butchery? I am not speaking of the causes or the right of war, but only the outcomes. I picture that vast expanse of land, which it would be a great thing to have even seen, not to mention conquer, invaded by 320 soldiers and here and there unarmed peoples laid low like grain by the scythe. Where are you, great island of Cuba? You, Haiti? You, Iucaya[131]? Who were once ringed by 5 or 6 hundred thousand, and now have hardly 15 left for progeny? Show yourself a little, Peruvian and Mexican shores. Alas for your astonishing and wretched appearance! That unmeasured expanse and truly different world appears devastated and reduced,[cxcvi] not otherwise than if it had been set fire by some celestial conflagration. My mind and my tongue fail me, Lipsius, when I mention those things, and compared with them, I see that all our calamities are no more than bits of

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[126] In the preface to *A History: against the pagans*, written at the behest of Augustine, Orosius says that he found that the further back in the past he investigated, the more atrocious were the disasters that beset humans.

[127] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 7.25.

[128] In 451CE, Flavius Aëtius and Theodoric I, king of the Visigoths, defeated Attila and the Huns at the Battle of Chalons, aka The Battle of the Catalaunian Plains. Jordanes, in *Getica*, numbers the deat at 165,000 (plus another 15,000 from a pre-battle skirmish: *Getica* 41.217), while Hydatius numbers the dead at 300,000 (*Chronicon* reign of Theodosius, XXVIII). Both figures may be highly exaggerated.

[129] Plutarch *Life of Cato the Elder*, 10 contains this anecdote. Appian 6.39-41 contains a general account of Cato's time in Spain, but no number of towns reduced.

[130] Strabo *Geographica* III.4.13 line 23ff. reports this about Polybius, but Polybius' text does not surive. Strabo also reports that Poseidonius makes fun of Polybius for counting every tower as a town to gratify Gracchus.

[131] Lucaya, in the Bahamas. **CHECK THIS.**

chaff,[132] or as the comedian says, little tiny throatlets. [133] And I am not yet mentioning that law of slaves, than which there was nothing more harsh in the wars of the ancients. All freeborn humans, nobles, boys, women, the victor snatched perhaps into permanent slavery.[cxcvii] Certainly a slavery, and I righly rejoice that there was no trace of it in the Christian world, and is not now. The Turks still practice it, and there is nothing that makes that Scythian dominion more hateful and terrible to us.

Chapter XXIII

Very famous examples of ancient plague and famine. Also the high level of taxation and plundering in the past.

But you continue in your complaint, and you add plague and famine, taxes, and pillaging. Do you want to compare them one by one, briefly? Tell me, how many thousands did the plague carry off in all of Belgium in the past five or six years. I think fifty, or to make it larger, a hundred thousand. But in the reign of king David, in Judaea alone a plague took 70,000, in less than a day.[cxcviii] Under the emperors Gallus and Volusianus, a plague arising from Ethiopia[cxcix][134] spread through all the Roman provinces and utterly emptied them for 15 years running. I have read of no greater pestilence in length of time or earthly expanse. In cruelty and onset a more extraordinary one was the one that raged through Byzantium and neighboring regions in the time of Justinian's rule. Its strength was such that in a single day it could cause 5,000 deaths, sometimes even 10,000. I would say this hesitantly and without great confidence if there were not the most trustworthy witnesses from that time itself.[cc][135] And no less to be wondered at was the African plague, which arose at the time of the sack of Carthage and killed 800,000 in Numidia alone[cci][136]; along the coast of Africa it killed 200,000; and in Utica, it killed 30,000 soldiers, who had been left as a guard. And again in Greece, under the rule of emperor Michael Doukas,[137] there was so savage a plague, 'that it was impossible for the living to consign the dead to the grave' [138] ('the living were not, in sum, equal to burying the dead') in the words of Zonaras. Finally, in the time of Petrarch, as he himself reports, the plague lay so strong

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[132] The words for 'bits of chaff,' *palearum cassa* occur as a phrase only at Solinus *De Mirabilibus Mundi* 52 (2nd c. CE grammarian).
[133] From a fragment of Plautus *Rudens* **PERHAPS? but that is extant, so where from?**
[134] Found in Zonaras *Epitome Historiarum* book III P. 137 line 14-18.
[135] Procopius *De Bello Persico* II.22-23. Agathias *Historiae* P.175 line 28f. in Keydell's edition. Procopius supplies the details which Lipsius cites, and much more. At Procopius II.23.2, the daily death count is said to have reached 50,000.
[136] Orosius *History against the Pagans* V chapter 11.
[137] PERHAPS Michael VII Doukas, Byzantine emperor 1071-1078 CE. LOOK UP IN DICTIOANRY OF BYZANTIUM
[138] Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum* 714 line 16f. Lipsius provides the Greek and his own translation in the main body of the text. Lipsius' Greek is accurate. IS THERE A LOEB OF ZONARAS? A TRANSLATION IN THE LIBRARY? NEED TO FIGURE OUT WHICH MICHAEL IS REFERRED TO.

upon Italy that from every 1,000 people barely 10 would survive.[cciii139] Now, concerning famine, our age has seen just about nothing, if we look at antiquity. Under emperor Honorius in Rome, such was the cost and scarcity of any provisions, that people even threatened each other, and in the Circus the following was heard openly: 'Name your price for human flesh.'[cciii140] In all of Italy when the Goths were laying it waste, under Justinian, again famine was so great that in Picenum alone, 50,000 died of it,[141] and in some places not only was human flesh turned to use as food, but so was human excrement. Two women (I shudder to tell the story) killed 17 men by a trick at night and ate them: they were killed by the 18th, who realized what had happened. And I am not talking about the famine in the Holy City and examples that have already been used overly often. But if something must be said also about taxes,[cciv] I do not deny that the ones imposed on us are heavy, but only if you look at them alone by themselves, not if you put them beside ancient ones. Almost all provinces paid a fifth of that produced from pasture land, and a tenth of that from arable land every year.[ccv142] And Antony and Caesar did not fail to exact nine or ten years' worth of taxes in one year. When Julius Caesar was killed, and arms were taken up for liberty, individual citizens were ordered to pay up 1/25th of all their goods, and more than this, those of the senatorial order were ordered to pay 6 asses on each roof tile[ccvi143] of their houses, which was a huge contribution unbelievable to our ears and one we would not pay. But Octavianus Caesar[ccvii144] demanded and received 1/8th part of all their goods from the free born (I believe that the number was based on his name).[145] And I am not mentioning what the Triumvirs did, or what other tyrants did, lest I instruct our own tyrants by rehearsing that. Let one of all their actions and seizures serve as an exemplar, that of the Colonies. Just as nothing could be found more important for maintaining the strength of the empire, so nothing could be thought of that is more grievous for the subjects.[ccviii] Here and there, legions and veteran cohorts were lead into fields and towns, and at that moment in time, the wretched provincials were deprived of all their goods and fortunes, not because they had dared to do anything or deserved anything, but in place of a crime, they had wealth and very rich

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[139] Petrarch lost many friends and family in the plagues of 1348 and 1361, as his letters and other works reveal.

[140] The story found in Zosimus *Historia Nova* VI.11 is that the ports of Africa, the main source of Rome's provisions, were closed by Heracleianus, and the people shouted this at the emperor Attalus.

[141] *Procopius* de Bello Gothico *II. Look there for more.*
Procopius *de Bellis* VI.20.18-33 describes a famine: the number 50,000 dead in Picenum is at VI.20.21; the following story about two cannibalistic women is related soon after; coprophagy, however, is not found there, but at VII.17.19, a famine in Rome.

[142] Appian, *Civil War*, I.1.7. The Greek title of the part of Appian's *Roman History* called *Civil War* was *Ἐμφυλίων*.

[143] Cassius Dio *Historiae Romanae* XLVI.31§3· οἱ δὲ δὴ βουλευταὶ καὶ τέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκιῶν. Lipsius' Greek does not have the Greek particles δὴ and καὶ, and he has a few stray accent idiosyncrasies.

[144] Cassius Dio L.10. Cassius Dio surmises that those subject to such taxation were behind a string of arsons in Rome.

[145] Latin *Octavianus* sounds like *octavus* '1/8th.'

fields. In this phenomenon there appears the voracious maw of all calamities. It is a wretched thing to be deprived of one's money. What if one is deprived also of one's fields and house? It is grievous to be driven from these. What about one's whole country? What about one's place of worship and altars? See how many thousands were broken up, children from parents, masters from servants, wives from busbands. They were spread into various lands as fortune decreed for each one. Some among the 'thirsty Africans,' as the poet says about this very phenomenon, 'Some to Scythia, or Britain, cut off from the whole world.' Octavianus Caesar alone located 28 colonies in Italy alone. In the provinces he located as many as he pleased.[ccix] No other phenomenon was more destructive to us Gauls and the Spaniards, as far as I know.

Chapter XXIIII

Tales of cruelty and several astonishing disasters, beyond all crimes of this age.

But the savagery of today, you say, and the disasters, they are unheard of. I know what you mean and what recent occurrence you indicate. But your confidence, Lipsius: that there was nothing of the sort among the ancients?[ccx] O how ignorant you are, if yo do not know: how bad, if you are feigning ignorance! For the examples are so ready to hand and so many that we have hard work choosing among them. You know the name of Sulla, the 'Felix'?[146] and so you also know of his infamous and monstrous proscription in which he carried off 4,700 citizens from one town.[ccxi147] And lest you thinkg that they were lowborn or from the commoners, among them were 140 Senators. And I am not brushing on the innumerable slaughters which were commonly perpetrated whether by his permission or direct order. So Catulus' question was posed not without good reason: 'With whom will we be victorious if we kill those who are armed in war and those who are unarmed in peace?' But later three of his students (I mean the Triumvirs) imitated that same Sulla by likewise proscribing 300 Senators, and over 2,000 Roman Equites.[ccxii148] Such crimes! The sun has seen and is going to see nothing more harsh then these, from sunrise to sunset. Read Appian, if you wish, and find there the variety of foul images of people hiding and fleeing and being hauled forth or stopped, and of their children and wives lamenting all around. May I perish myself if you don't agree that humanity itself perished in that savage and beastly age. And these things were done to Senators and Equites, that is, to the equivalent of kings and rulers, but perhaps there was no savagery against the masses. No. Look at that same Sulla, who 'ordered that four legions of the opposite side, who trusted his oath, be slaughtered in the public villa although they were

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[146] Sulla's full name was Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix. *Felix* means 'fortunate, happy,' in Latin.

[147] Valerius Maximus *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* IX.2.1. Sulla developed proscription as a way to do away with enemies and acquire their property. The *Lex Cornelia de proscriptione et proscriptis* gave him the right to do so. While Valerius Maximus says that 4,700 were 'proscribed,' others give higher or lower figures.

[148] Appian, *The Civil Wars* IV.5 relates these numbers. As Lipsius says, book IV of Appian has the stories of many who hid or fled and were hunted.

in vain begging for the mercy of his treacherous hand.'[ccxiii][149] When the groans of them dying reached the curia, the Senate was astounded and riveted. Sulla said, 'Let us continue, Conscript Fathers. A few rebels are being punished on my orders.'[150] I don't know what is more to be wondered at in this: that a man was able to do that or to say that. Do you want still more examples of savagery? Serve yourself. Servius Galba, after calling together the people of three cities, as if to discuss things to their advantage, suddenly had 7,000 slaughtered, which consisted of the flower of their youth.[151] In the same region, Lucius Licinius Lucullus,[ccxiv] as consul, after sending soldiers into the town, killed 20,000 inhabitants of Cauca[ccxv][152] contrary to the oath of negotiated surrender.[153] Octavianus Augustus, at the capture of Perusia, 'slaughtered in the manner of sacrificial animals 300 of those who surrendered, selected from each order, at an altar constructed to the divine Julius.'[ccxvi][154] Antoninus Caracalla, enraged at the Alexandrians because of some jokes, entering the city under pretence of peace and calling together all the youth into a field, surrounded them with soldiers and at a signal killed them all to a man and using equal savagery on the remaining multitude, fully emptied the very populous city.[ccxvii][155] King Mithridates had 80,000 Roman citizens, who had been sent throughout Asia on various business, killed by means of one letter.[ccxviii][156] Volesus Messalla,

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[149] The quotation is from Valerius Maximus *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* IX.2.1. The *Villa Publica* on the Campus Martius was the base of operations for the Roman censors and was used for official purposes. Its exact location is unknown.
Seneca may refer to this slaughter at *de Beneficiis* V.16.3 (although only 2 legions are mentioned) as well as at *de Clementia* I.12.2 (cf. next note), where 7,000 are being slaughtered on Sulla's orders. Although Seneca does refer to Sulla's cruelty in the *de Ira* on occasion, there is no mention of a slaughter of 7,000 there: Lipsius may have confused that with the passage from *de Clementia*.

[150] Quoted from Seneca *De Clementia* I.12.2. Seneca goes on to say that he is not making it up: 7,000 'seemed like a few' to Sulla.

[151] Valerius Maximus IX.6.2: Valerius says that the 7,000 were partly slaughtered, partly sold into slavery.

[152] Cauca is reported by Appian to be a town of the Vaccaeans, a Celtiberian people, in *Iberica* §215.

[153] Appian, *Iberica* §215f.

[154] Quoted from Suetonius *Augustus* XV, but *Idibus Martiis* ('on the Ides of March') was left out.

[155] 'Xiphilinus' refers to Cassius Dio 78.22-23 (P.335-337). Xiphilinus was a Byzantine monk of the 11th century who epitomized Cassius Dio (we no longer have Cassius Dio's actual work for this period). As for 'Herodian,' the 4th book of Herodian's *Roman History* deals with Caracalla's reign, including extensive treatment of the destruction of Alexandria.

[156] Valerius Maximus IX.2.4 ext.3 has all but exactly the same Latin as Lipsius (*Mitridatem regem, qui una epistola lxxx milia ciuium Romanorum in Asia per urbes negotiandi gratia dispersa interemit*), who is usually much more careful to indicate when he is quoting. Appian *Mithridatica* 85f. recounts the slaughter of Romans in Asia Minor which Mithridates VI orchestrated. Plutarch *Sulla* 24 also recounts the slaughter, but puts the number of the dead at 150,000.

procounsul of Asia, executed 300 in one day by axe,[ccxix][157] and walking proudly among the cadavers with his hands behind his back, as if he had accomplished a magnificent thing, proclaimed 'O Kingly deed.'[ccxx][158] And I am still talking of the secular and impious, but lo, among the names of those devoted to the true god is Theodosius, who killed 7,000 innocents in Thessalonica by the greatest crime and deceit. After he had called them together into the theater as if he were inviting them to see the games, he sent in the soldiers.[159] All the ancient outrages contain no greater impiety than his deed. And after these, my fellow Belgians, accuse also the treacherous savagery of the leaders in this age.

Chapter XXV

The tyranny of our age is disparaged. It is shown to be either from nature or from human malice. And it is shown that there were in the past internal and external shows of force.

Finally, you criticize the tyrannical regime of today and its shows of force against body and soul. I did not just now arrogantly decide to raise up or to put down our age. For what good would that do anyone? I will tell you what this does for our comparison. When are there not such ills? and Where are there not such ills? Show me a century without a notorious tyrant, show me a people.[ccxxi] If you can (for I will take the chance of this roll of the die), I too will confess that we are the most miserable of the miserable. Why are you silent? That old disparagement is true, as I see, 'all the good leaders could be written down on one signet ring.'[160] Using power beyond measure is too ingrained in human characters: it is not easy to preserve the right measure in a matter which is beyond measure. We, the very ones who complain about tyranny, carry the seeds of tyranny deep in our breast, and the will to carry it out is not lacking in most of us, but the ability is. The snake grows slow from the cold, but has poison nonetheless. It's just not obvious. Similarly in us: our weakness alone keeps us from doing harm and a kind of cold produced by fortune. Give us the power, give us the tools, and I fear that even the most powerless are mostly of the same sort as those who are so bad among those in power. An

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[157] Once again, Lipsius all but quotes, but does not use his normal Italics to indicate that he is quoting. The original in Seneca is: *Volesus nuper, sub diuo Augusto proconsul Asiae, cum trecentos uno die securi percussisset, incedens inter cadauera uultu superbo, quasi magnificum quiddam conspiciendumque fecisset, graece proclamauit 'o rem regiam!'*

[158] Seneca reports only a Latin translation of this exclamation, but says that Volesus exclaimed it in Greek. Lipsius offers a translation of this exclamation into Greek in the main text. Lipsius' Greek is not, however, a phrase that is found in Greek literature.

[159] This massacre, with the number 7,000, is recounted as an atrocious failure to reign in passions in the following: Theodoretus *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.17 (P.306-7 in Parmentier and Scheidweiler's edition), Sozomenus *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII.25, Cassiodorus *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 9.30, and Ambrose *Epistula* LI (to Theodosius). The detail that they were fraudulently invited into the theater is not found in those sources, however.

[160] A saying used frequently in Lipsius' times and later. In the *Historia Augusta*, *Aurelian* XLII, it is said to have been invented by a comic during Aurelian's reign as emperor.

example from our daily life: see the father raging against his sons, the master against his servants, the teacher against his students. All of them are Phalarises[161] in their own way, and they stir up the same flows in the river as the ones kings stir up in the sea. And this nature is not absent from other animals, among whom most are cruel to species related to themselves, in the air, on the land, and in the water.

... thus the big fish often eats up the small fish,
thus the bird of prey torments the other birds.

as Varro rightly says.[162] 'But these are oppressions of bodies,' you will say. 'Today is exceptional, because there are also oppressions of souls.'[ccxxii] Is that so, of souls? Be careful lest that be said more out of envy than truth. Whoever thinks that he is able to be forced or coerced seems to me not to know himself and his own celestial nature. For no external force is ever able to bring it about that you want what you don't want or feel what you do not feel. Someone does have the power over binding or tying up the soul, but no one has it over the soul itself. A tyrant can separate one from one's body, but cannot dissolve one's nature, which is pure, eternal, fiery and spurns every external and forceful touch. It is not permitted to express the opinion of the soul. Fine. But the bridle is put on your tongue, not on your soul, not on your judgements, but on your deeds. 'But this is a new and unheard of thing.' O good man, how you err.[ccxxiii] How many could I list for you who paid the penalty of their opinions under tyrants, because of a loose tongue? How many among them who tried to enforce their judgements? and I mean their judgements in the matter of piety. It was customary to worship the kids of the Persians and the East, and we know that Alexander appropriated the same cult of divinity for himself, although his own backward Macedonia did not approve. Among the Romans that good and temperate ruler Augustus had priests and clerics in the provinces, even in individual houses, as a god. Caligula ordered his own head to be put on the statues of gods whose head had been cut off, a laughable impiety. He also set up a temple for his divinity, priests and the choicest offerings. Nero wanted to be held to be Apollo, and the noblest citizens were killed on the following pretence, 'that they had not offered sacrifice for his celestial voice.'[ccxxiv][163] Domitianus now was openly addressed as 'Our god and master.' What vanity or impiety: if today it were in any of our kinds, Lipsius, what would you say? I won't sail any closer to this Scylla to which no winds of ambitions are drawing or pushing me.

for the reward for silence is without risk[ccxxv][164]

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[161] Phalaris was a tyrant of Acragas and is used here as a byword for despotic cruelty. Among Acragas' supposed atrocities: eating babies and roasting people alive in his famous bronze bull.

[162] A fragment of one of Varro's lost satires, preserved in Nonius Marcellinus **FIND WHERE!!! INTERNET NOT GOOD FOR NONIUS Maybe 1.98 or maybe 9.81? Also check Riese's Varro, M. Terentius Saturarum Mennippearum Reliquiae.**

[163] Tacitus *Annals* 16.22, where only one person is charged with this crime, Thrasea.

[164] Preserved in Plutarch *Regum et imperatorum Apophthegmata*, 207c9-10, as quoted by Augustus. It is held to be a quotation from Simonides (fragment 66 II p. 78D Bergk). Nachstädt's version of Plutarch's text differs a bit from Lipsius': 'ἔστι καὶ σιγῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας' ('There is a riskless reward also/even for silence'). The word for 'risk' could also mean 'peril' or 'danger.'

I shall bring forth only one testimonium of ancient slavery in this whole matter, and indeed one from a writer familiar to you, which I would like you to pay attention to. Tacitus on the age of Domitian:

> We read that when Paetus Thrasea published his praise of Arulenus Rusticus and Priscus Helvidius published that of Herennius Senecio, it was judged capital crime. And the rage was not limited to those authors only, but was aimed at their works as well, with the task given to the triumvirs to burn the works of those most illustrious persons in the forum and the election grounds. By that fire they thought that they would do away with the voice of the Roman people and the liberty of the Senate and the conscience of the human race. They also exiled professors of wisdom, and banished every liberal art, lest anything upright should come to be. We gave a great proof of endurance and just as ancient times saw what extreme liberty was, so we saw what extreme slavery is, with the give and take of hearing and speaking taken away by means of legal inquisitions. We would have lost our memory itself along with our voice, if it had been as much in our power to forget as to be silent.[ccxxvi165]

Chapter XXVI

Finally it is taught that these ills are not novel or new. They are common to all individuals and groups of people. And comfort is sought in that fact.

I am not adding more by way of comparison. I come to the other battle line of my legion, which attacks novelty, briefly and scornfully.[ccxxvii] For it comes more to despoil the already conquered foe than to fight at close quarters with them fiercely. What could really be new here in human affairs, except the new novice? Crantor put it excellently and wisely, he who always had the following verse on his tongue

> Alas! Why alas? We have suffered mortality.[ccxxviii166]

For these disasters come around and go through their cycle on this earth. Why do you lament that these sad things occur? Why are you astonished?

> Atreus did not bear you for all the good things,
> Agamemnon.
> It is necessary that you rejoice and feel pain.
> For you were born a mortal. And even if you do not want it,
> It will be so because the gods will it.[ccxxix167]

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[165] Langius has Lipsius quote the second paragraph of Tacitus' *Agricola*.

[166] Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* IV.26 reports that Crantor had this saying from Euripides' *Bellerophon* on his lips. Lipsius prints the Greek (which agrees with Long's text) in the main body and his own Latin translation in the marginal note.

[167] Lines from Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 29-31 that are also quoted three times in part by Plutarch. Lipsius prints the Greek in the main body (it is different from Diggle's text in that Lipsius prints κἄν not κἂν, does not print τὰ before θεῶν, and prints βουλομένων instead of βουλόμεν', none of which heavily affects the meaning), and a Latin translation in the margin.

The following is more amazing, if someone is not bound by the common law, and does not bear the burden all others bear. Solon[ccxxx] brought a friend who was grievously mourning into the citadel at Athens and showed him all the buildings below in the great city, saying, 'Think of how many afflictions there have once been under these rooves, and now are, and are going to be later, and stop mourning for the discomforts of mortals as if they were your own.' I would like it if the same thing could be done by you, Lipsius, in this big world. But since it is not in fact possible, come let it be for a while in thought. Sit yourself on high Olympus, if you want. Look at all the cities, provinces, and realms, and think of just as many fenced around by human calamities.[ccxxxi] They are amphitheaters and areas in which the gory games of fortune take place. Cast your eses not far away. You see Italy? it is not yet thirty years ago that it ceased from savage bitter wars on each side. See that broad German land? Recently there were strong sparks in it of civil unrest, which are again sparking up, unless I am mistaken, into a more destructive flame. See Britain? there are continual wars and disasters in it. And what is now for a while at peace, owes it to the command of the peaceful sex (WHAT???). See Gaul? See it and pity it. Even now the flesh rot of a bloody war creeps through all its joints. It is no different in the whole world. Think about it, Lipsius, and lighten your own miseries by this common sea of miseries. And just as a slave is usually set behind those who celebrate triumphs to proclaim at the same time in the middle of the triumphal joy, 'You are a man,' so that watcher should sit at your side always to say, 'These things are human.' Just as labor shared with many becomes lighter, so too does pain.

Chapter XXVII

The conclusion of the conversation. And a brief urging to go over and think about it again.

I have laid out all my troops and my whole conversation, Lipsius.[ccxxxii] You have what I thought should be said on behalf of constancy in the face of pain. I hope they are welcome not just to you, but that they make you healthy, that they do not delight you but more so help you. But they will be helpful if you let them not just into your ears but into your soul, and do not let them lie there and dry up having been heard like seeds sown on top of the ground. In the end, they will help you if you will seriously go over them and ruminate on them.[ccxxxiii] Because just as fire is struck up from the flint not just by one blow, so in that cold heart of yours, the hidden and lethargic force of the right is not kindled by the first blows of encouragement. In the end, I beg as a suppliant and I offer worship to the eternal and divine fire that it truly burn in you, and not just in words or appearance, but in fact and in deed.

When he had spoken he stood up hurriedly and, said, 'I am going, Lipsius. The midday sun is the sign of a meal for me. Follow me.' 'I do so eagerly and willingly,' I said, 'and as is the custom at the mysteries, I proclaim rightly now,

I have escaped evil, I have found something better.[ccxxxiv168]'

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[168] A Greek saying of significance in some rituals (the details of which are not known), as seen from Demosthenes *On the Crown* 259.

End

Prayers
To God
For Constancy

Poured forth in my serious and chronic illness, in the year 1579, the 32nd year of my life.

To the one whom the sea and the earth serve, and the fiery stars
of heaven: whom the mortal lifetimes of those with souls fear:
bountiful god, without whom nothing comes to the divine shores
of the light, and without whom nothing leaves the shores of the light:
look on me whom weakness has hold of, whom a wasting fever
torments, and spurs to hope for little health.
Give your assent that my mind does not fail as much as my body,
and that my constancy does not quit my breast in fright.
For a certain end of life stands over mortals,
and we all rush to reach the same port:
the route is not the same for all, however. O blessed the one
who could sail on a fast keel
by the notorious cliffs and shipwrecking rocks!
When it is your will, my Fate, I will follow. I am not kept back
here by earthly concerns: no fleece laced with venom,
no splendor from shiny gold has bound me.
Only the enticement of the learned muse is pleasing to me.
It too I spurn willingly. You alone, god of gods,
eternal mind of the world and ineffable divinity
take me up and lay me down happy in a better place.

Index of Chapters

Which we have added so the reader can follow the thread and web of the whole work in one glance.

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[ccv] *Appian clearly indicates in book I,* Civil War.
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[ccviii] *The harshness in the founding of colonies.*
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[ccxi] *Valerius book II.*
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[ccxv] *I think they were Vaccaean*.
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