

JOHN DONNE'S IGNATIUS HIS CONCLAVE:  
AN ANNOTATED INDEX, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY,  
AND MODERNIZED TEXT

By

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## Preface

Although John Donne is best known as one of the great English metaphysical poets, he also wrote several important works in prose. One of these, Ignatius His Conclave, memorably illustrates the religious and political views of this famous writer. Probably written in 1610 and certainly published in 1611, Ignatius preceded the composition of some of Donne's most important religious verse. The work is therefore interesting partly for the light it can shed not only on Donne's thoughts but also on his poetry.

However, studying Ignatius His Conclave is difficult because no index of it presently exists. This thesis is designed to remedy that lack. Like any index, this one is designed to allow researchers, students, scholars, and other readers to study this piece of Donne's prose more methodically. Its purpose is to help them quickly find such significant aspects of the work as references to proper names, important subjects, biblical allusions, key images, and other matters likely to attract the attention of scholars; students of history, literature, and religion; and anyone else doing serious research on Donne.

It seems important to stress that the present index must not be mistaken

for a concordance, because it lists only the most essential ideas, images, and other references contained in Donne's work, while a complete concordance would list every single word, regardless of that word's importance. In this sense, the present index is modeled on two other recent reference works: Christopher Grose's Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Index to the 1632 Commentary of George Sandys, and especially Troy Reeves's An Annotated Index to the Sermons of John Donne. Grose's index, for instance, was designed to help scholars interested in studying Renaissance interpretations of Ovid. His entries consist almost entirely of proper names listed in alphabetical order, usually followed by brief explanatory comments, as in the two following examples:

Adgandestrius [Andegastrius] (Cheruscan prince, and  
would-be assassin of Arminius), 287 (379)

Aetna. See Etna.

In the first example, the first entry's original spelling (i.e., the spelling employed by Sandys) is initially used, and then the more common spelling is put in brackets. Grose then provides a brief parenthetical description of the entry plus the appropriate page numbers of the two most important editions. The second example entry, on the other hand, provides a useful cross-reference. These two examples illustrate how working with Grose's Index can help a reader quickly and conveniently find a great deal of useful information.

The same thing can be said of Reeves's Index to Donne's sermons, except that Reeves's work is even more comprehensive and detailed. It consists

of three separate volumes. One deals with proper names (including "major references to persons, places, organizations, and institutions, religious and national groups, and special days of the Christian calendar" [2: i]). Another covers scriptural references, and the third indexes topics or key ideas. Taken together, Reeves's three-volume work offers the user extremely valuable assistance, not only in studying Donne's many sermons but also in understanding Donne's mind. By using Reeves's index, a reader can see at a glance which persons most interested Donne, which scriptural passages he most often quoted, and which topics he most often confronted. The reader can also look for connections between Donne's poetry and prose and can compare and contrast his treatment of the same issues in different sermons.

The chief purpose of this thesis, then, has been to produce an index for Ignatius His Conclave comparable to Reeves's index of the ten large volumes of Donne's sermons. Indeed, Reeves's work has served as an extremely valuable example or model for the present undertaking, which covers not only proper names but also scriptural references and other important topics. In sum, the present thesis indexes every proper name in Donne's text, and it also indexes the numerous key words that Donne himself emphasizes by italicizing or by capitalization. In addition, the index includes many other key topics that are not so clearly emphasized.

Deciding which of these words to include obviously presented the major challenge of this project. In making such decisions, I have tried to keep the

index's potential users constantly in mind. I have attempted to include as many words or topics as might conceivably be useful to such readers, including especially any abstract nouns (i.e., nouns suggesting abstract ideas, such as "nature" or "art") and any words that Donne himself stresses through repetition. However, relatively unimportant words (such as prepositions, pronouns, common verbs (e.g., "to be" or "to have")) have not been included. In general, I have tried to make my listings as comprehensive as possible and have often turned, for instance, to Reeves's list of topics for suggestions.

A few examples of the various kinds of words I have attempted to index can be cited from the very first page of Ignatius His Conclave. In the work's first line, for instance, Donne capitalizes the word "Author." Since this word is obviously emphasized by Donne himself, it and all other references to the word "author" (and to such related words as "authorship" and "authority") have been indexed. Likewise, in the second line of his work, Donne capitalizes the word (or title) "Popes" -- a key word in a work that attacks many aspects of the Catholic religion. Moreover, a few lines later, Donne italicizes not only the proper name "Erasmus" but also the key words "Jesuit" and "Preachers." These words and their variations (such as "Jesuitical" and "preaching") have therefore been indexed. Finally, the first page of Ignatius His Conclave mentions such other obviously important words or ideas as "parents," "friend," "enemies," "salvation," and "souls." A reader interested in Donne's thinking about such significant concepts will, I hope, find the present index useful. I have especially tried to

index any word to which Donne himself gives special stress.

Another potentially helpful feature of the present index is its inclusion of brief biographical or other identifying data to help explicate proper names. This feature, inspired by Christopher Grose's Index of Sandys' translation of Ovid, will allow a reader of Donne's work to discover quickly the identities of the many persons and mythical or biblical figures to whom Donne refers. Whenever possible I have tried to provide full names, dates of birth, and other important identifying information. Although some of this information is available in the standard Oxford edition of Ignatius prepared by T. S. Healy, much of it is not, nor is it available in any other edition of the work. Providing such information may be one of the most useful features of the present index.

In the course of preparing this index I have also prepared a modern-spelling version of Ignatius itself. In this respect as in others, my main goal has been to make Donne's work as accessible as possible to a present-day audience, especially to students and to other interested readers who may have no special familiarity with Renaissance culture in general and with early modern spelling in particular. In preparing this version, the first of its kind, I have followed the first edition of Donne's text, and I have also indicated page divisions that correspond to those in the standard Oxford edition edited by T. S. Healy. Moreover, I have indicated where page breaks occur in the two other modern reprints that are most easily accessible to present-day readers. (For more details on these matters, see the introductory comments preceding the

modernized text itself.) It seems worth noting that although spelling has been modernized in the text included here, punctuation has not been changed. Updating Donne's spelling can make Ignatius easier to read without posing any great risks to his meaning. Changing his punctuation, however, would inevitably alter the sense and rhythm of his prose.

One final question remains to be discussed: why, in a period when computers have made it so much easier to search for words in texts, is a paper index even necessary? How can a paper index be helpful when increasing numbers of texts have become electronic? Several answers suggest themselves. In the first place, a computer can generally search only for a term that is already known. A student of Donne may know, for instance, that in Ignatius Donne discusses astronomy and astronomers, and the student might therefore be curious to search for Donne's comments on telescopes. Searching by computer for the word "telescope," however, will turn up references to that word only, whereas Donne sometimes refers to a telescope as a "glass." By providing cross-references of this sort, a printed index generated by a human being can have some slight advantage over a computer. Similarly, a human indexer can note that Donne once refers to a shipwreck not but using that term but by using the seventeenth-century synonym "wracke." Thus, by listing ideas, not simply specific words or terms, an index generated by a conscious human mind has some advantage over a mere mechanical search. (It should be emphasized that the index lists all words in their modern spellings [for instance,



"devil" instead of "divell"], while also indicating, when helpful, the original versions. Such flexibility would also be difficult for a computer to provide.)

A printed index has still another advantage over computer searching -- an advantage similar to the difference between searching a computerized library catalogue and actually browsing in open library stacks. When one flips through the pages of a printed index, one can see immediately which terms an author tends to emphasize. In a few minutes, then, one can get a quick sense of which words and ideas were most important to the author in that particular work. A concordance, of course, provides similar information, but because concordances list every single word an author uses, such works are usually massive in size and cumbersome to consult. A computer search, on the other hand, gives no immediate indication of which words are most important: to a computer, every term is created equal, and only by random searching can one sense the frequency with which words appear. Furthermore, the most frequently used words will not be immediately apparent to someone searching by computer -- at least, not in the same way or to the same degree as someone using a concordance or (even more helpfully) a focused index.

Another real advantage of a printed index is that, in such a work, terms can be defined and explained, and proper nouns can be identified. One of the most important features of the present index, for instance, is that every proper name Donne uses has been explicitly identified -- something not done even in the "Commentary" to the standard edition. In preparing the final version of this

index, I have attempted to identify all the persons named -- explaining, for instance, the full identity of "Erasmus" and also (when these data have been available) providing persons' dates of birth and death or (in the case of such figures as popes or monarchs) their titles and the years during which they reigned. A student reading Ignatius with this index at hand can therefore use the index as a supplementary guide or companion to his or her reading. When the student comes across an unfamiliar name (for instance), the student can simply turn to the printed index for further information. The fact that a printed index, like a printed book, can be used just about anywhere by just about anyone also adds to its usefulness. No computer is needed; no access to the internet is required; no CD-ROM must be purchased; no special expertise is demanded. This is hardly to say that using a printed index is superior to searching by computer; ideally, the two kinds of searching will be complementary and will supplement one another. Advanced scholars are likely, at some point, to need to turn to a computer; but the general readers, undergraduates, and graduate students for whom the present index is mainly designed are likely to find the index a highly useful tool, and even advanced scholars may find it a good place to begin.

Another feature of the present work is an annotated bibliography of major studies of Ignatius. This bibliography brings together, in one convenient location, the key ideas of the most significant commentators on Donne's work, allowing readers to survey quickly the major topics of scholarly consensus and

debate. The annotations, especially of sections from books, are much more detailed than is the case in other bibliographies of Donne scholarship.

I hope that by making Ignatius more easily accessible, this index will it easier for students of Donne to study this important work. All in all, I hope that this index and its introductory chapters will make a useful contribution to the study of Donne's life, mind, writings, and culture.

## Introduction

To understand the important place of Ignatius His Conclave in Donne's career as a writer, one must first understand something about Donne's life, especially his early involvement with the Catholic religion. It is the fanatical adherence to this religion, of course, that is one of the chief targets of his satire in Ignatius, and the very title of the work implies Donne's assault on St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). After surveying Donne's early connections with Catholicism and other important aspects of his life (particularly his career-threatening marriage), this chapter will next discuss such other topics as Donne's possible specific purposes in composing Ignatius; his larger motives and the particular targets of his satire; the themes and plot of the work; its sources and genre; its structure and style; its possible connections with other works by Donne; and the specific circumstances of its publication. Surveying all these topics should not only help readers appreciate the importance of Ignatius and its place in Donne's development, but should also provide a quick overview of previous critical commentary dealing with the work. That commentary will then be surveyed more extensively in Chapter 2, which offers an annotated bibliography of important studies of Ignatius.

## Catholicism

Understanding John Donne's early life is important in order to achieve a fuller understanding of Ignatius His Conclave. This is particularly true since the man who would one day write this fierce satire on the Jesuits was himself born into a prominent Catholic family. In one way or another, Donne's early Catholicism had a profound and lasting influence on his life.

Donne was born in London sometime between 24 January and 19 June, 1572, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, to John and Elizabeth Donne. He was the third of six children. His father, a successful London businessman, rose to be one of the wardens of the Ironmongers' Company. Although Donne's father's lineage is less interesting than that of Donne's mother, John Donne senior considered himself distinguished and "thought himself descended from an ancient family" (Parker 7). Unfortunately, he died in his early forties, when Donne was only four years old, so his personal influence on his young son could not have been very great.

On Donne's mother's side, though, both the literary and religious strains of the poet's later character were represented. Elizabeth Donne was not only a Catholic (like Donne's father), but was also a member of one of the most celebrated Catholic families in the land. Her father was John Heywood, the famous poet and playwright, while her mother was Joan Rastell, the niece of the

Catholic martyr, Sir Thomas More (Carey 1). Therefore, Donne was himself a descendent of the More circle, the foremost group of intellectuals in early sixteenth-century England and internationally famous as devout Catholics. Moreover, when Donne's natural father died, the boy's mother remarried still another Catholic, a wealthy medical practitioner named John Syminges. Therefore, from his father, mother, step-father, and other relatives, Donne inherited a long family tradition of devotion to the church of Rome.

Donne himself, however, would later turn away from Catholicism and become an aggressive and, eventually, very prominent Anglican. Scholars have suggested various reasons to explain his change of heart. Their explanations have pointed, for instance, to his ambition, his skeptical intelligence, and his generally rebellious nature. Some scholars have claimed, for example, that Donne had a burning desire to do important secular work and to achieve significant worldly success. In fact, according to these writers (particularly Arthur Marotti), he seems to have considered self-advancement almost a divine duty. Other scholars have argued that it was Donne's unrelenting intelligence that may eventually have driven him to disprove and reject "the superstitions of the Roman Church, and the tales of miracles in which the writers of saints' lives specialized, [which] struck Donne as beneath the dignity of a rational human being" (Carey 19). Such scholars claim, furthermore, that "the blind obedience which Catholicism exacted from its votaries" offended Donne's intellect (Carey 19). Moreover, the same rebellious qualities that eventually led Donne to turn

his back on standard literary conventions may also have influenced his change in religious attitudes. Although no single explanation is adequate, it seems clear that many of the motives that may have helped sever Donne from Catholicism can be found in Ignatius His Conclave itself, where he reacts with vehement sarcasm against many of the Catholic figures he had been taught to revere as a boy.

Before turning his back on Catholicism, however, Donne showed some initial allegiance to the ancient faith. According to Izaak Walton (his earliest biographer), although Donne spent three years at Oxford University, he finally left without taking a degree (Parker 12). His departure can probably be explained by the fact that during this period of English history, undergraduates "were forced . . . to take the Oath of Supremacy, acknowledging the Queen as a supreme authority over the Church, and also accepting the Thirty-Nine Articles promulgated by the Church of England in 1571" (Parker 12). Evidently, Donne as a young Catholic was not prepared (or permitted) to make this submission. From Oxford, however, Donne probably next went on to Cambridge, where his deep and fervent reading, as well as his informal private studies, further sharpened his wit and trained him rhetorically. Once again, though, Donne took no degree, probably because his Catholic upbringing prevented him from taking the Oath of Supremacy. When he left Cambridge, Donne was seventeen years old. Unfortunately, the two years following his stay at Cambridge are somewhat mysterious, and no one knows for sure exactly where he went, what he did, or

how his opinions may have evolved.

By May 1592 Donne had become a law student at Lincoln's Inn, one of the famous "inns of court" that constituted England's unofficial "third university." During this period Donne's younger brother, Henry, died of the plague while being imprisoned for harboring a Jesuit priest, and perhaps this incident helped influence Donne's later harsh opinion of the Jesuit order. Donne himself seemed popular at the inns, although he later counted the three to four years that he spent there largely as loss (Parker 14). He did however, make some good friends, such as Christopher Brooke, Brooke's brother Samuel, Rowland Woodward, and Woodward's brother Thomas. Furthermore, at this time Donne came in contact with Queen Elizabeth's court at Whitehall Palace, and he began his informal career as a poet. The strong literary bias of Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and the Temple encouraged Donne's interest in "the prevailing fashion for epigrams, satire, and social criticism" (Parker 14). His Catholicism does not seem to have discouraged him from expressing himself, although most of his poems from this period were non-religious and circulated only among friends.

During this early stage of his experience as an author, Donne was writing both poetry and prose, including the witty Paradoxes and Problems, the clever Ovidian Elegies, the biting Satires, and many frankly if humorously erotic love poems. Some scholars have suggested that he may even have been giving in to overpowering sexual urges, which may have significantly affected his personality at this time. (Ironically, some writers have also argued that this same power may



later have driven Donne to deliver "almost erotically intense sermons" in his middle and old age [Parker 17].) Although no certain evidence concerning the "dark ladies" of Donne's youth survives, some critics have seen evidence of personal liaisons in such poems as "Women's Constancy," "The Indifferent," "Confined Love," "Change," "The Bracelet," "On his Mistress," "To his mistress going to bed," "Love's Progress," "Love's War," and "The Comparison." In fact, Walton claimed that during the years that Donne spent at the Inns, he was "a great visitor of ladies," and one writer has even argued that he may have spent much time "in love or in lust" (Parker 19). Perhaps Donne's erotic impulses helped to distance him from his Catholic faith, especially from its emphasis on the ideals of celibacy, asceticism, and self-denial. The questioning, probing intellect the poems reveal may also have begun to turn him against the theology he had been taught by his family (as the religiously skeptical Satire III suggests). Donne may also have realized by this time that continued adherence to Catholicism would retard or undermine his secular career.

Other factors may also have influenced his drift from Catholicism. After leaving the Inns, he served with the Earl of Essex in campaigns against Spain, the great imperialistic Catholic power, and perhaps this patriotic experience contributed to his eventual disillusionment with the religion of his youth -- a religion widely considered treasonous by many of his fellow Englishmen. In any case, by the age of 25, having completed his military service, Donne was an extremely personable, experienced, and well educated young man. His talent

and connections helped him become chief secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Thomas Egerton, himself a former Catholic who could never have achieved such high office if he had clung to his original faith.

Ironically, having apparently put religious obstacles behind him, and having had an early taste of the worldly success he sought, Donne's unconventionality suddenly asserted itself in an unexpected but disastrous way. It was at this point that he met the fourteen-year-old daughter of Sir George More, a relative of Egerton's, who was to be the chief cause of Donne's "removal from London and the centre of affairs," including his "loss of friends and their daily company and conversation, which letters could not replace" (Parker 39). Love, not religion, would now threaten his career.

### **Marriage**

Although Donne seemed to have overcome the disadvantages of his early Catholic background, and although his future now seemed highly promising, a new shadow suddenly came over his life. By secretly courting and marrying Ann More, a young woman who was related to Donne's employer and who lived in Egerton's house, Donne outraged the girl's father and, as a result, effectively destroyed his own promising career. It was in 1601, just prior to Christmas, that Donne secretly married Ann. She was the niece of Sir Thomas Egerton's second wife, and Donne was twelve or thirteen years her senior. Partly for this

reason, when news of the marriage became public, Sir George More was furious (Carey 57). He urged Egerton to dismiss and imprison Donne. At this time Donne was still rather poor and obscure, and More's intense disapproval of his secret marriage to Ann made Donne even more isolated than he had already felt as a young Catholic. However, this new frustration reinforced his determination to succeed, and may have contributed further to his powerful and defiant egotism. Now he had not only the normal reasons for ambition but also the added need to win back the enormous ground he had lost.

After his initial negative reaction to the marriage died down, Sir George More began to relent, but great harm had already been wreaked on Donne's career, and More could not get Donne reinstated as chief secretary to Egerton. Donne was now a man of thirty who not only lacked a position but was also almost penniless. Later, untrustworthy rumors would suggest that his marriage was a step he regretted for the remainder of his days, and it has even been claimed that he was unfaithful to his wife in both mind and body (Parker 38). However, Donne's love poems stayed firmly focused on Ann throughout their life together even when they were separated (Parker 38). They produced many children, and strong evidence suggests that their marriage was "one of the most ideal and complete in the history of the institution; never was a couple more truly one flesh" (Parker 39). According to one authority, Donne's "marriage on the whole was the great illumination and joy of his life," for it "acted as a direct channel for his spiritual growth" both as a man and as a poet (Parker 39; see

also Carey 59).

After finally reconciling with Sir George More, Donne moved with his growing family to the rural town of Mitcham and found himself now able (or forced) to write on a regular basis. Although he still hungered for a career in London, preferably at court, the scandal of his marriage had made him seem an unlikely prospect for advancement. Writing became both a solace and a practical necessity. In the first decade of the new century he not only wrote many poems and letters (especially in search of patronage) but also composed such important works of prose as Biathanatos (a private and limited defense of suicide), Pseudo-Martyr (a very public anti-Catholic polemic), and Ignatius His Conclave (an equally public anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit satire).

Throughout this decade, Donne still desired to secure public appointment, and many of his writings in prose and verse were designed to help him do just that. At first he wanted a position in Queen Elizabeth's household, and when that did not come to pass, he sought to become a secretary in Ireland under the new king, James I, who ascended the throne in 1603 (Parker 43). Unfortunately for Donne, throughout this period he was still considered unsuitable for any such a position. Nevertheless, he continued to make contacts and seek patronage. He befriended several aristocratic ladies in the hope that they might help advance him in some way, but they were either unable or unwilling to help him to the extent he sought, and Donne gained little from them "except the pleasure of their company" (Parker 47).

Increasingly, Donne was frustrated with his inability to secure a position in public life and with the difficulty of working at home with his growing family. He tried to hide his frustration from his wife by dividing his time between Mitcham and London and seems to have preferred the hustle and bustle of the city to the quiet of the country. As a youth he had been an outsider because of his Catholicism (especially while at university). As a young man he had been stigmatized because of his ill-considered marriage. But as an increasingly mature man burdened with responsibilities, Donne seems to have been determined to achieve the kind of security, status, and peace of mind he had never really known.

Donne's efforts to overcome the problems caused by his marriage were probably among the factors that led him to turn to the writing of religious prose in general and of Ignatius in particular. Like several of his other works of prose, Ignatius was designed in part to champion the royal cause and thus win the favor of King James. By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, James had not only become King of England but had also become one of the leading scholarly champions of the Protestant cause. Donne's support of this royal propaganda effort would eventually lead him to a high position in the very church his parents had taught him to resist. By this time, Donne had not only rejected many aspects of the Catholic religion but had also become one of its severest public critics.

### **Donne's Purposes in Composing Ignatius**

By the time Donne wrote Ignatius His Conclave in late 1610, various events relevant to this work had long been taking place. The French king, Henri IV, had recently been assassinated by a Catholic fanatic, an act that caused a wave of alarm in England, but perhaps the most important and certainly the most obvious influence on Donne's satirical work had begun several years before. This was an ongoing "paper war" provoked in May 1606, when the Oath of Allegiance was imposed on the Roman Catholic community in England. This Oath had been greatly "inspired by the hostility and fear aroused by the Gunpowder Plot" (Smith 350), a notorious conspiracy by Catholic radicals to assassinate the British royal family and destroy the legislature and the leaders of the government by blowing up the Houses of Parliament. After the Plot was foiled, the Oath of Allegiance was imposed. According to its terms,

Catholics were required to swear that the Pope had no authority to depose the King or to interfere in his affairs in any way whatsoever; that they would remain loyal whatever attempts were encouraged by the Pope against the King; and that they did 'abhor detest and abjure as impious and hereticall this damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their Subjectes or any other

whosoever.' (Smith 350)

The anti-Catholic sentiment flooding England during this time led the Jesuits to be widely regarded as promoters of the assassination of Protestant rulers. The killing of Henri IV in 1610 only reinforced this view. In this sense, Ignatius was a particularly timely work.

The debates covered in Donne's Ignatius were closely related to the controversy concerning the Oath of Allegiance. Especially relevant were two works written by King James and another two written by a Roman Catholic Cardinal named Robert Bellarmine. These works were Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus, and An apologie . . . together with a Premonition (by James) and Responsio and Apologia (by Bellarmine). Donne's Ignatius was convincingly designed as a satirical mockery of Bellarmine's Responsio and Apologia and as a defense of King James's position. By mocking Ignatius de Loyola, the founder and first leader of the Jesuits, Donne was also supporting the views of his king. Donne's work was designed as "a confutation of one's enemies, who are seen to condemn themselves out of their own mouths" (Smith 351). Half the wit of the work derives from the indirect nature of its satire.

Ignatius does not, however, focus merely on specific or limited religious and political controversies, but also deals with more general social and philosophical themes. Partly for this reason, to understand Ignatius one must also grasp Donne's ideas about innovation and innovators, for "throughout the sixteenth century [the words] innovation and novelties had carried religious

connotations -- and invariably bad ones" (Smith 352-3). For Donne, it was bad enough that the Jesuits promoted disloyalty to the king, but the fact that they threatened wholesale theological innovation made them even worse. Ignatius can thus also be seen as an indictment of such innovation -- an indictment that grew out of, but also transcended, a particular historical context.

### **Motives and Targets**

Donne's specific motives for composing Ignatius precisely when and how he did can thus be explained in various ways. For example, initially Donne wrote this work in Latin because he apparently wanted the satire to be available for the reading pleasure of both English and non-English readers as well. According to John Carey, Donne's intention was to make all of Europe laugh at the Jesuits, whom he considered "pious terrorists who had embroiled his family in disaster" (34). This view is supported by Edward Le Comte, who argues that by writing Ignatius, Donne was out to claim sweet revenge through making "infernal fun of the Jesuits, his former teachers, his bygone relatives" (124). Thus, although Donne repeatedly criticized Catholicism in general in Ignatius, his main and specific assault was directed towards the Jesuits for being anti-monarchic. Donne was a strong and steady supporter of the monarchy, and therefore his satire was in part intended to articulate "a close identification between church and state" (Parfitt 55). Even this motive provides an insufficient



explanation for Ignatius, for the work was not only a principled defense of the rule of King James but also a personal effort, among other things, to gain royal preferment.

Pragmatic and political motives may not have been the only engines propelling Donne's satire. He may also have been motivated by intensely personal spiritual and intellectual drives. Chris Hassel suggests, for instance, that in this work Donne bravely and brazenly "confronts challenges to his faith in order to achieve greater self-awareness and greater intellectual and spiritual strength, with the ultimate goal of rediscovering essential truths" (Hassel 336). Anthony Raspa also sees a serious intellectual dimension to the work, arguing that it expresses "a fundamentalist view of the created universe and history" (Raspa 489). A. C. Partridge also sees a serious spiritual dimension in Ignatius, suggesting that the book expresses religious convictions which were "a matter of conscience and communal assent to authority, both divine and kingly" (Partridge 167). In any case, by writing Ignatius Donne undeniably revealed himself to be an adaptable performer, skillful in using witty debate and satirical prose in the service of his king, his country, and perhaps his own conscience.

All in all, then, Donne's motives for writing Ignatius seem to have involved a highly complex combination of patriotism and pragmatism, religious idealism and intellectual skepticism. He seems to have been motivated by a yearning to achieve not only greater understanding but also personal revenge, and to have been influenced by a desire not only to defend the truth but to advance himself.

In its relation to Donne's life, mind, and art, Ignatius is a highly complicated work, and the same is most certainly true of its relationship with its larger historical context.

One aspect of Ignatius that is not very complicated, however, is the problem of determining the main targets of its satire. As stated above, Donne's primary objects of attack in this work were "the Jesuits, his former teachers, his bygone relatives" (Le Comte 124). According to Eugene Korkowski, the Jesuits were the object of his hostility in part because they "considered themselves both a theological and pedagogical elite" (423). Nevertheless, although this arrogance made them an especially tempting target for Donne's satire, many other reasons also helped inspire Donne's assault on them.

First, as we have seen, Donne strongly opposed the Jesuits' political theory, which stressed unwavering devotion to the Pope and the Catholic Church. Second, Donne, who is considered by some critics (such as John Carey) to have been himself a dodger of martyrdom, may have attacked the Jesuits in part because they "were often ardent seekers for the crown of martyrdom" (Warnke 88) and because they encouraged their English fellow religionists to do the same. It should never be forgotten that Donne's own younger brother died as an indirect result of assisting a priest, but Donne himself, unlike many English members of the Society of Jesus, avoided martyrdom because to him martyrdom was something that one should suffer only in the name of valid principles.

Ironically, though, Donne's hostility toward the Jesuits may also have been due in part to some residual guilt he may have felt for leaving the Catholic faith, for although Donne became an Anglican, he was still sympathetic to individual Catholics. Donne therefore may have seen the Jesuits as religious and political fanatics whose fanaticism caused unnecessary suffering for more moderate English Catholics.

Despite Donne's hostility toward the Jesuits, however, several scholars have suggested that another object of his attack in a portion of Ignatius may have been the deceased Queen Elizabeth, who herself had been a strong defender of the Protestant Reformation against Jesuit machinations. In fact, according to Clay Hunt, Donne's book offers "a far from flattering picture of her feminine vacillations and follies, and its latent implications are not very different from those of [similarly unflattering] . . . lines in [Donne's poem] 'The Progresse of the Soule'" (250). Yet Donne's implied attack on Queen Elizabeth, unlike his attack on the Jesuits, was both subtle and moderate, partly because he ultimately saw her (unlike the Jesuits) as a force for "amity, not confusion and disruption" (Hughes 239), and partly because it would have been dangerous to attack her more directly. Thus, although Elizabeth is subjected to some implied criticism, Ignatius was still primarily intended to ridicule Elizabeth's enemies -- the intrusive, disruptive Jesuits.

In Ignatius Donne tends to attack any person or group who seemed to "controvert the ideal that [he] had set up in Pseudo-Martyr, the reconciliation of

differences in the interest of peace, or whoever contributes to the disturbed order [depicted in his poem] The Progresse of the Soule" (Hughes 238). In Ignatius, in fact, nearly all innovators seem consigned to a place in Hell. Donne seems to have felt that figures such as Copernicus, Paracelsus, Machiavelli, Aretino, Columbus, and Philip Neri had all, in their various ways, shaken and disturbed the traditional order of cosmic, political, amatory, geographic, and spiritual stability, but he makes clear that the Jesuits had surpassed all others in their menace. Thus, according to this line of thought (which stresses Donne's suspicions of all destructive innovation), the Jesuits were logical targets of Donne's contempt.

Donne's general distrust of innovation is particularly interesting in the ways it affects topics that seem distant from contemporary political and theological disputes. He seems to have suspected modern astronomers, for instance, in somewhat the same way that he distrusted the Jesuits (although not nearly to the same extent). According to Chris Hassell, because Donne was unsympathetic both toward the astronomers' methods and toward their findings, in dealing with their work he failed to display much respect or "openness of mind" (335). According to Hassell, Donne felt that the astronomers' "pursuit of worldly knowledge [had] become confused by the church, the people, and the astronomers themselves with a pursuit of heavenly truth" (335). Therefore, Hassel argues, Donne felt that the astronomers' "excesses [were] just as responsible for the people's loss of faith as the excesses of flawed churchmen"

(335), particularly the Jesuits. Partly for this reason, in Ignatius Donne exhibits the "negative implications of the new astronomy" and reveals his "fear of [the] disillusionment" these excesses might cause in his contemporaries (Hassel 335). Thus, to the extent that modern astronomers, like the Jesuits, were sources of disruptive innovation, Donne seems to have distrusted both their personal motives and their social impact.

Although Donne seems to have distrusted innovators in general, the fact remains that the chief objects of his satire in Ignatius were first and foremost the Jesuits. He seems to have been especially bothered by their resistance to the Oath of Allegiance -- an oath which Donne seems to have considered a perfectly reasonable declaration for any Englishman to make. After all, it merely required English Catholics to swear political allegiance to the king and state; it did not require them to abandon any of their essential religious convictions.

Interestingly, the English Catholic Archpriest, George Blackwell, was not only willing to sanction the oath but eventually took it himself and advised other English Catholics to do so. Donne seems to have considered the position of Catholics such as Blackwell reasonable, since such Catholics merely swore not to disrupt civil peace.

Pope Paul V, however, vigorously opposed the oath and hired his "grand-master of controversies," Robert Bellarmine, to advocate the Jesuit position that the Oath challenged the very foundations of the Catholic faith (Smith 350). Moreover, in his writings Bellarmine attacked not only the oath but also King

James, its chief instigator and defender, thereby promoting the very kind of civil disobedience the oath had been intended to discourage. It is little wonder, then, that Donne, with his distrust of innovation, should use Ignatius not only to defend the oath but also to attack the Jesuits, who seemed to be posing a deliberate threat to civil peace in England. In the lengthy and learned Pseudo-Martyr (1610) and then again in the short and feisty Ignatius, Donne sought not simply to mock Jesuit extremists but to defend a position that he considered not only politically moderate but eminently reasonable. His motives, therefore, coincided nicely with the targets of his attack.

### Themes

Ignatius His Conclave, however, contrasts greatly in tone and substance with Donne's immediately preceding work, Pseudo-Martyr. Whereas Pseudo-Martyr is a long and sober piece of theological argumentation, Ignatius is a very lively piece of satire. In it, an enthused Donne is out with a vengeance to mock the Jesuits and other sources of disruptive innovation.

Donne has woven several threads of thematic interest into Ignatius. On one hand, this work concerns such fanciful and varied subjects as the after-worldly "Disposition of Jesuits, the Creation of a New Hell, [and] the Establishing of a Church in the Moon" (Le Comte 124). On the other, it also focuses on the very real and age-old conflict about whether Catholics should have the right to conspire against a secular monarch. This question had only recently acquired a

new urgency after the assassination of Henri IV. However, despite the dark and serious background from which Ignatius emerged, the witty Donne blended all these topics together in a highly original satire.

Donne's one hundred-and-forty-three-page pamphlet (written shortly after Henri's death) was authorized by King James I and by the religious controversialist Thomas Morton, both ardent supporters of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance. Like Donne, Morton and the king considered the Jesuits prominent evil-doers who were willing to promote civil discord by not only tolerating but sanctioning the assassination of non-Catholic monarchs. In the words of A. J. Smith, Donne and his patrons considered the Jesuits "arch-enemies of monarchies" who were "prepared to enforce age-old papal claims against foreign states, by all means, fair or foul" (378). However, Donne evidently felt that endorsing the actual assassination of kings was merely one of the Jesuits' manifold sins, and he seems to have considered this sin a direct result of their more general antagonism toward monarchy. Thus, according to George Parfitt, Donne repeatedly "attack[ed] Catholicism, and specifically the Jesuits, for being anti-monarchic" (55). Because Donne himself was a strong and faithful supporter of the monarchy, Ignatius constitutes in part a serious, if witty, defense of kingship.

Defending monarchical rule was hardly Donne's only purpose in writing Ignatius. Another important theme of the work, besides its condemnation of what George Partridge has called the "arrogance of papal intervention in secular

politics," is distaste for the "scholastic methods of controversy" traditionally associated with medieval Catholicism (166). It is not surprising, therefore, that Donne also uses the work to mock "the misapplied zeal, abstruseness and historical insignificance of some theologians" (Partridge 166). In particular (according to Partridge), Donne "enumerates some of the liberties of interpretation taken by the Catholic Church, without warrant of the Bible, such as the concept of Purgatory, and the right of equivocation to protect church interests, commonly regarded as a form of Machiavellianism" (167). Many Protestants believed that the doctrine of equivocation (for instance) gave Catholics a license to lie, and Donne clearly felt that scholastic theologians in general (and the Jesuits in particular) had often generally misread or evaded the Word of God to suit the whims and fancies of the interpreter. Thanks to such arrogant misinterpretation (Donne believed), the early Christian church, which was founded on the simple but profound teaching of the Gospels, had been totally destroyed. Once again, innovation (in one form or another) is not only Donne's chief theme but also his main target of attack.

Another theme of interest in Ignatius is "Donne's alertness to 'the new philosophy,' the new science, and specifically the latest discoveries in astronomy" (Le Comte 126-7). Both Ignatius and the roughly contemporary First Anniversary, for instance, show that Donne was fascinated by the recent developments in astronomy. In Ignatius, Donne displayed his sustaining interest in the new philosophy by continually referring "to the work of Copernicus, Brahe,



Galileo, and Kepler" (Ray 175). However, Donne implies that the "common denominator" between the astronomers and the Jesuits is that "both have created damnable innovations which obscure truth" (Hassel 330). In other words, Donne equates the astronomers with the Jesuits because both engage in revolutionary work that challenges simple Christian assumptions. Donne often seems to consider both groups to be equally foolish, dangerous, fanatical, and prideful. Partly for this reason, he sometimes presents not only the Jesuits but also the astronomers as "damnable, audacious, [and] arrogant innovators" (Hassel 331). He suggests that they are engaged for many of the same reasons in the infernal conclave he describes, and it is partly this double focus that helps lend his satire its thematic integrity. As Chris Hassell has argued, the astronomers "are intricately involved in the unity of the satire as arrogant challengers of old truths upon which many religious beliefs had been established" (335). Consequently, Donne suggests that both the astronomers and the Jesuits share contributory responsibility for leading men away from larger religious truth. Donne seems to be warning not only his audience but also the astronomers that "beyond the heavens, which are subject to human arrogance, there is heaven, which will never be discovered with their machines" (Hassel 334). Here as elsewhere, Donne suggests that ultimate knowledge is everlasting and divine and transcends mere reason and sense.

In one way or another, then, Donne ties nearly all his attacks on innovation to a broader attack on human pride. Since pride had long been

considered by Christians to be the chief of all sins, it is not difficult for Donne to link it to almost all the other themes Ignatius treats, such as the topic of rebellion, various problems of knowledge and ignorance, the memorable battle of words between Machiavelli and Ignatius, various sins of the intellect, various sins of malice and passion, and various degrees of spiritual darkness. Similarly, Donne's mockery in Ignatius of Loyola's canonization is another subject that also seems tied to the poet's general attack on human pride and ambition. Thus, Donne alleged that Loyola "finally got his Feast Day in the Calendar by seeking to oust St. Germanus of Auxerre from July 31" (Novarr 159). However, when Germanus refused to be removed from the calendar or to share his day with Loyola, Loyola was given a day of his own -- the day added to Leap Year. Donne thereby links two of his chief themes -- pride and innovation -- by suggesting that Loyola's ambition was satisfied through unjustified tinkering with the church calendar.

Whether he is attacking Jesuits, "new astronomers," Machiavellians, or regicides, then, Donne in Ignatius is almost always ultimately attacking human pride and the arrogant innovations to which it leads. Pride and innovation might therefore reasonably be called the chief themes of his work and the chief objects of his satire.

### **Plot Summary**

Because Donne is more interested in general themes than in any particular manifestation of those themes, Ignatius, like many satires, does not have much of a plot. The work basically describes the narrator's soul wandering through the heavens in an ecstasy and then unexpectedly arriving in hell. Having arrived there, the soul "proceeds to a secret place where Lucifer, accompanied by only a few great innovators, is enthroned" (Smith 352). Six eminent figures (Copernicus, Paracelsus, Machiavelli, Aretino, Columbus, and St. Philip Neri) are depicted wandering through the chambers of hell and disputing with Lucifer. Each of them competes against Ignatius for the devil's favor, because each wants to achieve "the place closest to Lucifer in Hell" (Flynn 172). However, all six are prevented from winning this goal by the clever and ambitious Ignatius, who knows and exploits Lucifer's weaknesses better than all the others. Eventually, even Lucifer feels threatened by the grasping ambitions of Ignatius.

Although Ignatius' first competitor, Copernicus, impresses Lucifer, Ignatius ultimately woos Lucifer more effectively and thereby destroys Copernicus's arrogant ambitions. Similarly, as the other distinguished claimants appear before Lucifer one after another, Ignatius's arguments and posturings shatter each of their claims. However, when Machiavelli is making his claim, Ignatius feels particularly threatened, because he knows that Machiavelli is most like himself and is therefore the most serious of all the challengers. For this reason, Ignatius throws himself at Lucifer's feet in a fit of blatant flattery. Here

the "plot" of Donne's work (such as it is) reaches a kind of climax, for Dennis Flynn claims that this "roaring fit of devil worship and ensuing diatribe against Machiavelli are the turning point of the narration in Ignatius His Conclave" (172). Finally, Ignatius "hurls Pope Boniface from the place next to Lucifer and occupies it himself" (Smith 352).

Such, in brief, is the plot of Donne's satire, but in this work as in most other satires, plot is finally less important than style, and in this case Donne's style was particularly influenced by the sources he drew on in composing his work. By blending and assimilating these many sources, Donne ultimately produced a work that is entirely his own.

### **Sources and Genre**

When writing Ignatius, Donne probably made use of the Duke of Northumberland's library. However, wherever he worked on his jeering diatribe, he definitely drew on and imitated a diverse range of sources, combining them into a work with its own distinctive tone. Donne's sources included, for instance, not only such standard pieces of classical satire as "Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead" but also a more "immediate model, . . . the French Satyre Menippe" (Partridge 165). Furthermore, Donne's work also betrays "echoes of the genial humour of Erasmus," while "marginal references show that he had access to thirty-three publications, not freely available to non-theological readers"

(Partridge 165). Some scholars have claimed that Ignatius resembles Seneca's scathing attack on Claudian, Apocolocyntosis, and also Erasmus' satirical Julius Exclusus (Korkowski 420). Nevertheless, by picking and choosing so freely from so many different sources, Donne produced a work that resembles no other work very exactly.

The fact that Donne drew on so many different sources raises intriguing questions: What kind or form of writing influenced Donne the most? To which literary category does his work most clearly belong? In answering these questions, some critics have suggested that Donne's work is a deliberately mixed (or "Menippean") satire, one that in theme and form is intentionally diverse. Thus, according to Eugene Korkowski, if Donne had actually "looked to Seneca for a generic model, then, . . . he would surely have been adhering to an idea of a 'Menippean' genre, not some form of a literary 'debate'" (421), and evidence suggests that Donne was in fact strongly influenced by "earlier Renaissance Menippean satires, particularly those which centered on theological controversies" (Korkowski 422). Moreover, Korkowski demonstrates that during the time that Donne wrote his Latin version of Ignatius, there was in circulation "a strong current of other works much like his own" (431). These works shared many traits, including an elaborate effort at anonymity, the use of the victim's name in the title, employment of an ironic epithet, and a deliberate mixture of verse and prose (Korkowski 431). In fact, the thematic ironies and narrative techniques of Ignatius and the anonymous French Satyre Menippee

(Korkowski 434) are very similar, and Donne seems to have been quite consciously influenced by the French work.

Thus, if Ignatius needs to be classified at all, it seems logical to view it as a modified Menippean satire. According to Korkowski, such a work "customarily appear[ed] with apologies and anonymity," for it belonged to "the least respectable (i.e., the Cynic and anti-intellectual) branch of the 'lowest' genre, satire" (433). Korkowski argues that Donne's effort at anonymity in Ignatius seems to "arise more from the lowness or scurrility of his genre than from his subject" (433). Menippean satire was in some ways, then, the perfect genre for the kind of harshly mocking attack Donne obviously intended.

### **Structure and Style**

Donne's choice of the Menippean genre was also appropriate to the free-wheeling structure Ignatius reveals. Choosing such a structure was extremely sensible, especially given the wide variety of topics the work covers. Donne had to structure his satire in a form that was both loose and systematic, and in fact Anthony Raspa argues that the seemingly undisciplined structure of Ignatius was itself an "integral part of Donne's attack on the innovators and new matter" (Raspa 489). At seven different points in the work, for instance, versified passages disrupt the prose narration (Flynn 172). Fittingly, then, Donne chose a highly innovative, almost chaotic structure to attack a wide variety of chaotic

innovators.

Donne's sense of structural appropriateness seems even greater if one accepts Raspa's argument that Ignatius is "structured on three parodies of the type of Jesuit profane poem depicting stages in [Loyala's Spiritual] Exercises, one each at the beginning, middle and end (489). Moreover, Ignatius is further structured as a "confutation of one's enemies, who are seen to condemn themselves out of their own mouths" (Smith 351). Such confutation and condemnation are not organized, though, in the traditional way – "paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence, and even phrase by phrase" (Smith 351-2). Instead, in Ignatius, Donne conceived a far more striking and unpredictable structure and style. Partridge has argued, for instance, that the work "displays an asymmetry typical of Renaissance prose" (Partridge 170), and certainly this highly energetic style seems appropriate to what John Carey has called a "scabrous" and "ribald" satire.

Such a style also seems fitting, moreover, to what Frank Warnke has termed "a high-spirited work" of "fiction" that lacks much of a plot (Warnke 88). In fact, Ignatius is Donne's only work of prose fiction, and the freedom fiction permitted seems to have helped determine the free-wheeling style Donne adopted. Thus Edward Le Comte points out that although Ignatius followed close on the heels of Pseudo-Martyr, it is "in quite a different vein" from that long, dense, and highly serious work, being "lively," zealous, and full of "vengeance" (124). As a comic disputation, Ignatius, quickly became one of

Donne's most popular works, and its popularity must have been heightened by the fact that it is engagingly presented "through the device of a dream or vision" (Gransden 157).

In attempting to describe the style of Ignatius, critics have employed a wide range of descriptive phrases. Thus, whereas Paul G. Stanwood has called Ignatius a typical Donnean work in its "satiric tone," David Novarr has emphasized its "irreverence and wittiness" (Novarr 159), and A. C. Partridge has stressed its "spontaneity" (even while conceding that in conception it was "a commissioned work" (165). Although writing for patrons and although addressing serious religious and political topics, Donne nonetheless produced what Dennis Flynn has called "witty, sharp, elegant, deep-rooted, durable, entertaining, and delightful libels" (179). According to the A. J. Smith, the work is at the same time "highly idiosyncratic," "very circumscribed," and also "straightforward" (354). Meanwhile, Evelyn Hardy has called Ignatius Donne's "most daring piece of invective and scurrility," "a squib . . . composed of bitter jests and skirmishings," and "a fierce little diatribe" (123).

Although no single term, of course, can do complete justice to the complexity of tone Donne achieved, and although no single description of the work's structure can do total justice to its complex organization, all the terms and suggestions just surveyed do help suggest something of the flavor and shape of Ignatius. It is a work that is distinctive even for Donne, but it is also (of course) a work that inevitably resembles other writings by the same author.



### Connections with Other Works by Donne

Although Ignatius was probably written in 1610, it was most definitely published early in 1611. Thus the work immediately preceded the composition of some of Donne's most important religious poetry and memorably illustrates many of Donne's mature religious and political views. Ignatius is therefore interesting partly for the light it can shed not only on Donne's thoughts but also on some of his most significant poetic works.

For instance, both Ignatius His Conclave and Donne's famous poem The First Anniversary were published in 1611. Donne may even have been writing Ignatius and The First Anniversary at the same time, although ironically he modeled his famous poem on St. Ignatius' meditations, while in the prose work he consigns the founder of the Jesuit order himself to hell. It is also possible, of course, that Donne could have started writing Ignatius a little before he started writing The First Anniversary. In either case, however (and as ironic as it may seem), it is evident that the satirical Ignatius did influence the writing of the celebratory First Anniversary, as various parallels between the works suggest.

In both works, for instance (as has already been suggested), Donne exhibited a tremendous interest in astronomy, which was at this time a new and expanding influence on his thought. Moreover, the political satire in Ignatius displays a bifocal quality, for it simultaneously "looks back to the defense of order in Pseudo-Martyr and forward to the celebration of achieved design of The

Second Anniversary" (Hughes 239). Similarly, Chris Hassel claims that, taken together, Ignatius, The First Anniversary, and The Second Anniversary form a series of interconnected works that "can be seen as three steps in the process of confronting, evaluating, and dismissing consciousness" (Hassel 336-37). According to Hassel, the satire's "recognition of reason's possible absurdity and arrogance" develops in The First Anniversary into "a realization of its ultimate end – confusion, decay, and death" (Hassel 337). This progression then leads on to "a picture of harmony and unity that transcends reason and consciousness" in The Second Anniversary (Hassel 337).

As even this one example suggests, then, the importance of Ignatius seems magnified when we recognize its possible connections to other significant works by Donne. The Anniversaries, however, are hardly the only other works by Donne that seem to have been influenced by his writing of Ignatius. Another such work, for instance, is his Essays in Divinity. Thus Anthony Raspa argues in "Theology and Poetry in Donne's Conclave" that Ignatius reveals many implicit aesthetic principles similar to ones also found in the Essays in Divinity, and it seems likely that other works written in the wake of Ignatius were probably influenced by the earlier work. Certainly such notable scholars of Donne as Hughes, Raspa, Hassel, and others have already demonstrated that Ignatius is not an idiosyncratic or eccentric piece of writing but is instead integral to Donne's development as a writer. For this reason, in order to understand better an important phase of Donne's career, and in order to achieve a fuller

understanding of his larger thought and motives, a better understanding of Ignatius seems both helpful and necessary.

### Publication

Despite its roots in arcane seventeenth-century political and religious controversies (which would seem to limit the work's present-day appeal), Ignatius remains one of Donne's most popular works of prose. In part its popularity is due to the brevity, feistiness, vernacular wit, and other stylistic qualities already mentioned, but these qualities would have remained unknown to most readers if the work had never been translated into Donne's native tongue. Although Ignatius was "originally written in Latin 'between May and December 1610,'" it was "quickly translated into English, presumably by Donne himself" (Parfitt 64). Of course, there were many real advantages in writing Ignatius in Latin, especially since it could then be read on the Continent and could also be more scurrilous in tone and phrasing, since it was "being confined to an audience of scholars" (Le Comte 124). However, its quick translation into English suggests that Donne also sought a broader audience at home.

Conclave Ignati, the work's Latin version, was entered on the Stationer's Register on 24 January 1611, and although a copy of the book was available for purchase before February 1611, that text provided no information about the author, date, or place of publication. Similarly, the English version, entered on

the Stationer's Register on 18 May 1611, does not mention the name of the author, but does provide the date and place of publication. All told, Ignatius ran through three editions in 1611 -- two in Latin and one in English, published without the author's name. Not until 1634 was Donne's name added to the work. Clearly, though, its most important reader -- King James -- knew who had written the work, and the monarch must have appreciated the clever ways in which Donne supported the king's own views. James had found a champion who could appeal with equal talent to both foreign and domestic readers. Thus, many years after composing his biting but private satiric poems, Donne had now written a quite public piece of satiric prose -- one, ironically, that would help him achieve the worldly status that had been at first stymied by his early Catholicism and then ruined by his ill-considered marriage. Ignatius, in short, was one of the crucial religious works that would eventually help John Donne become Dr. Donne -- respected Anglican minister, favored royal chaplain, and ultimately the prestigious and widely respected Dean of London's St. Paul's Cathedral. At the same time, however, Ignatius is also the product of one of the most original and inventive poetic minds in all of English literature. For the latter reason, especially, it deserves the kind of close study that the present index is designed to facilitate.

### Annotated Bibliography

Carey, John. John Donne: Life, Mind and Art. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. Pp. 248-251, 50-51, 34-35.

Donne's Ignatius was written to satirize the Jesuits. Donne wrote it first in Latin so that all Europe would read and laugh at the hypocritical Jesuits, who had led his family to ruin. Ignatius was written in the form of a debate in Hell between the founder of the Jesuit order, St. Ignatius Loyola, and significant claimants for a place next to Lucifer (such as Copernicus, Paracelsus, Machiavelli, and Columbus). Ignatius claims that he is almost as evil as Lucifer. Lucifer, fearing that Ignatius will take over Hell, directs Ignatius and the Jesuits to create another Hell in the Moon.

Besides accusing the Jesuits of many crimes (ranging from genocide to sodomy), Donne asserts that Copernicus' theories of astronomy are plagiarized. He states that "new" theories of astronomy, such as those proposing a heliocentric universe, have existed since the times of ancient astronomers.

During the decade or so before Donne prepared his "ribald attack on Loyola and the Jesuits in Ignatius His Conclave," he had undergone a major

change in his spiritual life, moving from being a Catholic to being an Anglican (51). Ignatius His Conclave is thus not only a witty parody written to scorn the Jesuits, but is also a satire of the "pious terrorists who had embroiled [his] family in disaster" (34). However, although Donne left the Roman church, he never completely left its control and influence. Occasionally his Catholic background haunted him, and he hoped to come to terms with it eventually.

Flynn, Dennis. "Donne's Ignatius His Conclave and Other Libels on Sir Robert Cecil." John Donne Journal 6 (1987): 163-183.

Ignatius contains several libels against Robert Cecil, a dominant politician in England during this period. These libels on Cecil are motivated by political and religious animus, because Donne felt that Cecil was an evil innovator, "in the line of predecessors who [had] tortured the histories of the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church" (165). One of Donne's risky libels against Cecil is a letter in 1609 which has been overlooked by modern interpreters.

Thus far, Ignatius has been read simply as a satire contributed by Donne to the debate over the Oath of Allegiance. However, five major problems and puzzles in the satire that been avoided by writers over the years. Studying these the problems can provide an understanding of Ignatius as a work with a double

purpose.

The first of the problems has to do with how Donne got hold of Johann Kepler's draft of Somnium to mention in Ignatius. Marjorie Nicolson satisfied many by stating that Kepler must have sent a copy of his draft to an Englishman, Thomas Hariot, who was a frequent visitor of the Earl of Norththumberland, at the time a prisoner in the Tower of London.

Related to this first problem is a second, which has to do with the fact that Donne's work was written with help from an exclusive library. Whose library did Donne use? Although he could have used a number of repositories, references in Ignatius point to the possibility that he used the library belonging to the Earl of Northumberland.

A puzzle involves Donne's use of versified passages seven times in Ignatius. Of the seven instances, the first and last appear to be especially significant. The versified passage at the beginning, for instance, carries an innuendo, a common sign at that time of defiance against authority.

A fourth problem arises from "the fact that Donne is so selective about biographical detail in his allusions to the life of Ignatius Loyola, the apparent villain of his piece" (174). Donne gives a short account of Loyola's brief career as a soldier and of his ignorance and hardships as a student in Paris. However, despite his supposed abhorrence of the Jesuits, Donne incriminated them only for being "avid innovators and anti-monarchists" (174). Not once does he refer to the Society of Jesus as "blasphemous, presumptuous, or indiscreet" (174).

Finally, a fifth puzzle concerns Donne's intention in writing Ignatius. Clearly, he did not write just for King James or for active Anglican controversialists, but also for Northumberland and his circle, "a reader or group of readers capable of viewing the King's pamphlet war from a vantage point outside the fray" (175). In addition, Donne also wrote for "whoever else might understand a functionally ambiguous attack on Ignatius" (175-76) that was really an attack on Robert Cecil.

Geraldine, Sister M. "John Donne and the Mindes Indeavours." Studies in English Literature 5 (1965): 115-31.

Ignatius His Conclave is a prose satire concerned with "problems of knowledge and ignorance" and with "the battle of words between Machiavelli and Ignatius." The work focuses not only on sins of the mind but also on such other sins as jealousy and lust. It scrutinizes three degrees of spiritual darkness: ignorance, inconsideration, and manipulation. If Ignatius's hint about the existence of a final villainy is included along with the other three degrees of spiritual darkness, then four degrees exist. These four degrees of spiritual darkness afflict the following kinds of persons: "(a) those whose religion is false but sincere, the sincerity implying some inability to know revealed truth, (b) those who have no religious ties at all, (c) those who know the truth and turn from it,



(d) the devil-ridden who twist the minds of men for evil purposes" (122).

Donne's voice is echoed in Ignatius' moral opinions, and despite certain differences in opinion, Ignatius never does impugn the clarity of the saint's thought. The catalogue of sins given in the Conclave "is not merely a repetition of the one in the [Third] Verse Satire" (123). Ignatius is very unlike the early satires, in which Donne "had been preoccupied with the sins of the intellect almost exclusively: error, heresy, and the reluctance to think" (123).

Gransden, K.W. John Donne. Rev ed. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1969. Pp. 156-159.

Ignatius His Conclave is a "brilliant satire against the Jesuits" and "one of Donne's most popular works" (157). Its first two editions, printed in Latin in 1610, were entitled Conclave Ignatii. The third edition was in English. Even today, Ignatius provides a great reading pleasure.

Ignatius is presented in the form of a dream in which the author's soul wanders through Heaven and then proceeds to Hell. In Hell he encounters not only several great Renaissance heretic-innovators going before Lucifer, but also Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus. Donne writes that Ignatius is a "subtil fellow and so indued with the Devil that he was able to tempt, . . . [and] even . . . possess the Devil" (Gransden, 157). However, because Ignatius fears

that the innovators will diminish his influence over Lucifer, he opposes every one of them.

Although the long arguments between Machiavelli (the most controversial figure of the Renaissance) and Ignatius are interesting, they are mere "technical theology, not political criticism" (158). After Machiavelli's discomfiture and dismissal, Lucifer leaves much of the interviewing to Ignatius. Columbus comes next and is also amusingly evicted. Finally, an aggravated Lucifer tells Ignatius to move to the Moon and begin another Hell. In the end, however, Ignatius is canonized and procures a place at Lucifer's right hand. Donne thus scorns the Roman Catholic practice of canonization in Ignatius.

Although the first edition of Ignatius was published anonymously, no one could have written it but Donne, who had a "dazzlingly up-to-date . . . acquaintance with astronomy and the new learning" (159). In addition, because Donne was at "home with Jesuit casuistry and the practices of Rome," Ignatius is "one of the cleverest polemics ever produced by an English theologian" (159).

Hardy, Evelyn. Donne: A Spirit in Conflict. London: Constable, 1942. Pp. 122-125.

Ignatius is a "most daring piece of invective and scurrility," "a squib," and "a fierce little diatribe" (123). It is filled with harsh insults tossed mainly at the

Jesuits. Apparently Ignatius was written in a time when Donne was returning to full health after a short period of illness. Hardy states that in this work, Donne "returns to [his] old vein of satire and one feels that it is a relief to him to gibe at and to ridicule the aggressive and provocative set which stood for ambitious intolerance and ultimate supremacy" (123).

Although Ignatius was followed by the writing of more poetry, which revealed different sides of Donne's nature, Ignatius showed his new-found interest in astronomy. This interest enabled him to predict "the official condemnation of the Copernican theory by the Church of Rome and the punishment of Galileo" (124).

In Ignatius, the Jesuits whom Donne used to respect are now objects of his ridicule, signalling the end of their intellectual influence on Donne's life.

Hassell, R. Chris, Jr. "Donne's Ignatius His Conclave and the New Astronomy." Modern Philology 68 (1971): 329-37.

Charles M. Coffin's interpretation of the new astronomy in Donne's Ignatius is wrong, since Donne was hardly admiring and open-minded in his attitudes toward the astronomers' work. Donne felt that both the new astronomers as well as the Jesuits were dangerous and foolhardy because they had both "created immovable innovations which obscure truth" (330). Donne's

tone and his presentation of the discoveries of Kepler, Copernicus, and Galileo "complete the atmosphere of amused ridicule with which the astronomers are treated" (332). Indeed, Donne makes fun of the astronomers' enthusiasm by overemphasising their findings.

In presenting Copernicus, Donne is essentially mocking "the spokesman of the new astronomy" (333). However, Donne's "attitude throughout the work is too skeptical to suggest any personal disillusionment" (334). In fact, Donne's merely general awareness of the new astronomy indicates only a slight interest in that subject. The narrator in Ignatius "represents the equally naive contemporary of Donne's who might so thoroughly confuse scientia and sapientia as to believe that the very heavens were being reshaped and governed by these new titans" (334). Donne reminds his readers (and the astronomers themselves) that the new astronomy will never fully understand the heavens. One of Donne's dominant ideas involves "the eternal existence of knowledge transcending reason and the senses, and nowhere does he urge it more strongly than [in Ignatius]" (334).

In Ignatius, the title character's rebuttal of Copernicus not only reveals Donne's philosophical and religious concerns but also shows that Donne never sympathised with the new astronomers, because "their pursuit of worldly knowledge [had] become confused with a pursuit of heavenly truth" (335). Indeed, Donne believed that the discoveries of the astronomers were partly to blame for his contemporaries' loss of faith. In Ignatius as in the Anniversaries,

Donne suggests that the discoveries of the new astronomy imply the decline of man and the earth rather than man's journey towards improved knowledge and wisdom.

In Ignatius, Donne seeks "to achieve greater self awareness and greater intellectual and spiritual strength with the ultimate goal of rediscovering essential truths" (336). Donne considers both the new astronomers' discoveries and their implied philosophy to be "presumptuous, confusing, and inessential" (336).

Hughes, Richard E. The Progress of the Soul: The Interior Career of John Donne. New York: Morrow, 1968. Pp. 236-239.

Ignatius His Conclave was Donne's way of returning a favor to the monarchy. The work emerged from Donne's "year for dark journeys" -- a year in which he simultaneously modeled "one work on St. Ignatius's meditations" while in another consigning "the founder of the Jesuit order to a lunatic church" (237). If Ignatius His Conclave overlapped with The First Anniversary, the coincidence "helps explain the form of Ignatius His Conclave: the descent into the underworld" (238). Ignatius is directed at anyone who would raise arguments against "the ideal that Donne had set up in Pseudo-Martyr, the reconciliation of differences in the interest of peace, or whoever contributes to the disturbed order [described in] The Progresse of the Soule" (238).

Donne uses some comedy in his satire to keep it "above simple vilification"; doing so also "makes the scarification of the Jesuits . . . all the more effective" (238). According to Donne, the Jesuits have surpassed other "shakers and disturbers" of "cosmic, medical, political, amatory, geographic, or spiritual" order. Partly for this reason, Ignatius "looks back to the defense of order in Pseudo-Martyr and forward to the celebration of achieved design of The Second Anniversary" (239). Thus, although Ignatius is obviously a "political satire," it is by the same token a reflection of Donne's search "for a unity that manifests itself in the world" (239).

Hunt, Clay. Donne's Poetry: Essays In Literary Analysis. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. 250-251.

In Ignatius, Donne favorably presents Queen Elizabeth "as one of the strong defenders of the Protestant Reformation against the machinations of the Jesuits" (250). However, behind the commendation is a "far from flattering picture of her feminine vacillations and follies" (250). In this work, Donne adopts a very strained anti-Catholic stance with the intention of pleasing James I.

Korkowski, Eugene. "Donne's Ignatius and Menippean Satire." Studies in Philology 72 (1975): 419-38.

Ignatius His Conclave is "a work resembling [Seneca's] Apocolocyntosis and [Erasmus's] Julius Exclusus, an 'extasie' going into the next world, an establishing of a new church in the moon, and a debate over who shall have preeminence in Hell" (420). Ignatius is typical of Menippean satire in Donne's time. There was much "anti-Jesuit Menippizing just preceding the Ignatius satires with which Donne's work can be very closely compared" (421). Authors who wrote in this style used to "apologize" for using it by citing earlier writers who used the same style. Varro's Saturee Menippeae, Seneca's Apocolocyntosis, Petronius' Satyricon, and Lucian's work exemplify the Menippean form. However, Donne used earlier Renaissance Menippean satires as models for his work rather than work by Casaubon or Seneca (422).

England was affected by the religious controversy in Europe much later than other European nations, and Donne's Ignatius was the earliest example of the Menippean religious satire, which tended to spread together with the controversy. The Jesuits were susceptible to Menippean attack not only because they considered themselves superior to other groups but also because "the Menippean tradition had been used to satirize arrogant philosophical movements, pseudo-learning, and breaches of the contemplative ideal in the daily life of the 'intellectual'" (424).

Menippean satire flourished during the seventeenth century as various writers "became involved in the newly broached Menippean polemics concerning the Jesuits" (426). Donne's Ignatius shares several characteristics of earlier Menippean satires by being "aimed at the Jesuits (or involving them), set in the next world, describing a secret gathering, and judging the philosopher, savant, or theologian who deserved, better than his rivals and antagonists, the dubious distinctions of some fit niche in Hell, or some similar other worldly locus" (431). Also, Donne's use of "the victim's name in the title, along with an ironic epithet" (431) shows us that Ignatius His Conclave shares even further similarities with Menippean satire.

"Donne's pose of anonymity in the Ignatius appears to arise more from the lowness or scurrility of his genre than from his subject" (433), and such anonymity is typical of the Menippean satire of Donne's time. Furthermore, Donne's mention of Pasquil "conjures up the spectre of dozens of Lucianizers who had used the [same] pseudonym" (434). The irony and style of narration of both Donne's Ignatius and the famous French Satyre Menippee are similar (434). Although no firm historical evidence exists that Donne knew the La Satyre Menippee, he must have known the work due to his stature as a well-read polemicist.

In Ignatius, Donne places "himself in noticeable opposition to the Jesuits and Schoppe [a satirist of King James] at a time when James' attention to them was sure to be intense" (438). Donne also ridiculed the Jesuits and Schoppe by



mocking them (ironically enough) in "a genre which the Jesuits had attempted to appropriate for their own purposes with dubious success" (435).

Le Comte, Edward. Grace to a Witty Sinner: A Life of Donne. New York: Walker, 1965. Pp. 124-129.

In Ignatius, "a number of Donne's remarks are worthy of Swift" (126). Donne's main interest in Ignatius is in astronomy, "the new philosophy" or new science. While Galileo's newest book, Sidereus Nuncius, is mentioned in Ignatius, Kepler thought that his

Somnium (Dream), a piece of theoretically sound science fiction about a moon voyage, was significant in influencing Donne's Ignatius. This can be deduced from Kepler's statement, "I suspect that the author of that impudent satire, Ignatius His Conclave, had got a copy of this little work, for he pricks me by name in the very beginning." (127)

Donne's interest in the revolution in astronomy and science also appeared in various poems he wrote. Some of the material that seemed light-hearted in Ignatius was used to express sorrow in The First Aniversary, a long poem commemorating the death of Elizabeth Drury in 1611.

McColley, Grant. "The Theory of a Plurality of Worlds." Modern Language Notes 47 (1932): 319-25.

During the age of Milton, and for two centuries after Galileo, writers like Donne (in his Anatomie of the World and Ignatius His Conclave) associated the Copernican system with one of the several doctrines of a plurality of worlds (320).

Novarr, David. The Disinterred Muse: Donne's Texts and Contexts.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980. Pp. 158-161.

In 1622, Donne was so busy conducting his public duties that it was unlikely that he wrote a Latin poem ascribed to him and dealing with the apotheosis of Loyola. Although the content and style of the poem echo Donne's typically witty satiric tone and irreverence, "the external evidence linking the poem to Donne is very weak" (159-160). If Donne had written a poem on the "apotheosis of Loyola" in 1622, he would have probably done it in Latin (161).

Parfitt, George. John Donne: A Literary Life. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. Pp. 54-65.

In Ignatius, Donne attacks Catholics, and especially the Jesuits, on the charge of opposing the monarchy. Ignatius was Donne's attempt to gain favor at court as well to argue for "close identification between the church and state" (55). However, although Donne felt threatened by the Jesuits, he was not really hostile toward Catholicism in general. Thus, although Donne wanted close identification between church and state, and although he was hostile towards the Jesuits, he nevertheless "defines a moderate religious position for himself" (56). Parfitt claims that Donne avoided "any suspicion of vulgar publicity-seeking while gaining any credit that might be available in court circles" (65). Parfitt further maintains that Donne displays his versatility in both Ignatius and Pseudo-Martyr by being "capable of weighty polemic and of satirical prose turned to the service of king and country" (65).

Partridge, A.C. John Donne: Language and Style. London: André Deutsch, 1978. Pp. 165-171.

Both the Latin and English versions of Ignatius His Conclave circulated widely. The English version, however, fails to bring out "the satirical and sportive tone of the piece" (165), which demands a more focused and energetic attitude. Donne discusses the materialism of the Jesuits without seriously criticizing it. Although he imitates to a certain extent the sarcasm of Lucian's

Dialogues of the Dead and the French Satyre Menippeae, he also echoes "the genial humour of Erasmus" (165). Indeed, "Donne's marginal references show that he had access to thirty-three publications, not freely available to non-theological readers" (165).

Donne's satire was extremely topical, for the Jesuits were already considered liars and thieves in many European nations (especially Venice and France, which had expelled them). In Ignatius, Donne "condemned the arrogance of papal intervention in secular politics, and he equally disliked scholastic methods of controversy. He made fun of the misapplied zeal, abstruseness and historical insignificance of some theologians" (166) and suggested that science might undermine religious belief, which should be unquestionable. He considered innovation a form of revolt because it questioned the unquestionable. In addition, Ignatius His Conclave also seeks to clear up various misguided interpretations of the Bible offered by the Catholic Church.

The "main disadvantage of Donne's prose style is the tangential activity of the ideas, [which is] reflected in the syntax" (170). By writing originally in Latin, Donne created problems for himself in translation; for example, one long sentence in the English Ignatius violates all laws of English grammar. In general, "Donne's satire does not favor the style coupé of Montaigne's essays, but displays an asymmetry typical of Renaissance prose" (171). In Ignatius, "Donne's love of autonomous subordination displays the labyrinthine complexity

of his thinking" (171). By not planning "the syntax of the rhythm of a paragraph before he put pen to paper" (171), Donne shows that he is "not in this piece seriously motivated by the formality of school rhetoric" (171).

Raspa, Anthony. "Theology and Poetry in Donne's Conclave." ELH 32 (1965): 478-89.

Ignatius His Conclave was published in 1611 "as a satirical tract in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants over the nature of church and government" (478). In this work, Donne attacked Ignatius Loyola and many other innovators and other creators of "new matter" -- i.e., the product of any human endeavour, political, religious, scientific or literary, that was not based on a moral prototype in the Bible" (478), including complicated theology. Donne judged innovators by following "a system of morality based on three ""books"" -- the first Book of Life or Register of the Elect, the second Book of Life or Bible, and the Book of creatures which was subsidiary to the Bible" (478).

While the first book consisted of rules for the composition of the church, the second provided rules for moral certainty, and the third offered material intended for sacred poetry. Together, they formed a system that explains the structure of the Conclave (478).

Although Donne depicted the Biblical figures of Enoch and Elias as

positive models for innovators to follow, the latter fell short of that attractive standard because they were not members of the first book. The first book -- the Register of the Elect -- was "the divine law of which Christians were the expression in time" (479). These Christians make up the church. While their memberships in the Register warrant them "'mystical' significance as typological being[s]," their memberships in the Book of Creatures warrant them "'literal' significance" (481).

The innovators' mystical significance in the Conclave associates them with the "damned or the evil," and their literal significance links them with "historical records of evil intentions" (481). Since they are of the new matter, they are deficient in "saving knowledge" (481). This saving knowledge is found in the second Book of Life -- the Bible. The Bible is comprised of "all the prototypes of good and evil against which Donne ascertained the nature of new matter and judged the significance of current history" (481).

While the history in the Bible possessed constant moral value, Biblical literature was also of permanent symbolic value. Moral values were recorded in the Bible as models for future men to follow, but the innovators disregarded them by using their "arbitrary standards for the basis of their institutions and laws" (484). Donne's emphasis on the "value of the Biblical prototypes as a standard for judging history accounts for the order of the innovators in the Conclave" (485). For example, "Mohammed was less of an innovator than Boniface III because 'hee attributed to the Old Testament' some of the rules of his religion,

whereas Boniface 'attributed' none of the rules of Catholicism to the Scriptures" (485).

As a satirist, Donne had a well defined belief in the "nature, function and inspiration of sacred poetry" and felt that "sacred poetry was the 'art' of 'digesting' the Book of Creatures 'into a written work'" (485). Furthermore, sacred poetry "preserved both the literal and mystical significance of the creatures whose history it recorded" (486). The significance of sacred poetry was that it lingered in the mind of all men forever. It took "the form of a song passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth, though copied down, thus perpetuating the law of God among men" (487).

Donne attacked Jesuit poetical theory, which taught that "a Christian truth or experience, of the kind recorded in the poetry of meditation, might be imaged or symbolized by a classical figure (the Mother of Christ by Venus) or in secular terms which were not its proper copy in the Book of Creatures" (487). Donne considered such symbols and images "obscene." He "attacked the use of fictional designs representing Christian mysteries and experiences for aesthetic and ascetic ends" (488). Donne's theory of poetry assumed that both the aesthetic and ascetic were served by "meditation upon the Book of Creatures in which Christian truth was depicted and preserved in its natural form" (488).

Ignatius was structured on three parodies, and its structure is a component of Donne's attack on the innovators and their new matter. Donne held a "fundamentalist view of the created universe and history" (489).

Ray, Robert H. A John Donne Companion. New York: Garland, 1990. Pp. 175-177.

Basic facts about the publication and plot of Ignatius suggest that it was written to appeal to anti-Catholics and King James and that it also reveals Donne's concern with the new philosophy. Ignatius is a witty satire that concerns itself with "human presumption, pride, and disturbances of order and beliefs" (176).

Warnke, Frank J. John Donne. Boston: Twayne, 1987. Pp. 88-89.

Although Ignatius His Conclave is "a high-spirited work" (88), it lacks much of a plot. The four main figures Donne mocks -- Machiaveli, Paracelsus, Copernicus, and Ignatius of Loyola -- were significant figures to intellectuals like Donne and his contemporaries, and the influence of Paracelsus' thought (for instance) is evident in The First Anniversary and other poems such as the Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day. Though Donne was skeptical concerning the heliocentric hypothesis, he lingered over the possibility that it might be true. Indeed, Donne's "deep-seated intellectual conservatism . . . coexists not only



with his fascination with new ideas but also with the radical and experimental nature of his artistic techniques" (89).

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**John Donne's Ignatius His Conclave:****A Modern-Spelling Text**

The present text of Donne's Ignatius His Conclave is the first modern-spelling text ever prepared. By modernizing Donne's spelling, I hope to make this somewhat strange and difficult text even more accessible to present-day readers. Although I have brought Donne's spelling up to date, I have not tampered with the original punctuation of his English-language text. Changing a spelling rarely changes a meaning, but changing punctuation can and often does alter the sense, rhythm, or emphasis of a passage.

In preparing this modernized text, I have followed the standard practice of previous editors of Ignatius by basing my text on the 1611 first edition. In the case of obvious errors, the readings of the 1626 edition have been preferred.

To make this edition as useful as possible, I have indicated the page breaks of the three most accessible editions of Ignatius presently available. The main page breaks, highlighted in boldface capitals and placed in brackets at the start of each new page, refer to the pagination of the Oxford standard edition

prepared by T. S. Healy. These page breaks also conform to the pagination used in the following Annotated Index itself. However, I have also inserted, within the text itself, the page breaks of two other recent editions. I have used underlined square brackets and underlined numbers to refer to shifts in pages in the edition prepared by Charles M. Coffin. For example, the shift from page 317 to page 318 of Coffin's text is indicated as follows: [317/318]. Finally, I have used underlined pointed brackets and underlined numbers to indicate the page breaks in the edition prepared by John Hayward. For instance, the shift from page 361 to 362 of Hayward's text is indicated as follows:

<361/362>.

It is hoped that such multiple pagination will make the index as useful as possible to as many readers as possible, and especially to students.

**[PAGE 3]**

IGNATIUS HIS CONCLAVE

The Printer To The Reader

Dost thou seek after the Author? It is in vain; for he is harder to be found than the parents of Popes were in the old times: yet if thou have an itch of guessing, receive from me so much, as a friend of his, to whom he sent his book to be read, wrote to me. "The Author was unwilling to have this book published, thinking it unfit both for the matter, which in itself is weighty and serious, and for that gravity which himself had proposed and observed in another book formerly published, to descend to this kind of writing. But I on the other side, mustered my forces against him, and <357/358> produced reasons and examples. I proposed to him the great Erasmus (whom though Scribanius the Jesuit call him one of our Preachers: yet their great Coccius is well content to number him

amongst his Authors). And to his bitter jestings and skirmishings in this kind, our enemies confess, that our Church is as much beholden, as to Luther himself, who fought so valiantly in the main battle. I remembered him also how familiar a fashion this was among the Papists themselves; and how much Rebullus that Run-away had done in this kind, as well in those books, which he calls Salmones, as in his other, which he entitles, The Cabal of the Reformed Churches, of which book, if he were not the Author, he was certainly the Apologist, and defender. Neither was that man, whosoever he be, which calls himself Macer, inferior to Reboul in this kind, when he dedicated to Laughter and to Pleasure, his disputation of that horrible Excommunication of Paulus 5. against the Venetians, and of other matters concerning the salvation of souls. Both which, not contenting themselves, as this Author doth, to sport and obey their natural disposition in a business (if you consider the persons) light enough (for what can be vainer than a Jesuit)

**[PAGE 5]**

have saucily risen up against Princes, and the Lord's Anointed. I added moreover, that the things delivered in this book, were by many degrees more modest, than those which themselves, in their own civil wars, do daily vomit forth, when they butcher and mangle the fame and reputation of their Popes and Cardinals by their revived Lucian, Pasquil. At last he [318/319] yielded, and



made me owner of his book, which I send to you to be delivered over to foreign nations, (a) far from the father: and (as his desire is) (b) his last in this kind. He chooses and desires, that his other book should testify his ingenuity, and candor, and his disposition to labor for the reconciling of all parts. This Book must teach what human infirmity is, and <358/359> how hard a matter it is for a man much conversant in the books and Acts of Jesuits, so thoroughly to cast off the Jesuits, as that he contract nothing of their natural drosses, which are Petulancy, and Lightness. Vale."

TO THE TWO TUTELAR ANGELS,  
 PROTECTORS OF THE POPE'S CONSISTORY,  
 AND OF THE COLLEGE OF SORBONNE

Most noble couple of Angels, lest it should be said that you did never agree, and never meet, but that you did ever abhor one another, and ever

Resemble Janus with a diverse face,

I attempted to bring and join you together once in these papers; not that I might compose your differences, for you have not chosen me for Arbitrator; but that you might beware of an enemy common to you both, I will relate what I saw. I was in an Ecstasy, and

My little wandering sportful Soul,

Guest, and Companion of my body

**[PAGE 7]**

had liberty to wander through all places, and to survey and reckon all the rooms, and all the volumes of the heavens, and to comprehend the situation, the dimensions, the nature, the people, and the policy, both of the swimming Islands, the Planets, and of all those which are fixed in the firmament. Of which, I think it an honest part as yet to be silent, than to do Galileo wrong by speaking of it, who of late hath summoned the other worlds, the Stars to come nearer to him, and give him an account of themselves. Or to Kepler, who (as himself testifies of himself) ever since Tycho Brahe's death, hath received it into his care, that no new thing should be done in heaven without his knowledge. For by the law, Prevention must take place; and therefore what they have found and discovered first, I am content they speak and utter first. <359/360> Yet this they may vouchsafe to take from me, that they shall hardly find Enoch, or Elias any where in their circuit. When I had surveyed all the Heavens, then as

[319/320]

The Lark by busy and laborious ways.

Having climbed up the ethereal hill, doth raise

His Hymns to Phoebus' Harp, And striking then

His Sails, his wings, doth fall down back again

So suddenly, that one may safely say

A stone came lazily, that came that way,

In the twinkling of an eye, I saw all the rooms in Hell open to my sight. And by the benefit of certain spectacles, I know not of what making, but, I think, of the same, by which Gregory the great, and Beda did discern so distinctly the souls of their friends, when they were discharged from their bodies, and sometimes the souls of such men as they knew not by sight, and of some that were never in the world, and yet they could distinguish them flying into Heaven, or conversing with living men, I saw all the channels in the bowels of the Earth; and all the inhabitants of all nations, and of all ages were suddenly made

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familiar to me. I think truly, Robert Aquinas when he took Christ's long Oration, as he hung upon the Cross, did use some such instrument as this, but applied to the ear: And so I think did he, which dedicated to Adrian 6, that Sermon which Christ made in praise of his father Joseph: for else how did they hear that, which none but they ever heard? As for the Suburbs of Hell, (I mean both Limbo and Purgatory) I must confess I passed them over so negligently, that I saw them not: and I was hungrily carried, to find new places, never discovered before. For Purgatory did not seem worthy to me of much diligence, because it may seem already to have been believed by some persons, in some corners of the Roman Church, for about 50 years; that is, ever since the Council of Trent had a mind to

fulfil the prophecies of Homer, Virgil, and the other Patriarchs of <360/361> the Papists; and being not satisfied with making one Transubstantiation, purposed to bring in another: which is, to change fables into Articles of faith. Proceeding therefore to more inward places, I saw a secret place, where there were not many, beside Lucifer himself; to which, only they had title, which had so attempted any innovation in this life, that they gave an affront to all antiquity, and induced doubts, and anxieties, and scruples, and after, a liberty of believing what they would; at length established opinions, directly contrary to all established before. Of which place in Hell, Lucifer afforded us heretofore some little knowledge, when more than 200 years since, in an Epistle written to the Cardinal S. Sexti, he promised him a room in his palace, in the remotest part [320/321] of his eternal Chaos, which I take to be this place. And here Pope Boniface 3, and Mohammed, seemed to contend about the highest room. He gloried of having expelled an old Religion, and Mohammed of having brought in a new: each of them a great deluge to the world. But it is to be feared, that Mohammed will fail therein, both because he attributed something to the old Testament, and because he used Sergius as his fellow-bishop, in making the Alcoran; whereas it was evident to the supreme Judge Lucifer, (for how could he be ignorant of that, which

himself had put into the Pope's mind?) that Boniface had not only neglected, but destroyed the policy of the State of Israel, established in the old Testament, when he prepared Popes a way, to tread upon the necks of Princes, but that he also abstained from all Example and Coadjutor, when he took upon him that new Name, which Gregory himself (a Pope neither very foolish, nor over-modest) ever abhorred. Besides that, every day affords new Advocates to Boniface's side. For since the Franciscans were almost worn out (of whom their General, Francis, had seen 6000 soldiers in one army, that is, in one chapter which, because they were then but fresh soldiers, he saw assisted with 18000 Devils), the Jesuits have much recom- <361/362> pensed those decays and damages, who sometimes have maintained in their Tents 200000 scholars. For though the order of Benedict have ever been so fruitful, that they say of it, That all the new Orders, which in later times have broken out, are but little springs, or drops, and that Order the Ocean, which have sent out 52 Popes, 200 Cardinals, 1600 Archbishops, 4000 Bishops, and 50000 Saints approved by the Church, and therefore it cannot be denied, but that Boniface's part is much relieved by that Order; yet if they be compared to the Jesuits, or to the weak and unperfect Types of them, the Franciscans, it is no great matter that they have done. Though therefore they esteem Mohammed worthy of the name of an Innovator, and therein, perchance not much inferior to Boniface, yet since his time, to ours, almost all which have followed his sect, have lived barren in an unanimity, and idle concord, and cannot boast that they have produced any new matter:

whereas Boniface's successors, awakened by him, have ever been fruitful in bringing forth new sins, and new pardons, and idolatries, and King-killings.

Though therefore it may religiously, and piously be believed, that Turks, as well as Papists, come daily in troupes to the ordinary and common places of Hell; yet certainly to this more honorable room,

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reserved for especial Innovators, the Papists have more frequent [321/322] access; and therefore Mohammed is out of hope to prevail, and must imitate the Christian Emperors, and be content to sit (as yet he does) at the Pope's feet.

Now to this place, not only such endeavor to come, as have innovated in matters, directly concerning the soul, but they also which have done so, either in the Arts, or in conversation, or in any thing which exerciseth the faculties of the soul, and may so provoke to quarrelsome and brawling controversies: For so the truth be lost, it is no matter how. But the gates are seldom opened, nor scarce oftener than once in an Age. But my destiny favored me so much, that I was present then, and saw all the pretenders, <362/363> and all that affected an entrance, and Lucifer himself, who then came out into the outward chamber, to hear them plead their own Causes. As soon as the door creaked, I spied a certain Mathematician, which till then had been busied to find, to deride, to detrude Ptolemy; and now with an erect countenance, and settled pace, came to

the gates, and with hands and feet (scarce respecting Lucifer himself) beat the doors, and cried; "Are these shut against me, to whom all the Heavens were ever open, who was a Soul to the Earth, and gave it motion?"

By this I knew it was Copernicus: For though I had never heard ill of his life, and therefore might wonder to find him there; yet when I remembered, that the Papists have extended the name, and the punishment of Heresy, almost to every thing, and that as yet I used Gregory's and Bedes spectacles, by which one saw Origen, who deserved so well of the Christian Church, burning in Hell, I doubted no longer, but assured myself that it was Copernicus which I saw. To whom Lucifer said; "Who are you? For though even by this boldness you seem worthy to enter, and have attempted a new faction even in Hell, yet you must first satisfy those which stand about you, and which expect the same fortune as you do." "Except, O Lucifer," answered Copernicus, "I thought thee of the race of the star Lucifer, with which I am so well acquainted, I should not vouchsafe thee this discourse.

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I am he, which pitying thee who were thrust into the Center of the world, raised both thee, and thy prison, the Earth, up into the Heavens; so as by my means God doth not enjoy his revenge upon thee. The Sun, which was an officious spy, and a betrayer of faults, and so thine enemy, I have appointed to go into the

lowest part of the world. Shall these gates be open to such as have innovated in small matters? and shall they be shut against me, who have turned the whole frame of the world, and am thereby almost a new <363/364> Creator?" More than [322/323] this he spoke not. Lucifer stuck in a meditation. For what should he do? It seemed unjust to deny entry to him which had deserved so well, and dangerous to grant it, to one of so great ambitions, and undertakings: nor did he think that himself had attempted greater matters before his fall. Something he had which he might have conveniently opposed, but he was loath to utter it, lest he should confess his fear. But Ignatius Loyola which was got near his chair, a subtle fellow, and so endued with the Devil, that he was able to tempt, and not only that, but (as they say) even to possess the Devil, apprehended this perplexity in Lucifer. And making himself sure of his own entrance, and knowing well, that many thousands of his family aspired to that place, he opposed himself against all others. He was content they should be damned, but not that they should govern. And though when he died he was utterly ignorant in all great learning, and knew not so much as Ptolomey's, or Copernicus' name, but might have been persuaded, that the words Almagest, Zenith, And Nadir, were Saints' names, and fit to be put into the Litany, and Ora pro nobis joined to them; yet after he had spent some time in hell, he had learnt somewhat of his Jesuits, which daily came thither. And whilst he stayed at the threshold of Hell; that is, from the time when he delivered himself over to the Pope's will, he took a little taste of learning. Thus furnished, thus he undertakes



Copernicus. "Do you think to win our Lucifer to your part, by allowing him the honor of being of the race of that

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star? who was not only made before all the stars, but being gluttoned with the glory of shining there, transferred his dwelling and Colonies unto this Monarchy, and thereby gave our Order a noble example, to spy, to invade, and to possess foreign kingdoms. Can our Lucifer, or his followers have any honor from that star Lucifer, which is but Venus? whose face how much we scorn, <364/365> appears by this, that, for the most part we use her adversely and preposterously. Rather let our Lucifer glory in Lucifer the Calaritan Bishop; not therefore because he is placed amongst Heretics, only for affirming the propagation of the soul; but especially for this, that he was the first that opposed the dignity of Princes, and imprinted the names of Antichrist, Judas, and other stigmatic marks upon the Emperor; But for you, what new thing have you invented, by which our Lucifer gets any thing? What cares he whether the earth travel, or stand still? Hath your raising up of the earth into heaven, brought men to that confidence, that they build new towers or threaten God again? Or do they out of this motion of [323/324] the earth conclude, that there is no hell, or deny the punishment of sin? Do not men believe? do they not live just, as they did before? Besides, this detracts from the dignity of your learning, and derogates from your right and

title of coming to this place, that those opinions of yours may very well be true. If therefore any man have honor or title to this place in this matter, it belongs wholly to our Clavius, who opposed himself opportunely against you, and the truth, which at that time was creeping into every man's mind. He only can be called the Author of all contentions, and school-combats in this cause; and no greater profit can be hoped for herein, but that for such brabbles, more necessary matters be neglected. And yet not only for this is our Clavius to be honored, but for the great pains also which he took in the Gregorian Calendar, by which both the peace of the Church, and Civil businesses have been egregiously

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troubled: nor hath heaven itself escaped his violence, but have ever since obeyed his appointments: so that Saint Stephen, John Baptist, and all the rest, which have been commanded to work miracles at certain appointed days, where their Relics are preserved, do not now attend till the day come, as they were accustomed, but <365/366> are awaked ten days sooner, and constrained by him to come down from heaven to do that business; But your inventions can scarce be called yours, since long before you, Heraclides, Ecphantus, and Aristarchus thrust them into the world: who notwithstanding content themselves with lower rooms amongst the other Philosophers, and aspire not to this place,

reserved only for Antichristian Heroes: neither do you agree so well amongst yourselves, as that you can be said to have made a Sect, since, as you have perverted and changed the order and Scheme of others: so Tycho Brahe hath done by yours, and others by his. Let therefore this little Mathematician (dread Emperor) withdraw himself to his own company. And if hereafter the fathers of our Order can draw a Cathedral Decree from the Pope, by which it may be defined as a matter of faith: That the earth does not move, and an Anathema inflicted upon all which hold the contrary: then perchance both the Pope which shall decree that, and Copernicus' followers, (if they be Papists) may have the dignity of this place." Lucifer signified his assent; and Copernicus, without muttering a word, was as quiet, as he thinks the sun, when he which stood next him, entered into his place. To whom Lucifer said: "And who are you?" He answered, "Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombast of Hohenheim." At this [324/325] Lucifer trembled, as if it were a new Exorcism, and he thought it might well be the first verse of Saint John, which is always employed in Exorcisms, and might now be taken out of the Welsh, or Irish Bibles. But when he understood that it was but the web of his name, he recollected himself, and raising himself upright, asked what he had to say to the great Emperor Satan, Lucifer, Beelzebub, Leviathan, Abaddon.

Paracelsus replied, "It were an injury to thee, O glorious Emperor, if I should deliver before thee, what I have done, as though all those things had not proceeded from thee, which seemed to <366/367> have been done by me, thy organ and conduit: yet since I shall rather be thy trumpet herein, than mine own, some things may be uttered by me. Besides therefore that I brought all Methodical Physicians, and the art itself into so much contempt, that that kind of physic is almost lost; This also was ever my principal purpose, that no certain new Art, nor fixed rules might be established, but that all remedies might be dangerously drawn from my uncertain, ragged, and unperfect experiments, in trial whereof, how many men have been made carcasses? And falling upon those times which did abound with paradoxical, and unusual diseases, of all which, the pox, which then began to rage, was almost the center and sink; I ever professed an assured and an easy cure thereof, least I should deter any from their licentiousness. And whereas almost all poisons are so disposed and conditioned by nature, that they offend some of the senses, and so are easily discerned and avoided, I brought it to pass, that that treacherous quality of theirs might be removed, and so they might safely be given without suspicion, and yet perform their office as strongly. All this I must confess, I wrought by thy minerals and by thy fires, but yet I cannot despair of my reward, because I was thy first Minister and instrument, in these innovations." By this time Ignatius had observed a tempest risen in Lucifer's countenance: for he was just of the same temper as Lucifer, and therefore suffered with him in everything and felt all his

alterations. That therefore he might deliver him from Paracelsus, he said; "You must not think sir, that you may hear draw out an oration to the proportion of your name; It must be confessed, that you attempted great matters, and well becoming a great officer of Lucifer, when you undertook not only to make a man, in your Alembics, but also to preserve him immortal. And it cannot be doubted, but that out of your Commentaries upon the Scriptures, in which you <367/368> were utterly

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ignorant, many men have taken oc- [325/326] casion of erring, and thereby this kingdom much indebted to you. But must you therefore have access to this secret place? what have you compassed, even in Physic it self, of which we Jesuits are ignorant? For though our Ribadeneyra have reckoned none of our Order, which hath written in Physic, yet how able and sufficient we are in that faculty, I will be tried by that Pope, who hath given a privilege to Jesuits to practice Physic, and to be present at Death-beds, which is denied to other Orders: for why should he deny us their bodies, whose souls he delivers to us? and since he hath transferred upon us the power to practice Physic, he may justly be thought to have transferred upon us the Art itself, by the same Omnipotent Bul; since he which grants the end, is by our Rules of law presumed to have granted all means necessary to that end. Let me (dread Emperor,) have

leave to speak truth before thee; These men abuse and profane too much thy metals, which are the bowels, and treasure of thy kingdom: For what doth Physic profit thee? Physic is a soft, and womanish thing. For since no medicine doth naturally draw blood, that science is not fit nor worthy of our study; Besides why should those things, which belong to you, be employed to preserve from diseases, or to procure long life? were it not fitter, that your brother, and colleague, the Bishop of Rome, which governs upon the face of your earth, and gives daily increase to your kingdom, should receive from you these helps and subsidies? To him belongs all the Gold, to him all the precious stones, concealed in your entrails, whereby he might bait and ensnare the Princes of the earth, through their Lords, and counselors means to his obedience, and to receive his commandments, especially in these times, when almost everywhere his ancient rights and tributes are denied unto him. To him belongs your Iron, and the ignobler <368/369> metals, to make engines; To him belong your Minerals apt for

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poison; To him, the Saltpeter, and all the Elements of Gun-powder, by which he may demolish and overthrow Kings and Kingdoms, and Courts, and seats of Justice. Neither doth Paracelsus truly deserve the name of an Innovator, whose doctrine, Severinus and his other followers do refer to the most ancient times.

Think therefore your self well satisfied, if you be admitted to govern in chief that Legion of homicide- Physicians, and of Princes which shall be made away by poison in the midst of their sins, and of women tempting by paintings and face-physic. Of all which sorts great numbers will daily come hither out of your Academy."

Content with this sentence, Paracelsus departed; and Machia- [326/327] vel succeeded, who having observed Ignatius' forwardness, and sauciness, and how, uncalled he had thrust himself into the office of kings Attorney, thought this stupid patience of Copernicus, and Paracelsus (men which tasted too much of their Germany) unfit for a Florentine: and therefore had provided some venomous darts, out of his Italian Arsenal, to cast against this worn soldier of Pampelune, this French-spanish mongrel, Ignatius. But when he thought better upon it, and observed that Lucifer ever approved whatsoever Ignatius said, he suddenly changed his purpose; and putting on another resolution, he determined to direct his speech to Ignatius, as to the principal person next to Lucifer, as well by this means to sweeten and mollify him, as to make Lucifer suspect, that by these honors and specious titles offered to Ignatius, and entertained by him, his own dignity might be eclipsed, or clouded; and that Ignatius by winning to his side, politic men, exercised in civil businesses, might attempt some innovation in that kingdom. Thus therefore he began to speak. "Dread Emperor, and you, his watchful and diligent Genius, father Ignatius, Archchancellor of this Court, and highest <369/370> Priest of this highest Synagogue (except the primacy of the

Roman Church reach also unto this place) let me before I descend to myself, a little consider, speak, and admire your stupendous wisdom, and the government of this state. You may vouchsafe

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to remember (great Emperor) how long after the Nazarene's death, you were forced to live a solitary, a barren, and an Eremitical life: till at last (as it was ever your fashion to imitate heaven) out of your abundant love, you begot this dearly beloved son of yours, Ignatius, which stands at your right hand. And from both of you proceeds a spirit, whom you have sent into the world, who triumphing both with Mitre and Crown, governs your Militant Church there. As for those sons of Ignatius, whom either he left alive, or were born after his death, and your spirit, the Bishop of Rome; how justly and properly may they be called Equivocal men? And not only Equivocal in that sense, in which the Popes Legates, at your Nicene Council were called Equivocal, because they did agree in all their opinions, and in all their words: but especially because they have brought into the world a new art of Equivocation. O wonderful, and incredible Hypercritics, who, not out of marble fragments, but out of the secretest Records of Hell itself: that is, out of the minds of Lucifer, the Pope, and Ignatius, (persons truly equivocal) have raised to life again [327/328] the language of the Tower of Babel, too long concealed, and brought us again from understanding one



another. For my part (o noble pair of Emperors) that I may freely confess the truth, all which I have done, wheresoever there shall be mention made of the Jesuits, can be reputed but childish; for this honor I hope will not be denied me, that I brought in an Alphabet, and provided certain Elements, and was some kind of schoolmaster in preparing them a way to higher undertakings; yet it grieves me, and makes me ashamed, that I should be ranked with this idle and Chimerical Copernicus, or this <sup><370/371></sup> cadaverous vulture, Paracelsus. I scorn that those gates, into which such men could conceive any hope of entrance, should not voluntarily fly open to me: yet I can better endure the rashness and fellowship of Paracelsus, than the other: because he having been conveniently practiced in the butcheries, and mangling of men, he had the reason to

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hope for favor of the Jesuits: For I myself went always that way of blood, and therefore I did ever prefer the sacrifices of the Gentiles, and of the Jews, which were performed with effusion of blood (whereby not only the people, but the Priests also were animated to bold enterprises) before the soft and wanton sacrifices of Christians. If I might have had my choice, I should rather have wished, that the Roman Church had taken the Bread, than the Wine, from the people, since in the wine there is some color, to imagine and represent blood.

Neither did you, (most Reverend Bishop of this Diocese, Ignatius) abhor from this way of blood. For having consecrated your first age to the wars, and grown somewhat unable to follow that course, by reason of a wound; you did presently begin to think seriously of a spiritual war, against the Church, and found means to open ways, even into Kings' chambers, for your executioners. Which dignity, you did not reserve only to your own Order, but (though I must confess, that the foundation, and the nourishment of this Doctrine remains with you, and is peculiar to you,) out of your infinite liberality, you have vouchsafed sometime, to use the hands of other men in these employments. And therefore as well as they, who have so often in vain attempted it in England, as they which have brought their great purposes to effect in France, are indebted only to you for their courage and resolution. But yet although the entrance into this place may be decreed to none, but to Innovators, and to only such of them as have dealt in Christian business; and of [328/329] them also, to those only which have had the fortune <371/372> to do much harm, I cannot see but that next to the Jesuits, I must be invited to enter, since I did not only teach those ways, by which through perfidiousness and dissembling of Religion, a man might possess, and usurp upon the liberty of free Commonwealths; but also did arm and furnish the people with my instructions, how when they were under this oppression, they might safely conspire, and remove a tyrant, or revenge themselves of their Prince, and

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redeem their former losses; so that from both sides, both from Prince and People, I brought an abundant harvest, and a noble increase to this kingdom." By this time I perceived Lucifer to be much moved with this Oration, and to incline much towards Machiavel. For he did acknowledge him to be a kind of Patriarch, of those whom they call Laymen. And he had long observed, that the Clergy of Rome tumbled down to Hell daily, easily, voluntarily, and by troupes, because they were accustomed to sin against their conscience, and knowledge; but that the Laity sinning out of a slothfulness, and negligence of finding the truth, did rather offend by ignorance, and omission. And therefore he thought himself bound to reward Machiavel, which had awakened this drowsy and implicit Laity to greater, and more bloody undertakings. Besides this, since Ignatius could not be denied the place, whose ambitions and turbulencies Lucifer understood very well, he thought Machiavel a fit and necessary instrument to oppose against him; that so the scales being kept even by their factions, he might govern in peace, and two poisons mingled might do no harm. But he could not hide this intention from Ignatius, more subtle than the Devil, and the verier Lucifer of the two: Therefore Ignatius rushed out, threw himself down at Lucifer's feet, and groveling on the ground adored him. Yet certainly, Vasques would not call this idolatry, because in the shape of the Devil he worshipped him, whom he accounted the true God. Here Ignatius cried, and

thundered out, <372/373>

With so great noise and horror,

That had that powder taken fire, by which

All the Isle of Britain had flown to the Moon,

It had not equalled this noise and horror.

And when he was able to speak distinctly, thus he spoke. "It cannot be said (unspeakable Emperor) how much this obscure Florentine hath transgressed against thee, and against [329/330] the Pope

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thy image-bearer, (whether the word be accepted, as Gratian takes it, when he calls the Scriptures, Imaginary Books; or as they take it, which give that style to them who carry the Emperors image in the field;) and last of all against our Order. Durst any man before him, think upon this kind of injury, and calumny, as to hope that he should be able to flatter, to catch, to entrap Lucifer himself? Certainly whosoever flatters any man, and presents him those praises, which in his own opinion are not due to him, thinks him inferior to himself and makes account, that he hath taken him prisoner, and triumphs over him. Who ever flatters, either he derides, or (at the best) instructs. For there may be, even in flattery, an honest kind of teaching, if Princes, by being told that they are already indued with all virtues necessary for their functions, be thereby taught what

those virtues are, and by a facile exhortation excited to endeavor to gain them. But was it fit that this fellow, should dare either to deride you, or (which is the greater injury) to teach you? Can it be believed, that he delivers your praises from his heart, and doth not rather herein follow Gratian's levity; who says, That you are called Prince of the world, as a king at Chess, or as the Cardinal of Ravenna, only by derision? This man, whilst he lived, attributed so much to his own wit, that he never thought himself beholden to your helps, and insinuations; and was so far from invoking you, or sacrificing to you, that he did not so much as acknowledge your kingdom, nor believe that there was any such thing in <373/374> nature, as you. I must confess, that he had the same opinion of God also, and therefore deserves a place here, and a better than any of the Pagan or Gentile idolaters: for, in every idolatry, and false worship, there is some Religion, and some perverse simplicity, which tastes of humility; from all which, this man was very free, when in his heart he utterly denied that there was any God. Yet since he thought so in earnest, and believed that those things which he affirmed were true, he must not be ranked with them, which having been

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sufficiently instructed of the true God, and believing him to be so, do yet fight against him in his enemies' army. Neither ought it to be imputed to us as a fault, that sometimes in our exorcisms we speak ill of you, and call you Heretic, and

Drunkard, and Whisperer, and scabbed Beast, and Conjure the elements that they should not receive you, and threaten you with Indissoluble Damnation, and torments a thousand times worse than you suffer yet. For [330/331] these things, you know, are done out of a secret covenant and contract between us, and out of Mysteries, which must not be opened to this Neophyte, who in our Synagogue is yet but amongst the Cathecumeni. Which also we acknowledge of Holy Water, and our Agnus Dei, of which you do so wisely dissemble a fear, when they are presented to you: For certainly, if there were any true force in them, to deliver Bodies from Diseases, souls from sins, and the Elements from Spirits, and malignant impressions, (as in the verses which Urban the fifth sent with his Agnus Dei to the Emperor it is pretended); it had been reason, that they should first have exercised their force upon those verses, and so have purged and delivered them, if not from Heresy, yet from Barbarousness, and solecisms; that Heretics might not justly say, there was no truth in any of them, but only the last; which is,

That the least peace which thence doth fall,

Will do one as much good as all. <374/375>

And though our Order have adventured further in Exorcisms than the rest, yet that must be attributed to a special privilege, by which we have leave to question any possessed person, of what matters we will; whereas all other Orders are miserably bound to the present matter, and the business then in hand. For, though I do not believe, that either from your self, or from your vicar the Pope,

any such privilege is issued; yet our Cotton deserves to be praised, who being questioned, how he durst propose certain seditious Interrogatories to a possessed person, to deliver himself, feigned such a privilege; and with

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an un-heard-of-boldness, and a new kind of falsifying, did (in a manner) counterfeit Lucifer's hand and seal, since none but he only could give this privilege; But, if you consider us out of this liberty in Exorcisms, how humble and servile we are towards you, the Relations of Peru testify enough, where it is recorded, that when one of your angels at midnight appeared to our Barcena alone in his chamber, he presently rose out of his chair, and gave him the place, whom he professed to be far worthier thereof, than he was. But to proceed now to the injuries, which this fellow hath done to the Bishop of Rome, although very much might be spoken, yet by this alone, his disposition may be sufficiently discerned, that he imputes to the Pope, vulgar and popular sins, far unworthy of his greatness. Weak praising, is a [331/332] kind of Accusing, and we detract from a man's honor, if we praise him for small things, and would seem to have said all, we conceal greater. Perchance this man had seen some of the Catalogues of Reserved Cases, which every year the Popes increase, and he might think, that the Popes did therefore reserve these sins to themselves, that they only might commit them. But either he is ignorant, or injurious to them. For,

can they be thought to have taken away the liberty of sinning from the people, who do not only suffer men <375/376> to keep Concubines, but sometimes do command them? who make Saint Peter beholden to the stews, for part of his revenue: and who excuse women from the infamous name of whore, till they have delivered themselves over to 23000 men? The Professors of which Religion teach, that University men, which keep whores in their chambers, may not be expelled for that, because it ought to be presumed before hand, that scholars will not live without them. Shall he be thought to have a purpose of deterring others from sin, which provides so well for their security, that he teaches, that he may dispense in all the commandments of the second Table, and in all moral law, and that those commandments of the second table can neither be called Principles, nor Conclusions, necessarily deduced from Principles? And therefore, (as they ever love that manner of teaching) he

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did illustrate his Rule with an Example, and dispensed in a marriage between Brother and Sister, and hath hoarded up so many Indulgences in one barn, the city of Rome, that it is easy for any man in an hour, or two, to draw out Pardons enough for 100000 years. How clear a witness of this liberality is Leo 10, who only for rehearsing once the Lord's prayer, and thrice repeating the name of Jesu (be it spoken here without horror) hath given 3000 years indulgence! How



profuse a Steward or Auditor was Boniface, who acknowledges so many Indulgences to be in that one Church of Lateran, that none but God can number them? Besides these, plenary Indulgences are given, not only to the Franciscans themselves, but to their Parents also: and to any which dies in their habit; and to any which desire that they may do so; and to those who are wrapped in it after death, though they did not desire it; and five years' Indulgence to those who do but kiss it. And at last, Clement 7. by a privilege first given to one Order, (which since is communicated to our Order, as the privileges of all other Orders are) gave to any who should but visit a <376/377> place belonging to them, or any other place, if he could not come thither: or if he [332/333] could come to no such place, yet if he had but a desire to it, All indulgences which had been granted, or hereafter should be granted in the universal world. And though it be true, that if any of these Indulgences a certain sum of money were limited to be given (as for the most part it is;) a poor man, which could not give that money, though he were never so contrite for his sins, could have no benefit thereby: and though Gerson durst call those Indulgences foolish, and superstitious, which gave 20000 years' pardon for rehearsing one prayer, yet they do abundantly testify the Pope's liberal disposition, and that he is not so covetous in reserving sins to himself; But if perchance once in a hundred years, some one of the scum of the people be put to death for Sodomy; and that, not so much for the offense, as for usurping the right of the Ecclesiastic Princes, we must not much lament nor grudge at

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that, since it is only done to discontinue, and interrupt a prescription, to gain which Title, the Laiety hath ever been very forward against the Clergy: for even in this kind of his delicacies, the Pope is not so reserved and covetous, but that he allows a taste thereof to his Cardinals, whom you once called Carpidineros, (by an elegancy proper only to your Secretaries, the Monks) in an Epistle which you wrote to one of that College: For since, the Cardinals are so compacted into the Pope, and so made his own body: That it is not lawful for them, without license first obtained from him, to be let blood in a Fever, what may be denied unto them? Or what kind of sin is likely to be left out of their glorious privileges, which are at least 200? Which Order the Pope can no more remove out of the Ecclesiastic Hierarchy, than he can Bishops: both because Cardinals were instituted by God, and because the Apostles themselves were Cardinals before they were Bishops. Whom also in their creation <377/378> he stiles his brothers, and Princes of the world, and Co-judges of the whole earth: and to perfect all: That there are so many Kings as there are Cardinals. O fearful body; and as in many other things, so in this especially monstrous, that they are not able to propagate their species: For all the Cardinals in a vacancy are not able to make one Cardinal more. To these men certainly the Pope doth no more grudge the plurality of sins, than he does of Benefices. And he hath been content, that even Borgia should enjoy this dignity, so that he hath heaped up,

by his ingenious wickedness, more sorts of sins in one Act, than (as far as I know) as any the Popes themselves have attempted. For he did not only give the full rein [333/334] to his licentiousness, but raging with a second ambition, he would also change the Sex. Therein also his stomach was not towards young beardless boys, nor such green fruit: for he did not think, that he went far enough from the right Sex, except he had a manly, a reverend, and a bearded Venus. Neither stayed he there; but his

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witty lust proceeded further: yet he solicited not the Minions of the Popes; but striving to equal the licentiousness of Sodomites, which would have had the Angels; to come as near them as he could, he took a Clergy-man, one of the portion and lot of the Lord: and so made the maker of God, a Priest subject to his lust; nor did he seek him out in a Cloister, or Choir, but that his Venus might be the more monstrous, he would have her in a Mitre. And yet his prodigious lust was not at the height; as much as he could he added: and having found a Man a Clergy-man, a Bishop, he did not solicit him with entreaties, and rewards, but ravished him by force. Since then the Popes do, out of the fullness of their power, come to those kinds of sin, which have neither Example nor Name, insomuch that Pope Paulus Venetus, which used to paint himself, and desired to seem a woman, was called the Goddess Cibebe (which was not without

<378/379> mystery, since, prostitute boys are sacred to that Goddess,) and since they do not grant ordinarily that liberty of practicing sins, till they have used their own right and privilege of Prevention and Anticipation, This prattling fellow Machiavel doth but treacherously, and dishonestly prevaricate, and betray the cause, if he think he hath done enough for the dignity of the Popes, when he hath afforded to them sins common to all the world. The transferring of Empires, the ruin of Kingdoms, the Excommunications, and depositions of Kings, and devastations by fire and sword, should have been produced as their marks and characters: for though the examples of the Popes transferring the Empire, which our men so much stand upon, be not indeed true, nor that the ancient Popes practiced any such thing; yet since the states-men of our Order, wiser than the rest, have found how much this Temporal jurisdiction over Princes, conduces to the growth of the Church, they have persuaded the Popes, that this is not only lawful for them, but often practiced heretofore: And therefore they provide, that the Canons and Histories be detorted to that opinion: for though one of our Order do weaken that famous Canon, Nos sanctorum, which was used still

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to be produced for this doctrine, yet he did it then, when the King of Great Britain was to be mollified and sweet- [334/335] ened towards us, and the laws to be mitigated, and when himself had put on the name Eudaemon. But let him return

to his true state, and profess himself a Cacodaemon, and he will be of our opinion. In which respect also we may pardon our Cudsemius his rashness, when he denies the English nation to be heretics, because they remain in a perpetual succession of Bishops: For herein these men have thought it fit, to follow, in their practice, that Translation, which reads the words of Paul: Serve the time, and not that which says: Serve the Lord. As for the injury which this petty companion hath offered to <379/380> our Order, since in our wrongs, both yours, and the Pope's Majesty is wounded; since to us, as to your Dictators, both you have given that large and ancient Commission: That we should take care that the state take no harm, we cannot doubt of our revenge: yet this above all the rest, does especially vex me, that when he calls me Prelate, and Bishop, (names which we so much abhor and detest) I know well, that out of his inward malignity, he hath a relation to Bellarmino's, and Tolet's sacrilegious Vow-breaking ambitions, by which they embraced the Cardinalship, and other Church-dignities: but herein this poor fellow, unacquainted with our affairs, is deceived, being ignorant, that these men, by this act of being thus incorporated into the Pope are so much the nearer to their Center and final happiness, this chamber of Lucifer, and that by the breach of a vow, which themselves thought just, they have got a new title thereunto: For the Cardinalship is our Martyrdom: and though not many of our Order, have had that strength, that they have been such Martyrs, and that the Popes themselves have been pleased to transfer this persecution into the other Orders, who have had more Cardinals than we; yet

without doubt, for such of ours which have had so much courage, new Crowns, and new Garlands, appropriate to our Martyrs, are prepared for them in this their Heaven; because, being enabled by greater means, they are fitter for greater mischiefs. We therefore lament the weakness of our Layne, and our Borgia, who refused the Cardinalship

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offered by Paulus 4. and Julius 3.; (for in this place and this meeting it is not unfit to say they did so) even amongst the ancient Romans, when they sacrificed to you those sacrifices, which offered any resistance, were ever reputed unaccepted: And therefore our Bellarmino deserves much praise, who finding a new Genius and courage in his new Cardinalship, set out his Retractions, and corrected all <380/381> those places in his works, which might any way be interpreted in the favor of [335/336] Princes. But let us pass over all these things: for we understand one another well enough; and let us more particularly consider those things, which this man, who pretends to exceed all Ancient and Modern States-men, boasts to have been done by him. Though truly no man will easily believe, that he hath gone far in any thing, which did so tire at the beginning, or mid-way, that having seen the Pope, and known him, yet could never come to the knowledge of the Devil. I know what his excuse and escape will be: that things must not be extended infinitely; that we must consist and

arrest somewhere, and that more means and instruments ought not to be admitted, where the matter may be dispatched by fewer. When therefore he was sure that the Bishop of Rome was the cause of all mischief, and the first mover thereof, he chose rather to settle and determine in him, than by acknowledging a Devil, to induce a new tyranny, and to be driven to confess, that the Pope had usurped upon the devil's right, which opinion, if any man be pleased to maintain, we do not forbid him: but yet it must be argument to us of no very nimble wit, if a man do so admire the Pope, that he leave out the Devil, and so worship the Image, without relation to the prototype and first pattern. But besides this, how idle, and how very nothings they are, which he hath shovelled together in his books, this makes it manifest, that some of every Religion, and of every profession, have risen up against him, and no man attempted to defend him: neither do I say this, because I think

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his doctrine the worse for that, but it is therefore the less artificially carried, and the less able to work those ends to which it is directed. For our parts we have not proceeded so: For we have dished and dressed our precepts in these affairs, with such cunning, that when our own men produce them to ensnare and establish our pupils, then <381/382> we put upon them the majesty and reverence of the Doctrine of the Church, and of the common opinion: But when

our adversaries allege them, either to cast envy upon us, or to deter the weaker sort, then they are content with a lower room, and vouchsafe to step aside into the rank of private opinions. And the Canons themselves are with us sometimes glorious, in their mitres and pontifical habits, and found nothing but mere Divine resolutions out of Chair itself, and so have the force of Oracles; sometimes we say they are ragged and lame, and do but whisper with a doubtful and uncertain murmur, a hollow cloistral, or an eremitical voice, and so have no more authority, than those poor men which [336/337] wrote them: sometimes we say they were but rashly thrown into the people's ears out of pulpits, in the Homilies of fathers; sometimes that they were derived out of such Councils as suffered abortion, and were delivered of their children, which are their Canons, before inanimation, which is the Pope's assent, or out of such Councils, as are now discontinued and dead, (howsoever they remained, long time in use and lively and in good state of health) and therefore cannot be thought fit to be used now, or applied in civil businesses; sometimes we say the Pope's voice is in them all by his approbation; sometimes that only the voice of those authors, from whom they are taken, speaks in them. And accordingly we deliver diverse and various Philosophy upon our Gratian, who compiled them; sometimes we allow him the honor and dignity of Diamonds and the nobler sort of stones, which have both their clearness, and their firmness from this, that they are compacted of less parts, and atoms, than others are: and so is Gratian; whom for the same cause, sometimes we account but a hill of many sands cast together, and very unfit



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to receive any foundation. I must confess, that the fathers of our Order, out of a youthful fierceness, which made them dare and under- ~~<382/383>~~ take any thing (for our order was scarce at years at that time) did amiss in inducing the Council of Trent to establish certain Rules and Definitions, from which it might not be lawful to depart: for indeed there is no remedy, but that sometimes we must depart from them: nor can it be dissembled, that both the writers of our Order, and the Dominicans have departed from them in that great war and Tragedy lately raised at Rome, about Grace and Free-will. For it is not our purpose, that the writings of our men should be so ratified, that they may not be changed, so that they be of our Order which change them: so by the same liberty, which Daemon-Joannes hath taken in delivering the King of Britain from the danger of Deposition; (because as yet no sentence is given against him) and also from many other Canons, which others think may justly be discharged against him, it will be as lawful for us, when that kingdom shall be enough stupefied with this our Opium, to restore those Canons to their former vigor, and to awake that state out of her Lethargy, either with her own heat, intestine war, or by some Medicine drawn from other places: for Princes have all their securities from our indulgence, and from the slack and gentle interpretation of the Canons: they are but privileges, which since they are derived, and receive

life from us, they [337/338] may be by us diminished, revoked, and annulled: for as it was lawful for Mariana to depart from the doctrine of the Council of Constance, so it was lawful for Cotton to depart from Mariana: which, notwithstanding, we would have only lawful for our Order, to whom it is given to know times, and secrets of state: for we see the Sorbonists themselves, (which may seem to have an Aristocratical Papacy amongst themselves) though they labored to destroy the doctrine of Mariana, did they wisely forbear to name him, or any other Jesuit, which was a modesty that I did not hope for at their hands; since, before I died, they made one Decree <383/384> against me:

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but yet therein, I think somewhat may be attributed to my patience, and providence; who knowing their strength, and our own infancy, forbade all of my Order to make any answer to that Decree of theirs: neither were we so Herculean as to offer to strangle Serpents in our cradle. But yet since after that time, they have been often provoked by our men: (for I gave not so iron a Rule and Precepts to my Disciples, as Francis did to his who would have not his Rule applied to times and to new occasions) certainly they might have been excused, if they had been at this time sharper against us. And if the Parliament of Paris thought it not fit to carry the matter so modestly in their Arrest against Mariana, but made both the Book, and the Doctrine, and the Man, infamous: What should

we say more of it, but that it is a Giant, and a wild beast, which our men could never tame: for still it cries and howls, The Pope is bound to proceed lawfully, and Canonically; and this they maliciously interpret of their own laws, and of ancient Canons, which they hope to bring into use again, by an insensible way of Arrest, and Sentences in that Court. This then is the point of which we accuse Machiavel, that he carried not his Mine so safely, but that the enemy perceived it still. But we, who have received the Church to be as a ship, do freely sail in the deep sea; we have an anchor, but we have not cast it yet, but keep it ever in our power, to cast it, and weigh it at our pleasure. And we know well enough, that as to sailing ships, so to our sailing Church, all rocks, all promontories, all firm and fast places are dangerous, and threaten ship-wreck, and therefore to be avoided, and liberty and sea-room to be affected; yet I do not obstinately say, that there is nothing in Machiavel's commentary, which may be of use to this Church. Certainly there is very much; but we are not men of that poverty, that we need beg from others, nor dignify those things with <384/385> our praises, which proceed not from our- [338/339] selves. The Senate of Rome gave us heretofore a noble example of this temperance and abstinence, which therefore

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refused to place Christ amongst their gods, because the matter was proposed by the Emperor, and begun not in themselves. As for that particular, wherein

Rome: for what else does he endeavor or go about, but to change the form of commonwealth, and so to deprive the people (who are a soft, a liquid and ductile metal, and apter for our impressions) of all

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their liberty: and having so destroyed all civility and republic, to reduce all states to Monarchies; a name which in secular states, we do so much abhor, (I cannot say it without tears,) but I must say it, that not any one Monarch is to be found, which either hath not withdrawn himself wholly from our kingdom, or wounded and endamaged us in some weighty point: hereupon our Cotton confesses, that the authority of the Pope is incomparably less than it was, and that now the [339/340] Christian Church, (which can agree to none but the Romans,) is but a diminutive. And hereupon also it is, that the Cardinals, who were wont to meet oftener, meet now but once in a week, because the businesses of the Court of Rome grow fewer. To forbear therefore mentioning of the Kings of Britain, and Denmark, and the other Monarchs of the first sort, which have utterly cast off Rome; even in France, our enemies are so much increased, that they equal us almost in number: and for their strength, they have this advantage above us, that they agree within themselves, and are at unity with their neighbor Reformed Churches; whereas our men, which call themselves Catholic there, do so much differ from the Roman Catholic, that they do not only prefer Councils, but even

Machiavel used especially to glory; which is, that he brought in the liberty of dissembling, and lying, it hath neither foundation nor color: For not only Plato, and other fashioners of Commonwealths, allowed the liberty of lying, to Magistrates, and to Physicians; but we also considering the fathers of the Church, Origen, Chrysostome, Hierome, have not only found that doctrine in them, but we have also delivered them from all imputation, and reprehension by this evasion: That it was lawful for them to maintain that opinion, till some definition of the Church had established the contrary. Which certainly, (though this should not be openly spoken of) as yet was never done. But yet we have departed from this doctrine of free lying, though it were received in practice, excused by the Fathers, strengthened by examples of Prophets and Angels, in the Scriptures, and so almost established by the law of Nations, and Nature; only for this reason, because we were not the first Authors of it. But we have supplied this loss with another doctrine, less suspicious; and yet of as much use of our Church; which is Mental Reservation, and Mixed propositions. The liberty therefore of lying, is neither new, nor safe, as almost all Machiavel's precepts are so stale and obsolete, that our Serarius using, I must confess, his Jesuitical liberty of wild anticipation, did not doubt to call Herod, who lived so long before Machiavel, a Machiavellian. But that at one blow we may cut off all his reasons, and all his hopes, this I affirm, this I pronounce; that all his books, and all his deeds, tend only to this, that thereby a way may be prepared to the ruin and destruction of that part of <385/386> this Kingdom, which is established at

the king, before the Pope, and evermore oppose those their two great Giants, Gog and Magog, their Parliament of Paris, and their College of Sorbonne kings, against all our endeavors. Besides all this, we languish also miserably in Spain, where Clergy men, if they break their fealty to their Lord, are accused of treason; where Ecclesiastical persons are subject to secular judgment, and, if they be sacrilegious, are burnt by the Ordinary Magistrate: which are doctrines and <386/387> practices, contrary, and dangerous to us. And though they will seem to have given almost half the kingdom to the church, and so to have divided equally; yet those Grants are so infected, with pensions, and other burdens, by which the king's servants, and the younger sons of great persons are maintained, that this greatness of the Church there is rather a dropsy, than a sound state of health,

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established by well-concocted nourishment, and is rather done, to cast an Envy upon the Church, than to give any true Majesty to it. And even in usurping Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the kings of Spain have not only exceeded the kings of France, but also of Britany. For (says Baronius of that king) there is now risen up a new Head, a monster, and a wonder. He excommunicates, and he Absolves: And he practiseth this power even against Bishops, and Cardinals: He stops Appeals, and he acknowledges no superiority in the see of Rome, but only

in case of Prevention: And therefore, the name Monarch, is a hateful and execrable name to us. Against which, Baronius hath thundered with such violence, such fierceness, and such bitterness, that I could hardly add any thing thereunto, if I should speak (unspeakable Emperor) with thine own tongue: for he calls it an Adulterine name, and a Tower of Babel, and threatens destruction to that king (though himself were his subject) except he forbear the name. In the [340/341] meantime, he resolves him to be a Tyrant, and pronounces him to stand yearly Excommunicate by the Bulla Coenae. Neither doth he offer to defend himself with any other excuse, when a Cardinal reprehended his fierceness towards the king, than this; An Imperious zeal, hath no power to spare God himself. And yet he confesses, that this zeal was kindled by the Pope's special command, and by his Oath taken, as Cardinal. Neither hath our Bellarmino almost any other cause of advancing Monarchical government so much as he doth, than thereby to remove all secular men from so <387/388> great a dignity, and to reserve it only to the Church. It was therefore well done of that Rebullus (who now begins to be known in this state) when having surfeited with Calumnies against the French Church, and her Ministers, he hath dared of late to draw his pen, and to join battle against a most puissant foreign Prince: he did well (I say) and fitly, when he called Bellarmino and Baronius, The sword and buckler of the Roman Church. And I cannot choose but thank him for affording the Title of Sword to our Order: as well, because after so many expositions of those words, (Behold, here are two swords) which our side hath

gathered, to establish a temporal Jurisdic-

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tion in the Pope, and which our Adversaries have removed, worn out, or scorned, this man hath relieved us with a new, and may seem to intend by the two swords, the Pope's Excommunications, and the Jesuits' Assassimates, and King-killings; as also because he hath reserved to our Order that sovereign dignity, that as God himself was pleased to defend his Paradise with fire and sword, so we stand watchful upon the borders of our Church, not only provided, as that Cherubin was with fire and sword, but with the later invention of Gunpowder; about the first inventor whereof I wonder, why Antiquaries should contend, whether it were the Devil or a Friar, since that may be all one. But as (O unspeakable Emperor) you have almost in all things endeavored to imitate God: so have you most thoroughly performed it in us: For when God attempted the Reformation of his Church, it became you also to reform yours. And accordingly by your Capuchins, you did reform your Franciscans; which, before we arose, were your chiefest laborers, and workmen: and after, you Reformed your Capuchins, by your Recolets. And when you perceived that in the Church of God, some men proceeded so far in that Reformation, that they endeavored to draw out, not only all that peccant and dangerous <388/389> humors, but all her beauty, and exterior grace and Ornament, and even her vital spirits, with her



corrupt blood, and so induce [341/342] a leanness, and ill-favoredness upon her, and thought to cure a rigid coldness with a fever, you also were pleased to follow that Example, and so, in us, did Reform, and awaken to higher enterprises, the dispositions as well of the Circumcellions, as of the Assassins: for we do not limit ourselves in that low degree of the Circumcellions, when we urge and provoke others to put us to death; nor of the Assassins which were hired to kill some Kings, which passed through their quarter: for we exceed them both, because we do these things voluntarily, for nothing, and every where. And as we will be exceeded by none, in the thing itself: so to such things as may seem mystical and significant, we oppose

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mystical things. And so, lest that Canon; That no Clergyman should wear a knife with a point, might seem to concern us, by some prophetic relation, we in our Rules have opposed this precept: That our knife be often whetted, and so kept in an apt readiness for all uses: for our divination lies in the contemplation of entrails; in which art we are thus much more subtle than those amongst the old Romans, that we consider not the entrails of Beasts, but the entrails of souls, in confessions, and the entrails of Princes, in treasons; whose hearts we do not believe to be with us, till we see them: let therefore this prattling Secretary hold his tongue, and be content that his book be had in such reputation, as the world

affords to an Ephemerides, or yearly Almanac, which being accommodated to certain places, and certain times, may be of some short use in some certain place: and let the Rules and precepts of his disciples, like the Canons of provincial Councils be of force there, where they were made, but only ours which pierce, and pass through all the world, retain the strength and vigor of Universal Councils. Let him <389/390> enjoy some honorable place amongst the Gentiles; but abstain from all of our sides: neither when I say, Our side, do I only mean Modern men: for in all times in the Roman Church, there have been Friars which have far exceeded Machiavel." Truly I thought this Oration of Ignatius very long: and I began to think of my body which I had so long abandoned, least it should putrefy, or grow moldy, or be buried; yet I was loath to leave the stage, till I saw the play ended: And I was in hope, that if any such thing should befall my body, the Jesuits, who work Miracles so familiarly, and whose reputation I was so careful of in this matter, would take compassion upon me, and restore me again. But as I had sometimes observed [342/343]

Feathers or straws swim on the water's face

Brought to the bridge, where through a narrow place

The water passes, thrown back, and delayed;

And having danced a while, and nimbly played

Upon the watery circles, Then have been

By the stream's liquid snares, and jaws, sucked in

And sunk into the womb of that swollen bourn,

Leave the beholder desperate of return:

So I saw Machiavel often put forward, and often thrust back, and at last vanish. And looking earnestly upon Lucifer's countenance, I perceived him to be affected towards Ignatius, as Princes, who though they envy and grudge, that their great Officers should have such immoderate means to get wealth; yet they dare not complain of it, lest thereby they should make them odious and contemptible to the people; so that Lucifer now suffered a new Hell: that is, the danger of a Popular Devil, vain-glorious, and inclined to innovations there. Therefore he determined to withdraw himself into his inward chamber, and to admit none but Ignatius: for he could not exclude him, who had deserved so well; neither did he think it safe to stay without, and give him more <390/391> occasions to amplify his own worth, and undervalue all them there in public, and before so many vulgar Devils. But as he rose, a whole army of souls besieged him. And all which had invented any new thing, even in the smallest matters, thronged about him, and importuned an admission. Even those which had but invented new attire for women, and those whom Pancirolo hath recorded in his Commentaries for invention of Porcelain dishes, of Spectacles, of Quintains, of stirrups, and of Caviari, thrust themselves into the troupe. And of those, which pretended that they had squared the circle, the number was infinite. But Ignatius scattered all

this cloud quickly, by commanding, by chiding, by deriding, and by force and violence. Amongst the rest, I was sorry to see him use Peter Aretine so ill as he did: For though Ignatius told him true when he boasted of his licentious pictures, that because he was not much learned, he had left out many things of that kind, <391/392> with which the ancient histories and poems abound; and that therefore Aretine had not only not added any new invention, but had also taken away all courage and spurs from youth, which would rashly trust, and rely upon his

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diligence, and seek no further, and so lose that infinite and precious treasure of Antiquity. He [343/344] added moreover, that though Raderus, and others of his Order, did use to geld Poets, and other Authors: (and here I could not choose but wonder, why they have not gelded their Vulgar Edition, which in some places hath such obscene words as the Hebrew tongue, which is therefore called Holy, doth so much abhor, that no obscene things can be uttered in it) insomuch, that (as one of them very subtly notes) the star of Venus is very seldom called by that name in the Scripture: for how could it be, the word being not Hebrew?) yet (said he) our men do not geld them to that purpose, that the memory thereof should be abolished; but that when themselves had first tried, whether Tiberius his Spintria and Martialis symplegma, and others of that kind,

were not rather Chimeras, and speculations of luxuriant wits, than things certain and constant, and such as might be reduced to an Art and method in licentiousness (for Jesuits never content themselves with the Theory in anything, but straight proceed to practice) they might after communicate them to their own Disciples and Novitiates: for this Church is fruitful in producing Sacraments; and being now loaded with Divine sacraments, it produces Moral sacraments. In which, as in the divine, it binds the Laiety to one species; but they reserve to themselves the divers forms, and the secrets and mysteries in this matter, which they find in the Authors whom they geld. Of which kind I think they give a little glimmering and intimation, when in the life of their last made Goddess, Francisca Romana, they say: that the bed where she lay with her husband, was a perpetual Martyrdom to her, and a shop of miracles. But for all this, since Aretine was one, who by a long custom of libellous and contumelious speaking against Princes, had got such a habit, that at last he came to diminish and disesteem God himself, I wonder truly, that this Arch-Jesuit, though he would not admit him to any eminent place in his Triumphant Church, should

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deny him an office of lower estimation: For truly to my thinking, he might have been fit, either to serve Ignatius, as master of his pleasures, or Lucifer as his Crier: for whatsoever Lucifer durst think, this man durst speak. But Ignatius, who

thought himself sufficient for all uses, thrust him away, and when he offered upward, offered his staff at him: Nor did he use Christopher Columbus with any better respect; who having found all ways in the earth, and sea open to him, did not fear any difficulty in Hell, but when he offered to enter, Ignatius stayed him, and said: "You must remember, sir, that if this kingdom have got any thing by the discovery of the West Indies, [344/345] all that must be attributed to our Order: for if the opinion of the Dominicans had prevailed, That the inhabitants should be reduced, only by preaching and with- <392/393> out violence, certainly their 200000 of men would scarce in so many ages have been brought to a 150 which by our means was so soon performed. And if the law, made by Ferdinando, only against Cannibals: That all which would not be Christians should be bondslaves, had not been extended into other Provinces, we should have lacked men, to dig us out that benefit, which their countries afford. Except we when we took away their old Idolatry, had recompensed them with a new one of ours; except we had obtruded to those ignorant and barbarous people sometimes natural things, sometimes artificial, and counterfeit, instead of Miracles; and except we had been always ready to convey, and to apply this medicine made of this precious American dung, unto the Princes of Europe, and their Lords, and Counselors, the profit by the only discovery of these places (which must of necessity be referred to fortune) would have been very little; yet I praise your perseverance, and your patience; which (since that seems to be your principal virtue), you shall have good occasion to exercise here, when you remain in a lower and remoter

place, than you think belongs to your merits." But although Lucifer being put into a heat, and almost smothered with this troupe and deluge of pretenders, seemed to have

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admitted Ignatius, as his Lieutenant, or a Legate a latere, and trusted him with an absolute power of doing what he would, yet he quickly spied his own error, and danger thereby. He began to remember how forcibly they use to urge the Canon Alius; by which the king of France is said to have been deposed, not for his wickedness, but for his infirmity, and unfitness to govern: And that kings do forfeit their dignity, if they give themselves to other matters, and leave the government of the State to their officers. Therefore Lucifer thought it time for him to enter into the business, least at last Ignatius should prescribe therein; by which title of prescription he well knew <393/394> how much the Church of Rome doth advance and defend itself against other Princes. And though he seemed very thankful to Ignatius, for his delivery from this importunate company, yet when he perceived, that his scope and purpose was, to keep all others out, he thought the case needed greater consideration; For though he had a confidence in his own Patriarchs, which had long before possessed that place, and in whose company (as an Abbot said to the Devil, who after long intermission now tempted him) he [345/346] was grown old, and doubted not

but that they would defend their right, and oppose themselves against any innovation, which Ignatius should practice, yet if none but he in a whole age should be brought in, he was afraid, that this singularity would both increase his courage and spirit, and their reverence, and respect towards him. Casting therefore his eyes into every corner, at last a great way off, he spied Philip Nerius: who acknowledging in his own particular no special merit towards his kingdom, forbore to press near the gate; But Lucifer called to his remembrance, that Nerius and all that Order, of which he was the Author, which is called congregatio Oratorii, were erected, advanced, and dignified by the Pope, principally to this end, that, by their incessant Sermons to the people, of the lives of Saints and other Ecclesiastic Antiquities, they might get a new reputation, and so the torrent, and general superstition towards the Jesuits, might grow a little remisser, and luke-warm: for at that time the Pope

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himself began to be afraid of the Jesuits, for they began to publish their Paradox of Confession and absolution to be given by letters, and Messengers, and by that means to draw the secrets of all Princes only to themselves; And they had tried and solicited a great Monarch, who hath many designs upon Italy, against the Pope, and delivered to that prince diverse articles, for the reforming of him. Now the Pope and Lucifer love ever to follow one another's example: And



therefore that which <394/395> the one had done in the middle world, the other attempted in the lower. Hereupon he called for Philip Neri, and gave him many evidences of a good inclination towards him. But Neri was too stupid, to interpret them aright. Yet Ignatius spied them, and before Lucifer should declare himself any further, or proceed too far herein, lest after he were far engaged, there should be no way, to avert or withdraw him from his own propositions (for he saw there must be respect had of his honor and constancy) he thought it fittest to oppose now at the beginning. He said therefore, "that he now perceived, that Lucifer had not been altogether so much conversant with Philip as with the Jesuits, since he knew not, how much Philip had ever professed himself an enemy to him. For he did not only deny all visions, and apparitions, And commanded one to spit in Mary's face, when she appeared again, because he thought it was the Devil; And drove away another that came to tempt a sick man, in the shape of a Physician: And was hardly drawn to believe any possessings: but when three Devils did meet him in the way, to [346/347] afright him, he neither thought them worthy of any Exorcism, nor so much as the sign of the Cross, but merely went by them, as though he scorned to look at them, and so despited them with that negligence. It may be that he hath drawn others into Religion, but himself remained then in the Laity: in so much as I remember, that I used to call him, The Saints' Bell, that hangs without, and calls others into the Church. Neither do they which follow this Order, bind themselves with any vow or oath; Neither do

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I know any thing for which this kingdom is beholding to him, but that he moved Baronius to write his Annals."

To all this Nerius said nothing, as though it had been spoken of somebody else. Without doubt, either he never knew, or had forgot that he had done those things which they write of him. But Lucifer himself took the <395/396> boldness (having with some difficulty got Ignatius leave) to take Nerius' part: and proceeded so far, that he adventured to say, "that Baronius, Bozius, and others, which proceeded out of the Hive of Nerius, had used a more free, open, and hard fashion against Princes, and better provided for the Pope's Direct Jurisdiction upon all Kingdoms, and more stoutly defended it, than they; which undertaking the cause more tremblingly, than becomes the Majesty of so great a business, adhered to Bellarmino's sect, and devised such crooked ways, and such perplexed entanglings, as by reason of the various, and uncertain circumstances, were of no use: And that whatsoever Nerius' scholars had performed, must be attributed to him, as the fruit to the root." Ignatius perceiving that Lucifer undertook all offices for Nerius, and became Judge, Advocate, and witness, pursuing his former resolution, determined to interrupt him, lest when he had enlarged himself in Nerius' commendation, he should thereby be bound to a reward. He therefore cried out, "What hath Nerius done? what hath he, or his

followers put in execution? have they not ever been only exercised in speculations, and in preparatory doctrines? Are these books which are written of the Jurisdiction of the Pope, to any better use than Physicians' Lectures of diseases, and of Medicines? while these Receipts lie hid in Physicians' books, and nobody goes to the Patient: nobody applies the medicine to the disease, what good, what profit comes by all this? what part, what member of this languishing body have they undertaken? In what Kingdom have they corrected these humors, which offend the Pope, either by their Incision or cauterizing? what state have they cut up into an Anatomy? [347/348] what Skeleton have they

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provided for the instruction of Posterity? Do they hope to cure their diseases, by talking and preaching, as it were with charms and enchantments? If Nerius shall be thought worthy of this Honor, and this place, <396/397> because out of his scholars' writings something may be gleaned, which may be applied to this purpose, why should we not have Beza and Calvin, and the rest of that sort here in Hell, since in their books there may be some things found, which may be wrested to this purpose? But, since their scope was not to extirpate Monarchies, since they published no such Canons and Aphorisms as might be applied to all cases, and so brought into certain use and consequence, but limited theirs to

circumstances which seldom fall out, since they delivered nothing dangerous to Princes, but where, in their opinion, the Sovereignty resided in the People, or in certain Ephori, since they never said, that this power to violate the person of a prince, might either be taken by any private man, or committed to him, and that, therefore, none of their disciples hath ever boasted of having done any thing upon the person of his sovereign: we see that this place hath ever been shut against them: there have been some few of them (though I can scarce afford those men the honor to number them with Knox, and Goodman, and Buchanan) which following our examples have troubled the peace of some states, and been injurious to some princes, and have been admitted to some place in this Kingdom; but since they have performed nothing with their hands, nor can excuse themselves by saying, they were not able: (for wherein was Clement, or Ravillac more able than they: or what is not he able to do in the midst of an Army, who despises his own life?) they scarce ever aspire, or offer at this secret and sacred Chamber." Lucifer had a purpose to have replied to this: "that perchance all their hands which had been imbrued in the bowels of Princes, were not so immediately armed by the Jesuits, as that they were ever present at all consultations and resolutions: (and yet he meant to say this, not as sworn witness, but as Lucifer himself, and the father of lies, in which capacity he might say any thing) <397/398> But that it was enough that Confessors do so possess them with

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that doctrine, that it is not now proposed to them as Physic, but as natural food, and ordinary diet: and that therefore for the performance of these things a Jesuit's person is no more requisite, than the heart of a man, because it sends forth spirits into every limb, should therefore be present in every limb: that when it was in use for the Consuls of Rome for the safety of their coun- [348/349] try and army, to devote themselves over to the infernal god, it was lawful for themselves to abstain and forbear the act, and they might appoint any Soldier for that Sacrifice: and that so the Jesuits for the performance of their resolutions, might stir up any amongst the people: (for now they enjoy all the privileges, of the Franciscans, who say: That the name of people comprehends all which are not of their Order;) And that if this be granted, Nerius' scholars are inferior to none; with those books (if all the Jesuits should perish) the Church might content herself, and never fear dearth or leanness." This Lucifer would have spoken; but he thought it better and easier to forbear: for he observed, that Ignatius had given a sign, and that all his troops which were many, subtle, and busy, set up their bristles, grumbled, and compacted themselves into one body, gathered, produced and urged all their evidence, whatsoever they had done, or suffered. There the English Legion, which was called Capistrata, which Campian led, and (as I think) Garnet concluded, was fiercer than all the rest. And as though there had been such a second martyrdom to have been suffered, or as though they

might have put off their Immortality, they offered themselves to any employment. Therefore Lucifer gave Nerius a secret warning to withdraw himself, and spoke no more of him; and despairing of bringing in an other, began earnestly to think, how he might leave Ignatius out. This therefore he said to him: "I am sorry my Ignatius, that I can neither find in others, deserts <398/399> worthy of this place, nor any room in this place worthy of your deserts. If I might die, I see there would be no long strife for a successor: for if you have not yet done that act which I did at first in Heaven, and thereby got this Empire, this may excuse

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you, that no man hath been able to tell you what it was: For if any of the Ancients say true, when they call it Pride, or Licentiousness, or Lying: or if it be in any of the Casuists, which profess the Art of sinning, you cannot be accused of having omitted it. But since I may neither forsake this kingdom, nor divide it, this only remedy is left: I will write to the Bishop of Rome: he shall call Galileo the Florentine to him; who by this time hath thoroughly instructed himself of all the hills, woods, and Cities in the new world, the Moon. And since he effected so much with his first Glasses, that he saw the Moon, in so near a distance, that he gave himself satisfaction of all, and the least parts in her, when now being grown to more perfection in his Art, he shall have made new Glasses, and they received a hallowing from the Pope, he may draw the Moon, like [349/350] a

boat floating upon the water, as near the earth as he will. And thither (because they ever claim that those employments of discovery belong to them) shall all the Jesuits be transferred, and easily unite and reconcile the Lunatic Church to the Roman Church; without doubt, after the Jesuits have been there a little while, there will soon grow naturally a Hell in that world also: over which, you Ignatius shall have dominion, and establish your kingdom and dwelling there. And with the same ease as you pass from the earth to the Moon, you may pass from the Moon to the other stars, which are also thought to be worlds, and so you may beget and propagate many Hells, and enlarge your Empire, and come nearer unto that high seat which I left at first." Ignatius had not the patience to stay till Lucifer had made an end; but as soon as he saw him pause, and take <399/400> breath, and look, first upon his face, to observe what changes were there, and after to cast his eye to another place in Hell where a great noise was suddenly raised: he apprehended this intermission, and as though Lucifer had ended, he said: "That of Lucifer's affection to the Roman Church, and to their Order, every day produced new Testimonies: and that this last was to be accounted as one of the greatest. That he knew well with how great devotion the Bishop of Rome did ever embrace

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and execute all counsels proceeding from him: And that therefore he hoped, that

he would reserve that employment for the Jesuits, and that Empire for him their founder: and that he believed the Pope had thought of this before; and at that time when he put Parsons the English Jesuit in hope of a Cardinalship, he had certainly a reference to this place, and to this Church: That it would fall out shortly, that all the damages, which the Roman Church hath lately suffered upon the earth, shall be recompensed only there. And that, now this refuge was opened, if she should be reduced into greater streights, or if she should be utterly exterminated, the world would not much lament and mourn for it. And for the entertainment of the Jesuits there, there can be no doubt made at this time, when, (although their profession be to enter whether Princes will or no) all the Princes of the world will not only graciously afford them leave to go, but willingly and cheerfully accompany them with Certificates, and Dimissory letters. Nor would they much resist it, if the Pope himself would vouchsafe to go with them, and so fulfill in some small measure, that prophecy of his Gerson, De Auferibilitate Papae. Besides this a woman governs there; of which Sex they have ever made their profit, which have at- [350/351] tempted any Innovation in religion; with how much diligence were the two Empresses Pulcheria and Eudoxia solicited by the Pope for the establishing of Easter? how earnestly did both Pelagius and the Pope <400/401> strive by their letters to draw the Empress to their side? For since Julia had that honor given to her in public coins, that she was called the mother of the Army, the Mother of the Gods, and of the Senate, and the Mother of her Country; Why may not women instructed by



us, be called Mothers of the Church? Why may not we rely upon the wit of women, when, once, the Church delivered over herself to a woman-Bishop? And since we are reputed so fortunate in obtaining the favor of women, that women are forbid to come into our houses; and we are forbid, to take the charge of any Nuns; since we have had so good experience of their favor in all the Indies, or at least have thought it fit, that

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they which have the charge to write our anniversary letters from thence should make that boast, and add something to the Truth, both because the Ancient Heretics held that course in insinuating their opinions, and because they which are acquainted with our practices will think any thing credible, which is written of us in that behalf, why should we doubt of our fortune in this Queen, which is so much subject to alterations, and passions? she languishes often in the absence of the Sun, and often in Eclipses fall into swoons, and is at the point of death. In these advantages we must play our parts, and put our devices in practice: for at these times anything may be drawn from her. Nor must we forbear to try, what verses, and incantations may work upon her: For in those things which the Poets wrote, though they themselves did not believe them, we have since found many truths, and many deep mysteries: nor can I call to mind any woman, which either deceived our hope, or scaped our cunning, but Elizabeth of England; who might

the rather be pardoned that, because she had put off all affections of women. The Principal Dignity of which sex, (which is, to be a Mother) what reason had she to wish, or affect, since without those womanish titles, unworthy of her, of wife, and mother, such an <401/402> heir was otherwise provided for her, as was not fit to be kept any longer from the inheritance. But when I, who hate them, speak thus much in the honor of these two Princes, I find myself carried with the same fury, as those Beasts were, which our men say, did sometimes adore the Host in the Mass. For it is against my will, that I pay thus much to the Manes of Elizabeth; from scorning of which word Manes, when the king of great Britain [351/352] wrote it, I would our Parsons had forborne, since one of our own Jesuits useth the same word, when reprehending our Adversaries, he says, That they do insult upon Garnet's Manes. And yet this Elizabeth was not free from all Innovation: For the ancient Religion was so much worn out, that to reduce that to the former dignity, and so to renew it, was a kind of Innovation: and by this way of innovating she satisfied the infirmity of her Sex, if she suffered any: for a little Innovation might serve her,

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who was but a little a woman. Neither dare I say, that this was properly an Innovation, lest thereby I should confess that Luther and many others which live in banishment in Heaven far from us, might have a title to this place, as such

Innovators. But we cannot doubt, but that this lunatic Queen will be more inclinable to our Innovations: for our Clavius hath been long familiarly conversant with her, what she hath done from the beginning, what she will do hereafter, how she behaves herself towards her neighbor kingdoms, the rest of the stars, and all the planetary, and firmamentary worlds; with whom she is in league, and amity, and with whom at difference, he is perfectly instructed, so he have his Ephemerides about him. But Clavius is too great a personage to be bestowed upon this Lunatic Queen, either as her Counsellor, or (which were more to our profit) as her Confessor. So great man must not be cast away upon so small a matter. Nor have we any other besides, whom upon any occasion we may send to the Sun, or to the other <402/403> worlds, beyond the world. Therefore we must reserve Clavius for greater uses. Our Herbestus, or Busaeus, or Voellus (and these be all which have given any proof of their knowledge in Mathematics) although they be but tasteless, and childish, may serve to observe her aspects, and motions, and to make Catechisms fit for this Lunatic Church; for though Garnet had Clavius for his Master, yet he profited little in the Arts, but being filled with Bellarmino's Dictates, (who was also his Master) his mind was all upon Politics. When we are established there, this will add much to our dignity, that in our letters which we send down to the earth, (except perchance the whole Roman Church come up to us into the Moon) we may write of what miracles we list: which we offered to do out of the Indies, and with good success, till one of our Order, in a simplicity, and ingenuity fitter for a

Christian, than a Jesuit, acknowledged and lamented that there were no miracles done there. Truly it had been better for us to have spit all those five Brothers, Acostas, out of our Order, than that any one of [352/353] them should have vomited this reproach against us.

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It is of such men as these in our Order, that our Gretzer says: There is no body without his Excrements, because though they speak truth, yet they speak it too rawly. But as for this contemplation, and the establishing of that government, (though it be a pleasant consideration) we may neither pamper our selves longer with it now, nor detain you longer therein. Let your Greatness write; let the Pope execute your counsel; let the Moon approach when you two think fit. In the mean time let me use this Chamber, as a resting place: For though Pope Gregory were stricken by the Angel with a perpetual pain in his stomach and feet, because he compelled God by his prayers, to deliver Trajan out of Hell, and transfer him to Heaven; and therefore God, by the mouth of Gregory, took an assurance for all his Successors, that they should never dare to request <403/404> the like again: yet when the Pope shall call me back from hence, he can be in no danger, both because in this contract, God cannot be presumed to have thought of me, since I never thought of him, and so the contract therein void; and because the Condition is not broken, if I be not removed into Heaven,

but transferred from an Earthly Hell, to a Lunatic Hell." More than this he could not be heard to speak: For that noise, of which I spoke before, increased exceedingly, and when Lucifer asked the cause, it was told him, that there was a soul newly arrived in Hell, which said that the Pope was at last entreated to make Ignatius a Saint, and that he hastened his Canonization, as thinking it an unjust thing, that when all artificers, and profane Butchers had particular Saints to invoke, only these spiritual Butchers, and King-killers, should have none: for when the Jesuit Cotton in those questions which by virtue of his invisible privilege he had provided for a possessed person, amongst others, dangerous both to England and France, had inserted this question: What shall I do for Ignatius' his Canonizing? and found out at last, that Philip, King of Spain, and Henry, King of France, contended by their Ambassadors at Rome, which of them should have the honor of obtaining his Canonizing (for both pretending to be King of Navarre, both

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pretended that this right and honor belonged to him: and so both deluded the Jesuits:) For D'Alcala a Franciscan, and Penafort a Jacobite, were by Philip's means canonized, and the Jesuit left out. At last he despaired of having any assistance from these Princes: nor did he think it convenient, that a Jesuit should be so much beholden to a King, since Baronius was already come to that

[353/354] height and constancy, that being accused of some wrongs done to his King, he did not vouchsafe to write in his own excuse to the King, till the Conclave which was then held, was fully ended, lest (as himself gives the reason) if he had then been chosen Pope, it should be thought he had <404/405> been beholden to the King therein. For these reasons therefore they labor the Pope themselves. They confess, that if they might choose, they had rather he should restore them into all which they had lost in France, and Venice, than that Ignatius should be sent up into Heaven; and that the Pope was rather bound to do so, by the Order which God himself seems to have observed in the Creation, where he first furnished the Earth, and then the Heavens, and confirmed himself to be the Israelite's God by this Argument, that he had given them the land of Canaan, and other temporal blessings. But since this exceeded the Pope's omnipotence in Earth, it was fit he should try, what he could do in Heaven. Now the Pope would fain have satisfied them with the title of Beatus, which formerly upon the entreaty of the Princes of that Family, he had afforded to Aloysius Gonzaga of that Order. He would also have given this title of Saint rather to Xaverius, who had the reputation of having done Miracles. Indeed he would have done anything, so he might have slipped over Ignatius. But at last he is overcome; and so against the will of Heaven, and of the Pope, Lucifer himself being not very forward in it, Ignatius must be thrust in amongst the Saints. All this discourse, I, being grown cunninger than that Doctor, Gabriell Nele (of whom Bartolus speaketh) that by the only motion of their lips,

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without any utterance, understood all men, perceived and read in every man's countenance there. These things, as soon as Lucifer apprehended them, gave an end to the contention; for now he thought he might no longer doubt nor dispute of Ignatius' admission, who, besides his former pretences, had now gotten a new right and title to the place, by his Canonization; and he feared that the Pope would take all delay ill at his hands, because Canonization is now grown a kind of Declaration, by which all men may take knowledge, that such a one, to whom the Church of Rome is much beholden, is now made partaker of the principal dignities, and places in Hell: <405/406> For these men ever make as though they would follow Augustine in all things, and therefore they provide that that also shall be true which he said in this point: That the Relics of many are honored upon earth whose souls are tormented in Hell. Therefore he took Ignatius by the hand, and [354/355] led him to the gate. In the meantime, I, which doubted of the truth of this report of his Canonizing, went a little out for further instruction: for I thought it scarce credible, that Paulus 5. who had but lately burdened both the City of Rome, and the Church, with so great expenses, when he canonized Francisca Romana, would so easily proceed to canonize Ignatius now, when neither any Prince offered to bear the charge, nor so much as solicited it; for so he must be forced to waste both the Treasures of the Church at once. And from Leo 3. who 800 years after Christ, is the first Pope

which Canonized any, I had not observed that this had ever been done: Neither do I think that Paulus 5. was drawn to the Canonizing of this woman by any other respect than because that Rule which she appointed to her Order, was Dictated and written by Saint Paul: For though Peter, and Magdalene, and others, were present at the writing thereof, as witnesses, yet Paul was the Author thereof. And since Saint Paul's old Epistles trouble and disadvantage this Church, they were glad to apprehend anything of his new writing, which might be for them, that so this new work of his might bear witness of his second conversion to Papistry, since by his first

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conversion to Christianity, they got nothing: for to say, that in this business Paulus 5. could not choose but be God, God himself, to say, that he must needs have lived familiarly with the God-head: and must have heard Predestination itself whispering to him: And must have had a place to sit in Council with the most Divine Trinity, (all which Valladerius says of him) is not necessary in this matter, wherein the Popes, for the most part, proceed as human affections lead them. But at last, after some <406/407> enquiry, I found that a certain idle Gazetteer, which used to scrape up News, and Rumors at Rome, and so to make up sale letters, vainer, and falser, than the Jesuits' Letters of Japan, and



the Indies, had brought this news to Hell, and a little Jesuitical Novice, a credulous soul, received it by his implicit faith, and published it. I laughed at Lucifer's easiness to believe, and I saw no reason ever after, to accuse him of infidelity. Upon this I came back again, to spy (if the gates were still open) with what affection Ignatius, and they who were in ancient possession of that place, behaved themselves towards one another. And I found him yet in the porch, and there beginning a new contention: for having presently cast his eyes to the principal place, next to Lucifer's own Throne, and finding it possessed, he stopped Lucifer, and asked him, who it was that sat there. It was [355/356] answered, that it was Pope Boniface; to whom, as to a principal Innovator, for having first challenged the name of Universal Bishop, that honor was afforded. "Is he an Innovator?" thundered Ignatius. "Shall I suffer this, when all my Disciples have labored all this while to prove to the world, that all the Popes before his time did use that name? And that Gregory did not reprehend the Patriarch John for taking to himself an Antichristian name, but for usurping a name which was due to none but the Pope. And could it be fit for you, Lucifer, (who in this were either unmindful of the Roman Church, or else too weak and incapable of her secrets and mysteries) to give way to any sentence in Hell, which (though it were according to truth,) yet differed from the

Jesuits' Oracles?" With this Ignatius flies upwards, and rushes upon Boniface, and throws him out of his Seat: And Lucifer went up with him as fast, and gave him assistance, lest, if he should forsake him, his own seat might be endangered. And I returned to my body; which

As a flower wet with last night's dew, and then

Warmed with the new Sun, does shake off again <407/408>

All drowsiness and raise his trembling Crown

Which crookedly did languish, and stoop down

To kiss the earth, and panted now to find

Those beams returned, which had not long time shined,

was with this return of my soul sufficiently refreshed. And when I had seen all this, and considered how fitly and proportionally Rome and Hell answered one another, after I had seen a Jesuit turn the Pope out of his Chair in Hell, I suspected that that Order would attempt as much at Rome.

### AN APOLOGY FOR JESUITS

Now it is time to come to the Apology for Jesuits: that is, it is time to leave speaking of them, for he favors them most, which says least of them; Nor can any man, though he had declaimed against them till all the sand of the sea were run through his hour-glass, lack matter to add of their practices. If any man have a

mind to add anything to this Apology, he hath my leave; and I have therefore left room for three or four lines: which is enough for a paradox: and more than Jungius, Scribanus, Gretzerus, Richeomus, Cydonius, [356/357] and all the rest which are used to Apologies, and almost tired with defensive war, are able to employ, if they will write only good things, and true, of the Jesuits. Neither can they comfort themselves with this, That Cato was called to answer four and forty times: for he was so many times acquitted, which both the Parliaments of England

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and France deny of the Jesuits. But if any man think this Apology too short, he may think the whole book an Apology, by this rule of their own. That it is their greatest argument of innocency to be accused by us. At this time, while they are yet somewhat able to do some harm, in some places, let them make much of this Apology. It will come to pass shortly, when as they have been despoiled <408/409> and expelled at Venice, and shaken and fanned in France, so they will be forsaken of other Princes, and then their own weakness will be their Apology, and they will grow harmless out of necessity, and that which Vegetius said of chariots armed with sites and hooks, will be applied to the Jesuits, at first they were a terror, and after a scorn.

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