

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

JOHN DEE AND THE 'SIDNEY GROUP' :
COSMOPOLITICS AND PROTESTANT 'ACTIVISM' IN THE 1570S

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by

Graham Yewbrey, B.A.

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INTRODUCTION

The life and thought of John Dee (1527-1608) have in recent years received considerable attention from historians. His nineteenth-century reputation as a deluded (and deluding) crank has been dispelled and he is seen now as the proponent of an immensely complex system of philosophy which made important contributions to the development of Mathematics, Astronomy, Architecture, Navigation and applied Science. Many claims have been made for the profundity of the influence exerted by Dee and his ideas, both in his own lifetime and after his death, and a great effort has been made to define his 'world picture' by reference to such formulae as 'Neoplatonism', 'Hermeticism', and 'Rosicrucianism', but while these are valid and significant in all sorts of ways, there has been no clear apprehension of the main focus of his system. The predominant impression of Dee is of an enormously erudite, but intellectually insular man, pursuing a tremendously diffuse range of studies which, while they have important implications for the history of science and ideas, do not appear to be organised into a consistent, internally - coherent system, directly relevant to the contemporary world. It is such an incorrect picture of Dee that I wish to rectify.

Dee was born in London in 1527 and, following early education in London and Chelmsford, he attended St. John's College, Cambridge, from 1542 until 1546, after which he became an under-reader in Greek at Trinity College. In mid-1547, he spent a brief period in the Low Countries studying navigation, when he met the cartographer and geographer, Gerard Mercator. In the summer of 1548, Dee enrolled at the University of

Louvain, where he renewed his relationship with Mercator, remaining there until July 1550, apart from visits to Antwerp and Brussels in April and May 1550. After Louvain, he went to Paris, where he delivered what he later claimed were uniquely successful lectures on the mathematical, physical, and Pythagorean aspects of Euclidian Geometry. His fame at this time was such that eminent scholars and philosophers sought his acquaintance. He returned to England in 1551, when he became attached to the households of the Earl of Pembroke and the Duke of Northumberland, and was apparently tutor to the latter's children. He was briefly imprisoned in 1555, accused of unspecified religious offences.

Dee's first major publication appeared in 1558, the Propaedeutic Aphorisms, a work dealing with the theory of Astrology. It contained a long prefatory letter to Mercator, who, Dee claimed, had urged him to write such a book outlining his original ideas whilst he was studying at Louvain. Dee again travelled in Europe in 1563 and 1564, and his second major work, the Monas Hieroglyphica, was published at Antwerp in 1564 with an extensive explanatory Epistle addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian II. This extremely complex book stated, in a highly abstruse manner, the principles of Dee's magical religious philosophy, which was based upon the small symbol of the hieroglyphic monad, and outlined the regenerative effects which Dee hoped it would have upon the culture and society of the Christian world. After the publication of a revised edition of the Aphorisms in 1568, his next important work was the Mathematicall Praeface of 1570, which he wrote for Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements from Greek into English. In this study, he presented a survey

of the mathematical arts and sciences in Elizabethan England in an attempt to popularise and explain the subject for the general reader. This was followed in 1576-7 by the composition of a four-volume work, General and Rare Memorials, of which the first volume The Brytish Monarchie, was published in 1577. The object of this ambitious project was the establishment of a British maritime North Atlantic empire, which would be ruled according to the precepts of Dee's religious philosophy. In the years immediately following this, Dee made repeated attempts to gain support for his schemes until in 1583, in the company of his skryer, or medium, Edward Kelley, he left England for Eastern Europe. He returned in 1589, but this final period of his life before his death in 1608 was one of neglect and of intense disappointment as he sought to regain access to influential patrons.

Thus baldly stated, this is the general course of Dee's life. It provides no indication of the immense energy he expended in the acquisition of knowledge and in the promotion of his schemes. Likewise, it does not reveal the presence of any central organising principle in either his work, or his activities. This thesis will show that there was such a principle. It becomes apparent when Dee is approached in a completely new way as being essentially a political philosopher, a position which can be justified by examination of his principal writings and supported by reference to secondary works. At a very early stage in his career, in the 1540s, he formulated a theory of what I term, adapting his own phraseology, Cosmopolitics. This theory had as its ultimate objective the redemption of the human race through the establishment of a theocratic rule on earth whereby all aspects of the life of

the state and of the individual would be regulated in accordance with the principles of Dee's magical religious philosophy. The observance of divine law at all times would fit mankind for salvation. This system was the focus for the whole range of Dee's diffuse interests and pursuits and its implementation was to be effected within a predetermined 6,000-year timescale of world history. This was drawing to its close when Dee, the prophet uniquely qualified to guide mankind to a state of grace, began his attempts to bring about the fulfilment of his design. The establishment of the theocracy is, therefore, crucially important to the success of Dee's plans and it was to achieve this goal that he directed his main effort. He recognised that the philosophical élite which was to administer affairs of state could not function effectively in the absence of a suitably organised social and economic structure, which a work such as The Brytish Monarchie was intended to provide. It is this vision of eventual redemption achieved through the implementation of a political programme and its attendant socio-economic mechanism which requires that Dee be studied as a political philosopher.

Dee has been the subject of two full-length studies, the first by I.R.F. Calder, John Dee studied as an English Neoplatonist (1), and the other more recently by Peter J. French, John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus (2). He has also figured prominently in the work of Frances A. Yates, especially in Theatre of the World and The Rosicrucian Enlightenment (3). While the merits of Charlotte Fell Smith's pioneering biography, John Dee: 1527-1608 (4), are considerable, Calder's was the first significant attempt at a revaluation of Dee's work and reputation. In his thesis, Calder discusses the Dee

'legend', especially Dee's reputation for necromancy, before analysing what he sees as the reality behind the appearance. He identifies the principal areas of Dee's early interests as Logic, Astronomy, Astrology, Cabala, Mathematics, and 'Mechanics.' The bulk of the thesis is an intellectual biography of Dee. Thus Calder deals with Dee's religious position between 1548 and 1556 when he was apparently suspected of unorthodoxy, and then moves on to consider Dee's scientific work and his interest in Mathematics, both esoteric and applied, between 1558 and 1564. The next stage of his discussion concerns Dee's preoccupations between 1564 and 1583, especially his circle of political contacts amongst whom Calder includes the Earl of Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney, and his connections with those interests seeking to extend English commercial and political influence overseas. This leads directly into the next stage which is an outline of the vast schemes Dee devised in the 1570s and 1580s for the establishment of a British North Atlantic Empire under Elizabeth. Calder then deals with the seances, or angelic conferences, for which Dee came to be chiefly famous, or notorious. He concludes his thesis with a brief chapter on the final years, 1581-1608.

Calder's main achievement was to identify the major areas of importance in Dee's thought and to trace the principal influences upon the development of his ideas. Before treating of Dee proper, he summarises and assesses the major trends in Renaissance metaphysics and science, emphasising what he sees as their basic concern, the achievement of a synthesis of all major philosophical systems. This primarily involved the reconciliation of Aristotle to Plato. Dee is then presented as a syncretist of a type deriving from the Florentine Neoplatonic

Academy of the fifteenth century, the principal members of which were Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494).

After Calder, the second, and more indirect major contribution to the revaluation of Dee proceeds from a reinterpretation of the tradition of learning deriving from the Academy. This involved the development of a detailed reading of what are termed the 'Hermetic tradition' and the 'Ancient Theology', or 'prisca theologia', by which is meant the theological lore of the earliest sages, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, which was contained in a number of supposedly ancient texts, the Hermetica (5), the Orphica (6), the Sibylline Prophecies (7), Oracula Chaldaica (8), and Carminæ Aurea (9). My principal authorities for this redefinition of the Renaissance understanding of the past are Miss Yates' Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, and Professor D.P. Walker's Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella and The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries (10).

My own understanding of the Platonism of the Florentine Academy is that it was one of the three major currents in the early Italian Renaissance, the others being Humanism and Aristotelianism. 'Humanism', deriving from the all-inclusive contemporary phrase 'Studia Humanitatis', was based upon the recovery of the Latin classics and the term denoted essentially a specific intellectual programme which appeared towards the end of the thirteenth century. This programme was educational and cultural with an emphasis upon an ideal of literary elegance to be achieved through imitation of the great Roman

authors, especially Cicero. Emulation of classical style extended to emulation of the ideas of the Latin writers, but interest in philosophical matters was subordinate to that in rhetoric and grammar, and the principal area of philosophical concern was ethics.

Humanism was also in part a reaction against the logic, science, and natural philosophy of the medieval Italian universities. There was a strong religious impulse inherent in the humanist movement which culminated in the Christian Humanism of Erasmus. This move against the medieval Aristotelian learning sprang from an impulse towards a more profound spiritual experience than that which was yielded by the teaching of the universities, yet there developed a humanistic Aristotelianism from the pedagogic and academic traditions of the earlier centuries. This new tradition, concerned basically with logic and method, natural philosophy and metaphysics, appeared in Italy towards the end of the thirteenth century. The central thrust of this development was scientifically rather than theologically orientated, and was stimulated chiefly by Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525) at the University of Padua, the centre of Renaissance science. Here was initiated an appeal from the Aristotelianism of the Schoolmen, with its reliance upon the commentaries and interpretations of Averroes, to the original Aristotle of Stagira. This new Aristotelianism maintained a secular rationalism in which philosophy was studiously divorced from theology, a stance which was intimately identified with the emerging science of nature.

But the sixteenth- and seventeenth- century scientific revolution owed as much, if not more, to the Hermeticism and revived Platonism, or rather Neoplatonism, of the Florentine

Academy and to the metaphysical impulse to an explanation of a regular 'Nature' which these provided. During the second half of the fifteenth century manuscripts of Plato and of the Neoplatonists were brought in from Byzantium to Florence and translated into Latin from their original Greek. Together with these came the Corpus Hermeticum, a collection of texts believed to have been written by an ancient Egyptian sage, Hermes Trismegistus, supposedly a near - contemporary of Moses.

Ficino and Pico were both strongly influenced by the Schoolmen. Ficino had been exposed to medieval philosophy, theology, and medicine, probably as a student at the University of Florence. These influences were even stronger in the case of Pico, who had studied at both Paris and Padua, and who knew intimately many of the original sources of medieval Arabic and Jewish thought. Both men were attracted by the ideas of Plato and the later Neoplatonists such as Plotinus and Porphyry. The Florentine Academy promoted far more profound metaphysical speculation than anything the humanists could claim. This speculation was not a simple explanation of, or commentary on, Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas, but rather a wide - ranging reinterpretation which had tremendous significance for the Renaissance period and beyond.

Ficino believed that there was a fundamental harmony between Platonism and Christianity. This was, of course, a return to the earlier patristic syncretists, particularly, as Ficino acknowledges, to Augustine. But unlike the earlier writers, Ficino sought to unify Platonic with Christian doctrine. The Platonic doctrine is thus raised to a position of near - equal authority with that of divine law. And

Platonism was seen as divinely inspired, with the recovery of the Platonic texts serving to provide an independent confirmation of the truth of the Christian religion in the face of the attacks of scepticism and atheism. Philosophy could not be separated from religion, as it was by the Aristotelians of the Pomponazzi school (and previously by William of Ockham), because both were aspects of the spiritual life, the principal concern of which was the attainment of the highest good. Ficino therefore is a religious philosopher who denies the uniqueness of the Christian revelation. All men at all times naturally desired, and were capable of achieving, the 'summum bonum', the way of salvation. Christianity was but the perfection of this innate desire which was identified by Ficino with knowledge of God and the fulfilment of the soul in infinite goodness and truth. He was led as a result to seek the agreement of all major systems of thought, Hermetic, Platonic, Persian, Aristotelian, with Christianity.

Here the Hermetic texts become of profound importance (11). These writings, dating from the early centuries of the Christian era, and concerned with 'occult' subjects, Astrology, Alchemy, and sympathetic magic, were revered in the Renaissance and sank roots deep into Ficino's religio-philosophical synthesis. This was hardly surprising in view of the discernible elements of Platonism, Stoicism, and Judaism which they contain, their misdating making them seem anticipatory of such apparently later schools of thought. In combination with Neoplatonic metaphysics they produced a formidable movement. The Neoplatonic cosmology provided a framework within which to place the 'Egyptian' religion of the texts with their reliance upon magical practices of such power as to enable man to subordinate

the forces of nature to his own will.

The tradition developing from this fusion of Neoplatonism and Hermeticism was religio-philosophical, depending greatly upon magical elements, and stressing the potential of man to assume a position of dominance in the universe through the manipulation of natural forces. This emphasis led to the close association between Neoplatonic Hermeticism and early science and played a major part in the preparation for the scientific revolution. The early 'scientists' were profoundly religious, regarding the exploration of the world and of Nature as a sacred trust: scientific study was a process of divine revelation.

Ficino, the translator of the Hermetica, was imbued with the Hermetic philosophy and, as recent research has established, with its magic also (12). He attempted to develop a Platonic theology including the Hermetic vision which would revitalise Roman Catholicism; and the dating of Hermes as a near-contemporary of Moses allowed him to claim the Egyptian magus as a prophet of Christianity. His main work, aside from the translations, was the Theologia Platonica, written between 1469 and 1474.

Ficino's close friend Giovanni Pico was immensely influenced by the Hermetic outlook. The work for which he is perhaps best known, the Oratio de hominis dignitate, written in 1487, begins with a quotation from the Hermetic texts on 'the great miracle' of man, and outlines man's divine nature and his power to raise himself to the life of the angels. He then proceeds to discuss the idea of the single fundamental truth unifying all philosophical systems. This syncretism

was the foundation of Pico's thought. The Oration was intended as an introductory speech for a public disputation of 900 Conclusiones, the underlying axiom of which was this principle of the unity of truth. The disputation was to have taken place in January 1487, the Conclusiones having been published in the preceding December, but it was never held owing to the condemnation of a number of the theses as heretical by a papal commission.

Pico greatly extended the range of Ficino's system by adding to it Cabala (13), that Jewish mystical tradition which aimed, as did the Hermetic philosophy, at the achievement of the highest levels of illumination and at the deepest penetration into the divine mysteries. The instruments by which this end was to be reached were the language and letters of Hebrew. These could be used purely as an aid to philosophical contemplation or in the practice of religious magic, 'practical Cabala'. Cabala itself was a tradition of esoteric allegorical interpretation of God's law as revealed in the Bible. Pico believed that this wisdom had first been revealed by God to Moses alone and that it had then been handed down orally and in secret to the present time. Moses was held to have been the author of the Pentateuch, a position accepted by Pico who in 1489 wrote a Cabalist commentary on Genesis in his Heptaplus, or Septiform Narration of the Six Days of Creation. Cabala explained mysteries not fully propounded in Genesis and was thus yet another ancient confirmation of the truth of Christianity, with what has come to be termed 'Christian Cabala' being the reconciliation of Hebrew lore with Christianity and the establishment of an authoritative Hebrew - Christian source of ancient Wisdom. Moreover, Cabala was regarded with

immense reverence because it was the language in which God Himself spoke in Genesis. It therefore contained a profound depth of religious mysticism and also of religious magic because of the power inherent in a divine language.

In the Heptaplus, Pico sought to identify the truths of science and philosophy with Christian doctrine. His cosmology was orthodoxly medieval consisting of three primary worlds or spheres: the corruptible elemental or sublunary terrestrial world; the celestial world of the stars and heavenly bodies; and the supercelestial world of the intelligences or angels. The magus, by the perfection of his mind through philosophy and theology and by the performance of magical operations, could ascend through these spheres. Pico accommodates this system with Neoplatonism and with Christian mysticism and traces it back into Genesis where he claimed to have discovered that Moses included concealed references to the facts of natural science as Pico understood them. Moses had enunciated the opinions of the Greek philosophers on such matters as form and substance before the Greeks actually came to write. He was held by Pico to have anticipated the Platonic idea of man's intermediate position between the physical and spiritual worlds through the notion of man's creation in the image of God. This would also agree with the Hermetic belief in the 'miraculous' nature of man. Nature becomes a model of religious and philosophical truth, actually containing God's goodness, not in any symbolic or metaphysical sense, but in a very real way. So science, philosophy, and religion are all statements of the same fundamental truths.

This grand synthesis formed the basis of the 'Christian Neoplatonic-Hermetic-Cabalist' tradition which developed

through such figures as Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim (1462-1516), Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535), and Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), and in which John Dee is to be firmly placed, Inevitably in view of the enormous research undertaken into the 'Hermetic tradition' since Calder wrote his thesis many of his ideas on the intellectual background from which Dee emerged have been superseded, but the main thrust of his argument, that Dee must be considered in terms of the tradition flowing from the Florentine Academy, remains undisputed. What it is important to do, however, is to re-define Dee's position in this tradition and I attempt to do this in some measure in Chapter VII, which deals with Dee's own notion of descent of the ancient Wisdom down to his own day.

Of those assumptions fundamental to belief in the notion of a pristine Wisdom deriving more or less directly from God in the earliest times, the most important are that there was widespread acceptance of the idea of a genealogy of Wisdom whereby this learning was actually handed down from one sage to another and that, despite omissions, deviations, and distortions, there was a central core of original truth descending from one generation to another. The frequent detailing of long lists of authorities in regard to theological and philosophical opinions that is to be found in many Renaissance writers points to the profound influence which the notion of a genealogy of Wisdom exercised upon the intellectual climate of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Ancient Theology was the work of pagans, but was reconcilable with, and a confirmation of, the truth of Christianity.

Peter French's study of Dee is basically a re-presentation of Calder's material in the context of Miss Yates' work on the Hermetic Tradition. He seeks to interpret Dee as an Hermeticist and to relate his whole life's work to a single unifying Hermetic world-view. While such an approach is valid on the grounds that Dee was consciously working within an inherited tradition in which the Hermetic philosophy held a position of prominence, it fails to indicate the highly critical and discerning bent of mind with which he examined any idea. Dee adopts an individual position within the tradition of the 'prisca theologia', one which French's study does not define at all adequately. Unlike the Florentine Neoplatonists, Dee is deeply interested in applied science, and he practises an extreme form of angel-magic. But he is above all a British philosopher, prophesying and promoting an era of greatness under Elizabeth that is imminent and divinely - ordained. While the 'Hermetic-Mosaic' tradition informs Dee's mental world, the key to his thought is provided by Cosmopolitics, the significance of which has not hitherto been appreciated. It is my personal assessment of his thought, based upon what he himself says about Cosmopolitics, that I wish now to present.

Cosmopolitics is a conglomerate discipline incorporating Geography, Cosmography, Hydrography, Astronomy, Astrology, celestial harmonics, and Cosmology; it is in short the sum of Dee's diffuse philosophical system. It is a study with two main aspects. In the first instance it deals with the nature and constitution of earthly kingdoms in all aspects, geographical and historical, economic and military, as well as political. This connects directly with the second aspect, the

study of all facets of the divine government of the universe, its creation and the principles upon which it was constructed and which control its continued existence. Cosmopolitics is thus a discipline founded on enquiry into all areas of knowledge. It presupposes a universe in which all things are interrelated and inter connected by their each having an allotted place and purpose within a divine scheme. The goal of the cosmopolitical theories is the establishment of a theocracy, which is governed by a philosopher-king or a council of the wise in accordance with the principles of the divine Wisdom expounded by Dee in private and in his writings, especially the highly esoteric Monas Hieroglyphica (14). This World - State is an extension of the Platonic city - state of The Republic and The Laws, and into its constitution Dee incorporates a code of ethics from Cicero's De Officiis. It is possible to see this ideal theocracy in terms of the World Empire of medieval and Renaissance millenarian prophetic traditions. There is strong evidence to suggest a Joachite - type basis to Dee's philosophy of history.

The central figure of this philosophy is the cosmopolitical philosopher or 'Cosmopolites', the citizen of the world, the complete political philosopher, who seeks to relate the principles of God's government of the universe to the government of earthly kingdoms. He is the one chosen to lead humanity to the fulfilment of its divinely appointed destiny in the achievement of the state of grace preparatory to salvation. The word Cosmopolites itself appears to derive from the statement of the Cynic, Diogenes of Sinope, who, when asked from whence he came, replied, 'I am a citizen of the world (κοσμοπολιτης)'.

It is with the detailed analysis of the theory of Cosmopolitics that Part I is principally concerned, while Part II deals with the practical aspects of Dee's attempts to implement his scheme, with particular reference to General and Rare Memorials of 1576-7. This separation of 'theoretical' from 'applied' Cosmopolitics is essential to my reevaluation of Dee because it presents him not merely as a man of ideas, but also as a would-be statesman and man of affairs. This latter was a principal element in his self-image as the Cosmopolites and, as such, it has been almost totally overlooked by previous commentators on his life and work. It relates intimately to what I see as the primary consideration in an evaluation of Dee's thought and of its contemporary significance: that Dee himself is to be understood first and foremost as a political philosopher. While his ultimate objectives were undoubtedly religious, the means he proposed for their realisation were political: the establishment of a theocracy based upon an economic and social order that would ensure not only the prosperity and security of the state, but also its adherence to the precepts of divine law.

Although Cosmopolitics is the focus of Dee's thought, it has also to be seen in relation to an important complementary feature of his world-view, the predetermined pattern which Dee believed he had detected in world history. Chapter I deals with Dee's philosophy of history and sets out a limited reconstruction of his chronology of world history which he believed to have a 6,000 - year timescale and to have the course of its development determined by periodic planetary movements such that the primary epochs in human history coincided with

major conjunctions and other astronomical phenomena. I have presented Dee's philosophy of history at the beginning of my thesis because it provides the framework within which he drew up his life's programme of study and action. He was born mid-way through the final millennium allowed by his scheme at a time particularly auspicious for the future of the human race. The culmination of the world was at hand, and he was its prophet. He saw himself as having access to new and also to hitherto unsuspected Wisdom of the ancient philosophers, which was of absolutely fundamental importance to the establishment of a Christian society of all men. While his astronomical and astrological studies allowed him to plot the future course of human history, they also fired him with a sense of the tremendous urgency of the task confronting him of alerting mankind to prepare for the fulfilment of its destiny.

Although Dee's view of his own historical significance provides some necessary preliminary explanation of the immense energy he expended in the attempt to realise his vision, it is obviously inadequate to talk of cosmopolitical theories without knowing the details of the scheme which he sought to implement. And it was a very detailed and comprehensive system which he had developed. The outline of this scheme is contained in a manuscript, at present in the British Library, which he drew up for Edward Dyer, Philip Sidney's closest friend, in 1570 (15). The importance of this document, slightly damaged in the Cottonian fire, has previously been unnoticed (16). It is a sketch of the contents of a three-volume work written in 1565, the Synopsis Reipublicae Britannicae, which is no longer extant.

The 1570 manuscript of the Synopsis summarises the principles upon which Dee wished the state to be organised and governed. As such, it provides the practical extension of the higher mysteries of his esoteric religious philosophy: the means by which he sought to realise his Christian vision. It is, therefore, of fundamental importance in an assessment of Dee as a philosopher who sought to influence radically the course of events in his own lifetime. In previous studies of Dee, there has been no real sense of a central focus for his work around which all his diffuse interests and activities revolved. I believe that such a focus is provided by Cosmopolitics, the essential core of which is contained in the 1570 Synopsis.

In Chapter II, I describe this manuscript in which Dee asserts that three things are necessary to make Britain famous and prosperous: Virtue, Wealth, and Strength. Virtue he divides into Wisdom, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude. Essentially, the programme of the Synopsis dictates that the state be ruled in accordance with the precepts of divine Wisdom. However, being alive to more practical considerations, Dee also recognises the need for economic prosperity and proposes a series of measures to promote this, including aid to the regions, expansion of overseas trade, and accumulation of foreign exchange. Linked to this aspect of his scheme is the argument that in order to preserve its security, Britain must maintain strong armed forces. In particular, he emphasises the need for a powerful navy, some part of which should be permanently patrolling British territorial waters. This connects directly with Dee's four-volume work of 1576-7, General and Rare Memorials (17), the immediate aim of which

is the creation of such a navy, at first for defence and then for overseas expansion and the realisation of a British North Atlantic Empire.

The 1570 Synopsis is so important in an appreciation and evaluation of Dee because it provides a key to understanding how he incorporated all the diffuse strands of his work within a coherent and coordinated scheme for the realisation of man's historical destiny. This was the goal of his lifetime's effort, and this manuscript contains the outline of the programme he proposed for its achievement. In effect, the Synopsis is a statement of Cosmopolitics. It applies the practical and metaphysical study of earthly kingdoms to the problem of establishing a government in observance of divine law.

Owing to fire damage and also to the enigmatic nature of some of the entries relating to it, Wisdom in the 1570 Synopsis is a difficult concept with which to deal, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that it encompasses the whole range of Dee's religious philosophy. This philosophy, found in its most concentrated form in the Monas, pervades all of Dee's more important works: the 1558 and 1568 editions of the Aphorisms, the Praeface of 1570 (18), and General and Rare Memorials. By far the largest part of Part I is concerned with an analysis of Wisdom in each of these works. It is essential to appreciate that the connection between the Synopsis and Cosmopolitics is complete and that the Wisdom of the former is the sum of a cosmopolitical Wisdom which Dee enunciates in his other writings. Similarly, the other parts of Virtue are present through the whole body of Dee's work.

As I demonstrate in Part I, there is a continuity between each of Dee's major works which is not always fully appreciated, due largely to the difficulty of his more esoteric productions. I do not wish to suggest that Dee's final position is the same as that from which he started, nor that he does not change his mind; rather, there is a series of propositions to which he remains constant and which underlie the whole of his thought. It is these which I seek to identify. After the description of the 1570 Synopsis, Chapter III analyses Cosmopolitics and discusses the nature and role of the Cosmopolites, treating both concepts in terms of Dee's own discussions of the mathematical sciences set out in the Praeface. Chapters IV, V, and VI deal with the nature and the function of Wisdom within Cosmopolitics, as these are defined through the Epistle to Maximilian II, the Monas, the Aphorisms, and the Praeface. As well as being the most complex part of Dee's system, Wisdom is also its most important area, containing that knowledge of divine truth which it was the task of the Cosmopolites to implement. As such, it requires detailed analysis, especially in order to highlight its hitherto unnoticed political aspects. And the Epistle is of additional significance here because it specifies the qualities required in the philosopher-ruler and the rôle which Dee envisaged that this personage should fulfil in the regeneration of Christendom and in the establishment of a system of magical cosmopolitical government. But while the broad outlines of Wisdom may be discerned through study of the Monas and the Aphorisms, it is through analysis of the Praeface that its fundamental precepts are to be established. The Praeface is more than a primer in elementary Mathematics: it is also a defence of the entire tradition of ancient philosophy and religion upon which the cosmopolitical

Wisdom is grounded. Moreover, the consistency with which Dee expounded and developed those basic propositions formulated in the 1540s was, to him, endorsed by the consistency with which the ancient Wisdom had itself been propounded over the centuries. He saw Cosmopolitics as a culmination and fulfilment of the ancient lore, and examination of his sources within the tradition assists in the definition of his political philosophy in which Wisdom and the theory of the philosopher-ruler are assigned a position of supreme authority. The precepts of cosmopolitical Wisdom are in large part identical with the primary elements of the pristine Wisdom descended from the ancient sages.

Chapters VII and VIII are concerned with the historical aspects of Cosmopolitics arising from the discussion of Wisdom and from Dee's theory of the divine plan being worked out through the process of history. The objects of Chapter VII are to define the ancient Wisdom and to determine its importance in shaping Dee's self-image as the Cosmopolites, that is, his certainty of his own predetermined destiny as the prophet of a universal religious reformation. The whole of Dee's motivation springs from his conviction that he was the one, uniquely qualified and chosen by God, who should bring the process of history towards completion through fulfilment of the sacred Wisdom. As heir to the pristine knowledge of the ancients, it was his duty to complete the development of this Wisdom with original work of his own and to secure its realisation in the cosmopolitical theocracy. The latter thus becomes an application to the contemporary world of a theory of the state propounded by earlier philosophers, most notably Plato. Dee's personal destiny and the attendant redemption

of mankind were both to be effected within the 6,000-year timescale of world history and Chapter VIII demonstrates the complementary nature of the historical and the political elements of Cosmopolitics, with particular reference to Dee's self-image and the prophetic structure which he believed he had detected in world history..

The discussion of the historical aspects of Cosmopolitics leads directly into examination of the nature of that theocracy itself which was to be the culmination of the whole system. This is the subject of Chapter IX and, as such, concludes the analysis of theoretical Cosmopolitics. Here the significance of the 1570 Synopsis as the central statement of Dee's political philosophy, coordinating the ideas contained in his other works, becomes evident. The originality of Dee's thought is also demonstrated by the way in which he was prepared to deviate from the authority of his sources and to incorporate material original to himself. The political philosophy marks the point at which Dee sought to apply his ideas to the contemporary world, and it is with his attempts to secure the implementation of his schemes that Part II is concerned. The purpose of this is, firstly, to establish the extent to which his ideas were known to, and acted upon by, contemporaries, and, so, to determine the standing and significance of Dee and Cosmopolitics in the English Renaissance.

The principal focus of attention in Part II is General and Rare Memorials, but it is concerned also with the nature of Dee's relationship with Sir Philip Sidney and those immediately associated with him. To this end, Chapters X and XI are largely introductory. The first deals with Dee and

his patrons: William Cecil, William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke, and the Dudley and Sidney families, as well as with Edward Dyer, his most loyal friend and advocate. It seeks to establish that a considerable part of his patrons' interest in his work was concerned with aspects of Cosmopolitics. Chapter XI deals with the so-called 'Areopagus', a group of courtiers and scholars traditionally supposed to have centred on Sidney. There is evidence that Dee had expectations of active assistance from this quarter, and that he did not receive it was, I suggest, owing to a fundamental disagreement with his cosmopolitical theories, despite their advocacy by Dyer. This is an especially important point because Sidney has been claimed as Dee's principal disciple and the 'Areopagus' as the primary channel for the dissemination of Dee's influence in the English Renaissance (19). Accordingly, the objectives of Chapter XI are to establish whether or not there was such a circle, the 'Sidney group', and if so to determine the nature of its political, religious, and philosophical position.

The terms the 'Sidney group' or 'Sidney circle' presuppose the existence of a courtly set, the membership of which remained fairly constant. It is usually assumed that this set was concerned principally with experiments in poetry and that it espoused Protestant policies in religion and an aggressively anti-Spanish stance in foreign affairs. Sidney's closest friends were Dyer and Fulke Greville and this trio formed the heart of the circle. To them are variously added Edmund Spenser, Gabriel Harvey, Abraham Fraunce, Daniel Rogers, Robert Beale, Thomas Moffett, and a whole host of scholars and lesser courtly figures. Dee and Giordano Bruno have been claimed as tutors to the group (20). The conclusions which I draw are, with

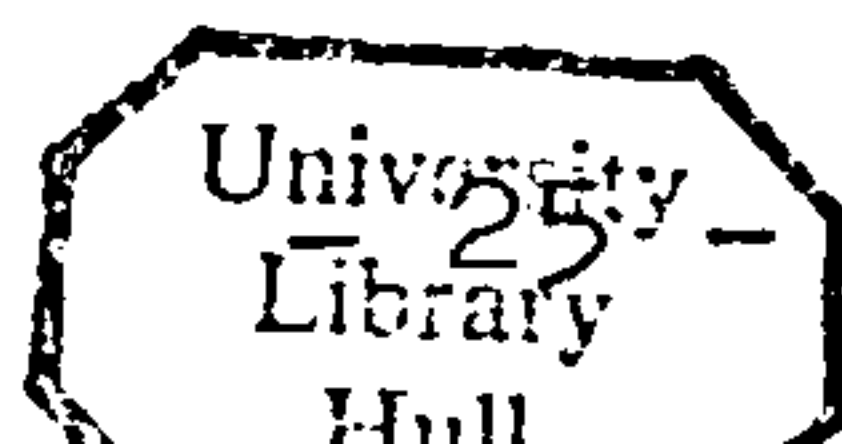
qualifications, that there was a set which can reasonably be referred to as the 'Sidney group', but that this 'circle' was not as homogeneous as has traditionally been supposed and that, by and large, it rejected Dee's ideas, Dyer being a notable exception.

Dee was convinced, partly by his prophetic history and partly by what he saw as extremely favourable developments in the European situation and in maritime affairs, that an age of British imperial preeminence was at hand. This conviction led to his urging in the first volume of General and Rare Memorials, The Brytish Monarchie, the adoption of a programme culled in part from the Synopsis. Although he nowhere makes an explicit statement of his underlying purpose, his real intention in General and Rare Memorials was to lay the foundation for his cosmopolitical theocracy in England and to realise in Elizabeth, whom at this stage he considered a better prospect than Maximilian II, his model of the philosopher - ruler. These ends could only be achieved through his active participation in political affairs, for, although divine powers had engineered the opportunity for their realisation, it remained for the human agency to act on its own behalf.

That Dee failed in this attempt was owing primarily to an absence of powerful sponsorship for his plans. In Chapter XII, I discuss his scheme and the reasons for its lack of success, with particular reference to the 'Sidney circle'. The overall conclusion to be drawn about Dee's cosmopolitical philosophy is that although he managed to interest a number of influential patrons in it, including Elizabeth, none of

them was actually prepared to do much about it. General and Rare Memorials produced little in real terms because those to whom he directed his appeal were either committed to alternative policies or determined not to undermine further an already unstable situation in Europe through promotion of a bold and adventurous design such as that advanced by Dee, the practicability of which was obviously questionable in the extreme, whatever its philosophical credentials.

Despite the arguments that have been advanced by certain scholars for connections between Dee's religious philosophy and militant eirenic Protestantism of the type advanced by Sidney, study of General and Rare Memorials reveals that, in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, Dee was isolated both politically and philosophically (21). His advocacy of extreme and unorthodox ideas in religion, allied to a political scheme which entailed the social, economic, and constitutional restructuring of Britain, led to Dee's being regarded with suspicion and mistrust. The political programme which he proposed lay outside the requirements of British politics and diplomacy in the 1570s. As a would-be statesman and shaper of human destiny, Dee was a failure, and this negative assessment points to the important conclusion that, even allowing for the undoubted range and profundity of his erudition, his ability to determine and direct events was minimal. He never achieved a position of high government responsibility, nor did he manage to secure as a convert a head of state to put his ideas into action. This evaluation of Dee also points to what may have been a narrowness in the compass of the English Renaissance, which tended to exclude radically innovatory schemes such as Dee's, that derived their



inspiration from continental developments. Certainly, the
apparent unwillingness of the 'Areopagus', a focus of the
Renaissance in England, to accept his ideas would seem to
support this position. For contemporaries, Dee remained, in
the final analysis, enormously eclectic and erudite, but also
isolated, deliberately reticent, and, consequently, very
imperfectly understood.

CHAPTER I.

THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

The aims of this chapter are strictly limited, my overall concern being to demonstrate the importance attached by Dee to his philosophy of history both in personal and in universal terms. It provided for him a cosmic setting within which to perform his life's work, and inspired by his sense of mission he devoted himself to a course of intensive study and agitation for the achievement of what he saw as the goals of history. The world, he believed, was to have an existence of about 6,000 years, of which nearly 5,500 had elapsed at the time of his birth in 1527, and, as he believed himself to be the bearer of Wisdom by which a world reformation would be effected, the fairly close proximity of the Final Judgment filled him with a sense of great urgency in carrying through the work of redemption which was his special task. To this end, by the mid-1550s, he had developed a chronology of universal history as a basis for the extraction of an outline of God's plan, which was revealed in the unfolding of the historical process. Dee used the structure of history so detected to project his dream of a world reformation into a prophetic future. Sure in the belief of the verity of his religious philosophy, he was convinced of the inevitability of its realisation by his reading of history.

There were many schemes of universal chronology in the Renaissance period with their authors frequently borrowing heavily from one another, so that their results are nearly indistinguishable, thus making it difficult to determine particular sources used by Dee (1). His library catalogue, drawn up in 1583, shows that he possessed a variety of works

on the subject: Francesco Sansovino's Chronologia del mondo; Giovanni Villani's Historia universalis; Eusebius' Historia ecclesiastica; Lodovico Dolce's Giornale delle historie del mondo; and Gerard Mercator's Chronologia (2). In his catalogue, Dee has marked Mercator's chronology with a Greek delta to indicate its special significance for him: Mercator was one of the foremost scientists of the time and had been a friend of Dee's since 1548 when Dee had studied under him at Louvain. Dee's first published work, the Aphorisms, had been dedicated to him. However, it remains impossible to identify one source or set of sources for Dee's chronological scheme.

There is no known surviving manuscript in which Dee details his chronology. Much of the information relating to it is derived from a work he wrote in 1582, An advice and discourse for her Majestie about the Reformation of the vulgar Julian year, by her Majesties and the right honourable Council their commandment (3), which is concerned largely with his astronomical calculations. This work, the 'Playne Discours', has on its title - page a circular table of Time, beginning with Adam, and containing references to such events as the beginning of the building of Solomon's temple in Anno Mundi 2933 and the birth of Christ in 3962. On this table the world is allowed an existence of something like 6,000 years, which is a commonplace deriving from the equation of one day of Creation with a thousand years in the sight of God (4). The circle is enclosed within a triangle.

Further details of his scheme are found in others of his works. 'A Necessary Advertisement', the preface to The Brytish

Monarchie, is dated 4 July 1577, or AM 5540; while in The Brytish Monarchie itself, which was written in August 1576, Dee notes that 'Minos, king of Crete, did Raigne, about 2860 yeres agoe' (5), that is, AM 2679, and that 'Pericles flourished An. Mundi 3537. About which tyme Plato was borne' (6). These are but incidental pieces of information inserted into the text to provide the reader with a deeper historical perspective, which suggests that Dee was working from a more elaborate scheme of world history. Some further details are contained in a work in which he was a collaborator, John Feild's Ephemeris Anni. 1557, published at London on 12 September 1556 (7). AD 1557 is said to be 3863 years after the beginning of the Flood, which would have begun, therefore, in AM 1656, and AD 1557 itself is equated with AM 5579, making the date of Christ's birth AM 3962. This latter is an important point as it suggests significant agreement between Dee and Feild on a crucial and notoriously contentious issue (8).

Owing to the lack of manuscript evidence it is impossible to determine conclusively whether Dee had himself constructed a universal history or whether he worked mainly from one with which he was familiar and which he had perhaps adapted to suit his particular purposes. An illustration of this problem occurs in his use of a genealogy of the kings of Britain based substantially upon the Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth. There are in the British Library two charters drawn up by Dee to demonstrate his, and Queen Elizabeth's, descent from the earliest British kings, but these do not trace their lineage back to the earliest of these monarchs (9). It is to be supposed that Dee had access to a fully comprehensive,

genealogy, either his own or one which he accepted as essentially reliable, and this can be confirmed by a marginal note made by him in his own copy of Geoffrey's Historia, at present in the College of Arms, referring to a genealogy of the kings of England from Adam (10). Such a genealogy would require to be placed within the framework of an already - evolved universal history and chronology.

There is, then, sufficient evidence to show that, at least since the 1550s, Dee had been studying towards a universal history with an attendant chronology of human history, and while such an undertaking was of necessity highly complex, it must remain an open question as to how detailed his system was.

As for the dating of the construction of this universal history, I believe that Dee had substantially established its outlines by the latter half of the 1550s, as is perhaps indicated by his contribution to Feild's Ephemeris. But my main reasons for thinking this relate to the nature both of his studies under Mercator at Louvain between 1548 and 1550 and of his own work prior to the publication of the first edition of the Aphorisms in 1558. In the 1548-1550 period, Dee had been encouraged by Mercator to develop his theories on Astrology, to which Mercator had referred as Dee's 'New Art', and the years immediately following had been devoted to this end, culminating in the publication of Dee's text book of Astrology, the Aphorisms, first as part of a joint venture and then on its own (11). The Aphorisms are concerned largely with astronomical phenomena and the need for more precise observation. Dee appears to have undertaken an intensive study of Astronomy and Astrology during the early 1550s;

his contribution to Feild's Ephemeris is clearly a part of this programme. And in the 'Playne Discours' he notes:

Diverse other observations I could sett downe of my owne experience made by very great and apt Instruments carefully and circumspectly used. Ao 1553, Ao 1554, Ao 1555, in the presence, and with the Judgement of expert and famous Mathematiciens, Mechaniciens and others (12).

A central feature of Dee's course of studies during these years would have been calculations for the lengths of the years from the beginning of the world based upon the planetary movements during that time. The pattern of these movements was not exact, but allowed minor variations, hence the need for precise and detailed figures. This view is succinctly stated in an undated summary of Dee's 'Playne Discours', attributed to Robert Cecil:

Annus Julianus being rated at 365 dayes and 6 howres is fownd to exceede the solar yeare divers minutes, and yet in diuers ages, diuer(s)ly, for the solar yeare doth not stand at one stay of length of time, any two yeares mixt together, and yet the yearely difference is very small (13).

For Dee, such considerations related to his attempts at constructing a universal astronomical history, a task for which there were important precedents, which he used. In the ninth century, the Arab philosopher Alkindi had constructed a scheme matching significant events in world history with major celestial conjunctions (14). This work had been developed in the thirteenth century by one of Dee's favourite thinkers,

Roger Bacon, a major influence on the 'Playne Discours'. The astrological theories of Alkindi and Bacon are fundamental to the Aphorisms. Therefore, it seems probable that prior to the time of writing the Aphorisms in 1558, Dee had been working on an astronomical, or rather astrological history of the universe. Feild's Ephemeris suggests that he had also been developing a chronology of human history, a necessary complement to the former in the light of Alkindi's theories.

In A Triple Almanack, which he issued in 1591, Dee summarises his projected reform of the calendar and indicates that he saw significant events in human history as happening in conjunction with celestial phenomena; such a scheme has something of a common place in sixteenth - century astrological writings. He notes that Christ was conceived at the sun's entry into Aries and was born on the shortest day of the year when the sun enters Capricorn. That is, Christ was conceived at the beginning of a fiery Trigon, or Triplicity, an astronomically-determined period of 240 years; the fiery Trigon also marked the opening of a great cycle of four complete Trigons, or the whole zodiac, of 960 years, which in Alkindi's scheme related to the appearance of a new religion that would dominate the world for the duration of that great period.

The complexity of such a scheme is readily apparent from this, if not from the 'Playne Discours' itself. This complexity is compounded by the variety of chronometrical systems which could be employed to construct the scheme and is instanced by the problem of the dating of Christ's birth. Although, in the 'Playne Discours', this is given as AM 3962,

if the date of the 'Aduertisement' to The Brytish Monarchie, AD 1577, is subtracted from the equivalent year of the world, AM 5540, the resultant figure, 3963, is the date of Christ's birth. This may or may not have been an inconsistency in Dee's scheme, but it is clear from a system such as Mercator's that a year AD and a year AM could start upon different days, so allowing an overlap of the two. Both dates could then be correct. Further, in the Almanack, Dee remarks that it was 'very expedient' to 'set Christmas upon the shortest day and draw the Kalender back in proportion thereunto'. Thus the measurement of the years since the birth of Christ had fallen increasingly out of alignment.

Dee's historical and chronological scheme, then, begins with Adam, has an astronomical - astrological basis, and appears to have been substantially drawn up during the early part of the 1550s. It is not possible to identify specific sources, especially as Dee is likely to have incorporated a large amount of original work into the finished product, nor to determine precisely the chronometrical system he employed. Similarly, caution needs to be exercised in approaching the question of what pattern, if any, he detected in world history. But propounding the kind of philosophy he did, it is only too likely that he was following some occult interpretation of history.

A 6,000-year time-scale of universal history lent itself easily to the equation in Psalm 90.4 and the second Epistle of Peter 3.8 of one day of Creation with a thousand years. Psalm 90 was attributed to Moses, a figure of profound importance for Dee. This equation could be related to the

famous Talmudic prophecy of Elias. Richard Harvey, in his Astrological Discourse of 1583, in which he refers to Dee as Elizabeth's philosopher, provides a neat summary of this identification: the 6,000-year world history

is originally grounded upon the ancient famous prophecy of Elias, concerning the worlds continuance, foretelling that the same should stand 6000. yeares: 2000 vaine: 2000 ye lawe: 2000 Christ: which together make in all the final number of numbers 6000. yeares (15).

The 6,000-year time-scale for the duration of the world's existence was accepted by many sixteenth-century Protestants, including Luther and Melanchthon. It was also used by Mercator in his Chronologia. Mercator dates the birth of Christ AM 3966 and conveniently has Him die in AM 4000, the end of the fourth millennium and the beginning of the third age of 'Elias', 'Gratia', which succeeds 'Lex' and its predecessor, 'Inane Aevum' (16). It may well be that Dee's work of the early 1550s paralleled that of Mercator who, in the title of his Chronologia, claims to have used astronomical information from all times in the construction of his scheme. In any event, Dee would have been familiar with the prophecies of Elias, although I have come across no explicit reference to them in his writings. He may have incorporated some aspects of this scheme into his system: Christ would have died towards the end of the fourth millennium, but the evidence to support such a suggestion is clearly not strong.

Another, and more likely model for Dee, was some form of Joachite interpretation of history. The 1583 library catalogue

shows that he possessed some Joachite works (17), and again a 6,000-year time-scale would allow an adaptation of the three 'status', that is, states or conditions, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, into a system of universal history (18). This doctrine of the 'status', corrupted by commentators on Joachim into one of three Ages of human history, is structurally similar to the scheme attributed to Elias.

Furthermore, Joachim's interpretation is profoundly numerological, and consequently likely to be of great interest to Dee. Indeed, the Praeface contains a significant reference to Joachim. In the course of outlining his own mathematical philosophy, Dee states:

Part of this profound and diuine Science, had Ioachim the Prophesier atteyned vnto: by Numbers Formall, Naturall, and Rationall, forseynng, concludyng, and forshewyng great particular euent, long before their comming. His bookes yet remainyng, hereof, are good profe: And the noble Earle of Mirandula, (besides that,) a sufficient witnesse: that Ioachim, in his prophesies, proceded by no other way, then by Numbers Formall (19).

Dee never explicitly reveals himself as a Joachite, but there are significant indications that his historical thought was strongly influenced by Joachim and his followers. In this quotation, for instance, Dee clearly sees Joachim as having access to the same mathematical Wisdom as himself and as applying this knowledge to the same ends. Dee, therefore, had read Joachim, whom he regarded as a true prophet of particular

events, and accepted both his method and his conclusions with the qualification that he, Dee, possessed a fuller understanding of mathematical Wisdom than did Joachim (20). He endorses his own opinion by quoting the tenth Mathematical Conclusion of Giovanni Pico, one of the principal influences on his own mathematically-based system. And in the next sentence to that quoted here he translates the eleventh of the Mathematical Conclusions, too:

By Numbers, a way is had, to the searchyng out, and vnderstandyng of euery thyng, hable to be knowen.

This is the key to Dee's ideas and, taken in conjunction with his citation of Joachim and Pico as authorities for a mathematically-orientated method of prophesying future events, implies strongly that Dee had himself developed a prophetic view of the future based upon the kind of method employed, and also possibly the conclusions drawn, by Joachim.

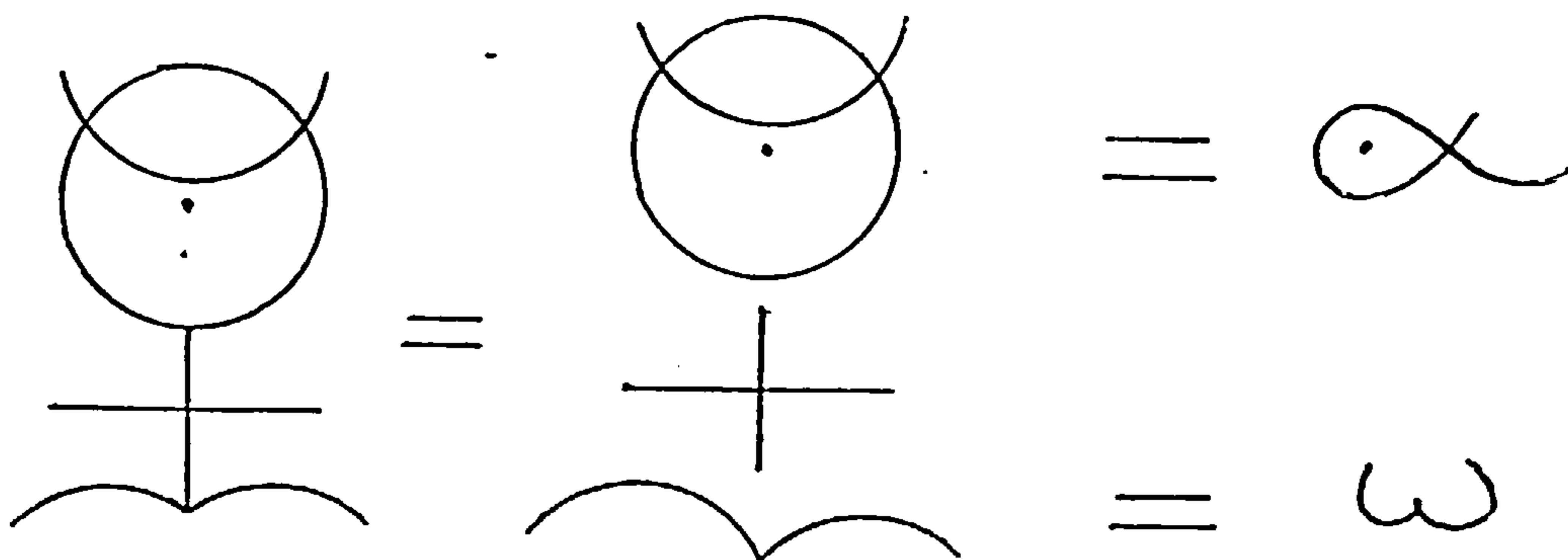
If, then, Dee had developed a prophetic vision of the future using Joachite methods, it is reasonable to suppose that his interpretation of universal history conformed in significant ways to a Joachite scheme. Any version of a prophetic future would thus be a logical projection of such an interpretation. Certainly Dee's conception of the cosmopolitical state that would be established at the end of the world agrees in important particulars with Joachite notions of the establishment of a heaven on earth (21). Humankind would live in a state of cosmopolitical grace, thereby implying the defeat of Antichrist, in preparation for the Final Judgement. This ambition, as envisaged, for example, in General and Rare Memorials, is to be achieved on earth by

the active participation of the human agency in the divine plan.

There are two further points to be made with regard to links between Dee and Joachim. The first of these concerns the use of the triangle. For Dee, this was a figure of immense numerological importance representing symbolically both the triad and the quaternity: this is an extremely complex subject which I shall discuss in Chapter VIII. He used the figure of the Greek delta as his personal monogram, and the triangle, of course, appears prominently on the title-page of the 'Playne Discours' as having some mysterious connection with the circular scheme of history there depicted. Joachim employed the triangle as a conventional symbol of the Trinity, but it also represented for him the pattern of threes through which the work of the Trinity was revealed in history (22). In his diagram in the 'Playne Discours', Dee may have intended an allusion to some such notion.

Joachim also connected the triangle with the top part of the letter A, which he used to refer to one of two coexistent patterns of history, 'Diffinitio A' and 'Diffinitio ω ', the latter being represented by a small Greek Omega. 'Diffinitio A' was based upon the pattern of threes in history, hence the triangle, while 'Diffinitio ω ', in the double O of the Omega, represented an equally important pattern of twos. The use of A and ω is an obvious allusion to God's words, 'I am Alpha and Omega' (23), but by Joachim's ingenious incorporation of them into his figures depicting the pattern of history they are applied in a strikingly visual manner. While there is no explicit connection, and while he never, so far as

I know, uses the Δ to represent the top part of the Λ , Dee also employs the Λ and the ω , albeit a small α , in a figure showing the pattern of history in Theorem. XXII of the Monas (24). Here he takes the tripartite structure of the hieroglyphic monad and, rearranging the parts of the uppermost section, produces a version of α , at the same time as inverting the 'feet' of the figure to produce ω .



There is no immediately obvious connection between Joachim's and Dee's figures here, but there is an interesting parallel in their respective uses of alphabetical symbols. In the Monas, Dee claimed to have invented (or rediscovered) a form of 'hieroglyphic' writing based on the point, the straight line, and the arc, which he hailed as the 'new Cabala', revealing and explaining the innermost mysteries of Creation. His figure of the monad is the prime example of such writing. In view of his approving reference to Joachim's understanding of the mathematical philosophy, upon which the new Cabala was based, it is possible that in a very general way Dee may have regarded Joachim's 'figurae' as being instances of an earlier (and incomplete) form of hieroglyphic writing.

There are, then, several points at which Dee's philosophy of history approaches a Joachite-type scheme: the use of a

6,000-year time-scale; the overall similarity between Dee's and Joachim's visions of the Final Age; and the compatibility of Joachim's 'figurae' to Dee's hieroglyphic writing. These points do not in themselves constitute conclusive evidence that Dee's theories were heavily Joachite, but taken together with his citation of Joachim, and of Pico on Joachim, they imply strongly that a fundamental area of his philosophy of history, dealing with what he saw as a revealed pattern, was derived from Joachite texts and from Joachite mathematical methods of biblical exegesis. The conclusion to be drawn is that Dee's philosophy of history was significantly, but not absolutely, Joachite - inspired, and it may well be that the important imperialist element in Dee's Cosmopolitics should be seen in terms of the Joachite tradition of the apocalyptic World Emperor (25).

Driven by his own convictions, Dee used this kind of scheme as a foundation upon which to erect his system. Calder argues convincingly that Dee had devised an angelically-directed world history (26), now apparently lost. This would accord with the idea of an astrologically-determined world history through the frequent identification of the planets and the fixed stars with the orders of the angels. It is suggested by the influence of Alkindi and Roger Bacon on the Aphorisms, but more direct evidence occurs in the Liber Mysteriorum Primus, dated 1581-2, the earliest of the so-called spiritual conferences. At the end of the first seance, Dee notes that the angel visitant had called himself Annael,

so he also confessed himself to be the same Annael which is prepositus orbis veneris: and

also Chief governor Generall of this great period, as I have Noted in my booke of Famous and rich Discoueries. (27).

Annael is thus associated with Venus and with a 'great period', by which Dee appears to mean the particular period in its history through which the world was passing at the time of writing. Moreover, this information is contained in Famous and Rich Discoveries, written in 1577 during the earlier, pre-seance stage of Dee's angel-magic, and the angelically-determined history to which allusion is made belongs, therefore, to that grand cosmopolitical vision which Dee had been developing since the 1550s and of which General and Rare Memorials is a major statement. The 'great period' to which he refers is possibly that of the watery Trigon of Pisces, due to end in 1583 and to be succeeded by a new cycle initiated by the fiery Trigon of Aries (28).

The importance to Dee of such a philosophy of history is profound. Principally, it supplied him with a timetable of human destiny, the temporal framework that shaped the development of the programme of study and action which he set himself. His earliest significant independent studies, which he undertook at the end of the 1540s and in the early 1550s, concerned Astrology and a universal history and chronology. The latter provided the foundation of much of his later work and gave him the context within which his cosmopolitical theories, the key to his whole system, were to be developed. His persuasion that the Final Judgement was fast approaching explains the urgency with which he sought to implement his grand design for world reformation

through such works as General and Rare Memorials. The historical process had as its culmination the establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy, and it was his personal destiny to promote this World-State which he projected into the future on the basis of a prophetic history. The nature and constitution of his theocracy he set out in the Synopsis Reipublicae Britannicae.

SYNOPSIS REIPUBLICAE BRITANNICAE

The Synopsis is, so far as is known, a lost work. Dee refers to it twice in lists of his unpublished manuscripts, in the Compendious Rehearsall and the Discourse Apologeticall, both written in 1592, where he merely notes that it was written in 1565, in English (1). There is a third and more revealing reference to it in The Brytish Monarchie, where Dee, to preserve a flimsy anonymity, writes under an assumed persona as 'the mechanicien' who is simply the communicator of the ideas of another person referred to as 'the philosopher', again Dee himself. Addressing Christopher Hatton, to whom The Brytish Monarchie is dedicated, Dee advises of the advantages for the security of the realm that would arise from the creation of a strong navy, some part of which should be kept permanently patrolling British territorial waters. Such a navy would deter foreign powers from hostile acts against Britain and could also be used to subdue domestic rebellion.

But, such matter as this, I iudge you haue, or mought haue hard of, ere now, (by the worshipfull M. Dyer,) and that abundantly: Seeing, Synopsis Reipub. Britannicae, was, at his Request (six yer'es past) contriued:

As, by the Methodicall Author thereof, I vnderstand (2).

E.G.R. Taylor was the first of Dee's modern commentators to draw attention to this mention of the Synopsis, and her judgement of it was accepted by Calder (3). Taylor sees this remark of Dee's in The Brytish Monarchie as relating to an earlier passage in the same work where Dee, again

addressing Hatton, describes how he was first made aware in the summer of 1576 of the preparations then under weigh for Frobisher's first voyage to the North-west. Some three or four months before August 1576, the time of writing, a merchant, Michael Lok, had begun organising the expedition, and not long after this Sir Humphrey Gilbert's tract, Discourse of a Discouery for a New Passage to Cataia, appeared in print with a preface by George Gascoigne:

In the epistle of which little book, no small pece of Credit (for the Attempt to be liked of) was ascribed to M. Dee his Iudge-ment, (as, there, is to be sene), set down, in his Mathematicall Praeface, with the English Euclide, published: so it came to pas, that it was his wurshipfull freend (M. Edward Dyer) his fortune, First, to Aduertise him (as he told me) both of the sayd book, by the Title therof: and of his Name, in the foresayd Epistle (to good purpose) vsed. Whereupon, he, calling to Remembrance his old Atlantical Discourses, to the self same purpose (at the sayd M. Dyer his request) almost ten yeres sins, set down in writyng:

Dee thereupon revised the views in the 'old Atlantical Discourses' and made a new collection of ideas for the projected voyage by Frobisher (4).

Taylor speaks of the 'Atlantical Discourses' and the Synopsis as being the same work. She points out that the Synopsis, in Dee's own list of manuscripts, is dated 1565,

although the reference in The Brytish Monarchie states clearly that the Synopsis was drawn up for Dyer in 1570. I believe Taylor's identification of these two works to be erroneous. Either Dee, normally scrupulous over such matters, has made a mistake with his dating, or these are two different works. The 'Atlantickall Discourses' on Dee's reckoning are dated 1566. The suspicion that these are in fact two quite separate works can be confirmed by briefly contrasting the subject - matter of each: the 'Atlantickall Discourses' are clearly concerned with geographical considerations of the location of the North-west Passage; the Synopsis on the other hand deals with the defence and security of the realm by means of a strong, permanently-patrolling navy.

This, then, is the present, rather confused state of knowledge of Dee's Synopsis, but some of the confusion can now be dispelled by consideration of that charter of Dee's, dated 1570, to which I referred in my Introduction. The significance of this manuscript has been completely overlooked: Calder does not mention it at all, and French relegates it to a footnote (5). Its importance is discernible from an entry in the bottom left-hand corner, where Dee has written:

Brytannicae Reipub. Synopsis: libris explicata tribus. Synopseos Adumbratio a Joanne Dee.L.designata. Ao. 1570 (6).

This note makes it clear that the 1570 manuscript is a sketch of the earlier Synopsis: it is only 'adumbratio', an outline, of a work which already existed in three volumes. And, as such, it must be that version which, according to The Brytish Monarchie, was requested by Dyer. *If we accept* Dee's dating, and

there is no reason not to, the original Synopsis was written in 1565, the year after the Monas and the year before the 'Atlantical Discourses'.

I believe that the 1570 Synopsis contains the essentials of Dee's cosmopolitical theories and constitutes the model for his cosmopolitical state. It provides a practical and metaphysical basis upon which to prepare for the culmination of the universal historical process through the foundation of the cosmopolitical state. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the 1570 Synopsis and to make suggestions for connections between the material contained in it and Dee's principal works. The next chapter will be concerned to define Cosmopolitics and to demonstrate its connections with the Synopsis. In the chapters following, these will be related to the whole corpus of Dee's thought to demonstrate that Cosmopolitics is the fulfilment of that vision of human destiny set out in Chapter I and that all of Dee's major works share a common philosophical basis in which Cosmopolitics is the cohesive discipline.

The 1570 Synopsis is set out in a bracketed, dialectical form similar to that of the 'Groundplat' of the Praeface (7):

Wisedome
Per me, Reges regnant

Justice
Omnis sapiens est, Iustus

Fortitude
Omnis Iustus est Fortis

Temperance
Omnis Fortis est Temperans

Virtue
Sola virtus
vitam efficit
Beatam

To make this
Kingdome
flourishing, Triumphant
famous, and Blessed;
of necessitie int,
are required
these three
principall
things

Welth
Nihil est utile
quod non sit
Honestum

Strength
Vis, Consilii experts
mole ruit sua

B.L. Cotton Charter XIII, art. 39 :

the principall brackets

As the Synopsis is a work in three volumes, it is likely that each volume dealt with one of these subjects, Wisdom, Wealth, and Strength. The material presented below comes from the principal brackets shown on the diagram, and seen from top to bottom, the scheme of the charter proceeds from the highest questions of state to the most basic considerations of defence and security. The top part of the bracket leading from Wisdom has been destroyed by fire and only the lower part, 'Secondly in all Subjects', remains; this is divided into 'Students' and 'Vulgar', but again the first part is lost. The Vulgar are those

Whose Capacitie, Talent or Industrie if it will not give them wisdome profownd: yet the next [bes]t to wisdome, must they be carefull for to haue, which is Prudencye.

However, damage to the manuscript, and the obscurity of Dee's expression, make it impossible to ascertain the meaning of this section.

By the motto, 'Per me, Reges regnant', Dee indicates that Wisdom is, or should be, the guide of kings, and the missing top part of the manuscript was undoubtedly concerned with the direction of affairs of state by reference to the highest religious truths of his system. The necessity for the ruler to govern in accordance with divine verity is a main subject of the Epistle to Maximilian II which prefaces the Monas. The close proximity in time of the Monas to the Synopsis suggests that the works are closely related in subject, and the idea of the philosopher-king is of fundamental importance in Dee's cosmopolitical theories and it lies behind all his approaches to European rulers for patronage of his schemes.

Justice, naturally enough, deals with Law, but in the accompanying motto it is difficult to know by what term Dee intended 'Iustus' to be translated: 'just', 'lawful', 'righteous', or a compound of all three. From his definition of Justice in the Praeface the latter alternative would appear to be what he had in mind (8). But whatever the precise translation, 'All that is wise is just', as is shown through the Wisdom and Prudence entailed by 'Ordayning-Keping-Iudging according to: laws Iust'. Here he introduces another dichotomy dividing 'laws Iust' into those 'Toward God - which conteyne True Religion' and those 'Toward Man: In: Causes Spirituall - Causes Temporall'. All these laws ought

1. To be Ordred to gather in a Body Methodicall: and not to be a confused Chaos (and Worse) as they are

2. Most playnely, perfectly and fully to be written and published in the English and Latyn tung, at the least: But, and if you will, in pure frenche also

3. (In former Order, and Language consummated) to be, by Parliament Authorized and euery new nedefull Law, made, methodically to be annexed; in due Language, and in apt place be.

Then follows Fortitude, 'By which, men or the Common-wealthes [L]ike, (in Iustice and veritie [] will with Confidence, Magnificency, con[]incy and Patience atchieve (discreatly and circumspectly) and worthy enterprise'. Fortitude, he concludes, is a virtue especially required in 'a Diuine: a Philosopher: a Magistrate: a Soldier. &c'. Temperance 'is the necessary, decent, and lawfull vsing of meat, drink,

apparayle, wordes, and gesture of the body in all places and at all tymes: &c'. Dee has underlined 'apparayle' and 'wordes' and inserted a small 'b' above the former and a small 'a' above the latter, evidently indicating some order of preference.

Dee's views on the importance of Virtue for the blessed life are fairly clear, if a little cryptic. The virtues themselves are linked together in a scheme which I shall argue is derived from an amalgamation of Plato and Cicero. His injunctions apply as much to rulers as to the humblest mortals, but in his desire for affairs to be directed by Wisdom he addresses himself to the prince as philosopher-king. And the Wisdom in question is the esoteric lore of the Aphorisms, the Monas, and the Praeface. 'Wisdome profound' encompasses the highest truths of philosophy and theology and contains the absolute values in accordance with which the cosmopolitical state is to be governed.'

The middle section of the scheme, Wealth, is the most detailed. This deals with the domestic economy and with foreign trade. Wealth 'Chiefly groweth or may growe' either 'By the Naturall Commodities of this Land well Knowne, and in the best sort vsed' or 'By things [ne]cessary, (with the most advantag[es] from forrayn places brought in'. The first of these options, domestic production, Dee says should be used to meet British needs and whatever surplus remains should be exported. With reference to domestic demand, Dee concerns himself particularly with lead and tin production and with the wool and cloth industries. He wants an all-round improvement in the quality of metals and in the standard of manufactures, and an increase of at least a

quarter in wool production to relieve poverty and to restore decayed towns. He also wants a closer and better management of 'All our other smaller Commodities'. He is very concerned to prevent such practices as the sale of cloth that has not been finished and dyed in England. Whatever surplus might arise in domestic production must be exported for maximum profit. He here includes a table listing those countries with which Britain should trade; the bottom part of this table links up with the second of the options mentioned above, that of dealing with foreign imports. The table is unfinished because there are blank spaces below the name of each country which it was presumably intended should be filled with lists of the commodities to be traded with Britain. The countries Dee mentions are Flanders and the Low Countries, France, Spain, Portugal, Danzig, Russia, the Levant, Alexandria, 'Cambaln', 'Quinsai'. He has also written 'Catay' and 'Cathay', both of which he has subsequently crossed through. There is no immediately obvious political or geographical basis to this scheme.

Across the beginning of the table he has written, 'Custome Royall. Reddite Caesari quae - sunt Caesaris', 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's'. Dee then goes on to outline some considerations which he thinks it necessary for merchants to have constantly in mind. He deals with exchange rates, profit-making, the balance of trade: his goal is 'to make England both abroad and at home to be Lord and ruler of the Exchange. The chief Commoditie hereof, is, by dealing herein, with the forayner'. The unsettled nature of the times, he notes, is a great hinderance to the realization of this ambition. As I shall show in Chapter IX, many of

these ideas are to be found in the Praeface.

The third section, Strength, deals with military and naval organisation, and 'consisteth in the necessary multitude (well ordered) of these things following', which he divides into things 'Either Moveable' and things 'having a stayed situation'. He sorts the moveables into 'Lyving' and 'Vnlyving'. The first of these consists of two groups, men and beasts. The former should be well-trained and well-armed; the latter 'Wel Taught and exercised'. The 'Vnlyving' category contains materials and equipment for use at sea and on land; in the first of these categories are found some important late additions to the manuscript. Dee distinguishes sailed ships from oared vessels. The ships he divides into two sorts, 'Royall' and 'Marchant'. At some time after the date of composition of this charter, Dee has added the following to the 'Royal' type concerning the provision of a defensive naval screen:

In contynuall course and orderly Garding 4 principall quarters of this isle sowetheast, sowetheast: Northeast; Northwest. &c. with no charge to the Queene, than [] by the easy burden and with the great good will of all her true subjects the commodity and nede-full Occasion will so persuade.

25 ordinary

7
6
6
6

50

25 extraordinary

To be used as commonly hitherto they have byn used

In Chapter XII, I shall argue that this scheme is essentially the same as that deployed in The Brytish Monarchie, in which case it is possible that the addition was made about 1576. An indication that this may have been the case is an alteration in the opening bracket, 'To make this Kingdome flourishing', where Dee has underlined 'Kingdome' and inserted above it the words 'Brytish Monarchy'. Also, at the top of the first bracket of Wealth, 'By the Naturall Commodities of this Land', 'Land' has been crossed through and 'monarchy' inserted above. It would seem, therefore, that Dee had the title of the first volume of General and Rare Memorials in mind when making his additions to the manuscript. There are other insertions. The category 'on land' in the section on Strength lists equipment and provisions necessary for an army on the move. Dee sorts things with a 'stayed situation' into those appertaining to an army and to a navy. Defensive positions on land are either naturally strong, or are made strong 'artificially'. To this he has added:

When both Nature and Arte are thus concurrent,
than do those Places become easily made
Impregnable,...

He continues: in the case of a navy, safe anchorages are required for a navy to ride out storms or to be safe from an enemy attack:

And such are very good Hauens, Portes, Bayes,
Rodes, Harboroughs &c: either by Nature
offred vs-or by mans Pollicy prepared-or by
good aduise restored: and duely maynteyned.

The Synopsis, therefore, correlates the whole range of Dee's multi-disciplinary learning, from philosophy and

theology, to economics, military theory, and applied science, and represents the point at which he draws all the diverse elements of his system together and relates them to a single, central plan. The prospect of trade with China brings in also the search for the North-west Passage, the subject of the 1566, 'Atlantick Discourses'. Although it is a work with immediate applicability to Britain, the Synopsis contains the fundamental universal principles of his Cosmopolitics and constitutes the model for the cosmopolitical state. It is Dee's plan for Britain as it should be, but its significance for other European countries cannot be ignored: the duty of the ruler to govern in accordance with the precepts of divine Wisdom is universally binding and the heavily patriotic elements in the Synopsis, such as making England lord of the Exchange, should not obscure this point.

However, this begs the question of the nature of the international arrangement which Dee saw as being necessary for the achievement of a cosmopolitical Europe. His appeals for patronage were addressed to a variety of rulers, including Maximilian II, Rudolph II, and Elizabeth, during the course of his career, as if he was seeking a simultaneous introduction of his ideas in England and the Holy Roman Empire. He may have envisaged a kind of European 'federation' of philosopher-rulers. Certainly, he wrote the original Synopsis in the year after he had written the Monas and dedicated it to Maximilian II, and he continued to press his schemes both in Europe and in England during the 1570s and 1580s through the 1570 Synopsis, General and Rare Memorials and the Monas again. The dominant cosmopolitical Wisdom, a compound of ancient lore derived from, amongst others, Moses,

Plato, and Cicero, as well as Dee's own ideas, is common to all these works and provides the basis of all his attempts to seek patronage. But the idea of a federation is not entirely satisfactory because it implies the absence of a single overall political authority in Europe, and Dee's political theory is implicitly autocratic. It implies also that a British North Atlantic Empire under Elizabeth could coexist on equal terms with a European Empire ruled by the Habsburgs. It is not inconceivable that Dee may have considered this to have been a possibility, but it is a position at odds with the broad thrust of his thought in which all things within the cosmos were conceived of as moving towards an harmonious interrelationship with each other under the supreme authority of God, a condition which was to be reproduced in the terrestrial sphere by the unification of mankind within a comopolitical theocratic system governed in accordance with a single set of religious truths.

While Dee may have had some kind of federal arrangement in mind, there is another alternative which should also be considered. This arises in connection with his astrologically-determined world history. Dee was committed for a long time to a politico-philosophical system that was internally consistent and coherent, that depended very heavily upon numerology, and that indicated the year 1583 and everything associated with it as crucial and, as perhaps initiating a new, and possibly final, age in the history of the world. Although he had the prophetic ability to foresee the course of future events, he could not foretell which temporal power would come to dominate Europe, because it fell to the human agency to act on its own behalf to seize the opportu-

nities presented to it at astrologically momentous moments, opportunities of which it may not have been aware. Dee appears to have believed that a recurrent opportunity for one European power to assume the leadership of Christendom existed during the 1560s, the 1570s, and the 1580s, and that it was his duty to draw this to the attention of those rulers fit and able to take advantage of it, namely Maximilian, Rudolph, and Elizabeth. On this interpretation Dee seems to have regarded either of the houses of Habsburg or Tudor as being in a position to achieve supremacy within Europe because, as the religious philosopher uniquely qualified to advise on the magical religion by reference to which the world was to be run, he sought with equal vigour to interest each of them in his schemes(9). But whichever power became supreme, its actions and policies were to be shaped and guided by Cosmopolitics and it is to the definition of these, and their connections with Dee's other works, including the 1570 Synopsis, that I now turn.

CHAPTER III

COSMOPOLITICS

The primary objectives of this chapter are to provide an introductory definition of Cosmopolitics, which must of necessity be very general, and to demonstrate the tremendous scope of the learning required by the cosmopolitical philosopher, the Cosmopolites. Dee's major works, the Aphorisms of 1558, the Monas of 1564, the Praeface of 1570, and General and Rare Memorials of 1576-7, are all deeply rooted in Cosmopolitics and it is a fundamental aim of Part I of this thesis to show that Cosmopolitics informs the whole corpus of his thought. I shall formulate initial definitions of Cosmopolitics and of the Cosmopolites through analysis of two key statements relating to them in The Brytish Monarchie and the Aphorisms and then, in Chapter IV, I shall enlarge upon these definitions by examining the Epistle to Maximilian II, which prefaces the Monas. In the course of this process, I shall outline briefly the character and range of Dee's major intellectual preoccupations and indicate how his principal writings and the main areas of his thought are connected with the concepts of Cosmopolitics and the Cosmopolites. In Chapter IV, I shall examine the nature and function of Wisdom, the most important and complex area of Cosmopolitics, particularly in relation to Dee's theory of the philosopher-ruler, a central figure in his overall design. In subsequent chapters, I shall analyse Wisdom in detail in order to show that it comprises a set of principles which run through, and lend consistency to, the entire body of his thought. I will conclude this analysis in Chapter IX by demonstrating that the 1570 Synopsis is a fundamental statement

of Cosmopolitics; that it contains the model of the cosmopolitical state, and that it draws together all Dee's diffuse interests, integrating them within a single, internally-coherent system.

The first of the two key statements, that taken from The Brytish Monarchie, is the most helpful in arriving at an accurate definition of Cosmopolitics and of the Cosmopolites. Dee, speaking in the third person, recounts his long interest in the study of earthly governments:

I haue oftentymes, (sayd He,) and many wayes looked into the State of Earthly Kingdoms, Generally, the whole World ouer: (as far, as it may, yet, be known to Christen Men, commonly:) being a Study, of no great Difficulty: But, rather, a purpose, somewhat answerable, to a perfect Cosmographer: to fynde hymself, Cosmopolites: A Cõtizen, and Member, of the whole and only one Mystical City Vniuersall: And so, consequently, to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall Gouvernment therof, vnder the King Almighty: (1)

The Cosmopolites and the Cosmographer have as a common goal citizenship of the universal city, cosmos here meaning the entire created order rather than merely the world.

Cosmopolitics is a dual study. In the first instance it is concerned with the state of earthly kingdoms. This is a study of government and politics in the broadest possible sense, involving all aspects of the organisation of the state. In the second instance, it applies the knowledge so gained

to the study of God's government of the universe, comprehension of which results in 'citizenship' of the cosmos, although precisely what such citizenship involves is not stated. The Cosmopolites is, therefore, a universal figure; he is the complete political philosopher.

Dee's outline of Cosmography in the Fraeface, where it is presented as a descriptive science, is central to any definition of Cosmopolitics. It occurs after discussions of Perspective, Astronomy, Music, and before Astrology:

Cosmographie, is the whole and perfect description of the heauenly, and also elementall parte of the world, and their homologall application, and mutuall collation necessarie. This Art, requireth Astronomie, Geographie, Hydrographie and Musike.... [It] matcheth Heauen, and the Earth, in one frame, and aptly applieth all parts Correspondent: So, as, the Heauenly Globe, may (in practise) be duely described upon the Geographicall, and Hydrographicall Globe. And there, for vs to consider an Aequinoctiall Circle, an Ecliptike line, Colures, Poles, Sterres in their true longitudes, latitudes, Declinations, and Verticalitie: also Climes, and Parallels: and by an Horizon annexed, and reuolution of the earthly Globe (as the Heauen is, by the Primouant, caried about in 24.aequall Houres) to learne the Risings and Settinges of Sterres... a thing necessary, for due manuring of the earth, for Nauigation,

for the Alteration of mans body: being, whole, Sicke, or wounded, or brused. By the Reuolution, also, or mouing of the Globe Cosmographicall, the Rising and Setting of the Sonne: the Lengthes, of dayes and nightes: the Howres and times... are knowne: with very many other pleasant and necessary vses: whereof, some are knowne: but better remaine, for such to know and vse: who of a sparke of true fire can make a wonderfull bonfire, by applying of due matter, duely (2).

Cosmography contains the majority of those disciplines essential to Cosmopolitics, and Dee connects it with the whole range of mathematical arts and sciences outlined in the Praeface. The interconnections thus established run through the whole corpus of his work.

In the 'Groundplat' of the Praeface, Dee gives concise definitions of these mathematical arts and sciences, all of which he shows to be coherently developed and interrelated. Astronomy 'demonstrateth the Distances, Magnitudes, and all Naturall motions, Appearances, and Passions, propre to the Planets and fixed Starres: for any tyme, past, present, and to come: in respecte of a certaine Horizon or without respecte of any Horizon'. Geography is the description of land masses, and Hydrography of bodies of water, while Music 'demonstrateth by reason, and teacheth by sense, perfectly to iudge and order the diuersitie of Soundes, hie or low'. In the Praeface itself, Music is compared with Astronomy:

As Astronomie hath a more divine Contemplation, and commodity, the mortall eye can perceiue: So, is Musike to be considered, that

the Minde may be preferred, before the eare. Dee considers that 'a certaine Meane, and Harmonious Spirituality' binds the 'Intellectual and Mental part' of man with his 'grosse & corruptible body', but he fears that he would come under severe attack if he were to explain the mysterious and marvellous effects that could be produced through Music (3). These arts are all basic to Cosmography, which is effectively the study of the physical universe, of its parts, and of the forces giving it wholeness and coherence. The Cosmographer is one who describes Creation, even to its innermost secrets.

The distinction which Dee makes between the heavenly and the elemental is cognate with the distinction between the 'formal' or supercelestial sphere and the 'material' or corruptible sublunary sphere found in the fusion of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic cosmology promoted by, amongst others, Giovanni Pico. By referring specifically to this distinction, Dee indicates that Cosmography embraces all levels of the created universe, from God and the highest angelic orders to the most humble object in the terrestrial sphere. This theme is further developed through the notion of 'matching' heaven and earth, such that the parts of the earth in some way have counterparts in the heavens. This correspondence of heaven and earth is important in Dee's astrological theories. The correlation is extended to include the human body because he claims that the movements of the heavenly bodies must be taken into account when the body is wounded, sick or bruised. This entails an astrological element in Dee's medical theory, no doubt derived in part from the large number of Paracelsan works he

possessed (4), and anticipates the section in the Praeface dealing with Anthropography:

ANTHROPOGRAPHIE, is the description of the Number, Measure, Waight, figure, Situation, and colour of euery diuerse thing, conteyned in the perfect body of Man: with certain knowledge of the Symmetrie, figure, waight, Characterization, and due locall motion, of any parcell of the sayd body, assigned, and of Numbers, to the sayd parcell appertainyng.

Dee draws an analogy between Anthropography and Cosmography: just as Cosmography, 'the Description of the whole and vniuersall frame of the world', draws together and matches Geography and Astronomy, so Anthropography, the art dealing with the 'Lesse World' of man, combines the study of the human body with that of the human spirit which 'participateth with Spirits, and Angels: and is made the Image and similitude of God' (5). He uses the conventional Microcosm-Macrocosm analogy to relate the harmony he found in the cosmos to that which he claimed for the individual man. This interest in the cosmic and the individual reflects the emphasis placed upon each in the 1570 Synopsis. His sources for his theories of Anthropography are plainly stated in the Praeface at this point: Durer's De symmetria humani corporis, Vitruvius' De architectura, and Cornelius Agrippa's De occulta philosophia (6).

Dee's emphasis upon Number, Measure, and Weight alludes directly to the words attributed to Solomon, that God arranged all things by measure, number, and weight, which

were absolutely fundamental to the tradition of Pythagorean, Platonic, Neoplatonic, and Cabalist numerology within which Dee worked (7). The importance of Mathematics in his understanding of Cosmography, its related disciplines, and therefore of Cosmopolitics also, is thus quite clear.

Astronomy figures significantly in the discussion of Cosmography and is introduced into Anthropography through the Microcosm-Macrocosm analogy and through the citation of Agrippa's De occulta philosophia, where the signs of the zodiac and of the planets are linked to the human body. This latter also introduces Astrology. The sections on Astronomy and Astrology in the Praeface derive from the Aphorisms and look back to the time when Dee was a student of Mercator's at Louvain. As has been seen from the 'Ground-plat', Astronomy greatly interests Dee in connection with Time. By Astronomy,

we may haue the distinct Course of Times, dayes, yeares, and Ages: as well for Consideration of Sacred Prophecies accomplished in due time, foretold: as for high Mystically Solemnities holding: And for all other humane affairs, Conditions, and couenantes, vpon certaine time, betwene man and man: with many other great vses: Wherin, (verely), would be great incertainty, Confusion, vntruth, and brutish Barbarousnes: without the wonderfull diligence and skill of this Arte: continually learning and determining Times, and periodes of Time, by the Record of the heauenly booke, wherin all times are

written: and to be read with an Astronom-
icall staffe, in stede of a festue (8).

Thus the course of history can be traced through As-
tronomy, as can the working out of prophetic schemes; this
is very much the approach of Mercator, and it also suggests
Alkindi. Religious festivals are to be determined astronom-
ically (9). Here again is evident Dee's concern with
prophecy and history, sacred prophecies being obviously
biblical. The span of the history of the world is regulated
astronomically and God, through the words of His prophets,
has given man knowledge of his destiny. The leaning towards
a prophetic, astrological vision of history is here very
strong.

Time is to be an instrument of stability in human
affairs. He repeats what he says in the 'Groundplat' that
all times and periods of times, including the future, are
recorded and measured in the heavens. The heavens are a book
with a beginning and an end, and can be read with an astro-
nomical staff, which he likens to the small pointer used by
a teacher to point out letters to a child learning to read.
As he records in the 'Playne Discours', he undertook his
own reading of the heavenly book in the early 1550s, one
result of this study being his contribution to Feild's
Ephemeris. It was in that period of preparatory work for
the Aphorisms that he formed his astronomical theory, re-
lating it to both history and prophecy, developing earlier
ideas into a fuller cosmopolitical perspective.

Dee was already a geographer of considerable standing
by the 1550s (10), and this, with his knowledge of Astronomy,

made him a cosmographer of stature sufficient to consider himself Cosmopolites. This cosmopolitical Cosmology lies at the heart of the astrological theory of the Aphorisms, and, in the Praeface, Dee includes it with Perspective, Astronomy, the natural philosophy of the four elements, the art of Graduation, Music, and 'Statike', the science of weights, in his list of those mathematical disciplines requisite to Astrology (11). He makes clear that his definition of Astrology in the Praeface derives directly from the Aphorisms.

According to the 'Groundplat', Astrology 'reasonably demonstrateth the operations and effectes of the naturall beames of light, and secrete Influences of the Planets, and fixed Starres, in euery Element and Elementall body: of all times, in any Horizon assigned'. In his discussion in the Praeface itself, Dee alludes to his anthropographical theories:

We, also, daily may perceave, That mans body, and all other Elementall bodies, are altered, disposed, ordred, pleased, and displeased, by the Influentiall working of the Sunne, Mone, and other Starres and Planets.

He cites the magnet and the ebb and flow of rivers and the sea as other examples of his meaning. Astrology has a divine sanction because it reveals the glory of God, who in His wisdom created the heavens.

Dee introduces the Aphorisms as the best book on Astrology known to him:

And in my Propaedumes (besides other matter there disclosed) i haue Mathematically furnished

vp the whole Method: To this our age, not so carefully handled by any, that euer I saw, or heard of. I was, (for 21. yeares ago) by certaine earnest disputations, of the Learned Gerardus Mercator, and Antonius Gogaua, (and other,) thereto so prouoked: and (by my constant and inuincible zeale to the veritie) in obseruations of Heauenly Influencies (to the Minute of time,) than so diligent: And chiefly by the Supernaturall influence, from the Starre of Iacob so directed: That any Modest and Sober Student, carefully and diligently seking for the Truth, will both finde & confesse, therin, to be the Veritie, of these my wordes:.....

A marginal note, 'Anno 1548 and 1549. in Louayn', clarifies the dating of Mercator's exhortations (12). The Aphorisms, therefore, are Dee's manual of astrological theory. Minutely accurate astronomical observations are applied to a study of the stellar and planetary influences, although what he might mean by his reference to the star of Jacob is not clear. Again, however, the connection of Astronomy with Time is crucial: not only is each necessary to the construction of a universal history, but also to the determination of the effect upon the terrestrial world of astral and other heavenly influences. These were areas of primary study for Dee in the early 1550s. He needed them to calculate such matters as the dates of the birth and death of Christ for a universal chronology, just as he would later require them for his proposed reformation of the calendar.

Dee has now broached his theory of magic, astral and natural. And it has roots deep in the 1540s when he propounded ideas to Mercator at Louvain which he must previously have formulated in England. By the time he wrote the Praeface in 1570 these ideas had obviously been considerably developed, but he is more than ever convinced of their original correctness. Thus there is a clear line of development from the Aphorisms in 1558 to the Praeface in 1570, and the system he expounds in these works, and in the Monas of 1564, is encapsulated in the 1570 Synopsis, and provides the foundation upon which rests General and Rare Memorials of 1576-7.

The second key statement through which I wish to approach Cosmopolitics is number 118 of the Aphorisms:

When at the turn of any solar year, in the initial course of a planet, or at any other time, some strong and notable configuration either between the planets themselves or between planets and fixed stars shall have appeared in the heavens, search through the whole world astronomically for the place which, under the influence of such a configuration, reveals, or could reveal, the clearest correspondence to the heavenly pattern, however signalled. For thereby is given not only the remarkable and secret means of deducing from notable events in particular locations the very nature of the planets, but also - and most of all - from the natures their characteristic effects.

For thus the wise man (provided he could be a Cosmopolites) can adorn the most noble learning, either in procuring benefits or in removing ills, or vice versa: as much for himself as for others. The astrological season is of such an influence.

This quotation is taken from the 1558 edition of the Aphorisms. In the 1568 edition, Aphorism 118 has been slightly amplified, but remains substantially the same. Dee has, however, added an 'Annotatio' to his instruction to search:

It is probable that those Magi who once said, 'We saw His star in the East', watched in this way (13).

This difficult passage connects directly with the definition of the Cosmographer-Cosmopolites derived from The Brytish Monarchie and the Praeface, the central feature of which is the matching of the correspondent parts of earth and the heavens. In Aphorism 118, Dee provides this with an astrological dimension. At particular times, celestial configurations coincide with specific terrestrial locations to produce a correspondence between the earthly and the heavenly patterns. It is the task of the Cosmopolites of the Aphorisms, as of the Cosmographer of the Praeface, to seek astronomically for such places. In this manner, by following the celestial figure to its corresponding terrestrial location, the Magi sought out Bethlehem. But, conversely, the characteristics and influences of the planets can be established from an analysis of the features of notable events occurring in specific locations. This presupposes that when in conjunction with particular places, the planets,

and fixed stars, determine both the occurrence and the nature of any event of major historical importance. It was evidently correct astrologically for Christ to be born in Bethlehem. Therefore, different planets, exercising their differing characteristic influences, produce different events and from the type of event can be deduced the identity of the governing planet. This suggests that Dee did, in fact, advocate a scheme of the type propounded by Alkindi and Roger Bacon whereby major events in human history were related to astronomical and astrological phenomena. The instance of Christ's birth would conform to this pattern because it occurred at the beginning of a new cycle of Trignons which, according to Alkindi, marked the inauguration of a new religion that would dominate the world during the cycle. The fiery Trigon of Aries was to recommence in 1583.

The Cosmopolites can apply the planetary influences focused on the particular place for the benefit of himself or of others. This has important implications for the Wisdom offered by Dee to Maximilian II in the Monas. It suggests also that Eastern Europe held a special astrological significance for him, which would explain why he journeyed there in 1583. He may have thought that he could in some way direct the planetary and other influences to initiate his universal reformation. The focusing of the cosmic forces in the hieroglyphic monad Dee would certainly have considered to be extremely powerful.

The Astrology practised by the Cosmopolites is cognate with that of the Magi and thus it has divine sanction,

belonging to a tradition of ancient religious Wisdom. It is good religious magic, which is an important consideration in the light of the connection between the Aphorisms and the Praeface, the latter being on one level a substantiation of the essential Christianity of Dee's philosophy. However, the Astrology of the Aphorisms, summarised in the Praeface, is a new element to be considered in the definition of Cosmopolitics. In The Brytish Monarchie, Dee says that the Cosmopolites is comparable to a Cosmographer, but the latter, in terms of the Praeface definition, is not explicitly an Astrologer, whereas the Cosmopolites, in the Aphorisms, possesses the ability to detect and plot the influence of the most potent celestial forces. The Cosmopolites in The Brytish Monarchie examines all aspects of the organisation of earthly kingdoms, while in the Aphorisms he matches the parts of the earth and the heavens, extending the practice of the Cosmographer into an astrological dimension. It is in this latter respect that the Cosmopolites is most like the Cosmographer, being able to meditate upon God's cosmopolitical government of the universe.

The Cosmopolites in both the Aphorisms and The Brytish Monarchie is shown to be the same figure through the analogy drawn in The Brytish Monarchie with the Cosmographer. There the student of earthly kingdoms studies the nature of, and the relationship between, earth and heaven, in order that he should know and understand the effect of the one upon the other, and so eventually become the Cosmopolites: as the Praeface shows, this involves knowledge of the astrological theories of the Aphorisms, where the Cosmopolites pursues studies parallel to those of his equivalent in The Brytish

Monarchie, but with the difference that he has the ability to apply his astrological findings for the good of himself and of his fellow man.

This is not to say that Dee had redefined the powers of the Cosmopolites by the time he came to write The Brytish Monarchie. On the contrary, it is as the Comopolites that he there addresses Hatton, the work's dedicatee, and through him, Elizabeth, advising them that the angelic, planetary powers have so influenced human affairs that an opportunity has been created for Elizabeth to assume the leadership of Protestant Europe, defeat Spain, and found the North Atlantic Empire which he details in Famous and Rich Discoveries. The Brytish Monarchie is itself a principal instance of the Cosmopolites seeking to procure benefits for others, but, as I shall show in my analysis of the Wisdom of the Monas, Dee also thought it possible, by an extreme form of astrological magic, actually to direct the forces of the cosmos to produce a regenerated Christendom (14).

The Cosmopolites, then, meditates upon God's cosmopolitical government of the universe, which involves him in study of the entire cosmos. This cosmic government affects directly the course of human affairs in ways which the Cosmopolites, as historian and astrologer, can perceive and trace. Dee himself is the Cosmopolites, and he forsees the necessity to establish a theocracy to prepare mankind for the end of the world in order that the divine plan for human redemption should be fulfilled within its historical time-scale. This is his vision of the goal towards which the whole of the created universe is moving under God's

cosmopolitical government. What I have spoken of as Dee's Cosmopolitics is his design to raise mankind to an harmonious relationship with God and with the rest of the cosmos, which can only be achieved by obedience to His will and observance of the precepts of divine Wisdom. The model state upon which such a design could be realised is summarised in the 1570 Synopsis.

In the quotation from The Brytish Monarchie, Dee speaks of the one and only mystical universal city, so emphasising the interrelationship of all parts of the cosmos within one divinely-controlled whole. This cosmic unity is perceived only after long and profound study in the cosmographical disciplines listed in the Praeface, but it is the natural condition of the universe, as the perfection of the heavenly spheres demonstrates, and the historical process dictates that all things must eventually be brought into harmony with each other. This idea of the divine, universal One, as I shall show in subsequent chapters, is largely Platonic and Neoplatonic in origin, and in Dee's theories it is most conspicuously manifested in the hieroglyphic monad, an original development which he considered to be possessed of profound religious significance and which he held to have the power to effect a spiritual and cultural regeneration of Christendom. As such, it has a position of central importance in Cosmopolitics because Dee envisaged the monad itself as an instrument to be employed in the direction of affairs of state. The theory of magical government thus implied underlies the Monas and the 1570 Synopsis also. It is developed by Dee as an integral part of his proposed theocratic state,

which relies heavily upon the close relationship of Wisdom to government, and upon the ability of the philosopher-ruler whose task it is to govern in accordance with the cosmopolitical verities. Dee's opinions on the character of the philosopher-ruler and of his function are set out in the Epistle to Maximilian II which prefaces the Monas, and it is necessary to examine this in relation to what Dee saw as the religious and spiritual malaise of contemporary Europe, before proceeding to analyse in detail the development of Cosmopolitics through his principal writings.

CHAPTER IV

WISDOM: THE EPISTLE TO MAXIMILIAN II

In this chapter, I shall analyse the Epistle to Maximilian II, written by Dee in 1564 as a preface to the Monas, in order both to establish the function and scope of Wisdom in the cosmopolitical theories and to define his theory of the philosopher-ruler, particularly with regard to the qualities required in this individual and the rôle which Dee intended for him. This, in turn, will demonstrate the central importance of these theories within the overall system of Cosmopolitics. Dee's Wisdom was a combination, unique to himself, of the supposedly pristine learning of the ancients and his own developments in esoteric philosophy propounded in such works as the Aphorisms and the Monas; it was the function of the philosopher-ruler to ensure that all considerations of state were directed by the dictates of this Wisdom. The philosopher-ruler in Dee's scheme would be guided by a sage who was adept in all areas of philosophy and religion. Dee was the adept in question and he sought to link the personal destinies of himself, Maximilian, and, later, Rudolph II, to obscure prophecies contained within the Monas and to the astrologically important years of 1583-4. A central proposition of the Epistle was that the philosopher-ruler, under Dee's direction, had a sacred duty to effect a religious reform in Europe that would regenerate and reunite a spiritually decadent and morally corrupt Christendom.

This reformation was to be brought about through a thorough and comprehensive revitalisation and reorientation of all areas of learning and culture upon the basis of the esoteric magical religion of the Monas. Such a programme was, for Dee, an essential preparation for the establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy, but his attempt, through the Monas, to impose a reformation from above failed because he was unable to secure the emperor's support. This failure led Dee to revise his method of promoting his works, with the result that by the 1570s, and particularly with General and Rare Memorials, he had adopted a piecemeal approach to seeking patronage and submitted to likely benefactors only those parts of his overall programme which he thought likely to receive backing, the idea being that he would achieve a gradual, staged implementation of his complete scheme rather than an immediate, wholesale realisation of his grand design in all its aspects, such as that he hoped for with the Monas. But this change in Dee's method of seeking patronage was not accompanied by any revision of his ideas: the essential structure of Cosmopolitics remained constant, informing all his significant writings, the Monas, the Aphorisms, the Praeface, General and Rare Memorials, and the Synopsis. Therefore, the interdependent theories of Wisdom and of the philosopher-ruler underlay all these works. And, although, chronologically, in this study, they are taken out of sequence, the Epistle, and through it the Monas, provide a direct introduction to these theories and point to their fundamental importance in Cosmopolitics. The Wisdom of the Monas is of a piece with that informing the Aphorisms, the Praeface, and General and Rare Memorials, and is central

to Dee's profoundly Christian vision, which I shall demonstrate to be encapsulated in the 1570 Synopsis, where the legend attached to Wisdom is 'Through me, Kings rule'. Such a study as this, thematic, rather than chronological, lends coherence to a body of work which must otherwise appear diffuse and devoid of any underlying, consistently developed organisational principles.

Dee's purpose[!] in the Epistle is to persuade Maximilian II of his imperial duty to lead a cultural and religious reformation in Europe based upon the magical lore of the Monas. Dee claims in the Epistle that the contemporary world is corrupt and wilfully ignorant of the dictates of divine Wisdom. A general moral decay in Christendom is heightened by a collapse of learning and it is to this latter problem that Dee principally addresses himself. He presents the Monas, written in twenty-four theorems, as a work containing Wisdom of a kind which, if applied to human affairs, will revitalise learning and culture, thus initiating a universal reformation and preparing humankind for eventual salvation. But this reformation must be imposed from above, and for this it needs a philosopher-ruler of exceptional qualities and ability, one whom Dee believes he has discovered in Maximilian. The Epistle opens with an initial address to Maximilian formally offering him the Monas. Then follows the longest section, a proof of the work's uniqueness, which refers to the cosmopolitical theories and catalogues the regenerative effects which the Monas could have upon all the arts and sciences being studied at that time. Dee concludes the Epistle by declaring the Christian sincerity

of his advances to Maximilian and of his proposals for a general reformation of European culture. He appeals to Maximilian to lead this reform through adoption of the Monas (1).

Near the beginning of the Epistle, there is a reference to Cosmopolitics, where Dee directs the emperor's attention to a diagram of the 'Arbor Raritatis', the Tree of Rarity, or Uniqueness, which relates the Pythagorean symbolism of the letter upsilon to philosophical virtue:

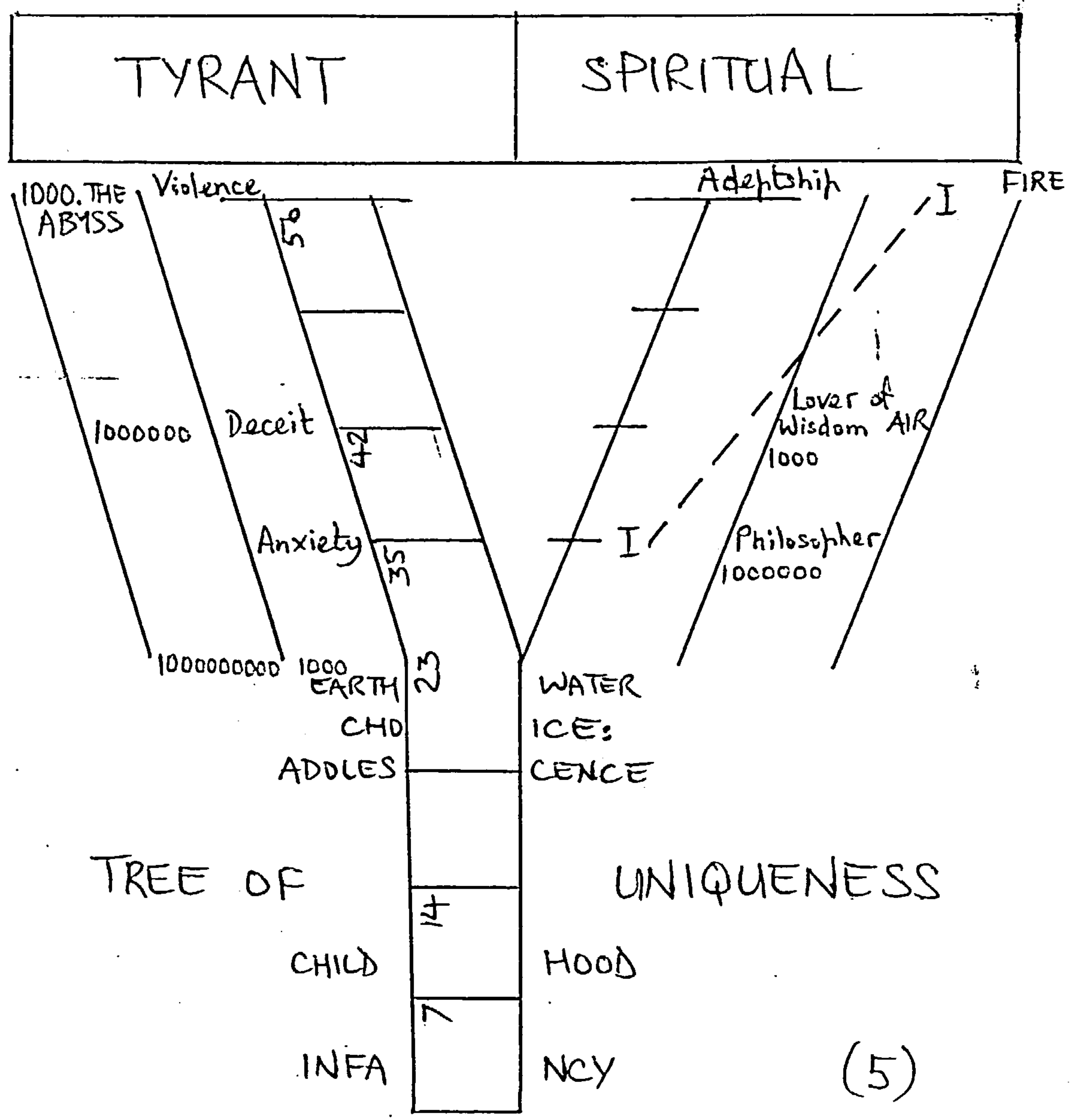
If your Majesty will look at it with attention, still greater mysteries will present themselves (to your consideration) such as we have described in our cosmopolitical theories (2).

The translator and editor of the Monas, C.H.Josten, believes that this mention of cosmopolitical theories alludes to an unidentified work (3). This is indeed possible, although which one of those works written before 1564, but subsequently lost, is difficult to say. It may be that the work itself was never written, and that Dee was awaiting a favourable response from Maximilian before rushing off a piece for the benefit of his new patron. However, he could have had in mind the Aphorisms, written in 1558, where he had outlined the divinely-sanctioned astrological magic practised by the Cosmopolites. The cosmopolitical philosopher, with a complete understanding of Cosmography and Cosmology, meditates upon God's government of the universe and manipulates the powers of the cosmos to benefit mankind. In this, he is identical to a figure introduced by Dee in connection with the 'Arbor

Raritatis', a philosopher who has deeply and fully investigated the causes of the celestial powers (4) and events as well as the causes of the rise, the state, and the decline of things. This philosopher has also aspired to the investigation and comprehension of the supercelestial virtues and metaphysical influences. As in the case of the Cosmopolites, the learning required by this philosopher is so vast as to make him probably unique, and Dee implies that he himself is the philosopher in question, as he was also the Cosmopolites in the Aphorisms. This philosopher of the Epistle, the Cosmopolites, is to direct Maximilian's reformation of Christendom by reference to the astrological lore of the Aphorisms and the religious magic of the Monas. Dee envisaged the introduction of a system of magical government, based upon the hieroglyphic monad, which would lead to the universal attainment of virtue and so reverse the trend to corruption and damnation depicted in the Pythagorean epsilon.

Dee employs the diagram of the 'Arbor Raritatis' to demonstrate both his and Maximilian's uniqueness and to illustrate the degeneracy of the contemporary world. He also incorporates into it a prediction of his and Maximilian's destiny due to be realised in 1583-4 with the triumph of the Monas, a prediction he later transferred to Maximilian's successor, Rudolph II. This relates the 'Arbor Raritatis' to prophecies within the Monas itself and reveals Dee's strong conviction that he personally was to shape the beliefs and policies of his chosen philosopher-ruler. The general scheme of the figure is readily apparent. Human

life may be thought of as leading into two courses of destiny: either, the pursuit of philosophy, inspired by a love of truth and virtue, or the pursuit of pleasure and the accumulation of wealth. Dee produces some rough-and-ready arithmetical ratios to reveal the extent of the crisis he believes to exist in Christendom, claiming that only one in one thousand people has even begun to comprehend some of the basic truths of natural science, while the Cosmopolites exists as one in one million of honest philosophers, which is equivalent to one in a thousand millions of common men.



The ages of the individual are traced on the trunk and on the two branches, and on the extreme left and right are given the figures quoted by Dee to prove the uniqueness of the cosmopolitical philosopher. In addition, Dee attaches to the tree a scheme of the four elements, ascending from earth, through water and air, to fire, but this system may also have ether as a fifth element because 'spiritual', Dee's word being πνευματικός, can also be translated as 'ethereal' (6). Earth is the element proper to the majority of mankind who choose the path of degeneracy and tyranny leading to the Abyss, but the lovers of philosophy aspire to the level of fire and spiritual perfection. And as Dee, in both the Aphorisms and the Monas, assumes the geocentric Ptolemaic-Chaldean universe (7), philosophers, in their aspiration to the fiery level, necessarily advance during their lives to comprehension of all areas of the cosmos until, with the Cosmopolites, they can study the supercelestial virtues and metaphysical influences and meditate upon God's cosmopolitical government of the universe.

The 'Arbor Raritatis' undoubtedly contains, as Dee says, other, greater mysteries for the attentive observer, but these lie outside the scope of the present study, for which the principal area of interest is Dee's concern to reveal and to remedy what, for him, was the primary cause of the degeneracy of Christendom, the widespread, wilful neglect of divine Wisdom. This initial section of the Epistle contains Dee's estimate of the extent of the corruption of contemporary Europe, and emphasises his and Maximilian's uniqueness as seekers after philosophical ex-

cellence. And the measure he recommends to rectify this situation is adoption of the magical religion of the Monas. He praises Maximilian's admirable virtues and hails him as one who excels and is rich in the knowledge of the greatest and the most secret arts (8), because it is to Maximilian that Dee looks to implement his design through the establishment of a theocracy adhering to the precepts of cosmopolitical Wisdom. For this reason, Dee has included hints regarding his and Maximilian's personal destinies which are connected with the dotted line running obliquely across the right-hand branch of the tree, this line appearing to represent the course projected by Dee for the reader of the Monas.

The line begins when the lover of Wisdom is between the ages of twenty-three and thirty-five and terminates when he has achieved adeptship of the age of fifty-six. Both men were thirty-seven in 1564 (9). At the end of the Epistle, Dee states that his mind had been pregnant with the idea of the Monas for the seven years before he actually wrote it in twelve days in January 1564 (10). That is, he had been pondering it since 1557 when, at the age of thirty, he wrote the Aphorisms, for, in Aphorism 52, he had referred to the hieroglyphic monad and had also included on the title-page of the 1558 edition of the Aphorisms a rather cruder version of the monad than that which appeared at the front of the Monas itself (11). From this line, it is possible to discern in the 'Arbor Raritatis' a prediction regarding the future development of both Dee's and Maximilian's careers because each would have been fifty-six in 1583-4, when the watery

Trigon of Pisces was due to be replaced by the fiery Trigon of Aries. This event was to be marked by the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, a repetition of that which had occurred at Christ's birth, as Dee himself noted elsewhere (12).¹¹ An astronomical phenomenon of such profound astrological importance would have had tremendous significance for Dee, even perhaps signalling the inception of the final age of the world's history. Therefore, in the dotted line of the 'Arbor Raritatis', Dee was apparently drawing Maximilian's attention to a fulfilment in 1583-4 of their joint destiny, which involved in some way the triumphal realisation of the magical religion of the Monas.

Certainly, 1583 was a year of momentous importance for Dee. The conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter was to take place on 28 April, 1583, and in Dee's records of the spiritual conferences before this date there are numerous references to impending catastrophe. In the seance held on 31 March, 1583, it was prophesied that the end of all things was at hand. Again, Dee reported how on April 6 the angel Uriel told him that there would be great miseries in all the heavens in the fifth month following; and September was the month in which Dee and Edward Kelley left England for Eastern Europe with the Polish prince, Laski (13). The angelic messages would have confirmed for him what he already believed, that a new, and possibly final, age was to be initiated with the changing of the Trignons. And this change was evidently connected with Eastern Europe because Dee, as the Cosmopolites, with the theory of Aphorism 118 concerning the matching of astronomical or astrological phenomena with specific terrestrial

locations to guide him, went to great lengths to secure patronage there between 1583 and 1589, even though his early hero, Maximilian, had died in 1576.

In August 1584, he sought to interest Rudolph II in his angelic communications and in the Monas.¹ Dee had been informed in a seance on 15 August 1584 that Rudolph could become the greatest emperor that ever was, provided he forsook his wickedness and imprisoned the devil. There is a possible allusion here to a Joachite-type prophecy of the World Emperor who establishes a just rule by defeating Satan. This suggestion is strengthened by the connection of the Monas with this angelic message, about which Dee wrote to Rudolph on 17 August, referring the emperor to the Epistle. In view of the rôle projected by Dee for the Monas as the instrument of world reformation, this is highly significant because it assigns to the Habsburgs a position of special importance in the final centuries of the world. In his letter, Dee cites Theorem 20 of the Monas, recalling mysteriously that at the time of its composition in 1564, he had foreseen that at some time there would be another member of the House of Austria in whom his highest hope might be fulfilled, and in whom, for the benefit of the Christian polity, the best and greatest thing would, or might, become actual (14). In Theorem 20, this foresight had been directed at Maximilian:

Thus we shall attain to the snow-white clarity and to the ornaments of the white garments, O Maximilian, whom God, to the honour of His tremendous name, in times to come may render very great (by the inter-

pretation of mysteries, or [else] some
[other] member of the house of Austria....(15).

By the interpretation of mysteries, that is, those of the Monas, Maximilian, and Rudolph also, might be made by God the greatest ruler in history (16).

Maximilian and Rudolph possess the potential to achieve a preordained greatness, the nature of which is only hinted at in dark references to prophecies. Their capacity to assimilate philosophical virtue is important both for their development as individuals and for their proper exercise of the intellectual and moral authority attaching to their temporal power. For Dee, their personal destinies relate crucially to their rôles as philosopher-rulers because he presents each as an individual to whom he could confidently entrust the sacred Wisdom of the Monas, secure in the knowledge that they would comprehend and implement the system of magical government which was essential to the functioning of his cosmopolitical theocracy. Without adherence to the principles of divine Wisdom, the corruption depicted in the 'Arbor Raritatis' could only intensify.

In Cosmopolitics, the nature of the relationship between Wisdom and kingship determines the whole structure of the state and the direction of policy. Wisdom cannot be divorced from government, although it is to be kept from the mass of the people, being properly the concern of the Council of Guardians, for which Dee uses the Platonic model in The Republic and The Laws, whose duty it is to ensure that all the business of state is regulated by observance of the

precepts of Wisdom. Thus, in the brief letter addressed to the printer of the Monas, Willem Silvius, which occurs after the Epistle, Dee presents Maximilian as an exemplar of philosophical virtue to be emulated by other men, but also as one who has found time to attend most wisely to the government of his kingdoms, as well as to learn in rich abundance the stupendous mysteries of philosophers and wise men (17). Dee requests Silvius not to allow any copies of the Monas to fall into the hands of the common people, who might become lost in the labyrinth of the work to the neglect of their everyday affairs, eventually even denying the existence of God's mighty works. The Monas, therefore, is to have an exclusive circulation amongst Maximilian's immediate advisers who will best know how to utilise the work's power.

In the final section of the Epistle, Dee indicates how Maximilian might apply the truths of the Monas to the actual state of the world (18). He affirms that there is nothing in the Monas that is not most useful in the pursuit of perfect piety and religion, and Maximilian's approval and ratification of the work would silence the many proponents of false and misleading philosophy, as well as encouraging other philosophers to study divine subjects for themselves. The honest sciences must be strengthened in order to overcome the false studies which are promoted by cheap charlatans to the detriment of true learning. And Dee draws on the familiar two-sword Gelasian imagery (19) in urging Maximilian to use his royal, imperial sword to perform his sacred duty of establishing justice in the world and of abolishing all erroneous and impious arts and sciences. This

would result in the implementation of the system of esoteric government in the Monas, upon which could be based the complete, regeneration and reorientation of European life and letters envisaged by Dee.

The Monas was primarily a religious work. In addition to philosophical innovations original to Dee, it contained new explanations of certain mysteries of the ancients which afforded access for the adept into the most arcane areas of Wisdom. And it was Maximilian's sacred trust to use the Monas to reform learning and to repair the damage done to Christendom by the neglect and distortion of the great arts and sciences. He was to be a religious leader who would govern in accordance with the principles of the esoteric Wisdom of the Monas and reverse the degeneracy of mankind depicted in the 'Arbor Raritatis'. But Dee, in the Epistle was concerned solely with an intellectual and spiritual reformation: he proposed no scheme for the state's constitutional, social, economic, and military organisation, such as those presented in the 1570 Synopsis or in General and Rare Memorials of 1576-7. In 1564, his intention was to secure the imposition from above of a reformation of learning which would be extended by government into all other areas of life.

This revitalisation of Christendom was to proceed on the basis of the Wisdom concentrated within the figure of the hieroglyphic monad itself. As Dee explains at length in the Epistle, the monad is a compendium of all mathematical arts and sciences, as well as the repository of all ancient knowledge, and the instrument of a new universal magic of un-

surpassed power and efficacy. No area of learning is excluded from its scope and none will remain unaltered by exposure to its influence which, Dee claims, reconciles and integrates all disciplines within a single, internally-coherent system. For Dee, the natural and desirable end of all things is oneness and harmony, and it is this universal movement towards eventual perfection which gives meaning to the Monas, as it does to the whole of Cosmopolitics. The programme suggested in the Epistle for the reform of all arts and sciences, like that contained in Cosmopolitics for the creation of a theocracy, has as its object the elimination of dissolution and disintegration in the human and terrestrial sphere through the establishment of an harmonious interrelationship between all parts and inhabitants of the cosmos. The hieroglyphic monad is the instrument through which this can be achieved, and the Wisdom which informs its magic is further elaborated by Dee in the Aphorisms, the Praeface, the Synopsis, and General and Rare Memorials.

The monad's magic arises from what Dee insists is a new hieroglyphic form of writing based upon the point and the unit, the straight line, and the curve. These are the fundamental constituents of the shapes of the letters in each of the world's three principal alphabets: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the first letters of which man received from God Himself, a theory he had already advanced in 1557, in his defence of Roger Bacon, the Speculum Unitatis, a year before he wrote the Aphorisms (20). These shapes are also the primary components of the astronomical symbols of the planets and of the astrological signs of the zodiac. They

are, therefore, essential elements in Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Astrology, Cabala, and are the keys to understanding the deepest and most sacred mysteries of the cosmos. The mathematical theory of the Epistle, and of the Monas, anticipates that of the Praeface. Theorem 2 of the Monas, for instance, states that all things began from a point and a unit, while, in the Epistle, Dee asserts that numbers relate to material objects and are not to be conceived exclusively in terms of the properties of the Platonic Forms. These positions are both elaborated at length in the Praeface, which, as an introductory work on Mathematics, does not reveal their connection with the Cabala of the Monas. This Cabala, by tracing the origin of all things from the point and the unit, supersedes the traditional Hebrew art, called by Dee the 'Cabala of that which is said', because of its reliance upon letters written by men. He terms his new art the real Cabala, or the 'Cabala of that which is', because it applies the cabalist's principal techniques outside the scope of language to the things made by God in the Creation. Dee contends that every dot and iota of the Law of Moses should be studied in the Pentateuch, where the Creation is described, the Mosaic Law, according to Dee, being based upon the point and the unit, the straight line, and the curve. The real Cabala, therefore, is synonymous with the new hieroglyphic writing (21).

The principal example of this innovatory discipline is the hieroglyphic monad, which contains all the astronomical and astrological signs, as well as the elements of the real Cabala. The monad's magical power derives from the potent

manner of its combination of the elements of the new Cabala to focus within itself the secret and invisible forces which Dee believed to be operative throughout the universe. Yet the monad was merely passive, absorbing and storing the strength of the cosmic influences. It was imbued, also, with the ability to redirect this strength to effect changes in the terrestrial sphere, where the potential range of its influence was immense. The monad was to reform not only Astronomy, Astrology, Cabala, Arithmetic, and Geometry, but also Music, Optics, Mechanics, Hydraulics, and eventually the whole of European learning and culture to introduce a religious regeneration based upon the Wisdom of the Monas (22).

Dee's intended universal application of the religion of the Monas is apparent from his contention that the real Cabala relates to the world's three principal alphabets.

And he is quick to assert that the most benevolent God of whom he writes in the Monas is the God not only of the Jews, but of all countries, nations, and languages. This emphasis on one God and one body of divine truth reveals the religious purpose of the Monas and of Cosmopolitics as being to institute a single system of religious faith and observance through the whole world. Such an achievement would not only remove the divisions amongst Christians, but would reconcile Christians to pagans by establishing the authority of one body of unchallengeable dogma derived from the innovations of Dee's own synthesis and from the tradition of ancient Wisdom within which he worked. Adherence to the divine truth inherent in these dogma would also prepare mankind for the Final Judgement and accelerate the universal tendency to

oneness and harmony (23).

But such a system required, firstly, full implementation of the religious principles upon which it was to operate and, secondly, maintenance of the new procedures once they had been securely established. In both instances, the constant involvement of the temporal authority was essential. For this reason, the ruler had to possess exceptional qualities of personal virtue and had to be adept in the most advanced areas of esoteric philosophy and religion. The task confronting him was profound. It was his sacred duty to reverse the trend to corruption and degeneracy depicted in the 'Arbor Raritatis' through a wholesale reformation of learning, culture, and religion. Once this regeneration had been achieved, then all other areas of life would be regulated by the imposition from above of the new religious discipline; thus, the groundwork of the cosmopolitical theocracy would have been laid.

Maximilian II was the singularly gifted individual selected by Dee to effect the reformation because, in addition to his temporal status, he was an exemplar of philosophical virtue and, therefore, qualified to use the magic of the hieroglyphic monad in his direction of affairs of state. Although Dee's approach to Maximilian was unsuccessful, the terms in which he presented his proposals reveal clearly the scope and importance of the concept of Wisdom and the theory of the philosopher-ruler within the overall system of Cosmopolitics. As is evident from the diagrammatic outline presented in the 1570 Synopsis, Wisdom is the guiding principle in the government of the state, enjoying a position of supremacy in the hierarchy of virtues. The Wisdom of Cosmopolitics is,

indeed, universal, encompassing all areas of knowledge and integrating them within one internally-coherent synthesis for the purposes not merely of demonstrating the single body of divine truth informing all major systems of philosophy and theology, but also of concentrating and harnessing an immense store of vastly powerful magical forces latent throughout the cosmos. The philosopher-ruler was both guardian and wielder of this Wisdom and its attendant magic, but while the Epistle to Maximilian II delimits the scope and rôle of Wisdom, it does not provide a detailed definition of its constituent ideas, nor of the interrelationships between them. The nature of cosmopolitical Wisdom, and, also, of its intended application to particular situations in international affairs, must be sought elsewhere, most notably in the Monas, the work prefaced by the Epistle, and in the Aphorisms, the publication related most closely to the Monas.

CHAPTER V :

WISDOM:

THE 'APHORISMS' AND THE 'MONAS'.

As outlined in the Epistle to Maximilian II, the Wisdom with which Dee sought to revitalise Christendom is of extreme complexity. It informs his whole intellectual corpus, and his principal writings, in their various ways, derive from a coherent and consistent system of Cosmopolitics, of which a succinct summary is found in the 1570 Synopsis. In order to define more precisely the nature of this Wisdom and its position within the cosmopolitical theories, it is necessary to trace its ramifications through each of his main works. The analysis of the Epistle leads inevitably to the Wisdom of the Monas, and to a demonstration of its close connections with the Aphorisms, especially with regard to Cosmology. The most immediate point of contact between the two works is provided by the hieroglyphic monad. |

Dee's Cosmology is deeply Neoplatonic, and while it is possible to extract its principal features from the Monas and the Aphorisms, it is to the Praeface that reference must be made for detailed analysis. This is because the Praeface was written as an introductory guide to the mathematical philosophy expounded in the other works which, otherwise, must remain extremely obscure and difficult. This examination of the Wisdom of the Monas and the Aphorisms, therefore, is incomplete without the supplementary analysis of the Praeface in Chapter VI, which is not to say that new and important conclusions cannot be drawn here. On the contrary: relation of the references to the hieroglyphic monad in the Aphorisms

to the Monas defines the powers which Dee claimed for it, as well as the principles upon which these operated and reveals a hitherto hidden element in Dee's appeal in the Epistle for government in accordance with the precepts of divine Wisdom, namely, that Maximilian should become an active magus, applying the magical properties of the monad to the direction of policy in affairs of state. Magic thus becomes an indispensable instrument of government for the cosmopolitical philosopher-ruler. This departure can be traced from the Wisdom of the Monas and the Aphorisms, through that of the Praeface, to the 1570 Synopsis, which thereby becomes Dee's model not merely of a British cosmopolitical state, but rather of a magically-directed British theocracy. This necessarily has important implications for an interpretation of General and Rare Memorials, which is an extension of the theories contained in the Synopsis, and for an appreciation of the nature of the imperial rôle which Dee urged on Elizabeth. And central to the whole grand cosmopolitical design is the hieroglyphic monad.

The idea of the monad had arisen in Dee's mind as early as 1557, and in the 1558 edition of the Aphorisms it is the central symbol on the title-page. I have noticed many similarities between this title-page and that of the Monas, although the monad of the Aphorisms is of a cruder design (1). As with the Monas, the monad is presented within an ornamental portico, but its egg-shaped escutcheon in the later work is missing. The lintel of the arch is studded with stars, below which is the legend, 'He who does not understand should either be silent or learn' (2). At the top of the

left-hand pillar in the Aphorisms is the word 'Calidum', and on the opposite pillar is 'Humidum'. On the title-page of the Monas these words are replaced by 'IGNIS' and 'AER'. Half-way down the left-hand column on the title-pages of both works is the sun, which is balanced on the right-hand column by the moon. At the base of the columns in each work are representations of 'terra' and 'aqua'. Above these on the title-page of the Monas are receptacles which catch drops of liquid from the sun and the moon.

Around the monad of the Aphorisms is a scroll bearing the devices, 'Whatever the wise men seek is in this monad', which looks forward to the enumeration of the arts and sciences to be reformed by the monad, and 'Mercury, furnished with a sharp point, is the image of all the planets' (3). In the Monas, these have been amended to, 'He is made the king and parent of all the planets. Mercury, made perfect by a sharp point'. This anticipates a statement in the Epistle that 'Mercury becomes the parent and king of all the planets when made perfect with a firm point' (4).

At the foot of the portico, and immediately below the monad, on the title-page of the Aphorisms is a Latin quotation, 'And there will be signs in the sun and moon and stars', taken from Christ's words in Luke, 21.25 on the end of the world (5). As with the citation of the magi in Aphorism 118 this asserts divine and biblical precedent for the Astrology of the Aphorisms: according to the Praeface, Astronomy and Astrology provide the means of reading the 'heavenly book', in which all the periods of the world's history are written, and of interpreting the sayings of His prophets. The monad,

composed in the new hieroglyphic writing, as the image of all the planets and repository of all celestial lore, can, if read aright, demonstrate the truth of Christ's words. This new Cabala, Dee has pointed out in the Epistle, is a holy language and the monad must, therefore, reveal to the adept the nature of the end of the world, together with the signs that will prefigure it.

In Luke 21, as in Matthew 24 and Mark 13, Christ foresees the desolation of the Temple and the coming of His age in terms of the prophecies of Daniel. Dee is probably alluding to the latter as an example of the type of text to which the exegetical Astrology of the Aphorisms should be applied: he cites Daniel approvingly in the Praeface (6). However, on the title-page of the Monas, the quotation from Luke has been replaced by Genesis, 27.28, 'May God give you of the dew of the heaven, and of the fatness of the earth', from the blessing bestowed by Isaac on Jacob (7). This is presumably intended as a general blessing to be bestowed upon the reader of the Monas.

From the great similarity between the title-pages of the 1558 edition of the Aphorisms and the Monas of 1564, it is evident that Dee was working along much the same lines in both works. Certainly the hieroglyphic monad conveys a near identical message in both instances, although on the title-page of the Aphorisms, unlike that of the Monas, there are lines radiating from the central dot of the circle at the top of the monad that connect with 'Calidum' and 'Humidum', with the sun and the moon, and with 'terra' and 'aqua'. These indicate the secret interconnected influences which

Dee saw as prevalent in the cosmos, and also their confluence in the hieroglyphic monad (8).

The continuity between the Aphorisms and the Monas suggested by these near-identical title-pages extends also to the second edition of the Aphorisms of 1568. At the end of the Monas, the monad reappears in its egg-shaped escutcheon, but with added ornamentation (9). Above the escutcheon is a helmet inscribed with the Tetragrammaton. This in turn is surmounted by a crest in the form of a female half-figure holding in her right hand a seven-pointed star and in her left what may be an ear of corn or an olive branch. Josten believes the figure to be the zodiacal sign of Virgo, which is one of the two astrological domiciles of Mercury. On either side of this figure are inscriptions which appear to allude to Genesis, 27.28, 'May the supercelestial waters bedew you' and 'And the earth will give forth His fruit' (10). Quite what Dee might mean here is not clear, but this figure, with a modification is found on the title-page and on the final page of the 1568 Aphorisms. For this edition, Dee has altered the bottom of the egg-shaped escutcheon by inserting the \triangle , which he used as his personal monogram and into which he infused complex numerological and cabalistic significance. He has placed below the escutcheon, and partly around the \triangle , the legend, 'The quaternary residing in the ternary'. Again, what he might mean by this phrase is not really clear. Calder suggests that it refers to the four elements of the natural world which emerge from the triune deity (11). This undoubtedly has some value, but the answer, itself obscure, is to be found in the Monas. 'Quaternarius in ternario conquiescens'

is, in fact, a phrase used by Dee in Theorem 20, shortly before he makes the prophecy concerning the coming greatness of Maximilian or of another member of the house of Austria. This, however, is a point better discussed later in terms of Dee's prophetic history.

While it is unwise to develop the interpretations of Dee's heraldic devices and symbolic title-pages too far, it is quite valid to take their recurrence from work to work as proof that he himself saw continuity between his writings. That this was the case can also be confirmed by the reference to the hieroglyphic monad in Aphorism 52, at the end of which Dee suddenly addresses Mercator directly:

If you will have been expert in Catoptrics, you can imprint the rays of whatever star onto whatever intended material far more strongly by art than Nature does herself. Indeed, this was by far the greatest part of the natural magic of the ancient wise men: and this secret is not much less in grandeur than the philosophers' most holy Astronomy itself, called Inferior: the engraved signs of which, enclosed in a certain monad, and extracted from our theories, we send you with this book of yours.

The book to which he refers is, of course, the Aphorisms.

A marginal note is inserted in the 1568 edition by the final part of the aphorism:

You have these signs most copiously explained in our recently issued book, the title of

which is the Monas Hieroglyphica (12).

This is the conclusive link between the Monas and the two editions of the Aphorisms. Dee saw the monad on one level as the embodiment of his theories of natural and astral magic, which he developed from the ancients and which inform both works. Again, in the Praeface, Dee cites the Aphorisms as the best exposition of Astrology, and hence of astral magic, known to him.

The Monas, therefore, can be approached through either the Aphorisms or the Praeface. This makes it important to place Aphorism 52 in the context of the Aphorisms as a whole (13). Arguing from the first cause of things, Dee begins by saying that God created all things from nothing against reason and the laws of Nature. Although it is not possible for man to operate beyond these limits, he can produce great marvels by artificial, scientific means. Dee claims that there is hidden within Nature another 'Esse' or 'essence' besides that of which the natural traits are conspicuous and familiar. This other 'Esse' is germinal in the hidden places of Nature. The wise men teach how it can be called forth. Its manifestations, by which it is effective, are the rays emitted by all things in a circular manner. Just as the things emitting emanations differ, so do the rays also differ, and rays of similar kind will produce a diversity of effects according to whatever it is they are acting upon. The influence of these rays, therefore, varies with the quality of the object within which they operate, and their natures are known only through their effects. Dee continues that a thing must have some resemblance to that upon which it acts,

but must also differ from it, otherwise there is no action. He then makes what for him is a very important assertion that whatever is in the universe has order and harmony, in relation to everything else: again there is the emphasis upon the oneness and wholeness of the cosmos. Next he considers this universal interaction and interdependence which ensures the unity of things separated and allows action at a distance, from which he concludes that the universe is like a lyre, the chords being the single things of this universe from which can be elicited marvellous harmonies. The harmonies and dissonances of the individual strings, he says, are conditioned by the general structure of the universe and the relationship between the various parts (14). This theme is developed in the discussion of Music in the Praeface.

Dee asserts that the human senses are not the cause of the sensible emission of species, merely the witnesses. But the spirit and the mind of man participate organically in the system which he has outlined. They are affected by this immanent radiation, as he notes in Aphorism 14:

Sometimes [celestial powers are transmitted] through light and sometimes without light: not down to the sight alone, but now and then down to the other senses, and mainly in our imaginative spirit they coalesce more intensely, as in a mirror; show us themselves and work wonders within us (15).

Dee here touches upon the fundamental importance of the

universal and human spirits for the operations of natural magic. Within the human imagination, the natural forces can come together and perform wonders, as with the anagogic power of the hieroglyphic monad. The reference to the rôle of light in the transmission of emissions is important for the ideas expressed in Aphorism 52, where the operations of the monad are related to Catoptrics, which may also be alluded to here in Dee's figure of the mirror, for which his Latin is 'speculum' (16).

In Aphorism 15, Dee treats of movement and light. Perfect motion is circular, and light was the first and most outstanding creation. These propositions relate closely to the opening theorems of the Monas where it is said that the first and most simple manifestation of things happened by way of straight line and circle. But the circle cannot be artificially produced without the straight line, or the straight line without the point. Therefore, things first began by way of a point and a monad. Things related to the periphery can in no way exist without the aid of the central point. Thus, Dee explains, the central dot of the hieroglyphic monad represents the earth. The sun and the moon and the other planets complete their courses around this. Because in that function the sun maintains the highest position, it is represented, for its excellence, by a full circle in the hieroglyphic monad, with a visible centre. In this way, the circle is equated with excellence. In Theorem 4, Dee sketches the relationship of the moon, represented by the half-circle at the top of the hieroglyph, to the sun. In Theorem 5, he links this to the creation of light on the first day of Genesis:

And, surely, one day was made out of evening and morning by joining the lunar half-circle to its solar complement. Be it accordingly the first day on which the light of the philosophers was made (17).

This is presumably the light of illumination and Wisdom, the light of God. In Aphorism 15, Dee says that circular movement and light will be above all the characteristics of the most excellent and perfect bodies, and in Aphorism 16, he develops this thesis by asserting that whatever is in the universe is continually moved in some way by the species of movement (18). For the reason of the first motions, which are characteristic most of all of the celestial bodies, all the other natural motions of inferior things are aroused and set in order. But the heavens themselves are sometimes moved (19). The celestial bodies, therefore, control the motion and order of things in the lower world, which is also the opinion stated in the discussion of Astrology in the Praeface, although this must be qualified by the necessity for the concurrence between celestial configurations and earthly locations outlined in Aphorism 118.

Dee returns to this theme in Aphorism 102:

As light and motion are the characteristics of, above all, the celestial bodies, so, amongst the planets, the sun prevails over all the others by the property of light, and the moon conquers all the rest by the authority of special movement. These two, therefore, are deservedly accounted the most

excellent of all the planets (20).

In Aphorism 103, he writes:

The moon is the most powerful governess of humid things: and the arouser and producer of humidity (21).

And in number 104:

As the special guiding power of the living heat accompanies the excellent light of the sun, so with the movement of the moon, by a certain wonderful analogy, is joined together the productive and governing power of humidity (22).

The references to heat and humidity must be connected with the 'Calidum' and 'Humidum' of the title-page; light and motion are also properties special to the sun and moon. The perfection and supremacy of these celestial bodies are thereby demonstrated. He is, however, characteristically vague as to how exactly these forces would operate, although from the illustration on the title-page, it is evident that they are strongly connected with the hieroglyphic monad.

After his discussion of natural 'spiritus' and of light and motion in the first fifteen aphorisms, Dee moves on to treat of the function of the four elements in the universal hierarchy. In Aphorism 18, he follows the ancient philosophers in saying that the four elements are the basic constituents of the lower world, but alludes obscurely to secondary and tertiary effects of these elements. He evidently has in mind problems relating to causality, but his expression is very cryptic. He then discusses the effects that can be obtained

by a proper use and understanding of the elements, and he links the natural qualities of the elements to the bodily humours. In Aphorism 19, he mentions Graduation of the elements, which looks forward to that section in the Praeface dealing with what he calls the Cross of Graduation. The individual parts, humours, and spirits of the human body remain constant by the symmetry of the elements and the primary qualities, all of which is discerned by the astrologer (23). The stars always have control over the development of the elemental forces, even though 'the seed contains within itself the power of generation'. In Aphorism 20, he introduces Music,

Whence the doctor heals and moderates the soul through the body. But the musician cures and directs the body through the soul (24).

This is a direct allusion to the eighth of Pico's mathematical conclusions:

Medicine heals the soul through the body, but music heals the body through the soul (25).

Dee then proceeds to compare the invisible natural emanations with the powers of the magnet which operates at a distance and penetrates matter with its rays. In the aphorism following this, number 25, he says that the rays of the stars are two-fold: some are sensible and luminous, while others are secret influences. These rays penetrate all things that are contained in the world, although they may be partially obstructed (26). The stars and celestial powers are like seals, the characters of which are variously imprinted by virtue of

the variety of elemental matter (27). The relative refinement and strength of the impressions made by the stars and the celestial powers is determined by the nature of the material upon which the imprint of the character is made, as well as by the power of the penetrating rays (28). Dee's term for seal, 'sigillum', is applied by him also to the hieroglyphic monad (29), and with his use of the word 'characteres', it is likely that he is here alluding to a talismanic use of stellar and celestial effluvia in combination with efficacious elemental material. The hieroglyphic monad, compendium of the astronomical and zodiacal symbols and repository of elemental influences, would here be the talismanic image.

The hieroglyph had powers rooted in telepathy also because Dee believed it to have focussed his and Maximilian II's minds onto itself. This idea is found at the end of the Epistle to Maximilian where Dee tells him that during the whole of the time of the writing of the Monas the emperor's most pleasing countenance had seemed to be present before his eyes. He had had the monad in his mind since 1557, as Aphorism 52 shows, but as a result of the magnetic power exerted by Maximilian, even from such a distance, the Monas had been written in only twelve days in January 1564 (30). In the Aphorisms, the figure of the magnet is used by Dee to refer to the interactions between people (31), as it is in the Monas, so that emanations pass also from individual to individual in such a way that a telepathic capability is allowed.

As with his discussion of light and motion, Dee returns

to his discussion of the elemental world later in the Aphorisms, and he does so in a way which anticipates the ideas in the Monas. In Aphorism 106, he says that, after God, the sun and the moon are truly the chief, physical causes of all organic bodies and living things in the elemental world, both in their procreation and their preservation (32). This follows on from what he has already said about heat and humidity, light and motion, in terms of the sun and moon. After God, the sun and the moon are the primary generative and sustaining powers of the universe; they maintain these functions by the qualities and properties which Dee assigns to them. Their influence in the elemental world is greater than of any other stellar or celestial power. Theorem 19 of the Monas is basically a repetition of this assertion:

The analysis by fire of all things corporeal shows in its effect that Sun and Moon infuse their corporeal virtues into all inferior bodies that consist of elements in a far stronger manner than do all the other planets, (namely) by pouring out the aqueous moisture of the Moon and the fiery liquid of the Sun; and thereby the terrestrial corporeity of all things mortal is sustained (33).

The 'aqueous moisture' and the 'fiery liquid' are presumably represented on the title-page of the Monas in the drops falling from the moon and the sun on the columns of the portico.

Aphorism 52 provides the clearest instance of how both works are underlaid by the same assumptions. After the dis-

cussion of the resemblance between the seals and the stars and celestial powers, much of the Aphorisms is taken up with an argument for more accurate astronomical observations in order that the celestial powers might be better utilised. The astrologer, Dee says, should know the magnitudes not only of the terrestrial globe, but also of the planets and of all the fixed stars (34). If he is fully conversant with Cosmology and Cosmography, then he can apply this knowledge in the practice of natural and astral magic, 'Astronomia Inferior'. Hence, as he explains in an addition to Aphorism 52 made in 1568, the dark, weak, and almost hidden virtues of things are made most manifest to human senses, having been multiplied by the art of Catoptrics. The diligent investigator of arcana can thereby examine the peculiar powers not only of the stars, but also of other things which exercise their influence by sensible rays (35).

The reference here to Catoptrics harks back to Aphorism 14, where Dee used the figure of a concave mirror. In the Praeface, he states that that part of Perspective which deals with glasses, 'which name, Glasse, is a generall name ... for any thing, from which, a Beame reboundeth', is called Catoptrics (36). This is a truly cosmic art because, in Aphorism 28, he likens the 'primum mobile' to a spherical concave mirror (37). By Catoptrics, then, the powers latent throughout the universe can be concentrated into a 'sigillum', such as the hieroglyphic monad, which in turn can act through the imaginative spirit to produce wonders within the mind. The imprinting of the monad, the sum of universal knowledge, upon the human consciousness could thus work

wonders of the kind outlined in the Epistle and resulting in the attainment of a state of the highest spirituality (38).

It should not be forgotten that Dee's apology for Roger Bacon was entitled the Speculum Unitatis and that it was written in 1557, the year in which he first conceived the monad, his own hieroglyph of unity. In his discussion of the sources for Dee's ideas in the Aphorisms, Calder deals with Alkindi, Bacon, and Urso, of whom Alkindi appears to have been most important. Dee took the theory of emanations from Alkindi's Neoplatonised Aristotelianism, while he took the doctrine of the multiplication of species, mentioned in Aphorism 52, from Bacon, who had himself taken it from Alkindi (39). It is highly probable that Dee's Apologia, in which he asserted that Bacon had operated only through philosophy and not through the aid of demons, included some discussion of these cosmological ideas. The notion of the monad itself would have grown from, or inspired, the Apologia. The Aphorisms, with their debt to Bacon, would in this case have been a development of the earlier work.

Dee had obviously developed his conception of the monad by the time he came to write the Monas in 1564, but the marginal note to Aphorism 52, made in 1568, confirms that the monad of the 1558 Aphorisms contained most, if not all, of the significance ascribed to it in the Monas. Indeed, in Theorem 13 of that work, he presents a diagram of the 'principal monadic anatomy of the whole of Astronomia Inferior' derived from the hieroglyphic planetary signs as devised by the most ancient wise men. This is obviously connected to

Aphorism 52, although the obscurity of 'Astronomia Inferior' is increased rather than reduced (40).

In the remainder of the Aphorisms, Dee continues with his theories of effluvia and his pleas for more accurate astronomical observations. He is adamant that the stars themselves do not cause evil; if man acts in an evil way, then this is because there is evil latent within him (41). By the time he comes to Aphorism 118, he has outlined, albeit obscurely, a scheme for the structure of the cosmos and for the operation of forces within it. He has also sketched in the ways in which the skilful operator can identify and manipulate these forces. The import of Aphorism 118 is that the astrologer, or rather the Cosmopolites, once he has the knowledge of astral and natural magic, should act at the propitious time and in the proper place. Earthly locations have their fit times when they are at their most receptive to the secret influences of the heavenly bodies. At a point in time which the astrologer can calculate there is a congruence between an earthly location and a heavenly configuration. Such a congruence marks the occurrence of an important event in human history, as in the case of the Magi and the star in Bethlehem. Knowledge of Magic, therefore, enables man to work marvels through control of the secret forces of the universe and to chart and predict by Astrology the course of history. The essentially religious nature of the work is confirmed by the final aphorisms, numbers 119 and 120:

Did these elemental sympathies not exist,
no knowledge would be possible to men: as

the thrice-great Mercurius teaches us.

It is these aspects of the Deity, and the emanations from them that upheld the orderly continuity in naturally occurring things throughout the universe (42).

The citation of Trismegistus engages the whole complex of what Dee understood as ancient Wisdom. Just as in the Monas he thought he may have rediscovered the learning of the ancients, so in the Aphorisms he expounds Hermetic doctrine.

Dee consistently attached great importance to both works, as is shown by the reissue of the Aphorisms in 1568, the reference to the Monas in that edition, the presentation of the Monas to Rudolph II in 1584, and numerous citations of them in his apologetic writings. Each arises out of a single, carefully integrated system. In the Aphorisms, Dee expounds the cosmological and astrological theories he was later to explain in the Praeface and presents the hieroglyphic monad as their principal focus, while in the Monas he largely reverses the process, working outward from a rigorous if occasionally baffling, initial analysis of the monad.

His Cosmology is profoundly Neoplatonic, making extensive use of the notion of emanation, but combining it with a profoundly Christian vision on which Aphorism 120 sheds significant light. There is a tentative identification of the Neoplatonic One with the Christian God, the emanations from Whom provide order and continuity throughout the universe. These emanations are the elemental sympathies, such as the natural beams of light and secret planetary and

stellar influences, of which Dee writes in the Aphorisms, the Monas, and in his discussion of Astrology in the Praeface. These natural forces, then, are aspects of God. They are the instruments by which He exercises His control of the universe, and it is upon them that the Cosmopolites, as described in The Brytish Monarchie, must meditate in order to understand the divine cosmopolitical government. But as these emanations and sympathies coalesce within the figure of the monad it would presumably be equally as efficacious for the Cosmopolites to contemplate that hieroglyph in order to achieve citizenship of the universal city.

The parallel in Cosmopolitics between the government of earthly kingdoms and of the cosmos suggests that the temporal philosopher-ruler has, or should have, some power over his subjects and dominions corresponding to the emanations from the Godhead. This would no doubt be provided in part by the authority inherent in his position, by his personal qualities, as in the case Maximilian, or by his control over such constitutional and administrative machinery as might exist. But with a 'sigillum' as strong as that of the hieroglyphic monad, he would be able to harness the powerful planetary and astral forces to influence human affairs. The Monas, Dee believes, can reform Christendom simply by virtue of the incomparable learning contained within it, but as has been *seen from the significance* in terms of cosmic Catoptrics it also has tremendous magical properties, which can be employed by the skilful operator. Dee's appeal to Maximilian to rule in accordance with the Wisdom of the Monas is supplemented by a hidden exhortation to employ the Magic of the hieroglyphic monad in the affairs of state. This need not imply that day-to-day

administration should be run magically, but that policy should be shaped by reference to the power latent within the monad. An instance of quite what Dee meant by this, as I shall show in Chapter XII, is provided by General and Rare Memorials, where Elizabeth is urged to take advantage of favourable heavenly movements and to draw down the celestial and angelic powers into the service of man. The philosopher-ruler, therefore, must be an active magus, fully conversant with that Wisdom shared by the Aphorisms, and the Monas, and which is more fully explained in the Praeface.

It is important to appreciate the Wisdom of the Praeface because, although it is of a piece with that of the other two works, unlike these it can be shown to connect directly with the 1570 Synopsis, which provides the basis for General and Rare Memorials. The Synopsis is Dee's model for the realization of his vision of cosmopolitical government to which a new, and only partly revealed, magical element has now been added.

CHAPTER VI

WISDOM: THE 'MATHEMATICALL PRAEFACE'

I have described the Praeface as an introduction to the mathematical philosophy of the Aphorisms and the Monas, which it certainly was, as is shown by its treatment of cosmological and astrological theory. It was an explanatory guide for academic and non-academic readers to show how the mathematical arts and sciences structured and regulated all things, and Dee intended that it should lead naturally into Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements from Greek into English. But the Fraeface was considerably more than this, as I shall demonstrate in this chapter. It was effectively an exposition and a defence of the entire religious and philosophical tradition within which Dee was working, and I shall define the ideas current in this tradition as they affect the Praeface. In the next chapter, I shall examine the broad themes of this syncretistic tradition, which embraced a host of sages and philosophers from Pythagoras, Euclid, and Boethius, to Pico and Trithemius, amongst whom, for Dee, the masters were Plato and Moses. Dee's philosophical synthesis leads to the heart of Cosmopolitics, which becomes, for him, a culmination and fulfilment of the whole development of the ancient Wisdom. His is a profoundly and piously Christian vision, shaped and sanctioned by the pristine knowledge of the pagans. And the whole range of his studies is focused upon his theory of the state, which draws extensively, if at times superficially, upon the work of earlier thinkers, particularly The Republic, The Laws, and the Epinomis of Plato. The

study of Dee's sources, therefore, assists in defining his own political philosophy, in addition to explaining the sense of historical mission by which he felt himself to be impelled.

Cosmopolitics is Dee's grand design to elevate humanity to an harmonious relationship with God and the rest of the cosmos through subservience to His will and through observance of the precepts of the divine Wisdom presented in such works as the Monas, the Aphorisms, and the Praeface. The ultimate purpose of Cosmopolitics, the salvation of mankind, was to be achieved through the foundation of a theocracy governed in accordance with the principles of this Wisdom and based upon that model of the state outlined in the 1570 Synopsis and developed in General and Rare Memorials of 1576-7. Dee's political philosophy, therefore, is crucially important as the focus for the whole range of disciplines comprising Cosmopolitics. It unifies the system and provides it with an internal coherence by establishing a framework within which all the diffuse strands of his work are ordered and organised into a complete and consistently developed whole. The significance attaching to political philosophy within the corpus of Dee's thought has been passed over by previous commentators on his life and mental world, although it is precisely this aspect of his work which offered him a ready justification for his other researches, including those into more esoteric areas of study. All his learning was arranged around his political philosophy; which he translated into a programme of action in the Synopsis and General and Rare Memorials. Even his

most secret preoccupations, his explorations into angelology, were integrated into this political programme which was the mechanism for the realisation of the cosmopolitical theocracy.

Although his ultimate objectives were religious, Dee, first and foremost, was a political philosopher. This central aspect of his work which previously has received little or no attention, marks the point where he departed from the world of ideas and sought to apply his theories to the world of politics and diplomacy. The unfortunate loss of the 1565 original of the Synopsis makes it difficult to assess Dee as a constitutional theorist: the rather rough-and-ready summary in the 1570 manuscript provides only general indications of his conception of governmental organisation, a more detailed analysis presumably being contained in the 1565 original. His other works contain hints and suggestions as to how he sought, in practical terms, to achieve a re-ordering of the machinery and the structure of government that would ensure the direction of the councils of state by reference to the Wisdom to which he alone, as the Cosmopolites, was privy. But although definitive statements by Dee himself on the nature of his constitutional theory are lacking, an accurate impression of his position can nevertheless be achieved through consideration of his sources particularly in the Fraeface, where he most fully acknowledges his borrowings.

Dee's political stance was anti-democratic. Power was to be concentrated in the hands of a small ruling élite

which also would have unique knowledge of the divine Wisdom by which the affairs of state were to be shaped and regulated. The mass of the population would merely perform allotted tasks in agriculture, industry, commerce, or military service, secure in the knowledge that the authority which directed their lives acted in full accordance with God's truth, although the nature of this divine verity was withheld from them and revealed only to those adept in esoteric lore. Government was the business of a philosopher-ruler, himself deeply versed in the divine secrets and an exemplar of philosophical virtue, and of a body of those philosophers most skilled in the study of Wisdom, whose duty it was to advise and guide the philosopher-ruler. Dee was hardly original in suggesting such a system. Indeed, from evidence within the Praeface, it is clear that he was adapting the models of the state outlined by Plato in The Republic and The Laws, but more particularly in the Epinomis, believed by Dee to be the sequel to The Laws, where the duties and responsibilities of this advisory body, the Nocturnal Council, are set out in detail. It is the function of this Council of Guardians to decide what is good for the community and to ensure that all legislation be framed to achieve the preeminence of Virtue within the state. And, with this in mind, Plato provides an educational programme embracing Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, which is properly a study of Cosmology and Theology, designed to equip a student with the knowledge necessary to qualify him to become a Council member. This parallels that programme prescribed for the philosopher-ruler in Book VII of

The Republic. And both of these curricula correspond to the general educational scheme detailed in the Praeface where Dee was consciously extending and explaining the tradition of ancient Wisdom as a part of his campaign to dispel the ignorance of sacred matters which he found in his contemporaries. Therefore, the constitutional model upon which Dee based his cosmopolitical state, as well as the Wisdom by which it was to be governed were substantially, but certainly not exclusively, 'Platonic'.

This statement is subject to two important qualifications concerning, firstly, the elements other than 'Platonism' in the ancient Wisdom and, secondly, the ends which the state was designed to serve in Dee's theory, these being peculiar to Cosmopolitics and to Dee's understanding of his own historical significance as prophet of a universal religious reformation. Although, for Dee, Plato was a philosopher of the highest standing and a principal channel for disseminating the ancient Wisdom to his followers, there were other sages of equal, or even greater, importance within the tradition who had made unique contributions to its development. The most notable of these was Moses, whom Dee revered as the wielder of an immensely powerful magic in pursuit of the task set him by God. Thus, while Dee claims Plato for his mentor in Mathematics in the Praeface, he did not regard him as the supreme, determining authority for the ancient Wisdom, but rather as an heir to, and a leading proponent of, the work of his predecessors in the tradition with whose ideas his own work was consistent. Dee uses the tradition to reconcile his 'Platonic' political

thought to Christianity, and he places the whole within the framework of his theories concerning the 6,000-year universal history and the pattern he believed he had detected within it. This syncretistic approach is illustrated by his treatment of Justice and Law, the foundations of universal order in *Cosmopolitics*, where he draws a distinction between the law governing behaviour towards God and that governing behaviour towards man. Dee's position derives from the Ten Commandments of Mosaic law, which he presents as the source for the ethical and legal thought of both Plato and Aristotle, as well as for Cicero, whose De Officiis he cites in The Brytish Monarchie as a work of primary importance in determining the regulations governing the behaviour of individuals within the society he envisaged in his cosmopolitical theocracy.

In Dee's state, religion is the basis of law and ethics, and, while God is the ultimate sovereign in the mystical universal city, the temporal ruler acts to further His will in the terrestrial sphere. In his proposed application of his political theory to Britain, Dee appealed to Elizabeth to seize the astrologically determined opportunities which he believed arose in international affairs as a result of the operation of divine forces and to found a North Atlantic maritime empire under a government directed by a council of four philosophers adept in the ancient Wisdom. By these means, and by observance of God's law, he argued that Britain would enjoy unprecedented power and prosperity and would realise its historical destiny. His conviction of the imminence of British greatness derived from his prophetic

history of the universe, which he developed during the 1540s and 1550s, and from the mathematical philosophy outlined in the Praeface, where he acknowledges particular debts to the prophetic method of Joachim of Fiore and Giovanni Pico. This global vision was related closely to his belief in his own destiny as the instigator of a universal religious regeneration resulting in the establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy and of a system of magical government based upon the hieroglyphic monad. The state which Dee was to introduce would fulfil specific national ambitions not contained within the original Platonic model. The philosopher-ruler and Council of Guardians were, for Dee, as, indeed, he believed they were for Plato, custodians and enforcers of divine truth. But in the sixteenth century of the Christian era, with fewer than 500 years remaining before the Final Judgement, it was imperative for Dee that the structure of the state be revised in order to permit the philosopher-ruler and the Guardians to regulate affairs of state in accordance with the precepts of divine verity and so guide mankind towards redemption. To this end, Dee reworked Plato's political philosophy, applying it to the realities of sixteenth-century Europe and incorporating within it his own theory of government based upon the power of the hieroglyphic monad to transform all areas of life.

And just as Dee made his philosophy of the state an essential part of Cosmopolitics, so he made himself indispensable to the realisation of this theocratic ideal by virtue of his unique grasp of the divine Wisdom which was to direct its government. He elaborated this Wisdom in his principal works, from the Aphorisms in 1558, through

the Monas in 1564, to the Praeface in 1570, while in the Synopsis of 1570 and General and Rare Memorials of 1576-7, he incorporated it into his schemes for the achievement of British international supremacy. The internal coherence of the corpus of Dee's writings relies greatly upon the consistency with which he developed his theories, but it is also substantially indebted to the ancient Wisdom itself, which he believed to consist of a single set of divine truths. He had studied the principal authorities within the tradition during the first years of his academic life and, as a result, possessed from a very early stage a foundation upon which to construct his own theories. The ancient Wisdom, therefore, enjoyed a particular importance for the consistency and coherence which it gave to the structure and development of Cosmopolitics, being, for Dee, a fixed and unchangeable body of truth, of which his own work was a culmination.

In effect, the Praeface is an explanation and a justification of Dee's studies in a religious and scientific tradition which had suffered considerable neglect in Tudor England because of the supremacy of the humanistic type of learning (1). It is an introductory guide to the esoteric philosophy of the Aphorisms and the Monas, and has a close relationship with the Synopsis, providing definitions and enlargements of many of the terms and ideas contained in the 1570 manuscript, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter IX. Study of the Praeface can, therefore, illuminate many areas of Cosmopolitics which would otherwise remain unclear and neglected, but, while Dee desired to increase his

contemporaries' knowledge of divine truth through his work, he did not intend that potentially dangerous areas of learning should become commonly accessible. Although his educational programme was limited in scope, it was designed to facilitate the creation of the theocratic state outlined in the 1570 Synopsis by allowing the common people some understanding of the divine verities by which their lives were to be regulated. And Dee's preoccupation, in the Praeface, with mathematical philosophy does not obscure the work's political, and ultimately religious, purpose of familiarising the reading public with the fundamental principles upon which the cosmopolitical theocracy was to be based. These principles he had already enumerated in the Aphorisms and the Monas, as the inter-connections between these works and the Praeface demonstrate.

As with the Aphorisms and the Monas, the title-page of the Praeface provides evidence of continuity between the three works (2). It displays the pantheon of mathematicians and mathematical arts and sciences. Down the left-hand side of the page are Ptolomaeus, Aratus, Hipparchus, Geometria and Arithmetica; down the right-hand side are Marinus, Strabo, Polybius, Astronomia, and Musica. At the bottom of the page, between Arithmetica and Musica, holding his caduceus, sits Mercurius accompanied by his astronomical sign. As in the Monas and the Aphorisms, the sun and the moon are given prominence, appearing in both the top left-hand and right-hand corners. A far more obvious connection, however, is found in the large capital D of 'Diuine', the first word of the Praeface (3). As with the other illustrations, Dee appears to have taken great care over this. Within the D is

contained Dee's paternal coat of arms, gules a lion rampant or, within a bordure indented of the second (4). Above the coat of arms is the Greek Delta, Dee's personal monogram, and below it is the hieroglyphic monad. He is clearly alluding to the esoteric philosophy of the Aphorisms and the Monas.

There is another possible connection with the Monas in Billingsley's Epistle to the Reader, which precedes Dee's Praeface. Billingsley says that there is nothing, apart from God's word, which so beautifies and adorns the soul and mind of man as does the knowledge of good arts and sciences, the knowledge of natural and moral philosophy. The first of these sets before man's eyes all the creatures of God, both in the heavens and on earth. As in a glass, the beholder can see the exceeding majesty and Wisdom of God in so adorning and beautifying these creatures, and in maintaining and conserving them, for man to praise and adore Him, as he is taught by St. Paul (5). Billingsley is alluding to Romans, 1.20-1, a text to which Dee refers in his Epistle to Maximilian II as justifying his new Cabala. The collaboration of Billingsley and Dee over the English Euclid suggests that Billingsley is here offering tacit support for Dee's mathematically-orientated hieroglyphic system, which is confirmed by a further reference to Paul's words in Dee's text:

He that seketh (by (S. Paules aduertisement)
in the Creatures Properties, and wonderfull
vertues, to finde iuste cause, to glorifie
the Aeternall, and Almightye Creator by:
Shall that man, be (in hugger mugger) con-

demned, as a Companion of the Helhoundes,
and a Caller, and Coniunor of wicked and
damned Spirites? (6)

The Praeface, then, is a defence of the Monas, and of the Aphorisms, these works having in some way laid Dee open to charges of necromancy.

Thus, the Wisdom which was the centrepiece of Cosmopolitics had strong associations of conjuration for contemporaries, and Dee devoted a section of the Praeface, 'A Digression Apologeticall', to protesting his Christian piety and the licit nature of his studies. But the objections raised to his cosmopolitical Wisdom necessarily obstructed the acceptance of his political programme, which made it essential that he establish the religious orthodoxy not only of his own ideas, but also of those comprising the tradition of ancient Wisdom. It was in an attempt to achieve this that he provided in the Praeface a lengthy introduction to the mathematical philosophy upon which his cosmopolitical Wisdom was based, and specified some of the primary authorities within the tradition of ancient Wisdom whose ideas he had incorporated into his own system, with brief explanations of those areas of their thought which he considered most important. In the case of Plato, one such area was the theory of the state, which Dee presents as the focus for all Plato's studies, just as his own theocracy was the focus for Cosmopolitics. Plato incorporated mathematical philosophy into the government and administration of his republic to ensure that its citizens pursue a life of virtue, which was also the aim of the 1570 Synopsis, be-

cause, in Cosmopolitics, Virtue was to prepare mankind for salvation. This esoteric lore was essential to the realisation of both Plato's and Dee's political programme, which makes it necessary to examine fully the mathematical philosophy elaborated in the Praeface, with particular reference to its political application, in order to establish more accurately the nature of Cosmopolitics as well as Dee's contemporary significance and influence.

Dee's plan for the exposition of his ideas in the Praeface is structurally simple. There is an introductory section dealing ostensibly with the general nature of Mathematics, followed by individual discussions of each of the mathematical arts and sciences as set out in the schematic 'Groundplat' to the Praeface (7). It is the opening section of the work which is the most important because Dee uses it not only to define and explain basic mathematical concepts, such as the unit and the point, but also to relate these to the religious thought of such sages as Boethius and Giovanni Pico, thus identifying himself with, and seeking to justify, the esoteric Wisdom of the ancients. In this way, he is adhering to his intention of explaining elementary Mathematics, while at the same time using the Praeface as a vehicle for the dissemination of sacred lore and for the promotion of his own cosmopolitical theories. This becomes clear when he moves from his remarks on the ancient Wisdom as expounded by Boethius and Pico to consider the Platonic theory of the state and its incorporation of the mathematical philosophy into its government and administration. Dee clearly endorses the model of the Platonic republic

governed by a philosophical élite, and through the programme of education which he sets out in the Praeface manages subtly to introduce his political philosophy and to present it as an essential part of divinely sanctioned traditional Wisdom . And it is important to follow the stages in this process in order to appreciate fully not only the nature of his theory of the state, particularly as set out in the 1570 Synopsis, but also the ways in which it related to, and coordinated, all other areas of his thought.

The Praeface opens with a discussion of Plato's Mathematics. Plato is 'the greater Master of many worthy Philosophers, and the constant auoucher, and pithy perswader of Vnum, Bonum, and Ens' (8), of the ultimate unity and oneness of all things. He was visited in his Academy by a certain kind of man, lured by the philosopher's fame, intent on procuring worldly goods and dignity. When it was found that the Platonic doctrine was concerned with spiritual, incorporeal considerations, this man abjured the name of Plato. Dee hopes that his own exposition of the mathematical arts will satisfy such unhappy seekers after Platonic Wisdom. He wishes also that 'the Pythagoricall, and Platonicall perfect scholer, and the constant profound Philosopher' may gain great benefit from his work. In keeping with this intention, Dee deals first with the philosophical and religious aspects of Mathematics, with some hints as to their utility in everyday affairs, before addressing himself to Plato's 'fugitiue Scholers' who will 'vse their vtward senses, to the glory of God, the benefite of their Countrey, and their owne secret contentation'. For their use he will

outline the mathematical arts and sciences deriving from Arithmetic and Geometry (9). The patriotic note here echoes the stated aim of the 1570 Synopsis to make Britain flourishing, triumphant, famous, and blessed, and, at a later point in the Praeface, he insists that Plato's 'Scholars' consisted of merchants, mintmasters, goldsmiths, army commanders, and lawyers, all of whom were of great importance in the model state outlined in the 1570 Synopsis (10).

Then Dee moves on to define the operational limits of Mathematics in terms both of the three faculties comprising human nature: mind, imagination, and the senses, and of the cosmic hierarchy descending from the sphere of the ideal Forms of Platonic philosophy to the level of the material and terrestrial. This theory of the intermediate position of Mathematics in the cosmological and human scales Dee could have taken directly from Book VI of The Republic (11). All things which exist, he claims, are called either supernatural, natural, or of a third being. Supernatural things are 'immateriall, simple, indiuisible, incorruptible, & vnchangeable', and are comprehended by the mind alone, while natural things are 'materiall, compounded, diuisible, corruptible, and chaungeable', and can be perceived only by the external senses. The third, mathematical, group of things, Dee explains, can be better understood by way of the comparison between supernatural and natural. 'Thynges Mathematicall' are 'not so absolute and excellent' as the former, nor 'so base and grosse' as the latter, and although immaterial, they are capable of signification by material

things. By the means of art, the particular images of these mathematical things are aggregable and also divisible, but what Dee terms their general forms are 'constant, vnchangeable, vntransformable, and incorruptible'. They cannot at any time be perceived or judged by the senses, nor can they be conceived originally in the mind of man. They are above conjecture and opinion, but stop short of the highest intellectual levels. He concludes from this that they exist in perfect imagination and are 'the Mercurial frute of Dianoeticall discourse', having a 'meruaylous newtralitie'. Probability, conjecture, and sensible proofs are of no value in mathematical matters, where only perfect demonstrations of truths are permissible (12).

Mathematics exists in the imagination, also called by Dee the dianoia, which is Plato's term for the thinking or rational faculty where the cognitive process produces perfect proofs and demonstrations of supernatural truths (13). The imagination, although a distinct entity in its own right, forms a bridge between the senses and the mind which contemplates the ideal forms. In this manner, it parallels, within the hierarchical structure of the human faculties, the rôle of Mathematics within the cosmic hierarchy as the mediator between the natural and supernatural spheres. Thus, while numbers are immaterial, they can be signified by material things, and although the mathematical forms are imperceptible to the senses, their material representations are subject to sensual perception and to comprehension within the rational faculty.

At a later point in the Praeface, Dee elaborates upon this theory with a definition of the 'treble state' of Number, in which he reiterates his belief in the creation by God of all things from the unit. The three 'states' of Number are:

One, in the Creator: an other in euery Creature (in respect of his complete constitution:) and the third, in Spirituall and Angelicall Myndes, and in the Soule of man.

Number had perfect being in the Creator before all creatures, and He created all things numerologically, but although Number in the Creator is immaterial, yet by degrees it stretches forth and applies some likeness of itself to spiritual things, and eventually to a multitude of corporeal things perceived by the senses. Man is trained to learn a certain image or likeness of Number in material things from which he may be led upwards, through the imagination, where numbers are neither spiritual nor corporeal, to contemplate formal numbers (14).

This theory connects directly with the Epistle to Maximilian II where Dee discusses the revolutionary effect which the hieroglyphic monad will have on Arithmetic. Arithmetic previously had denied the relationship between Mathematics and material nature, but the monad reveals that mathematical things are both immaterial and material, incorruptible and corporeal, yet possessed of constant forms. Dee claims that arithmeticians had treated numbers as abstracted from corporeal things and above sensual per-

ceptions, and had hidden them within the recesses of the dianoia, but the Monas would demonstrate that this approach was erroneous because numbers, when separated from their formal properties, were revealed through concrete, corporeal objects (15). The Praeface, in restating the mathematical philosophy underlying the Epistle and the Monas, also reiterates and develops the reforming ideal of these writings by seeking to dispel the false learning at the heart of the contemporary mathematical arts and sciences. Dee's aim in the Praeface is, therefore, identical to that of the Epistle, namely, the initiation of the universal reformation of which the hieroglyphic monad would be the principal agent.

The next stage of Dee's discussion in the Praeface is also important for the Monas. He says that mathematical things are of two main kinds, Number and Magnitude. Number he defines as 'a certayne Mathematicall Summe, of Vnits'.

And, an Vnit, is that thing Mathematicall, Indiuisible, by participation of some likenes of whose property, any thing, which is in deede, or is counted One, may resonably be called One. We account an Vnit, a thing Mathematicall, though it be no Number, and also indiuisible: because, of it, materially, Number doth consist: which, principally, is a thing Mathematicall.

In a marginal note, he provides a revealing indication of what he meant by 'unit':

Note the worde, Vnit, to expresse the Greke

Monas, & not Vnitie: as we haue all,
commonly, till now, vsed (16).

'Monas' here relates to the monad of the hieroglyph which integrates and reconciles all areas of learning within a single magical symbol to form an indivisible oneness reflecting the wholeness and perfection that should exist throughout the cosmos. The monad utilises the secret and invisible forces operative in the universe, redirecting them to effect the reformation of science, philosophy, and religion, which Dee claimed was necessary to achieve not only human, but cosmic harmony too.

Dee's arithmetical theory of the unit, the constituent of Number, was strongly Aristotelian and had a parallel in Geometry in the Euclidian notion of the immaterial, indivisible, and dimensionless point (17). Magnitude is the mathematical thing by which any entity is judged long, broad, or thick. A thick magnitude is called a solid, or a body, and whatever magnitude is either solid or thick is also broad and long. A broad magnitude is a 'Superficies' or a plane, and every plane magnitude has length. A long magnitude is called a line which is neither thick nor broad, but only long, having two ends called points:

A Point, is a thing Mathematicall,
indiuisible, which may haue a certayne
determined situation. If a Poynt moue from
a determined situation, the way wherein
it moued, is also a Line mathematically
produced. Wherupon, of the auncient Mathe-
maticiens, a Line is called the race or

course of a Point. A Poynt we define, by the name of a thing Mathematicall: though it be no Magnitude, and indiuisible: because it is the propre ende, and bound of a Line: which is a true Magnitude.... Therefore though a Poynt be no Magnitude, yet Terminatively we reckon it a thing Mathematicall (as I sayd) by reason it is properly the end, and bound of a line (18).

These definitions of the unit and the point from the Praeface restate, albeit in a much simpler form, some basic principles of the mathematical philosophy of the Monas. Although, in both works, the unit and the point are carefully differentiated, they are linked together as the respective origins of all Number and Magnitude and, therefore, as the joint source of the esoteric Wisdom essential to comprehension of the profoundest truths of Nature and religion. Dee's view in the Monas of the ultimate purpose of Mathematics is exactly the same as that in the Praeface, namely, the attainment of knowledge of God and all areas of His Creation. In Theorem 2 of the Monas, Dee asserts that things first began from a point and a unit, which, in later Theorems, become, with the straight line and the curve, the basic components of the hieroglyphic writing of the new Cabala. The definitions of the unit and the point in the Praeface are essentially restatements of the propositions underlying Theorem 2, that the unit is the beginning of all Number and that the point is the start of all Magnitude. And in Theorem 7, he declares that a line is produced by

the flowing of a point (19).

As the Praeface is only an introductory work on Mathematics, Dee does not venture into far-reaching speculations of the kind presented in the Monas, but the continuity between the works is nevertheless clear. His opening statement in the Praeface of his indebtedness to Platonic and Pythagorean Mathematics merely reflects the heavily Pythagorean emphasis of the numerological and geometrical analyses in the Monas of each portion of the hieroglyphic monad, such as its central cross. He discusses this cross in Theorems 6, 7, and 8, claiming that it symbolises the Pythagorean denary and so was chosen by the early Latin philosophers to represent the number ten and to be the twenty-first letter of their alphabet: twenty-one was the product of the multiplication of three and seven, two other numbers which he considered important in connection with the cross. The introduction here of letter symbolism anticipates his later discussion in the Monas of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets in terms of his new Cabala (20), and although this subject is not directly referred to there, it is a presence latent within the Praeface.

Thus, the Monas assumes extensive knowledge on the reader's part of the Mathematics of the Praeface, the immediate concern of which was to explain elementary mathematical truths to a far wider and less erudite public than that to which the Monas was addressed. However, it should not be assumed that because it was a primer in Mathematics the Praeface did not contain references to the highest

religious mysteries for those prepared to seek them. Rather, Dee indicates lines of enquiry to be pursued by the eager and able student which would lead him to the heart of the tradition of ancient Wisdom that informs the work. This tradition emerges repeatedly throughout the Praeface, the opening section itself being an address to Pythagorean and Platonic scholars. It makes a particularly important re-appearance at this stage of the argument where Dee, having presented his definitions of the point and the unit, turns to consider these in terms of abstract, formal Mathematics. He invokes the revered authority of the Alexandrian Neoplatonist, Boethius (480-524 AD) author of De Consolatione Philosophiae. Boethius's intention had been to reconcile Aristotle with Plato and his Neoplatonism was of an undogmatic kind that allowed him to avoid theologically controversial areas (21). Dee also cites here Joachim of Fiore and Giovanni Pico, another whose ambition it had been to achieve a Platonic-Aristotelian reconciliation.

The Praeface, while being an explanation of elementary Mathematics, is also an introduction to the tradition of ancient Wisdom of which Dee believed his ideas to be a culmination. The Praeface, therefore, has a political dimension because the mathematical philosophy taken and developed by Dee from this tradition is an integral part of a theory of the state which he viewed as an inherent, consistently developed theme in the religious philosophy propounded by the early sages, particularly Plato. This political thought he incorporated into Cosmopolitics, presenting it, in the Epistle to Maximilian II, as an essential feature of the

programme through which the universal reformation would be achieved. And it was in an attempt to demonstrate the licit nature of his political and religious position that he wrote the Praeface, seeking to expound his ideas in a non-controversial manner and to establish their theological orthodoxy. Dee regarded his theory of the state, the focus of Cosmopolitics, as deriving from ancient esoteric lore, all areas of which were structured and regulated by Mathematics and its related arts and sciences. The initial discourse in the Praeface on the unit and the point is thus an introduction not only to mathematical theory in both the Praeface and Euclid's Elements, but also to the whole of the ancient Wisdom which Dee sought to revitalise, as is clear from the citation of Boethius. And he follows his initial statements on the basic constituents of Mathematics with a brief outline of the nature and scope of the tradition of ancient Wisdom in order to prepare for an account of his political philosophy, showing particularly how it derived from Plato and incorporated mathematical, religious thought into the government and administration of the state through the medium of the philosopher-ruler and the Council of Guardians.

Dee proceeds from his definitions of the unit and the point, and his discussion of these as the origins of all things, to a quotation from 'the great & godly Philosopher', Boethius, which endorses his own position, identifies it with the ancient Wisdom, and reconciles the latter to the biblical account of Creation as expounded in the Wisdom of Solomon:

All thinges (which from the very first originall being of thinges, haue bene framed and made) do appeare to be Formed by the reason of Numbers. For this was the principall example or patterne in the minde of the Creator (22).

Boethius' statement affords Dee the opportunity of a short rapturous passage on the wonders of Mathematics, which were used by God in the creation of all creatures, 'in all their distinct partes, properties, natures, and vertues, by order, and most absolute number, brought, from Nothing, to the Formalitie of their being and state'. By Number, therefore, man can study the virtues, natures, properties, and forms of all creatures. Further, with speculative wings he can ascend

to behold in the Glas of Creation, the Forme of Formes, the Exemplar Number of all thinges Numerable: both visible and inuisible; mortall and immortall, Corporall and Spirituall (23).

This reference to the 'Glas of Creation' recalls the 'speculum' and cosmic Catoptrics of the Aphorisms, and at this point in the Fraeface, Dee again quite clearly has in mind Wisdom, 11.17, on the creation of all things by Number, Weight, and Measure. Indeed, on the final page of the Fraeface, he quotes the words of Solomon and points directly to what he believed was the ultimate goal of his studies:

But, vnto God our Creator, let vs all be
thankfull: for that, As he, of his Goodnes,

by his Powre, and in his wisdom, hath Created all thynges, in Number, Waight, and Measure: So, to vs, of hys great Mercy, he hath reuealed Meanes, whereby, to atteyne the sufficient and necessary knowledge of the foresayd hys three principall Instrumentes: Which Meanes, I haue abundantly proued vnto you, to be the Sciences and Artes Mathematicall (24).

This confirms that the Praeface, like the Monas, was directed towards a religious end. Knowledge of God's Creation is to be acquired primarily by Mathematics, but the Wisdom of Solomon should be seen in terms of that other favourite passage of Dee's, Romans, 1.20-1, which emphasises the necessity of exploring all things for knowing God.

The most significant point, however, is the citation of Boethius. The sentences quoted by Dee were one of the most important and most frequently repeated formulations in late antiquity of the view that the material universe was ordered and directed in accordance with a pattern of conceptual numbers in the mind of God (25). Boethius' De institutione arithmetica and De institutione musica were Pythagorean in their numerological theory, Pythagoras being a major source for the theory that the universe was created and arranged according to mathematical principles. Plato, considered a follower of Pythagoras, was another important source for these ideas, which were given considerable sanction by Augustine's reconciliation of Platonism and Christianity. In De Civitate Dei, Augustine draws on the

Platonic account of the Creation of the world by numbers in the Timaeus and he cites the authority of the Bible. He quotes the Wisdom of Solomon, 11.20, Isaiah, 40.26, and Christ's words in Matthew, 10.30(26). But the most influential text for mathematical ideas of this kind in the Renaissance was undoubtedly Proclus' Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements, in which the concept of mathematical knowledge is derived directly from the intermediate place of Mathematics in Plato's scale of knowledge in the Republic(27).

Dee was drawing upon a religio-scientific tradition which had been extensively developed during the Middle Ages and on the continent during the Renaissance. It was especially important in the brand of Florentine Neoplatonism expounded by Giovanni Pico, to which Dee was particularly indebted. Although Pico was noteworthy for his fusion of Cabala with Ficinian Magic and for the great breadth of his syncretism in religion and philosophy, many of the ideas with which he worked had long been current in European thought.

The notions of the mathematical universe, and of its creation in accordance with the properties of numbers are found at the school of Chartres in the twelfth century. Thierry of Chartres suggested that God had formed the universe in compliance with the mathematical ideas in His mind. Therefore, it was necessary to master Mathematics in order to understand fully the account of the Creation in Genesis (28). This view was also put forward by Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century. Bacon, as has been shown, was an important influence on Dee. Particularly

important in the Renaissance revival of Pythagorean Platonism was Nicholas Cusanus (1401-64) who inevitably cites the Wisdom of Solomon, 11.20, as well as Boethius (29). Cusanus conceived of knowledge as symbolic: true knowledge is the explication of the mind itself by applying its inner categories of knowing, such as Space, Time, and Number, to the external world through such sciences as Geometry and Astronomy. By this notion of symbolic knowledge, Cusanus is able to conclude that the human mind is an image of the divine mind in all its wisdom. This is very close to Dee's 'Glas of Creation' because the human mind is conceived by Cusanus as a micro-cosm of the divine, which contains all things as their exemplar. Man, by his intellect, can, therefore understand all things in the universe within himself as well as through study of external reality. Cusanus's concept of symbolic thought was developed by, amongst others, Giovanni Pico, who, however, did not develop the mathematical theory and experimental method of Cusanus (30). The influence of Boethius and Cusanus was very strong on Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, whose mathematical work was closely associated with that of Charles de Bouelles (c. 1470- c. 1553). Bouelles may have been a friend of Cornelius Agrippa about 1509 when Bouelles attacked Trithemius, Agrippa's benefactor, for alleged commerce with demons (31). Another to be greatly influenced by this view of Mathematics was Francesco Giorgi, whose De harmonia mundi, published at Venice in 1525, was an important source for Dee (32). Giorgi uses Boethius' musical theory to explain the universal harmonies and introduces elements from the Hermetic writings.

Dee, then, in his citation of Boethius, is stating a commonplace and referring the reader to one of the most accessible and most widely accepted formulations of the broad tradition within which he was working. It was a tradition which allowed individual thinkers great latitude: the 'conjuror' Bacon, for instance, has common ground with the anti-Trithemian Bouelles. As he cites his sources, Dee more and more identifies himself with the Baconian position. In the Praeface, Dee's view of Nature and Mathematics is very similar to that of Cusanus, particularly regarding the notion of Number as a sum of units with an existence distinct from the multiplicity among physical objects. Cusanus' position was close to those of Pico and Lefèvre, who each accepted the neutral status of Mathematics between abstract ideas and sensible things (33). This was certainly Dee's position in the Praeface, which was strongly influenced by Pico, the first reference to whom occurs in the same paragraph as the quotation from Boethius.

Dee translates Boethius' 'Exemplar' as 'example' or 'pattern', and relates it to the 'Exemplar Number' in the mind of God by which all things can be numbered. Mathematics thus becomes the agency through which the whole of Nature can be known. It is at this point that he rather unexpectedly refers to Joachim of Fiore, whose prophecies were extremely popular on the continent at this time (34). It is likely that he has introduced the subject of Joachite prophecy in the context of Boethian Mathematics in order to justify some application of his own mathematical practice to numerological prophecy. He then calls upon Pico as a 'sufficient witness'

to his claim for Joachim, quoting the tenth and eleventh of Pico's Mathematical Conclusions. It is perhaps strange that Dee does not quote the ninth Mathematical Conclusion, 'By formal, not material, Arithmetic, the best way is had to natural prophecy', because the tenth, 'that Joachim, in his propheties, proceeded by no other way then by Numbers Formall', is obviously an extension of it. To the eleventh conclusion, that Number provides a way of knowing all things, Dee attaches Pico's appendage:

For the verifying of which Conclusion, I promise to aunswere to the 74. Quaestions, vnder written, by the way of Numbers.

He declines to discuss the Conclusiones in order to avoid superfluous prolixity and also because Pico's works are readily available in England. But, he adds, he would like the Mathematical Conclusions to be studied by those who are earnest observers and contemplators of the constant law of numbers which is implanted in all things, both supernatural and natural, and is prescribed to all creatures to be kept inviolably. It will become apparent through proper study of these Conclusions how sincerely, within the bounds of mathematical capability, are disclosed the wonderful mysteries which can be attained to by numbers. Dee claims that he himself can prove all the Conclusiones with the mathematical philosophy of the Præface (35).

Pico, then, is related by Dee to Boethius on the creation by Number and on the Exemplar Number, and the eleventh Mathematical Conclusion can easily be made to agree with the mathematical philosophy descended from Pythagoras.

Thus Dee accepts the authority of Pico on the mathematical philosophy, not merely in the eleven Mathematical Conclusions, but also in the seventy-four supplementary questions. His acceptance, therefore, of Pico's cosmology and his fusion of Magia and Cabala have significant implications for a reading of the Monas. There, Dee reproduces the hierarchy of Pico's cosmology. At the lowest point is the material, corporeal, elemental world, and at the topmost level there is pure intellect. Magia pertains to the former, and Cabala to the latter. Pico's distinction between material and formal Number which he applies in the Heptaplus to matter and intellect, is echoed by Dee in his Epistle to Maximilian II where he discusses the revolutionary effect that the monad would have on conventional Arithmetic, saying that numbers will participate between the intellectual and the corporeal. This is also a fundamental premise of the Praeface. Pico also posits a corruptible, elemental world, surrounded by an intellectual, incorruptible sphere, between which he places the celestial bodies. These combine matter and intellect and possess a rational soul. This scheme is also to be found in the seventy-four supplementary questions to the Mathematical Conclusions (36), numbers having the same qualities for Pico as for Dee.

It is important to note that Dee talks in terms of formal, natural, and rational numbers, while Pico clearly ascribes to Joachim the practice of prophesying by formal numbers. Indeed, from the ninth Mathematical Conclusion, this would seem to be Pico's own method. Dee sees Joachim as operating through the whole range of Number, while Pico

is far more restrictive, but there is sufficient common ground between them for Dee to feel able to cite Pico with such confidence. What Dee understood by Pico's 'natural prophecy' may have included both natural and rational Number. In any event, each of them accepts that Joachim is a reliable prophet proceeding by a correct method.

The Aphorisms may be usefully brought into the discussion at this point because the sensible and the secret rays of Dee's astrological theory can be seen as the emanations of the material and immaterial worlds as set out in Pico's theory of the nature of the celestial region in the Heptaplus (37). Dee's theory in the Aphorisms can certainly be related to Pico's Magical Conclusions and to his discussion of Magia in the Oratio. In his system of natural magic, which he borrows in large part from Ficino (38), Pico deals with precisely those subjects which are the central preoccupations of the Aphorisms: the 'marriage' of earth and heaven, the use of the secret natures of things, the union of lower things with the qualities and virtues of higher things. There is also Dee's mention in the Aphorisms of the curative powers of Music and Medicine which parallels Pico's eighth Mathematical Conclusion.

But while there is such a large area of common ground between them, Dee has moved beyond Pico. Astronomy particularly plays a far more important rôle in his work than in Pico's, being the foundation of his astrological theory in the Aphorisms. These deal with natural magic, that is, with the influence of the celestial region on the material world,

and, as such, they treat of the lower part of Pico's magical theory, not of his combination of Magic and Cabala. That is reserved for the Monas. In the Aphorisms, as he notes in his reference to the work in the Praeface, Dee supplies the 'whole method' of Astrology. A function of the Astrologer is to predict future events, and as Joachim foretold particular events, so does Dee. Material Number is important in Dee's mathematical method as an aid to the consideration of the effect of celestial effluvia upon the corporeal world because he lists amongst those sciences requisite to Astrology, the natural philosophy of the four elements and the art of Graduation. The elements are subjected to detailed treatment in the Aphorisms. According to Dee, therefore, Joachim used formal, supernatural Number and material, natural Number in his prophecies. In this way, he could examine the numerical pattern, the Exemplar Number, in the mind of God and apply his findings in his study of the development of human history. But, Dee says, Joachim also used rational Number. This must be a reference to numbers in the *dianoia* which subsist in perfect Imagination, the Imagination providing the intermediate stage between material and formal Number. The mathematical philosophy of Joachim, therefore, was that of the Aphorisms and the Praeface, as was that of Pico, although Dee considers that he has made considerable advances upon both.

Thus, by this stage in the opening section of the Praeface, Dee has related his initial definitions of the unit and the point to the notion of the creation of the universe in accordance with mathematical principles,

a position he identifies with that syncretistic view of the origins and development of the world's major systems of religion and philosophy propounded by the Florentine Neoplatonists. By such means, he has not only turned the Praeface into a defence of a major intellectual tradition which was in abeyance in Elizabethan England, but has also contrived to use it to present the fundamental religious propositions of the cosmopolitical theories which provide the basis for his more advanced esoteric works, the Aphorisms and the Monas. Additionally, his references to the potentially dangerous subject of prophecy have demonstrated the conformity of Joachite-type schemes and methodology to the tradition of revealed truth as propounded in the Praeface.

This religio-philosophical dimension of the Praeface is further enhanced by the introduction of a political element in the form of the Platonic theory of the state. The initial stages of this first part of the Praeface are a preparation for the exposition of Plato's ideas on Arithmetic and Geometry. These, while they are integral to his mathematical thought, afford Dee the opportunity to expound Plato's political philosophy, as defined by The Republic, The Laws, and the Epinomis, and to use the programme of education there prescribed for the philosopher-ruler and the Council of Guardians as a model for that programme outlined in the Praeface. Plato's purpose in putting forward a syllabus embracing Mathematics, Astronomy, and Theology is primarily political in that it is designed to equip the ruler and his advisers with the knowledge necessary to enable them

to enact laws and to direct the affairs of state in accordance with the divine verities. Similarly, the object of Dee's programme is also political. The Praeface, the principal means for the communication of his educational design, is intended to expound, in a general manner, the Wisdom by which the cosmopolitical theocracy was to be governed, this Wisdom being explained at a very much higher level in the Aphorisms and the Monas. In both Plato's and Dee's schemes, the mathematical philosophy is essential to the proper functioning of the state because of the knowledge it provides of the sacred truths through which government is to be carried on. But Dee intended that Mathematics should have a far wider application than this by virtue of its value to merchants, soldiers, and lawyers. Here he diverges from Plato, who dealt only with theoretical Mathematics and not with the practical and applied Mathematics described in the Praeface and brought by Dee into the service of the state in the 1570 Synopsis. The aim of the Praeface, therefore, to familiarise the reading public with the mathematical arts and sciences, connects directly with the employment of these disciplines in the creation of wealth and the maintenance of military and naval strength in the cosmopolitical theocracy as defined in the 1570 Synopsis. But, owing to the brevity of its explanatory notes, the 1570 manuscript does not provide a comprehensive statement of Dee's political philosophy, and it is necessary to examine in detail not only his other works, such as the Praeface, but also his sources, in this case Plato, in order to appreciate fully the purpose and originality of his

synthesis of borrowed material as well as to understand the nature and objectives of his political thought.

Dee's citation of Plato as the conclusive authority for his mathematical philosophy occurs towards the end of his discussion of Arithmetic. He quotes an apparently minor work in the Platonic canon, the Epinomis, as a primary source of the Wisdom informing his own system, his opinion of this dialogue deriving from the high esteem in which it was held by the Florentine Neoplatonists. Ficino, who saw the Epinomis as an appendage to The Laws, discussed its numerology in his commentaries on the Timaeus and lauded it as the treasury of all Plato's doctrines, a judgement repeated, without acknowledgement, by Dee (39). And Pico, in both his Oratio and his Apologia, quotes that same passage from the Epinomis as does Dee, on Number as the primary source of Wisdom which reinforces the case for the importance of Pico's mathematical and religious philosophy as a determining influence upon Dee's own thought (40). Dee says:

Plato in his booke called Epinomis (which booke is the Threasury of all his doctrine) where, his purpose is, to seke a Science, which, when a man had it, perfectly: he might seme, and so be, in dede, Wise. He briefly, of other Sciences discoursing, findeth them, not hable to bring it to passe: But of the Science of Numbers, he sayth.... That Science, verely, which hath taught mankynde number, shall be able

to bring it to passe. And, I thinke, a certaine God, rather then fortune, to haue giuen vs this gift, for our blisse. For, why should we not Iudge him, who is the Author of all good things, to be also the cause of the greatest good thyng, namely Wisdom? Ther, at length, he proueth Wisedome to be atteyned, by good Skill of Numbers (41).

Although the Epinomis was clearly held to be important, such a short work could not possibly be the compendium, or treasury, of Plato's entire system, but rather it may have been thought to contain 'that which is most precious of all Plato's Wisdom', in the sense that the key, or keys, to all his doctrines were to be found there. Dee's evaluation of the importance of the Epinomis as the touchstone of Plato's thought allows him the opportunity to range through Plato's other writings, selecting and incorporating into his own theories those aspects of Plato's work which endorsed and amplified his own ideas, and excluding and ignoring other aspects which were not compatible. In this way, he could demonstrate the agreement between his and Plato's systems and so prove not only the consistency of his religious and political philosophy with the ancient Wisdom, but also the reconcilability of all major systems of religion and philosophy in accordance with that interpretation of the intellectual history of the world expounded by the Florentine Neoplatonists.

Immediately following his confirmation of Plato's estimate of the primacy of Number as the source of Wisdom, Dee asserts that amongst the sciences Arithmetic is ranked second only to Theology, while next below Arithmetic stands Geometry, these three being the principal constituents of Wisdom. This reaffirms the religious basis of Mathematics, connecting it with the Cabala which man, according to Dee in the Epistle to Maximilian II (42), also received from God. But, additionally, Mathematics has a political dimension for which Plato is again Dee's authority, the cosmopolitical theocracy under its philosopher-ruler being modelled substantially upon the Platonic republic.

One of Plato's main preoccupations concerning Mathematics was to demonstrate the value of Arithmetic, Geometry and their related subjects to his political philosophy. In The Republic, Plato described a society governed by philosophers. He was not concerned to define a social structure or to specify laws and regulations, assuming that these would inevitably develop with knowledge of the eternal truths by which the state was to be governed. In The Statesman, he restated the ideal of the philosopher-ruler, but it was in The Laws that he further substantially developed his theory of the state. In this work, he laid far greater emphasis on the programme of law necessary for the realisation of the philosophically-governed state. It is only at the end of The Laws that he considers the body responsible for government, the Nocturnal Council. This must govern in accordance with Virtue, and its members were to be educated according to a programme set out in the Epinomis. The Wisdom which is the

primary component of Virtue consists of Theology, Arithmetic, and Geometry (43).

Plato's first major statement of the curriculum to be pursued by the philosopher-ruler and his advisers is set out in Book VII of The Republic. It embraces Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Pythagorean Harmonics, which, together, will provide the rulers with the knowledge necessary to direct affairs of state in accordance with the idea of the Good, a concept corresponding to divine 'Veritie' in Dee's scheme. The republic is thus a theocracy governed by reference to sacred truths and astronomical laws, which identifies it closely with Dee's cosmopolitical state. Indeed, Dee took many of his ideas on the general nature and function of Geometry from The Republic and, in the Praeface, quotes virtually the whole of the discourse on plane Geometry from Socrates' outline in Book VII of the programme of education to be pursued by the philosopher-ruler, thereby signifying his approval of, and agreement with, the content and purpose of Plato's syllabus. Dee's most important quotation from The Republic concerns Plato's judgement of the primary and derivative uses of Geometry:

... Geometrie is learned, for the knowyng of that, which is euer, and not of that, which, in tyme, both is bred and is brought to an ende, &c. Geometrie is the knowledge of that which is euerlastyng. It will lift vp therfore... our mynde to the Veritie: and by that meanes, it will prepare the Thought, to the Philosophicall loue of wisdome: that we may turne or conuert,

toward heauenly thinges [both mynde and
thought] which now, otherwise then be-
commeth vs, we cast down on base or in-
ferior things. &c... But, also, we know,
that for the more easy learnyng of all
Artes, it importeth much, wether one haue
any knowledge in Geometrie, or no. &...(44).

Geometry, therefore, is linked firmly to Arithmetic as a principal means to the attainment of divine Wisdom and so is indispensable to cosmopolitical government. However, important though The Republic is, it is in the Epinomis, the treasury of Plato's doctrines; that the most detailed account of the educational programme is to be found and it is this programme that knits together, within a political design, all the many themes of Plato's system in such a manner as to provide Dee with a model for his own political philosophy.

The Epinomis is concerned with Mathematics in various forms and can be viewed as a continuation of The Laws with the three disputants in that work: Cleinias of Crete, Megillus of Sparta, and the Athenian visitor, taking up their previous day's debate. The Epinomis sets out the programme of education proposed for the members of the Nocturnal Council, mentioned briefly at the end of The Laws, whose duty it would be to regulate and constantly review the laws of the state. This programme is very similar to that prescribed for the philosopher-ruler in The Republic. The Council would also have to enquire into the state's moral standards, by reference to which it would formulate legislation, taking care to explain it to the population. It would not be sufficient merely

to understand the nature of the four virtues listed by the Athenian: Courage, Temperance, Justice, and Wisdom. Rather, the Council would also have to understand the common element of Virtue linking them together, and accordingly there is a programme of higher education, incorporating Theology and Cosmology, designed to realise this goal. Therefore, only a master of philosophy could hope to become a council member and, the Athenian asserts, only such a person is fitted to direct affairs of state.

In the Epinomis, the Athenian sets out his educational scheme, greatly expanding his words at the end of The Laws. The curriculum consists largely of Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy (45). The last of these is in effect, a study of Theology, and of a cosmic life-principle involving consideration of the several orders of divine beings, and connects closely with parts of the Timaeus. The Athenian discusses the hierarchy of the elements, earth, water, air, fire, and includes aether between air and fire, although Plato in the Timaeus does not consider this to be an element in its own right (46). The Epinomis closes with the Athenian's exposition of the special kind of Mathematics outlined in The Laws: computation and the study of Number; Magnitudes; and the application of these mutually related disciplines to Astronomy (47). In The Laws, the Athenian has said that these subjects must be kept from the common people and should only be studied by a chosen few, that is, the members of the Nocturnal Council, otherwise referred to as the Guardians. This anti-democratic position echoes that adopted by Socrates in The Republic, the educational programme for the

Council being closely akin to Socrates' curriculum for the philosopher-king. The Council and the philosopher-king derive from a theory which stated that government should be conducted with reference to the highest verities for the common good by those possessing the most profound philosophical attainments. There should be no consultation with the commons. The Wisdom by which the rulers are to govern encompasses the Timaeus, The Republic, and The Laws, and provides the core of doctrine which Dee believed was contained in the Epinomis.

Thus, there was a version of Plato's political thought with which Dee could endorse his own estimate of the universal importance of Arithmetic and Geometry, or as Dee called it, Megethology (48). His opinion of the significance of the Epinomis allows him to quote from both that work and The Republic to justify his own closely interrelated arithmetical and megethological theories. The Epinomis also has the weight of the Timaeus and The Laws behind it, and Dee uses it as a touchstone for the entire corpus of Plato's political and metaphysical thought, but this does not show in detail the extent to which Dee accepted Plato's political philosophy. If Mathematics is fundamental to all areas of study, then this must include political theory also, and it is necessary to examine more closely the context within which Dee introduces the quotation from the Epinomis on the primacy of Number as a source of knowledge of sacred truths in order to ascertain the indebtedness of Cosmopolitics to Platonic political theory.

The quotation occurs in the discussion of Arithmetic when Dee, having outlined his general philosophy of Mathematics and its origins in the ancient Wisdom, emphasises the practical value of Arithmetic for mintmasters, goldsmiths, physicians, soldiers, jurists and lawyers, both civil and canon. The passage immediately preceding the quotation is especially important for what it reveals of Dee's application of Arithmetic to the judicial aspects of his constitutional theory and for the manner in which he incorporates both human and cosmic considerations into his political philosophy:

Hereby, easely, ye may now coniecture: that in the Canon law: and in the lawes of the Realme (which with vs, beare the chief Authoritie), Iustice and equity might be greatly preferred, and skilfully executed, through due skill of Arithmetike, and proportions appertaining. The worthy Philosophers, and prudent lawmakers (who have written many bookes De Republica: How the best state of Common wealthes might be procured and maintained,) haue very well determined of Iustice: (which, not onely, is the Base and foundation of Common weales: but also the totall perfection of all our workes, words, and thoughtes:) defining it, to be that vertue, by which, to euery one, is rendred, that to him appertaineth. God challengeth this at our handes, to be honored as God: to be loued, as a father: to be feared as a Lord & master. Our neigh-

bours proportion, is also prescribed of the Almighty lawmaker: which is, to do to other, euen as we would be done vnto. These proportions, are in Iustice necessary: in duety, commendable: and of Common wealthes, the life, strength, stay, and flourishing. Aristotle in his Ethikes (to fatch the sede of Iustice, and light of direction, to vse and execute the same) was fayne to fly to the perfection, and power of Number: for proportions Arithmetically and Geometrically (49).

A basic element of Cosmopolitics is the requirement that all human activity be directed to fulfil God's purpose through observance of divine law. Here, this requirement is conceived both in Christian and in what Dee would like to maintain are Platonic terms. Dee distinguishes the law governing behaviour towards God from that governing behaviour towards man. This position derives from the Ten Commandments, the first four of which deal with the law as it relates to the honour and worship of God, and the remaining six with human relationships. Although Dee's words echo those of God to Moses, he interprets the Commandments in the light of Solomon's words on the arrangement of all things by Number, Weight, and Measure, and integrates them with his own brand of Platonism, into which he also incorporates the considerable authority of Aristotle, who thus too becomes a religious philosopher in line from Moses.

Although Dee argues, cosmopolitically, that Justice

and Law are the foundations of universal order his position here is rather Ciceronian than Platonic. His definition of Justice as that virtue by which each man receives that which is his due is one propounded by Cicero in his De Re Publica, but specifically rejected by Socrates near the beginning of The Republic (50). Thus, while Dee's indebtedness to Plato's political philosophy is considerable, his adherence is not slavish and he blurs, and even avoids, any inconvenient discrepancies between those of his sources whom he wished to present as reconciled within a consistent and coherent tradition of ancient Wisdom. Similarly, he is prepared to cite authorities in such a way as to imply complete, or substantial, agreement between individuals not noted for their philosophical compatibility. Here, his passing reference to Aristotle suggests the reconciliation of the theories of arithmetic and geometric distributive Justice in the Nicomachean Ethics, together with their political ramifications, with Platonic and Ciceronian principles (51). All of these sources, Dee implies, combine and interact to produce a model upon which he bases the cosmopolitical theocracy. He observes that in England, canon law is subordinate to secular law, and it is through these that Justice and equity should be applied arithmetically. He speaks of Justice in two senses: it is fundamental in shaping the structure of the state for the promotion of the common good, and it is also an ideal of behaviour and attainment to which all people should aspire, individually and collectively. Essentially, it is that virtue by which both God and man receive what is theirs by right, and as such it embraces both religion and morality.

The organisation and direction of the community's affairs by reference to Virtue complements God's government of the one universal city, and the establishment of a system of government based upon observance of divine law is a necessary part of the cosmopolitical process for the fulfilment of God's purpose. This scheme provides the ultimate, religious limits of Dee's theory of the state, which has as its goal the achievement of individual and social perfection. His political thought, heavily Platonic and permeated by mathematical philosophy, is placed in a Christian framework in which the time allowed for mankind to prepare itself for the Final Judgement is strictly delimited (52). Dee claims that the Wisdom he expounds will fit man for salvation and that his scheme for the organisation of the state will ensure the direction of human affairs in accordance with this Wisdom and so revitalise Christendom.

Dee's main purpose in his discussion of legal theory is to demonstrate the reliance of Law and Justice upon Mathematics, particularly Arithmetic, and upon Proportion (53). Calculation is necessary, for instance, in the arrangement of just and equitable settlements as is evidenced in the law of ancient Rome (54). Dee claims that all legal problems, including questions of the relationship of man to God and of ethical rules governing human behaviour, are soluble through Mathematics: all disputes can be settled through the correct apportionment of rights, property, or whatever is at issue. Such a practice provides the life, the strength, the support, and the prosperity of the state. This whole discussion of Law in the Fraeface is of great importance to the outline

of Justice in the 1570 Synopsis.

Dee's citation of Aristotle is a reference to Book V, Chapter III of the Nicomachean Ethics where Justice is discussed in terms of arithmetical and geometrical proportion. Aristotle argues that Justice involves the equal and the proportionate, which he explains through a series of arithmetical and geometrical ratios, using numbers and diagrams (55). But Plato rather than Aristotle is Dee's primary authority. While Aristotle is said to have flown gladly to the power and perfection of numbers, it is Plato who supplies the 'great Testimony' which sets the seal on Dee's disquisition. This placing of the two Greeks in a single tradition is a hallmark of the syncretistic approach to philosophy and theology within which Dee worked.

Thus Dee's theory of Law and of Justice is deeply influenced by his understanding of Plato. These concepts are the foundations of the state, of individual perfection, and of Cosmopolitics. They are shaped and applied in accordance with mathematical principles which Dee claims derive from Plato. The quotation from the Epinomis is intended to demonstrate that Dee's system agreed with Plato's and that a single mathematical religious philosophy was the basis of the entire corpus of their thought. The Epinomis, as the 'treasury' of Plato's Wisdom, contains within itself the most important doctrines of The Republic, the Timaeus, and The Laws, pre-eminent amongst which is the theory of the state. Dee endorses Plato's political philosophy by his use of those works, the Epinomis and Book VII of The Republic, dealing with the character and education of the philosopher.

-ruler and with the necessity for government by those schooled in Virtue, particularly in Wisdom. The authority of Plato extends over the whole range of Dee's studies from Arithmetic and Geometry to Cosmopolitics, and the Pythagorean and Platonic mathematical philosophy of the Praeface is, therefore, a primary influence on the Synopsis.

There is a further reference to the Epinomis in the Praeface, where again Dee's synthesis of Mosaic, Platonic, Neoplatonic, and Christian thought is evident. He begins his discussion of Astronomy with the Firmament of Genesis, which he relates to Psalm 19:

'The Heauens declare the glory of God, and the Firmament (Ha Rakia) sheweth forth the workes of his handes'.

He then considers the Neoplatonic theory of emanation outlined in the Aphorisms and introduces a Christian reading of the celestial bodies (56). His description of these as the 'most pure, beautiful, and Mighty Corporall Creatures' echoes the Timaeus and the Epinomis on the planetary deities (57). He alludes to the symbolic identification of Christ with the sun before quoting Plato:

... (saith Plato in Epinomis)... Be ye not ignorant, Astronomie to be a thyng of excellent wisdom (58).

The Cosmology of the Epinomis is thus identified with that of the Bible and, as is to be expected, the Neoplatonists. And just as Astronomy is important in Cosmopolitics, so it is a principal area of knowledge required for the Guardians in the Epinomis.

Dee's quotations from the Epinomis and The Republic reveal his agreement with Plato's theory of the state, particularly concerning the necessity for government in accordance with the principles of divine Wisdom. Dee believed also that his Wisdom was essentially that of Plato. Further, he accepted Pico's mathematical philosophy, which Pico claimed was but the rediscovered Wisdom of the ancients, citing in his Oratio the same passage from the Epinomis as Dee himself was to use (59). Orpheus was the supposed source of his knowledge amongst the Greeks, he having obtained it from the Hermetic and Mosaic Wisdom of the Egyptians, and it was this learning that was communicated to Pythagoras and Plato. Dee, therefore, saw himself as standing in line from Moses and Plato.

In their political philosophies, both Dee and Plato adopt anti-democratic stances. In the Epistle to Maximilian II, Dee lays particular emphasis on the necessity of withholding Wisdom from the common people, as does Plato in The Republic, The Laws, and the Epinomis. In Book VII of The Laws, for instance, the Athenian says that Number, Magnitude, and Astronomy, which form the basis of the programme of higher education prescribed for the Nocturnal Council, are subjects to be studied only by gentlemen (60), and the Guardians who constitute the Council and who decide what is good for the community, are recruited only from those most accomplished in philosophy. Yet it must be acknowledged that Dee, by means of the Praeface, was committed to an improvement of the lot of the common man through an explanation of the utility of elementary Mathematics.

Although Dee's summaries, in the Epistle to Maximilian II and in the Praeface, of the learning concentrated into Wisdom are far more detailed than anything outlined by Plato in his educational programme, there are major areas of agreement between the two systems. Both assert the primary importance of Mathematics, claiming that Arithmetic and Geometry inform all things and lead to comprehension of the highest truths. And each is convinced of the importance of Mathematics in the service of the state through the agency of a philosopher-ruler or Council of Guardians. In the Praeface, Dee outlines an educational scheme for the general reader, corresponding to Plato's for the philosopher-ruler, which does not divulge what he considered dangerous knowledge of the kind contained in the Monas. Both schemes begin with Arithmetic and proceed to Geometry, which is its subordinate, before relating these to Cosmology and Theology, the latter being supreme above all. Dee's quotation from The Republic of Socrates' teaching on Geometry indicates that he accepted the fundamental premises of Plato's programme. Both schemes share a common cosmological framework based on the distinction between the corporeal and the formal, and both accept, through their astrological theories, the operation of planetary influences. And, significantly, each is directed towards an ultimately theological conclusion.

The Praeface, then, is an exposition of elementary applied Mathematics and an introduction to that higher mathematical Wisdom which informs the Monas and the Aphorisms. It is a defence of a religio-philosophical tradition which asserted the existence of a core of original divine truth

that had been communicated secretly amongst the ancient philosophers. This tradition was fundamental in shaping Dee's own thought, and it permeates all areas of the Praeface, which thus becomes a defence not only of Dee's piety against charges of necromancy and an explanation of his general religious position, but also a justification of an entire scientific and theological system that had fallen into abeyance in Tudor England. Dee concerned himself only with the less abstruse elements in this tradition in the Praeface, being convinced of the need to keep what he thought was dangerous knowledge of the higher mysteries away from the common people. I have dealt so far only with those aspects of this tradition as they affect the statement of the mathematical philosophy of the Praeface, but in the following chapter I shall examine other features of this tradition, particularly in relation to Dee's personal religious position as outlined in his 'Digression' in the Praeface. This is necessary in order to understand more clearly the ideas with which he was working and so to appreciate the nature of the system he sought to incorporate into his political thought.

It is the theory of the state in Cosmopolitics which focuses the whole range of Dee's studies. The endorsement in the Praeface of the general outline of Plato's political philosophy and of the programme for the education of the philosopher-ruler makes Plato a major source for Dee's ideas on the organisation of the state in the Synopsis, upon which Cosmopolitics is based. Also, the emphasis in the Praeface on the importance of applied Mathematics in the creation of national prosperity connects with the over-

all objectives stated in the 1570 Synopsis. The final goal of Cosmopolitics, the salvation of mankind, will be achieved through the creation of a state governed in accordance with the principles of the divine Wisdom contained in the Aphorisms, the Monas, and the Praeface. This Wisdom was the summation of the ancient lore to which Dee believed he was privy and to which he added the results of his own researches, notably the new Cabala. His overriding motives were always religious and his personal position was closely identified with his vision of human destiny. He saw a special rôle for himself in the historical fulfilment of God's purpose as the communicator of the divine truths necessary for the achievement of salvation. As the cosmopolitical philosopher, he had to be especially careful in maintaining his own carefully defined position and in working strictly from the pristine verities in the formulation of his theories. The Ancient Theology thus determined both his personal stance and Cosmopolitics, and between the two there was continual interaction.

CHAPTER VII

THE GENEALOGY OF WISDOM

While the immediate concern of this chapter is to define the broad themes of the ancient Wisdom, as they were understood by Dee, the final objectives are to demonstrate the importance of this Wisdom in determining the nature of Dee's self-image, that is, his conviction of his own historical significance as the prophet of a universal religious reformation, and to define the relationship between self-image and political philosophy. This self-image is the source of Dee's motivation, underlying all his efforts to promote both himself and his works, and it fuses Cosmopolitics and his personal religious stance into a complex, highly individual whole. Indeed, the principal elements to be considered in examination of his self-image are Dee's private religious position, which derives from the pre-Christian theology of the ancient sages, embracing the dangerous subject of angel-magic, and his belief in his destiny as sole heir to, and interpreter of, this knowledge of sacred truth, which constitutes the Wisdom of Cosmopolitics, and which is necessary to lead mankind to salvation. This destiny and the attendant redemption of humanity were both to be worked out within the allotted 6,000-year timescale of the universal history.

The genealogy of Wisdom is crucially important here because it provides the justification for Dee's claim to be privy to a single, consistently developed body of divine truth which, in great secrecy, had been handed down, both orally and in manuscript, from one generation of sages to

the next. The assumption that all the ancient philosophers shared and elaborated a set of common verities is fundamental to Cosmopolitics because it allows Dee the freedom to cite such diverse authorities as Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Roger Bacon, Joachim of Fiore, and Giovanni Pico as exponents of the very ideas which he himself had incorporated into his own system. Cosmopolitics itself thus becomes a product of the ancient Wisdom and the theocracy which Dee sought to establish is an application to the contemporary situation of that theory of the state propounded most extensively, Dee believed, by Plato. The whole process of history as conceived by Dee is, in effect, the bringing to fulfilment of the pristine knowledge received by the first philosophers from God. And, within this process, Dee had established for himself a position of unique importance as the custodian of the Wisdom necessary for the cosmopolitical theocracy to be established and governed in accordance with divine law. Indeed, the whole basis of his life and work was shaped and defined by what he understood to be the sacred lore of the ancients, as confirmed through the truth of Christianity, and by his theories of prophetic universal history.

But it should not be assumed that Dee is to be understood exclusively as a thinker in direct descent from various ancient and Renaissance philosophers; rather, the range of his eclecticism, the distinctive manner of his synthesis of the diverse material he gathered, and his highly individual emphasis on the primacy of the political elements within his system, mark him out as a figure of considerable originality. However, it is a basic belief of Dee's that he was heir to

the ancient Wisdom, the pristine truth of which he was destined to bring to a fulfilment in the establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy. His traditionalism is thus tempered by a conviction that he was to transform this ancient knowledge and to bring it to a culmination, as, for example, through his development of the new Cabala in the Monas, by applying it to the contemporary situation in an attempt to initiate a universal religious reformation. This he sought to do in the Epistle to Maximilian II and in General and Rare Memorials.

It is, therefore, essential to understand the nature of Dee's self-image and its influence upon him in order to clarify further not only the nature and objectives of Cosmopolitics, but also the destiny foreseen by Dee for himself. Hitherto, I have been concerned to define Cosmopolitics both in terms of its historical perspective and in terms of its philosophical content, particularly with regard to the elaboration of Wisdom in the Aphorisms, the Epistle to Maximilian II, the Monas, and the Praeface. However, in this chapter and that following, I shall develop my analysis of Cosmopolitics from the standpoint of Dee's private theological position and his expectations as to his own future as the Cosmopolites. In the present chapter, I shall concentrate on his incorporation of the ancient Wisdom into his personal religious beliefs and practices, as well as into his political philosophy, while in the next, I shall draw together all previous themes, placing them within the context of his theories of the pattern and future development of universal history. This prepares fully for the final chapter of Part I

on the philosophy of Cosmopolitics which will deal with the 1570 Synopsis as a comprehensive statement of the theory underlying the cosmopolitical theocracy and also as the model of the state which Dee sought to establish in Britain in the 1570s.

The Christianity which Dee professed was nothing if not esoteric, and his desire to preserve the secrecy of his studies undoubtedly intensified the suspicion with which he was widely regarded. Persistent attributions of conjuration and necromancy dogged his career from an early stage and doubt was repeatedly cast on his religious orthodoxy, a state of affairs which troubled him greatly, as the large number of his apologetic writings testifies. Dee's fullest statement of his theological rectitude is found in a section towards the end of the Fraeface entitled 'A Digression Apologeticall' (1), in which he attempts to demonstrate how piously Christian were his beliefs and practices. He turns this self-defence into a defence of the tradition of ancient Wisdom as derived from Moses, but in such a way as to reveal the existence of previously undeclared elements in his own cosmological and religious system, relating particularly to angel-magic. Just as in the Speculum Unitatis, Dee's 1557 defence of Roger Bacon where, despite refuting charges that Bacon had consorted with demons, he did not deny Bacon's practising angel-magic, Dee in the 'Digression' denies that he himself was a necromancer, but accepts the existence of spirits which he identifies with Socrates' 'daemones' (2).

Dee's name had been connected with angel-magic as early as 1555 when, in a letter from a friend of one John Philpot

to Bishop Bonner concerning Barthelet Greene, Dee's cell-mate in that year, reference was made to 'Doctour Dee the Great Coniuror'. This letter was printed in full in 1563 in the first edition of John Foxe's Actes and Monuments (3) and Dee alludes to it in 1577 in the 'Aduertisement' to The Brytish Monarchie where he cites the 'Digression' as his most comprehensive rebuttal of charges laid against him, specifically that he was

Not onely, a Coniurer, or Caller of Diuels:
but, A Great doer therin: Yea, The Great
Coniurer: & so, (as Some would say,) The
Arche Coniurer, of this whole kingdom.

He says that this slander was first recorded when he was a prisoner with Barthelet Greene, and he later quotes as proof of his innocence the text of a letter sent to Bonner by Thomas Ely and others on 29 August, 1555 requesting that Dee be set at liberty (4).

The popular image of Dee as a necromancer was very different from his own conception of himself as the Cosmopolites, and the widespread misunderstanding and ignorance of his work was a source of perpetual anxiety to him. His sensitivity in the face of allegations of conjuring was understandable, especially after the 1563 Witchcraft Act in which conjuration was made a capital offence (5), and his reticence in revealing the true nature of his beliefs makes it difficult, but not impossible, to define his position in detail. However, the 'Digression' makes it very clear that his system took from the ancient Wisdom a theory of magic which countenanced the employment of spiritual intelligences in the

service of mankind, and which not only crucially affected his religious beliefs, but also was instrumental in determining the nature of Cosmopolitics, particularly the idea of magical government proposed in the Epistle to Maximilian II.

Indeed, there is clear evidence that Dee practised angel-magic in 1570 at the time of writing the Praeface and the summary of the Synopsis. Although he began his angelic conferences employing a skryer, or medium, and a showstone in 1579, and not in 1581 as is generally thought, he had in fact been practising another form of angel-magic since 1569, as a note at the beginning of the first volume of these conferences, the Mysteriorum Liber Primus, testifies:

From the year 1579 usually in this manner: in Latin, or English; (but around the year 1569 in another and special way: sometimes on behalf of Raphael, sometimes on behalf of Michael) to pour out prayers to God: it has been most pleasing to me.... God works his wonderful mercy in me (6).

The 'Digression', therefore, is of primary importance not only for what it says about Dee's private religious beliefs and practices, but also for what it leaves unsaid. Dee's reticence and his vagueness in defining those practices which he regarded as licit mean that his position remains obscure, particularly as he does not explicitly deny practising angel-magic.

The 'Digression' follows on from the penultimate section of the Praeface dealing with Thaumaturgy, which Dee claims relies not upon demonic participation, but upon Mechanics,

as in the works of Hero of Alexandria (7). Dee himself had acquired a reputation as a thaumaturge, with its imputation of conjuring, as early as 1547 when he had made a flying Scarabaeus, a mechanical device, for a performance of Aristophanes' Pax at Trinity College, Cambridge, 'whereat was great wondring, and many vaine reportes spread abroad of the meanes how that was effected' (8). Therefore, although he opens the 'Digression' as a defence of Thaumaturgy, he very quickly moves on to consider conjuration:

And for these, and such like marueilous Actes and Feates, Naturally, Mathematically, and Mechanically, wrought and contriued: ought any honest Student, and Modest Christian Philosopher, be counted, & called a Coniuror? (9)

Dee protests at length the piety and theologically licit nature of his studies, citing the cases of earlier philosophers similarly persecuted for their arcane studies:

Well: I thanke God and our Lorde Iesus Christ, for the Comfort which I haue by the Examples of other men, before my time: To whom, neither in godlines of life, nor in perfection of learning, I am worthy to be compared: and yet, they sustained the very like Iniuries, that I do: or rather greater. Patient Socrates, his Apologie will testifie: Apuleius his Apologies, will declare the Brutishnesse of the Multitude. Ioannes Picus, Earle of Mirandula, his Apologie will teach

you, of the Raging slaunders of the Malicious Ignorant against him. Ioannes Trithemius, his Apologie will specifie, how he had occasion to make publike Protestation: as well by reason of the Rude Simple: as also, in respect of such, as were counted to be of the wisest sort of men. Many could I recite: But I deferre the precise and determined handling of this matter: being loth to detect the Folly & Mallice of my Natiue Countrey men (10).

Although, in the 'Digression', Dee is at pains to deny his involvement with evil spirits, he nowhere states explicitly that he did not practise angel-magic in some form. Despite the vehemence of his tone, he leaves the details of his position unclear, but it emerges from analysis of the 'Digression' that the pagan Wisdom which he enlisted in support of his orthodoxy embraces angel-magic. The authorities whom he cites were far from being a random selection of eminent philosophers, but rather comprised a carefully compiled list of those thinkers by whom Dee felt himself to have been particularly influenced. The list represents a resumé of the principal themes of the ancient Wisdom, and the works to which he refers deal extensively with refutations of conjuring evil spirits. Furthermore, Dee traces this tradition back to the Egyptian Wisdom in which Moses was learned and which, through St. Stephen and St. Basil, Dee shows to have been cognate with Christianity.

However, there were significant Christian opponents of

that tradition of religious truth defended by Dee. An especially important instance is provided by St. Augustine, who, in De Civitate Dei, attacked the demonology of two of Dee's principal authorities in the 'Digression', Socrates and Apuleius. And in so doing, Augustine challenged the whole foundation of the Platonic and Egyptian Wisdom upon which Dee's system rested. Dee cites Socrates and Apuleius in the same sentence and refers to Apuleius' Apologies. Apuleius, famous for his novel, The Golden Ass, was thought by some to have been the translator of the Hermetic Asclepius, and, in addition to an Apologia in which he denied charges of general religious malpractice and of conjuring evil spirits, he had written a defence of Socrates, De Deo Socratis, in which he outlined his own and Socrates' theories of demonology (11). Apuleius was a follower of Plato, whose presence behind the line of philosophers enumerated by Dee is further evidenced by the citation of Socrates, a primary influence upon the young Plato. Socrates is the subject of Plato's Apologia, according to which, Socrates had been befriended by a supernatural being, a creature identified by Apuleius with a spiritual intelligence, or demon (12). And Apuleius, in De Deo Socratis, distinguishes demons from the visible astral gods. Demons, which remain invisible unless they wish it otherwise, are intermediate between the gods and man, and inhabit the region of the air (13). Apuleius' demonology is largely consistent with the cosmological theories set out by the Athenian in the Epinomis where the stars and the other heavenly bodies are called visible gods and the divine spirits, or demons, are said to inhabit the realms of ether and air between the celestial and terrestrial spheres (14). The Epinomis, therefore, the 'treasury' of all

Plato's doctrine, is involved in that divine Wisdom, study of which Dee claims has made him the subject of persistent persecution.

Although he rejects in general terms the Egyptian-Platonic cosmology of Socrates and Apuleius, Augustine concentrates his attack on demonology, and he includes in it a section condemning the thaumaturgical feats attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, who, he says, was a conjuror of the same kind as Apuleius. Augustine claims that the idols described in the Asclepius are animated by the induction into them of spirits. It is specifically in defence of Thaumaturgy, in which he approvingly included the 'Images of Mercurie', that Dee began the 'Digression'. Although he nowhere names him, Dee could not have been unaware of the contrary movement to his own thought represented by such a major figure as Augustine. And this movement condemned not only the demonology defended by Dee, but also by implication that version of the tradition of ancient Wisdom upon which his system was founded. This Wisdom, which Dee believed derived from Egypt, and which was developed by Socrates, Plato, and later Apuleius, contained a theory of the operation of spiritual intelligences which could easily be extended to encompass conjuring and demonology, as it was by Augustine.

This theory has important implications for Dee's position, revealing as it does his tacit, but never explicitly acknowledged, agreement with what, in religious terms, was a dangerously suspect system. His laudatory citations of Socrates and Apuleius in the context of his refutation of charges of conjuring evil spirits indicate the presence with-

in Cosmopolitics of a theory of supernatural spiritual intelligences which he had been careful to disguise and to leave unelaborated. Such a theory is of major importance to the whole of his mathematical philosophy because it was expounded by Plato himself, upon whose authority Dee calls as a supreme justification for the ideas he presents in the Praeface. If the theory of spiritual intelligences should prove contrary to divine verity, then Plato's authority would be irreparably damaged.

Dee's reticence in revealing the details of his position does not prevent its broad outlines from becoming apparent. In the 'Digression' he acknowledges the existence of evil spirits and good angels, while denying any involvement with the former. It is as if he regarded the intense piety of his own intentions as proof against evil or delusion, in which he may have been consciously reflecting the attitude of Apuleius in his Apologia (15). But in his discussion of Anthropography in the Praeface, he had already distinguished between angels and spiritual intelligences, the latter corresponding presumably to Apuleius' demons (16). These demons, according to Apuleius, controlled all the marvels performed by magicians and all divination (17), a view which Dee may well have shared. It is noticeable, in his defence of Thaumaturgy, that Dee claims all his feats to have been achieved naturally, mathematically, and mechanically, and not through the conjuring of wicked and damned spirits, though he does not specifically exclude spiritual assistance. Indeed, the natural forces which he has employed may in some way have involved the spiritual beings inhabiting the

ether. But perhaps of greater significance here is the reference to divination because since 1569, the year before he wrote the 'Digression', Dee had been practising angel-magic, undoubtedly with a view to obtaining prophecies of the future, a principal objective of the seances which began in 1579. Thus, the evidence of his activities at the time of writing the 'Digression' in 1570 confirms his acceptance of the active participation of spiritual intelligences in human affairs, while the nature of his cited philosophical authorities, particularly Apuleius, strongly suggests that he adhered to theories greatly at variance with received contemporary religious and theological thought.

Dee's other cited authorities, Pico and Trithemius, also belong within the Socratic-Platonic tradition. He has already stated in the Fraeface his complete agreement with Pico's Conclusiones, especially the mathematical ones with their complex ramifications into Magia, Cabala, and Cosmology. Now, in the 'Digression', he aligns himself with Pico's defence in his Apologia of his entire system and its derivation from the Wisdom of the ancient sages. Such an alignment argues strongly for Dee's acceptance of the angel-magic which is a prominent feature not only of Pico's system, but also of the pristine lore upon which Pico claimed his thought was based. This suggestion is further strengthened by Dee's citation of Trithemius, who wrote his Apologia to refute charges that his Steganographia was a work dealing with demonic magic, arguing that it was a deeply pious Christian work which employed angelic invocations merely as a device to hide from the vulgar as well as from the learned, the

important secrets contained within it (18).

Thus, Dee traces a genealogy of like-minded thinkers from Socrates to his own near contemporaries. All had been engaged in the development of a set of common philosophical and theological truths which had been condemned, through misunderstanding and misrepresentation, by both learned and ignorant alike. The genealogy embraces pre- and post-Christian pagan philosophers, as well as Christian Neoplatonists and Cabalists, all of whom derived their ideas from ancient Wisdom which was confirmed by the truth of Christianity and brought to fulfilment by Cosmopolitics. And this Wisdom posited the active participation of spiritual intelligences in human affairs, a theory incorporated by Dee into his cosmopolitical thought. But the genealogy of Wisdom had its origins not in the Greeks, but in the Egyptians, in whose learning Moses had been schooled and who, for Dee, was an authority of even greater stature than Plato (19).

Moses' indebtedness to his Egyptian teachers is made clear in the next section of the 'Digression' where Dee employs biblical and patristic authority to demonstrate the orthodoxy both of his own position and of the tradition from which that derived:

And farther, I would wishe, that at leysor,
you would consider, how Basilius Magnus,
layeth Moses and Daniel, before the eyes of
those, which count all such Studies Phil-
osophicall (as mine hath bene) to be vn-
godly, or vnprofitable. Way well S. Stephen
his witnesse of Moses.... 'Moses was in-

structed in all manner of wisdom of the
Aegyptians: and he was of power both in his
wordes, and workes' (20).

Thus, Moses' power was based upon his knowledge of the
Egyptian Wisdom, although his preeminence in natural and
religious magic was subsequently increased by his receipt of
the Word of God, which led to his becoming the source of the
Cabala.

Dee elaborates upon the conformity of this Wisdom to
Christianity with an attack upon Pliny, whom he classes with
the learned ignorant:

You see this Philosophicall Power & Wisdom, which Moses had to be nothing disliked of the Holy Ghost. Yet Plinius hath recorded, Moses to be a wicked Magicien. And that (of force) must be either for his Philosophicall wisdom, learned, before his calling to the leading of the Children of Israel: or for his wonders, wrought before King Pharao, after he had the conducting of the Israelites. As concerning the first, you perceave, how S. Stephen, at his Martyrdome (being full of the Holy Ghost) in his Recapitulation of the olde Testament, hath made mention of Moses Philosophie; with good liking of it: And Basilius Magnus also, auoucheth it, to haue bene to Moses profitable (and therefore, I say to the Church of God necessary). But as concerning Moses wonders, done before King Pharao: God, him selfe, sayd:... See that

thou do all these wonders before Pharao,
which I haue put in thy hand. Thus, you
euidently perceae how rashly Plinius hath
slandered Moses, of vayne fraudulent
Magike, saying: Est & alia Magices Factio,
a Mose, Iamne, & Iotape, Iudaeis pendens:
sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem.
&c. Let all such, therefore, who in Iudgement
and Skill of Philosophie, are farre Inferior
to Plinie, take good heede, least they
ouershoote them selues rashly in Iudging of
Philosophers straunge Actes: and the Meanes,
how they are done (21).

The Holy Ghost's approval of the pre-Mosaic Wisdom of the
Egyptians, upon which point Dee has the word of St. Stephen,
entails that He approved also of their magical philosophy and
practices and that these were consistent with divine law. By
implication, this approval is extended to the whole of the
tradition cited by Dee in the 'Digression'.

The demonstration of the religious orthodoxy of this
Wisdom was crucial to Dee's attempts to secure acceptance
for Cosmopolitics, and his refutation of Pliny's respected
and authoritative attack on the whole area of magic in Book
XXX of the Historia Naturalis is a significant part of this
process. Pliny is a primary source for Pico's discussion of
magic in the Oratio (22), and Pico, one of the authorities
whose work was endorsed by Dee at the beginning of the
'Digression', accepts as licit that tradition of magic
condemned by Pliny. Therefore, Dee, in declaring himself a

successor and heir to Pico, claims to be in direct line of philosophical and theological descent from Moses and his Egyptian mentors, and, by this means, he can present Cosmopolitics as both a development and a culmination of the Wisdom originating in pre-Mosaic Egypt. The genealogy of Wisdom is thus an important determining influence upon Dee's private religious beliefs and upon his self-image into which the attack on Pliny provides a valuable insight, as well as revealing patristic influences upon his religion and theology.

Dee concludes that Pliny condemned Moses on two points: his learning in the Egyptian Wisdom and the marvels he performed before Pharaoh. Dee disposes of the first of these by citing the Holy Ghost's approval of the Egyptian lore, a dismissal reinforced by the authority of St. Basil, who, in the first part of his commentary on Genesis, the Hexaemeron, states that Moses was the correct choice to write of the Creation because of the royal education he received from the daughter of Pharaoh and the wise men of Egypt. Further, Basil asserts, Moses' account of the Creation was written at the dictation of the Holy Spirit (23). Thus, Dee extends his proof of the sanctity of the Egyptian Wisdom to conclude that any attack on Moses' learning, such as Pliny's, is an attack on true religion. And, turning to the marvels wrought before Pharaoh, Dee states that there could have been no question of evil practice or demonic participation in these because Moses had been empowered by God to perform them. From this, Dee draws the general conclusion that Pliny has slandered Moses, whose magic was both licit and genuine (24).

Basil is an important influence on Dee's theology, and

provides confirmation of the theory of the spiritual intelligences described by the Athenian in the Epinomis and by Apuleius. Dee has cited Basil as a primary authority for the exposition of Moses and Daniel, both of whom were inspired and instructed by the Holy Spirit (25). And Basil states, in the course of his discussion of Daniel, that God's angels have the substance of aerial spirits or immaterial fire, in which they are very similar to the demons of Plato and Apuleius. Unfortunately, Basil does not elaborate upon the degree to which, if at all, he believed Moses and Daniel to have been spiritually assisted. But if a significant part of the Egyptian Wisdom was the demon-conjuring of the Hermetic Asclepius, then it would appear that Moses was a powerful conjuror in his own right, although it is unclear whether he employed spiritual intelligences in the performance of his works (26).

Thus, the genealogy of Wisdom endorsed by Dee and represented by him in the four philosophers whom he cites at the beginning of the 'Digression', derives from pre-Mosaic Egypt and is consistent with, and confirmed by, Judaeo-Christian tradition. Even the more dangerous areas of this Wisdom, specifically its angel-magic and theories of the intervention in human affairs of spiritual intelligences, are reconcilable with Christianity and, indeed, are capable of justification by reference to biblical and patristic authority, such as that provided by Stephen and Basil, although Dee is careful to avoid mention of major patristic detractors like Augustine. This Wisdom is incorporated by Dee into his cosmopolitical theories and provides the basis

for the theocracy outlined in the 1570 Synopsis, and, on a personal level, it contributes in a major way, through Dee's conception of the genealogy of sages by whom it was handed down, to his self-image, that is, his belief in himself as the prophet of a universal religious reformation. This self-image was the primary source of his motivation throughout his career. He conceived of himself as the heir to the tradition of ancient Wisdom, which he was to bring to fulfillment in Cosmopolitics. Indeed, he may have regarded himself as a second Moses because of his development, in the Monas, of a new Cabala, which, he claimed, superseded, and made redundant, that Cabala derived from the Mosaic lore. Further, his unique understanding of divine verities made him indispensable to the achievement of human redemption, which was to be effected through the establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy and through government in accordance with the principles of sacred truth. He alone, therefore, would be responsible for advising on, and determining, the direction of affairs of state because only he could evaluate and interpret the religio-astrological processes of the cosmos with which human and terrestrial developments were to accord.

Dee assimilates the Egyptian Wisdom into his political thought through Plato, upon whose theory of the state he models his theocracy. The Greeks derived their Wisdom from the Egyptians and the type of state proposed by Plato is based upon the model of the Egyptian theocracy. Plato recounts, in the Timaeus, how Solon visited the Egyptian city of Sais, which had been established by the equivalent of the foundress of Athens, Athene. Solon is told that the Egyptian

law is derived in all its branches, down to prophecy and health-giving medicine, from Cosmology, the study of the whole order of things. The goddess, the Egyptian priests claim, had founded Sais in accordance with these principles (27). The Egyptian social order was arranged by reference to universal cosmological principles, and Law was derived from Wisdom, suggesting the succession of Justice to Wisdom in the 1570 Synopsis. Thus, the Egyptians provided a precedent for the cosmopolitical system and the Wisdom from which they derived their law was that which Moses had studied as a youth and which was approved by the Holy Ghost.

Egyptian Astronomy is mentioned by the Athenian in the Epinomis, where he says that the Egyptians and the Syrians were the first to observe the heavenly movements. These observations had been assimilated by the Greeks who had carried Astronomy to a higher perfection (28). The Greeks, therefore, had developed and improved Egyptian cosmological religious philosophy, and it is this more advanced system which the Athenian outlines in the concluding sections of the Epinomis. He has in mind also that section of the Timaeus where Solon is told by the Egyptian priests at Sais that Athens and Sais were founded on common principles by the same goddess (29). This not only connects the cosmology of the Timaeus with that of the Epinomis, but shows too the Platonic system as having its origins in the Egyptian Wisdom. Further, the Athenian's discussion in the Epinomis of the need for society to regulate its beliefs and religious observances by reference to its knowledge of the structure of the universe relates to his discussion in The Laws of the age of Cronus

(30). The Athenian's moral is that when a society is ruled not by God but by man, its members have no refuge from evil and misery. He is, therefore, the advocate of a theocracy.

Plato's theocracy is rooted in that same tradition of ancient Wisdom from which Dee derives his own system. This Wisdom embraces, for Dee, the divinely-sanctioned lore of Moses, as well as the pagan learning of the Egyptians. It denies the anti-magical arguments of Pliny and extends, through the Greeks, to the Florentine Neoplatonists. Added to Dee's acceptance of Plato's cosmology and mathematical philosophy, this identifies the political theory underlying the Synopsis, the Praeface, and the other works, with that of The Republic and The Laws, which Dee believed was concentrated in the Epinomis.

The theocracy central to both systems accepts the participation of spirits in human affairs. This is especially important for Cosmopolitics and explains Dee's acute sensitivity to allegations of necromancy. These theories of spiritual beings were integral to, although concealed within, the tradition of ancient Wisdom endorsed by Dee, whose self-defence in the 'Digression' revealed that he too incorporated into his cosmological scheme a system of angelic intelligences which had a rôle of immense, if not readily apparent, importance in his political philosophy.

These intelligences could be contacted directly, as in the angelic conferences, to provide prophecies of future events, with government policies being shaped accordingly, while the pattern of world history could be studied and address made to

the dominant planetary angel of any given period. In this way, advantage could be taken of favourable opportunities in the international situation either caused by the ascendancy of a particular angel or otherwise engineered by the angelic powers, and this latter is the basis upon which Dee launches his appeal in The Brytish Monarchie for Elizabeth to assume the leadership of Protestant Europe: the angel Michael who appears in the frontispiece to The Brytish Monarchie is clearly Elizabeth's ally. And, as the astrological theory of the Aphorisms makes clear, advantage should be taken of auspicious conjunctions between heavenly configurations and terrestrial locations. A more daring extension of this theory would be to invoke angelic aid directly through conjuration, which is well within the scope of Cosmopolitics, as the system of magical government implied in the Epistle to Maximilian II shows. Here, the use of the hieroglyphic monad necessarily involves astrological and angelic magic. The participation of spiritual intelligences in government is, therefore, fundamental to the theory of the state outlined in the 1570 Synopsis.

Therefore, when Dee invokes Socrates, Apuleius, Pico, and Trithemius at the beginning of the 'Digression', he is calling upon a complex and extensively developed philosophical and religious tradition which had, for him, far-reaching ramifications into political thought. This tradition was based upon a theory of Wisdom which was believed to have derived from pre-Mosaic Egypt and from the revelations of God to Moses. It was held by Dee to have been consistent with Christianity and to have embraced potentially dangerous notions of angel-magic. Although he saw himself as one de-

stined to bring the tradition to fulfilment through his cosmopolitical theories, he is not to be understood exclusively as a philosopher in direct descent from an assortment of ancient and Renaissance thinkers. Indeed, he regarded himself as the instigator of important innovations in all areas of learning through his discovery of the new Cabala of which he writes in the Monas. These new developments would not only transform the whole range of the arts and sciences in Europe, redirecting them along a true Christian course and eradicating from them all traces of falsehood and ignorance, but would also, through the power of the hieroglyphic monad, provide the basis for the system of magical government underlying Cosmopolitics. It was a fundamental assumption of Dee's self-image that he was indispensable to this regeneration of European culture because he alone was qualified both to interpret the ancient Wisdom and to apply it, together with his own extensions of it, to the contemporary situation in order to establish the cosmopolitical theocracy, and so prepare for the redemption of humanity. The importance Dee attached to his own rôle derived from a conviction of his personal historical destiny which in turn was developed from his theories of the prophetic nature of universal history.

CHAPTER VIII :
THE PROPHEPIC HISTORY

The immediate objective of this chapter is to define the nature and significance of Dee's self-image in terms of the 6,000-year world history. This will be effected with special reference to the interdependence of his conviction of his personal destiny with the prophetic structure which he believed he had detected in the movement of the universe towards its anticipated culmination in the redemption of humanity. The review which this entails of the arguments and material presented thus far is a necessary preparation for the reconstruction, in the next chapter, of Dee's political theory, particularly as this is summarised in the 1570 Synopsis. Dee conceived of the cosmos as an internally-coherent whole within which the development of the universal history proceeded in accord with regular planetary motions and the periodic occurrence of astronomical and astrological phenomena. And as the characters and influences of the celestial bodies were known and because it was possible to predict their movements mathematically, so it was possible also to forecast the future course of human history and to construct an astrologically-determined prophetic scheme for the final centuries of the world. Additionally, the astrological theory of the Aphorisms provided for the identification of the particular terrestrial locations where, at certain times, the celestial influences would be most efficacious. Thus, the esoteric reading of world history provided Dee with a prophetic framework within which he felt that not only the course of his own life and work, but also the destiny of the entire human race, were

being shaped and directed by a divine intelligence operating through angelic, astrological, and celestial agencies. And the historical process was moving towards what, for Dee, was an entirely foreseeable conclusion, the establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy.

Dee's philosophy, with its political centre, is justified and given meaning by the 6,000-year timescale of human history. His historical theory, together with his belief in the sacred truth contained within the ancient Wisdom, formed the basis upon which he was able to construct his cosmopolitical system. They not only provided him with religious and theological sanction for his plans, but also supplied him with a timetable for the realisation of his theocratic ideal which both intensified the urgency of his promotion of his work and inspired him with an awareness of his own special rôle as the Cosmopolites who alone was qualified to interpret the divine lore and to advise on the direction of affairs of state. Dee had developed the essential features of his historical thought and of Cosmopolitics in the 1540s and 1550s, and his work subsequently was an elaboration and expansion of these early theories. The consistency with which he developed his ideas suggests that, during this period of formulation, he had arrived at an understanding of the special position he was destined to occupy and that this intelligence underlay all his later work. Certainly, when he wrote the Monas in 1564, he was able to hint darkly at a prophetic scheme arising from his cabalist studies in the previous decades, which linked his own destiny with that of the House of Austria. And Theorem 22 of the Monas, as I shall demonstrate in this chapter,

contains a schematic summary of Dee's universal history, which was to achieve fulfilment through establishment of the cosmopolitical theocracy. The nature of this state is outlined in the 1570 Synopsis and it is necessary to appreciate both the philosophical system underlying it and the cosmic historical processes which Dee believed were leading to its implementation in order to perceive Cosmopolitics as a complete, self-contained, and coherent system.

The prophetic history provides the basis for much of the internal consistency of the cosmopolitical theories by establishing a clearly defined timescale for their realisation. This 6,000-year world history was preplanned by God and its development was regulated and shaped by the predetermined and mathematically predictable occurrence of celestial phenomena and stellar and planetary movements. The major events and epochs in human affairs are determined by the incidence of these astronomical events, and each epoch, as well as each terrestrial region, is governed by a planetary angel which, during the time of its ascendancy, directs matters in the terrestrial sphere. As the future movements of the heavenly bodies are mathematically calculable, so also the plan and future course of human history are determinable. This is the more so as the Aphorisms provide the astrological method necessary both to foretell the particular cosmic influences which would predominate during any given period as well as to identify the specific earthly locations where these forces would be most efficacious. Thus, the future could be prophesied by means of philosophy, and by careful exegesis of the scriptures, as was the case with Joachim of Fiore, or through

spiritual revelation, which was either direct from God, as happened when Daniel was instructed by the Holy Ghost, or from the angels, which Dee believed was what happened during the spiritual conferences.

In Chapter I, I presented such details as are known of Dee's plan of world history; now, in this chapter, I shall integrate this information with that analysis of the cosmopolitical philosophy contained in the intervening chapters with the overall objective of defining the historical context of Cosmopolitics. This will draw together all the themes discussed prior to this point in order to consolidate and assess the philosophical content of Cosmopolitics before the examination in the next chapter of the nature of the theocracy outlined in the 1570 Synopsis. It will also demonstrate the manner in which Dee incorporated his self-image into his system.

The evidence that a prophetic element was integral to the historical theories is to be found not only in Dee's writings, but also in some of the basic assumptions which underlie his thought. The 6,000-year timescale itself presupposes a prophetic method in the calculation of a fixed duration for world history. And, as I have previously suggested, the diagrammatic representation of his historical theories which Dee produced for the 'Playne Discours' of 1582 on the reformation of the calendar suggests a close similarity with Joachite-type schemes of world history. In addition, his conviction that God was guiding and directing all things through angelic and celestial powers in accordance with a predetermined plan was supported by his reading of

biblical and quasi-scriptural texts, and the historical theories of thinkers such as Alkindi. He detected in these an emphasis upon beliefs such as astral determinism, the direct intervention of angelic powers in human affairs, and the truth of divine prophecy as revealed through direct illumination from God, through knowledge of numerological philosophy, or by exegesis of the sacred properties of the letters in which the holy words were written.

The Aphorisms contain the most comprehensive statement of Dee's astrological theory, which underlies his historical thought, and of his conception of the rôle of the Cosmopolites as interpreter of the significance of celestial movements and phenomena. The Cosmopolites' activity has a religious aspect, as is evidenced by the quotation on the frontispiece of Luke, 21.25, which states that signs in the heavens will prefigure the end of the world (1). The Bible itself, therefore, indicates a method of prophecy to be employed in determining the course of future events, as well as revealing actual prophecies, in however cryptic a manner, in the speeches of such as Daniel and Christ Himself. But the quotation from Luke on the frontispiece of the Aphorisms is additionally important in relation to Dee because it endorses the astrological method contained within the book as licit and consistent with the divine lore of the ancient sages. Further, it confirms that method as the true means for interpretation of the significance of celestial phenomena and heavenly movements, such as the appearance of the star in the East at the time of Christ's birth. Thus, the Cosmopolites, as a consequence of his rôles as custodian

and interpreter of the ancient Wisdom and as philosophical and religious adviser on the constitution, administration, and policies of the theocratic state, is a prophet with access, through his learning in Astrology, to knowledge of the future course of world history. In this way, the cosmopolitical Wisdom qualifies Dee, the Cosmopolites, as a prophet in line of descent from the Magi, who attended on the infant Christ, and from Daniel, who received prophecies from angels, which is what Dee claims to have done in the seances (2). In this manner, Dee identifies himself with a tradition of prophets and religious philosophers whom he held to have been divinely inspired and to have been angelically guided.

Thus Dee's self-image, his conception of himself as the Cosmopolites, is inextricably bound up with his scheme of prophetic history. He saw himself as one uniquely qualified to advise on the implementation of the cosmopolitical theories and it is likely, on the basis of the interpretation which I have proposed in Chapter V of the astrological system of the Aphorisms, that he sought to coordinate the development of his life and work with a prophetic pattern which he believed he had detected in the processes of world history. Such an intention on Dee's part could explain his hurried departure for Eastern Europe in 1583, the year of the beginning of the fiery Trigon of Aries, which was the same astrological occurrence as at the time of Christ's birth. In view of Dee's theory of the special properties appertaining to specific terrestrial locations below particularly powerful astronomical or astrological configurations, he may have concluded that Eastern Europe contained places at which momentous events

would occur, possibly relating to a belief that a new world religion would be founded there, based upon the hieroglyphic monad.

The sense of mission by which he was driven derives from his historical theories. He was convinced that events happened in accordance with a predetermined divine plan, the culmination of which would be the establishment on earth of a theocracy to reflect God's government of the cosmos. And this conviction was linked to his belief in the unprecedented nature of his own knowledge of divine Wisdom, such that his self-image presupposed not only the uniqueness and indispensability of his learning in the furtherance of human destiny, but also the inevitability of the appearance of this learning in his person at that particular stage in the development of world history. His knowledge and understanding of divine truth were manifested in *Cosmopolitics*, which contained his programme for the reformation of European culture and the regeneration of Christianity. This programme, therefore, was to synchronise with the 6,000-year timescale of God's plan and it would have been essential for Dee to take advantage of the coincidence of any auspicious conjunction with a fixed location to implement his scheme. Certainly, he could not afford to have ignored such an important event as the beginning of the new Trigon in 1583.

While his principal writings revealed various aspects of his system, he was constantly seeking opportunities for the gradual implementation of specific parts of his programme in order to realise by stages the full design. There is nowhere a complete and fully comprehensive written statement of Dee's

cosmopolitical theories. Rather, Cosmopolitics is contained within a series of published and unpublished writings which, while they have no formal sequence, are all connected by the principles of their shared religious philosophy. There are, however, certain key works which contain statements central to Cosmopolitics, especially the Aphorisms on astrological thought, the Monas on religion, and the 1570 Synopsis on political philosophy. It is important that the significance of the latter work should not be overlooked because it sets out the model of the theocracy through which the new cosmological religion would be implemented. Dee's political thought gave coherence to the entire system of Cosmopolitics by providing it with a practical programme through which the religious philosophy could be instituted to control all areas of human affairs, thus enabling mankind to live fully in accordance with divine law and to prepare for redemption. By this means, God's plan would be brought to its inevitable conclusion.

In Chapter IV, I discussed Dee's belief in the involvement of his personal destiny with that of the House of Austria, an involvement which he brought to the attention of Rudolph II in a letter in August, 1584. Although the grounds upon which he establishes this connection are extremely obscure, they involve the principal elements under consideration in this chapter: Dee's self-image, the cosmopolitical theories in their historical context, and Dee's prophetic vision of the final centuries of the world. They incorporate also Theorem 22 of the Monas, which, as a summary of the prophetic history, and notwithstanding its obscurity and complexity,

provides an illustration of the manner of Dee's fusion of these elements into an elaborately structured whole.

In his 1584 letter to Rudolph II, Dee alludes to a prophecy in Theorem 20 of the Monas concerning the future greatness of a member of the House of Austria, who, he implies, is Rudolph. Dee says that both he and Rudolph are linked by the quaternary: Rudolph because he was the fourth Roman Emperor from the House of Austria to rule in Dee's lifetime, and Dee because the **D** or Δ was the fourth letter in each of the three primary alphabets, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman (3). Dee's belief that his own name was the repository of cabalist forces, which in some way were involved in the determination of the course of history and of his own destiny as the Cosmopolites, can be traced from the 1584 letter back through the Aphorisms to the prophecy in Theorem 20 of the Monas, thus identifying both himself and Rudolph with an anticipated new era in world history in which the theocratic state would be established as the culmination of God's plan.

Dee invested his monogram, the Δ , with profound cabalist and numerological significance. He reproduces it on the final page of the 1568 edition of the Aphorisms, where he connects it with the phrase, 'The quaternary residing in the ternary'. This phrase occurs in Theorem 20 of the Monas in a discussion of the numerology of the cross, which forms the central section of the hieroglyphic monad. The Δ and the cross are, cabalistically, closely identified (4). This identification, deriving from the proof of the quaternary residing in the ternary, is in some way fundamental to Dee's prophecy in Theorem 20 of the future greatness of a member of the House

of Austria, to which he returns in his 1584 letter to Rudolph II, a prophecy which is itself embodied within the figure of the hieroglyphic monad.

There are various hints and allusions in the Monas which provide some indication as to the nature of the prophetic scheme contained in the monad and expanded in the table presented in Theorem 22. In Theorem 10, Dee relates the 'feet' of the monad - \mathfrak{m} - to the zodiacal division of Aries, which he notes is the beginning of the fiery triplicity or Trigon (5). In Theorem 21, the inverted feet - ω - are said to represent the coming together of Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars (6), the three planets of the Trigon, the first two of which were in conjunction in 1583. Then, in Theorem 22, the inverted feet are equated with the final letter of the Greek alphabet, the ω or Omega, and are given a position of prominence in the theorem's appended table. At this point, Dee introduces in support of his position an allusion to the opening verses of St. John's Gospel, a text of primary importance for esoteric interpretations of world history. Dee assures the reader that he who is fully cognisant of the mysteries he expounds will heed the opening verses of John's Gospel that

the Logos of the creative universe works by rules so that man, godly-minded and born of God, many learn by straight forward work and by theological and mystical language (7).

The final phrase is a clear reference to the divine writing comprising Dee's new Cabala, based upon the point, the straight line, and the curve, of which Dee evidently regards

John's Logos, and also the Alpha and Omega of Revelation I, 8, as precursors. Here again occurs an example of Dee's syncretistic approach in his citation of a biblical authority, which he identifies with a tradition embracing pagan religious philosophy, in this case Neoplatonism, whence he takes the idea of the Logos, the principle governing the development of lower levels of reality from the higher Hypostases (8). John's identification of the Word with God, by Whom all things were made, is the same as Dee's Neoplatonic theory of 'the Logos of the creative universe', by which he understood that Creation proceeded from the Word in the manner of a theological and mystical language. This language, composed in the hieroglyphic writing of the new Cabala, was to be comprehended through the Monas and the cosmopolitical philosophy. Therefore, when Dee includes the Alpha and Omega in the schema of Theorem 22, he has expanded their meaning in John and in Revelation to incorporate the additional significance attaching to them which derives from his own original findings in philosophy and theology.

∞	Existing before the Elements	Mortal Adam Masculine & Feminine	Killing	Deified only in outline	Born in the stable	Conceived by a single influence	The origin of howver	The creation of matter	Terrestrial Marriage	The Beginning	∞
+	The arrangement of the Elements	Completion of the elemental genealogy	The Cross	The Cross	Sacrifice on the cross	Suffered and was buried	113337* The denarian victorie	Elemental cleansing	The martyrdom of the Cross	The Middle	+
∞	Existing after the Elements	IMMORTAL ADAM	Reviving to life	Most manifestly clear	King of Kings everywhere	Rising up again, by his own howver	The triumph of glory	Transformation	Divine Marriage	The End	∞

* This is the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.

FOOTNOTE (a)

Each column in the table, read downwards, describes a chronological sequence which moves to some kind of fulfilment or conclusion, although there is no equivalent sequence if the diagram is read from left to right. Thus, the progress of Adam proceeds from mortality to eternal life and the life of Christ moves from the birth in the stable, through the crucifixion, to His elevation to be King of Kings everywhere. Dee reduces the Creation, the life of Christ, the life of man, and all the other subjects in the diagram to a triadic form consistent with his Alpha-Cross-Omega triad. And if the extreme left- and right-hand columns containing the symbols which comprise the hieroglyphic monad are discounted, then it can be seen that there are ten vertical columns. The number 'ten' has an evident significance for Dee, as is borne out by the reference to the Tetragrammaton as 'Virtus Denaria', the 'denarian virtue' or the 'virtue which may be reckoned in tens', in the middle section of the seventh of these columns. However, as with so much of the diagram, Dee's meaning is not clear. But the middle row of the schema is where the means of progressing from the top to the bottom row are to be found. Thus the 'medium' in the tenth column might mean not 'the middle', but rather 'the mediator', a reference to the rôle of an intermediary agency in effecting a sequential development between a beginning and an end point. In this way, Dee's identification in the Monas of his own monogram with the cross would mean that he saw himself as 'the mediator' and as the motive force in bringing about the political transformation which was his purpose as the Cosmopolites. There is no explicit allusion to that particular transformation in the diagram itself, but the meaning of the

diagram is far from being completely accessible and Dee may well have intended it to contain such an allusion.

As for the Alpha-Cross-Omega triad itself, this may represent the general principle of development from a beginning to a conclusion, of the transformation of the potential into the actual. But in view of Dee's citation of Revelation I,8, it also has a special significance in terms of universal history. Dee has in mind the likening of the Alpha and the Omega to 'the beginning' and 'the end' which, interpreted as an historical statement, refers to the existence of a finite period of world history, initiated, determined, and concluded by God, within which human destiny would run its course. Dee appears to have believed that all major episodes in the history of the world were reducible to triadic formulations, such conceptualising reductionism being characteristic of his thought. An approach of this nature was quite consistent with the Joachite-type prophetic schemes in which he was so interested.

Further, the use of the Alpha and Omega suggests the 'theological and mystical language', the hieroglyphic writing, of his new Cabala, the principles of which he discusses in the Monas. Each of the stages in the vertical columns corresponds to one of the three symbols comprising the hieroglyphic monad and each of these is a letter from the newly-discovered writing. For an adept, this writing, with its attendant numerological ramifications, made the future development of world history foreseeable by prophecy. And as the monad is the repository of the ancient wisdom, containing all the astronomical and astrological lore required by the Cosmopolites to predict the future course of events, the pattern of human

destiny and its allotted 6,000-year timescale must also be contained within the table, perhaps in the column relating to Adam.

It is not possible from a reading of the Monas to comprehend fully the overall significance of the table or to understand the meaning of such detail as it contains. Rather, the table's importance for my thesis lies in the illustration it provides of Dee's incorporation of his self-image and his universal history into a scheme embracing not only elements of the philosophy of the early sages, but also his own original work. The presence of this philosophical lore is indicated by the allusions to natural philosophy and alchemy in the mentions of the elements, the creation and transformation of matter, and the terrestrial and divine marriages, as well as by the inclusion of the Hebrew tetragrammaton. Dee had studied these subjects extensively in the works of earlier thinkers and had incorporated them within his own, deeply Christian cosmopolitical system, a major component of which was the magical hieroglyphic writing.

The absence of any overt political statement in the table should not be taken to mean that politics had no importance for the Monas. On the contrary, as the Epistle to Maximilian II demonstrates, the political philosophy underlying the projected reformation and regeneration of European culture and religion is fundamental to the theocracy and to the system of magical government which Dee sought to introduce through the Monas. The political element of Cosmopolitics was so much the central coordinating focus of the system that its presence in the Monas is assumed without comment by Dee. The

reconstruction of Cosmopolitics which I have undertaken in Chapters II-VII is very much a piecemeal exercise because Dee's publication and presentation of his system was also piecemeal. He nowhere makes a complete and definitive statement of his cosmopolitical theories, preferring instead to advance such aspects of the whole design as he thought might be favourably received at a given time. Therefore, in the Monas, he paraphrases many aspects of his system, as in the Theorem 22 schema, or simply omits them, either presupposing knowledge on the part of the reader or assuming that the work immediately in hand can be sufficiently understood without their inclusion.

What is clear, however, is that Cosmopolitics operates on several levels. At its highest reach, it embraces the most sacred truths of religion, while at the other extreme it deals with practical routine matters essential to the state's material well-being, such as fishing rights, as in The Brytish Monarchie, or the revitalisation of the regional textile industry, as in the 1570 Synopsis. It is at this lower level that the political theory of the cosmopolitical state is to be found, but the political philosophy is nonetheless important because it provides the basis upon which the broader vision of human redemption is to be brought to fulfilment. Likewise, Cosmopolitics encompasses the whole structure of the cosmos, seeking at its furthest remove to reflect in the terrestrial sphere God's government of the universe and to complete the movement of all things to an harmonious, all-embracing inter-relationship with each other, while endeavouring at a personal level to fulfil Dee's individual destiny as the Cosmopolites.

Each of these various facets of Cosmopolitics is important in terms of the overall system, but the system itself would be fragmentary and disjointed without either the historical theories or the political philosophy. The former establish the chronological framework within which the cosmopolitical plan for the redemption of mankind is to be achieved, while the latter provides the structural mechanism by which human society is to be organised to ensure that all areas of activity be properly conducted in accordance with the precepts of divine law. Thus, the historical and the political aspects of Cosmopolitics are complementary and, together, define the system's character and limits. But at the heart of it all is Dee himself, the Cosmopolites, uniquely qualified in philosophy and theology to bring the whole plan to fruition, whose overall approach must remain enigmatic without a full understanding of his political motivation and what he saw as his historical prerogative.

CHAPTER IX:

WIDLON: THE 1570 'SYNOPSIS REIPUBLICAE BRITANNICAE'.

My intention prior to this point has been to undertake an analysis of theoretical Cosmopolitics based upon an original premise that Dee, in the first instance, was a political philosopher. And it is the purpose of the present chapter to complete this analysis with a definition of Dee's political thought, particularly as this is presented in the 1570 Synopsis. Although Dee's ultimate objective, the redemption of the human race, was religious, his immediate aims and the means he proposed for their realisation were political. He sought to achieve the establishment of a theocratic state and of a system of magical government based upon the hiéroglyphic monad through the reformation of European culture and the regeneration of Christendom. The means he employed in pursuit of this goal were various. He sought to arouse interest in his plans through his publications and through personal approaches to people prominent in government, even to Elizabeth herself. He relied also upon the initiatives of private individuals, such as Dyer and Hatton, to promote his schemes. And in all these endeavours his intention was always political: to secure the introduction of his cosmopolitical theories, whether in stages or en bloc, under the protection of an established ruler with the objective of transforming that ruler's state into the sacred theocracy.

Although the definition of Dee's political philosophy is in part a summary of themes contained in earlier chapters, it is primarily an interpretation of material not previously considered. This is especially true of the 1570 Synopsis,

the real significance of which as the principal extant statement of Dee's political thought has been entirely overlooked by other commentators on his life and work. I have indicated the importance of the 1570 Synopsis manuscript at various points during the development of my argument, but it has not been possible until this chapter to demonstrate this in full. It has been necessary both to reinterpret the material dealt with by other scholars and to re-present Dee's thought as a complex, internally-coherent system having as its central focus a political philosophy of which the 1570 Synopsis is the principal surviving expression.

The most immediate point to make in connection with the 1570 Synopsis is that it deals specifically with Britain. Dee's plan presupposed the continuation of the established institutions of government in Britain as the basis for the magical, theocratic system which he wished to establish. This is evident not only from examination of the place occupied by the 1570 Synopsis within the corpus of Dee's writings, but also from analysis of internal evidence provided by the manuscript itself. The political system he envisaged was essentially an adaptation of the existing apparatus of government. In terms of what he proposed for the social, economic, and political structure of the state, his ideas were not overtly revolutionary. His radicalism lay rather in the nature of the religious philosophy which he determined should regulate all areas of national life and in the militant, imperial course along which he wished to direct Britain and eventually all Christendom.

Despite the wide-ranging nature of the cultural and religious regeneration which he wished to effect, Dee was not concerned primarily to dismantle and completely reconstruct the existing machinery of government, but rather to reorientate it. He could hardly have hoped for the patronage of such as Leicester, Burghley, and Elizabeth herself if what he proposed was the total reconstitution of the Tudor state. From his remarks about the 1570 manuscript in The Brytish Monarchie, Dee was seeking, through Dyer and Hatton, to gain the patronage of established figures in government who would certainly not have countenanced fundamental changes to the structure of the state and its political system, which would have threatened national stability. Indeed, the 1570 Synopsis had a clear place in Dee's continuing programme, directed ultimately at Elizabeth, which sought to promote the cause of an expansionist, British imperialism based upon the existing pattern of the state. Other works within this programme included General and Rare Memorials and Her Majesties title Royall. All of these writings had as their objective the confirmation of Elizabeth as the supreme governing authority of a triumphant British nation. Even in his most explicit and detailed recommendations for the future course of British policy in General and Rare Memorials, Dee nowhere challenges the institutions of state, or the method of government.

And this is reflected in the 1570 Synopsis, which contains no suggestion of fundamental revision to the apparatus of government and administration: On the contrary, he was concerned to strengthen and improve the state in its current form. Thus, in the section dealing with Wealth, he sought not

only to expand and consolidate existing commercial and economic practices and to regenerate traditional industries, but also to exploit established and potential overseas markets for British products. His principal desire in economic affairs was to instil a greater degree of efficiency and professionalism into business ventures and procedures. In his treatment of Strength, his ambition was to expand British military and naval might in order to ensure the state's greater security, and to prepare for a great phase of aggressive, imperialist expansion in which the mercantile activities set out under Wealth would play a principal rôle. This phase he outlined and justified in Famous and Rich Discoveries.

But above considerations of Wealth and Strength was Virtue, with as its principal part, that cosmopolitical Wisdom which was to shape and decide the ruler's direction of affairs of state. The type of state envisaged by Dee in the 1560s and 1570s was a theocracy based upon the model of the Platonic city-state. He regarded this as compatible with the British state as it actually was at this time. In The Brytish Monarchie, for instance, a work closely related to the 1570 Synopsis, he argued that official funds should be made available to train four Christian philosophers in the ancient Wisdom (1). These sages could thus fulfil the same functions as the Council of Guardians in The Laws and the Epinomis. There would be no conflict, in Dee's view, between their activities and those of other bodies, such as Parliament, because all would owe allegiance to a single set of divine verities. In the 1570 Synopsis, in the section on Justice, he refers to the rôle of Parliament in terms which suggest

his endorsement of its existing constitutional position. All laws, he says, should be authorised by Parliament. This was nothing more than the statement of a commonplace that if a monarch wanted a measure to have the indisputable force of law, then that measure would have to be passed by both houses of Parliament and embodied in a statute (2). The general theory of this section on Justice echoes that of the Praeface where the law is called the foundation of the state. Thus, Dee sought to establish his Platonic theocracy on the existing structure of British society and politics. While there were areas in which he wished to introduce alterations, none of these latter would change fundamentally the established nature of procedures and institutions. Government would utilise the same administrative machinery and politics would continue to operate through its existing system. But Dee's pragmatism here belies the extreme nature of the religious philosophy that he wished to impose on the country. In this respect, the 1570 Synopsis is unique amongst his writings in presenting an overall outline of how he sought, through political means, to apply his ideas to the contemporary world. This work, while greatly abbreviating what must have been a far more comprehensive statement in the original Synopsis of 1565, is the only one in which Dee defines in any detail the structure of the theocracy through which the redemption of humanity was to be achieved. The description of the 1570 manuscript in Chapter II provides an outline of its contents, but it is necessary to supplement this with references to others of Dee's works. Given the consistency with which he developed his system from its earliest form in the 1540s, it is possible to trace the connections of the 1570 Synopsis with the

Aphorisms, the Monas, the Praeface, and General and Rare Memorials, particularly The Brytish Monarchie, which is in large part developed from it. Thus, the basic principles of Dee's political philosophy, as they are expounded through these works, provide the context within which the Synopsis is to be placed. And the principal elements of this philosophy are the foundations upon which the theocratic state, as outlined in the Epistle to Maximilian II and The Brytish Monarchie, is to be built. This state is essentially that presented in the Synopsis, which was written in its three-volume form in 1565, one year after the publication of the Monas, with its Epistle to Maximilian II, and three years before the appearance of the second edition of the Aphorisms. The close chronological proximity of these works underlines their philosophical interrelationships. And the one-sheet summary of the Synopsis was written in 1570, the same year as the Praeface, a work with which it shared many common elements. While each of these works contains aspects of Dee's political philosophy, the Synopsis is the only one in which he set out the plan of his theocracy. And although in the 1570 manuscript there are no explicit references to such central features of Dee's political thought as the rôle of the philosopher-ruler and the system of magical government, there are clear indications of the significance of Law, Justice, and public morality in the cosmopolitical theocracy, each of which was assigned great importance in Dee's other writings.

I have shown that although the 'synthesis' of ideas comprising Cosmopolitics was original to Dee, he borrowed from many sources, notably Plato. And in the present chapter,

I shall demonstrate that Cicero too was a particularly important authority for Dee's theory of private and public morality and provides a strong link between the 1570 Synopsis and The Brytish Monarchie. Dee's use of Cicero reveals a willingness on his part to depart from the authority of Plato, when circumstances required, and to draw upon whatever source material best suited his purposes, with only a general regard for the overall consistency of his synthesis.

While the burden of my argument in Part I has been concerned with Dee's philosophical system, it is necessary to bear in mind also the practical application of his ideas because he was constantly seeking to realise his ultimate religious objectives through political means. Thus, the 1570 Synopsis occupies a position of crucial importance in Cosmopolitics as the central element of the political philosophy which in turn is the focus for the whole system. The 1570 Synopsis is the basis for the 'General Monarchy' proposed in General and Rare Memorials, which constituted Dee's principal attempt to transform Britain into a cosmopolitical theocracy. And it is essential, therefore, to analyse the contents of this manuscript in detail in order both to understand the true nature of Cosmopolitics and, through examination of General and Rare Memorials in Part II, to appreciate correctly the reasons for the total failure of Dee's attempts to achieve the realisation of his political objectives and hence of his religious ideals also. The analysis of the 1570 Synopsis will take each section of that work in turn: Virtue, Wealth, and Strength, and interpret them in the light of conclusions already drawn concerning the nature of Cosmopolitics, seeking also to demonstrate connections between them and Dee's

principal writings.

A particularly strong link between the 1570 Synopsis and General and Rare Memorials is to be found in that section of The Brytish Monarchie which contains the 'Little Discourse' on the Saxon king, Edgar. It is in the second paragraph of this short discursive tract praising Edgar's imaginative naval and maritime policies that Dee likens the Cosmopolites to the Cosmographer and speaks of both contemplating God's government of the one and only mystical city of the universe. Dee is concerned to demonstrate the dependence of national prosperity upon correct social and personal morality and behaviour, to which end he cites Cicero's De Officiis as a supreme authority on civic and individual virtue. Dee argues that the well-being of the state cannot be achieved without behaviour that is proper in the sight of God, and for which Cicero supplies rules. Cicero is clearly compatible with Plato for Dee in this instance. It is the duty of the Cosmopolites, therefore, to ensure the observance of these rules and so to realise the goal of The Brytish Monarchie: the creation of a virtuous, wealthy, and militarily strong Britain, goals which are shared by the 1570 Synopsis. The end result would be the transformation of Britain into a cosmopolitical theocracy constituted in accordance with the principles of God's government of the universe.

In the first paragraph of the 'Little Discourse', Dee comes speedily to what he sees as the great imperfection in the British national character: in public behaviour and in civil duties the British people rarely adhere to the highest standards, although they appreciate and are capable of

realising them:

For that, their Ciuile Conuersation, and Industry, in many poynts, is nothing so answerable to the Dignity of Man, As the very Heathens did prescribe Rules for the Gouvernement therof. Let CICERO, his Golden Book, DE OFFICIIS, be the Euidence against them, to the Contrary: And that, in those Poynts, by the Heathen Crator expressed, which both greatly are agreable to the most Sacred Diuine Oracles, of our IEOVA: and also for the Common-Wealths Frosperity, right Excellent (3).

There is certainly nothing innovatory in Dee's citation of De Officiis, a work of immense popularity in the sixteenth century (4), nor in his assertion that public behaviour and civil duties are fundamental to the state's well-being. And Dee amalgamates these commonplaces with the positions developed in his other works. His assertion that De Officiis accords with Christian teaching recalls his discussion of Justice in the Praeface particularly concerning the Ten Commandments and the distinction between the duties of man to God and of man to man. Cicero's discourse, therefore, is aligned with the Mosaic law, a connection which is demonstrated by Dee's definition of Justice in the Praeface as that virtue by which was rendered to each individual that which appertained to him, Justice being also the total perfection of all works, words, and thoughts, and the base and foundation of commonwealths. The prominence of this definition in the 1570 Synopsis emphasises the continuity

between that work and the Fraeface. However, the definition is not merely Ciceronian, taken as it is from De Officiis, but is Aristotelian also, deriving from the Nicomachean Ethics. Such a derivation necessarily casts doubt upon the compatibility implied by Dee between Plato and Cicero because Justice as defined by Aristotle and Cicero is that virtue by which each man receives that which is his due, a definition specifically rejected by Socrates near the beginning of The Republic (5).

The forced agreement between Plato and Cicero shows that Dee's syncretism is based upon an eclecticism that draws material from a widely diffuse range of sources. In this instance, the general correspondence of the schemes of Virtue in the 1570 Synopsis and De Officiis underlines the importance of the latter in Cosmopolitics and demonstrates Dee's willingness to turn to authorities other than Plato when these better suited his intention. Dee's purpose is syncretistic, while his method is eclectic, and this can produce, as in this case, unevenness and inconsistency as Dee turns to Cicero to provide him with a practical system of public and individual morality.

In the Fraeface, Dee endorsed the thought of The Republic and the Epinomis, extending this endorsement in The Brytish Monarchie to De Officiis also, but the arrangement of Cicero's scheme of Virtue better matches that of the 1570 Synopsis than does Plato's. In the Synopsis, Dee lists the constituents of Virtue as Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. This sequence differs from the order of Plato's listings of the cardinal virtues as Wisdom, Courage, Temperance, and Justice

in The Republic and Wisdom, Temperance, Justice, and Courage in The Laws (6). In the Epinomis, however, the 'treasury' of Plato's doctrines, the Athenian states that Wisdom, which is based upon numeracy, is the chiefest part of full Virtue. By Virtue, the Athenian means primarily the theological Cosmology which is the essence of true Wisdom and which is, therefore, essentially numerological. His basic assertion is that the honouring of Virtue is the state's most important activity because Virtue is indispensable to the perfect goodness upon which true happiness is grounded (7).

At the beginning of De Officiis, Cicero cites Plato in support of his assertion that whatever is morally right arises from one of the cardinal virtues, Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. He links together Wisdom and Prudence, as does Dee in the 1570 Synopsis (8). And although Cicero claims a considerable debt to Plato, and to Socrates, he purports to be a follower of the Stoics, particularly Panaetius of Rhodes (9). This provides some basis for the marriage effected by Dee between Plato and Cicero, which is unsatisfactory in many respects, some of Plato's and Dee's emphases not being readily apparent in De Officiis. Cicero, for instance, does not explicitly acknowledge the primacy of Mathematics, nor is his republic overtly theocratic, but Dee is able to turn to Plato to meet any deficiencies in Cicero.

Dee's position should be seen in relation to the time-honoured debate over the respective merits of the active and the contemplative life, with Dee endorsing the former. His stand is supported by Cicero's and Plato's emphasis on the moral rectitude of the active life. Cicero states that to be

drawn by the study of truth away from the active life is contrary to moral duty: the whole glory of Virtue is in activity, although he admits that activity may be interrupted by the need for study. Even so, he insists that all thought and mental activity should be devoted either to planning for things that are morally right and lead to the attainment of goodness and happiness, or to the pursuits of science and learning (10). Cicero concludes his brief discourse on Wisdom with this argument, so revealing his belief in the need for the utilisation of knowledge in the service of the common, civic good. This connects with his Stoic faith that man's highest end lies in moral action in submission to the Fate which governs the sensible world (11).

Plato's theory of government is concerned to utilise the ruling philosophers' knowledge in the service of the state. The opening section of Book VI of The Republic demonstrates that those qualities required in a philosopher: love of knowledge and of the eternal verities, are required also in a good ruler. These must be combined with truthfulness (12). The ruler must govern in accordance with the precepts of Wisdom, and he must, therefore, be profoundly learned in philosophy. In Book VII, Socrates denies that men who are neither educated nor experienced in truth can ever adequately preside over a state, nor for that matter unworldly intellectuals. The uneducated and philosophically inexperienced can have no single purpose in life to which all their activities, public and private, can be directed, while intellectuals will not voluntarily engage in action. Socrates claims that it is his and his friends' duty, as founders of the ideal state, to

compel those people most capable to attain, through the mathematical disciplines, the knowledge which he and his associates have pronounced the greatest. These people should then apply their knowledge in the service of the state for the promotion of the happiness of the whole people (13).

This same emphasis on the common utility of knowledge is found in The Laws and the Epinomis where the Guardians govern by reference to theological and mathematical wisdom.

Dee's endorsement of the active life in Plato and Cicero reveals his own utilitarian attitude: while the ultimate goal of Cosmopolitics is religious, its immediate focus is political. He sought not merely to influence diplomacy and foreign policy through General and Rare Memorials, but to transform Britain into a theocracy upon the model of the 1570 Synopsis. His proposed reform envisaged a national regeneration that was not merely economic and political, but moral and spiritual also. The influence of Virtue was to extend through all aspects of the life and organisation of the state, and the ideal of Virtue was to be translated into practical activity in furtherance of national prosperity.

Cicero's discussion of Wisdom is extremely short and contains no reference to government in accordance with theological principles, or to mathematical lore of the Platonic type, although there is mention of Astronomy, Mathematics, Dialectics, and Civil Law as being studies all concerned with the search after truth (14). But Cicero was well acquainted with Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, as is shown in the Tusculans, while the Somnium Scipionis

reveals that he believed strongly in the existence of a divine plan governing the universe. It would, therefore, have been easy for Dee to insert his own idea of the ancient Wisdom into Cicero's scheme on the assumption that Cicero was privy to the truths expounded by the earliest philosophers. And Dee's interest in De Officiis is principally in the rules it proposes for human conduct.

The Wisdom which heads the 1570 Synopsis is that synthesis derived by Dee primarily from Moses and Plato and the legend, 'Per me, Reges regnant', reiterates the Platonic and Ciceronian insistence that the ruler be guided by the highest considerations of Virtue. While the whole purpose of Dee's thought and of his borrowings from other philosophers is to establish a state directed by the Cosmopolites, there is no single model of the state from which Dee extracted the model of the theocracy set out in the 1570 Synopsis. He derived his theory of Virtue chiefly from Plato and Cicero, showing a marked preference for the latter, especially when considering the political application of his cosmopolitical system. Yet the manner of his incorporation of all these elements into an internally-coherent whole was original and unique to himself. He was able to combine commonplaces, like the scheme of the cardinal virtues, with such boldly individual ideas as the system of magical government based upon the hieroglyphic monad. And what is true of Wisdom is true of the other parts of Virtue also: Dee's synthesis is elaborated through the entire range of his writings and the bearing of its various strands upon the 1570 Synopsis can be detected through examination of his other works.

Thus, the principles of Justice outlined in the Praeface are evident in the 1570 manuscript. In both works, those laws governing behaviour towards God are distinguished from those governing conduct between men. In the Synopsis, it is said that those in the former category contain true religion, that is those laws which set out man's duty to God, such as the first four of the Ten Commandments. Those in the second category, Dee divides between 'Causes Spirituall' and 'Causes Temporall', both of which are man-made. He possibly means Canon and Statute Law, with the latter he says in the Praeface bearing the chief authority in the state. If so, this was still a curious position for him to adopt: the church courts did not administer Canon Law as such, study of which had been halted in England with the Henrician Reformation. However, unlike man-made law, the Ten Commandments originate in God alone and, therefore, contain true religion. This distinction is reflected also in that section of the 1570 Synopsis dealing with Wealth, where, next to the table of trading countries and the commodities to be exchanged with them, Dee has written, 'Reddite Caesari quae sunt Caesaris', referring to Christ's words in Mark, 12.17, to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. Here again is the division of laws into those governing conduct towards God and between men. As a piece of religious teaching, this derives from the Ten Commandments and connects with another commonly cited authority, Chapter 13 of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, where the theory of the duties owed by the citizen to his fellows and to the ruler is identical to that espoused by Dee in the Praeface.

Although Cicero is not named in the Praeface, there are parallels between Dee's definition of Justice there and Cicero's in De Officiis. This reflects Dee's preference for Cicero over Plato as he sought a practical system of public and individual morality. Cicero concerns himself with the principles by which society is maintained and regulated. He divides his subject into Justice, the crowning glory of the virtues, and Charity, which may also be called Kindness or Generosity. The functions of Justice are to ensure that one man does no harm to another and to encourage men to use common possessions for the communal good and private property for their personal benefit. Cicero concludes that each person should retain possession of whatever has fallen to his lot and that any appropriation beyond this should be treated as a transgression (15). However, while Plato begins his definition of Justice in The Republic in terms of possession, which is the position adopted by Cicero, he rejects this and eventually arrives at a definition in terms of Justice as the proper function of every man (16). This discrepancy between Plato and Cicero is important, the latter's views being in so many other respects pale reflections of the former's, because it indicates that Justice as such retained for Dee a predominantly Ciceronian meaning, while still having connections with Platonic thought.

Equally important is Cicero's insistence in his discussion of the relationship between Wisdom and Justice that the latter is the foundation of the state (17). He defines Wisdom, the most important of all the virtues, as the knowledge of things human and divine, including the bonds between gods and men and between

men. He asserts that duty most closely derived from social obligation is paramount, that theoretical knowledge of the universe is pointless if there are no practical benefits to be gained from it, and that social duty ranks above philosophical learning. This is exactly the emphasis of *Cosmopolitics* where Dee, as the Cosmopolite, is concerned above all to use his Wisdom to guide mankind to salvation. Learning is only of value insofar as it advances the common good.

For Cicero, Wisdom had an important rôle to play in the service of Justice because the blessings and advantages of mankind were increased by scholars having trained so many people to be better citizens and so to render greater service to their country. He cites the examples of the Pythagorean Lysis, who taught Epaminondas of Thebes, and Plato, who taught Dion of Syracuse (18). As Plato's tuition would have embraced a curriculum such as that outlined in The Republic or The Laws, this would enable Dee to treat De Officiis as an extension of Plato's political philosophy, thus allowing him the more readily to adapt this work to his purposes in *Cosmopolitics*.

Cicero's theory of social harmony, for all its Platonic echoes, was a political strategy and not a philosophical doctrine. His indebtedness to Plato, while very real, must be tempered by an awareness that his approach was that of a practical politician, and it is interesting to find Dee, otherwise so disposed to metaphysical abstractions, turning to Cicero as his own thought turned towards practical politics. This again illustrates Dee's eclecticism and his willingness to integrate apparently irreconcilable material within his

overall design. It also demonstrates the approach he adopted in seeking the practical application of his ideas through the use of a convenient mechanism, in this instance, a system of political and personal morality acquired from Cicero.

Fortitude, the next virtue in Dee's scheme, is linked in the 1570 Synopsis to Justice, and through verity, to Wisdom, and corresponds presumably to Plato's Courage, or 'thumos', in Book IV of The Republic, the broad function of which is to translate Wisdom into action (19). This agrees generally with Fortitude in Cicero, who, citing the Stoics, declares Courage to be that virtue which champions the cause of right, and connects it firmly with Justice (20). Thus, Dee and his primary sources are in overall agreement on Courage, unlike the final virtue, Temperance, where their positions differ. By Temperance, Dee means personal decency in action, word, and appearance, which is at variance with Socrates' definition of Temperance in The Republic as self-control and an indifference to material wealth (21). Cicero's greater emphasis upon the rightness of thrift, self-denial, simplicity, and sobriety, as against luxury and voluptuousness, better matches the tone of the 1570 Synopsis, as does his insistence on the necessity for high standards of personal appearance (22).

Therefore, although Dee derived his theory of Virtue largely from Plato and Cicero, he showed a marked preference for the latter, whose own ideas were heavily Platonic, when considering the practical political application of his cosmopolitical system. And in one important respect, Cicero's work can be seen as offering Dee a solution to a problem affecting the internal coherence of his system caused by conflicting

tendencies within his thought. On the one hand, Dee propounded the ideal of the city-state, a notion he found particularly in Plato, while, on the other, he advocated a global imperialism, the final product of which would be a world-state. This second position derived in part from the beliefs of the Cynics, one of whom, Diogenes of Sinope, had coined the term 'Cosmopolites', and from the Stoics. In De Officiis, Cicero sought a reconciliation between the civic and the cosmopolitan by emphasising the common humanity of all men within their distinct communities and their shared subservience to universal laws and to the eternal principles of right and Justice. In this, he claimed to be following Panaetius of Rhodes (23). Dee used Cicero as a basis for his fusion of the model provided by the Platonic city-state with his ideal of the world-state to be established as a result of the universal religious reformation effected through the magic of the hieroglyphic monad. In his attempts to secure the support of a powerful patron such as Rudolph II or Elizabeth, Dee implied that the ruler who followed his teaching would preside over a world-empire, but he left unclear whether nation-states would continue to exist. He envisaged possibly a federation of states coexisting harmoniously, all owing allegiance to a single system of religion. Such an arrangement would correspond in general terms to the early Stoic notion of local societies existing below a supranational community of wise men.

The seeds of Dee's imperial ideal are discernible in De Officiis, which, in The Brytish Monarchie, becomes an essential part of the programme for the realisation of the British theocracy. Dee's debt to De Officiis is established

in the first paragraph of the 'Little Discourse' on Edgar, which introduces his reference to the Cosmopolites, the cosmopolitical philosopher, whom he defines as a citizen and member of the whole and only one mystical universal city, thus extending the reconciliation of the cosmopolitan and the civic onto a cosmic level. The city represents both the world and the universe, with the world-state being the fulfilment in the political sphere of the movement of the entire cosmos to unity and harmony. The city metaphor indicates also the needful submission of mankind to God's will and to the laws of cosmic Justice, which aligns Dee with both Plato and Cicero.

There is no single model of the state from which Dee extracted the plan of the theocracy set out in the 1570 Synopsis. While he took his concept of Virtue primarily from Plato and Cicero, his theories of Wealth and Strength could not have been the products of similar borrowing because, although his conviction of the dependence of the state's well-being upon commercial and military prowess was unoriginal, his ideas related specifically to the economic and strategic problems faced by England in the 1560s and 1570s. In the 1570 Synopsis, he includes particular recommendations for the re-generation of regional industry and for the provision of a naval force permanently patrolling territorial waters. These measures summarise the detailed proposals with which Dee sought to apply to the contemporary situation that model of the theocracy which he found in Plato and Cicero and which he saw as the foundation of his design for the redemption of humanity.

The subject of Wealth raises two fundamental questions in respect of Dee, the answers to which demonstrate again his refusal to follow any one master in philosophy. In the first place, it is necessary to determine how far the state ought to concern itself with the pursuit and creation of Wealth, and in the second, to assess the extent to which the possession of Wealth by an individual is a qualification for a political rôle. With regard to the first question, the answer is plainly stated in the 1570 Synopsis, where Dee asserts the primary importance of making England the lord and master of the Exchange, both at home and abroad. He acknowledges the significance of the wool and cloth industries, an expansion of which would stimulate domestic regional development while simultaneously increasing the value of commerce and so advancing the overall objective of British economic dominance. Such supremacy would also encourage domestic stability and produce revenue to provide military and maritime security. Permanent naval patrols of British territorial waters could be established at little expense to the queen, with the costs being borne by all her true subjects. This anticipates the fully-articulated plan set out in The Brytish Monarchie whereby such patrols were to be financed by a minimal tax on all British citizens, such tax being levied all the more successfully given general economic prosperity (24). Wealth generated by commerce was, therefore, fundamental to the achievement of British greatness because the naval expansion advocated by Dee in both the 1570 Synopsis and The Brytish Monarchie in the interests of national security provided also the basis for the conquest and colonisation of the Atlantic empire detailed in Famous and

Rich Discoveries.

In respect of the second question, the answer is to be obtained by reference to the Praeface, which shares with the Synopsis the goal of British preeminence and constantly emphasises the value of Mathematics in the service of the state. Although, in the 1570 Synopsis, the treatment of mercantile Arithmetic is not as detailed as in the Praeface, nevertheless, the links between the two works are readily apparent and again demonstrate the interdependence of Dee's writings as statements of a single, coherent programme. As merchants are the principal creators of prosperity, their status is correspondingly high, although there is no indication that Dee ever thought of mere possession of Wealth as being in itself a qualification for a position of political or constitutional importance. Indeed, in the Praeface, Dee is at pains to show the value of Mathematics to merchants, and the advantages of mercantile Arithmetic which he lists there are repeated in the section on Wealth in the 1570 Synopsis, where he urges merchants to know the true value of all current gold and silver coinage, together with their fineness and alloy, in order that they may bargain skilfully and better accumulate profit (25). As the activities of individual merchants determine the balance of trade, so they will ultimately decide the extent of British commercial power because, according to Dee, exports should exceed imports annually by at least a quarter to a third. Such a trade surplus was to be accounted for by the inflow of foreign gold and silver bullion into Britain, thus making Britain lord and master of the Exchange. This is a politically desirable objective for Dee and he concludes that overseas trade is to be the principal

means for the achievement of British international economic supremacy.

Dee's position on Wealth differs markedly from Plato's. Although, in The Republic, Socrates admits the need for merchants and shop-keepers in his ideal state, he is clearly distrustful of them and later remarks disparagingly on the application of Arithmetic in pursuit of commercial gain (26). And in The Laws, the Athenian assigns to Wealth the lowest place in the hierarchy of things desirable in the state, even presenting it as an evil damaging to the community's moral health (27). Cicero, however, argues that the accumulation of Wealth is natural and that riches, once acquired, should be employed for the good of the community, a position closer to Dee's than is Plato's. The possession of Wealth is not in itself wrong as it affords the privilege of treating one's fellows with generosity, though it is necessary to guard against the dangers of greed. He later relates Wealth to Virtue and recalls his earlier statements on Justice in support of his contention that anyone wishing to live in accord with Nature's laws should never covet nor appropriate anything belonging to another (28).

Dee was neither totally original nor totally plagiaristic in the 1570 Synopsis; rather he was eclectic and pragmatic in his selection of material to incorporate into his synthesis. While neither Plato nor Cicero furnished a comprehensive model from which he extracted his plan of the state, there are broad similarities between the social structure he proposed and that outlined in Books II and III of The Republic. Dee's state was governed by a philosopher-

ruler or Council of Guardians on Platonic lines, and he also had a warrior class in order to maintain a standing army and navy. Here he may have been thinking in terms of soldier-citizens or of a military class similar to Plato's Guardians. The remainder of the population would then comprise a third, economic class embracing agricultural and industrial producers, merchants, sailors, ship-owners, retailers, skilled workers, and manual labourers, which again has a Platonic precedent.

Dee's pragmatism and his willingness to adapt his sources to meet the immediate and long-term objectives of Cosmopolitics is further evidenced by that part of the 1570 Synopsis dealing with Strength. The motto here:- 'Vis, Consilii expers mole ruit sua': 'Strength, being denied a part in the deliberations of the councils of state, brings all things to ruin through its very might', - indicates clearly the fundamental principle underlying this section, that military institutions must be incorporated into the fabric of the state in order both to ensure national security and to avert self-destruction. But it is in an addendum to this section that Dee's concern to exert a direct influence upon contemporary politics is most evident in his recommendations for the establishment of a strong, permanent navy to patrol British territorial waters.

These recommendations anticipate a central proposal of The Brytish Monarchie for the creation of a fleet of eighty ships, made up of sixty warships and twenty auxiliary vessels an overall increase of thirty ships on the fifty specified in the 1570 Synopsis. Such a substantial increase suggests that the details of the plan in the 1570 manuscript had not

been finalised, although the connection with The Brytish Monarchie is still strong, as Dee makes clear when he reminds Christopher Hatton in 1576-7 that he will already be familiar with the argument of The Brytish Monarchie from Edward Dyer's promotion of the 1570 Synopsis. Dee's immediate aim in creating a navy was to provide a deterrent to counter the threat of a Spanish naval assault on Britain, while his longer-term goal was to use the navy as a foundation upon which to build the maritime Atlantic empire outlined in Famous and Rich Discoveries. These were fundamental aspects of his plan to realise the ideal of his cosmopolitical theocracy in Britain, and his ideas in this instance were drawn not from the tradition of ancient esoteric philosophy, but from examples in British history, particularly that of Edgar.

And again there is discussion in the Praeface which is directly relevant to Strength in the 1570 Synopsis. Dee asserts that Arithmetic has many military applications, as in provisioning and logistics, while Geometry is considered under the heading of Stratarithmetry, which deals with the deployment of troops in military formations, such schemes being commonplace throughout Europe at this time (29). These ideas would have comprised a major part of the training mentioned in the 1570 Synopsis as being necessary to equip a commander with the ability to vanquish all types of enemies through the best use of strategy, armour, weapons, and ordnance. The discussion in the Praeface of logistics would also bear upon that part of the section on Strength dealing with transport, provisions, and supplies.

These latter sections of the 1570 Synopsis: Wealth and

Strength, abundantly demonstrate the practical bent of Dee's mind in seeking to apply his cosmopolitical theories to the contemporary world. He recognised the necessity for economic prosperity and national security to provide the basis upon which to construct the theocratic state, and he explored in detail in the Praeface, The Brytish Monarchie, and presumably the 1565 Synopsis, the means through which this foundation was to be established. He proposed specific measures relating to the navy and army, regional industry, and British involvement in international commerce, all with a view to promoting national prosperity. And he was fundamentally utilitarian in his attitude to the application of knowledge in the service of the state, a position he shared with Plato and Cicero. Even the most esoteric and dangerous aspects of his thought, such as angel-magic, were applied in the furtherance of his political programme, the objective of which was to establish an imperial, theocratic rule under a philosopher-ruler and Council of Guardians.

But the Wisdom which was to define those principles of theology and religious observance that were to lead ultimately to the redemption of humanity was of no account while it lacked a solid and comprehensive social and economic structure to support it. This structure is outlined in the 1570 Synopsis and is specially designed to satisfy what Dee determined to be the particular requirements of the late sixteenth century. To this end, he was prepared to adapt, and even, when necessary, to depart from, the ancient philosophy in which his own was rooted as containing pristine divine truth. Thus, although many of his ideas were borrowings

from, or extensions of, the thought of earlier thinkers, the manner in which he constructed the synthesis of ideas which comprised Cosmopolitics and introduced into it notions peculiar to himself was boldly original both in scope and complexity. Whatever the final religious objectives of Cosmopolitics, its success depended upon the political mechanism of the theocratic state to translate these into actuality. And the political programme depended in turn upon the sustained support of powerful patrons, one of whom would assume the rôle of philosopher-ruler, in order to bring it to realisation.

Dee was principally a political philosopher, an aspect of his life and work that has been completely overlooked by previous commentators on his thought, even though it is one which focuses the whole range of his intellectual activity. This new interpretation of Dee's system depends substantially upon the manuscript of the 1570 Synopsis which defines the cosmopolitical theocracy and connects it not only with Dee's other principal writings, but also with the entire tradition of ancient wisdom. It provides a primary point of contact between Dee's mental world and the actual world of contemporary politics and diplomacy and leads by a natural development into General and Rare Memorials, Dee's principal attempt in English to realise his cosmopolitical theocracy in Britain. The importance of this manuscript is such that the entire corpus of Dee's work requires reevaluation because, prior to the establishment of its true significance as the focus of his cosmopolitical theories, it had been impossible to regard Dee's thought as an internally-coherent, politically-centred system, of which his public writings were integral

statements.

My analysis of Dee's writings as expressions of a politically-grounded philosophy has shown not only them, but also Dee himself in a new light. His self-image was based upon the figure of the Cosmopolites, a religious philosopher having access to the most sacred secrets of the universe, knowledge which gave him power to prophecy, to communicate with angelic intelligences, and, through the exercise of magic, to direct affairs in the terrestrial sphere. The Cosmopolites, by virtue of his unique ability to interpret and to implement God's purpose, was destined to advise on, and to direct, affairs of state, not as the philosopher-ruler himself, but as one of the Council of Guardians responsible for ensuring the observance of divine law in all areas of activity. It was the duty of the Cosmopolites to secure the implementation of the political programme for the realisation of the theocratic state, an ambition which Dee sought to fulfil in General and Rare Memorials.

All that remains of this programme is contained in The Brytish Monarchie and Famous and Rich Discoveries. These are discussed in Chapter XII as a part of the analysis of applied Cosmopolitics which is the subject of Part II. This analysis is not confined to Dee's writings, but embraces in addition his relations with contemporary politicians, particularly those associated with Sir Philip Sidney. It is an evaluation not merely of the factors leading to the failure of his attempts to implement his cosmopolitical theories, but also of the significance of his ideas in Elizabethan England.

PART II

APPLIED COSMOPOLITICS: 'GENERAL AND RARE MEMORIALS'

CHAPTER X

DEE AND HIS PATRONS

In this part of my thesis, I shall be concerned principally with Dee's attempt to realise his cosmopolitical vision through General and Rare Memorials in the second half of the 1570s. This is in the nature of an 'exemplum' to show the methods he employed to implement his schemes, particularly with regard to the form in which his ideas were presented and the extent to which the full scope of Cosmopolitics may, or may not, have been appreciated and understood by potential patrons. He sought, through publications and the promotional activities of close associates, to interest influential sympathisers in those parts of his overall design which he judged would be most favourably received. His reputation as a necromancer necessarily made him wary of revealing too much about his more abstruse pursuits. And there were apparently very few people thoroughly intimate with all areas of his thought. But General and Rare Memorials is connected, through Edward Dyer, with the 'Sidney group', which is usually placed in the vanguard of the English Renaissance, and with prominent personalities at court who advocated Protestant 'activist' policies in foreign and religious affairs. And it is these considerations which make General and Rare Memorials so important because, through it, Dee and his cosmopolitical vision can be placed in their socio-political context. It is insufficient merely to present Cosmopolitics as a new and important key to understanding Dee's system without seeing also

how that system related to the contemporary situation. Dee represented a universal learning, incorporating extreme tendencies in continental thought, which was rare in Elizabethan England, and while the significance of his contribution to English intellectual history in the second half of the sixteenth century has been established by previous scholarship, there has been little attempt to explore the mechanisms by which his ideas were communicated, successfully or otherwise, to what he hoped would be a receptive audience. General and Rare Memorials is all the more valuable because it allows the opportunity to measure Dee's influence against that of the 'Sidney group', which was so important in the promotion of English letters and the dissemination of new developments in contemporary European learning.

In the 1570s, Dee was convinced that an age of British greatness was at hand in which Elizabeth could become the imperial, reforming leader of Protestant Christendom if she would only take advantage of the auspicious situation in international affairs contrived by the operation of divine powers. His purpose in General and Rare Memorials was to urge her to seize the opportunity thus presented and, following the programme which he prescribed, to lay the foundations of the British theocracy outlined in the 1570 Synopsis. His failure to achieve these objectives was due mainly to an inability to attract sufficiently powerful and active patrons to his cause. His main appeal had been made through Christopher Hatton and Edward Dyer, although on occasion he had access to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley. The story of General and Rare Memorials and of Dee's

attempts, through Hatton and Dyer, to interest the queen in his scheme forms the subject of Chapter XII, to which the intervening chapters are largely introductory.

The first of these, Chapter X, deals with the patronage of Dee's studies by Cecil, William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, the Dudley and Sidney families, and Edward Dyer. The overall goal of this chapter is to establish that, during the 1550s and 1560s, Dee had familiarised these potential backers with some aspects of his cosmopolitical theories, the essentials of which had been formulated during the 1540s at Cambridge and later at Louvain. Dee's sense of his own messianic destiny had been developed at an early stage: the esoteric Mathematics of the hieroglyphic monad had been conceived in the 1550s, while he was developing his prophetic history as a part of his astrological studies for the Aphorisms. And his awareness that he possessed the knowledge necessary to lead mankind to salvation inspired his self-imposed task of promoting a political programme for the implementation, at the most auspicious times, of God's design. The history of these early attempts to obtain patronage must, therefore, be seen as complementary to his more ambitious approaches to Maximilian II, Rudolph II, and Elizabeth. He was necessarily deeply concerned to provide a livelihood for himself and his family, but of far greater consequence was his intense desire to secure, as a convert, a head of state with faith in his ideas and the capability to implement fully his plans to effect the regeneration of Christendom and the eventual triumph of his true Christianity.

While Dee's patrons were interested in specific key areas of his cosmopolitical theories, particularly with regard to the applied sciences and his projects for British overseas commercial expansion, they were not necessarily aware of the incorporation of these within a grand design. His services as a tutor in navigational studies, for instance, were highly valued in the Dudley and Sidney households, and such studies had an obvious application in the naval programme of the Synopsis, the first version of which was written in 1565. His navigational work connects also with the proposed maritime trading empire and, through this, with the overall objective of Wealth in the 1570 Synopsis, to make England the lord and master of the Exchange. The voyages of exploration with which Dee, the Dudleys, and the Sidneys were associated in the third quarter of the sixteenth century must also be regarded as being linked, by Dee, to this end and as playing, for him, an essential rôle in the eventual fulfilment of his long-term goals.

But there were aspects of Dee's work that interested few of his benefactors. Although Cecil appears to have displayed an interest in his theories of angelology, on the whole little reference is made to abstruse religious questions in Dee's dealings with his patrons. Yet such matters were certainly present in his thought in these early years; indeed, they were an integral part of the developing concept of Cosmopolitics. Even so, Dee seems to have taken advantage of whatever opportunities arose to interest his patrons in those areas of his grand design which particularly appealed to them. For example, the obvious attraction of investment in a voyage in

search of the North-west Passage was the prospect of great riches resulting from the discovery of a trade route to Cathay. But such a piecemeal promotion of the cosmopolitical theories as this implies - and even General and Rare Memorials is not a comprehensive statement of Dee's full purpose - does not entail that there were not people interested in his cosmological ideas who must have been aware of the incorporation of all these interests within a single unified scheme - Elizabeth herself took an interest in the Aphorisms and the Monas. The likelihood is that the true scope and objectives of Dee's thought were known to only a select few, an exclusivity increased by Dee's reluctance to reveal too much of his system in case his reputation be further damaged. And it is the function of this chapter to indicate briefly, with as little reference to the politics of the 1550s and 1560s as possible, those quarters where Dee's ideas circulated.

This is important because those most interested in his thought - Cecil, Robert Dudley, the Sidneys and Dyer - are all in some way connected with General and Rare Memorials, either directly with the work itself, or indirectly through the political interests which Dee sought to influence. Dyer is especially significant as he was the principal promoter of the work and provides a direct link to Philip Sidney, who was idealised in his own time as the epitome of evangelical Protestant chivalry and who was also heir to the scientific, intellectual, and political preoccupations of the Dudleys, with which Dee had been associated.

In Chapter XI, I shall analyse the intellectual milieu of the so-called 'Areopagus', which has been considered to have

been familiar with the more secret areas of Dee's thought, as an introduction to the examination in Chapter XII of the nature of General and Rare Memorials and of the reasons for its failure to gain support, particularly amongst a group which might have been expected to be sympathetic, on a political level at least, to the militant proposals it contained for British maritime commercial aggrandizement.

CECIL, PEMBROKE, AND THE DUDLEYS

In 1551, Dee returned to England from the continent and was introduced to Cecil by Sir John Cheke, who had probably encouraged Dee's mathematical studies at Cambridge in the 1540s. In 1541, Cecil had married Cheke's sister, Mary, who had died in 1543. Both men were involved during the 1540s and 1550s in the administrations of the Lord Protector, Somerset, and John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Cecil was clearly identified with Dudley, and he was knighted in October 1551 at the same time as Dudley was made Duke of Northumberland and William Herbert was created first Earl of Pembroke. Through Cecil, Dee was brought to the attention of Edward VI (1).

In February 1552, Dee was connected in some capacity with Pembroke's household. Pembroke, an illiterate, was a staunch Protestant who was in the next year implicated in Northumberland's attempted 'coup' involving Lady Jane Grey. Dee also became tutor to Northumberland's children, including Robert, Mary, later wife of Sir Henry Sidney and mother of Philip, and John, Earl of Warwick, whom Dee regarded highly and instructed in military science. In 1553, Dee wrote two treatises at the request of the Duchess of Northumberland

which betray his preoccupation with Astronomy and Astrology at this time, The Philosophicall and Poeticall Originall occasions of the Configurations, and names of the heavenly Asterismes and The true cause, and account (not vulgar) of Floods and Ebbs, neither of which is now extant. From their titles, both works would appear to fall within the scope of the studies required for the Aphorisms (2). The Pembroke-Dudley connection is again in evidence in 1558 when, upon the recommendation of Pembroke and Robert Dudley, Elizabeth took Dee, in his words, 'to her service'. Also in 1558, Robert Dudley commanded Dee to write a tract, in the light of his knowledge of the ancient astrologers, setting out his judgment on the most auspicious day for Elizabeth's coronation. 1558 was the year of publication of the Aphorisms. Dudley was again on hand when Dee was called upon by the Privy Council to deal with a waxen image of the queen pierced with a large pin which had been found in Lincoln's Inn Fields (3).

Thus Dee's learning was highly regarded by powerful courtiers in the years prior to Elizabeth's accession. He had achieved fame in Paris for his 1551 lectures on Euclid, although by 1555 he had acquired a reputation as a necromancer in England. The advanced state of development of the cosmopolitical theories in the 1550s is indicated by the publication in July 1558 of the first of the two editions of the Aphorisms which appeared in that year. Robert Dudley was evidently enthusiastic about Dee's astrological studies and may have read the Aphorisms. The reference in Aphorism 118 to the Cosmopolites charting the correspondences between earthly locations and heavenly configurations in order to determine

auspicious dates may well have lain behind his commissioning of Dee's tract, now lost, on the determination of Elizabeth's coronation day. Dudley's interest in the sciences, stemming from Dee's tuition, is revealed again in 1564 when he was reprimanded by Roger Ascham for his study of Mathematics, particularly of Euclid (4). Dudley was evidently undeterred by Dee's reputation for religious unorthodoxy.

Cecil too had some general acquaintance with the more esoteric areas of Dee's studies, as is shown by a letter written to him by Dee from Antwerp on 16 February 1563, from the house of Willem Silvius, who was to publish the Monas in the following year (5). The tone of Dee's letter implies some degree of intimacy with Cecil, whom he clearly expects to interest in his continental researches, particularly his acquisition of a copy of Trithemius' work on angel-magic, the Steganographia. Dee opens his letter by addressing Cecil as a paragon of Virtue and proceeds to lament that although English universities contain greatly learned men there is no-one wise

in the science De numeris formalibus, the science De Ponderibus mysticis, and the science De mensuris divinis: (by which three the huge frame of this world is fashioned, compact, rered, stablished, and preserved) and in other sciences, eyther with these collaterall, or from them derived, or to themwardes greatly us fordering.

That is, he knows of no-one knowledgeable in the ancient cosmological Wisdom of Number, Weight, and Measure, or in their

attendant sciences which he was to describe in the Iraeface. This gives a hint as to the nature of his foreign studies.

Dee explains that he had journeyed to the continent to further his studies and to arrange for the publication of some of his works. He had hoped to return to England before Easter, but now finds that this is impossible. Since his arrival in Europe, he informs Cecil, he has discovered such men and such books to aid him in his study of the great sciences which he has mentioned as he would scarcely have thought possible. Does Cecil wish him to return to England leaving his books unprinted and in other hands, thereby neglecting the great opportunity presented by God to advance His glory and the honour and well-being of his country? Or will Cecil declare his wisdom, justice, and zeal, which have been forthcoming, Dee says, in many cases of much less importance, and allow him to remain on the continent? As a proof of his endeavour and strength of purpose, he has already purchased one book 'for which a thousand crownes haue ben by others ofred, ... the name thereof to you is not unknowne':

The title is on this wise, Steganographia Joannis Tritemij; whereof in both the editions of the Polygraphia mention is made, and in his epistles, and in sundry other mens boke. A boke for your Honor, or a Prince, so meet, so nedefull and commodious, as in humayne knowledg none can be meeter or more behovefull.

Dee says he has already copied out a half of this book and will continue with the rest. He has unfortunately run out of money, but will make Cecil a present of the Steganographia, which

he considers to be the most precious jewel of other men's studies he has yet had in his possession. Through his continental contacts he expects to be initiated into the secrets of the book and he thinks that Cecil will be most worthy of understanding the work for his 'wisedome and honorable zeale toward the avauncement of good letters and wonderfull divine and secret sciences'.

Dee evidently had cause to believe that Cecil was interested in those 'divine and secret sciences' discussed in Trithemius' work, about which British scholars were so ignorant. And that his letter was well received is clear from his note in the Compendious Rehearsall of 1592 that he still retained Cecil's reply:

Mr Secretary Cecill now Lord Treasurer, his testimonie by letter of my well bestowing of my tyme beyond the seas A.1563, 28 May, is here (6).

According to Dee, the Steganographia was of profound importance in understanding Number, Weight, and Measure, and their offshoot sciences. Cecil may have been interested in it as a work on cryptography, especially as Dee refers to the Polygraphia which does deal with that subject (7), but the Steganographia was also about angel-magic. When, in the Praeface of 1570, in the 'Digression' defending himself against charges of necromancy, Dee included Trithemius' Apologia for the Steganographia amongst those apologies by philosophers who had endured similar persecution to himself, he clearly regarded the Steganographia as a work of the highest religious significance. The context into which it is introduced in the

letter to Cecil makes it plain that this was how he regarded it in 1563 too. The reference to the value of the book to Cecil, then Principal Secretary, or to a ruler, possibly alludes to Dee's theory of the necessity of governing in accordance with divine Wisdom, which would have been elaborated in the 1565 Synopsis. While Dee is undoubtedly speaking of the Steganographia in this letter in terms of Cosmopolitics, it is by no means clear whether or not Cecil was acquainted with the system, although Dee certainly expected to interest him in those studies which were incorporated into Cosmopolitics and which formed the metaphysical and cosmological basis of the Synopsis and General and Rare Memorials.

Dee also interested Elizabeth in his works. In 1564, while he was away at Maximilian II's court, she had defended the Monas against attacks by English scholars and, on his return, she had asked him to explain it to her, and his explanation would have covered the whole range of cosmopolitical theories (8). She took an interest in the Aphorisms too, and again the names of Cecil and Pembroke appear. Dee notes in the Compendious Rehearsall that on 11 January, 1568,

The right honourable Earle of Pembroke did present my booke of Propaedeumata Aphoristica to her Majestie in my behalfe, as I was so advised to doe by the honourable Mr. Secretary Cecill... to whome I had humbly given one of them the day before; & likewise one to the said Earle to use or give away at his pleasure, and likewise one to the said

earle. Within three dayes after the said Earle told me of her Majesties gracious accepting and well liking of the said book;... Pembroke then gave Dee £20 on his own behalf. The edition of the Aphorisms referred to is that of 1568, which was published on 9 January, and brought immediately to the attention of those from whom Dee sought patronage (9).

As with the Monas, Elizabeth received the Aphorisms favourably, but there are no grounds for supposing that she took more than an academic interest in the work. Similarly, the real nature of Cecil's and Pembroke's interest cannot be established with certainty. It is possible that they were privately sympathetic while not allowing themselves to become committed publicly to any of Dee's schemes. Certainly, Cecil's patronage of Dee continued after the episode of the Aphorisms, as is evidenced in the Compendious Rehearsall by Dee's recording of Cecil's 'honourable offer of his courtly frendship by a letter written with his owne hand. A. 1568, 20 Augusti' (10). What form this 'courtly frendship' was to take is not known, but it demonstrates Cecil's high opinion of Dee's intellectual ability.

THE SIDNEYS

Sir Henry Sidney married Mary Dudley in 1551, which was about the time of the beginning of Dee's association with Northumberland's household, and he shared a common interest with his father-in-law and Dee in the promotion of maritime and commercial expansion, particularly through the newly created Muscovy Company. While the sailor, Richard Chancellor,

was staying at Sir Henry's house, he was instructed in navigation by Dee (11), and Philip Sidney was to continue the family interest in such matters, becoming a patron of the younger Hakluyt who, in 1582, dedicated to him his first book, Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America, and the Ilands adjacent to the same (12). Thus, Dee was amongst people who would give a sympathetic hearing to his imperialist schemes, the more so, as an aggressive foreign policy was attendant upon the policy of commercial expansion.

Dee's writings contain references to his good relationship with the Sidney family. In the Compendious Rehearsall, he mentions Sir Henry's letters to him while he was Lord Deputy in Ireland and Lord President in Wales as evidence of their friendship. Sir Henry was Lord Deputy from 1565 until 1580 and Lord President from 1559 until 1586 (13). Dee counted Lady Mary as a friend, she having attended him, on Elizabeth's instructions, during an illness in 1571, at which time she also wrote letters to him and invited him to court (14). But again there is no direct evidence to connect either Sir Henry or his wife with any of Dee's religio-political ambitions, although the relationship between the two men was evidently close, as is attested by a comment made by Dee in the course of an angelic conference in 1584 during which he was told that Sir Henry had died: 'I ever took him for one of my chief friends' (15).

A valuable piece of information of Dee's contact with Philip Sidney, and with Dyer, is contained in Thomas Moffet's Latin oration on Sidney, Nobilis, written in 1593-4:

Yet, not satisfied with the judgement and

reach of common sense, with his eye passing to and fro through all nature, he pressed into the innermost penetralia of causes; and by that token, led by God, with Dee as teacher, and with Dyer as companion, he learned chemistry, that starry science, rival to nature.... With the same alacrity he proceeded in other subjects of abstruse learning (16).

Moffet knew Sidney personally and was resident in the household of William Herbert, husband of Philip's sister, Mary, from 1592 or 1593, and so was well qualified to write a biography of Sidney (17). The reference to Dee's tuition occurs in the section, 'Adolescence of Philip Sidney', following a statement that Sidney was contemptuous of Astrology whilst an undergraduate at Oxford, which suggests a date before 1572 when, aged eighteen, he embarked on a three-year continental tour (18). Fulke Greville, Sidney's intimate friend and the best placed of all his biographers, makes no mention of this episode in his Life, which, without detracting from the credibility of Nobilis, does mean that Moffet's account is unconfirmed by other sources.

However, if Moffet is correct, and Dee did teach Sidney and Dyer chemistry, then the reference to 'that starry science' implies that 'chemistry' here involved alchemical and astrological theory of the kind underlying the Monas and the Aphorisms, which is also suggested by the 'other subjects of abstruse learning'. And this raises the question of the nature of the Astrology rejected by Sidney as an under-

graduate. This could possibly have been astrology as popularly conceived for use in the casting of horoscopes, but there is evidence to suggest that Sidney rejected also the more profound areas of Dee's religious philosophy, most notably the Monas. In a letter written on 11 February, 1574 to his mentor, Hubert Languet, Sidney makes a very cutting remark about Dee in the course of a flippant exchange with Languet on the Welsh antiquary, Humfrey Lhuyd:

But of course the important thing, as my affection compels me to warn you, is for you to remember that our 'unknown God' is of the same land and substance, and will take amiss your arousing so much laughter at the expense of his blood brother; otherwise in his anger he may perhaps brandish his hieroglyphic monad at you like Jove's lightning bolt - for such is the wrath of heavenly spirits.

There is a pun in Sidney's Latin phrase, 'ignotum Deum nostrum', on Dee's name, while the allusion to the Monas is obvious. Dee and his hieroglyph have evidently been the source of some humour between Languet and Sidney, and the latter's disrespectful tone implies that he regarded Dee's cosmopolitical notions with scorn (19).

The subject of Sidney's relationship with Dee must be treated with caution. Such instances as Sidney's taking the Polish prince Laski to be introduced to Dee at the latter's house at Mortlake in June 1583, together with references like Moffet's mention of Sidney's studying chemistry, are an insufficient basis for assuming a close friendship and

collaboration between the two men (20). And claims that Dee was the philosophical mentor of the 'Sidney group' must be considerably qualified (21). Certainly Dyer was deeply impressed by Dee's ideas, which he would have communicated to his immediate associates, but his influence appears to have been limited. Yet through examination of his promotion of General and Rare Memorials something may be discerned of the hitherto unknown interests and preoccupations of this 'group', particularly with regard to philosophy and theology. In addition, it is possible to assess the reception of Dee's ideas and to establish the reasons for his failure to realise his schemes.

Dyer probably came to court about 1565, when he was twenty-two, and became associated with Leicester, for whom he appears to have been transacting confidential business in 1567 (22). It was possibly through Leicester that Dyer became acquainted with Sidney and with Dee from whom he requested the 'Atlantickall Discourses' on the North-west Passage in 1566. Dyer's deep interest in Dee's ideas was well established by 1570, when the 'adumbratio' of the Synopsis was drawn up for him. And he was in a position of trust with the Sidney family by the mid-1570s as a letter written by Lady Mary on 1 September 1574 to Edmund Molyneux, her husband's secretary, names Dyer as engaged in some private business on Sir Henry's behalf, the nature of which is not revealed (23). In 1575-6, there is an indirect link between Dyer and Lady Mary in the person of William Medley. Medley was an alchemist who had been employed by Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Humphrey Gilbert since 1571 in the Society of the New Art to transmute iron ore into

copper. In March 1575, after Leicester and Burghley had become investors, Dyer is mentioned in a letter from Smith as also being heavily involved financially in the Society. Lady Mary's connection with the Society is not known, but in September 1576, she wrote to Burghley pleading on behalf of a Medley, undoubtedly the same, who was at that time a prisoner in the Counter (24). Medley had been exposed as a fraud in 1575, but Lady Mary, claiming to have been on friendly terms with him since 1571, made repeated appeals for him following his imprisonment.

Dyer, then, had come to be on close terms with the Sidneys by the mid-1570s, the period of his promotion of Dee's Synopsis. Dee was patronised for his geographical knowledge, which was of use in the promotion of English maritime and commercial expansion, but while there is no evidence to link the Sidneys with Dee's imperial design, there is ample to connect them with that imperialism for which the younger Hakluyt was the principal spokesman, as the dedication of Divers Voyages to Philip shows. Hakluyt's imperialism, which found its full expression in the monumental Principall Navigations, is informed by a belief in divinely-sanctioned British expansion that differs from Dee's mainly in that it is not grounded in a prophetic astrological world history and an esoteric philosophical tradition (25). Dyer's promotion of Dee's scheme would not disqualify him from taking an active interest in Hakluyt's work because they shared a common concern in exploration, the colonisation of the Americas, the creation of a self-sufficient British maritime empire, and a militant anti-Spanish foreign policy. These were all causes

actively supported by Northumberland, Leicester, Sir Henry and Philip Sidney (26).

In June 1581, the year before the dedication of Divers Voyages to Philip Sidney, Dyer was appointed to a royal commission together with Sir Francis Drake, John Hawkins, Thomas Digges, and the elder Hakluyt, to supervise the preparation of the defences of Dover against an anticipated Spanish naval attack. This suggests that Dyer was knowledgeable in maritime affairs (27) and links him slightly with the Hakluyts, a link substantiated by a generous tribute to him in the preface to the first edition of Principall Navigations, which was published in 1589:

In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious travaile, it were grosse ingratitude in me to forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and love, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom, I will speake thus much in few woordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes haue bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded me (28).

Although Hakluyt dedicates the work to Sir Francis Walsingham he states that his greatest debt of gratitude, amongst all those who have aided him, is to Edward Dyer, whom he places at the head of a list including Richard Staper, William Burrough, Anthony Jenkinson, Hawkins, and Walter Raleigh, ample testimony of the strength of Dyer's connection with that

interest favouring British maritime expansion. Dyer, in addition to making numerous introductions for Hakluyt, had promoted the latter's 'intentions', that is, his arguments for the creation of a British New World Empire and for a direct challenge to Spanish imperialism.

Dyer's involvement in Dee's schemes continued to the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1597, he requested from Dee a work entitled the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ on the subject of British territorial waters. This substantially repeated arguments in The Brytish Monarchie and indicates not only Dyer's lasting concern with maritime affairs, but also the serious limitations of the usual picture of him as poet, courtier, minor diplomat, and friend of Philip Sidney. He was closely identified with Dee's cosmopolitical world-view and although Sidney undoubtedly influenced him, as he appears to have done most of those with whom he came into contact, it is likely that Dee's was a greater influence. In 1570, about the time of Dyer's and Sidney's chemistry lessons, Sidney would have been only sixteen, eleven years Dyer's junior. And there is evidence of Dyer's consistent interest in Dee's ideas:- the 'Atlantickall Discourses' of 1566; the 1570 Synopsis; The Brytish Monarchie of 1576-7; the visits to Dee, and later Kelley, in Bohemia in the late 1580s and early 1590s; and the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ of 1597,- as well as smaller instances of their continuing association, such as Dyer's standing as godfather to Dee's eldest son, Arthur, in July 1579, and Dee's remark in a letter of 4 December, 1592 to John Stow that Dyer had been seeking patronage for the latter's books (29).

It should not be thought that Dyer was anything but a minor figure. Despite his extensive interest in voyages of exploration and attendant commercial ventures, he appears not to have been wealthy (30). And while Elizabeth may have seriously considered him as a successor to Walsingham, who died in 1591 (31), he never achieved high office. Similarly, although he was engaged on several diplomatic missions, most notably the negotiation of a naval treaty with William of Orange in 1584 (32), and the visits to Bohemia (33), he never became a prominent diplomat. But his circle of acquaintances was large and the extent of his grounding in philosophy and theology must be presumed to have been considerable for him to have been able to promote and explain Dee's ideas. His learning may have been reflected in his poetry, but so little of this has survived that it is impossible to assess it accurately (34). Yet a study of Dyer and, through him, of the 'Sidney group' is important for what it reveals not only of Dee's failure to realise his plans, but also of the intellectual and political milieu of certain individuals traditionally regarded as being leaders of the English cultural 'renaissance' in the late 1570s and early 1580s and amongst whom Dee has been held to have exercised considerable influence.

CHAPTER XI

THE 'SIDNEY GROUP': POLITICS, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY.

The 'Sidney group' is usually regarded as having had a constant central membership - Sidney, Dyer, and Fulke Greville - with which were associated, at various periods, such figures as Edmund Spenser, Gabriel Harvey, Abraham Fraunce, Daniel Rogers, and a whole range of English and continental scholars and diplomats (1). While it is generally assumed that the members of the 'group' shared common positions on politics, religion, and poetical matters, there has been little attempt to relate these to developments in philosophy or theology. The overall objective of this chapter is to define briefly the intellectual milieu of the 'Sidney group', linking the political and religious persuasions of its members to the international situation in the 1570s and to those thought movements which significantly shaped its outlook. This outlook was not homogeneous because there existed a clear division of opinion between those who favoured esoteric philosophy, of the kind propounded by Dee, and those of a sceptical tendency, derived in part from Cornelius Agrippa. These two positions relate respectively to Dyer and Sidney, and the divergence between them explains Sidney's apparent lack of enthusiasm for Dee's cosmopolitical design. This conclusion reveals the 'group' in an entirely new light and points to the need for a thorough revaluation of its character and influence.

Much of the earlier work on Sidney is summarised in Roger Howell's article, 'The Sidney Circle and the Protestant

Cause in Elizabethan Foreign Policy' (2). This article presents a valuable analysis of the 'Sidney group's' religio-political leaning which I shall use as a framework for introducing material and opinions of my own. Howell associates Sidney with the Protestant 'activist' policy of Walsingham and Leicester, particularly with their promotion of a European Protestant League against Spain. This is a well-established argument and undoubtedly reflects the truth of the matter (3). Howell discusses the influence on Sidney of Hubert Languet, arguing that the latter, 'long one of the leading proponents of Protestant union', was Sidney's master in his education in European statesmanship. Again, this is a conventional position, but Howell cites in his support J.A. van Dorsten's article, 'Sidney and Languet', which contains some especially interesting ideas concerning the background of the hoped-for Protestant League (4). In The Radical Arts, van Dorsten argues that Languet's advocacy of such a League dated from his involvement in Paris in the early 1560s with 'academic idealists' and the conciliatory religious movements which they promoted (5). It is this influence which van Dorsten claims was transmitted by Languet to Sidney, and in 'Sidney and Languet', he expands this argument to include Sidney's Grand Tour of 1572-5 and his diplomatic mission of 1577. In this article, Sidney is seen as being deliberately built up by Languet and his friends as the potential leader of a pan-Protestant 'crusade' that was anti-papal, anti-Spanish, and embraced both Lutherans and Calvinists within a single Confession of Faith (6).

Although it was written years after the events in

question and should not be regarded as an absolutely reliable source, Greville's Life contains some corroboration of van Dorsten's argument. Greville mentions Sidney's praise of Languet in the Arcadia and lauds the Frenchman as a 'dangerous instrument' against Rome and Spain (7). Later, when he discusses the two-fold danger presented by Rome and Spain, he relates how Sidney, in the course of his 1577 embassy, urged the creation of 'a general league in Religion' to counter the Hispano-Roman threat. Greville attributes to Sidney the view that such a League would be all the stronger if it were held together by 'an uniform bond of conscience' than by a purely political arrangement. Further, this League was not to be simply defensive, but was to take the offensive against the enemy, both in Europe and the New World. Greville is sure, with Sidney, that such a policy would have reconciled the 'petty dividing Schismes' causing disunity amongst the Protestant powers. These schisms, he argues, did not spring from 'any difference of religious Faith', but rather from 'misty opinion' (8). Therefore, if Greville is correct, Sidney held that there existed not only a need for uniformity of belief amongst Protestants, but also that the basis for such uniformity was already established, however much it might be temporarily obscured. This view of Sidney translates into terms of contemporary religious and political ambitions some earlier remarks of Greville's on Sidney's belief that religion should be the firm basis of his life. In this, he attempted to emulate William of Orange, 'who never divided the consideration of Estate from the cause of Religion' (9).

Sidney returned from his continental mission at the beginning of June 1577 (10). VanDorsten suggests that the first noticeable result was the Frankfort Convention, held at the end of September, which was attended by the queen's envoys, Daniel Rogers and Robert Beale, both old friends of Languet. Languet was himself resident in Frankfort during this period (11). According to van Dorsten, the Convention was the reply by those seeking a policy of conciliation amongst Protestants to the 'Formula concordiae', which had given the Lutheran churches unity of confession, but which had condemned the Calvinists and seriously aggravated confessional differences amongst Protestant powers (12). On Gréville's testimony, Sidney was committed to such a conciliatory policy.

This argument is substantiated in part by Sidney's contacts at this time with Rogers and Beale both of whom were closely involved in Languet's schemes. In a letter to Sidney on 12 August 1577 at Frankfort, Languet remarks that Rogers had arrived earlier that same evening with a letter for him from Sidney, which had considerably appeased his annoyance at Sidney's long silence (13). Again, in a letter to Sidney from Frankfort on 28 November 1577, Languet speaks of Rogers having carried letters between them, and in a letter of 26 December 1577, Languet refers to Rogers as one of Sidney's greatest admirers (14). That Sidney was well-disposed to Rogers is apparent from his injunction for Languet to love his friend Rogers more and more for his sake (15). Sidney's correspondence also reveals that Beale was to be counted amongst his friends at this time. In a letter to

Languet, written from Elizabeth's court on 1 October 1577, he notes that his friend Beale should, at the time of writing, be renewing his ancient friendship with Languet (16).

Daniel Rogers has been studied by van Dorsten, who has linked him with conciliatory trends in religion and politics from his earliest years in Paris during the 1560s (17). Beale is altogether a less well-known figure, which is surprising in view of the wide-ranging nature of his interests and activities. It is even more surprising in view of the presence in the British Library of the 197 volumes of the Yelverton Manuscripts, effectively Beale's papers (18). Beale served as Clerk to the Council and as acting Secretary of State during the absences of Sir Francis Walsingham, his brother-in-law. His earliest position abroad seems to have been in Paris about 1564, and Walsingham, on being appointed Ambassador to France in 1570, made him his secretary (19): - Rogers entered the household of Sir Henry Norris in Paris, then the English Ambassador, about 1565 (20). Beale would have met Philip Sidney in 1572 when the latter sought refuge in Walsingham's house during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (21). In 1579, he published a collection of Spanish chronicles which was intended to attack the Spanish pretensions to Portugal (22). Later, during the 1580s, Beale upheld the principle of toleration in religion in his writings and in Parliament, particularly with respect to the Jesuits. The Yelverton papers include Beale's ecclesiastical works, both published and in manuscript, which deal with procedure in ecclesiastical courts, church ceremonies, questions of divorce, the decline of religion and kindred subjects, and

reveal his extensive knowledge of the early Fathers, the Canonists, medieval authorities, and the writings of his contemporaries. Rogers and Beale, both intimates of Walsingham and supporters of his ideas on foreign policy, were close associates of Languet and promoters of his schemes. Van Dorsten's researches have established these points in connection with Rogers (23), and the biographical details which I have supplied confirm Beale's involvement with Walsingham, while a letter written by Languet to Sidney on 8 January 1578 establishes further the nature of the relationship between Beale and Languet and affords some insight into Sidney's interest in political developments in Germany at this time (24).

Languet, at Frankfort, opens this letter by reporting the safe return of Beale from Saxony where he had been engaged in diplomacy as a result of which Languet hopes that the Protestant churches are saved from the dangers presented by the movements of the pastor of Tubingen, Jacobus Andreae, and other Lutheran theologians. He then turns to the question of the formation of a Protestant League and reminds Sidney of his opinion concerning the difficulty of achieving such an objective. Rogers had first attempted this with a few German Princes and then Beale with more. But even if the attempts to establish a League had not been successful, then at least the queen's reputation has been enhanced in Germany as a result of her invitation to the Princes to participate with England in such a union and by her offer to assume leadership. Languet mentions the possibility that the Princes might regret this missed opportunity should they one day be overpowered by their enemy. For the reason of Elizabeth's in-

creased reputation, he thinks that Beale's recent journey to Saxony would not have been made in vain even if he had done no more than establish the feelings towards England of those Princes whom he visited. Languet advises Sidney to speak with Beale on these matters and says that if he did not know that Sidney appreciated Beale's character, his genius and experience, he would on his own behalf beg him to show kindness to Beale. Languet assures him that Beale is one who loves him as he ought and as Languet desires he should. Sidney can be sure that he may treat Beale with the closest intimacy and never regret it.

Languet sees Beale as a kindred spirit and as one who looks to Sidney in the same way as Rogers. Beale too is working towards the common goal of a Protestant League. Here his friendship with Rogers is important because it associates him with the latter's, and Languet's, position on religious and foreign policy (25). Rogers' involvement in the cause of William of Orange is well documented by van Dorsten, and Languet also has strong ties with Orange. In a letter of 1 October 1577 to his mentor, Sidney records that during the course of his recent stay with Orange, Sidney spoke frequently and highly of Languet, with the result that Sidney urges him to go to Orange where he will have the opportunity of putting his principles into practice (26). As van Dorsten argues, following his meeting with William at Geertruidenberg at the end of May 1577 at which were present Dyer and Greville, Sidney had entered the Orangist 'party' (27). The establishment of some form of Protestant League is, therefore, a principal concern of the foreign and religious policies

advocated by all these individuals.

If Greville and such modern commentators as Howell and van Dorsten are correct, Sidney advocated the creation of an offensive, rather than a defensive, League which would be based upon confessional uniformity. These are clearly complementary positions, for if the assault envisaged by Greville on the military and spiritual power of Spain and Rome was to be carried through, then there was a need not only for a strong political and military alliance, but also for a single set of religious articles to which all the allies should adhere. This would have the result of reducing the possibility of internal religious dissension, as well as providing a counter to the Jesuits' religious propaganda and their aggravation of religious differences amongst the Protestant powers. Greville is particularly insistent upon the rôle of 'Rome's undermining superstitions' in this regard (28). Additionally, it would provide the proposed Protestant crusade with an evangelical programme by which the malpractices and false beliefs of the Roman Church could be exposed and destroyed.

The idea of a Protestant League figured also in Elizabeth's foreign policy, a perpetual concern of which was to prevent the domination of Western Europe by either Spain or France. She had entered into the Treaty of Blois with France in April, 1572 to establish a defensive alliance against Spain. But following on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in August, 1572 and the attendant uncertainty over the future development of French policy, she secretly aided the Huguenot rebels (as she had done in 1562) in order to prevent the

ascendancy of the House of Guise and initiated a partial reconciliation with Spain, which resulted in a treaty in 1573 for the restoration of trade between the two countries. However, the key to English security lay in the Low Countries, which Elizabeth was determined should not be used by either France or Spain as a base for an invasion of England. She regarded Spanish sovereignty of the Netherlands as preferable to French annexation, but she desired also that the local aristocracy should be sufficiently strong to deny the Spaniards a free hand in any projected military ventures. To this end the Revolt of the Netherlands was of tremendous importance because the persistent drain on his manpower and finances presented Philip II with immense difficulties which were further complicated and intensified in 1577 by the attempt of Don John, who had been appointed Governor in the previous year, to seize power in preparation for an invasion of England. The uncertainty over the future of the Low Countries was made greater by the conclusion of another civil war in France in September, 1577. The Duke of Guise and Henri III had now the time to take a closer interest in Netherlands affairs. It was because of this ominous situation that attempts were made to rally the Protestant powers into a general League. The queen herself appeared to be actively promoting such a development, possibly because it allowed her an option of direct action in the event of a further dangerous deterioration in the situation in the Low Countries. She certainly saw danger in further divisions amongst the Protestant powers, particularly as a result of the Lutherans' insistence on the adoption of the 'Formula concordiae'. Hence her manoeuvres in 1577 to keep alive the idea of a

general Protestant League (29).

There are instructions extant, dated 21 August, 1577, for Beale on his mission to Saxony (30). These formal instructions (as opposed by any secret ones there may have been) are signed by the queen and Walsingham. They direct Beale to attend a 'solemn assemblée' which it was proposed should be held at Magdeburg in October 1577. News of this assembly had been conveyed by Johannes Casimir, brother of the Lutheran Elector Palatine. It was intended by the meeting's convenors that a condemnation be issued of those not subscribing to the Augustan Confession. The Lutheran proposers of this resolution included Jacobus Andreae, to whom Languet refers in his letter of 8 January 1578. Beale's mission was to 'impeche' the assembly to prevent the enactment of such a measure, having first taken counsel with Casimir, who was the main promoter of the Frankfort Convention (31). The Lutheran move is described as

A matter so full of perill and dangier
consydering the secret platts that ar layd
by the ennemy for the routing out of such
as profess the gospell, as it were rather
high tyme to think vpon sum good association
and League to withstand the malice of their
devises.

Beale's mission is, therefore, twofold: to block the Lutheran move, and to state the case for an 'association of all the Prince protestants in Europe'. With regard to the holding of an assembly to reconcile religious differences, which are 'in dede but of small moment', he is to say that

it is not a good thing at the present time, even if it might appear convenient. The possibility of further Protestant schism is a great danger. Article 9 of the instructions refers to the Frankfort Convention. Casimir had wished that Elizabeth would send commissioners to Magdeburg who should first meet at Frankfort at the end of September with the representatives of other cities and principalities not owing allegiance to the Augustan Confession in order to establish a common position. Beale is instructed to argue that such a conference would do more harm than good. Article 10 continues:

For as for matter of disputation, which semeth is intended by Duke Casimir you shall declare vnto him, that our opinion is, that it is not best to haue the sayd points in controuersye delt in at that p[rese]nt by any such waye, If by any meanes possible it may be avoyded, But only to make request, in respect of the danger of the p[rese]nt tyme, that the deciding of the sayd causes may be differred vntil sum other more convenient season.

It is also proposed that in the meantime a prohibition be placed upon

such Inuectives as of late yeres haue ben made vnder the title of Lutherans and Caluinists, And that such as ar already diuulged shalbe called in.

Here, then, is an official English 'conciliatory' policy that embraced also the idea of a Protestant League. It aims to overcome religious differences by temporarily overlooking

them. As van Dorsten notes of the Frankfort Convention, the overtones of the conference were rather anti-papal than Calvinistic, at least for the English delegates (32). However, the kind of League envisaged by Elizabeth was essentially defensive and, although Beale's instructions allow for a future conference to resolve religious differences, there is a marked absence of accent on the need for confessional uniformity. Where does this leave Sidney and those with whom he was associated?

Van Dorsten argues that Sidney was persuaded to attempt to win English support not merely for the rather vague association proposed by Elizabeth, but for an all-embracing Confession of Faith to be agreed upon by the Protestant churches of England, Poland, Germany, and other countries (33). Sidney's official correspondence indicates that he was exploring the possibilities of a League along the lines laid down by Elizabeth (34), although from the opening of Article 10 of Beale's instructions it would appear that there was a move, led by Casimir, to resolve points of controversy in religion in the conference at Frankfort preparatory to the assembly at Magdeburg where the attempt was to be made to thwart the Lutheran initiative. Casimir was noted by Sidney in a report to Walsingham of 22 March, 1576 as being one of the few continental supporters of the proposed League (35), and there was apparently considerable sympathy between the two men. In 1578, Sidney was anxious to serve with the Protestant force which Casimir sought to raise with aid from England (36). That the 'Sidney group' supported the cause propounded by Casimir is shown also by Greville's

desire to serve with Casimir in the Low Countries in 1573: he was prevented from so doing by a message from the queen brought to him at Dover on the point of his embarkation by Edward Dyer (37). But sympathy with Casimir's military ambitions does not necessarily entail that Sidney was in agreement with that prince's proposals for confessional uniformity, what ever they may have been, or indeed that he ever actually advocated such uniformity.

Sidney's extant correspondence reveals little of the nature of his support for Casimir. Languet, in a letter written to Sidney from Cologne on 22 October, 1578, refers to the particular pleasure Sidney would have had from Casimir's friendship should he have been able to join the prince in Belgium. Languet adds that Casimir would no doubt have paid Sidney every attention (38). This suggests that Casimir saw in Sidney a determined advocate of his policies and Sidney saw in Casimir a means for the realisation of his own ideas, particularly with regard to joint action by Protestant states against Spain. This implies, but does not prove, sympathy on Sidney's part for Casimir's desire for confessional uniformity. Such an interpretation of Sidney's attitude would certainly conform to the view presented in Greville's Life of Sidney's believing that a Protestant League must be bound together by 'an uniform bond of conscience'. Greville refers to the schisms between the various Protestant groups as 'petty', echoing the opinion expressed in Beale's instructions that they were 'in dede of small moment'. And it is but a short step to assert that if these differences were of so little moment, then it would

surely be a matter of little difficulty to resolve them, thus allowing the League to be constituted on a much sounder doctrinal basis. Taken together, his support for Casimir and Greville's testimony may well indicate that for Sidney the possibility of a Protestant League was linked with the possibility of confessional uniformity. And in this connection it is extremely important to take account of Sidney's own religious thought, which exhibited syncretistic and sceptical tendencies (39).

A link between Sidney's pursuits of 1577-8 and his religious inclinations is provided by the Huguenot statesman and theologian, Philippe du Flessis-Mornay. An intimate of Languet and Walsingham, Mornay was in Paris at the same time as Sidney during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and although they could have met at this time (40), their friendship did not begin in earnest until later. On 15 July, 1577, Languet wrote to Sidney asking him to greet Mornay in his name and remarking on the similarity of Sidney's and Mornay's characters which he expects should make them friends (41). Languet is referring to Mornay's visit to England in 1577-8, the object of which was probably to gain Elizabeth's support for the French Huguenots. According to his wife, Mornay's closest friends at this time were Walsingham and Sidney (42). Their friendship developed, as did their agreement on basic religious and political issues. On 10 March, 1578, Sidney wrote to Languet regretting that the queen had not adopted the 'activist' line advocated by Leicester and Walsingham, and in the next sentence he notes that his friend Mornay will soon leave England without having been able to secure

what would have been most advantageous to a Christian government, presumably an undertaking from Elizabeth to support Henri of Navarre (43). A mark of the special intimacy between the two men is Mornay's invitation to Sidney, which the latter accepted, to stand as godfather to his daughter, Elizabeth, who was born on 1 June 1578 (44). The two men corresponded following Mornay's departure from England. In 1581, Languet died in his friend Mornay's house (45).

Sidney's interest in Mornay's theology has frequently been noted, and it does indeed throw light on otherwise obscure aspects of Sidney's thought. Mornay's De la vérité de la religion chrétienne, dedicated to Henri of Navarre, was published at Antwerp in 1581, and Sidney began a translation of this work which was completed by William Golding, who dedicated the finished work to Leicester in 1587 (46). Mornay's work was an attempt to remove religious divisions by a return to a single, pristine Christian faith. His conciliatory, syncretistic approach embraced Hermeticism, Neoplatonism, and Cabala, although he quite definitely rejected Magia and practical Cabala. Cabala, he asserted, was not magic, and he went further, denying that Moses was a magician and arguing that all magic was wrong and vain (47). It is clear from passages in Sidney's writings that the whole tendency of his religious thought was towards a syncretism of the kind expounded by Mornay. This syncretism would provide the basis of the confessional uniformity upon which the proposed Protestant League was to be founded.

Sidney's Defence of Poetry, although heavily influenced

by Plato (48), is predominantly Christian, Sidney being a Christian thinker rather than a humanist reader of the classical philosophers. This point is emphasised by F.B. Evans in his article 'The Concept of the Fall in Sidney's "Apologie"' (49). Evans argues his case from the one reference to, and the one allusion to, the Fall in the Defence. The first of these occurs at the end of the Narratio, where Sidney deals with Art and Nature (50). He has been arguing for the ability of the poet, 'lifted up with the vigour of his own invention', to transcend ordinary 'brazen' Nature and to create a 'golden' Nature. God created man in His likeness and set him beyond and over all the works of Nature, and nothing shows this more than poetry

-with no small arguments to the credulous of that first accursed fall of Adam, since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it.

The Fall, Evans concludes, is thus presented as an actuality for which the nature of poetry offers proof; the 'credulous', he thinks, are the non-believers amongst Sidney's imagined audience.

The allusion to the Fall occurs near the beginning of the Confirmatio, where Sidney argues that the final purpose of all learning

is to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of.

All branches of learning have one goal:

to know, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying his own divine essence (51).

This is the commonplace Platonic notion of the soul imprisoned in the material body, but Evans argues that the Fall is Sidney's main concern, and the syncretistic use of Plato confirms the truth of Christianity. There are, therefore, three elements to consider in Sidney's view of the human condition: 'erected wit', 'infected will', and 'degenerate souls'. Firstly, Evans maintains, Sidney held the humanistic view of virtue lying in action rather than in contemplation. Secondly, he regards Sidney's essential argument as fundamentally quite simple. Man's soul became degenerate with Adam's Fall. This degeneracy is not to be found in the cognitive faculties, the 'erected wit', but rather in the will, the corruption of which impedes the achievement of virtuous action. The juxtaposition of man's 'erected wit' and his 'infected will' is central to Sidney's conceptions of the human condition and of the function of poetry, which is the third stage of his argument. Sidney has said that the end of poetry is 'to teach and delight' (52). He argues that of all human arts, poetry is best suited to correct human degeneracy because it alone can present a view of 'golden', divine Nature and so lead man to virtuous action in pursuit of his true perfection. Evans concludes his discussion by outlining some of the sources for Sidney's view of the degeneracy of the human soul, among whom he cites Aquinas; he further notes that Sidney adopts a position contrary of Luther and Calvin who assert that Adam's Fall involved the total corruption of his nature.

I consider Evans' account of Sidney's interest in the

Fall to be substantially correct, particularly as it relates to the function of poetry and to the nature of the poetic imagination. And, further, Sidney's position can be related to Cornelius Agrippa's De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium, an English translation of which, by James Sanford, had been published at London in 1569, about a decade before Sidney wrote his Defence. Sidney's debt to Agrippa has been studied by A.C. Hamilton in his article, 'Sidney and Agrippa', and has been commented on by van Dorsten in his edition of the Defence (53).

Van Dorsten notes that there are three passages in which Sidney's general debt to Agrippa's De vanitate is especially noticeable (54). Significantly, the first of these occurs near the beginning of the Confirmatio and follows on immediately from the allusion to the Fall discussed by Evans. As Hamilton points out, Sidney amends Agrippa's argument in De vanitate, using it as a framework within which to attack the vanity of learning and to defend the practice of poetry. Sidney's contention that the scope of all the arts and sciences, except poetry, is limited by Nature is based upon Agrippa who claims that truth cannot be apprehended by science. Although there is in the Defence a general disillusion with the arts and sciences, which Sidney considers deal only with the world of 'brazen' Nature, his assertion that poetry reinforces the Word of God leads him to deviate from Agrippa, whose own scepticism embraces all areas of learning. This accords with Evans' view of Sidney's intentions in the Defence and with Hamilton's observation that Sidney laid particular stress upon the power of the poetic image to

move men to their salvation.

At this point, the commentator on Sidney's poetics is on dangerous ground. There is a consideration of which neither Evans nor Hamilton takes account, namely, the apparent conflict between the fideism and antirationalism suggested by Agrippa's scepticism and the strongly rationalist emphasis implied by the idea of the 'erected wit'. The difficulties are compounded by Sidney's never detailing a theory of knowledge, although as van Dorsten notes, Sidney appears to work in his examination of poetry and learning from the theory of knowledge outlined in Plato's Epistle VII (55).

In addition to demonstrating the debt of the Defence to De vanitate, one of the more valuable services performed by Hamilton's article is to warn against too close an identification of Sidney's with Agrippa's views. Sidney acknowledges that the 'superficial part' of Agrippa's work is an attack on the abuse of learning, but he also admits the existence of 'another foundation' to De vanitate (56). Hamilton argues convincingly that the aim of Agrippa's attack upon the learned was to replace the knowledge of good and evil, which belongs to man's fallen state, with an un-fallen state of vision of the true and the divine. But Agrippa does not approve of any theology that depends on human reason, his scepticism being heavily indebted to the anti-philosophical fideism of G.F. Pico. Agrippa's theology relies upon divine illumination or on the plain exposition of the Scriptures, themselves the products of divine revelation, and effectively denies the possibility of any rational demonstration of religious or other significant

truths (57).

Likewise, as Hamilton argues, Sidney seeks to replace knowledge with vision. His notion of 'the speaking picture of poesy' (58) and his theory of the poetic image are, I think, closely related to Agrippa's fideism. Poetry enables the poet, and his reader, to rise above 'brazen' Nature and to perceive the perfect harmony of the 'golden' world. Here Hamilton, in emphasising the power of the image to move men to their salvation, agrees with Evans. While Sidney's belief in the ability of the mind to apprehend divine perfection through poetry suggests sympathy with the 'act of faith' proposed in De vanitate, there is considerable evidence elsewhere to indicate that he placed great reliance also upon the possibility of salvation through the exercise of natural reason.

The Defence itself is strongly rationalist. For example, Sidney asserts the superiority of the poet over the philosopher and the historian (59) on the grounds that the poet, in devising his images, combines the philosopher's precept and the historian's example in order to create 'a perfect picture'. This resultant poetic image embodies the 'thorny arguments' of the moral philosopher, thereby incorporating logical processes, and is therefore 'rational'. As such, it belongs to the cognitive faculty, the 'erected wit'. And further, if appreciation of the nature and meaning of the poetic image relies in no small part upon the individual's reason, then that individual's fitness for salvation must also rely upon that faculty because it is declared by Sidney that the ultimate object of poetry is to lead to man's re-

demption.

This connects closely with Sidney's enthusiasm for Mornay who, in De la vérité, used the Ancient Theology to integrate Platonism with Christianity and to propound a purely rational natural theology. D.F. Walker has demonstrated the indebtedness of the Cecropia-Famela episode in the Arcadia to De la vérité: Famela is herself an Ancient Theologian who has reached the truth, as a good pagan, by reading the Book of Nature, that is, by the exercise of natural reason. Walker concludes that Sidney greatly aided the survival of 'liberal' Platonising theology in Elizabethan England through the translation of De la vérité into English and by depicting Pamela, Musidorus, and Pyrocles as saved pagans and as pre-Christians who have arrived at religious truths (60).

In his theology, therefore, Sidney attempts to marry the scepticism of Agrippa to the syncretism of Mornay, and he probably inclines to the latter rather than to the former. He bases his 'simple' religious faith upon rational argument and mistrusts the 'learning' of religious debate as, to use Greville's phrase, so much 'misty Opinion'. Sidney himself refers to the 'thorny arguments' of moral philosophers as 'so hard of utterance and so misty to be conceived' (61). He envisages a two-fold approach to knowledge of the divine: by direct illumination or by natural reason. Either alternative would lead him to dislike arguments of confusing and misleading complexity. This is reflected in his criticism in the Defence of the difficulties posed by the works of moral philosophers and it also helps confirm the picture of him

presented by Greville in the Life (62). As they appear in Sidney's writings, however, Agrippa's scepticism and Mornay's natural reason are complementary influences, together forming an uncomplicated, yet sophisticated religious system, with Mornay's syncretism allowing Sidney also to stress areas of agreement between conflicting doctrines rather than areas of disagreement. He would thus have a basis upon which to recommend a general League in religion, a League strongly influenced by the ideas of Mornay.

It is necessary to emphasize here the essentially non-magical foundations of Sidney's religious thought in order to dissociate him specifically from the influence of John Dee. In the Praeface, Dee had suggested that there were two ways to attain knowledge of religious truths: by direct illumination from God or through the pursuit of religious-scientific philosophy. Mornay, in De la vérité, emphatically rejected Magia and practical Cabala, central elements in Dee's thought, and denied that Moses, whom Dee revered, was a magus, while Agrippa, in De vanitate castigated the entire range of the occult sciences within which Dee operated. The whole tendency of Sidney's religious thought, therefore, as he derived it from Mornay and Agrippa, was opposed to a magical religion of the kind proposed by Dee.

The ecumenical nature of Sidney's theology and religious policy is very evident in the poetry of Edmund Spenser, particularly in the figure of the Redcross Knight in Book I of The Faerie Queene. Van Dorsten, in The Radical Arts, argues convincingly that Spenser's later poetry should be viewed in the light of his earliest works, particularly

A Theatre for Worldlings, and that Spenser's poetic theory remains essentially Sidneian. Book I of The Faerie Queene may even have developed out of the Theatre translation (63). Neither Spenser nor Sidney is purely moralistic, for both attempt to reveal the universal, divine forces that shape and direct affairs. The period of the friendship between Sidney and Spenser was not very long, 1578/9-80, but during this time Sidney appears to have greatly encouraged Spenser with his poetry (64).

The Protestant vision of Books I and V of The Faerie Queene is the poetic expression of the hopes and aspirations of Sidney and of those with whom he was most closely associated. The general meaning of Book I has been well investigated, and it has been suggested that the political allegory of Book V was an attempt by Spenser in 1595 to bring up-to-date the progress of the religious struggle (65). The allegory in Book V reveals the strength of Spenser's attachment to the religious and foreign policy aims of the Leicester-Sidney faction (66). I do not wish to suggest that Sidney, or a Sidney-type figure, should be read into the character of the Redcross Knight, but rather that in Redcross, and Una, Spenser presents a Sidneian vision of the destiny of the Christian Church. The single, simple, indivisible Christian faith represented by Una, and derived, van Dorsten believes, from the Theatre translation and from the conciliatory religious movements of the 1560s, will restore the wasted land of Eden and return mankind to its prelapsarian state (67).

This is very suggestive of the religion which I have attributed to Sidney. Book I of The Faerie Queene was ap-

parently begun early in the period 1580-90 and reviewed towards the end of the decade (68), which means that Spenser began it shortly after his involvement with Sidney and his friends when he had been seeking Leicester's patronage. The ecumenical and evangelical associations of Redcross can be seen as the poetic expression of the religio-political aspirations of the 'Sidney group' as stated, for instance, in Greville's Life. Sidney's attempts in the late 1570s to realise an English-led Protestant League that would take the offensive against Spain, initially in the Netherlands and the New World, connect strongly with the imperialist bias and the visionary theology of Book I of The Faerie Queene: Redcross, the English Church, leads the redemption of the whole body of the faithful, and is accompanied by the royal virgin, Una, who has obvious symbolic associations with Elizabeth. Redcross' religious faith vanquishes error and the instruments of Satan, just as Sidney hoped that his own would (69).

Howell argues that Sidney's ideas on foreign and religious policy became increasingly ecumenical during the 1570s and 1580s, implying that Sidney was an idealist whose political and religious aims were determined by theological conviction rather than by the immediate realities of the European situation. But Howell does not mention Greville's insistence that Sidney 'made the Religion he professed, the firm Basis of his life' or that he believed 'the consideration of Estate' should never be divided from 'the cause of Religion' (70). The tendency of my own discussion has been to confirm the view that Sidney's political thought

was shaped by his religious beliefs. No doubt he did seek a theological rationalisation of the scheme for a Protestant League, but his interest in Agrippa and in Mornay was evidently deeply personal and was incorporated into a world picture that embraced a theologically-determined view of human nature and destiny. Greville's, and Howell's, picture of Sidney as contemplating the possibility of a European-wide anti-Spanish religious movement based upon confessional uniformity is, therefore, a true one (71).

Sidney's religious and foreign policies are 'conciliatory' in so far as they seek to unite Protestants against Rome and Spain, which have deviated both from Christian verity and from the truth contained in the pre-Christian Ancient Theology. In the post-lapsarian world it is the sacred duty of the English Church under Elizabeth to lead the other European Protestant powers in a crusade against the false religion and the military might of Spanish Catholicism and to repair the human will to fit mankind for salvation. This religious duty is inspired by a theology reduced to its purest form by being stripped of all the encumbrances of learning and scholarship. Such a 'simple' theology will afford no grounds for disagreement and schism and will provide the basis for the reconciliation of all the Christian churches, leading ultimately to the restoration of harmony amongst all men.

There is no place in this scheme for a magical religion of the kind propounded by Dee. Although both men aimed at a single, simple religious truth - Dee in his monad, and Sidney in Spenser's Una - the means by which they sought to

achieve this were completely opposed. Dee's Cosmopolitics relied exclusively upon the kind of abstruse, complex erudition rejected by Sidney. Yet this implies that there was no common ground between them, which is misleading because both advocated 'conciliatory' religious policies making use of the tradition of Ancient Theology and both urged the adoption of aggressive, 'imperialist', anti-Spanish policies in Europe and the New World. However, their differences were fundamentally irreconcilable, and this makes the nature of Dee's relationship with the 'Sidney group' all the more intriguing.

The members of the 'Areopagus' did not adhere to a common philosophical and religious world-view. Sidney's position was quite different from Dyer's, whose outlook was derived substantially from Dee. This division of opinion over Magia, Cabala, and the other esoteric areas of Dee's thought means that the position of the 'Sidney group' in the English Renaissance is far more complex than is generally supposed. While Sidney and Dyer could have pursued the same foreign and religious policy aims, their philosophical interests must have resulted in profound disagreements. Thus, when Daniel Rogers wrote in his *Elegy to Sidney* of January 1579, that Sidney, with Dyer and Greville, discussed 'great points of law, God, or moral good' (72), he would have been referring to debates about, amongst other things, the magical religion of Dee and the non-magical religion of Mornay. But disagreements over such matters clearly did not detract from the friendship between the three men, although they would have made the 'Areopagus' a lively centre of discussion of

current issues in politics, philosophy, religion, and poetics. The influence which the 'group' undoubtedly exercised on subsequent generations of poets and scholars was, therefore, varied and diffuse.

Dee's standing with the 'Sidney group' varied from member to member. On the whole it would appear that his ideas were not favourably received: Dyer is the only one with whom he can be closely associated. But the examination of the 'Areopagus' in conjunction with Dee has the advantage of throwing into relief the internal dissensions of the 'Sidney group' at the same time as placing Dee in a definite religious, political, and cultural context. This is of great consequence because it not only defines more clearly the character of the 'Sidney group' and its position within the English Renaissance, but also allows the opportunity to measure Dee's contemporary influence more accurately and to assess the reception accorded his schemes amongst the intellectual avant-garde of the late 1570s and early 1580s. Indeed, the 'Sidney group' represents one of the few focal points in England at this time where the latest developments in continental learning were assimilated and it would have contained individuals qualified to understand the philosophical and metaphysical foundations of his schemes. Further, General and Rare Memorials binds together all the elements of Dee's system being developed out of Cosmopolitics, particularly from the Synopsis. It touches directly upon major religious and political issues and upon the future direction of the whole range of English policy. It is, therefore, of fundamental importance as a focus of all the

varied issues and problems which preoccupied both Dee and the 'Sidney group' during these years.

CHAPTER XII

COSMOPOLITICS AND THE 'SIDNEY GROUP'

In this chapter, I shall examine in detail the nature of Dee's four-volume work, General and Rare Memorials, written in 1576-7, and the purpose which he intended that it should fulfil. This will involve an analysis not only of the British imperialism which it promotes, but also of the connections of General and Rare Memorials with such minor works as 'Her Majesties title Royall' and the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ. The principles of Dee's cosmopolitical theories had long been established by 1576-7, but, in spite of their lengthy exposition to Maximilian II in the prefatory Epistle of the Monas in 1564 and their private detailing to would-be benefactors, such as Elizabeth, their involvement with Dee's thought on such matters as the determination of British jurisdiction over areas of the ocean, which is the subject of the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ, could not have been widely appreciated. Indeed, it is an open question as to how much was understood by Dee's patrons of the full scope of his plans. In the case of Dyer, it must be presumed that he had a thorough grounding in the basic principles of Dee's system for him to have been able to explain and defend a subject as complex as Wisdom in the 1570 Synopsis. Hatton, too, as the dedicatee of The Brytish Monarchie, must have been acquainted with the fundamentals of Cosmopolitics, although the evidence for his involvement with Dee is not as conclusive as it is with Dyer. But for all his own and his promoters' efforts, Dee could persuade neither the queen nor her leading minister, Burghley, to act on his recommendations, even though he

managed for a time to interest them in his plan for British imperial aggrandizement.

The reasons for Dee's failure to secure support for his scheme are highlighted by the opinions of the majority of the 'Sidney group' on foreign and religious affairs. Encouraged by apparently momentous developments in English maritime affairs and by the confusion of Spanish affairs in the Netherlands, Dee was convinced that there was a heaven-sent opportunity for Elizabeth to embark upon a policy of imperial expansion. Dyer shared Dee's enthusiasm, but Sidney and those associated with the policies he advocated were uninterested. On the whole, the 'Sidney group' preferred the political philosophy of George Buchanan, which was founded on a version of the British History that denied the authenticity of the legends of Brutus and Arthur. These legends were at the heart of Dee's elaborate historical justification for his claims for British imperial rights to extensive overseas possessions. Sidney's divergence from Dee, therefore, was not merely on philosophical but on historical grounds also.

Another reason for the lack of interest may have been that it was politically dangerous to be associated with Dee, for, despite the enormous range of his scholarship, his erudition was not received with unquestioning acceptance. Thus, the notion must be entertained that while some aspects of his learning, such as his geographical knowledge, were considered useful, he was widely regarded as a maverick, or more seriously for him, as a dangerous and deluded proponent of ideas and practices that were forbidden and damned. Not

everyone regarded him in this light, but his reputation would surely have frightened off many potential supporters or have distorted the true nature of his work to such an extent that his ideas would have been imperfectly considered and, so, misunderstood. He himself worried about his reputation and was wary of revealing too much about his work, as his numerous apologetic writings testify. Yet, inspired by his sense of mission, he sought repeatedly to put forward specific, concrete plans and recommendations based upon those aspects of his overall scheme which he judged would be most favourably received by his would-be benefactors. Faced with the impossibility of achieving immediate, wholesale implementation of his grand design, he attempted to introduce his programme in small parts, each one intended as a separate unit which, when added to the others, would lead gradually to the realisation of the entire scheme.

General and Rare Memorials was Dee's principal attempt in English to realise his ideal of a cosmopolitical theocracy in Britain, with Elizabeth fulfilling the rôle of philosopher-ruler. He was convinced in the 1570s that an age of British imperial preeminence was at hand, this conviction being based upon his prophetic history and upon extremely favourable developments for England in the European situation and in maritime affairs. He saw these developments as the result of the operations of divine powers, although it remained for the human agency to act on its own behalf to take advantage of the situation thus created. This Dee was doing in General and Rare Memorials where his purposes were to urge the adoption of those policies he considered necessary for

Britain to seize fully this opportunity and to outline a programme for the establishment of a North Atlantic maritime empire greater than any empire that had yet been. His proposals for the creation of a standing navy disguise his basic desire to initiate in England that system of magical government suggested in the Epistle to Maximilian II. This was certainly his real intention because General and Rare Memorials was developed out of the earlier Synopsis, the Wisdom of which was a summation of the Praeface, the Monas, and the Aphorisms, and the cosmopolitical imperialism of the first and fourth volumes of General and Rare Memorials, The Brytish Monarchie and Famous and Rich Discoveries, was inherent in all his important earlier writings, as well as in the 1597 ΘΑΝΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ. Significantly, Dyer was directly involved with three of these works: the Synopsis, General and Rare Memorials, and the ΘΑΝΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ.

Dee's piecemeal promotion of his schemes makes it difficult to appreciate the internal coherence of the corpus of his writings, although it is only an awareness of his painstaking elaboration of a single, multidisciplinary system that can reveal the full significance which General and Rare Memorials held for him. It was his most ambitious attempt to influence affairs in his own country and its lack of success must have been a contributory factor in his decision in 1583 to leave England with Laski for Eastern Europe.

Due to the loss of the second and third volumes, together with the early part of the fourth volume, of General and Rare Memorials, much of the argument of this chapter must depend upon The Brytish Monarchie and what remains of

Famous and Rich Discoveries (1). The Brytish Monarchie is an introduction to General and Rare Memorials and is the volume with which Dyer, and the 1570 Synopsis, are most closely associated. As in the 1570 Synopsis, Dee's aims are to make England prosperous and serene. The means he proposes to achieve these goals, principally the creation of a strong, permanent navy, would provide additionally a foundation for British imperial expansion, the subject of Famous and Rich Discoveries. While he is anxious to present his plans as practicable and self-financing, his wider cosmopolitical purposes are constantly in the background. Thus he refers in passing to such matters as the operation of God's Justice and suggests the establishment of a council of wise men to oversee the conduct of affairs of state in the light of ancient Wisdom. It is these and like aspects of The Brytish Monarchie which Dyer and Hatton would have had to explain to interested parties, and which make General and Rare Memorials the prime example of the way in which Dee sought to translate his philosophical system into contemporary religio-political terms.

Dee claims that he wrote The Brytish Monarchie in the first six days of August 1576. It was sent to the printer's on 19 August 1577 and issued in a limited edition of one hundred copies in September (2). At the end of the book, there is a dedicatory poem to Christopher Hatton and, on the page immediately following, the book is concluded with a reproduction of Hatton's coat of arms of ten quarterings, surmounted by the hind, his cognizance. The poem, of seven stanzas, refers to the time when the material contained in the book was gathered together in 1576, as Dee indicates by

a marginal note (3). The fifth stanza contains an important reference to Dyer:

M'Instructors freend did warrant me,
You would do so, as he did his:
That Redy* freend, can witness be, *E.D.Esq.
For Higher States, what written is.

'E.D.Esq.' is undoubtedly Edward Dyer, who has been named in two passages near the beginning of The Brytish Monarchie, one of which contains the reference to the 1570 Synopsis connecting Dyer to Hatton. This is confirmed by the anagram on his name in 'Redy'; Dee invariably spelt Dyer's name with a 'y' and not an 'i' (4). 'Redy' is one of several words and phrases set in upright type to distinguish them from the rest of the poem which is set in italics. Although this identification and some of its implications have been commented on by others, there has been no attempt to analyse them in detail (5).

By way of a preface to the book, Dee begins with a short piece entitled:

A Brief Note Scholastical, for the better
vnderstanding of the Decorum obserued, (or,
at the least, regarded) in this present
Two-fold Treatise, written under the Names
of Three diuers Properties, States, or
Conditions of MAN.

In this he explains why it was essential to include, before The Brytish Monarchie itself, a fairly substantial defence and justification of the author, 'A Necessary Aduertisement'. He has attempted to preserve anonymity by stating that the whole work was the result of collaboration between three

unnamed people, a device which is at best flimsy. In 'A Brief Note', written in the third person, he talks of himself as 'the Mechanicien' who has written down all the matter contained in The Brytish Monarchie from the mouth of 'the Philosopher', whose ideas they are. This philosopher, from other references in the text, clearly Dee, is also referred to as 'the Instructor' (6). This unnamed philosopher has been vilified by his countrymen, but he has an 'Vnknown Freend' who has written a defence of him, 'A Necessary Aduertisement', and the mechanician leaves no doubt as to the importance he attaches to this:

And it is likely, that, unleast this Vnknown Freend, haue fauourable audience, and Credit (in those things, which in this Aduertisement he declareth: being Sensible, both past, & present pertayning to the forsayd Ientleman [ie the philosopher], that the Mechanicien his industry and greate zeale, (used in collecting, and penning, from the sayd Philosopher his mouth the Hexameron Plat Politicall, of the Brytish Monarchie,) shal- be but slenderly and slightly regarded or wayed: and therby, the same to be found, finally, to les Commodity Publik, auailable.

The instructor's friend of the dedicatory poem is the same as 'That Redy freend', namely, Edward Dyer, and this friend is the unknown one of 'A Brief Note'. From the contrived mystery of this word-game it transpires that Dyer has been a lonely advocate in political and courtly circles on

Dee's behalf and that unless he is given a favourable audience, and unless his attempt to redeem the philosopher's blackened reputation is successful, then The Brytish Monarchie will be passed over. Also, the dedicatory poem indicates that Dyer will explain the book, and presumably its cosmopolitical significance, to 'Higher States', those persons higher in status than Dyer and controlling political power. This says a great deal for Dee's dependence on Dyer and for his estimate of the latter's influence, particularly with Hatton who was enjoying the queen's favour during this period. The adjective 'Redy' was perhaps also intended to suggest the enthusiasm with which Dyer supported Dee's ideas. And while Dyer's involvement with Dee has evidently been long, intimate, and sympathetic, the nature of this relationship is suggested by Dee's use of 'Instructor' to describe himself: if Dee was the teacher, then Dyer was the pupil.

Next in 'A Brief Note', Dee presents a schema of the work as a whole, in which he compares the three parts of man to the three types of men who have contributed to the making of the book (7). The three parts of man are derived presumably from Plato because Dee includes as the second of these, dianoaia, the thinking faculty, which is so important in his exposition of Platonic Mathematics in the Praeface. The first part is $\nu\omicron\nu\varsigma$ or 'Mens', the intellect, through which man may perceive the divine forms, and significantly this faculty is identified with 'Homo Dei', the man of God, who is Philosophus, the instructor. The second part is dianoaia, which is connected with 'Anima Media', the intermediate spirit, and is equated with the mechanician. These faculties

belong to the two men whom Dee claims collaborated in the composition of The Brytish Monarchie, the mechanician recording the instructor's words. The third part of man is $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ or 'Sensus', the faculty of sense perception, which is connected with 'Homo animalis aliquatenus Reformatus', 'the partially remoulded physical man', and identified with the unknown friend who is said to be 'Vulgariter Iustus', just and equitable in the ordinary way. This third figure is Edward Dyer and, although his assignment to the lowest of the three states is scarcely complimentary, he is said to be the author of the 'Aduertisement'. This, in fact, is unlikely, it being more probable that Dee wrote the 'Aduertisement' to which Dyer's name was then put. However, this supports the view of Dyer's rôle as being solely one of active promotion of The Brytish Monarchie and not of participation in its composition or in the development of its ideas.

What is of more use is the final paragraph of 'A Brief Note':

The Epistle in Meter, (annexed in the end of this Book,) was by the Mechanicien sent, after that unknown Freend had (at his own charges, and with his careful trauail concurrent) put the foresayd two Treatises, in Print:

& deliuered again into the hands of the

sayd Mechanicien, the whole Impression therof.

Thus the dedicatory poem was not brought to Hatton's attention until after the book had been returned to Dee from the printer's, that is, at some time at the end of September 1577 or later.

E.G.R. Taylor has noted that Dyer apparently bore the cost

of publication of The Brytish Monarchie, but she fails to appreciate that, on the basis of the broad hint in the dedicatory poem as to the unknown friend's identity, he saw it through the press too (8).

The 'Aduertisement', which, as I have shown, is connected closely with the 'Digression' in the Fraeface, contains both a catalogue of the wrongs which Dee claims to have suffered and an outline of General and Rare Memorials. Whoever wrote the 'Aduertisement', it is clear that it had Dyer's backing: Dyer, it appears, was arguing not merely for the implementation of the scheme set out in The Brytish Monarchie, but also for a thorough reappraisal of Dee's production across the whole range of Cosmopolitics.

In the 'Aduertisement', all four volumes of General and Rare Memorials are discussed as being integrated within a grand design. Indeed, they were apparently all written in sequence because Dee says that the first was written at the beginning of August 1576; the second, called The Brytish Complement, of the Perfect Arte of Navigation, was written in less than four months from September to December 1576; the third, which was suppressed, has no date of composition, although the fourth, Famous and Rich Discoveries, was written in the spring and early 1577, so that the third was possibly written at the beginning of 1577. Dee, therefore, was working with great intensity on General and Rare Memorials for some ten or eleven months (9).

The organisation of General and Rare Memorials has been dealt with by both Calder and French, but their discussions are incomplete (10). The unknown friend describes The Brytish

Monarchie as a preface to The Brytish Complement. The mechanician found it opportune and necessary, before beginning work on the perfect art of navigation, to speak of the need for a strong navy, some part of which should be permanently patrolling British waters. Great benefits would thus be brought to the kingdom, the most important being greater national security against foreign incursion or domestic rebellion. This the mechanician sees as crucial in the current times, which are very dangerous for Britain. He considers the second volume to be the more important because he speaks of having set it aside while he first wrote a preface to it, The Brytish Monarchie. Of the contents of the third volume nothing is known. The unknown friend says of the fourth volume, however, that its importance is only slightly less than that of the second,

And one way, it far passeth the Second: For, in the Secret Center therof, is more bestowed, and stored vp, than I may, or (in this place) will express.

The friend claims that Famous and Rich Discoveries is 'as an Earthly Paradise' and greater than any previous book of its kind:

The Discourse therof, not only conteineth the Generall Suruey Hydrographicall, of the whole world (and chiefly the rare Euidences for all the partes therof, most Septentrionall) but also, a particular and ample examination of King Solomon his Ophirian three yeares Voyage: And also, the lawfull and very honorable Entitling of our most gracious and

Soueraigne Lady, QUEENE ELIZABETH, (and so, this BRYTISH SCEPTRE ROYALL) to very large Forrein Dominions: such, as in, and by the same, duly recouered and vsed, the Course of Diuine prouidence generall, in this present Age, will bring to light and life, matter of great Importance and Consequency, both to the Glory of God, and the benefit of all Christendom, and Heathenes.

Hydrography, in the Præface, is a central part of Cosmography, which suggests a cosmopolitical dimension to this passage. The philosopher, the unknown friend continues, will not publish the second and fourth volumes of General and Rare Memorials

VNTIL THE PROOF BE FAST, How, this Mechanicien, his zealous, dutyfull, and humble Aduertizement Politicall, (for the Perpetuall Garde, and furder Seruice, of a PETY NAVY ROYALL, to be mainteined, without any Cost or Charge to the Queene her most excellent Maiestie, or any unpleasant burden to the Commons, and faithful Subiects, of this BRYTISH MONARCHIE) shall be liked of, and accepted.

The 'Aduertizement' in question here is The Brytish Monarchie, and it is important to recall the similarity between the scheme which it contains and that outlined at the foot of the 1570 Synopsis. The author laments that The Brytish Complement will cost over £100 to print, which he cannot afford, and his printer does not wish to risk an expensive loss (11).

Given the interrelationship of these volumes, Dyer, the courtly and political publicist of the prefatory work, The Brytish Monarchie, would have been no less involved in collaboration with Dee over the other volumes of General and Rare Memorials, especially considering his promotion of the Synopsis, the basic work for the cosmopolitical theocracy. Together, the volumes of General and Rare Memorials present a far-ranging vision seeking to apply an enormous knowledge of geography and history in the quest for practical solutions to problems of national defence and for the establishment of a British empire. Dyer had an important interest in geographical affairs at this time. His close involvement with the Frobisher voyages is well-known, as is his patronage of John Frampton who, in 1577, began his series of translations from Spanish into English under his commission (12).

Dyer shared this interest in geographical and maritime affairs with Hatton, whose enthusiasm extended also to the Synopsis and General and Rare Memorials (13). In the second reference to Dyer near the beginning of The Brytish Monarchie, Dee speaks of Dyer's having 'abundantly' communicated the ideas of the 1570 Synopsis to Hatton 'six yeres past', which shows that Hatton had already been selected as the dedicatee of The Brytish Monarchie in 1576. The close connection of the Synopsis to The Brytish Monarchie, and so to the whole of General and Rare Memorials, suggests that if Hatton had been impressed by the earlier work, then he would have been impressed by the later one also. From the terms of the dedicatory poem of The Brytish Monarchie, Dee was clearly relying upon Dyer to have influence with Hatton as he had done

in 1570 (14). E.G.R. Taylor has argued that Dyer was to bring the work to the attention of the queen, while Hatton was to lay it before the Privy Council (15). There is no evidence that this was in fact Dyer's rôle. In the dedicatory poem, Dee implies that Dyer's principal task was to interest Hatton. This Dyer had done because the instructor has been assured by the unknown friend that Hatton would play his part.

Hatton may be thought an unlikely figure to receive the dedication of a work advocating an anti-Spanish foreign policy linked to commercial imperialism. Dee would have done better to submit his work to one of those prominent in the Protestant 'activist' interest, such as Leicester or Walsingham, or even Sidney, but he chose instead Hatton, who was at this time the queen's favourite, although he did not enter the Privy Council until November 1577, four months after the publication of The Brytish Monarchie and more than a year after its composition (16). It appears, therefore, that Dee could not obtain the active support of really powerful patrons. His ideas may have been too radical and innovatory, they may have been ill-suited to current needs, or he himself may have been a politically dangerous person with whom to be associated. The 'Digression' and the 'Aduertisement' testify to the widespread mistrust with which he was regarded and in the dedicatory poem he says that he had been unable to offer his scheme to the 'Sacred Senat, or Chief Powr' personally 'for fear of Lowr', or disapproval. He wishes Hatton to be his 'Publik voyce' and he has no doubt that he will act in this capacity: 'You will accept so simple parte'. Towards the end of The Brytish Monarchie, he makes a direct appeal:

And I beseeche you (Right worshipfull Sir,) not onely to take these my speedy Trauailes and Collections in good parte, your selfe: But also, to whom so euer, you will deliuer any one of the Copies... You would be my Carefull Orator, to this purpose chiefly: That my good will, and exceeding zealous Intent herein, dutifully to pleasure this BRYTISH MONARCHIE, might be thankfully accepted: and so, my simple & very faythfull Trauailes, to be rewarded, And finally, that you would very earnestly request them... Speedily, Circumspectly, and Paradoxally to vewe this plat. And then, to amend the Imperfection...

Then shall 'all true BRYTISH AND ENGLISH SVBIECTS', citizens of the New Jerusalem, sing Psalm 147 in praise and thanksgiving (17).

If Hatton was to be the 'Carefull Orator', then he would have had to be cognisant with the cosmopolitical significance of the 1570 Synopsis, and not merely with its economic, military, and naval aspects. Just as in the 1570 Synopsis, Wisdom permeates The Brytish Monarchie, and there are points in the latter where Dee's underlying purpose of establishing a British theocracy is revealed. Hatton, like Dyer, would have had to be capable of explaining these. One such instance occurs where Dee, having argued that government revenues would have been increased as a result of the implementation of a tax to finance the building and maintenance of a permanent navy, goes on to outline a programme for the

spending of any surplus money. The seventh recommendation of this scheme is for the foundation of an occult academy to advise on affairs of state. This is Dee's version of Plato's Council of Guardians, and it would have been responsible for ensuring the conformity of official policy to that theory of magical government underlying the Monas.

Moreouer, some Parte to be bestowed on Fowr Christian Philosophers, Skilfull, or to become Skilfull, and also Excellent: both in Speculation, and also Practise, of the best Manner of the Ancient and Secret Philosophie: which is not Vulgar: but, Vndoubtedly, which may be most Comfortable, and Profitable, to Some of Courteous KALID, his Disposition, & c. By which Titles of Matter, left Vnspecified hitherto, It may Evidently appere, that my Instructor hath (as it were,) but opened the Doore of his Philosophicall and Politicall Brytish Furniture: to be Fauourably vewed of them, whose Insight, is Sharp, and Profound: Whose Zeale, and Care also, for the State-Publik of this Monarchy, to become most Christianlike Happy, (in all Respects) is Ardent, and not Luke-warme (18).

But Cosmopolitics in The Brytish Monarchie is only hinted at, although Dee is quite open about his goal of a self-sufficient British empire under Elizabeth, which would be founded on naval power. In his argument for the establishment of a strong navy, some part of which should be kept per-

manently at sea, Dee is more concerned with the practical details of his scheme, in order that its implementation might be effected all the sooner, than with making a definitive statement of his imperialism. All this is well known (19), but two important aspects of his plan require discussion: the bases of his claims for territories belonging to Elizabeth and the apocalyptic backdrop against which he sets his scheme. It will be seen that within the development of the argument of General and Rare Memorials there was a significant shift from considerations of national defence and security to advocacy of imperial conquest.

In connection with the first of these points, there is a charter of Dee's at present in the British Library which contains a resumé of his scheme for British territorial aggrandizement illustrative of the method he employed in determining British territorial claims, and which derives from Famous and Rich Discoveries, as he acknowledges in his descriptive title. It consists, on one side, of a map showing much of the Atlantic, with the islands and most of the coastlines of America, Western Europe, and North-west Africa carefully marked with place-names (20). On the reverse side, in tabular form, Dee outlines his imperial design:

A brief Remembrance of sundry forein Regions,
discovered, inhabited, and partly Conquered
by the Subiects of this Brytish Monarchie:
And so the lawful Title of our Sovereigne
Lady Queen Elizabeth, for the due Clayme
and iust discovery of the same disclosed.

Which (in effect) is a Title Royall to all the Coasts and Ilands, beginning at or about Terra Florida, alongst or nere vnto Atlantis, going Northerly, and then to all the most Northen Ilands, great and small, and so cumpassing about Groenland vntill the Territories opposite, vnto the fardest Easterly and Northen Bownds of the Duke of Moscovia his Dominions: which last Bownds are from our Albion more than half the Sea voyage to the Cathayen westerly and Northen Sea Coasts, as most evidently, and at large yt is declared in the volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries.

The map is headed 'ICANNES DEE. Anno 1580', yet the table was, in fact, drawn up in 1578, before 31 May; as the map and table are so obviously complementary, it can be assumed that the map dates from the same period also.

The evidence for this dating is found in the fifth of twelve points listed by Dee as justifying Elizabeth's foreign titles. This point refers to events 'Anno 1576 et 1577' and contains the following claim:

The Ilands, and Broken land Easterly, and somewhat to the Sowth of Laborador, were more particularly discovered and possessed Anno 1576 and the last yere, by Martin Frobysher Esquier: And presently is by our People to be inhabited: The Totall Content of which Ilands and parcell of Land thereabout by our

Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth is lately named
Meta Incognita.

Here is clear proof that the manuscript dates from 1578; and Frobisher's third expedition set sail on 31 May. Although too much should not be made of it, Dee's use of 'presently' implies that Frobisher's departure was not yet imminent. It would seem likely, therefore, that the document was drawn up at some time in the first four months of 1578 (21). As such, it is related quite closely in time, as well as in content, to Famous and Rich Discoveries.

As Dee's general heading states, the manuscript provides a précis of the scope and method of his claims for Elizabeth's imperial status; it is, after all, 'A brief Remembrance' of works and ideas already presented. He bases his claims upon prior conquest or colonisation of an area by a British monarch or first discovery of a territory by a British explorer. His list of precedents begins with 'The Lord Madoc, Sonne of Owen Gwynned', and goes on to include 'Mr Robert Thorn his father, and Mr. Eliot of Bristow'; 'St. Brandan'; 'Sebastian Caboto'; Frobisher, in 1576 and 1577; King Arthur, the most important figure in Dee's scheme, who conquered Greenland, Iceland, 'Grocland', 'Friseland', 'Estotiland', and as far as the North Pole; King Malgo, the fourth British king after Arthur, who reconquered Iceland following rebellion; 'a fryer of Oxford' in the fourteenth century, Nicholas of Lynn; and 'Steven a Borowgh'. The date when each laid claim to a particular territory is included in a margin. Dee concludes his list with a brief statement of the means he considered necessary for the realization of the British empire:

And generally, by the same Order that other Christian Princes doo now adayes make Conquests uppon the heathen people, we also have to procede herein: both to Recover the Premisses, and likewise by Conquest to enlarge the Bownds of the foresayd Title Royall thus (somewhat in particular) expressed.

A more general summary follows this:

Ergo.

Of a great parte of the Sea Coastes of Atlantis (otherwise called America) next vnto vs, and of all the Iles nere vnto the same from Florida, Northerly, and chiefly of all the Iles Septentrionall (great and small) the Title Royall and Christian Supreme Government, is due and appropriat vnto one Soveraigne Elizabeth her most Gracious Maiestie, And that partly Jure Gentium; partly Jure Civili; and partly Jure Diuino: No other Prince or Potentate els in the whole world being hable to allege therto any Clayme the like.

Dee concludes with an injunction to guard and preserve all possessions and laws.

Although the terminology of the 'Remembrance' echoes that of The Brytish Monarchie, there is a stridency in the urging of imperial expansion that is lacking in the earlier work. In the 'Aduertisement', Dee remarks that it was thought opportune and necessary to argue the case for a strong, permanent navy, the greatest result of which would be 'the

PERPETVALL POLITIK SECVRTIE and better preservation of this famous Kingdom from all Forrein danger, or Homish disorder'. At the time of writing The Brytish Monarchie, Dee points out, the question of national security was one which greatly worried him:

and especially in these dangerous dayes, and Incredible peeuish practises, ful often deuised against the GOOD PEACE, AND PROSPEROVS TRANQVILLITIE of this IN-COMPARABLE ILANDISH MONARCHIE (22).

This emphasis upon defence in The Brytish Monarchie is superseded by advocacy of imperialist policies in Famous and Rich Discoveries, from which the 'Remembrance' derives.

I believe this charter to be part of a larger work written by Dee in 1578, Her Majesties title Royall to many forraine cuntryes, kingdomes, and provinces, said to be 'in 12 Velum skins of parchment, faire written for her Majesties use, and by her Majesties commandment', which was followed up in 1579 by De imperatoris nomine, autoritate, et potentia, 'dedicated to her Majestie in English' (23). Several pieces of autobiographical evidence are relevant here. In 1580, he notes in his diary:

Oct. 3rd, on Monday... I delivered my two rolls of the Queene's Majesties title unto herself in the garden at Richemond, who appointed after dynner to heare further of the matter. Therefore, betwene one and two afternone, I was sent for into her highnes Pryvy Chamber, where the Lord Threasurer

also was, who, having the matter then slightly in consultation, did seem to doubt much that I had or could make the argument probable for her highness' title so as I pretended. Whereupon I was to declare to his honor more plainly, and at his leysse, what I had said and could say therein, which I did on Tuesday and Wednesday following, at his chamber, where he used me very honorably on his behalf.

On 10 October of the same year, he records:

The Queenes Majestie... told me, that the Lord Treasurer had greatly commended my doings for her title royall, which he had to examine. The which title in two rolls of velome parchment his Honour had some houres before brought home, and delivered to Mr. Hudson for me to receive at my coming from my mothers buriall at church (24).

As E.G.R. Taylor claims, there is no doubt that the 1580 map and summary formed a part of the 'two rolls of the Queene's Majesties title' which Dee presented in October of that year, but, as I have shown, this charter was drawn up in 1578 and its redating is to be explained in terms of the October 1580 presentation to the queen (25). Both it and Her Majesties title Royall were written in 1578 on parchment rolls and both contain the phrase 'title Royall', making it extremely likely that the 'Remembrance' was once a part of Her Majesties title Royall.

Dee had evidently received encouragement for his imperialist scheme from someone at court following Famous and Rich Discoveries because Her Majesties title Royall was written at the queen's command. Certainly, in 1580, Elizabeth was interested, and Burghley appears to have been sympathetic because Dee notes in his diary on 2 November that the Lord Treasurer had sent him a haunch of venison (26). But what of the other roll presented by Dee in 1580? Fortunately, Burghley made an abstract of Dee's manuscript, 'A Summary of Mr. Dee's book', which contains a genealogy of Elizabeth, tracing her descent from the British kings, and a synopsis 'That Arthur King of Britain was ye conqueror of these Cuntries' (27). This is, of course, the matter of Famous and Rich Discoveries and exactly the kind of thing that would be expected in Her Majesties title Royall. No other ruler in the world has a claim to compare with Elizabeth's, and her title, based upon human and divine law, is now due. Dee had presumably brought this to Elizabeth's attention previously. He had spoken with her on 28 November 1577, three months after the publication of The Brytish Monarchie, concerning her titles to Greenland, Estotiland, and Friseland. He spoke also that day with Walsingham and, three days later, with Hatton (28).

The redating of the 'Remembrance' is important because it reveals Dee's continuing hopes of realising his scheme in the late 1570s. It also indicates something of the sense of urgency which drove him during this period. Convinced of his mission to explain God's ultimate purposes, he felt his task all the more imperative due to the strict historical

time-scale within which he was working. If periods in history were determined astrologically, as he believed they were, then the various astronomical phenomena of these years would have held special significance for him. A new star had appeared in Cassiopeia in 1572 (29) and Saturn and Venus were to be in conjunction in 1583 when the fiery Trigon of Aries was due to replace that of Pisces. In view of the theory propounded in the Aphorisms concerning the conjunction of celestial phenomena and terrestrial locations, it is possible that Dee may have thought of Britain as specially favoured in the late 1570s by the happenings in the heavens above it.

The legal grounds upon which Dee bases his imperial scheme in the 'Remembrance'-'Ius Gentium', Civil Law, and the Law of God-reflect his distinction in the Praeface and the 1570 Synopsis between human and divine Law. 'Ius Gentium', or the 'Law of Nations', derived from the idea that all states formed together a single human community sharing a code of behaviour based upon customs accepted by all, or certainly the majority of, nations. These customs were unwritten, and were thus distinguished from Civil Law, and they covered such principles as territorial frontiers, the inviolability of ambassadors, and the conquest of newly discovered lands (30). Therefore, Dee could cite the customary usage of 'other Christian Princes' to justify both British title to the New World and the use of military force to secure it. His appeal to 'Ius Gentium' was cosmopolitical in that the 'Law of Nations', established by the authority of the whole world, would be a necessary precondition of the World-State.

In that passage of the 'Aduertisement' outlining the contents of Famous and Rich Discoveries, Dee connects Elizabeth's territorial claims with 'the Course of Diuine prouidence generall, in this present Age' and reveals his conviction of the importance of his contribution to God's larger purposes. A paragraph in The Brytish Monarchie makes the basis of his faith even plainer:

And, Seeing Iustice, and God, is on our side, what Shame and discredit ys yt, or may it be with all Christian Nations...yf we... should, now, make dainty, shrink or be afrayd valyantly to season on, and prudently to enioy, this so manifest Right and possession of our Sea Limits: and that euery way? being, in dede, (where they are greatest) in respect of other Princes late Attempts, and Success, of enlarging and settling their new deuised Sea Limits.

Dee believes that the fulfilment of this aim and the establishment of national security will realise goals similar to those of the 1570 Synopsis: Common Wealth, Invincible Strength, and Immortal Triumphant Fame (31). Now, he says, is the time to realise the British destiny.

Dee makes grat play in The Brytish Monarchie with the figure of Occasio. This appears in the frontispiece, a description of which he has inserted into the text as originally written. When this was done is not clear, but the fact that it is a later insertion indicates that Dee, possibly preparing The Brytish Monarchie for publication,

was even more anxious that the queen, or her close advisers, should be made aware of the heaven-sent opportunity presented to them (32). He describes Elizabeth in the frontispiece as

Sitting at the HELM of this Imperiall
Monarchy: or, rather, at the helm of the
IMPERIALL SHIP, of the most parte of
Christendome.

His scheme, if implemented, will allow Britain to realise her divinely-ordained end:

ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΞΩΠΛΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ , may helpe us not onely,
to ΦΡΟΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΣ : But make vs, also,
Partakers of Publik Commodities Innumerable,
and (as yet) Incredible. Vnto which, the
HEAVENLY KING, for these many yeres last
past, hath, by MANIFEST OCCASION, most
Graciously, not only inuited vs: but also,
hath made EVEN NOW, the Way and Means, most
euident, easie, and Compendious: Inasmuch as...
our Freends are become strong: and our
Enemies, sufficiently weake, and nothing
Royally furnished, or of Hability, for Open
Violence Vsing: Though their accustomed
Confidence, in Treason, Trechery, and
Disloyall Dealings, be very great. Wherin,
we beseche our HEAVENLY PROTECTOR, with his
GOOD ANGELL to Garde vs, with SHIELD AND
SWORD, now, and euer, Amen (33).

Justice and God are on the side of Britain, and God has created an opportunity for Britain to establish a just and

peaceful empire.

This passage occurs immediately before the treatise on Edgar, at the start of which Dee speaks of the Cosmopolites and of the one and only mystical universal city of God. Here the cosmopolitical theories connect with an actual situation in international politics: behind the exhortation to Elizabeth lies the weight of Dee's ideal of the theocratic state, and his conviction that in 1577 there existed an opportunity for Elizabeth to assume the leadership of Protestant Christendom. Elizabeth's imminent rôle as the reforming, imperial leader of a religious alliance is clearly pointed by her description in the frontispiece.

This last point is integral to the strong prophetic element in General and Rare Memorials, which incorporates also the notion of the 'present Age', an idea which is clarified a little by Dee's manner in dating the 'Aduertisement':

Anno, Stellae (Coelo Demissae,
rectaque Reversae) Quinto:

Julii vero, Die 4

ET

Anno Mundi

5540 (34).

The only star to which Dee can have been referring was the supernova which appeared in Cassiopeia in November 1572, remaining visible to the naked eye for seventeen months, until March or April 1574, and which was the subject of a debate between Dee and Thomas Digges. This means that the 'Aduertisement' was finished on 4 July 1577 (35). Dee appears

to have regarded the new star as announcing a new era for Britain, which suggests that he was thinking in terms of the astrological theory of the Aphorisms concerning the matching of celestial events with earthly locations, in this case Britain. This new era is somehow revealed, or contained, in the 'Secret Centre' of Famous and Rich Discoveries, a principal aim of which was to detail those territories to which Elizabeth had title. The angel Annael was the Chief Governor General of the 'present Age', or 'great period' as Dee calls it in the Liber Mysteriorum Primus. Possibly that part of Famous and Rich Discoveries now lost outlined a correlation between the conquests and explorations described in the work and the pattern of the astrologically-determined world history which Dee had devised during the 1550s (36). He was convinced he knew the course in which events would develop and it was this faith in the imminent realisation of a British Empire that lay behind the shift in emphasis between The Brytish Monarchie and Famous and Rich Discoveries from preoccupation with national defence to advocacy of imperial aggrandisement. The naval might of The Brytish Monarchie was to provide the basis for the North Atlantic maritime empire of Famous and Rich Discoveries. Dee asserts repeatedly that although the opportunity for the realisation of Britain's imperial status is one engineered ultimately by God, it falls to the human agency to act on its own behalf in securing the fulfilment of its destiny. This accent upon freedom of will within a framework of astral determinism may have contributed to Dee's unpopularity by revealing his theology as one that admitted Astrology as a legitimate branch of religion, thus suggesting the possibility of

foreknowing God's purposes by a non-biblical study of natural science. This would have offended general Protestant opinion by implying a basis for knowledge of the angels and of divine truths that was independent of the Bible, and which harked back to the deluded practises of the 'Popish' past (37).

This reinterpretation of Dee's imperialism in the light of Cosmopolitics is important because it makes coherent for the first time the material Dee published on the subject. The cosmopolitical philosophy coordinated all areas of Dee's activities, directing them towards the goal of ultimate human redemption, and the programme of General and Rare Memorials was designed to exploit an opportunity in cosmic affairs which would lead eventually to the achievement of this objective. The shift of emphasis in General and Rare Memorials from defence to imperial aggrandisement, unnoticed by previous commentators, reflects Dee's conviction that Britain, under Elizabeth, had a principal rôle to play in effecting God's purpose. This expectation was founded not merely upon a prophetic scheme of history, but also upon contemporary geographical and maritime developments and trends in continental politics. Dee wished to redirect British foreign and domestic policy to accord with the divine design and he urged, therefore, the establishment of a North Atlantic empire and intervention in the Low Countries in 1577 when the Spanish army was in a state of mutiny. His haste to publish The Brytish Monarchie was the result of his interpretation of the international situation in the light of his astrological history, which convinced

him that for a brief time Britain was particularly favoured by the heavenly powers.

The advances in maritime affairs and in geographical knowledge included Frobisher's 1576 voyage in search of the North-west Passage. Dee alludes to this in the opening section of The Brytish Monarchie where he records Dyer's drawing to his attention a complimentary citation of the Praeface in George Gascoigne's preamble to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Discourse on a Discouery for a New Passage to Cataia (38). This had led to Dee's being made aware of the projected voyage and to his becoming mathematical and navigational tutor to Frobisher and his fellow explorer, Christopher Hall (39). 1576 and 1577 were years of great expectation for Dee. Between the composition of The Brytish Monarchie and Famous and Rich Discoveries, Frobisher had returned from his first voyage and had departed on his second, while Drake had set off on his 1577-80 circumnavigation. These developments would have stimulated Dee's imperialist ambitions by opening up for him the possibility of British possession of 'Atlantis', the location of a North-west Passage to China, and the discovery by an English explorer of immensely rich lands in the South Seas, Marco Polo's Locach (40). Certainly, the reference in 1578 in the 'Remembrance' to Frobisher's 1576 and 1577 voyages indicates that Dee saw these as substantially promoting his cause. Frobisher's taking possession of 'Meta Incognita' was effected after The Brytish Monarchie had been written, but before Dee came to ~~en~~umerate in Famous and Rich Discoveries those territories to which Elizabeth had title.

But Frobisher's two voyages had an additional significance because of the discovery on the 1576 expedition of the 'black stone' which, on return to England, was widely believed to be gold ore. Interestingly, at some point between Frobisher's return and 1 February 1577, Dyer had assayed a sample of the ore for Walsingham—thus testifying to some expertise in chemistry— and had, in fact, discovered a quantity of silver (41). Belief in the potential value of the black stone was at its highest in 1577, when one of the principal objectives of Frobisher's second voyage was to acquire a much larger supply of the ore for smelting in England (42). And the third venture, in 1578, was to establish a settlement to mine the ore. It was during this period of intense excitement over Frobisher's expeditions that Dee gave full expression to his British imperial design in General and Rare Memorials, followed in 1578 by Her Majesties title Royall, from which he extracted the 'Remembrance' in 1580. British ascendancy in the North Atlantic seemed assured. Not only was the discovery of a North-west Passage expected, thus allowing access to the reputedly fabulous riches of China, but also possession had been obtained of immense territories in the New World which, in addition to their strategic importance as a counter to the Spanish American empire, appeared to promise the prospect of wealth to rival that already enjoyed by Spain. In combination, all of these potentialities would, if fully realised, achieve the goals of the Synopsis and of General and Rare Memorials to make Britain economically, politically, and militarily supreme in Europe, the New World, and the North Atlantic. Additionally, the expectations engendered in Dee by these

developments were complemented by the emergence on the continent of trends in diplomacy and religion which he regarded as favouring British interests.

The chaotic state of Spanish affairs in the Netherlands, together with the rise to prominence of William of Orange, were the principal grounds for his optimism here - as he said in The Brytish Monarchie, Britain's enemies were weak, while her friends had become strong (43). He refers to this period in the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ of 1597, his work on British territorial waters written for Edward Dyer. In the first part of this treatise, Dee, alluding to his 1576-7 persona of the mechanician, instructs Dyer to read selected passages from The Brytish Monarchie, including that section describing the frontispiece where Elizabeth's imperial destiny is portrayed (44). Immediately following this passage, and in order to clarify it, Dee describes the international situation existing at the time of publication of The Brytish Monarchie, in such a way as to show that publication then was a response to contemporary political developments:

At the tyme of which boke printing, great hoap was conceyved, (of some no simple politiciens) that her Matie, might, then, haue become the Chief Commander, and, in manner Imperiall Governour of all Christian kings, princes, & States: and Chiefly of those, parte of whose Dominions & Territories, did in any place admitt good landing from the Sea: or, whose Subiets, with Ship or goods, did, or must passe & use any of her Maiesties appropriat & peculiar Seas. And,

that her Maties Government Imperiall, to
haue byn, in termes of frendship: or, at
least, in termes of Iustice, or equitie,
executed (45).

Dee had chiefly in mind opportunities presented to Elizabeth to assume the leadership of 'Christian', by which he meant Protestant, Europe and so to establish an 'imperial government', implying that Elizabeth's 'governorship' was to supersede all existing national constitutions. The developments which principally prompted his expectations were the diplomatic manoeuvrings concerning the projected anti-Spanish League. He evidently shared a view of the League as a militant religious crusade with those 'politicians' to whom he refers in the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ, presumably Hatton and Dyer and their associates. This crusade was represented pictorially in the frontispiece to The Brytish Monarchie, where it was shown to have the active assistance of the archangel Michael, who bore a cross like St. George's on his shield. It also complemented his anti-Spanish New World policy by demanding alliances with mercantile marine powers possessing good naval facilities, the Protestant Low Countries being the primary example. Dee, therefore, saw the League as a basis upon which to introduce and gradually to consolidate his cosmopolitical design. And The Brytish Monarchie was designed to appeal to that interest, headed by Leicester and Walsingham, and including Sidney, which advocated an aggressive anti-Spanish foreign policy combined with naval expansion and alliances with Dutch and German Protestants. Again, this reveals Dee's opportunist, piecemeal approach to the pro-

motion of his schemes in that The Brytish Monarchie contained but the initial phase of a scheme which, if fully realised, would establish British dominance throughout much of the known world. That Dee should write and promote General and Rare Memorials during these years was a direct response to trends in international affairs which he considered to be engineered by divine powers for the benefit of Britain. The range of his vision far exceeded the ambitions of the Leicester-Walsingham interest and it was possibly as a result of his extremism that he was forced to rely upon the efforts of lesser political figures such as Hatton and Dyer to publicise and argue his case. He certainly regarded these years as having been crucial for Britain because at the end of the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ he laments that his labours at this time had been so vainly employed and that the 'Just and sufficient Occasion' for the realisation of Elizabeth's maritime titles had 'byn made so little account of' (46).

However, although Dee believed that, in the 1570s, the opportunity to create a British maritime empire had been missed, he still thought in 1597 that he could be of use because in the course of directing Dyer to read a section of The Brytish Monarchie dealing with law, Dee assumes again his 1577 persona of the mechanician and appeals for employment in an advisory capacity:

But it were good that some expert Mathe-
maticien, or Mechanicien, (somewhat skillfull
in Iure gentium et Ciuili, and in the true
Idea of Iustice, and of aequum and Bonum,)

wold, viua voce explane unto you, and allso practically demonstrate some of those laws, and lawyers intents: which are but most briefly there towched: And so, in yor Geographical, & Hydrographical Charts or maps, the same Mathematicien, or Mechanicien, wold draw before your eyes, the lines which Confine our Limits Respectiue (47).

In that passage of The Brytish Monarchie to which Dyer's attention is drawn (48), Dee argues that, as Justice and God are on the side of Britain, every effort should be made to take possession of those areas of the oceans rightfully belonging to Elizabeth by use of those means, including military force, so successfully employed by other princes. This anticipates the recommendation in the 'Remembrance' that Elizabeth emulate the conquest of the 'heathen people' by 'other Christian Princes', -rulers of Spain and Portugal,- Elizabeth having an incomparable imperial claim based upon divine law, 'Ius Gentium', and Civil Law. And Dee in 1597 offers to explain these concepts, as well as demonstrate their application to his imperial design of the 1570s, by means of maps like that of the 'Remembrance'. His assumption that Dyer will appreciate his meaning confirms the closeness of Dyer's involvement in his schemes of the 1570s and reveals too Dyer's continuing regard for Dee as an authority on naval affairs. It also suggests that by recalling the spirit of General and Rare Memorials both men felt Britain to be threatened in 1597 by forces similar to those active in the 1570s when the programme of The Brytish Monarchie had been

presented as the initial stage of a scheme to transform completely the position of Britain in international affairs.

For while religious and political developments in Europe were potentially advantageous to Britain, there were also, Dee felt, contrary forces at work, and General and Rare Memorials was as much a response to these as it was to the more favourable trends. In the 'Aduertisement', Dee speaks of the dangerous days in which Britain finds herself and of the 'Incredible peeuish practises' employed by her enemies to undermine her good peace, -suggesting perhaps the fear of Spain expressed by Elizabeth in her instructions to Beale in 1577; hence his preoccupation in The Brytish Monarchie with national security (49). The principal enemy was, of course, Spain, and in The Brytish Monarchie, where he asserts that Justice and God are on Britain's side, he condemns the Hispano-Portuguese division of the New World, implying that it offends divine law (50). This attack on Spanish power in the New World, given weight by the Frobisher voyages, was complemented by advocacy of offensive action against Spain in Europe. The dangers of Spanish Catholicism were a central concern of the 'Sidney group' too and provide common ground with Dee, while there were elements in proposals submitted by William of Orange to Sidney in 1577 which paralleled recommendations in The Brytish Monarchie, so affording the opportunity, in the short term, of a degree of political agreement between Sidney and Dyer. Whether or not Dee hoped to interest Sidney in his schemes, he certainly had the support of Dyer, who was well placed as an intimate of Sidney to keep him informed of diplomatic

progress over the projected League. And it is important, therefore, to examine in detail the alliance negotiations in order to identify more precisely those areas of Dee's programme which corresponded to proposals put forward in the negotiations. This will not merely locate points which may have encouraged Dee in the promotion of General and Rare Memorials, but will also clarify his relationship with the 'Sidney group', thus making it possible to assess ~~it~~ *more firmly* his significance for contemporaries. Although those European developments which Dee judged favourable to the implementation of his scheme were common currency in the thinking of the time, it is indeed possible that he was relating his ideas to political realities and that there was affinity between some aspects of his thought and plans mooted in serious political negotiations.

Talks about an Anglo-Dutch alliance had been going on since December 1572 and it was in the second half of 1577, when William of Orange was at the peak of his personal power, that the project came closest to realisation (51). At the end of May 1577, returning from his embassy to Rudolph II in Prague, Sidney was involved in talks with William at Geertruidenberg during which proposals were put to the English, for at least the second time that year, regarding promises of aid and concessions they could expect from an alliance with Holland and Zeeland. This meeting was of some importance for the development of Anglo-Dutch relations in the months that followed and the subjects discussed had considerable relevance to Dee's programme.

When Sidney left England at the end of February 1577, he was accompanied by, amongst others, Greville and Dyer. Dyer's subsequent movements are a mystery. It is evident that he never reached Prague: Sidney met Languet there and Languet did not meet Dyer until 1579 (52). He must have arrived in Brussels with Sidney and Greville in the early days of March, and it is extremely likely, therefore, that he remained with those other members of Sidney's party whose business lay in the Low Countries. The nature of Dyer's own business is unknown. If he was with Sidney, then he would undoubtedly have been present with Daniel Rogers, when Sidney met Don John, the Governor-General, at Louvain on 6 March. There he may also have met Rogers' friend, Justus Lipsius. On 19 March, Rogers was in Antwerp, and on 22 March he sailed for England, although during part of April and May he was back in the Netherlands with Orange at Dordrecht, where William put forward those proposals for an Anglo-Dutch alliance that he was to put to Sidney at the end of May (53). Dyer is never mentioned except in passing in a letter from Rogers to Walsingham on 20 July (54). Dyer was in England in May when Leicester, asked by William to stand as godfather to his daughter, Elizabeth, elected to send Dyer as second proxy in case his first choice, Sidney, failed to reach Geertruidenberg in time for the christening on his way back from Prague via the German principates. Sidney, with Greville in his entourage, arrived at Geertruidenberg on 28 May, so making it unnecessary for Dyer to stand on Leicester's behalf. The English party remained there until 30 May (55).

Sidney made a record of his discussions with William entitled 'Certain notes concerning the present state of the Prince of Orange, and the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, as they were in the month of May 1577'. James Osborn's arguments for Sidney's authorship of this document are convincing and he is persuasive in his assertion that Sidney's mission was regarded as a success when he arrived back in England in June (56). During the course of these discussions, William proposed that Elizabeth and he sign a secret treaty of mutual benefit, in which he hoped other provinces would later join. It should not be thought, however, that this offer was either a personal initiative or a new venture: the terms of the offer had been prepared well in advance, in England and in the Low Countries, by those people associated with the promotion of an Anglo-Dutch alliance.

There is a close coincidence between the terms of the Dutch offers and parts of Dee's programme:

First he said, he would think what service or pleasure he []Hollanders and Zeelanders might show unto her Majesty and her dominations and having thought thereupon he said that whereas her Majesty as also her subjects had always to do upon the seas, where the winds commanded, the havens of Holland and Zeeland could not but serve very commodiously unto her Majesty; which heretofore, as he was of the King's council, were oftentimes shut against England and express commandment given that no harness or other arms, likewise no

hops, and other commodities serving the realm of England should be carried out of them for England: which havens now, by this amity should be as open unto her Majesty and her subjects as her own havens (57).

Such an offer would obviously appeal to Dee in that it confirmed his impression that the time was ripe for the expansion of England to which he was committed. The establishment of good commercial relations with sympathetic neighbouring states was an important feature of the policy of British economic supremacy running through both General and Rare Memorials and the 1570 Synopsis. This offer also afforded the opportunity of an alliance with one of those states referred to in 1597 in the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ as allowing good landing from the sea, and those politicians to whom he alludes there must have been members of the Protestant 'activist' group privy to such information. Although there is nothing in William's proposition to suggest Elizabeth's assuming the leadership of Protestant Europe, it should not be forgotten that Languet, in his letter to Sidney of 8 January 1578, mentions her alleged offer to the German Princes to head an anti-Spanish alliance, which would support Dee's statement in 1597 about Elizabeth's opportunity to become 'Imperiall Governour'.

As The Brytish Monarchie deals with the creation and maintenance of a strong, permanent navy, Dee necessarily has to consider problems of the supply of timber and other materials essential to shipbuilding. Amongst other things, he condemns the over-exploitation of English timber,

its inflated price, and praises the superior quality of foreign iron (58). These points are echoed by the second and third Dutch proposals:

Secondly, whereas Holland and Zeeland is very well provided with all sorts of ships and a great number of mariners, her Majesty should lack none of them in case her Majesty should demand either shipping or mariners.

Thirdly... if England, Holland, and Zeeland be linked together in amity... her Majesty should not only save many men's lives, but also notable sums of money; for neither the French, neither the Spaniards, should as much have, as mast cables, pitch and other things necessary for the making of ships.

One of the conditions which William asked in return was that England cease trading with mutual enemies, a point upon which Dee was insistent in The Brytish Monarchie (59).

William's proposals were substantially in agreement with fundamental practical features of Dee's scheme and this, presuming that he knew of the Dutch offers, would have encouraged Dee to expect the gradual introduction of the political and maritime programme of The Brytish Monarchie. This is not to imply that Sidney was actively promoting Dee's plan. On the contrary, the ideas discussed by William and Sidney were commonplaces, but the timing of the talks was important because it was during the summer of 1577 that Dee, inspired by the great hope of Elizabeth's becoming leader of Protestant Europe, rushed The Brytish Monarchie

through the press in anticipation of the realisation of the entire programme of General and Rare Memorials. It may have been that Dee was simply responding to a general movement in diplomatic activity in Germany and the Low Countries, but the promising outcome of Sidney's talks could have encouraged him to act swiftly. Dyer is a key figure: he was present at Geertruidenberg, and thus knowledgeable about the details of the discussions, and, then, over the next two or three months, he not only financed the publication of The Brytish Monarchie, but also saw it through the press. The likelihood is, therefore, that he reported to Dee on the current moves towards some kind of Anglo-Dutch agreement or alliance, and so precipitated publication (60).

Dee would have been aware that the Dutch proposals were a separate consideration from the projected Anglo-German League. In 'Certain notes', Sidney reported that William wished the queen well in her attempt to form an alliance with the German princes, although he thought that she would have been better advised to seek allies amongst the Hanseatic cities (61). Again, these would have been amongst those states admitting good landing from the sea which Dee mentions in the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ. But apparent progress in talks between English envoys and the German Princes, in conjunction with the successful meeting between William and Sidney, augured well for the realisation of the hopes for Elizabeth's 'imperial government'.

The terms of the proposed Anglo-German League were summarised in a document entitled 'Heads of a Treaty between

the Queen of England and the Protestant Princes of Germany,' dated June 1577 (62). The first article stated that all Protestant Princes, Lutheran or otherwise, desirous of forming a defensive League, should suppress religious dissension until such time as a conference be convened to reconcile confessional differences. The Magdeburg assembly of October 1577 was intended as an attempt at such a reconciliation, although Elizabeth instructed Beale to block discussion of confessional uniformity, which was far from being her immediate concern at that time. Her object possibly was to keep open the options of alliances with both the Dutch Protestants and the German Princes, and the greater the degree of unity between all concerned the better. Differences of opinion should rather be overlooked than exacerbated by general debate. And the Spanish threat, whether real or deliberately exaggerated for the occasion, was employed in both sets of negotiations. William, according to Sidney's 'Certain notes', argued the necessity for an alliance on the grounds that ever since the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, one of Philip II's principal ambitions had been the defeat of England (63). And Elizabeth in turn used it to threaten the Magdeburg assembly into dropping the Lutheran proposals.

But before Robert Beale was given his instructions on 21 August, Don John on 24 July seized the citadel at Namur and made his personal bid for power in the Low Countries, and in so doing effectively destroyed the Spanish policy of conciliation which had been pursued since the Pacification of Ghent in November 1576. In England, opinion was over-

whelming that Holland and Zeeland were vital to the defence of the realm, while in the Low Countries the States-General were convinced that the best plan of action was to join in an alliance with England. William was now at the peak of his power and as near as he was to come to having Elizabeth as an ally. To Orange, the English envoy, William Davison, busily urged the cause of Leicester to lead an English army, a plea which was repeated to Elizabeth by Dutch politicians (64).

It was in this climate that The Brytish Monarchie went to press on 19 August, General and Rare Memorials having been completed nearly seven weeks previously (65). The time seemed to Dee politically right for him to launch his scheme with Elizabeth apparently set to assume the rôle of leader of a Protestant alliance. In the frontispiece of The Brytish Monarchie, he depicted the proposed League as an angelically-protected crusade and, in the description of the illustration, he struck that note of militant imperialism found in Famous and Rich Discoveries and the 'Remembrance'. The friends of Britain were in the ascendant, while her enemies were enormously confused:-- by the summer of 1577 the Spanish position in the Netherlands was at its weakest and the Orangist at its strongest (66). In August 1576, when he wrote The Brytish Monarchie, the possibility of an Anglo-Dutch alliance had been intermittently discussed for over three and a half years, but by August 1577 pressure had become especially intense for its realisation. And a seemingly serious attempt was afoot to create a League with the German Princes. The reopening of hostilities in the Low Countries

and the prospect of a North-European Protestant alliance increased the likelihood of war with Spain, which, through Frobisher's claiming of 'Meta Incognita' in 1576, would be extended into the New World. Military success against Spain in both theatres of war would achieve Dee's goal of national security as well as preparing for the implementation of his imperial design.

In The Brytish Monarchie, Dee supports his conviction that the opportunity for Elizabeth to initiate her 'imperial government' was divinely-engineered by reference to the historical precedent supplied by the Saxon king, Edgar, who had increased the prosperity and security of the realm by maintaining a strong, permanent navy (67). Edgar had been presented by the Holy Trinity with the opportunity to make Britain internationally supreme, an opportunity which is again available to Elizabeth:

The Preeminence and Priuiledge by GOD and NATURE, Appropriat to this BRYTISH MONARCHY is Incredible: and will be yet, for a while (68).

The discourse on Edgar is especially important because it begins with Dee's short definition of the Cosmopolites, and presents Edgar as the promoter of an early form of the cosmopolitical theocracy outlined in the 1570 Synopsis. Indeed, when he deals with Britain's potential for greatness under Elizabeth, Dee refers to the lock of Occasio's hair depicted in the frontispiece, claiming that if the opportunity represented by the hair is grasped, then Britain could become even more peaceful and prosperous than it was

under Edgar. Divine forces, therefore, have prepared for the establishment of the cosmopolitical state, for which Elizabeth's 'imperial government' is a necessary preparatory stage.

In 1576-7, when his schemes seemed to be near fruition, Dee was actively assisted by Edward Dyer, Philip Sidney's closest friend. Yet while Dyer had consistently promoted the schemes developed out of Dee's cosmopolitical theories, there is no evidence to suggest that Sidney shared this involvement or, indeed, that he would have had anything but a superficial sympathy with Dee's political objectives. Although both Dee and Sidney advocated anti-Spanish Protestant alliances and an offensive against the Spanish New World empire, the philosophical and theological bases of these policies were fundamentally irreconcilable, as were their longer term objectives. Sidney, heavily influenced by Mornay, and by Agrippa's scepticism, could never have accepted Dee's magical religion and must also, therefore, have rejected the magical government inherent in the notion of the cosmopolitical state. He may well have known the contents of The Brytish Monarchie from Dyer and have been sympathetic to its proposals for the creation of a permanent navy in view of his interest in voyages of exploration; he was an investor in Frobisher's 1576 and 1577 ventures (69), and in New World projects. Further, Sidney, as a supporter of the Orangist position, would have argued the desirability of acceptance of the offers made by William at Geertruidenberg, which were very similar to recommendations in The Brytish Monarchie (70). But Sidney's sarcasm about Dee and the Monas

in his letter to Languet of 11 February 1574 indicates his essential lack of sympathy with Dee's vast, esoteric system.

A short-term coincidence of political objectives, such as that between Sidney and Dee over anti-Spanish policy in Europe and North America, is no basis for close collaboration, and Sidney's attitude to Dee, particularly with regard to General and Rare Memorials, must be considered to have been largely negative, although he would no doubt have respected Dee's knowledge of subjects with a practical application, such as geography. The source of the political philosophy used by Sidney as a justification for his foreign and religious policies must be sought elsewhere than in Dee. His immediate political associates, for instance, with the exception of Dyer, were greatly impressed by the work of George Buchanan, and it is here that the basis of Sidney's political thought is to be found. Buchanan was chiefly famous for his Rerum Scoticarum Historia and De Jure Regni apud Scotos, a Calvinist work arguing for a system of popular sovereignty and limited monarchy. The evidence for his contacts with the 'Sidney group' has been examined by J.E. Phillips in his article, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', and his contemporary status as an historian has been studied by H.R. Trevor-Roper in his article, 'George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Constitution'(71). Buchanan's political philosophy was rooted in a view of the history of Britain which, by denying the authenticity of Brutus and Arthur, was completely at odds with that version of British history propounded by Dee and employed by him as a principal part of the legalistic basis upon which he

based his claims for Elizabeth's imperial titles. Promotion of Buchanan would, therefore, have made support for Dee out of the question.

The Historia and De Jure Regni are closely related works. Buchanan's entire political theory derived from what he alleged was the constitution of Scotland between the fourth century BC to the fifth century AD, but which was, in fact, bogus. He argued that the Scots had perfected their constitution at the time of Aristotle and Alexander the Great and that this constitution, the model for his own political philosophy, had an historical basis in the activities of the forty kings who reigned during these 700 years. His sole authority for this assertion was the Scotorum Historiae of Hector Boece, published at Paris in 1526. The Historia and De Jure Regni had been written to fulfil an immediate political purpose, which had been removed in 1570 by the murder of Buchanan's patron, the Earl of Moray. There is no doubt that the bulk, if not the whole, of the Historia had been written by 1572 when there appeared posthumously a work by an obscure Welsh antiquary, Humfrey Lhuyd, called the Commentarioli Descriptionis Britannicae Fragmentum, which effectively destroyed the historical basis of the Historia by proving conclusively that Boece's forty kings, and thus the entire ancient Scottish constitution, were a fiction because the Scots did not appear in history until towards the end of the Roman Empire when their lack of civilization is mentioned by St. Jerome (72). The internationally-famous Buchanan, ripe in years, and no doubt the superior of Lhuyd in scholarship, was enraged at the Commentarioli

because it challenged his own myths at those points where they were least defensible, as the old Scotsman was sharp enough to realise. Buchanan responded to Lhuyd's work by deriding whatever faults or errors he could detect in the Commentarioli, particularly the defence of the legendary history of Brutus and Arthur (73). It was, incidentally, Languet's accidental setting fire to a copy of the Commentarioli which prompted the slighting remarks about Dee in the February 1574 correspondence between himself and Sidney.

After 1572, as a result of illness, depression at the loss of a position of political influence, and the death-blow dealt his works by Lhuyd's destruction of Boece, Buchanan's intellectual productivity came to a halt (74). Yet, despite all these setbacks, in 1576, urged by Daniel Rogers and Thomas Randolph, another politician associated with the Protestant 'activist' cause, Buchanan broke his silence and allowed publication in London in 1577 and 1578 of his play, Baptistes, and in 1579 of De Jure Regni, of which Baptistes is the poetical expression (75). And, prompted by Rogers and Randolph, he also resumed work on the Historia, which was eventually published in 1582, the year of his death. The new circumstances that brought fresh life to Buchanan's work were the deterioration of the situation in the Netherlands and the promotion by the Protestant 'activists' of a forward, revolutionary course in Europe. This led them to appeal for support to Buchanan, the old authoritative British advocate of such a policy (76).

Phillips has argued that, for reasons which are clear enough, the 'Sidney circle' approved of Buchanan's political

philosophy, but Phillips' delimitation of the 'membership' of the 'group' is vague and misleading. Certainly there was a 'group' or 'circle' centred upon Sidney, its principal members being Dyer and Fulke Greville, with whom from time to time diplomats, like Daniel Rogers, and scholars and poets, like Gabriel Harvey and Edmund Spenser, were associated. The membership of the 'group' was fluid, and it is a mistake to include within it political fellow-travellers with whom Sidney or his friends happened to be in league. Phillips indiscriminately lumps together Sidney, Leicester, Walsingham, Randolph, Rogers, Spenser, Harvey, Dyer, Beale, and Thomas Wilson, as if all were members of a group owing allegiance to Sidney and seeking to put into practice ideas emanating from him (77). This is simply not the case. The example of Dyer's involvement with Dee demonstrates the lack of intellectual homogeneity within the 'group', while evidence of political collaboration with Sidney is an inadequate basis for assuming that an individual, such as Randolph, had been admitted to the inner coterie. It is significant that Rogers, in his 1579 Elegy, mentions only Sidney, Greville, and Dyer as being involved in discussions of law, God, and good. Although all those listed by Phillips cooperated in the furtherance of a series of short-term political objectives, there are no grounds for supposing they formed an organised 'group' that had Sidney as its figurehead.

Phillips considers Buchanan a member in absentia of the 'Sidney circle', sharing with its members a common position on political, religious, and poetical matters,

such that the resultant convergence of interests and ideas forms 'a pattern of thinking and feeling that it is unique in the period, and characteristic of this single group'(78). Whether or not Buchanan should be considered a member of the 'Areopagus', his poetics and historico-political thought were of great interest to Sidney's political associates at this time, a central concern being his view of the British History. Buchanan's unquestioning acceptance of Boece's forty kings contradicts Phillips' statement that one of his most admirable qualities for Rogers, Randolph, and Spenser was a 'modern', critical attitude towards British legendary history (79). Phillips does not deal with the borrowing from Boece, but rather with Buchanan's dismissing as fables those legends surrounding Brutus and Arthur which were championed by Lhuyd, and by Dee. But while he accepted the historicity of Arthur, Buchanan distinguished what he called the truth from the falsehoods propagated by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers, which obscured Arthur's real greatness (80), thus suggesting that acceptance of Buchanan's historical theories entailed denial of that version of the British History lying at the heart of Dee's cosmopolitical imperialism.

Rogers, an antiquary himself, approved of Buchanan's attack on Lhuyd, as presumably did Randolph, who, in 1579, could not understand what prevented the publication of the Historia. The political reasons for the promotion of the Historia are revealed by Rogers' urging Buchanan in 1579 to finish it in order to reply to John Lesley's pro-Catholic History of Scotland, published in 1578 (81). Similar con-

siderations were present in 1576-7, when Buchanan's political theory, together with its blighting historical basis in Boece, was enlisted in support of the foreign policy of the Protestant 'activists'. And there was good cause for this because, as Trevor-Roper has shown, Buchanan's ideas derived from the Huguenot philosophers, Francois Hotman and Mornay, and from Sidney's mentor, Languet. Buchanan had corresponded with Mornay, and had met Languet in Paris about 1560. When Buchanan was tutor to James VI of Scotland, Mornay had hailed him as the educator of a new Constantine who would deliver the world from tyranny and superstition (82). Buchanan's thought, therefore, shared those influences which provided Sidney with philosophical justification for his foreign policy objectives.

There was considerable agreement between Sidney's and Buchanan's political philosophies, as can be demonstrated by the parallels between De Jure Regni and the Arcadia (83), but no personal contact had been established between the two men by February 1577 when, in a letter to Buchanan, Rogers referred in a formal manner to Sidney as 'the son of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, a young man of the most outstanding excellence' (84). However, this situation had changed by October 1579 when Sidney, writing to Buchanan, described himself as the Scotsman's 'loving friend' and implied that he was familiar with the latter's extensive correspondence with Rogers concerning the Alencon marriage proposal, upon the inadvisability of which Sidney was in agreement with Buchanan (85). But approval of the political philosophy underlying De Jure Regni did not mean that Sidney endorsed

Buchanan's version of the British History. Indeed, the extent of Sidney's knowledge of this subject is unclear. Languet, in the course of the 1574 jesting over Dee's name, had recommended Lhuyd to Sidney as an historian of 'some talent' who, in his Commentarioli, had scourged 'the unfortunate Hector Boece and Polydore Virgil so cruelly that even if they had grievously erred, the punishment seems greater than the fault' (86). Although Languet thought that Sidney would not know Lhuyd's work, he clearly expected him to be familiar with Boece and Virgil, which would mean that Sidney may well have been aware of Lhuyd's destruction of the historical basis for Buchanan's political thought before the revival of interest in the Scotsman's ideas in 1576-7 (87). Nevertheless, during the late 1570s, Sidney was connected, through his involvement with known promoters of Buchanan's work, with a political philosophy justified by a precisely defined historical precedent which, by extension, denied the historicity of Brutus and Arthur. Support of Buchanan, therefore, necessarily excluded advocacy of General and Rare Memorials.

The evidence supports a connection between Sidney and Buchanan, with Sidney an active participant in the promotion of Buchanan's political ideas in order to render intellectually legitimate the revolt of the Dutch Protestants against Spain. But Sidney's allies, eager to find historical justifications for political attitudes found their task complicated by the wranglings of the scholars. Advocacy of De Jure Regni entailed acceptance of the Historia, thus embroiling Buchanan's advocates in the debate over the

historicity of Brutus and Arthur and ranging them against the defenders of that version of the British History most fully articulated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, amongst whom were Lhuyd and Dee. Dee, therefore, had to compete against Buchanan in seeking patronage for General and Rare Memorials and the Scotsman's ideas were evidently considered far more serviceable in the pursuit of the Protestant 'activist' cause than were Dee's. Promotion of both Buchanan and Dee would have led to the adoption by their backers of a self-contradictory position on the early history of Britain because the legalistic justification of Dee's cosmopolitical imperialism in Famous and Rich Discoveries rested on that legendary history of Brutus and Arthur rejected by Buchanan (88). For Sidney, this irreconcilability of historical views, combined with his own philosophical and theological position, would have made support of Dee impossible.

The 'Sidney group', an integral part of the Protestant 'activist' faction focused on Leicester and Walsingham, is frequently suggested as having been strongly influenced by Dee, and it did indeed contain individuals who, by virtue of their interest in developments in contemporary continental thought, were almost uniquely qualified to appreciate fully the nature and scope of his system. In view of this, and also of the close relationship with Dyer, it has been necessary to examine the response of the 'group' to General and Rare Memorials because it was in just such a 'circle' that Dee may have been expected to enlist support. But, for reasons of political expediency and philosophical disparity, the 'group's' members- with the single known exception of Dyer -

passed over General and Rare Memorials, which, as a result, had to rely instead upon the efforts, unsuccessful as it transpired, of Hatton and Dyer to win the support of powerful patrons close to Elizabeth. Familiarity may breed contempt, but it also argues for considerable felicity: the consistency of Dyer's advocacy of Dee's ideas shows his deep faith in the veracity of *Cosmopolitics*. His loyalty contrasts conspicuously with the attitude of scornful amusement at the Monas which Sidney expressed to Languet, and in so doing it highlights a fundamental difference of opinion within the 'Areopagus' between Dyer's enthusiasm for Dee's magical religion and Sidney's preference for a synthesis of Mornay's non-magical Christianity and Agrippa's scepticism.

Thus General and Rare Memorials foundered because of Dee's inability to attract powerful sponsorship for his cause. The most obvious reason for this is that people disagreed either with central recommendations of his programme or with ideas and arguments, such as acceptance of the legendary history of Brutus and Arthur, essential to the structure of *Cosmopolitics* underlying General and Rare Memorials. Combined with this, Dee's reputation as a dangerous, and possibly unChristian, thinker made overt support for his scheme politically unwise. He was far from being a prominent and influential political philosopher in the mainstream of European thought, as Buchanan was, because his constant concern with secrecy and the need to preserve the exclusivity of his knowledge rendered his books mystifyingly inaccessible. As a result, his ideas were not common philosophical currency and, therefore, not readily assimilable

into a set of practical proposals for immediate political action. The obscurity with which Dee surrounded the most sensitive areas of his thought may have encouraged a belief that his scheme was unrealistic and unrealisable. The very vastness of his design, together with his confidence about the assistance to be enlisted from divine forces, may well have made General and Rare Memorials appear in its entirety to be far-fetched and unworkable. While commercial imperialism and its attendant economic benefits were universally desirable, the totally original structure of magical, astrologically-directed government, requiring all areas of life- political, social, and religious- to be regulated and guided by reference to a complex theological system, must have appeared to many as absurd in its extremism.

Aside from general considerations of this kind, circumstances in 1576-7 did not favour a scheme like that of General and Rare Memorials. Dee was the supplier of an unwanted product. Although it contained constructive proposals which were relevant in all sorts of ways to the political situation in Europe and to English exploitation of the New World, it could not satisfy an immediate demand such as that for a political theory to rationalise and justify the rebellion of the Dutch Protestants against their sovereign rulers in the same way that Buchanan's De Jure Regni and its associated works could. The time may have been right for Dee to launch his scheme according to the angels and to his prophetic history, but these were clearly insufficient authorities to persuade politicians and statesman to act upon his recommendations. In the light of the theory of the Aphorisms, the coincidence between Britain and such

heavenly phenomena as the new star of 1572 presumably convinced Dee of the need to write General and Rare Memorials with great urgency in order to prompt Elizabeth into acting immediately to seize the opportunity created by divine forces for the achievement of international British supremacy. And his failure to achieve this end perhaps reveals something of his patrons' attitude towards a work like the Aphorisms. The queen, for instance, may have been impressed, and may possibly have accepted much of the theory, but when it came to implementation, if there was no political advantage to be gained, then nothing was done. And in the late 1570s, although Dee called for a bold initiative, those to whom he directed his appeal were either committed to alternative theories or convinced of the need not to aggravate further an already volatile situation through the introduction of wildly adventurous designs. Thus, although Burghley in 1580 listened patiently to Dee's arguments for an English maritime empire, read his book and summarised its contents, he appears to have done nothing further.

Despite the dedicated efforts of Edward Dyer, General and Rare Memorials produced little of practical value, and Dee was left in 1597 to regret that an opportunity to realise his comopolitical ideal had been missed. He was almost unique in Elizabethan England for the range and depth of his learning and this singularity may have contributed to the unwillingness of those who may be considered to have been likely patrons to act on his recommendations. His ideas were certainly extreme and unorthodox in religion, while his proposals for the political restructuring of

Britain were radical and far-reaching. The bases of his thought were unfamiliar and highly esoteric, and this, together with his reputation as the 'great conjuror' and a seeker after forbidden knowledge, engendered suspicion and distrust of a system which required drastic changes in the theory and practice of government. Disapproval, distrust, and disagreement combined to isolate Dee politically. In seeking to advance a system based upon Cosmopolitics, the Monas, and the Aphorisms, and, therefore, unique to himself, he inevitably found himself in conflict with long-established and widely-held attitudes and opinions in politics and religion which would be declared erroneous once the verity of Cosmopolitics was universally acknowledged.

Dee's isolation was engendered by his reluctance to communicate his cosmopolitical theories in full. His concern to preserve the exclusivity of his knowledge was intended to maintain the secrecy of the tradition of ancient Wisdom, and so to keep potentially dangerous knowledge from the common people, as well as to safeguard as far as possible his own reputation. The upshot was a piecemeal, uncoordinated, and opportunistic propaganda campaign which failed to reveal either the true nature and scope of Cosmopolitics or indeed its internal coherence. The number of initiates possessing a comprehensive understanding of Cosmopolitics must have been extremely small and this esotericism was a major factor in making Dee an intellectually lonely and ultimately successful figure. This is the principal lesson to emerge from my study of Dee's activities in the late 1570s. Despite the immense range of his learning and his contacts with in-

fluent courtiers and politicians, the programme he outlined in the 1570 Synopsis and in General and Rare Memorials to prepare the foundations for his cosmopolitical theocracy was quite separate from the mainstream of English political life and thought. His political plan catered for what he considered spiritual and religious realities, but these bore little relation to the theological assumptions of a theory of government such as that propounded by Buchanan which had a readily and popularly discernible application to the important practical political problem of finding an ideology to justify and legitimise, publicly and unequivocally, on moral, legal, and religious grounds, the rebellion of the Dutch Protestants. Buchanan's tried and seasoned philosophy was utilised far more easily than Dee's partially revealed system as a weapon to counter those theories of state which condemned the rebellion as illicit and so endorsed, by extension, Spanish claims to sovereignty. Although Dee's cause was never fully explained in any of his publications, the very strangeness of some of the ideas he did disclose undoubtedly caused much suspicion and distrust, and this, combined with his understandable reticence, was perhaps the most significant reason for his failure to obtain powerful active patronage and so have a chance of realising his cosmopolitical ambitions.

The placing of Dee and Cosmopolitics in their contemporary context, through a study both of his known connections with courtiers and politicians, and also of General and Rare Memorials, is, therefore, essential in an evaluation of his stature and influence in his own time.

It is a largely negative, but nonetheless important conclusion to draw that, while Dee's intellectual attainments were highly regarded, his ability to shape and direct events was severely limited. He was involved neither in government, nor in court business, and he had to rely almost exclusively upon the efforts of individuals to bring his plans to the attention of the queen, who was the final object of his interest.

Politically, Dee can be aligned with the Protestant 'activist' interest focused upon Leicester and Walsingham, and including also Philip Sidney, because, as they did, he advocated an aggressive anti-Spanish foreign policy based upon a League involving the Dutch and German Protestants and upon exploitation of the New World. He knew Leicester of old and was connected, through Edward Dyer, with Sidney, and yet, although his short-term political objectives were the same as theirs, his influence was negligible. For while both Sidney and Dee supported 'conciliatory' religious policies, the origins of their respective positions were vastly dissimilar, and even mutually exclusive. Sidney, inspired by Agrippa and Mornay, rejected the magic and the scholarly erudition associated with the religious philosophy through which Dee proposed to effect his world reformation and preferred instead to promote confessional uniformity upon the basis of a 'simple' religious faith which would bind together the anti-Spanish League. The importance attached to Dee's learning by his contemporaries varied considerably: his services as a tutor in the Dudley household and as geographical and navigational adviser to Frobisher, for in-

stance, were highly valued, but his political programme was passed over and the imperialism propounded by the Hakluyts preferred to his plans for a universal reformation. As a proponent of that esoteric tradition of the Ancient Theology deriving from the Florentine Academy, Dee was very much a product of his age, yet the relevance of his ideas to the furtherance of British interests in international politics appeared questionable to his contemporaries. The cosmopolitical system was based upon philosophical and theological premises greatly at variance with prevailing attitudes and opinions. The irreconcilability of his and Sidney's positions indicates the degree of his intellectual isolation, and suggests in so doing the primary cause of his failure to achieve the introduction of his cosmopolitical theocracy, namely, his inability to secure the powerful and sustained patronage of the queen and her principal advisers.

CONCLUSION

An underlying concern of my thesis has been to assess Dee as a Renaissance philosopher. I have sought to do this by identification of those principles which, as basic precepts of his thought, order and arrange the whole into an internally-coherent system of philosophy. This system he developed with consistency and unity of purpose from a series of positions formulated in the 1540s, the first stage of his career. By this approach, I have arrived at a total re-valuation of Dee. I have re-presented him as a political philosopher, the Cosmopolites, who was the proponent of Cosmopolitics, a system which had as its ultimate goal the realisation of a religious objective, the redemption of the human race. This was to be effected through the implementation of a political programme designed to transform existing constitutional, social, and economic structures, bringing them all within the scope of the theocratic state, the British model for which was contained in the 1570 Synopsis. As a necessary corollary to this revaluation, I have investigated Dee's contemporary standing by seeking to determine the extent of the influence exerted by his ideas, particularly as they were presented in a single project, General and Rare Memorials.

My overall conclusion is that as a philosopher, Dee belonged to what I termed in my Introduction the third major strand of Renaissance thought, that tradition deriving from the work of the Florentine Academy and associated with the revival of Platonism, the discovery of the Hermetic texts, and their reconciliation with Christianity. This assessment

requires qualification in view of developments original to Dee as well as his virtual uniqueness in Elizabethan England as a proponent of a complex universal philosophy developed from these ideas. His position as the advocate of an esoteric, magical system was special not only because of the nature of the ideas he propounded, but also because of the character of the influence which they exerted. This influence was widespread, but indirect. Dee's inability to secure the implementation of his political programme does not signify a complete failure to explain and justify any of his ideas. The Praeface, for example, was a work of considerable popularity towards the end of the sixteenth century, particularly in the dissemination of Vitruvian architectural theory (1). And Dee was successful in interesting highly-placed individuals in government and at court in the more esoteric and adventurous aspects of his thought. But the attention paid to his schemes produced little by way of practical assistance in their promotion and realisation. This serves to create an impression of his intellectual isolation and a sense that the purpose of Cosmopolitics was simply not understood, or distrusted, by those to whom it was addressed. And while there are certainly grounds for such an assessment by modern scholars of Dee's contemporary estimation and significance, it is a picture which, in important respects, is ill-informed and inadequately defined, owing largely to present-day ignorance of the true political focus of his work.

Insofar as it was significantly influenced in its formative period by the interests and activities of the

'Sidney group', the English Renaissance tended to avoid radical innovations in religion and philosophy of the type engendered by the Florentine Academy and its intellectual descendants. Dee is an exception to this general rule, and the extent of his divergence from the mainstream of English cultural development is highlighted by his relationship to the 'Sidney circle'. Moreover, Dee took ideas of the type expounded by the Florentine Neoplatonists, translated them into a political programme, and sought to apply them in seeking solutions to the problems of the contemporary world. While it was certainly not the case that these ideas had previously been treated on an exclusively academic level, Dee's inclusion of them as an integral part of his system and his insistence that they be incorporated into the fabric of national life accentuated both their radicalism and the unorthodoxy of *Cosmopolitics*. As a result, his intended audience was prompted to doubt the propriety and even the legality of his ideas.

While the political principles of *Cosmopolitics* run through the entire corpus of Dee's work, their presence is latent and often not readily apparent to the modern reader. Awareness of them frequently depends upon appreciation of *Cosmopolitics* as a unified, coherent whole, of which Dee's writings, whether published or in manuscript, are incidental, specialised statements, and not intended to comprise a systematic exposition of the complete system. In the Aphorisms, for instance, where Dee outlines his astronomical and astrological theory, there is no immediately obvious political dimension. Yet there is a reference in

Aphorism 118 to the Cosmopolites who, in The Brytish Monarchie, is the complete political philosopher. Although the activities of the Cosmopolites in the Aphorisms in matching the earth and the heavens are similar to those of the Cosmographer to whom he likened in The Brytish Monarchie, the full implications of such a link between the two works cannot be determined without an overall understanding of Cosmopolitics. The political character with which the Cosmopolites is endowed in The Brytish Monarchie is not apparent in the Aphorisms, and, likewise, the rôle of magus and prophet which he is assigned in the latter is not discernible in the former. But the Cosmopolites is all of these things and more, as is apparent from the Epistle to Maximilian II, where he is presented as one uniquely qualified in the knowledge of sacred truth and in the interpretation of divine law, whose advice and guidance in the direction of affairs of state are indispensable for the philosopher-ruler.

The fundamental political concern of Cosmopolitics was the establishment of a theocracy in which all areas of individual and community life would be regulated to ensure their conformity to God's law. This state would be governed by a philosopher-ruler with the assistance of a Council of Guardians, with the duty of applying the dictates of Wisdom to national life and of administering a system of magical government based upon the hieroglyphic monad. This system was endorsed by the pristine Wisdom of the ancient philosophers, and the theocracy itself was an adaptation to the requirements of the sixteenth-century world of the Platonic state, which, to Dee, had originally been designed to secure the application of Wisdom to life in the pre-

Christian Greek city-state. By means of this system, Dee sought to realise the long-term religious objective of human redemption through the implementation of a short-term political strategy with its attendant social and economic programmes. These latter were designed to create prosperity and security in order to provide the framework within which the cosmopolitical Wisdom could flourish and so lead to the salvation of mankind.

The necessary complement to Cosmopolitics is Dee's philosophy of history which reveals the chronological limit for the fulfilment of human destiny. And the prophetic structure which Dee believed he had detected in the movement of world history towards the end determined for it by divine providence allowed him, as the Cosmopolites, to foresee the course of future events. His prophetic power was further enhanced by the ability to identify particular terrestrial locations where especially auspicious and powerful stellar and planetary influences were concentrated below astronomical phenomena, the occurrences of which were mathematically predictable. Equipped with such knowledge, the Cosmopolites was ideally qualified not only to advise on the direction to be taken by the philosopher-ruler in affairs of state but also actually to direct events through his prowess in magic which could utilise the secret forces of the cosmos in the service of mankind. Dee saw himself as the Cosmopolites, and it is this self-image, his belief in his personal destiny as the deliverer of the human race, which provided him with the motivation to pursue his mission to realise the theocratic ideal. This motivation was intensified by the great sense

of urgency by which Dee felt himself to be impelled as the world entered the final centuries of its existence.

This, in brief, is the nature of the system advanced by Dee. While it is inevitably derivative in many respects owing to Dee's opinion of himself as one chosen by God to bring to fulfilment the tradition of sacred Wisdom handed down from the earliest sages, many of the developments within his thought are peculiar to himself, as indeed is the overall synthesis. Although his method was eclectic and his goal syncretistic, the result was a unique blend of original work and borrowed ideas, the latter having been adapted by Dee to satisfy what he saw as the fundamental requirements of Europe, and particularly Britain, in the sixteenth-century. He was certainly not the only contemporary philosopher to seek solutions to the international and religious problems of the age in esoteric lore. Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico, Cornelius Agrippa, Giordano Bruno, Guillaume Postel and their like have all received scholarly attention in recent years, but none of them has been shown to have proposed specific political measures, with attendant social, economic, and military ramifications, of the kind set out by Dee as a central part of his programme (2). It is these practical and applied aspects of the cosmopolitical theories which really make Dee a singular figure in Renaissance philosophy.

As an adherent of an established body of thought, Dee necessarily duplicated the work of other thinkers. The many points of contact with Pico provide one instance of this. But the nature of the synthesis he produced is unique to him, even in the manner of his utilisation of comparative

commonplaces, such as Plato's political theory, to underwrite his own position, Plato being one of the most widely and constantly cited of the ancient sages. The indebtedness of Dee's political philosophy to Plato's, amongst others is evident not only in the many similarities between the two systems, but also in Dee's citations of Plato in the Praeface. These are not merely general appeals to the authority of Plato, but are references to specific sections of particular works, The Republic and the Epinomis, where Plato deals with the nature and organisation of the state. But it is not simply out of convenience that Dee turns to Plato to provide him with a ready-made model of the state. Rather, it is because Plato was a principal philosopher in the tradition with which Dee identified himself, and because that theory of the state propounded in The Republic and the Epinomis was necessarily, for Dee, grounded upon, and designed to implement, the principles of sacred Wisdom. Dee did not indiscriminately plagiarise Plato's political philosophy, but incorporated it within Cosmopolitics, adapting it to suit what he saw as the needs of the contemporary situation. Dee's mental world was imbued with a profoundly Christian vision, within which the thought of the pagan sage, Plato, was subordinated to the sacred trust of human redemption. Moreover, it was expanded to absorb new elements, such as the system of magical government based upon the hieroglyphic monad. However, it was the very distinctiveness of Dee's system and the boldness with which he treated his source material that underlay his failure to secure the implementation of his scheme, as is revealed by

his failure to gain the active, sustained support of patrons such as Maximilian II or Elizabeth.

In Part II, I traced the nature and extent of the influence of that central, and most important, part of Dee's system, the political programme, by examining the history of the patronage of his ideas and his attempt to establish a British theocracy through General and Rare Memorials. During the 1550s and 1560s, Dee had familiarised potential backers, such as the Dudleys, the Sidneys, William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, with aspects of his cosmopolitical theories, including some of their more extreme astrological and angelological ramifications. Then, during the 1570s, through the agency of Edward Dyer, he brought his design for the British theocracy to the attention of Christopher Hatton in the form of the 1570 Synopsis, which directly anticipated General and Rare Memorials. Both of these works were major efforts by Dee to secure the implementation of his design and, as such, were permeated by the principles of the divine Wisdom by which he sought to shape and direct affairs of state. While Dee, then, was successful in acquainting powerful figures in government and at court with important areas of his system, he was unable to gain strong, consistent support for his plans. Burghley, for instance, had known in the 1560s of Dee's researches into Angelology and Astrology, which were fundamental to the historical framework of Cosmopolitics, but he was unwilling or unable to offer positive assistance in 1580 when, on Dee's own account, he was greatly impressed by the historical basis of the proposed British North

Atlantic maritime empire set out in Famous and Rich Discoveries. Similarly, even though Robert Dudley, in 1558, had commissioned Dee to select the most auspicious day for Elizabeth's coronation, there are no indications that he ever acted in accordance with Dee's strategy to fulfil the cosmopolitical master plan. And Elizabeth herself, despite her interest in the Aphorisms and the Monas, appears never to have been guided by any considerations other than those of purely political expediency.

The interest shown in the more esoteric side of Dee's thought by such prominent individuals means that it is mistaken either to regard him as intellectually isolated or to assert that his system, strongly magical in its nature, was perceived by his contemporaries as having little or no relevance to their world. Certainly, the circle of those to whom Dee revealed the depth and scope of his schemes was very restricted owing to the secrecy with which he shrouded his more abstruse activities in order to prevent what he considered to be potentially dangerous learning becoming common knowledge. But it is also undoubtedly the case that Dee acquainted those whom he considered worthy, and from whom he felt that he could expect a favourable response, with the substance of his design to achieve the redemption of mankind. Amongst this group would have been Elizabeth, to whom he explained the Monas in private audience, Dyer, Hatton, Burghley, members of the Dudley family, and possibly, Pembroke and members of the Sidney family, together with an unknown number of, as yet, unidentified initiates.

Dee's reticence and unwillingness to reveal in full the

religious and magical details of his system are undoubtedly major contributory factors to the impression of his insularity. But such an impression is misleading because it implies not only that Dee lacked any points of contact in courtly or governmental circles, which is clearly not the case, but also that he was outside the mainstream of intellectual development in England in the second half of the sixteenth century. Here again, his position requires qualification. As an applied scientist and an authority on geographical and navigational matters, his opinion was highly regarded and his services were sought, for example, as a tutor to the Duke of Northumberland's children, as an advisor to Richard Chancellor while the latter was staying in Sir Henry Sidney's household, and as a consultant to Michael Lok and Sir Martin Frobisher on the occasion of the latter's voyages in search of the North-west Passage during the 1570s. However, these are aspects of his thought which had immediate practical application and, as such, were more likely to attract patronage, unlike his proposals for the establishment of a British theocracy. But the more esoteric aspects of his thought were far from being completely divorced from significant trends in the development of ideas amongst groups prominent within the intellectual and political life of the country, as can be demonstrated through examination of the nature of his relationship with the 'Sidney group'.

This is not to say that many of the ideas propounded by Dee as a part of his Cosmopolitical theories were either typical of the ideas current in the formative period of

the English Renaissance during the 1570s or acceptable to many amongst the intellectual avant-garde of the time. The synthesis which comprised these theories was unique to him, as were some of the ideas contained within it, but there are areas of common ground between Cosmopolitics and more orthodox, conventional positions developed by others. Of paramount importance in this connection are the attitudes and opinions of the 'Sidney group'. Dee knew both Sidney and Dyer personally, being a particularly powerful influence upon the latter, and the nature of his relationship with the 'Areopagus' is, therefore, of immense importance in evaluating both the extent of the influence of his ideas and his standing amongst contemporaries.

I demonstrated in Chapter XI that Sidney himself spurned the magical religion inherent in Cosmopolitics, while in Chapter XII, I showed that, on the whole, the 'Sidney group' rejected that version of the British History which Dee used as a justification for the territorial claims he made on Elizabeth's behalf in Famous and Rich Discoveries. These were two principal constituents of Dee's overall scheme, which loses much of its coherence and direction without them. But rejection of them did not entail dismissal of the complete system, for although Sidney dissociated himself from Dee's magical and historical theories, and despite the ultimate irreconcilability of their views, this did not necessarily mean that Sidney was wholly unsympathetic either to Dee's theology or to his foreign policy proposals. On the one hand, Sidney approved of the non-magical theology of Mornay, which, in its belief in an original set of religious truths

communicated through a genealogy of sages comprising pagans as well as Christians, was in key respects the same as that espoused by Dee. On the other hand, Sidney himself was identified with an aggressive anti-Spanish foreign policy embracing not only a Protestant crusade in Europe, but also the establishment of a British North Atlantic empire to challenge Spanish domination of the New World. Both Sidney and Dee advocated a simple religious faith based upon pristine divine truth, but whereas Sidney sought this through the work of a thinker such as Agrippa, Dee immersed himself in magically-orientated mathematical philosophy which involved complexities of erudition of a kind alien to the type of anti-scholarly scepticism propounded by Agrippa. Therefore, although Sidney and Dee diverged considerably, the differences between them were not complete, nor did they completely preclude agreement between their respective positions.

On the subject of the British History, the stance adopted by the 'Sidney group', with the exception of Dyer, against the legendary history of Brutus and Arthur may have been determined by its support for the political philosophy of George Buchanan, which was based upon a version of the early history of Britain contrary to that set out in General and Rare Memorials. Sidney's support for Buchanan's political thought would, therefore, have committed him to a public position on the British History which was antithetical to Dee's, despite any opinions which Sidney may have held privately in favour of Brutus and Arthur. And simply in terms of political efficacy, the radicalism of the cosmopolitical

theories and the sheer impracticability of carrying them out may have alienated Sidney and his associates still further from them. But Dee's position in defence of the legendary history was perfectly orthodox and demonstrates again that although his ideas were certainly extreme, they were not entirely divorced from major developments within the English Renaissance. Rather, the extremism of Cosmopolitics lay in the magical nature and the radicalism of the political programme through which he sought to achieve the redemption of mankind.

However, in spite of the relevance to contemporary life and thought which could be claimed for Cosmopolitics, the fact remains that Dee was completely unsuccessful in gaining powerful support for his plans to establish a British theocracy. It is undoubtedly true that to an important degree he was isolated intellectually: the bases of his thought were largely unfamiliar and esoteric, while his ideas themselves were radical, far-reaching, and widely considered to be dangerous. But, more importantly, Dee was isolated politically. Despite his having acquainted prominent figures at court and in government with the nature of Cosmopolitics, his ideas were either disapproved of, distrusted, or condemned. Although his thought was related at significant points to the mainstream of English cultural life as it developed in the Renaissance, Dee represented extreme tendencies in continental thought which made him a figure to be regarded with suspicion and caution. And his reputation was further damaged by his virtual uniqueness in late sixteenth-century England as the exponent of a system

of such magnitude and complexity as Cosmopolitics.

If such an analysis of failure is a somewhat negative point on which to conclude, then it is one that sheds valuable light on the origins of the English Renaissance, which previously have been seen predominantly in terms of literary and artistic movements. This approach has led to a misleading interpretation not only of cultural trends in the 1570s, but also of subsequent developments, because it has tended to ignore the very considerable politico-religious considerations which significantly influenced the positions adopted amongst the intellectual leadership of the Renaissance. These considerations are apparent in the preference of the 'Sidney group' for George Buchanan and his version of the British History and in Sidney's personal approval of Mornay's non-magical version of the Ancient Theology. The literary output of the 'Areopagus' is markedly didactic, but it is a didacticism developed to promote specific political and religious objectives and to expound a theology which sought to reconcile the breaches in Christendom through a return to a pristine, simple faith. And it is as an indirect result of the study of Dee that particular instances of religious and political influences upon the 'Sidney group' have been identified. This provides in itself sufficient grounds for regarding the study of Dee as a positive contribution to knowledge of the Renaissance because despite his failure, he was a not insubstantial figure, who played a significant rôle in the dissemination and development of advanced ideas in the sixteenth century. The fact of his failure should not be allowed to detract

from the importance which he held for contemporaries nor to obscure his intensely active involvement in the intellectual life of the time.

FOOTNOTES:

INTRODUCTION

- p.4 1.Unpublished London University Ph.D.thesis, 1952.
- p.4 2.London, 1972. As my text makes clear, I have referred very frequently to Calder and French, for obvious reasons. I have been advised that, rather than multiply and overburden my footnotes with a host of specific references to particular points, I should, as far as is possible and consistent with precision, collect such references in notes that refer to the relevant sections of those works; and I have therefore adopted this policy. I have, of course, furnished specific references and acknowledgements whenever these are necessary.
- p.4 3.London, 1969; London, Paladin Books, 1975.
- p.4 4.London, 1909.
- p.6 5.Corpus Hermeticum, 4 volumes, tr. and ed. A.D.Nock and A.-J. Festugière, Paris, 1945 and 1954.
- p.6 6.O.Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, Berlin, 1922; Orphei Hymni, ed. G. Quandt, Berlin, 1955; Les Argonautiques d'Orphée, tr. and ed. G. Dottin, Paris, 1930.
- p.6 7.Oracula Sibyllina, ed. J. Geffcken, Leipzig, 1902.
- p.6 8.H. Lewy, Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy, Le Caire, 1956.
- p.6 9.The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period, ed. H. Thesleff, Abo, 1965; Hieroclis in Aureum Pythagoreum Carmen Commentarius, ed. F.G.A. Mullachius, Hildesheim, 1971.
- p.6 10.Yates, Bruno, London 1971; Walker, Magic, University of Notre Dame Press edition, 1975; Walker,

Theology, London, 1972.

There is a vast bibliography on the subject of Renaissance thought. The works upon which I have based my summary are P.O.Kristeller, Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains, New York, 1961, and Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance, Stanford, California, 1964; M.P. Gilmore, The World of Humanism, 1453-1517, New York, 1962; F.Coplestone, A History of Philosophy, Vol.III, 'Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy', New York, 1963; P.O.Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, tr.Virginia Conant, New York, 1943; E.Cassirer, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola', Journal of the History of Ideas, III (1942), pp.123-44, 319-46; E.Cassirer, P.O.Kristeller, J.H.Randall, eds. The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, Chicago, 1971; Pico della Mirandola, On the Dignity of Man, On Being and the One, Héptaplus, tr.C.G.Wallis, P.J.W.Miller, D.Carmichael, New York, 1965. (I have used Kristeller's dating of Humanism, 1300-1600).

- p.9 11. For a concise summary of the history and significance of the Hermetic texts in the Renaissance, see the Introduction to the Paladin edition of Yates' Rosicrucian Enlightenment.
- p.10 12. Walker, Magic, Chs.I and II; Yates, Bruno, Ch.IV.
- p.11 13. Yates, Bruno, Ch.V.
- p.15 14. Published at Antwerp in 1564 by Willem Silvius.
- p.17 15. B.L.Cotton Charter XIII, art. 39.
- p.17 16. It is given a passing mention in French, Dee, p. 180, n.2.

- p.18 17. For bibliographical details see Chapter XII.
- p.19 18. This preface was written as an introduction to Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Elements into English from the original Greek. A facsimile edition was published in 1976, edited by A.G. Debus.
- p.23 19. This claim has been advanced by F.A. Yates in The Art of Memory, London, Penguin Books, 1969, p.258, and has been developed in Ch.VI of French's study of Dee.
- p.23 20. See French, op. cit.; J.A van Dorsten, The Radical Arts: First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance, Leiden & London, 1970, p.25, and Poets, Patrons, and Professors, Leiden & London, 1962, passim; J. Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, London, 1965, Ch.IV.
- p.25 21. On Dee's position in the tradition of British Protestant imperialism, see F.A. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1975, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', especially pp.48-50. In her lecture 'Elizabethan Neoplatonism Reconsidered: Spenser and Francesco Giorgi', Miss Yates identifies what she sees as the influence of Dee's ideas upon the Protestant imperialism of Edmund Spenser's poem, The Faerie Queene, which advances an argument similar to that espoused by Sidney. (This lecture was published in London in 1977 for The Society for Renaissance Studies; see pp.14-5.)

CHAPTER I

- p.27 1. There is a considerable literature on universal chronologies. See, for example, the study by C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God, London, 1972, and also Patrides' articles, 'The Numerological Approach to Cosmic Order', Isis, XLIX (1958), pp 391-7, and 'Renaissance Estimates of the Year of Creation', Huntington Library Quarterly, XXVI (1963), pp.315-22. Other valuable works are D.C.Allen, 'The Legend of Noah', Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XXXIII, nos.3-4 (1949), and J.Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology, Princeton, 1964.
- p.28 2. Dee's library catalogue is B.L.Harleian MS. 1879 and these works are mentioned on ff. 29r, 33r, 39r, 40v, 25r. Places and dates of publication are Venice, 1580; Venice, 1559; Louvain, 1569; Venice, 1572; Cologne, 1569.
- p.28 3. Oxford University Ashmole MS. 1789, ff. 1-33; Calder, I, pp.725 ff.
- p.28 4. One of the most important discussions of this tradition occurs in St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei, Book XX, Ch. VII.
- p.29 5. The Brytish Monarchie, p.4.
- p.29 6. ibid., p.12.
- p.29 7. Ephemeris Anni. 1577. Currentis iuxta Copernici et Reinhaldi canones fideliter per Ioannem Feild Anglum, Supputata ac examinata ad meridianum Londinensem qui occidentalior esse iudicatur a Reinhaldo quam sit Regii Montis, per horam 1. Ser. 50. Adiecta est etiam brevis quaedam Epistola Ioannis Dee, qua vulgares

istos Ephemeridum fectores merito reprehendit.

- p.29 8. For discussion of Christ's age at the crucifixion, see Finegan, ed.cit., pp.215-301.
- p.29 9. B.L.Cotton Charter XIII, art. 38, and Cotton Charter XIV, art. 1.
- p.30 10. College of Arms MS. I, art. 5, f. 138v.
- p.30 11. The Aphorisms were first published in 1558 in the same volume as works by Leowitz and Wolf on Astrology. Dee's works was republished separately in the same year and again, with some alterations, in 1568. The reference to Dee's 'Arte nova' occurs in the dedicatory epistle to Mercator (sig⁺ ij. of the second 1558 edition).
- p.31 12. Oxford University Ashmole MS. 1789, f. 10r; Calder, I, p.730.
- p.31 13. B.L.Lansdowne MS. 109, art. 27, ff. 65r-v. The attribution is made by French, p.213.
- p.31 14. Calder, I, pp.727-30, 786-8, 837-8, and II, p.519, n.10, deals with Alkindi and Dee's 'Playne Discours'. His source for Alkindi's astrological theories is D.Lott, 'Alkindi als Astrolog', in Morgenland. Forsch. Festsch für H. Prof. Dr. M.H.Fleischer, Leipzig, 1875, pp.263-309. Dee's knowledge of Alkindi is examined by N.H.Clulee in his article, 'Astrology, Magic, and Optics: Facets. of John Dee's Early Natural Philosophy', Renaissance Quarterly, XXX, (1977), especially pp.664-6.
- p.34 15. An Astrological Discourse vpon the great and notable Coniunction of the two superior Planets, SATVRNE & IVPITER, which shall happen the 28. day of April 1583.

With a brief Declaration of the effectes, which the late Eclipse of the Sunne 1582, is yet heerafter to woorke, pp.42-3. The Protestant apocalyptic tradition had three principal constituents: the books of Daniel and Revelation in the Bible, and the non-biblical prophecy of Elias, which derived from the Babylonian Talmud. This was translated by Johannes Reuchlin and published at Vienna in 1520-3. It was included by Reuchlin's grand-nephew, Philip Melanchthon, in his 1532 edition of Carion's Chronicle, which was translated into English and published at London in 1550 (Katharine R.Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645, Oxford, 1979, pp.5-6, 15-22).

- p.34 16. Mercator, Chronologia. Hoc est, temporum demonstratio exactissima, ab initio mundi, usque ad annum Dominum MDLXVIII ex eclipsibus et observationibus astronomicis omnium temporum, sacris quoque Bibliis, & optimis quibusque Scriptoribus summa fide concinnata. Cologne, 1569. See pp.142, 147 for Christ's birth and the beginning of the fourth millennium.
- p.35 17. Dee's library catalogue lists several Joachite works: 'Joachim: prophetia'; 'Joachim: abbatis vaticinia circa []licos viros[]', Venice, 1527; 'Joachim Abbatis opera'. (B.L.Harleian MS. 1879, ff. 85v, 30v, 37v.)
- p.35 18. On this subject, see M.Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, London, 1976, esp. pp.6-21, where it is pointed out that Joachim himself never used the terms 'etas' and 'tempus' in connection with

the division of history.

- p.35 19.Praeface, sig.*.j v; mentioned by Reeves, op. cit.,
p.153.
- p.36 20.For further discussion of the significance of Joachim
for Dee, see below, Ch. VI.
- p.36 21.Reeves, op. cit., p.153.
- p.37 22.This discussion of the significance of the triangle and
of Alpha and Omega is taken from Reeves, pp.5-6; see
also plate 7.
- p.37 23.Revelation, 22. 13.
- p.38 24.Monas, p.23r.
- p.39 25.Reeves, Ch.3.
- p.39 26.Calder, I, pp.781-92; II, p.464, n. 106.
- p.40 27.B.L.Sloane MS. 3188, f. 8v.
- p.40 28.I am presently unaware what, if any, the significance
of Venus could be in relation to this subject.

CHAPTER II

- p.42 1. Both the Compendious Rehearsall and the Discourse Apologeticall are reproduced in Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, ed. James Crossley (Chetham Society Publications, Vol. XXIV, Manchester, 1851). In the Rehearsall it appears as article 31 (p.26) and in the Discourse as article 35 (p.75).
- p.42 2. The Brytish Monarchie, p.10.
- p.42 3. E.G.R. Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583, London, 1930, pp.97-9, 105-6, 165; Calder, I, pp.623-4. French does not mention the Synopsis.
- p.43 4. The Brytish Monarchie, p.2.
- p.44 5. French, p.180, n.2.
- p.44 6. A word, 'Politica', between 'Synopseos' and 'Adumbratio' has been crossed through. 'L' probably signifies 'Londinensis'.
- p.45 7. French, plate 13.
- p.48 8. Praeface, sig.a.jr-v.
- p.55 9. Dee's appeals for patronage to lesser figures, such as Count Rosenberg, Viceroy of Bohemia (see C.H. Josten, 'An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVIII (1965), p.257), may have been motivated by simple expediency, the need to support himself and his family.

CHAPTER III

- p.57 1. The Brytish Monarchie, p.54. French quotes this passage, p.186, but makes no comment upon it.
- p.59 2. Praeface, sig. b.iii. For a discussion of the Praeface, see F.A.Yates, Theatre of the World, London, 1969, Ch.2. Miss Yates, however, omits Cosmography as her main concern is with Architecture.
- p.60 3. ibid., sigs. b.ii^V-b.iii^R; French, pp.137-8.
- p.61 4. B.L.Harleian Ms.1879, art.5, ff.60^V-62^V,90^V-91^V; French, p.52; Yates, Theatre, p.10.
- p.61 5. Praeface, sig. c.iiir; Yates, Theatre, pp.22-4, 190-1; French, p.140, n.3.
- p.61 6. For a discussion of the importance of these sources, see Yates, Theatre, Ch.2, *passim*.
- p.62 7. Wisdom, 11.20. See Ch. VII below.
- p.63 8. Praeface, sig. b.ij^V.
- p.63 9. Here the dating of the beginning of the year in the Calendar Reform has relevance. Into this category might come Elizabeth's coronation day of which Dee writes in the Compendious Rehearsall:
- Before her Majesties coronacion I wrote at large, and delivered it for her Majesties use by commandement of the Lord Robert, after Earle of Leicester, what in my judgement the ancient astrologers would determine of the election day of such a tyme, as was appointed for her Majestie to be crowned in. Which writing, if it be extant and to be had, wilbe a testimony of my dutifull and carefull endeavour performed in that, which in her Majesties name was enjoyned me: A.1558.

Autobiographical Tracts, p.21; French, p.32, n.2.

- p.63 10. French, pp.177-8; E.G.R.Taylor, The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England, London, 1954, p.170.
- p.64 11. Praeface, sigs. b.iii^v-b.iiii^r. French briefly discusses the Astrology of the Praeface, pp.92-3, by way of introduction to his summary of the Aphorisms, pp.93-7. See the article by N.H.Clulee, 'John Dee's Mathematics and the Grading of Compound Qualities', AMBIX, vol. XVIII (Nov.1971), No.3, pp.178-211, for a discussion of the Cross of Graduation.
- p.65 12. Praeface, op.cit.; Calder, I, p.501 and II, p.243, n.191. The connection of Mercator with the Aphorisms is not mentioned by French.
- p.67 13. Cum in alicuius Solaris Revolutione, alterius planetae periodi principio, vel quocunque alio tempore, fortis aliqua notabilisque in coelofuerit vel planetarum inter se, vel planetarum cum fixis, configuratio: per totum terrae orbem astronomice circumspice, quis locus fortissimam propriamque coeli figuram in quocunque velis significato, talis configurationis momento obtineat vel obtinere possit. Hinc enim non solum a naturis, eventus proprios maxime, sed ab eventibus egregiis Locorum terrae particularium, proprias planetarum, fixarumque eliciendi naturas, modus datur insignis, secretusque. Hinc etiam Sapiens (modo Cosmopolites esse possit) nobilissimam Scientiam haurire potest: sive de prosperis procurandis, sive removendis noxiis: vel ex contra: tam sibi quam aliis. Locorum terrestrium opportunitas,

tanti est momenti.

Aphorisms, 1558, sigs. f.ii^r-v.

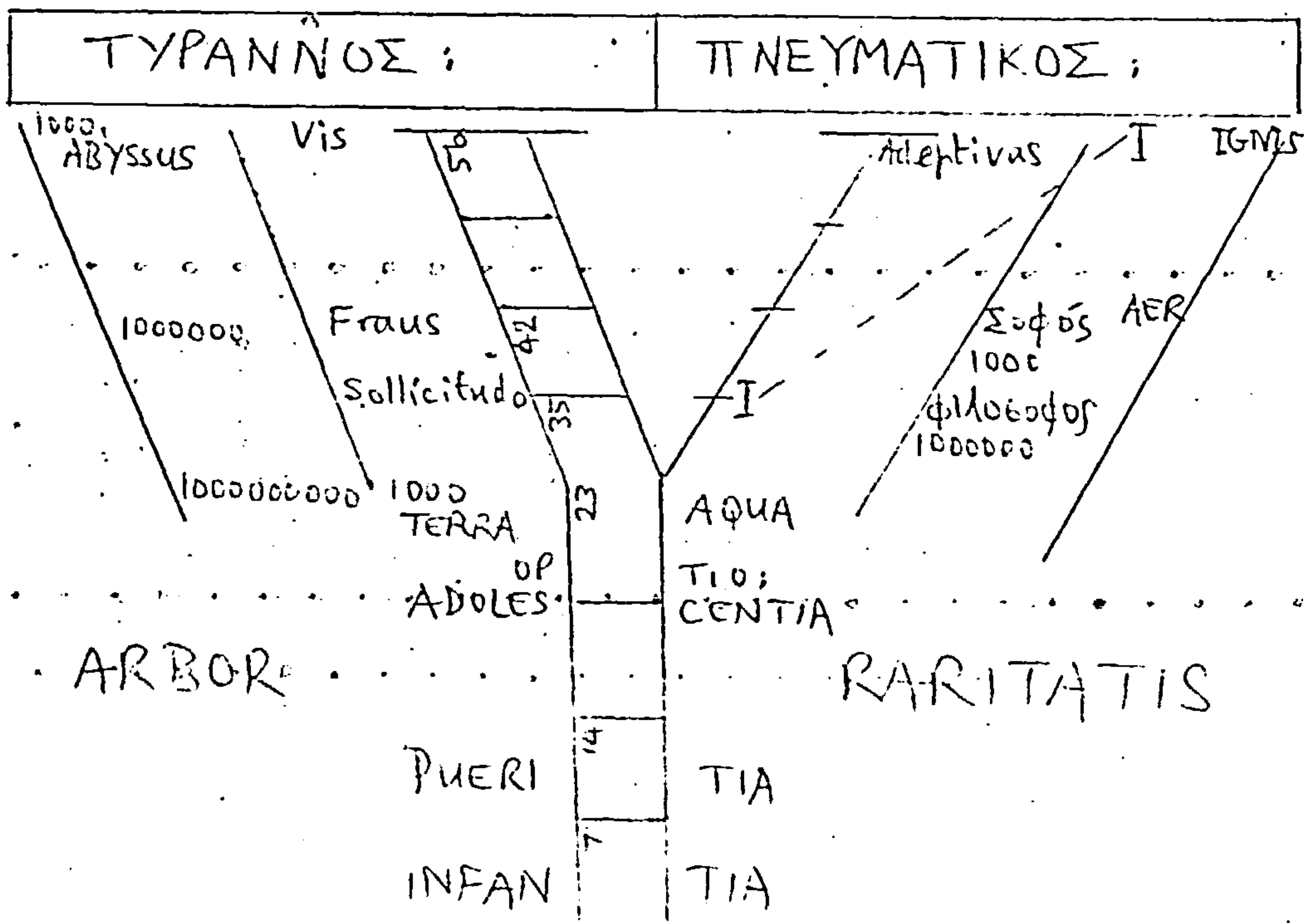
Sic illos Circumspexisse Magos est verisimile, qui olim dixerunt, STELLAM EIUS VIDIMUS IN ORIENTE.

Aphorisms, 1568, no pagination, but the signature would be G.iiii^r-v.

- p.70 14. It is possible that Dee may have intended a reference to a correspondence between England and an astronomical configuration indicated by the planetary signs in each corner of the border around the drawing on the title-page of The Brytish Monarchie.

CHAPTER IV

- p.76 1. All references to the Monas will first give the pages in the work itself, and then the corresponding pages in C.H. Josten's translation in AMBIX, vol. XII (1964), pp.84-221. The sections in the Epistle are: pp.2r and 115; 2r - 8r and 115-39; 8r - 10r and 139-47. The main authorities for the interpretation of the Monas are Calder, I, Ch. VI; French, pp.76-81; Josten's Introduction to his translation, pp.84-111; Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, pp.71-91; J.A. van Dorsten, The Radical Arts, pp.21-5.
- p.76 2. Monas, pp.5r and 119:
- p.76 3. ibid., p,119, n. 5.
- p.77 4. ibid., pp.4v and 117. Dee's word is 'virium', which Josten translates as 'influences', but in the next sentence, Dee uses the word 'Influentiarum', which may or may not have been intended as a synonym.
- p.78 5. The diagram occurs on p.3r of the Monas; it is not translated by Josten:



- p.79 6. On ether as a fifth element, see, for example, E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, London, Penguin Books, 1970, p.53; also, Ch. VII below. The idea that ether is a fifth element is Aristotelian: see De Caelo, 270B 20 - 25.
- p.79 7. This French's opinion, too, p.97.
- p.80 8. Monas, pp.3r-v and 119-21.
- p.80 9. Maximilian had been made King of Bohemia and of the Romans in 1562, King of Hungary in 1563, and Emperor of the Germans in 1564. Dee was present at the 1563 coronation at Pressburg in Hungary (Monas, pp.2r and 115, n. 1, n. 2, n. 3).
- p.80 10. Monas, pp.10r and 147.
- p.80 11. Josten, Introduction, plates I and II, reproduces the title-pages and briefly discusses the development of the hieroglyphic monad on p.86. See Ch. V below.
- p.81 12. It was in 1583 that Dee left England for Eastern Europe with the Polish prince, Albert Laski (French, p.177), possibly in response to a sense of foreboding concerning the significance for the world of the forthcoming conjunction. This sense would have been intensified by such works as Cyprian Leowitz' De coniunctionibus Magnis insignioribus superiorum planetarum, published in 1564, the year in which the two men had probably met at Maximilian's court. In this work, Leowitz predicted that the end of the world occur with this conjunction. (See R.J.W. Evans, Rudolph II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612, Oxford, 1973, p.221; also, Calder, I, pp.788-9. Dee's copy of Leowitz' work is

at present in Cambridge University Library, classmark R* 5.21(E).) Dee mentions the occurrence of this conjunction at Christ's birth in A Triple Almanack (see Chapter I, above).

- p.81 13. B.L.Sloane MS. 3188, ff. 71r, 79v - 80r; Dee, Private Diary, p.21.
- p.82 14. Josten suggests that this 'greatest thing' might be the philosopher's stone (Introduction, pp.92-3).
- p.83 15. Monas, pp.19v and 185. See Revelation, 4.4.
- p.83 16. This rule would be established less than 500 years before the Final Judgement, so making it possibly the final empire. But as Dee sought to interest other monarchs, such as Elizabeth, in the Monas, it is not clear whether the Holy Roman Empire would have universal dominion, or whether it would be a part of a kind of European federation, all the members of which were united within a Christendom reformed by the Wisdom of the Monas. However, Elizabeth could not have such a close biographical connection with the 'Arbor Raritatis' as either Maximilian or Dee, as she was six years younger.
- p.84 17. Monas, pp.10v - 11v and 149-53.
- p.84 18. ibid., pp.8r - 10r and 139-47.
- p.84 19. W.Ullmann, Medieval Political Thought, London, Penguin Books, 1975, pp.40-4; G.A.Leff, Medieval Thought from St. Augustine to Ockham, London, 1959, p.74.
- p.86 20. Monas, pp.4r and 125. This work is first mentioned in the 'Epistola Nuncupatoria' of the Aphorisms in 1558. The full title is Speculum unitatis: sive

Apologia pro Fratere Rogero Bachone Anglo: in qua docetur, nihil illum per Daemoniorum auxilia fecisse, sed Philosophum fuisse maximum: naturaliterque, & modis homini Christiano licitis, maximas fecisse res: quas, indoctum solet vulgus in Daemoniorum referre facinora. The title suggests that Dee's defence of Bacon was in many respects similar to Dee's defence of Dee. The reference to demons suggests that Dee was refuting charges that Bacon was a conjuror, charges frequently levelled against himself. It is interesting that he was concerned about this question to the extent of writing an Apologia at such a comparatively early stage in his career.

p.87 21. Dee refers to the hieroglyphic writing as a new discipline in the Monas, pp.3v-4r and 121-3; it is said to be based upon the point and the unit, the straight line, and the curve at pp.5r. and 127, where also is the reference to the first letters of the three principal alphabets. The monad is said to comprise all the astronomical and astrological signs on pp.3v-4r and 121-3. Theorem 2 is found on pp.12r and 155, while the relationship of numbers to corporeal things is clear from the influence which Dee claims they can have on such applied sciences as Hydraulics. Dee discusses the new Cabala of the Monas on pp.4r and 123, referring the reader to Romans, 1.20-1. He deals with the study of the Law of Moses on pp.5r and 127, where he directs the reader to Matthew, 5.18. The real Cabala is discussed on pp.7r and 135.

p.88 22. Dee discusses the arts and sciences to be reformed by the monad on pp.4r - 6v and 123-33.

p.89 23. The reference to the one God of all nations occurs on pp.6v - 7r and 133-5. Josten has translated Dee's phrase, 'omnium Gentium, Nationum, & Linguarum', as 'all peoples, nations, and languages'. 'Gens', however, also has a transferred meaning of 'district' or 'country', which would better express the grand sweep of Dee's vision.

CHAPTER V:

- p.92 1. French reproduces the title-page of the Monas as Plate 6; see Calder, I, pp.501-2, for a brief discussion of its design and significance.
- p.92 2. 'Qui non intelligit aut taceat aut discat'. Josten's translation is found on p.113 of his translation of the Monas.
- p.93 3. 'Est in hac Monade quicquid quaerunt Sapientes', and 'ΣΤΙΛΒΩΝ, acumine praeditus, est instar omnium Planetarum'.
- p.93 4. 'OMNIUM PLANETARUM PARENS, ET REX FIT.ΣΤΙΛΒΩΝ, ACUMINE STABILI CONSUMMATUS'. Josten, *ibid.*, and pp.4r and 123.
- p.93 5. 'Erunt signa in Sole & Luna & Stellis!'
- p.94 6. Daniel may have had a far greater significance for Dee, however, because Mercator was especially interested in his prophecies, as his Chronologia reveals (for example, sig. a.vi.v and p.80).
- p.94 7. 'DE RORE CAELI, ET PINGUETUDINE TERRAE? DET TIBI DEUS'.
- p.95 8. This is basically Calder's suggestion, I, p.502. Dee's choice of a portico design for these title-pages may perhaps connect with the section on Architecture in the Praeface. He may be alluding to the structure of the universe as he expounds this through the principles of Vitruvian architecture.
- p.95 9. This device is Plate III in Josten's Introduction to the Monas. He discusses it, and the 1568 version, on p.147, n. 34.
- p.95 10. 'SUPERCAELESTES RORETIS AQUAE' and 'ET TERRA FRUCTUM DABIT SUUM'. Josten thinks that Dee's intention was

to equate Virgo with the 'prima materia' of Alchemy which is to be fertilized by the supernal influence of Mercury.

p.95 11. Calder, I, p.502.

p.97 12. 'κατοπτρικῆς si fueris peritus, cuiuscunque stellae radios in quamcunque propositam materiam fortius tu multo per artem imprimere potes, quam ipsa per se Natura facit. Haec quidem Antiquorum Sapientum multo maxima naturalis Magiae pars erat: Et est Arcanum hoc, non minoris multo dignitatis, quam ipsa augustissima philosophorum ASTRONOMIA, INFERIOR nuncupata: cuius insignia, in quadam inclusa monade, ac ex nostris Theoriis desumpta, tibi una cum isto libello mittimus'.

and:

'Ista Insignia fusissime habes explicata, in nostro nuper emisso libello, Cui est Titulus MONAS Hieroglyphica'.

Aphorisms, 1558, sigs. B.iiiij r-v, and 1568, sigs. D.i r-v. The text is the same in both editions.

Josten quotes Aphorism 52 on p.147, n. 34. See also Calder, II, p.243, n. 192.

This discussion confirms French's suggestion, p.94, that Dee saw the monad, on one level, as the embodiment of his theory of natural magic.

p.97 13. Both Calder, I, pp.501-26, and French, pp.93-7, have summaries of the Aphorisms and, although I have used these, I have developed my own discussion and interpretation to support the points in my argument.

p.98 14. Aphorisms, 1558, nos. 1-12, sigs. a.i r-a.ij r;

Pico, Opera Omnia, Basle, 1572, p.104; see also Yates, Bruno, p.98.

There seem, in these opening aphorisms, to be echoes of Pico's magical conclusions. In particular, the eleventh conclusion states that the marvels of magic are not performed except by the union and activation of those influences which are seminally and separately present in Nature. Also, Pico defines the object of Magic as doing a wonderful work. His phrase 'opus mirabile' is not far from Dee's 'mirabiles'. Pico's influence on Dee will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

- p.98 15. '...tum per lumen tun sine lumine: non ad visum solum, sed ad alios interdum sensus, & praecipue in Spiritu nostro imaginali, tanquam Speculo quodam coalescunt, seseque; nobis ostendunt, & in nos mirabilia agunt'.
Aphorisms, 1558, sigs. a.ii r-v; this is French's translation, p.94. On magical theory, see Walker, Magic, pp.75-84, and Yates, Bruno, pp.51-2, 132.
- p.99 16. French, p.94, n. 2, thinks that Dee was probably alluding to a concave mirror.
- p.100 17. Monas, pp.12r-v and 155-7.
- p.100 18. Aphorisms, 1558, sig. a.ii v. 'Corporum igitur praestantissimorum & perfectissimorum, haec duo maxime propria erunt' and 'Quicquid in mundo est, continue movetur aliqua motus Specie'.
- p.100 19. ibid. 'Pro ratione motuum primorum, qui sunt caelestium corporum maxime proprii, caeteri inferiorum motus omnes naturales & excitantur &

ordinantur. Moventur autem ipsa Coelestia

aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum:....'

- p.101 20. ibid., sigs. c.ii.v-c.iii.r. 'Ut LUX & MOTUS sunt coelestium corporum maxime propria, ita inter planetas, SOL, LUCE propria omnes alios superat: et LUNA proprii MOTUS pernicitate reliquos omnes vincit. Hi ergo duo, omnium planetarum, excellentissimi, merito censentur'.
- p.101 21. ibid. 'LUNA potentissima est humidarum rerum moderatrix: humiditatisque excitatrix & effectrix'.
- p.101 22. ibid. 'UT Solis excellentum LUCEM, praecipuum vitalis caloris moderamen comitatur: ita cum LUNAE MOTU, mira quadam analogia, coniuncta est eius vis humiditatis effectiva & moderatrix'.
- p.102 23. ibid., sig. a.3r; French, p.95.
- p.102 24. ibid., sigs. a.3r-v. 'Unde Medicus per corpus sanat animam atque temperat. Musicus autem per animam corpori medetur & imperat'.
- p.102 25. Fico, Opera Omnia, p.101. 'Medicina sanat animam per corpus, musica autem corpus per animam'.
- p.102 26. Aphorisms, 1558, sigs. a.3v-a.iiii.r. 'Duplices sunt stellarum omnium radii: alii sensibiles sive luminosi, alii secretioris influentiae. Hi omnia quae in hoc mundo continentur, penetrant: illi ne adeo penetrent, quodam modo impediri possunt'.
The secret rays (hi) penetrate everything; the visible ones (illi) may be obstructed. This is an important point because Clulee, in his article, 'Astrology, Magic, and Optics', pp.657-8, ignores this distinction and therefore claims that light

is the model for the propagation of all species and qualities, whereas, if the secret rays are not obstructed, reflected, or refracted, they must have a different model.

- p.103 27. ibid. 'Stellae & vires cœlestes, sunt instar sigillorum, quorum characteres pro varietate materiae elementaris varie imprimuntur'.
- p.103 28. ibid.
- p.103 29. eg. Monas, pp.4r and 123.
- p.103 30. ibid., pp.10r and 147.
- p.103 31. Aphorisms, 1558, sig. a.iii.v.
- p.104 32. ibid., sig. c.iii.r. 'Solem & Lunam omnium in elementale mundo nascentium & viventium, tum procreationis tum conservationis, praecipuas (post Deum) & vere physicas esse causas: ex his fit manifestissimum'.
- p.104 33. Monas, pp.18v and 181, n. 82, where the connection of Theorem 19 with Aphorism 106 is noted.
- p.105 34. French, p.95; Aphorisms, 1558, sig. a.iiii.v, no. 30.
- p.105 35. Aphorisms, 1568, sigs. D.i.r-v. 'Hinc obscurae, debiles, & quasi latentes rerum Virtutes, arte Catoptrica multiplicatae, sensibus fient nostris manifestissimae. Unde non in stellarum solum, sed aliarum quoque rerum propriis examinandis viribus, quas per Sensibiles exercent radios, diligens Arcanorum Investigator, maximum sibi oblatum auxilium habet'.
- p.105 36. Praeface, sig. b.i.v.
- p.105 37. Aphorisms, 1558, sig. a.iiii.r. 'Primum mobile

est instar speculi sphaerici concavi,....'

- p.106 38. As has already been mentioned in the discussion of the Epistle to Maximilian, Dee refers to the power of the monad to reform the science of Optics. In some way, a mirror can be formed from the monad which can reduce any metal or stones to powder by the power of heat, even when clouds obscure the sun. This may be seen as one practical application of Dee's theories of the transmission of solar power by light and his belief in the universal might of the monad (Monas, pp.6r and 131).
- p.106 39. Calder, I, pp.515-26; R.T.Wallis, Neoplatonism, London, 1972, pp.163-4 on Alkindi and 61-9 on emanations.
- p.107 40. Monas, pp.13v-14v and 161-5. Josten refers to 'Astronomia Inferior' as Alchemy.
- p.107 41. Aphorisms, 1558, sig. e.iiii.v.
- p.108 42. ibid., sig. f.ii.v; the translations are taken from Calder, I, p.511.

CHAPTER VI

- p.118 1.Yates, Theatre, pp.2-3.
- p.119 2.There is a small photograph of this title-page in W.F.Shenton's article, 'The First English Euclid', American Mathematical Monthly, XXV (1928), p.506.
- p.119 3.Josten also discusses this in his Introduction to the Monas, p.91.
- p.120 4.This is found, for example, on Cotton Charter XIV, art. 1.
- p.120 5.There is no foliation for the Epistle. The text of the letter is quoted in full by Shenton, ar. cit., pp.507-8.
- p.121 6.Praeface, sig. A.ij.r.
- p.122 7.The 'Groundplat' is reproduced as Plate 13 in French.
- p.123 8.There are no signatures for the first pages of the Praeface.
- p.124 9.Praeface, sig. a.iii.r.
- p.124 10.ibid., sig. a.i.v.
- p.124 11.Plato, Republic, 511D.
- p.125 12.Praeface, no sig.- sig.*.i.r.
- p.125 13.Plato, Republic, 511D.
- p.126 14.Praeface, sigs. *.i.v-*.ii.r. Dee returns to this subject at the beginning of his discussion of Geometry, where he recalls his earlier definitions of the unit and the point. The combining of units into a number is a mental process: the mind can apply Number to any thing, corporeal or formal, because in the Imagination, Number has an existence that is intermediate between the material and the spiritual. Numbers are perceived in the mind of man,

although they originated in the mind of God, and through his imagination, man can be led from the material objects, which are the images of formal numbers, to apprehend the absolute numbers themselves as they exist in the supercelestial realm of the Platonic Forms (Praeface, sigs. *.ii.r; no signature, although this should be iii.v). The human mind occupies an intermediate position between the natural and supernatural worlds and can comprehend the nature of either through the application of Number. Mathematical things

are not so absolute and excellent, as things supernatural: Nor yet so base and grosse, as things naturall: But are things immateriall: and nevertheless, by materiall things hable somewhat to be signified (Praeface, no signature although this should be iii.v).

p.127 15. Monas, pp.5v and 129. In his translation, Josten refers to 'a dianoia', defining this as a rhetorical figure by which a fact is exhibited instead of a conception. This definition is inadequate insofar as it fails to clarify precisely Dee's meaning and raises the question of how numbers can be subjected to mental processes within a rhetorical figure. Josten's interpretation is wrong because Dee is clearly using 'the dianoia' in a Platonic sense to refer to the rational faculty of man.

p.128 16. Praeface, sig. *.i,r; see also Josten' Introduction to the Monas, pp.91-2. This is also strongly Aristotelian: see Metaphysica 1016B, 1088A, 1021A.

- p.128 17. See N.H. Clulee, 'John Dee's Mathematics and the Grading of Compound Qualities', art. cit., pp.178-211.
- p.129 18. Praeface, sig. *.i.r.
- p.130 19. Monas, pp.13r and 159; Dee's word for 'point' is 'punctum'. See also A.G. Debus, 'Mathematics and Nature in the Chemical Texts of the Renaissance', AMBIX, XV (1968), pp.1-28.
- p.130 20. Monas, pp.12v and 157, n. 39; also French, p.79; Monas, pp.13r and 159, 15v-17r and 169-75.
- p.131 21. Wallis, Neoplatonism, pp.167-8.
- p.133 22. Praeface, sig. *.i.r. This is given by Dee as the translation of a Latin passage, the second sentence of which reads: 'Hoc enim fuit principale in animo Conditoris Exemplar'. See Clulee, art. cit., p.206, and French, pp.104-6, for general discussions of the early part of the Praeface.
- p.133 23. Praeface, sigs. *.i.r- v.
- p.134 24. ibid., sig. A.iiii.v.
- p.134 25. Dee is referring to Boethius, De institutione arithmetica; see the edition edited by G. Friedlein, Leipzig, 1867, p.12. See Clulee, art. cit., p.198; and French, p.58, who notes that Dee's copy of Boethius' De institutione musica is B.L. Royal MS. 15.B. IX. Lambeth Palace MS. 67 is 'Liber S. Edmundi in quo continentur Arithmetica boecij cum multis tabulis astronomi. Musica eiusdem boecij' (f.ii.a). M.R. James, in A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace, Cambridge University Press, 1930, pp.106-8, thinks that a

name erased at the top of f.iii.b, 'Joannis... 1561', is that of John Dee. Debus, art. cit., pp.3-7, and Clulee, art. cit., pp.198-205, discuss the tradition of thought within which Boethius is to be placed.

p.135 26.Bk. XII, Ch. 19.

p.135 27.For Proclus' Commentary, see the translation by G.R.Morrow, Princeton, 1970; Republic, 509D-511E, 533B-534D.

p.135 28.A.C.Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', Isis, vol. 52 (1961), p.145; Debus, art. cit., p.6; Clulee, art. cit., p.199.

p.136 29.Debus, art. cit., p.3; French, p.104, n. 1.

p.136 30.Clulee, art. cit., pp.202-4; Clulee follows E. Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy, trans. M.Domondi, New York, 1963, on Cusanus, and Cassirer's 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola'.

p.136 31.Debus, art. cit., p.6; Clulee, art. cit., pp.200, 204; C.G.Nauert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought, Urbana, Illinois, 1965, pp.22, 88; Walker, Magic, pp.86-7.

p.136 32.Clulee, art. cit., p.200; French, pp.139-40; Yates, Theatre, p.36. Dee's Library Catalogue reveals that he possessed the works of the writers in question: B.L.Harleian MS. 1879, arts. 1,5,6: Proclus is found on ff. 31 ff; Cusanus on f.22; Giorgi on f.25; Bacon on Grosseteste are listed by M.R.James in 'Manuscripts formerly owned by Dr.John Dee with Preface and Identifications' in a Supplement to the

Bibliographical Society's Transactions, London, 1921, pp.10 ff. French and Clulee also have these bibliographical references.

- p.137 33. Clulee, art. cit., pp.204-6. Dee cites Cusanus towards the end of the Praeface, but he nowhere makes his position in relation to him explicit (sig. A.iii.r-v).
- p.137 34. Calder, I, p.783; Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, Chs.4-6.
- p.138 35. Pico, Opera Omnia, p.101: 'Per arithmetica non materialem, sed formalem, habetur optima via ad propheciam naturalem'. Praeface, sig. *.i.v; Yates, Bruno, p.148.
- p.139 36. Pico, Heptaplus, Second Exposition, Ch. VI; questions 12, 13, 14, 15 in the Mathematical Conclusions.
- p.140 37. Pico, Heptaplus, Second Exposition, passim.
- p.140 38. See Yates, Bruno. p.89.
- p.144 39. Ficino's assessment of the Epinomis is found in his Epitome of the work in his Opera Omnia, Basle, 1576, vol. II, pp.1525-30.
- p.144 40. Pico, Oratio, trans. C.G.Wallis, pp.19-33, are reproduced in the Apologia, Opera Omnia, pp.115-24; see P.O.Kristeller, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and his Sources', in L'Opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Florence, 1965.
- p.145 41. Praeface, sig. a.i.v.
- p.146 42. Monas, pp.5r and 127.
- p.147 43. On Platonic political philosophy, see F.J.Coplestone, A History of Philosophy, Vol. I, Greece and Rome, Image Books, New York, 1962, Ch. 23, for a general

- p. 148 44. Praeface, sigs. a.ii.v- a.iii.r; Republic,
526C - 527A.
- p. 149 45. Epinomis, 973-983.
- p. 149 46. ibid., 981B and 984C; Timaeus, 58D.
- p. 149 47. Laws, 818-20; Epinomis, 990-2.
- p. 150 48. Praeface, sig. a.ii.v.

Dee has written another form of this name in his copy of a 1557 edition of Euclid's Elements, which contains both a Greek and a Latin text (Euclidis Elementorum libri XV. Graece & Latine Quibus, cum ad omnem Mathematicae scientiae partem, tum ad quamlibet Geometriae tractationem, facilis comparatur aditus. B.L. shelfmark C.122. bb.35.).

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Dee relates his discussion of Geometry in the Praeface to the Neoplatonic Hypstases through the theory of emanations. He thinks the name Geometry inadequate to describe the dignified science of

introduction to the theory of the state.

- p.148 44. Praeface, sigs. a.ii.v - a.iii.r; Republic,
526C - 527A.
- p.149 45. Epinomis, 973-983.
- p.149 46. ibid., 981B and 984C; Timaeus, 58D.
- p.149 47. Laws, 818-20; Epinomis, 990-2.
- p.150 48. Praeface, sig. a.ii.v.

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Dee relates his discussion of Geometry in the Praeface to the Neoplatonic Hypostases through the theory of emanations. He thinks the name Geometry inadequate to describe the dignified science of

Magnitudes, arguing etymologically that the name literally means land measuring and derives from the very earliest use of the science to settle disputes over territorial boundaries. Although the philosophers of the time knew further of the science and were aware of the etymology of Geometry, they applied the latter name to the whole science. Not the least of these philosophers were Pythagoras and Plato who used the name Geometry when setting out their own doctrines. Euclid's Elements, however show vast range of studies it embraces, and Dee proposes an alternative name, 'absolute Megethologia', which,

liftyng the hart aboue the heauens, by inuisible lines, and immortall beames meteth with the reflexions, of the light incomprehensible: and so procureth Ioye, and perfection, vnspeakable.

The new name, Megethology, is apparently a word of Dee's own invention from the Greek.

- p.152 49.Praeface, sig. a.i.v.
- p.153 50.Cicero, De Re Publica, III, 37; Plato, Republic, 338C; see also Ch. IX below.
- p.153 51.Nicomachean Ethics, Bk. V.
- p.154 52.Dee's ideas on the sequence of events on the Final Day are set out in his 1580 correspondence with Roger Edwards (B.L.Cotton MS. Vitellius C.VII. ff. 312 ff); Calder, I, p.792; II p.486, n. 126.
- p.154 53.When he speaks of Proportion, Dee is presumably referring to the rule of three.

- p.154 54. Praeface, sig. a.i.r.
- p.155 55. As Calder notes, I, pp.539-40; II, pp.266-7,
n.22 and n.23, Dee's position in the Praeface is
very close to Recorde's in The Grounde of Artes.
- p.156 56. Praeface, sig. ð.ii.r.
- p.156 57. Timaeus, 38B - 40D; Epinomis, 981A-E.
- p.156 58. Praeface, sig. b.ii.r.
- p.157 59. Pico, Cratio, ed. cit., p.26.
- p.157 60. Laws, s17E-s18A.

CHAPTER VII

p. 164

1. Praeface, sigs. A.i.v-A.iii.r.

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2. In the Epistola Fratris Rogerii Baconis, De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate Magiae, which was published at Hamburg in 1618 with an address to the Rosicrucian Fraternity, there is an appendix of notes made by Dee in the copy of the work which he had once owned and from which the text of Bacon's Epistola was taken. (An English translation of this work, A Letter sent by Frier Bacon to William of Paris, Concerning both The Secret operation of Nature & Art, As also The Nullity of Magike, but lacking the address to the Rosicrucian Brethren and the notes by Dee, was published in 1659 at London under the general title of Frier Bacon his Discovery of the Miracles of Art, Nature, and Magick. I am indebted to Miss Yates for this reference to the Epistola). Bacon's Epistola includes refutations of conjuring, sections on mechanical works, and alchemical formulae, all of which were at the heart of Dee's interests. It is very likely that Dee's notes in his copy of the Epistola were related to the Speculum unitatis: although they may have been made after 1557, they nevertheless deal with the same kind of subjects as apparently did the Speculum unitatis. In the Epistola, Bacon distinguishes between the vulgar and ignorant mathematical practitioners in a manner which closely resembles Dee (p.28), and Dee endorses

Bacon's opinion by observing that it is the ignorance of men, and not the science of Mathematics itself, which is to be condemned (p.72).

- p.165 3. John Foxe, Actes and Monuments, London, 1563.
The reference to Dee occurs on p.1445 of this edition and on p.1999 of the 1570 edition. French, pp.8-9, mentions this allusion to Dee and comments that Foxe 'probably did more than anyone else' to brand Dee as a conjuror'. It should be pointed out that, in keeping with his customary method, Foxe merely prints the text of a document to which he has had access and does not appear to have had the intention of deliberately attacking Dee.
- p.165 4. The Brytish Monarchie, sigs. Δ iii.v- ϵ .ii.v.
- p.165 5. 5, Eliz.I, c.16: An Act agaynst conjuracons, Inchantmentes and Withecrafteres.
- p.166 6. B.L.Sloane MS. 3188, f.5r:
Ab anno 1579. hoc fere modo: Latine, vel Anglice; (ast circa annum 1569 alio et peculiari modo: interdum pro Raphaele, interdum pro Michaele) ad Deum preces fundere: mihi gratissimum fuit... Mirabilem in me faciat Deus Misericordiam suam.
The first conference of which record has survived is dated 22 December 1581 (B.L.Sloane MS.3188, f.8r); see French, p.110, who dates the beginning of the angel-magic as early in the 1580s.
- p.167 7. Praeface, sigs. A.i.r-v. There is some discussion of these sections of the Praeface in Yates, Theatre, pp.29-32, and French, pp.109, 163.

- p.167 8. Compendious Rehearsall, pp.5-6; Yates, Theatre, pp.30-1.
- p.167 9. Praeface, sigs. A.i.v-A.ii.r; this passage is also quoted in Yates, Theatre, p.39.
- p.168 10. Praeface, sig. A.ii.r.
- p.169 11. I derive this general information on Apuleius from Yates, Bruno, pp.9-11.
- p.169 12. On Augustine's refutation of Apuleius' cosmology, see De Civitate Dei, Bk.IV, Ch.II; Bk.VII, Ch.XIII; Bk.VIII, Chs.XIV-XXII; Bk.XI, passim. On the supernatural being, see Bk.VIII, Ch.XIX, and Plato, Apologia, 31D. Socrates' demon was not a source of knowledge, but only gave practical advice, always of a negative kind.
- p.169 13. Apuleius, De Deo Socratis, 2.
- p.169 14. However, the hierarchy of the elements outlined in the Timaeus differs from that in the Epinomis. In the Timaeus, it is said that the creator of the universe made four species, one to inhabit each of the elements. The first such species was that of the gods and consisted mainly of fire that they might be the brightest of all things and the fairest to behold. They were fashioned in the figure of a circle, both fixed and moving stars. These are Apuleius' visible gods. Birds were made to inhabit the air, fish the sea, and pedestrian and land creatures the earth. Plato also mentions the gods of traditional mythology, but, as in the Epinomis, his treatment of them is brief and lacking the detail of his exposition of the creation of the astral gods.

From the discourse on the creation of man, it is clear that his was to be a special position in the universe and one which was not bound to the terrestrial region. (See Timaeus, 40A-D; Epinomis, 984C-D; also, Cratylus, 398B-C.)

In the Epinomis, the Athenian lists five elements: fire, water, air, earth, and aether. He is adamant that man is predominantly earthy, although he contains some portion of each of the other four elements. At the other end of the scale are the stars. These consist primarily of fire, and possess the fairest, the happiest, and best of souls, which agrees with their description in the Timaeus. The whole of this section of the Epinomis is intended to complement not only the educational programme for the members of the Nocturnal Council outlined at the end of The Laws, but also the discourse on religion in the tenth book of that work, a particularly important feature of which is the proof of the priority of soul over body. The dichotomy between soul and body is related by the Athenian in the Epinomis to the ascending scale of perfection in the universe from earth to fire. He argues that there are two kinds of creature, both of which are visible: the first, and highest, of these, the stars, are immortal, while the second, and basest, are mortal. He also mentions the dance of the stars, a reference to that passage in the Timaeus where the movements of the heavenly bodies are likened to a dance. Below fire, the Athenian places aether from which soul

fashions creatures with a preponderance of that element; next come air and water. Thus there is a series of creations beginning with the visible deities, the stars, and descending through its second, third, fourth, and fifth orders to man. The gods of traditional mythology can be assigned to whatever level a commentator wishes provided that the laws already established by the Athenian remain unbroken. It is, however, the stars and the other heavenly bodies, as the visible gods, that must be named first. Below these come the divine spirits, the demons, two orders of which inhabit the aether and the air. Both kinds are transparent and, therefore, invisible. Augustine's account of Apuleius' theory of the demons lists qualities for these divine spirits consistent with those set out by the Athenian in the Epinomis. It is likely, therefore, that Dee saw Apuleius' apologies as part of the 'Epinomis' tradition of Plato's cosmology to which he adhered. His citation of Apuleius thus connects with the Platonic mathematical philosophy outlined at the beginning of the Praeface. (See Epinomis 981C-985B; Laws, 891C ff.; Epinomis, 983A ff.)

The position of aether in the elemental hierarchy differs between the Epinomis, where it is a separate element, and the Timaeus, where it is a part of air. In the Timaeus, Plato explains that the varieties and compounds of the four primary elements are caused by the unequal sizes of the triangles from which they are made. Of the different types of air

the brightest is aether and the murkiest mist and darkness. In the Epinomis, the Athenian has raised the status of aether to that of an element in its own right. (See Timaeus, 58D.)

- p.171 15. See Calder, I, pp.765-6, and II, p.448, n.59.
- p.171 16. Praeface, sig.C.iii.r.
Agrippa, in De occulta philosophia, Bk.III, Ch.16, distinguishes demons from angels. See also Yates, Bruno, p.140. Ficino also writes of spirits, or 'numina': see Walker, Magic, pp.49-50.
- p.171 17. Apuleius, Apologia, trans. H.E.Butler, Ch.43, p.78; quoted also by Calder, I, p.750 and II, p.445, n.78.
- p.173 18. Trithemius' Apologia was written to refute allegations made by Charles de Bouelles: see C.G.Nauert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought, Urbana, Illinois, 1965, p.22. Dee first read the Steganographia in 1563, as he enthusiastically informed William Cecil at the time: see Ch.X below.
- p.173 19. Dee referred to Moses in a letter of 7 August, 1574 to William Camden. This was another in the series of his apologetic writings and was intended to have a wide circulation, as it existed in several copies. One of Dee's main concerns was to refute charges that he had plagiarised the Aphorisms from the writings of another philosopher, Urso. Dee refers to this letter in his 'Aduertisement' prefacing The Brytish Monarchie where he also mentions a meeting held at Mortlake in August, 1574 to clear his name.
(Calder, II, p.336, n.29, provides the biblio-

graphical details concerning this letter and suggests that Dee wished it to have a wide private circulation as a personal 'apologia'. I have used the British Library copy of the letter, Lansdowne MS. 19, art. 34, as has Calder. The letter has received very little attention, although Calder discusses some of the mathematical points raised in it and French is interested in its antiquarian content, using it also to date the friendships of Dee, Camden, and John Stowe (pp.204-6).

The reference to the meeting at Mortlake is found in The Brytish Monarchie, sig.e.ii.r.)

The letter is an open one to Camden 'on the mystical number 120 and the mystical character \triangle ' ('Ad Guil. Camdenum epistola prolixa... de se, de numero mystico 120 et de caractere mystico \triangle'). There is a good deal of abstruse discussion of ternaries, quaternaries, and the number 120, which contains the physical interval of the celestial gradations by which the irradiation of the celestial creatures is sent down into the terrestrial world (B.L.Lansdowne MS. 19, art. 34, f.72r: 'Physicum primo continet caelestium graduum intervallum, quo favorabilis caelestium creaturarum in nos demittitur irradiatio') -these creatures presumably correspond to the living planetary gods of the Timaeus and also of the Epinomis.

The number 120 is related to the ternary, the quaternary, and the symbolism of the \triangle . The equi-

lateral triangle represents hieroglyphically the omnipotent divine Majesty and also the hypostasy of the one essence of God. The Pythagoreans called the same figure Minerva. Dee then enters into a discussion of the letter D in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets, to which he relates his own genealogy (ibid., ff.72r-v).

Next, he comes to Moses, whose life was terminated after 120 years, which is the reason the Aphorisms, his Propaideumata of Moses' Egyptian philosophy, were closed up and completed after 120. Significantly, Moses is referred to as 'our master' (ibid., f.72v: 'Secundo autem loco, ut vita Moseos (omnigena sapientia admirandi) hoc Annorum numero mirabiliter terminabatur, sic nostra haec Egyptiaca Moseos Philosophiae Propaedeumata, illo 120 claudi finisque numero voluimus: Magistri nostri Moseos, perpetuam posteris nostris commendantes memoriam'). The Aphorisms are based on the Mosaic Wisdom of the Pentateuch. This is a point of the utmost importance for establishing the coherence of Dee's canon because, using the tradition of ancient Wisdom, he relates the thought of Pythagoras and Plato to the Pentateuch and also to that other pre-Mosaic learning of the Egyptians which he defends in the 'Digression'. For Dee, Moses is the commanding figure who, having become an adept in the Egyptian religion, developed and perfected that lore in the light of God's revelation. As he points out, Moses stood between Adam, who most lazily corrupted human nature and

Christ, who recleansed it (ibid: 'Moses etiam inter Adamum (Naturam omnem humanam igravissime contaminantem) et Christum, (eandem potissimum repurgantem)[]intercessit').

p.174 20. Praeface, sig. A.iii.r; Stephen's words are taken from Acts, 7.22.

Dee here seems to claim Moses as his philosophical master, and this is not inconsistent with his earlier claim for Plato, on the grounds that both were schooled in the Egyptian Wisdom of Hermes Trismegistus, or Theuth, who, according to Socrates in the Phaedrus, and the Philebus, invented Number and Calculation, Geometry, and Astronomy (see Phaedrus, 274c-275B; Philebus, 18B; Cicero, De Natura Deorum, III, 22; also, Yates, Bruno, Ch. I). This is the Wisdom proposed in the Epinomis for the education of the Nocturnal Council, where the Athenian admits that his Astronomy derives from that of the Egyptians (Epinomis, 987A; 987E-988A; 990 A ff:).

p.175 21. Praeface, sig. A.iii.r.

The Latin phrase is in Pliny:

There is yet another Brand of magic, derived from Moses, Joannes, Iotapes, and the Jews, but living many thousand years after Zoroaster (Loeb translation, by W.H.S. Jones, p.285).

p.175 22. Pico asserts, that true licit magic has two principal founders, Xalmoxis and Zoroaster, son of Oromasus, Zoroaster being claimed by Socrates in Alicbiades I as the founder of the magic lore of the Persians.

Persian princes from the age of fourteen were instructed by four royal tutors, each of whom taught one of four virtues: Wisdom, Justice, Temperance, or Courage. The first of these is Zoroastrian Wisdom which, Pico observes, is nothing but the knowledge of divine things taught in order that the sons of the kings of Persia might be better able to rule their own dominions by knowledge of the pattern of the republic of the world (see Alcibiades I, 121E-122A; Pico, Oratio, trans. C.G.Wallis, p.27). Here again is the cosmopolitical notion of government by reference to the precepts of Wisdom. Pico cites the Charmides that the magic of Xalmoxis is nothing but the medicine of the soul (see Charmides, 156D ff; 158B; 175E; Pico, op.cit.). He then notes, perhaps following Tertullian, that Carondas, Damigeron, Apollonius, Ostanes, and Dardanes, continued along the lines laid down by Zoroaster and Xalmoxis. The first Ostanes, according to Pliny, was particularly important in the introduction of magic into Greece. Again following Pliny, Pico refers to Homer, Eudoxus, and Hermippus, but adds Alkindi, Roger Bacon, and William of Auvergne to the list (see Pico, Oratio, trans. C.G.Wallis, pp.27-8, where it is also suggested that Pico was following Tertullian's De Anima, 57).

p.176 23. Hexaameron, Homily I, 1. I have used the translation by B.Jackson published at Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1955, as vol. VIII of A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church

(2nd series), edited by P.Schaff and H.Wace.

p.176 24. Dee quotes Exodus, 4.21.

p.177 25. See Basil's discourse in De Spiritu Sancto, ed. cit., p.24, on the Holy Spirit's communication to Daniel of the meaning of one of the prophet's visions; see Daniel, 10.

p.177 26. And Pliny, while he regards Moses' magic as a new departure, leaves unclear the connection of pre-Mosaic Egyptian magic with Persian knowledge and practice. However, Jannes and Iotapes are named by St. Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy, 3.8, as opponents of Moses and are, therefore, to be identified with the magicians summoned by Pharaoh after Aaron had turned his staff into a serpent to demonstrate his God-given powers. The Egyptian magicians used their secret arts to produce the same marvel, but their serpents were all swallowed by Aaron's (Exodus, 7.8-12). Thus, while Pharaoh's magicians were able to produce similar wonders to those of Moses and Aaron, the latter's divinely-sanctioned magic was far more powerful. And if a part of the Egyptian Wisdom was the demon-conjuring magic of the Asclepius, then Jannes and Iotapes would seem to have been spiritually assisted, while Moses and Aaron were not, or they were aided by stronger spirits. But if Moses and Aaron employed magic developed out of the Egyptian arts, then their practice was not entirely new.

p.179 27. Timaeus, 24B-C. Plutarch says that Solon spoke with Psenophis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Sais the most

learned of all the Egyptian priests (The Rise and Fall of Athens, Penguin, 1975, p.69).

p.179 28.Epinomis, 987 A-E.

p.179 29.In a footnote, the Loeb edition of the Epinomis cites the Timaeus, 24C, on this point.

p.180 30.Epinomis, 985B-986A; The Laws, 713A-714B.

CHAPTER VIII:

- p.187 1.The prophecies of Luke, 21, are developed from those of the Book of Daniel where, in 9.2, there is an account of how in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede, Daniel saw in the holy books that, according to God's words in Jeremiah, 25.11, seventy years would pass before the end of the desolations of Jerusalem. Daniel, according to St. Basil, was possessed of the Holy Spirit. Such a chain of references would have been well known to Dee and it adds depth to his citation in the Praeface of Jeremiah on the value of Astronomy in the consideration of the sacred prophecies.
- p.188 2.One of Dee's principal authorities in the 'Digression', St.Basil, writes in his exposition of Daniel in De Spiritu Sancto that even the angel Gabriel prophesies by no other way than by the foreknowledge of the Spirit because one of the powers bestowed by the Spirit is prophecy. Basil discusses Daniel's visions of the fate of the Jews in the latter days, asking:
And whence did he who was ordained to announce the mysteries of the vision of the Man of Desires derive the wisdom whereby he was ordained to teach hidden things, if not from the Holy Spirit? The revelation of mysteries is indeed the peculiar function of the Spirit (St.Basil, ed. cit., p.24).
- In heeding the prophetic utterances of his angelic communicants, Dee was at one with Daniel, and the announcement in the seance of 31 March, 1583 that

the end of all things was at hand would, therefore, have appeared to him to have been made on the authority of the Holy Spirit.

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3. This notion connects with a passage in Dee's 1574 letter to William Camden where Dee discusses his lineage in terms of the symbolism of the ternary and quaternary surrounding the Δ . As he notes the D or Δ was the fourth letter in the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman alphabets, and he was the fourth bearer of the name in his family (B.L.Lansdowne MS.19, f.72v). Dee's genealogy can be checked against scrolls he drew up: B.L.Cotton Charters XIII, art.38, and XIV, art.1, which has a self-portrait and a painting of the hieroglyphic monad.

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4. Monas, pp.19r and 183.

p.192

5. ibid., pp.13v and 161.

p.192

6. ibid., pp.20r and 187.

p.192

7. ibid., pp.23v and 201.

p.193

8. The Neoplatonic philosophy of the three Hypostases was for Dee a confirmation and elaboration of Platonic doctrine. In Plotinus, Soul, the third Hypostasis, mediates between eternity and time and is responsible for producing and ordering the sensible cosmos, which is an image of the Platonic Forms made by Soul on the formless layer of Prime Matter. The second Hypostasis, Intelligence, is a divine, self-contemplating mind containing the Forms. Above these is the first Hypostasis, known as the One or the Good. A feature of Soul's contemplation is that it is restricted to images or verbal

formulae reflecting the Forms (Wallis, Neoplatonism, pp.16, 47-61).

The theory of emanation was developed by Plotinus to explain the multiplicity of things in a finite, corporeal world. He held that the nature of God, or the One, the first Hypostasis, of necessity overflowed from itself and generated an external, non-material image of its internal perfection and unity. Plotinus likened the One, to the sun, light constituting the visible manifestation in the physical world of the life of the incorporeal. He also used a catoptric figure of the mirror to describe the duplication of objects by reflection. Nous, or Intelligence, is the first emanation from the One, and is the Plotinian equivalent of the Demiurge of the Timaeus. Soul proceeds from Nous to form an intermediate stage between the sphere of Ideas, or Forms, and the material world, and corresponds to the World-Soul of the Timaeus. So, ultimately, the corporeal world is an emanation of the One, but just as light diminishes the further it travels from its source, so the emanation from the One grows increasingly corrupt as it materialises and loses its original goodness. The corporeal is the lowest sphere of the cosmos, and at its basest it is the antithesis of the Good (Wallis, Neoplatonism, pp.61-2; Coplestone, A History of Philosophy, Vol.I, Ch.45).

Dee's idea of the Logos owes much to the Neoplatonists. In Plotinus, Logos has a variety of meanings-'word', 'speech', 'reason', or sometimes the One-but these are generally fused together to

form a complex concept of the organisational and ordering principles of the cosmos in which Logos represents the relationship of an emanation to its Hypostasis and is the principle governing the development of lower levels of reality from the higher Hypostases (Wallis, Neoplatonism, pp.68-9). This would appear to be what Dee understood by 'the Logos of the creative universe', and by John's identification of the Word with God by Whom all things were made, Dee understood that Creation proceeded from the Word in the manner of a theological and mystical language. This language, composed in the hieroglyphic writing of the new Cabala, could be understood through the study of mathematical religious philosophy. And one of the areas which it could illuminate was the development of universal history towards its culmination in the Last Judgement.

p.194

9. Monas, p.23r. Josten has not translated the table. This is the table as presented in the Monas: in my translation, I have extended the table as it seems to me that it was intended to be read in this way.

∞	Existens ante Elementa	Adam Mortalis Masculus & Foemina	Mortificans Adumbatus	Natus in Stabulo	Conceptus Singula influentia	Potentiae Semen	Creatic Hyies	Matrimonium Terrestre	Principium	∞
+	Elementaris oeconomia	Elementalis genealogiae Consummatio	Crux	Holocaustum in Cruce	Passus & Sepultus	1377 Virtus Denaria	* Depurgatio Elementalit	Crucis Martyrium	Medium	+
∞	Existens post Elementa	ADAM IMMORTALIS	Vivificans	Rex Regum ubique	Resurgens propria virtute	Gloriae Triumphus	Transformatio	Matrimonium Divinum	Finis	∞

* This phrase may be a typographical error for 'Depurgatio Elementalit'.

CHAPTER IX

- p.203 1. The Brytish Monarchie, p.62; see Chapter XII below.
- p.203 2. See, for example, Sir Thomas Smith's De Republica Anglorum, London, 1583, pp.34-47, for a general description of the relationship between monarch and Parliament.
- p.208 3. The Brytish Monarchie, pp.54-5. In his discussion of Dee's imperialism, French, pp.185-6, quotes from these paragraphs, but does not follow up the citation of Cicero or the reference to Cosmopolitics. By 'Sacred Diuine Oracles', Dee undoubtedly means 'canonical scriptures'.
- p.208 4. Lord Burghley apparently carried a copy with him every day of his life (see Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, London, 1965, p.30).
- p.209 5. Praeface, sigs.a.i.r-v; Cicero, De Officiis, I, 20-1; Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, BookV.
- p.210 6. Republic, 427E; The Laws, 631C-D. Dee's Fortitude corresponds to Plato's Courage.
- p.210 7. Epinomis, 977-9, 989,992.
- p.210 8. De Officiis, I, 14-5; see also Plato's Phaedrus, 250D. In De Officiis, I, 22, Cicero cites Plato's Epistle IX, 358A, where it is argued that man is not born for himself alone, but that his country and his friends claim a share of his being. In his work on Rhetoric, De Inventione, Cicero defines the four parts of Virtue as Prudence (Wisdom), Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance (II,iii,160); see Yates, Memory, pp.35-6.
- p.210 9. De Officiis, I,2;6-10. Yates, Memory, p.35, refers to Cicero as a Platonist in philosophy, and Wallis,

Neoplatonism, p.28, speaks of Cicero's 'Platonizing' Stoicism'.

- p.211 10.De Officiis, I,19.
- p.211 11.Wallis, Neoplatonism, p.25
- p.211 12.The Republic, VI, 484A-487A, especially 485A-C.
- p.212 13. ibid., VII, 519B-520A.
- p.212 14.De Officiis, I, 18-9.
- p.215 15. ibid., I, 20-2.
- p.215 16. There are grounds for asserting agreement between Plato and Cicero on the subject of Justice. For example, the Ciceronian insistence on the protection of private property is to be found in Socrates' opinion that rulers should administer lawsuits in order to ensure that no-one possesses another's property (Republic, 433-4). This anticipates the definition of 'strict Justice' in The Laws as the correct apportioning to each person of that which is his according to his character and status (Laws, 757A-E).
- p.215 17.De Officiis, I, 153-6.
- p.216 18. ibid.; Plato, Epistle VII, 326A-B.
- p.217 19.Republic, 439-41.
- p.217 20.De Officiis, I, 62-3, 85-7. Cicero refers to The Republic, I, 342E; IV, 420B; VI, 488B, 489C; VIII, 567C; Laws, IX, 856B. (These references are derived from the running notes in the Loeb edition of De Officiis.)
- p.217 21.Republic, VI, 485E.
- p.217 22.De Officiis, I, 96, 106-7.
- p.218 23. Both Cicero and Dee were influenced by the Stoic

idea of the world-state. Diogenes of Sinope, whose ideas influenced the founder of Stoicism, Zeno of Citium, replied when asked from whence he came, 'I am a citizen of the world', using the word 'Cosmopolites' (Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers, VI, 63; I have used the Loeb edition of this work, London, 1938, 2 vols. The translator, R.D.Hicks, suggests that this passage might show that the famous term 'cosmopolitan' originated with Diogenes of Sinope, II, p.64, n.a. Dee may have taken the word 'Cosmopolites' from Diogenes Laertius. He possessed two copies of the work: 'Diogenes Laertius graece 4^o frob. 1533' (B.L.Harleian MS. 1879, f.32v), which contains the whole of the Greek text and was published by Frobenius at Basel; 'Diogenes Laertius latine 8^o pl. 1566' (B.L.Harleian MS. 1879, f.47r), which was published by Plantin at Antwerp. See French, p.46, and R.D.Hicks'. Introduction to his translation of Diogenes Laertius, pp.X, XXXii-XXXViii, for bibliographical details of these editions. On Stoicism generally, see F.H.Sandbach, The Stoics, London, 1975).

Diogenes was contemporary with Aristotle, and both stood at the end of the great period of Greek city life. Aristotle, while in touch with Philip and Alexander of Macedon, saw the highest form of political life in the city-state rather than in the empire, as of course did Plato. (The dates given in the Loeb edition of Diogenes Laertius are Aristotle,

384-328B.C. (I, p.445), and Diogenes, 404-323B.C. (II, p.23). See Sir David Ross, Aristotle, University Paperbacks, London, 1964, p.237; Cicero, On the Commonwealth, trans. with notes and an Introduction by G.H.Sabine and S.B.Smith, Columbus, Ohio, 1929, Introduction, p.17. On Stoicism and politics, see Sandbach, The Stoics, pp.140-8.

The Cynic notion of the city of the world, a community of wise men united by a universal Wisdom, relates to the Stoic belief in a cosmic Reason or Providence by which all things were interrelated. But Stoicism did not formulate a political philosophy, although its moral and religious teachings challenged the theory of the city-state. Cosmopolitanism, first among the Cynics and then among the Stoics, was seen to be connected with the rise of Macedonian imperialism, thus representing a contrary tendency to Platonic political thought (Cicero, On the Commonwealth, Introduction, pp.16-23).

The work of Panaetius of Rhodes is an attempt to reconcile the cosmopolitan to the civic. Early Stoicism had distinguished the community of wise men from societies composed of the ordinary people, and against this Panaetius had stressed the common humanity of all men with their shared subservience to the universal law and the eternal principles of right and Justice (Cicero, On the Commonwealth, Introduction, pp.28-34; on Panaetius, see Sandbach, The Stoics, pp.123-9). In the second book of De Officiis, Cicero claims to be a follower of Panaetius

(De Officiis, II, 60).

Certainly, Cicero's whole theory of duty is informed by belief in the world-state. Nature, he argues, has established principles of fellowship and society amongst humanity on the basis of reason and language, this unity being strengthened by the possession of private property. While Nature has produced all things to be held in common by men, under statute and civil law the right of individuals is acknowledged to own property in their own names, although all things not so apportioned are to be regarded as common property (De Officiis, I, 50-1). Cicero derives these theories from propositions taken from Panaetius concerning Nature, Reason, Justice, Law, and moral goodness, which he propounds at the beginning of De Officiis (I, 9-14).

p.220 24. The Brytish Monarchie, p.59.

p.221 25. Praeface, sigs*.ii.v-*. iii.r.

It is instructive to see this passage in the light of Recorde's Grounde of Artes where the Rule of Proportions, or the Golden Rule, is discussed, with many examples drawn from the world of commerce. Recorde also explains the Rule of Fellowship, or Company, which rule is applied sometimes without difference of time, and sometimes with difference of time. Besides this he examines currency exchange rates. An important source for Wealth in the 1570 Synopsis, therefore, is likely to be Recorde's Grounde of Artes (see sigs. M.iii.v-N.ii.v in the 1561 edition and sigs. Dd.ii.v-Ee.iiii.v in the 1582

edition).

For supplementary information on Dee and *Recorde*, see also French, pp.163-70.

p.222 26.Republic, II, 371A-D; VII, 525D.

p.222 27.Laws, III, 697B; IV, 705A; V, 743E; IX, 870A.

Dee diverges also from Pico who, in his Oratio, is strongly critical of mercantile Arithmetic and repeats Plato's warning that it should not be confused with divine Arithmetic. He makes no attempt to excuse or justify mercantile Arithmetic (Oratio, trans. C.G.Wallis, p.26; Wallis cites Republic, 525D-E, in a footnote).

p.222 28.De Officiis, I, 25; II, 56; I, 68; III, 20, 23-4.

p.224 29.Praeface, sigs.*.iiii.v-a.i.r. See also sigs. a.iiii.v-b.i.r, where Dee praises John, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1554 at the age of twenty-four, as one devoted to the study of military science, particularly in its mathematical orientation. Dee gives the reader to understand that he had an especially close relationship with the young earl and it is interesting that he presents him as an exemplar of the virtuous life. In terms of the Synopsis, Warwick was one who fulfilled Dee's standards of Virtue and learning:

Albeit his lusty valiantnes, force, and Skill in chivalrous feates and exercises: his humblenes, and frendelynes to all men, were thinges, openly, of the world perceiued. But what rotes (otherwise,) vertue had fastened in his brest, what Rules of godly and honorable life he had framed to himselfe: what vices, (in some then liuing) notable,

he tooke great care to eschew: what manly
vertues, in other noble men, (florishing before
his eyes,) he Sythingly aspired after: what
prowesses he purposed and ment to achieue: with
what feats and Artes, he began to furnish and
fraught him selfe, for the better seruice of his
Kyng and Countrey, both in peace & warre. These...
no twayne, (I thinke) beside my selfe, can so
perfectly, and truely report.

Warwick was thus the epitome of Fortitude. French,
p.32, mentions this passage as evidence of Dee's
connections with the Dudley family.

On the general subject of military science at this
time, see H.K.Webb, Elizabethan Military Science,
London, 1965.

CHAPTER X:

- p.233 1. Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, London, 1965, pp.27-9, 41-3, 70; John Dee, Compendious Rehearsall, ed. J. Crossley, Chetham Society, vol. XXIV, 1851, p.9; French, p.32; C. Fell-Smith, John Dee: 1527-1608, London, 1909, pp.13-14. This stage of Dee's career is also treated by Calder in Ch. IV of his thesis, 'From Reformer to Catholic: Dee's Religious Position and Contemporary Metaphysics (1548-1556)', pp.289-410.
- p.234 2. These details are derived from a variety of sources: French, pp.32-3; C. Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, p.22; E. Rosenberg, Leicester, Patron of Letters, New York, 1955, p.21; W.R.B. Prideaux, 'Books from John Dee's Library', Notes and Queries, 9th Series, VIII, 1901, p.137; C.H. and T. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge, 1861, II, pp.505-6; N. Williams, All the Queen's Men, London, 1974, pp.51-2; Praeface, sig.a.i.r.
- p.234 3. Compendious Rehearsall, pp.11-12, 21-2; French, pp.6-7; Yates, Theatre, pp.110-1.
- p.235 4. French, p.33, citing Ascham, The Whole Works, ed. J.A. Giles, London, 1864, II, p.103.
- p.235 5. French, pp.36-7. The original of this letter is P.R.O. S.P. 12/27, no.63. It is edited by R.W. Grey in The Philobiblion Society Miscellanies, I, 1854, pp.5-13. See also J.E. Bailey, 'Dee and Trithemius' "Steganography"', Notes and Queries, 5th Series, XI, 1879, pp.401-2, 422-3. The passages which I quote are from Grey's edition. French, p.25, also

quotes this passage, although he is concerned simply with Dee's opinion of contemporary English learning.

- p.237 6. Compendious Rehearsall, p.10.
- p.237 7. French, p.36; Walker, Magic, p.86.
- p.238 8. Compendious Rehearsall, pp.10, 19; French, pp.38-9; J.A.van Dorsten, The Radical Arts, p.22. Dee also recalls this in the 'Necessarie Aduertisement' to The Brytish Monarchie, sig. e.i.v.
- p.239 9. Compendious Rehearsall, p.19; Aphorisms, final page. It is not clear why Pembroke and not Cecil should have presented the work to Elizabeth.
- p.239 10. Compendious Rehearsall, p.10.
- p.240 11. French, pp.126-7, 178. French derives his information on this matter from E.G.R.Taylor, Tudor Geography, pp.119-21, 142-3.
- p.240 12. J.Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, London, 1965, pp.40-1.
- p.240 13. Compendious Rehearsall, p.11,; French alludes to this, p.127. A.L.Rowse, The Expansion of Elizabethan England, London, 1962, p.86.
- p.240 14. Compendious Rehearsall, pp.12,11; French, p.127.
- p.240 15. Quoted in C.Fell-Smith, John Dee: 1527-1608, pp.129-30.
- p.241 16. Thomas Moffet, Nobilis, or A View of the Life and Death of a Sidney, trans. and ed. by Virgil B.Heltzel and Hoyt H.Hudson, San Marino, California, 1940, p.75, and Introduction, p.Xii; see also French, p.127.
- p.241 17. Introduction to Nobilis, pp.XV-XVI.
- p.241 18. French, p.127, suggests that the date might have

been 1571.

p.242 19. The reference to Dee in Sidney's letter is pointed out by J.M.Osborn in Young Philip Sidney, pp.146-7. There is a possible allusion here to the 'unknown God' spoken of by St.Paul at Athens (Acts, 17:16-34). If so, there may also be an implicit criticism of Dee's idea of an astrologically-determined world history because Paul refers to God's having made every nation of the earth from one and to his having determined periods for the ascendancy of each and the boundaries of the territory to be occupied by each one. The scheme of world history underlying General and Rare Memorials would accord with such a system as that to which Paul alludes. If Sidney is referring to Paul's speech at Athens, then he would have appreciated this mention of a predetermined world history, and history of a kind particularly associated with Dee. Sidney's mockery of the Monas, therefore, might also extend to a criticism of Dee's view of history.

On the subject of Dee and Sidney, see French, pp.127-8, 130. It is equally dangerous to assert that Sidney was Dee's philosophical follower as it is to deny absolutely Dee's influence over him; J.Buxton, in his biography of Sidney, p.87, accepts without comment that Sidney was contemptuous of Astrology. There is extant a horoscope cast for Sidney in 1570, when he was sixteen years old (see J.M.Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.18).

p.243 20. Dee, Private Diary, p.20; Yates, Theatre, p.15.

- p.243 21.J.A.van Dorsten, The Radical Arts, p.24-5.
- p.243 22.On Dyer, see R.M.Sargent, At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer, London and New York, 1935; reprinted Oxford, 1968, as The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer. Sargent discusses Dyer's relationship with Dee (pp.40,77, 95-106,121), but is unaware of the rich complexity of Dee's thought and of Dyer's close involvement in his schemes. Sargent does not mention Nobilis.
on Dyer's connection with Leicester, see Sargent, p.18. On Dyer's friendship with Dee, see also French, p.128.
- p.243 23.Arthur Collins, ed. The Sydney Papers, London, 1746, Vol.I, Pt.II, pp.66-7; Sargent, pp.38-9.
- p.244 24.J.Strype, Annals of the Reformation, 4 vols. Oxford, 1824, Vol.II, Pt.II, Appendix Bk.I, no.XLIII, pp. 555-6. The best discussion of the Society of the New Art is in M.Dewar, Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office, London, 1964, pp.149-55. Dewar does not mention Dyer. Lady Mary Sidney's letter is B.L.Lansdowne MS.23, n.81. (C.Hill, Intellectual Origins, p.270, states that Smith had a chemical laboratory at his house at Audley End where, with Lady Mary, he conducted experiments. Hill cites no source for this information).
- p.244 25.On Hakluyt, see Taylor, Tudor Geography, and Hill, Intellectual Origins, pp.154-64.
- p.245 26.E.Rosenberg, Leicester, Patron of Letters, pp.XIX, 31.
- p.245 27.Sargent, p.73; also E.G.R.Taylor (ed.), The Original

Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, Hakluyt Society Publications, vols. LXXVI-LXXVII, London, 1935, pp.20-1.

- p.245 28.R.Hakluyt, The Principall Nauigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation, 1589, f.4v; quoted also in E.G.R.Taylor (ed.), The Original Writings.... pp.407-8. Sargent makes no mention of this tribute, which was omitted from the second edition of The Principall Nauigations, 1598-1600.
- p.246 29.The reference to Dyer's standing as godfather to Arthur Dee is found in Dee's Private Diary, p.6; Sargent, p.101; French, p.128, n.4. The letter to Stow is B.L.Harleian MS. 374, art. 11, f.15; French, p.206 and Plate 16.
- p.247 30.Sargent, Ch.IV, passim.
- p.247 31.ibid., pp.125-6.
- p.247 32.ibid., pp.79-82.
- p.247 33.ibid., Ch.VII, passim.
- p.247 34.ibid., pp.163-218; B.M.Wagner, 'New Poems by Sir Edward Dyer', Review of English Studies, vol.XI, No.35, Oct. 1935, pp.466-71.

CHAPTER XI

- p.248 1. On the composition of the 'Sidney group', see Mona Wilson, Sir Philip Sidney, London, 1950, Ch. VII, 'Sidney and the New Poetry', for a view of the 'circle' as a gathering of poets. See also J. Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, Ch.4. 'Experiments for a New Poetry' and Ch.5, 'A Generall Maecenas of Learning' for a broader view of the membership. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, Part I, Ch.V, 'Rogers and Sidney' and Part II, Ch.I, 'Leiden visits England', for discussion of Sidney's continental contacts. French, Ch.6, 'John Dee and the Sidney Circle', argues for the susceptibility of the 'Sidney group' to Dee's magical Hermetic philosophy.
- p.249 2. Renaissance and Modern Studies, XIX (1975), pp.31-46.
- p.249 3. Howell, art. cit., pp.31-4. Greville's Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney, ed. N. Smith, Oxford, 1907, is, as Howell points out, p.35, not so much a biography as a tract urging war with Spain. In the Life, pp.29-30, Sidney is firmly connected with the Walsingham policy, a position supported by recent scholarship (see Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, pp.448ff; van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.41; Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, p.43, relates Sidney's 'activism' to the esoteric Protestant chivalry of the Elizabeth cult).
- p.249 4. Huntington Library Quarterly, XXIX (1966), pp.215-22.
- p.249 5. The Radical Arts, pp.87-8.

- p.249 6. 'Sidney and Languet', pp.220-2.
- p.250 7. Greville, Life, p.7.
- p.250 8. ibid., pp.44-5.
- p.250 9. ibid., pp.35-6.
- p.251 10. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.493.
- p.251 11. As evidence of this, see Languet's letters to Sidney from Frankfort during the second half of 1577. These are published in The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, trans. S.A.Pears, London, 1845, pp.109-32.
- p.251 12. 'Sidney and Languet', pp.220-1.
- p.251 13. Pears, Correspondence, p.112; van Dorsten also mentions this in Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.54.
- p.251 14. Pears, Correspondence, pp.129-31.
- p.251 15. ibid., p.147. Howell also mentions this in his study, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, London, 1968, p.160. On Rogers' friendship with Sidney, see Howell, art. cit., pp.37-8.
- p.252 16. Pears, Correspondence, pp.120-1.
- p.252 17. Poets, Patrons, and Professors, pp.9-75, and The Radical Arts, pp.63-75; also J.E.Phillips, 'Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link between the Pléiade and Sidney's "Areopagus"' in Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Los Angeles, 1965, pp.5-28.
- p.252 18. Apart from an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography and numerous references to him in van Dorsten's works, there is very little information available in print about Beale; but see B.Schofield,

'The Yelverton Manuscripts', in The British Museum Quarterly, XIX (1954), pp.3-9. The Yelverton papers are B.L. Additional MSS. 48000-48196.

- p.252 19. These and other biographical details are taken from the D.N.B. and from Schofield's article.
- p.252 20. Van Dorsten , Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.12.
- p.252 21. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.68.
- p.252 22. Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores aliquot ex Bibliotheca clarissimi viri Domini Roberti Beli Angli. Frankfort. 3 vols.; folio. This is listed as no. 4 of Beale's works in the D.N.B. It is mentioned in F.J.Levy's Tudor Historical Thought, San Marino, California, 1967, pp.135-6.
- p.253 23. For example, an explicit reference by van Dorsten to the agreement between Rogers and Walsingham on the necessity for an Anglo-Dutch alliance is found in Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.78.
- p.253 24. Pears, Correspondence, pp.132-6.
- p.254 25. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.31, n.1, notes that Beale shares with Janus Dousa 'the honour of having an exceptionally great number of poems addressed to him' by Rogers.
- p.254 26. Pears, Correspondence, pp.116-7. See also Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, p.47.
- p.254 27. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, pp.52-3. Howell, art. cit., p.33, states that 'for a considerable time afterwards Sidney remained the principal link between Orange and the Earl of Leicester'. Sidney had been instructed by Leicester to attend the christening of Orange's second

daughter, Elizabeth, in his name. Dyer had been sent by Leicester to stand in for Sidney in case the latter did not arrive in time (van Dorsten, Poets, Patrones, and Professors, pp.49-51; Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, pp.479-81; Sargent, Dyer, pp.47-8.

- p.255 28. Greville, Life, pp.22-6, 42-4.
- p.257 29. The interest shown in the Netherlands by the French following the Truce of Bergerac of 1577 was continued in 1578 when Anjou went to the Netherlands at the invitation of William of Orange and the States General. This was an outcome of the developments of 1577 and, arguably, of the 'failure' of English policy. See J.H. Elliot, Europe Divided 1559-1598, London, 1971, pp.265-76, and C. Wilson, The Revolt of the Netherlands, London, 1970.
- p.257 30. B.L. Additional MS. 48085 (Yelverton MS. XCII), art. 1, f.1r-v. Schofield, art. cit., p.5, notes: 'In 1577, Beale was sent on a tour of the courts of the Lutheran princes of Germany to plead the cause of the so-called Crypto-calvinists and to broach the subject of the possible formation of a Protestant League. Vol. XCII of the Yelverton collection contains his commission signed by the Queen, and his own draft of a proposed treaty with the German Protestants, in addition to original letters of the German princes and dukes, and long drafts of his own replies'.
- p.257 31. Van Dorsten, 'Sidney and Langnet', p.221.
- p.259 32. *ibid.*
- p.259 33. *ibid.*

- p.259 34. See, for example, Sidney's letter of 13 May 1577 to William, Landgrave of Hesse, in Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, pp.476-8.
- p.259 35. *ibid.*, p.459.
- p.259 36. Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, pp.55-6.
- p.260 37. Greville, Life, pp.146-7.
- p.260 38. Pears, Correspondence, p.153.
- p.261 39. Howell has suggested that Sidney's conception of a Protestant League became increasingly ecumenical (art. cit., p.34).
- p.261 40. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.53.
- p.261 41. Pears, Correspondence, pp.111-2.
- p.261 42. Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, p.55; van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, pp.57-8; Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, p.93.
- p.262 43. Pears, Correspondence, p.146.
- p.262 44. Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, p.55; Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, p.93; Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.53.
- p.262 45. Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, pp.53, 71.
- p.262 46. Yates, Bruno, pp.176, 178; French, p.157; Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, p.55; Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, p.93; Walker, Theology, pp.132-3.
- p.262 47. Yates, Bruno, pp.176-7; Walker, Theology, pp.18, 39, 85, 115-6, 118, 121-2.

- p.263 48.I. Samuel, 'The Influence of Plato on Sidney's Defence of Poesy', Modern Language Quarterly, I (1940), pp.388-91; C.M.Dowlin, 'Sidney's Two Definitions of Poetry', *ibid.*, III (1942), pp.573-81.
- p.263 49.Renaissance Papers, 1969, published by the South-eastern Renaissance Conference 1970, pp.9-14.
- p.263 50.Defence, p.79, ll.17-29. All my references to the Defence are to the version published in The Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney, Oxford, 1973, ed. K.Duncan-Jones and J.A.van Dorsten.
- p.264 51.*ibid.*, p.82, ll. 11-27.
- p.264 52.*ibid.*, p.80, l.2.
- p.265 53.Review of English Studies, new series, VII (1956), pp.151-7; Defence, pp.193, 196, 201, 202, 203.
- p.265 54.Defence, p.82, l. 28- p.83, l. 9; p.100, ll. 3-13; p.102, ll. 16ff. See also the note on p.193.
- p.266 55.*ibid.*, p.194, n. on p.85, l. 22- p.86, l. 8; Plato, Epistle VII, 342A-345C.
- p.266 56.Defence, p.100, l.12. In this passage, Sidney cites Erasmus with Agrippa: for evidence that Erasmus and Agrippa themselves saw a measure of agreement between their respective standpoints, see C.G.Nauert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought, Urbana, 1965, pp.109-10, 144, 152, 219.
- p.267 57.Walker, Theology, p.33; Nauert, in his study of Agrippa, has stressed the fideist tendency of De Vanitate; see especially pp.301-2, 316.
- p.267 58.Defence, p.80, l.2; p.86, l.8.
- p.267 59.*ibid.*, p.85, l. 8 - p.86, l. 8.
- p.268 60.Walker, Theology, Ch. V, 'Atheism, the Ancient

Theology, and Sidney's Arcadia'; on Mornay's theory of natural reason and religion, see pp.71-2.

p.268 61.Defence, p.85, ll. 11-2.

p.269 62.This simplifying, sceptical tendency in Sidney is perhaps an intellectual equivalent for the iconoclasm inherent in Protestantism. It may also explain his apparent enthusiasm for Ramus. Yates, Memory, p.233, links Ramism with Protestant iconoclasm.

p.270 63.The Radical Arts, pp.75 ff., 80, 84-5. Mrs. J.W. Bennet, The Evolution of the 'The Faerie Queene', Chicago, 1942, p.121.

p.270 64.See the commendatory verse on The Faerie Queene, by 'W.L.'

p.270 65.See, for example, G.Hough, A Preface to 'The Faerie Queene', London, 1968, Ch. VII, pp.138-53; also, Bennet, Evolution, p.189.

p.270 66.Hough, Preface, pp.191-200; Bennet, Evolution, pp.187-205. Bennet, pp.80-100, argues at length that Spenser attached particular importance to Leicester.

p.270 67.The Radical Arts, p.80. The identification of Una's parents with Adam and Eve is implicit in The Faerie Queene, I, I, 5; it is confirmed at I, XII, 26 and at II, I, 1.

p.271 68.Bennet, Evolution, p.121.

p.271 69.Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1975, pp.53-4, 70-4; E.A.Greenlaw, Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory, Baltimore, 1932, p.67. Greenlaw attempts to link Orgoglio, or Carnal Pride, with Philip II of Spain. This identification is questioned by Bennet, Evolution, p.118.

Ruskin, supported by Hough, Preface, pp.145-8, suggests that Orgoglio is not to be equated with 'the pride of life, spiritual and subtle', but rather with 'the common and vulgar pride in the power of the world', which he links with 'the temporal power of corrupt churches'. A general association of Orgoglio with the might of Spain is, therefore, very plausible. One of the dominant themes of Greville's Life is the emphasis placed upon the Pride of Spain and upon the attendant sins of avarice and tyranny; see p.112. The oppression of the native peoples of America was, according to Greville, pp.116-7, the direct result of this Pride and would necessarily incur the vengeance of God. It was a major ambition of Sidney's to destroy the Spanish New World empire.

p.271 70.Greville, Life, pp.35-6.

p.272 71.I think that Howell's discussion of Bruno in this connection is misleading: Bruno's religion was essentially magical, and although it contains elements in common with Mornay's system, it must have conflicted with the latter's non-magical emphasis.

p.273 72.Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.66.

CHAPTER XII

- p.280 1. The Brytish Monarchie was published by John Day in London in 1577; Dee's manuscript is Oxford Ashmole MS. 1789, art. IV. Famous and Rich Discoveries is B.L.Cotton MS. Vitellius. C. VII, art. 3. Although the first part of this volume has been lost, its contents can be reconstructed from Purchas his Pilgrimes, whose author, Samuel Purchas, once had the manuscript in his possession; see the 1625-6 edition of Purchas' work, vol. I, pp.105 ff; also, E.G.R.Taylor, Tudor Geography, 1485-1583, p.114.
- p.280 2. The Brytish Monarchie, pp.65, 80; Dee, Private Diary, p.3.
- p.281 3. W.O.Hassall, The Books of Sir Christopher Hatton at Holkham, plate facing p.12, reproduces the Hatton coat. The poem in full is:
- Yf Priuat wealth, be leef and deare,
To any Wight, of Brytish Soyl:
Ought Publik Weale, haue any peere?
To that, is due, all Wealth and Toyl.
- Wherof, such Lore as I (of* late,) *Anno.1576.
Haue lernd, and for Security,
By Godly means, to Garde this State,
To you I send, now, carefully.
- Unto the Guardians, most wise,
And Sacred Senat, or Chief Powr,
I durst not offer this Aduise,
(So homely writ,) for fear of Lowr.

But, at your will, and discreet choyce,
To keep by you, or to imparte,
I leaue this zealous Publik voyce:
You will accept so simple parte.

M'Instructors freend did warrant me,
You would so do, as he did his:
That *Redy freend, can witnes be, *ED.Esq.
For Higher States, what written is:

Of Gratefulnes, due Argument.

Yf greeuous wound, of sklandrous Darte,
At length to cure, they will be bent,
M'Instructor, then, will doo his parte,

In earnest wise, I know right well:

No Merit shall forgotten ly.

Thus much, I thought, was good to tell:

God graunt you Blis, aboue the Sky.

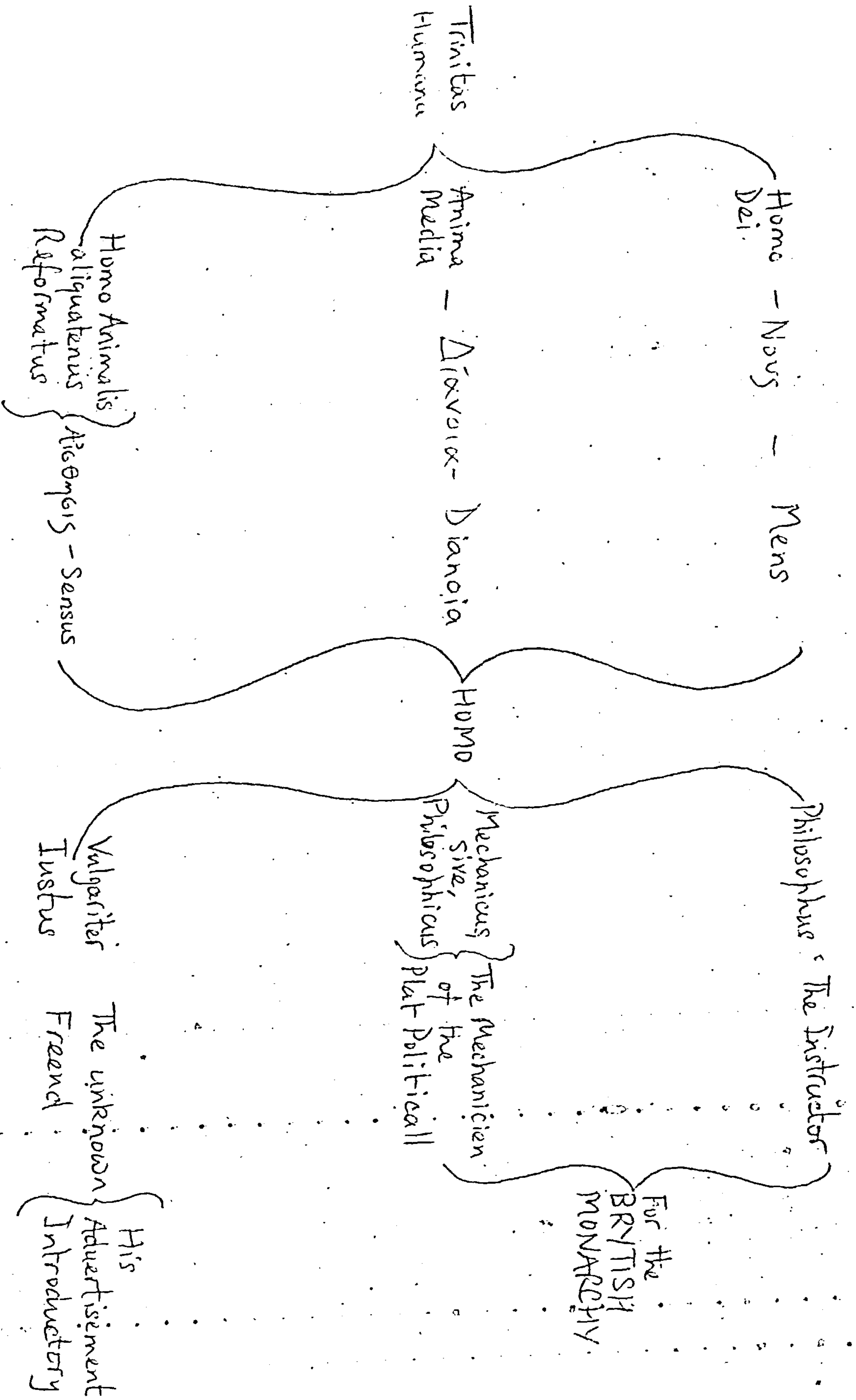
E.G.R.Taylor, Tudor Geography, pp.280-1, quotes
stanzas, 2,3,4,5.

p.281 4. The Brytish Monarchie, pp.2, 10; Calder, II, p.408,
n. 71, also notices the pun.

p.281 5. For example, see Taylor, Tudor Geography, pp.280-1.

p.282 6. Dee defines a mechanician in the Praeface, sig.
8v; this definition is quoted by Josten in his
commentary on the Monas, p.205. Calder, I, p.681,
is wrong in saying that the unknown friend wrote
the book.

p.283 7. The table is as follows:



See Timaeus, 51D; Republic, 511D; Timaeus 43C.

- p.285 8.E.St.John Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton, London, 1956, pp.130-1, does not mention precise dates in his treatment of the episode; Taylor, Tudor Geography, p.121.
- It should be pointed out, as C.Fell-Smith does in her biography of Dee, p.38, that on three days in June 1577, the 18th, 19th, and 20th, Dee managed to borrow a total of £87 (Private Diary, p.3). As she comments, this money cannot be accounted for. Some of it may have gone towards the cost of printing The Brytish Monarchie, but as she notes there may have been other expenses too. It should be stressed, however, that Dee's career was persistently hampered by monetary difficulties. In this case, he had been working on General and Rare Memorials since the previous August and although the details of his domestic situation during this period are not known, it is likely that it had deteriorated financially since he began The Brytish Monarchie in August 1576. He may have needed money to invest in the Frobisher or Drake voyages which took place in these years.
- p.285 9.The Brytish Monarchie, sigs. e.iii.v-e.iiii.v; see Calder, II, pp.422-3, n. 145, for the evidence to support this dating; also, Taylor, Tudor Geography, p.114.
- p.285 10.Calder, I, Ch. VIII; French, pp.182-6.
- p.287 11.The Brytish Monarchie, sigs. e.iii.v-e.*ii.v.
- p.288 12.Sargent, pp.41, 151; Taylor, Tudor Geography, p.183.
John Frampton's Joyful Newes out of the Newfound World, translated from Nicholas Monardes, and

dedicated to Edward Dyer, was published at London in 1577.

p.288 13.E.St.John Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton, pp.182-3.

Brooks relies largely on Taylor's Tudor Geography for Hatton's interest in voyages of discovery.

Dyer was an investor in the Frobisher voyages, and he had a strong family connection with them also because a younger brother, Andrew, sailed in 1576 as a mariner and in 1577 as a pilot when, with Charles Jackman, he was one of Frobisher's mates. These two were 'men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities'. If Dee instructed Frobisher in mathematics and navigation, then he may also have taught Andrew Dyer too. (See Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies, 1513-1616, pp.17-30; Sargent, p.41; Hakluyt, Principall Nauigations, 1589, p.624).

Hatton was an investor in Frobisher's voyages, and the captain of the 'Anne Francis', George Best, named a headland on Resolution Island after him and wrote, in 1578, an account of the expeditions entitled A True Discourse of the late Voyages of Discouery for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the North-West, in the dedication of which he described Hatton as his 'singular good master'. It is not known whether Hatton had any contact with Dee over the Frobisher voyages. His interest in Drake's voyage, when Drake renamed his ship 'The Golden Hind' after Hatton's cognizance is well known. Dyer, as an associate of both Dee and Hatton, was very likely

involved at some stage in the preparations for Drake's departure (see Brooks, Hatton, p.193; Taylor's Tudor Geography on Drake, and K.R.Andrews, 'The Aims of Drake's Expedition of 1577-80', American Historical Review, vol. 73 (1968).

- p.289 14.As early as 1572, Dyer and Hatton are known to have been on close terms, with Dyer advising Hatton how best to regain the queen's favour which he appeared to be losing to Oxford (Sargent, pp.23-7).
- p.289 15.Taylor, Tudor Geography, p.121.
- p.289 16.Brooks, Hatton, p.167.
- p.290 17.The Brytish Monarchie, pp.79-80.
- p.291 18.ibid., p.62. The reference to 'KALID' is puzzling. Dee may mean a 'Caliph', although there was a writer of an alchemical text, Liber trium verborum, named Khalid ben Jazichi: (see R.Hirsch, 'The Invention of Printing and the Diffusion of Alchemical and Chemical Knowledge', in Chymia, III (1950), p.134).
- p.292 19.Calder, I, pp.687-9, 713; French, pp.183-6.
- p.292 20.B.L.Cotton MS. Augustus I, vol. I, No. 1. The map is reproduced in Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, Glasgow, 1904, vol. VIII, opposite p.486. The top part is also reproduced as Plate 1 in E.G.R.Taylor, 'A Letter dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee', Imago Mundi, XIII (1956), pp.56-8.
- p.294 21.Hakluyt, Principall Navigations, Glasgow, 1904, vol. VII, p.231: 'The third and last voyage unto Meta Inœognita, made by M.Martin Frobisher, in the yeare 1578'. Frobisher's fleet actually began to assemble at Gravesend on 25 May. T.D.Kendrick,

- British Antiquity, London, 1950, p.37, accepts the manuscript dating as 1580; as does French, p.197.
- p.296 22.The Brytish Monarchie, sigs. e.iii - iiiii.
- p.296 23.These are numbers 3 and 4 in Dee's list of his own unpublished manuscripts, made in 1592, in his Compendious Rehearsall; both works are no longer extant, the first of them being destroyed in the Cottonian fire: it was Cotton MS. Otho C. vii.
- p.297 24.Dee, Private Diary, pp.9, 18-9.
- p.297 25.E.G.R.Taylor, 'A Letter dated 1577', p.68.
- p.298 26.Dee, Private Diary, p.10.
- p.298 27.B.L.Lansdowne MS. 94, art. 51, f. 121; see Calder, II, pp.418-9, n. 135.
- p.298 28.Dee, Private Diary, p.4.
- p.299 29.On this star, see F.R.Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England, Baltimore, 1937, pp.154, 156.
- p.299 30.On this subject, see F.Coplestone, A History of Philosophy, Vol. III, 'Late Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy', Part II, pp.169 ff; G.Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy, London, Penguin, 1973, Ch. 28, 'Law Among Nations'.
- p.300 31.The Bytish Monarchie, pp.22-3.
- p.301 32.The original drawing, reproduced as Plate 14 by French, is Oxford Ashmole MS. 1789, f. 50. It differs from the published version in that it has four figures standing below Elizabeth in the ship instead of the later three. For discussion of the possible meaning, see French, pp.184-5, and Calder, I, p.685. In the Mysteriorum Liber Primus (B.L. Sloane MS. 3188, f. 6.r), the angel Michael is

shown as having some connection with the angel who is mentioned as being the Chief Governor of the era of history in which Famous and Rich Discoveries was written. Dee, citing Agrippa, refers to Michael as 'Fortitudo Dei', which would connect with the representation of him in this frontispiece armed with shield and sword. Also, in each corner round the picture, there is a sign which may allude to some astrological or astronomical occurrence.

The explanation of the frontispiece is p.53 of The Brytish Monarchie; see Calder, II, p.401, n. 54, and French, pp.183-4. Calder does not suggest when this insertion may have been added.


p.301 33. The two Greek phrases in this passage mean respectively a 'fully armed fleet' (or possibly army, although from the context it must be the former) and a 'defensive safeguard' (literally a fortress of safety).

p.302 34. The Brytish Monarchie, no signature. The date indicates that the 'Aduertisement' was written in the fifth year of the star, in fact, on 4 July, the year of the world's creation being 5540. The star is described as hanging low in the sky and returning in a straight line.

p.302 35. Calder, I, pp.684, 783; II, pp.484-5, n. 193; Johnson, Astronomical Thought, pp.154, 156.

Calder persists in incorrectly dating The Brytish Monarchie 1576. That Dee is referring to this star can be confirmed by the ~~exho~~ in this dating of the title of a work he mentions in the Compendious

Rehearsall, p.25: De stella admiranda in Cassiopeiae Asterismo coelitus demissa ad orbem usque Veneris, iterumque in Coeli penetralia perpendiculariter retracta. Lib. 3. A. 1573.

Calder believes that 5540 refers to 1576, but this is based on his erroneous dating of The Brytish Monarchie, and he introduces another complicating element when he mentions Dee's attribution to Britain of the number 5536. This is found in the Liber Scientiae, Auxilii et Victoriae Terrestris Ao. 1585 Maii 2^o stylo novo, Cracoviae in Poloniae per  Collectus, ex praemissis in Lib. 10 & aliis, which as the title states is a summary of the preceding ten Libri Mysteriorum (B.L.Sloane MS. 3191, f. 14r). The work is a Mosaic history insofar as it charts the dispositions of the twelve tribes of Israel as given in the Pentateuch and at the time of writing, 1585, together with the angel associated with each tribe. It is revealed that 'Brytania' belongs to the tribe of Ephraim, that its angelic name is Chirspa, and that its number is 5536 (ibid., f 26r). Calder treats this number as a date and equates it with A.D. 1572, the year of the new star's appearance, but he is wrong in linking the numbers to dates because some of the former are in five figures and, therefore, far outside the 6000-year timescale which Dee allowed for world history.

p.303 36. It is worth noting that Dee quotes from Trithemius' De Septem Secundadeis in Famous and Rich Discoveries (B.L.Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VII, art. 3, f. 262 v).

Calder discusses the character of Trithemius' work as being close to Dee's own preoccupations, but does not mention the above use of it by Dee, who cited it to corroborate his own views on the conquests of Arthur. French, p.195, notes that Dee uses Trithemius' work in this way, but makes no mention of the nature of De Septem Secundadeis.

- p.304 37. On this aspect of Protestant attitudes, see K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, London, Penguin, 1978, pp.435-6.
- p.305 38. See above, Ch.II. The acknowledgement by 'the philosopher' in this passage of his authorship of the Praeface confirms his identification with Dee.
- p.305 39. The Brytish Monarchie, pp.2-3.
- p.305 40. See Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton, p.183.
- p.306 41. Sargent, p.42. On 22 April 1577, Michael Lok wrote to the queen about Frobisher's gold ore (C.S.P. Colonial, East Indies, 1513 - 1616, No. 34, pp.18-20). In this letter he mentions that on 1 February, he had seen Walsingham about the gold ore. Walsingham had told him that Dyer and several others had made tests and found a little silver. The fate of Dyer's report is not known.
- p.306 42. For example, see Philip Sidney's letter to Languet of 1 October 1577 (Pears, Correspondence, pp.116-22). Dee was apparently a member, with Dyer, of the Royal Commission appointed to supervise the smelting of the ore; see Sargent, p.44; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies, 1513-1616, No. 154, XI, p.66; Taylor, Tudor Geography, pp.120-1.

p.307 43. On William's rise in 1576-9, see C.V. Wedgwood, William the Silent, London, 1971, pp. 160-99.

p.307 44. The subject of this document is:

her Majesties Title Royall and Sea Soveraigntie in St. Georgis Channel; and in all the British Ocean; any manner of way, next envyrning or next adioyning unto, England, Ireland, and Scotland, or any of the lesser Iles to them apperteyning (B.L. Harleian MS. 249, art. 13, f. 99).

It is subtitled: 'Miscelanea quaedam extemporanea; De Imperij Bytanici Iurisdictione, in Mare'. It is not known why Dyer should require this information in 1597. In March, 1598, he was involved in negotiations on behalf of the Earl of Essex with an unknown Scottish nobleman who had offered to perform some secret service on the Earl's behalf in Ireland (Sargent, p. 145), and Dyer's interest in the St. George's Channel may have had something to do with this.

Calder, I, p. 696, has suggested that the manuscript was intended by Dee for wide private circulation, although Dyer may also have intended it for such.

p.308 45. B.L. Harleian MS. 249, art. 13, f. 99v. I do not think that Dee's telling Dyer in 1597 about the scheme to establish Elizabeth as leader of Christendom can be pointed to as suggesting that Dyer knew nothing of these matters. Rather, this information was probably included for the benefit of those of

Dee's readers unfamiliar with the background to
The Brytish Monarchie.

- p.309 46. ibid., f. 104. Calder, I, p.696, quotes this passage, but as his purpose is primarily to study Dee's thought, he does not follow it up.
- p.310 47. ibid., f. 94.
- p.310 48. The Brytish Monarchie, pp.21-7; other passages are pp.37-9, 53, 54-8.
- p.311 49. ibid., sig. e.iiii.r.
- p.311 50. ibid., p.22; mentioned by Calder, I, p.698, and II, p.410, n. 91.
- p.312 51. C. Wilson, Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands, p.57.
- p.313 52. See Moffet's Nobilis, pp.82-3, although Sargent does not mention Dyer's accompanying Sidney; Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.463; Pears, Correspondence, p.159, where Languet, in a letter dated 27 February 1579, speaks of Dyer, 'whose friendship is like a precious gem added to my store'.
- p.313 53. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.47; Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.529, questions whether Rogers was with Sidney in this early part of the embassy.
- p.313 54. Calender of State Papers, Foreign, 1577-8, No. 38; Sargent, p.48.
- p.313 55. Sargent, p.48; Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.481.
- p.314 56. The text of this document is given by Osborn, pp.482-90; see ibid., pp.529-33, 493-4; Howell, 'The Sidney Circle and the Protestant Cause in Elizabethan Foreign Policy', p.33, also accepts

Osborn's argument for Sidney's authorship.

- p.315 57. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, pp.487-8.
- p.316 58. The Brytish Monarchie, pp.36-7.
- p.316 59. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, pp.488-9; The Brytish Monarchie, p.37.
- p.317 60. That Dee favoured English intervention in the Low Countries and a formal alliance is also suggested by a letter he wrote to Walsingham on 22 August 1589 during his return journey from Bohemia (B.L. Lansdowne MS. 61, art. 58). He discusses the Netherlands situation, especially Holland and Zeeland, and remarks:

But in my iudgement, they seme to incline to a desire, (all the Provinces) to endure all one fortune, in One whole state united, as they were under CAROLVS QVINTUS.

The Provinces lament Elizabeth's refusal of their offer of sovereignty and, although her wars against Spain are just, 'yet the same can not, now, be compassed'. This refusal, Dee thinks, is the main reason why the Provinces are alienated from England. Only by 'fayr means, and great wisdome' will they be won over to favour England once again. He begs Walsingham's forgiveness for discussing matters of state, but he is 'sharply stung with grief, conceyued vppon the premises and other euident causes, that I vnderstand, now and then among them'. Thus his sympathy in 1589 with the idea of an Anglo-Dutch alliance is clear, and is an extension of his position in 1576-7.

- p.317 61.Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.490.
- p.318 62.Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1575-7, no. 1509; quoted in Osborn, pp.492-3.
- p.318 63.Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, pp.489-90; C.V.Wedgewood, William the Silent, pp.173-4.
- p.319 64.C.Wilson, Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands, pp.56-7.
- p.319 65.The final section of Famous and Rich Discoveries is dated 8 June 1577 (Calder, II, pp.422-3, n. 145) and the 'Aduertisement' is dated 4 July 1577.
- p.319 66.The Brytish Monarchie, p.53. Occasio's citadel in the frontispiece is possibly intended to represent the opportunity of an alliance with the Northern provinces of Holland and Zeeland. The transaction taking place below the line of trees, apparently involving the exchange of money, could be an allusion to the wholesale bribery by the Spaniards of the Walloon aristocracy in the spring and summer of 1577. On this last point, see C.Wilson, Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands, pp.54-5.
- p.320 67.The Brytish Monarchie, pp.54-60; reprinted by Hakluyt in the 1589 edition of Principall Navigations, pp.245-8.
- p.320 68.The Brytish Monarchie, p.59.
- p.321 69.Sargent, p.43.
- p.321 70.'Certain notes' is merely a report; it contains no recommendations.
- p.322 71.Phillips' article is found in The Huntington Library Quarterly, XII, (1948-9), pp.23-55; Trevor-Roper's is found in the English Historical Review, Supplement

3, 1966.

- p.323 72. The Commentarioli was published at Cologne in 1572, four years after Lhuyd's death, through the efforts of his friend, Abraham Ortelius. It was translated into English by Thomas Twyne and published in 1573 as The Breuiary of Britayne. See Trevor-Roper, 'Buchanan', pp.1,35,27.
- p.324 73. Phillips, 'Buchanan', pp.49-54.
- p.324 74. Trevor-Roper, 'Buchanan', p.30.
- p.324 75. Phillips, 'Buchanan', p.40; on Randolph, see also pp.24-5.
- p.324 76. Trevor-Roper, 'Buchanan', p.35, refers to Rogers and Randolph as 'Leicester's agents'.
- p.325 77. Phillips, 'Buchanan', pp.23,24,26.
- p.326 78. *ibid.*, p.55.
- p.326 79. Additional indications as to the climate of opinion amongst the members of the 'Sidney group' in these years is provided by Spenser who, by 1580, had probably written what was to become Canto X of Book II of The Faerie Queene, the Canto in which he outlines the genealogy of the British kings from the founder of the line, Brutus. Mrs. Bennet argues convincingly that this Canto originally formed a part of Spenser's Stemmata Dudleiana, a genealogy of the Dudley family (Bennet, Evolution, pp.89-91). As such, it must have been written when Spenser, with Gabriel Harvey, was seeking Leicester's patronage, and when he was associating with Sidney. It has been claimed that he left clear hints in the piece that would have been recognised by his friends

as showing that he did not accept the historicity of Brutus (T.D.Kendrick, British Antiquity, London, 1950, p.132). In 1596, in A View of the Present State of Ireland, Spenser gave Buchanan credit for his use of reliable historical sources and expressed the same opinion on Brutus as Buchanan in his Historia (see Phillips, 'Buchanan', pp.52-3). Spenser's main sources in the View were, according to W.L.Renwick in his edition of the work, Oxford, 1970, p.195, Buchanan's Historia, Camden's Britannia, and Holinshed.

- p.326 80. Phillips, 'Buchanan', pp.50-1.
- p.326 81. *ibid.*, p.50.
- p.327 82. Trevor-Roper, 'Buchanan', p.13; R.Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: the Shepherd Knight, p.218.
- p.327 83. Phillips, 'Buchanan', pp.33-9, 45. See also W.D. Briggs, 'Political Ideas in Sidney's Arcadia', Studies in Philology, XXVIII (1931), pp.137-61, and 'Philip Sidney's Political Ideas', *ibid.*, XXIX (1932), pp.534-92; W.G.Zeeveld, 'The Uprising of the Commons in Sidney's Arcadia', Modern Language Notes, XLVIII (1933), pp.209-17.
- p.327 84. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons, and Professors, p.48, n.1. The Latin reads: 'Proregis Hibernici filius illustrissimae virtutis juvenis'.
- p.327 85. Phillips, 'Buchanan', p.33-4.
- p.328 86. Pears, Correspondence, pp.30-7; Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, p.150; Phillips, 'Buchanan', p.52, says in connection with this letter that Sidney 'expressed... contempt for Lhwyd's pretensions as a historian'.

p.328 87. A complication is caused by David Powel's dedication to Sidney in 1584 of Lhuyd's work, The historie of Cambria. Powel published this work at Sir Henry Sidney's request and spoke of Lhuyd as a 'painful and worthy searcher of Brytish antiquities' (Pears, Correspondence, pp.31-2; J. Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, p.97). At one point, Powel cites the authority of Buchanan's Historia to corroborate a point in Lhuyd (The historie of Cambria, now called Wales: A part of the most famous Yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish Language aboue two hundreth yeares past: translated into English by H. Lhoyd Gentleman, p.57). This work defended the historicity of Arthur and contributed greatly to the rehabilitation of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In 1585, Powel produced an edition of Pontici Virunnii.... Britannicae historiae libri sex, dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney, a Latin prose summary of Geoffrey's Historia, which also contained Giraldus Cambrensis' Itinerarium Cambriae and Cambriae descriptio, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney (Bennet, Evolution, pp.71-2). Mrs. Bennet suggests that by 1584, Sidney had changed his mind about Arthur (ibid., p.77).

p.329 88. Dee's views on Brutus are found in Famous and Rich Discoveries (B.L. Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VII, art.3, ff. 201 ff.). (Dee seems also to have accepted Joseph of Arimathea's association with Glastonbury; see The Brytish Monarchie, p.56.). He is, therefore, aligned with Lhuyd against Buchanan over the question of the origin of the British kings. He even agreed with

Lhuyd over details like the correct spelling of Britain: this was 'BRVTANICAE & not BRITANNICAE' (B.L.Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VII, art.3, ff. 202r-v; French, p.192). Dee was familiar with Lhuyd's work, having been permitted by Ortelius to study the Welshman's unfinished commentaries (French, p.203); he had in his library two copies of Twyne's translation of the Commentarioli (ibid., pp.194-5; B.L. Harleian MS. 1879, art.5, ff. 51, 80).

CONCLUSION:

FOOTNOTES

- p.338 1. See Yates, Theatre, Chs. II, VI.
- p.342 2. On Ficino, Pico, Agrippa, and Bruno, see works already cited; on Postel, see W.J. Bouwsma, Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), Harvard University Press, 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There is already in existence a substantially comprehensive bibliography of Dee's published and unpublished works in French, pp. 210-7, to which little can be added. I have, therefore, drawn upon this extensively, even to the extent of including many of the notes used by French to describe individual items. I have modified, or expanded, these wherever I have considered it useful. The first two sections of my bibliography are necessarily heavily indebted to French, being, firstly, those manuscript works either written or owned by Dee and, secondly, editions of Dee's published works. The third and fourth sections contain other sources, published and miscellaneous, which I consulted during the writing of my thesis.

MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN OR OWNED BY JOHN DEE.

Cambridge:

Trinity College MS. o.4.20. Dee's list of his library made on 6 September 1583.

London:

British Library, Additional MS. 19065. Dee's signature and his motto. 'NIHIL UTILE' QUOD NON HONESTUM', appear on fol. 43.

Additional MS. 32092, arts. q, 10. Dee's calendar reform and its rejection by the bishops.

Additional MS. 35213, art. 1. Fragmentary catalogue of his library made by Dee sometime after 1589.

Cotton MS. Augustus. I, i, i. A map of part of the Northern hemisphere drawn by Dee in 1580 on the back of which is Dee's outline concerning Elizabeth's rights to foreign territories:

'Her Majesties Title Royall'.

Cotton Charter XIII, art. 38. Pedigree by John Dee tracing his ancestry to the earliest Welsh princes and kings of Britain.

Cotton Charter XII, art. 39. A chart drawn by Dee in 1570 outlining how to 'MAKE THIS KINGDOME FLOURISHING'.

TRINITY, FAMOUS, AND BLESSED': The Synopsis Reipublicae Britannicae.

Cotton Charter XIV, art. 1. Traces the ancestry of Elizabeth and John Dee back to the earliest Welsh kings.

Cotton MS. Julius. C. III, arts, ii, 12. Letters to Sir Robert Cotton from Dee.

Cotton MS. Julius. C.V, art. 41. Letter to William Camden from Dee concerning Arthur Dee's temperament and his education at Westminster School.

Cotton MS. Otho. E. VIII, art. 16. Some directions for a voyage to the northern seas signed by John Dee and dated 15 May 1580.

Cotton MS. Vitellius. C. VII, arts. 1-7. Dee's account of his life (published as the Compendious Rehearsal) for Queen Elizabeth; 'Perspectivã, sive de arte mensurandi cum circino et regula'; 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries'; 'De trigono circinoque analogico, opusculum mathematicum et mechanicum'; 'De speculis comburentibus: item de coni recti atque retanguli sectione illa quae parabola ab antiquis appellabatur, aliaque geometrica'; Supplication by Dee to Queen Mary to preserve ancient writings and monuments; letters and papers between Dee and Roger Edwardson theological subjects. All of the treatises are by John Dee.

Cotton MS. Vitellius. C. IX, art. i. 'Correctiones et supplemente in Sigberti chronicon' by Dee.

Harleian MS. 57. Manuscript of Albertus Magnus's De mineralibus acquired by Dee from the library of John Leland.

Harleian MS. 94, art. 3. A note dated 15 June 1573 to the Lord Treasurer.

Harleian MS. 167. Items 6-8 are in Dee's handwriting, while notes by him appear on items 20, 28, 31-2, 34, 36, 38; his mark is also found on item 42. A collection of tracts and papers relating chiefly to sea affairs.

Harleian MS. 218. Miscellaneous historical, literary and chemical tracts which contain annotations by Dee.

Harleian MS. 249, art. 13. Tract on British sea limits written by John Dee for Edward Dyer to whom it is dedicated; also a letter from Dee to Dyer (104-5) dated 8 September 1597 concerning Manchester College. The first of these items is the ΘΑΛΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗ.

Harleian MS. 251. Various papers of antiquarian and economic interest with Dee's handwriting on items 23, 24, and 25.

Harleian MS. 285. Items 4, 12-13, 64, 69-71, and 94 all bear notes by Dee. A series of papers dealing with political affairs in the Low Countries.

Harleian MS. 286. Items 19, 91-2 and 152 are in Dee's handwriting. A series of papers dealing with political affairs.

Harleian MS. 289. Items 25, 28-34, 37 and 42 are in Dee's handwriting. Items 1, 6, 20-1; 24, 27, 39-40, 45, 47, 50-5, 81, 103 and 106 contain notes by Dee. These deal mainly with Anglo-Scottish affairs.

Harleian MS. 290. Items 63-6, 88, 90-91 and 106 are in Dee's handwriting. Items 3, 8, 27, 37 and 114 contain notes by Dee. The papers relate mainly to Mary Stuart.

Harleian MS. 295. Items 42-60 contain notes by Dee. A series of letters to Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII concerning Spanish affairs.

Harleian MS. 322. Contents list similar to Dee's handwriting with the handwriting of John Stow on fol. 139.

Harleian MS. 359. Fols. 126-216 (Itinerarium Cambriae) contain a few notes by Dee.

Harleian MS. 374, art. 11. A letter from John Dee to 'my loving frende Mr. John Stow' dated 4 December 1592.

Harleian MS. 473. Notes by Dee collected on an antiquarian tour through Chester and Wales previously assigned to Samuel Erdeswicke.

Harleian MS. 532, arts. 6, 14. Letter of an unknown antiquary to Dee concerning the town of Dunwich; 'Epilogismus calculi diurnis planetarum'.

Harleian MS. 588, arts. 1-108. Pedigrees and genealogical material drawn up by Dee.

Harleian MS. 601. 'A short account of the foundation & endowments of all the Colleges & Chantries in the City of London & County of Middlesex' with notes by Dee.

Harleian MS. 1879, arts. 1, 5, 6. 'Catalogus codd. MSS. numero plus minus 230, iam olim ut videtur, in Bibliotheca Joannis Dee M.D. conservatorum'; catalogue of Dee's printed books; catalogue of Dee's manuscripts. The last two items are dated 6 September 1585 and are in Dee's handwriting.

Harleian MS. 2407, art. 33. Dee's alchemical testament to John Gwynn.

Harleian MS. 5835, art. 2. Dee's own pedigree.

Harleian MS. 6986, art. 26. Letter from Dee to Queen Elizabeth dated 10 November 1588 concerning his return from the Continent at her request. See French, plate 1.

Lansdowne MS. 19, arts. 34, 38. A letter from John Dee to William Camden dated 7 August 1574; letter from Dee to Lord Burghley about treasure-seeking and Wigmore Castle.

Lansdowne MS. 39, art. 14. Lord Burghley's memorandum of

- Dee's calendar reform.
- Lansdowne MS. 61, art. 58. Letter from Dee to Lord Burghley concerning Parkins the Jesuit and the situation in the Low Countries.
- Lansdowne MS. 94, art. 51. Dee's pedigree of English monarchs from the ancient kings of Britain with a summary of the Arthurian conquests as epitomized by Lord Burghley.
- Lansdowne MS. 109, art. 27. Notes by Robert Cecil on Dee's calendar reform.
- Lansdowne MS. 122, arts. 4, 5. Dee's summary of Sir Francis Drake's voyage; Dee's instructions to Charles Jackman and Arthur Pett concerning a proposed trip to the Orient.
- Lansdowne MS. 158, art. 8. Letter from Dee to Dr. Julius Caesar, Master of Requests, concerning litigation arising from the enclosure of Denton Moor by Robert Cecil about 1595.
- Royal MS. 7. C. XVI, art. 35. A holograph copy of Dee's tract on British sea limits.
- Sloane MS. 15. Dee's instructions and annotations for Euclid's Elements.
- Sloane MS. 78, art. 11. An excerpt from Dee's 'Liber mysteriorum sextus et sanctus'.
- Sloane MS. 1782, fol. 31. Horoscope notes for John Dee.
- Sloane MS. 3188. Dee's 'Spiritual Diaries' from 22 December 1581 to 30 May 1583.
- Sloane MS. 3191, arts. 1-4. 'Claves Angelicae'; 'Liber scientia auxilii et victoria terrestris'; 'De heptarchia mystica'; 'Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes'. All of these treatises are by Dee.
- Public Records Office, SP 12/27, no. 63. Letter of 16 February

1563 by Dee to William Cecil.

Warburg Institute, Warburg MS. FBH 510. John Dee's 'Tuba Veneris'.

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Ashmole MS. 57. Copy made by Dee of Thomas Norton's Ordinall of Alchemy.

Ashmole MS. 174, arts. 74, 77. A table of longitude; 'De temporibus opportunis ad magicas artes operandas'.

Ashmole MS. 204, art. 18. List of drugs probably written by Dee.

Ashmole MS. 242, arts. 43, 44, 45. 'Arithmetical solution of the paradoxical compass'; 'Treatise on fractions'; 'On draining and embanking fens'.

Ashmole MS. 337, art. 3. Dee's accounts of household expenses and other memoranda from 22 January 1589 to October 1591.

Ashmole MS. 356, V. Philip Sidney's horoscope.

Ashmole MS. 487-8. Two volumes in quarto, containing the Ephemerides of Stadius for 1554-1600 (Cologne, 1570), and of Maginus for 1581-1620 (Venice, 1582); on the margins of these, respectively, are written the short memoranda, or The Private Diary of Dee from January 1577 to December 1600, and from September 1586 to April 1601.

Ashmole MS. 847, fols. 1^v, 118^v. Marginal notes made by Dee concerning some of his Welsh relatives.

Ashmole MS. 972, fols. 316-18. Notes on the nativities of John Dee, Edward Kelley and Katherine Dee; extract relating to Dee from a rôle of the wardens of Manchester College.

Ashmole MS. 1394, III. Three stories in Dee's handwriting of

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- Ashmole MS. 1486, V, arts. 1-2. Dee's journal concerning a chemical experiment lasting from 4 December 1607 until 21 January 1608; Dee's transcription of George Ripley's 'vade mecum'.
- Ashmole MS. 1488, II, fol. 21^V. A note that Dr. Richard Napier dined with Dee on 2 July 1604.
- Ashmole MS. 1788, arts. 1-18: including a copy of Dee's Compendious Rehearsal: John Dee's 'Praefatio Latina in actionem in Latinam primum ex 7 (habitam 10 die Aprilis Pragae) etiam in Latinam conversam sermonem, an^o 1586'; copy of Dee's letter of 7 August 1574 to William Camden; list of the contents of 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries'; Dee's supplication to queen Mary to save the libraries; notes of some 'pieces of Dr. Dee's bound up in the book entitled Vitell. C. 7'; copy of a letter from William Aubrey to John Dee; 'Medicina ad cancrum curandum' written by Dee; two horoscopes for John Dee; Dee's horoscope for Edward Kelley; much of the above is transcribed by Ashmole.
- Ashmole MS. 1789, I-V. Four couplets by Dee to Lord Burghley and Dee's discourse on the reformation of the calendar; original letter from William Aubrey to John Dee; prologue to the reformed calendar and Dee's calendar; Dee's manuscript of General and Rare Memorials; a copy in Dee's hand of the letter sent to him by William Aubrey concerning the General and Rare Memorials.
- Ashmole MS. 1790, I-IV. 'Praefatio Latina in actionem'; papers relating to Dee's actions with the spirits.
- Cornus Christi MS. 191. Notes of books borrowed, read and bought by Dee in 1556.

Corpus Christi MS. 243. Medieval manuscript containing works by Albertus Magnus, Plato and others which belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and was purchased by John Dee in 1557.

Corpus Christi MS. 254, arts. 3-9. Brief treatise by Dee on 'Pythagoras his wheele' of fortune; holograph copy of Dee's calendar treatise and Burghley's report on it; two copies of the reformed calendar; three letters from Walsingham to Dee concerning his work on the reformed calendar; short mathematical treatise by Dee; transcripts by Dee of works by Roger Bacon and Alkindi.

Dugdale MS. 24. At one time used by Dee as a Commonplace Book.

Museum MS. e. 63, fols. 147^r-^v. Copy of a letter from John Gwynn to Dee which refers to the Monas Hieroglyphica.

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